INHABITING

Practices of reception and re-

SPACES OF

jection in Greater Paris and at

HOLDING

the French-Italian border

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INHABITING SPACES OF HOLDING

Practices of reception and rejection in Greater Paris and at the French-Italian border

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Abstract

The research investigates a series of spaces of migration in France, identifying thresholds and encounters between spaces generated by the urgency of received and rejected bodies. Practices of containment, control, and protracted displacement coexist with the production of collective resistance and solidarity. The proximity of the ambiguous forms of these legacies establishes the equally ambiguous management of bodies and spaces, building the infrastructure of waiting. The result in the urban and rural dimension is the generation of a series of sequences on edge, marked by the simultaneous intertwining of mobility and immobility, visible and opaque; spaces between the camp and the city, identified as "spaces of holding". The research is developed through fieldwork in the identified holding places in Greater Paris and at the French-Italian border, aiming at recounting the different conformations that migrants' spaces take on both their materiality and within collective imagination. Developed as a patchwork of different methodologies and representations carried out from September 2021 until August 2022, the research aims at explaining migration by encompassing its multiple identities. The proposal is an attempt to make visible new patterns of urban space production, neglected by the contemporary neoliberal city, and endow open scenarios for possible coexistence. Paris and the border made it possible to unfold these practices through what is left of migrants' spaces, performing the pursuit to remodel both the inner city and its transnational infrastructure, thus constantly subverting the apparent uninhabitability of its spaces.

La recherche explore une série d'espaces migratoires en France, identifiant les seuils et les rencontres entre des espaces générés par l'urgence des corps soutenus et rejetés. Des pratiques d'endiguement, de contrôle et de déplacement prolongé coexistent avec la production de dynamiques de résistance et de solidarité collectives. La proximité des formes ambiguës de ces héritages fonde la gestion tout aussi ambiguë des corps et des espaces, construisant l'infrastructure de l'attente. Le résultat dans la dimension urbaine et rurale est la génération d'une série de séquences, marquées par l'entrelacement simultané de la mobilité et de l'immobilité, visibles et opaques ; espaces entre le camp et la ville, identifiés comme « espaces de holding ». La recherche se développe à travers l'observation des sites identifiés dans le territoire francilien et à la frontière franco-italienne, dans le but de raconter les différentes conformations que prennent les espaces migratoires tant dans leur matérialité que dans l'imaginaire collectif. Développée comme un patchwork de différentes méthodologies et représentations réalisées de septembre 2021 à août 2022, la recherche vise à expliquer la migration en incorporant ses multiples identités. La proposition finale est une tentative de rendre visibles de nouveaux modèles de production de l'espace, délaissés par la ville contemporaine, et de nous fournir des scénarios pour une coexistence possible. Paris et la frontière ont permis de déployer ces pratiques à travers ce qui reste des espaces migratoires, en tant que représentantes de l'effort de remodelage de la ville elle-même et de ses infrastructures transnationales, subvertissant ainsi sans cesse l'inhabitabilité apparente de ses espaces.

La ricerca indaga una serie di spazi di migrazione in Francia, individuando soglie e incontri tra spazi generati dall'urgenza di corpi sostenuti e rifiutati. Pratiche di contenimento, controllo e spostamento prolungato convivono con la produzione di dinamiche di resistenza collettiva e solidarietà. La vicinanza delle forme ambigue di questi lasciti stabilisce la gestione altrettanto ambigua di corpi e spazi, costruendo un'infrastruttura dell'attesa. Il risultato nella dimensione urbana e rurale è quindi la generazione di una serie di sequenze di confine, segnate dall'intreccio simultaneo di mobilità e immobilità, visibili e opache; spazi tra il campo e la città, identificati come "spazi di holding". La ricerca si sviluppa attraverso il lavoro sul campo nei luoghi individuati nel territorio della Grand Paris e al confine franco-italiano, con l'obiettivo di raccontare le diverse conformazioni che spazi migratori assumono sia nella loro materialità che nell'immaginario collettivo. Sviluppata come un patchwork di diverse metodologie e rappresentazioni realizzate da settembre 2021 ad agosto 2022, la ricerca mira a spiegare la migrazione inglobandone le molteplici identità. La proposta progettuale finale è quindi un tentativo di rendere visibili nuovi modelli di produzione dello spazio urbano, trascurati dalla città neoliberale contemporanea, e donare scenari aperti di una coesistenza possibile. Parigi e il confine franco-italiano hanno permesso di dispiegare queste pratiche attraverso ciò che resta degli spazi di migrazione, in quanto rappresentanti dello sforzo di rimodellazione sia della città stessa che delle sue infrastrutture transnazionali, sovvertendo così costantemente l'apparente inabitabilità dei suoi spazi.

With this thesis, I am taking the opportunity to promote a critique on current spatial research and unleash new platforms of imperfect modes of inhabiting. Through projective knowledge and morphological analysis, this is not only an investigation and a project proposal, but it is primarily the disclosure of a continual observation of this year into spaces of migration in France.

Delving into what have been perceived as hostile urban environments and social interactions, I aim at taking a stand towards current debate around migrancy and border enclosures by asserting the freedom of transit and the equal right to imagine futures. I embrace the assumption that different forms of fragile, common lives exist and claim for spatial recognition, thus I believe that the research and design practice can only be pursued by becoming part of the identities and ecologies that construct the territory. Based on that, I am advocating for an upfolding of an architecture of share, supporting gatherings as a collective resistance towards vulnerability. My involvement into the associative network of support in Paris and at the border has therefore permitted to display closely the radical conditions of refugees and people on the move in France. It allowed to illustrate a way of interpreting and designing spaces that escapes from abstraction and positions of control of the planner.

Within this, this research has been developed as an unrestrained purpose to manifest a critical reading of the territorial analysis and design. It represents the effort to problematize the reasoning on homogeneous ideas of life and the development of collective singular identities, whose dynamics have radically influenced our discipline by now. I condemn the contemporary architectural and urban practice in Europe based on dwelling spaces of differential inclusivity, that are consequence of colonial, dominant relations driven by capital. On the contrary, I am mainly attempting at reconstructing a transdisciplinary focal point that makes visible new patterns of urban and rural space production and promotes unfinished and weak interventions without overdetermining uses and endorsing relations of power and powerlessness.

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How to read the thesis

The research is disclosed as a counter-mapping of migrants' spaces and bodies in France, thus encompassing different methodologies, modes of representation and scales of analysis. However, it does follow a certain structure to ease the reader's comprehension and connections among the scattered information reported. The thesis is divided into three parts: the first two provide analytical and projective knowledge on the investigation, with a focus on the territories analysed, namely Greater Paris and the French-Italian border; the latter presents the project proposal, the Atlas of Borderlessness. The first two parts can be read following a common research structure: the primordial territorial analysis follows an ethnographic observation of both migrants' spaces and bodies and interactions with so-called people-of-place. Based on that, three territories of analysis are presented for both Paris and the border, looking at what is left of migrants' spaces. The historical and sociodemographic background is explained in detail for Paris, while the second part reports a more relevant focus on border studies. Finally, both first and second part culminate with the definition of bodies and spaces on hold and the ambiguous legacies of public hostility and associative apparatus of solidarity, implemented with the observation of the local associations with whom I have collaborated. Regarding the modes of representation, both first and second part present a counter-mapping approach based on the use of explicative texts, cartographies, photography, and architectural drawings. They can be read by the integration with data from maps and diagrams and material illustration from photos and axonometric views. Finally, the last part is detached from the scheme and narration methods of Part 1 and 2, as it displays the project proposal by assembling previous observation and adopting an ontological approach, namely by questioning how different realities live together in the analysed territories. It can therefore be read as a patchwork of anthropological inquiries and critical architectural and urban theory that culminates into an atlas of possible scenarios that revoke latencies and legacies of spaces of holding.

PART 1 / GREATER PARIS

The first part is an observation and analysis of the territory of Greater Paris. After an overview on the social, political, and morphological dimensions that frame its urban asset, the migratory phenomena are displayed by providing genealogies, ethnographies and spatial analysis of the ecologies that inhabit it. Subsequently, an historical and sociodemographic projective of immigration in the capital is presented to look at encounters and thresholds between past and present migration. The conclusions are depicted through the explanation of the spaces of holding, encompassing the simultaneous practices of rejection and reception that occur in Greater Paris.

PART 2 / THE FRENCH-ITALIAN BORDER

The second part is centered on the border between Italy and France, focusing on the southern borderland, such as the territories of the Vallée de la Roya and Ventimiglia. It starts with a general introduction on the territory, framing its rural dimension and infrastructures. A non-exhaustive ethnography is provided, as well as a critical reading of the border, from a conceptual and political perspective. After an analytical and projective representation of transit migration in the territory, the conclusions are depicted through the explanation of the spaces of holding, encompassing the simultaneous practices of rejection and reception that occur at the French-Italian border.

PART 3 / ATLAS OF BORDERLESSNESS

The last part of the thesis attempts at assembling the multiple territories, representations and knowledge displayed in the previous chapters. It advocates for an unleashing of current strategies that refugees and people on the move elaborate to subvert the differential inclusivity of contemporary urban and rural space production. Based on that, it starts with a first chapter that analyses the dispositifs of inhabitation and looks at other architectural proposals borrowed from camp studies and critical architectural theory. The conclusion is an atlas of possible scenarios that endow dispositifs of protection, transit and coexistence to inhabit spaces of holding.

Intro

Research investigation

The research starts from the investigation of a series of migratory spaces on the French territory, trying to identify threshold and dynamics of coexistence between local bodies and spaces and people on the move, generators of new patterns of urban and rural spaces in transit. Looking at the barriers of entrenched identities and positions of power in the contemporary neoliberal urban asset of the territories analysed and the strategies to resist and overcome these conditions, this thesis is presented as an atlas of undesirable[1] and invisible legacies and intends to make them visible and possibly enhance them. The question that arises is then to know which spaces are generated, voluntarily or induced, by the urgency of bodies on the move, opaque and displaced, bodies that claim political right to space and the possibility to imagine futures. How do these collateral agreements and this dependence of bodies and spaces activate the space itself? Practices of containment, control and protracted displacement coexist with the production of dynamics of collective resistance and solidarity. The proximity of the ambiguous forms of these legacies establishes the equally ambiguous management of displaced bodies and spaces, through an ever-ending process of public hostility and the reaction of resistance by supporting actors and people on the move: an infrastructure of waiting. The research aims precisely at deciphering the sequences of this infrastructure in the urban and rural spaces observed, marked by the simultaneous embodiment of mobility and immobility, visible and opaque; spaces between the camp and the city, which have been identified as "spaces of holding". Greater Paris and the French-Italian border are two sequences of the infrastructure of holding identified for this research. However, the intention is not to provide an exhaustive spatialization of the phenomena of migration in France. The aim is rather to show new patterns of space production generated by violence, pushbacks, and evictions, on one hand, and resistance, vulnerability, and transit on the other. In other words, it recounts the different conformations that spaces of migration take in both their mate-riality and in the collective imagination. Paris and the border have been chosen because they allow studying the phenomena not as exceptional, but through different axialities that generate dynamics extremely characterized by their mobility and opacity: they represent the spaces of displacement through practices, fears, imaginations generated by the act of displacing itself. The gap between urban and rural, arrival, and transit, centrality and border embodied by the two territories, is the starting point to decipher the necessities and materiality of the dynamics of rejection and reception and thus to determine how - and if - can they be activated.

Embracing the assumption that, as well as different forms of life exist, endure also very different forms of inhabiting, the research is centered on questioning what architecture that endows non-dominant, non-colonial, and non-singular ways of inhabiting the space. How to uphold an architecture of protection, coexistence, and transit? By critically reading the dispositifs of separation of the contemporary city – that have progressively set a distance among the dualism that framed our culture in city/rural, accessible/inaccessible, inside/outside and us/them –, it aims at making visible the makeshift practices of resistance of these conditions, the strategies elaborated by refugees, migrants and people on the move to subvert the apparent uninhabitability of the city and its liminalities[2]. The Atlas of Borderlessness is the conceptual conclusion of this study, revealed as a synthesis of possible scenarios of coexistence. Through a series of dispositifs materialised in the selected spaces of holding, the intention is to create spaces that refuse overdetermination, but rather reveal their weakness and fragility, by constantly changing and reconstructing possible uses and interactions. Looking at the act and the space of the makeshift and what is left of migrants' spaces, the proposal aims at developing new patterns of imperfect inhabitation avoiding dominant modes of hospitality. It suggests escaping from a securitarian and exceptional spectrum[3], and rather endorses the unleashing of people's imagination and autonomies.

1. Agier M., *Gérer les indésiderables. Des camps de réfugiés au gouvernement humanitaire*, Flammarion, Paris, 2008

2. Simone A., "The Uninhabitable?", *Cultural Politics 12*, no. 2: 135 – 54, 2016

3. Agamben G., *Lo stato di eccezione*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 2003

Intro

Literature review

1. Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

2. Anafé, *PERSONA NON GRATA. Conséquences des politiques sécuritaires et migratoires à la frontière franco-italienne*, Rapport d'observation 2017-2018, publié en Janvier 2019

3. Medicines du Monde, *Rapport annuel de l'Observatoire des expulsions collectives de lieux de vie informels*. Oct.2020 – Nov.2021, 21/11/2021

4. Agier M. et Le Courant S. (Edited by), *Babels. Enquêtes sur la condition migrante*, Seuil, Paris, 2022

5. https://architecture-precarites.fr/

The literature is varied and encompasses different fields of studies. The main theoretical framework concerns books and authors from the fields of anthropology, philosophy, sociology, politics and more specifically refugee and migration studies. Hence, they have been assembled with reports, urban studies and architectural references. Being based in France, the literature examined was in either English, French, or Italian.

Both for the territories of Paris and the border, historical background on past migratory phenomena has been fundamental to developing the thesis. The French-Italian border and the Vallée de la Roya have been studied through the active consultation of books and authors from the field of border studies and academics who questioned notions and ecologies of the frontier, to cite some of them: Ratzel F., Mezzadra S., Awan N., Balibar E. Confronting it with migratory phenomena required then to cross the conceptual analysis with research on diaspora and control at the border: Amigoni L., Aru S., Giliberti L. have been essential to investigate Ventimiglia and the Vallée de la Roya. Furthermore, the work accomplished by Giliberti in the Vallée de la Roya[1] from 2015, has been a crucial starting point to dig into the current state of his observations.

Reports and investigations on the territories and the phenomena have been analysed not only to collect useful data, but also as a critical tool: the inspections of Anafé on violence and pushbacks at the French-Italian border[2], as well as the report on evictions of informal spaces of inhabitation by the network of associations including Abbé Pierre, Ligue des droits de l'homme and others[3]. Moreover, from an architectural perspective, the confrontation with works and research by Forensic Architecture and L. Pezzani, have accompanied the observation of rituals and spaces of hostility towards people on the move. A crucial reference is the work carried out by the collectif Babels[4], coordinated by Michel Agier and Stefan Le Courant, which provides a comprehensive overview of the contemporary migrant condition in France, analysing the role

of border controls, solidarity and many other dynamics exposed in the following chapters. In fact, research on migration through correlation to urban production and space analysis like the ones of Agier, have greatly impacted on this thesis: consultation of authors such as Minca C., Simone A., Tazzioli M., Sanyal R. has contributed to the development of a critical perspective of the makeshift modes of inhabitation and the differential inclusivity of the contemporary urban space. Other important authors include: Abdelmalek S., Sassen S., Butler J., Malkki L.H., Glissant E., as well as Secchi B., Friedman Y., Viganò P. on a closer architectural framework. Because of the affinity of my thesis, from May until August 2022 I have been involved into the research *Rendre visible les réponses architecturales, urbaines et paysagères aux précarités urbaines (2019-2021)* conducted by Elizabeth Essaian, Laetitia Overney and Stephanie Dadour at the Institut Parisien de Recherche en Architecture, Urbanistique et Société in Paris and that culminated in the production of the website "Architecture et précarités"[5]. I have been able to acquire information on different projects of solidarity over displaced people in France, by various architectural and urban design firms and collectives. Some examples are Yes We Camp, AOA, Actes et Cités and many others that have greatly influenced the conception of the final proposal.

To this extent, the project has been developed from the consultation of research on the architecture of hospitality, looking at authors from architectural-related studies that developed critical readings on current infrastructures of solidarity or hostility towards people on the move, such as Petti A. or Boano C. At the same time, it has been conceived through the acknowledgment of a series of different projects that have been carried out in latest years in the fields of camp or displacement studies: the project of La Linière by Actes et Cités, as well as the analysis of the Azraq Refugee Camp by the MIT Future Heritage Lab or the design of architectures of hospitality by Gabu H., Klein M., and Linortner C., have had a great impact throughout the conception of my project proposal.

Intro

Methodology

Analysis, collection of data and its representation follow a procedure that is neither linear nor circular, rather it is developed as a patchwork of diverse study methodologies, potential information and impulses. Aiming at explaining the phenomena by encompassing different identities and without spectacularizing its gravity, the assembly of testimonies and images of displacement permits to maintain this diversity and illustrate multiple sequences of a common infrastructure. The research and outcomes are deliberately expressed in English to manifest the international bearing of the investigation, although the use of French has not only been essential in the analytical process, but it has also eased the formulation of specific concepts.

The research is accomplished through fieldwork carried out from September 2021 until July 2022 in France, around the identified holding places in Greater Paris and at the French-Italian border. I have been based in Paris: being part of the environment I observed has had a crucial impact on the analytical and projective outcomes of this research. After an initial period of investigation on the topic, I started the production of this research by assembling data, maps, and drawings of migrants' makeshift spaces. From January I have started to volunteer in Paris and in April I travelled to the border for two weeks, hosted in Tende in the Vallée de la Roya, where I kept volunteering in the valley and in Ventimiglia and I collected data through interviews and personal experience. Returned to Paris, I have assembled all the information in the following months and concurrently started producing the project proposal, although its conceptual process has always accompanied the observation since the beginning.

The research manipulates cartographic analyses, photography, statistical and territorial data to study the territory and the migratory phenomena through a multi-scale approach. The use of photography has been crucial for the investigation: it does not aim at aestheticizing the migratory condition, but it serves as enhancing the gap between what is opaque and visible. They are images made by an architect, they attempt at reading critically the space and its thresholds. Being settled in France and collaborating with local association both in Paris (with Solidarité Migrants Wilson) and in the Vallée de la Roya (with Emmaus Roya) made it possible to develop the research through a constant physical immersion into the problem and potentialities. The volunteering involved weekly contribution on maraudes – food distributions –, sheltering or simply interviewing citizens, volunteers, and people on the move. It therefore allowed the analysis of the subject by looking closely at common practices of adaptation and resistance. The decision to start writing a field diary is motivated by the necessity to have a constant record of what I was looking at and my critical impressions. Especially from mid-January, collaborating with Solidarité Migrants Wilson, the diary has been a fundamental instrument to keep memories of spaces, necessities, and stories of people on the move I encountered. At the same time, the diary was the modality through which I have been able to recognise how spaces, displacements, and makeshift tools of inhabitation[1] changed through time. Fragments of the diary can be found sporadically in the text and concern both my period in Paris and the short time I spent at the French-Italian border.

Overall, the research supports a counter-mapping approach which "more than tracing another map, it tries to invent non-cartographic practices that point to the spaces in which the geopolitical map of Europe appears as an untenable illustrative device"[2]. It suggests that migrants' experiences and imaginations cannot be fully grasped through one or multiple devices and that representations are only possible scenarios of imperfect practices of inhabitation, transit, resistance. Although some maps have been produced to represent territorial data and ease the reader's comprehension of the spaces, the main explanations lie in the drawings, photos and interviews, as well as illustrations of inhabitation tools and in the project itself. Admittedly, the thesis does not aim at depicting solutions, as they would displace its political nature, but weak mappings and weak strategies: un Progetto Minore[3].

1. Examples of makeshift tools of inhabitation can be find in the concept of the Atlas of Bor-derlessness, namely at the end of the first chapter (Assemble/Disassemble) of the third part.

2. Tazzioli, M., Which Europe?: Migrants' uneven geographies and counter-mapping at the limits of representation. movements. *Journal for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies*, 1(2), ISSN 2364-8732, 2015

3. Boano C., *Progetto Minore. Alla ricerca della minorità nel progetto urbanistico ed architettonico,* Lettera Ventidue, Siracusa, 2020

PART 1

1. Makeshift City

The territory and the spatialisation of the migratory phenomena are explained under different scales of analysis. The national and supranational perspective provides information on the dispositifs of control and reception, as well as the making of displacement. Applying it to the urban sphere and its established socio-spatial dynamics, the theoretical framework around migrants' practices of inhabitability made it possible to decipher the spaces of displacement. The genealogy and legacies of makeshift camps are therefore deepened through the active observation of dispositifs of resistance and the patchwork of reception reactions that gravitate around them.

1.1.

Paris, Seine-Saint-Denis

The territory of the *Grand Paris* represents an emblematic case of spatial inequality, in which the conflicts between bodies and spaces shaped by the establishment of the neoliberal contemporary city, the transits and the production of new identities, have radically transformed the city of *passages* into a territory in which spatial and social borders have cancelled possible conditions of porosity[1].

Physical borderland, in which the massive presence of the infrastructure of production and mobility defines topologies and margins that generate contrasting spaces and methods of adaptation; social borderland, where rich and poor continue to meet, and, at the same time, are made visibly distant[2]. As a matter of fact, on the one hand, the densely constructed, nineteenth century, Haussmanian Paris; on the other hand, the industry, the liminalities, and squats of the "*quatre-ving-treize*", the prefecture of Seine Saint Denis.

In the common imagination of the territory of Grand Paris the city of the rich is in the south-west, in the seventh or sixteenth arrondissement of the large Haussmanian parks and palaces, the city of the poor is that of the border and outside the intra-muros, in the north-east, in cities like Saint-Denis, Aubervilliers, La Courneve. However, what produced this clear and extreme division is not the result of a linear process, but the intertwining of different stories. A large part is certainly the result of an urban planning policy that has seen the space of production and industry develop more in this area, thus contributing to the formation of enclaves fortified by the railway, the highway, or the canal. On the other hand, however, it is also the result of collective imaginaries, linked to the memory of the bidonvilles of the Seine-Saint-Denis of the French post-war period. These spaces were and therefore continue to be the scene of a progressive increase in population density, that linked to industrial production or to disadvantaged classes[3]. David Harvey has detaily explained the role of Paris in the construction of an idea of modernity through a progressive deconstruction and reconstruction of spaces and practices since the second half of

the nineteenth century[4]. The new asset of the city during Haussmann is already the spatialisation of capitalistic strategies of overcoming economic, sanitarian and production crises through the recodification of zones and connections, in order to systematically generate capital and consequently social conflicts. Throughout the entire nineteenth and twentieth century, the production of the city has therefore been moved by the intentions of generating a new collective image of social order under the pressure of the progress and innovation.

The erratic course of it is therefore precisely in the conflictual relation between these mindsets and the acts of resistance and support towards the vulnerability of undesired classes, that where consequently made distant or invisible. Paris as strategic scenario of collision between classes, as highly developed in the modes of inhabiting the modernity by Walter Benjamin[5], recalls then the formation of phenomena of collective resistance, the socialistic utopias, and most importantly, the elaboration of new forms of self-organisation and dwelling of spaces and practices of refuge. The experiences are multiple: the development of *La Zone*, the area of slums and makeshift dwellings proliferated around the external periphery of the city, occupying the voids created by the deconstruction of the *Enceinte de Thiers*; the bidonvilles generated in the industrial areas around Nanterre or Saint-Denis, responding to the urge of housing for the labour force; the porous system of squats, established simultaneously as a necessity and a form of protest; finally, the makeshift camps of people on the move and displaced that still occur daily at the time of writing these lines[6].

Particularly from the 1970s onwards, the efforts of the architectural and urban design and of political interest are aimed precisely at the inclusion of these areas into the bigger conurbation of Paris, which in some ways culminated into the current conformation of the Grand Paris. The *grands ensembles*, the new public housing districts, are formed with the intention of reinterpreting the territories of inequality and resolving the housing issue. Hereby, the public housing development and policies of the city is particularly directed towards those specific areas of labour and industry that underwent simultaneously a substantial growth of population and lack of housing to host them. However, obsessed with what Secchi defines as a "quantitative theory of production and the building market"[7] – that is basically the idea that it was enough to build houses to solve the problem of inclusivity – architectural and urban practices have followed a political and social course of universal and standardised modes of inhabitation. Careless of the progressive individualization and indifference typical of the hysteria of the metropolis, as Simmel was already describing at the beginning of the century[8], the project has rather tackled the issue of conflictual social space production through the enhancement

1. Secchi B., Viganò P., *La Ville poreuse. Un projet pour le Grand Paris et la métropole de l'après-Kyoto*, Genève, MetisPresses, 2011

2. Secchi B., *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2013, 90 pages

3. Fourcaut A., Bellanger E., Flonneau M., *Paris/Banlieues. Conflits et solidarités*, Graphis, Paris, 2007

4. Harvey D., *Paris, capitale de la modernité*, Les prairies ordinaires, Paris, 2012

5. Benjamin W., *Paris, capitale du XIXᵉ siècle. Le livre des Passages,* Cerf, Paris, 1998

6. In the following pages an example of a liminality of an infrastructure of mobility - a bridge - inhabited by people on the move. Act of subverting the uninhabitability of these spaces that will be largely shown in the entire thesis.

7. Secchi B., Le due anime della politica edilizia italiana, in *Id., Il racconto urbanistico*, cit., cap.4, pp. 135-170

8. Simmel G., Levine D. N., *The metropolis and mental life*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1971

of the border, the creation of distinct nuclei, leaving behind the dimension of a possible collective coexistence.

"The distance between the ways and the projects through which, in previous periods of European urban history, the hegemonic groups had managed to represent their own system of values, their own aesthetics and their own idea of social order in the city and in the public space [...] in the city of the second half of the twentieth century, in its buildings and public spaces, the values of a more democratic society, of a policy attentive to the integration of different social groups, to the percolation of one group in the other, to the representation of their different cultures and spatial practices. Even in many projects of the public city a "pedagogical" attitude prevails, as if it were a matter of teaching its inhabitants lifestyles more in keeping with a status that was not their own"[9].

Transferring the historical analysis of the territory analysed in the twentieth century and across the spectrum of migration, the dimensions mentioned, that of the collective, inclusivity, of the border, remain unsolved. In the context of the territory of Greater Paris the spaces of displacement remain anchored in the need to delimit, to separate, to move away, to open, and to close. The main tools of the urban and territorial design therefore become control *dispositifs*[10] for the creation of a collective idea of safety. However, regardless of the dominant modes of designing the city and its architectures and the intentions of public policies to separate and force a collective idea of identity, those who have been committed to inhabit the public space or dwell their refuge, have thus subverted these processes, forging new strategies to inhabit the systematised uninhabitability of certain spaces. Voids of the infrastructure of production and mobility, vacant houses and offices, wastelands of industrial or residential areas are only some of these spaces that have become the result of the zoned contemporary city and, at the same time, the shelter for the *indésiderables*[11], the undesired bodies of the space of ordinariness. Reading the territory through these places of difference[12] permits to decipher practices of adaptation and sharing that generate the need for movement and coexistence between black bodies in a white space[13]. Looking at the methods and dispositifs produced by displaced persons to subvert settled scenarios and claim their right to space is the fundamental path to interpret unsettled urban and architectural topologies and understand how — and if — the project can activate them.

9. Secchi B., *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2013, p. 52-53

10. Foucault M., *Sécurité, Territoire, Population - Cours au collège de France. 1977-1978*, Paris, Seuil Gallimard, 1978-79

11. Agier M., *Gérer les indésiderables. Des camps de réfugiés au gouvernement humanitaire*, Flammarion, Paris, 2008

12. di Campli A., Bianchetti C., *Abitare la differenza. Il turista e il migrante*, Donzelli, Roma, 2019

13. Mbembe A., *Necropolitics*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2019

48°53'45.1"N 2°24'04.4"E / 13/01/2022

Makeshift camp in Delphine Seyrig under Pantin's town hall bridge

PARIS, SEINE-SAINT-DENIS : WHAT'S LEFT

Val-D'Oise

Seine-Saint-Denis

Hauts-de-Seine

Paris

Val-de-Marne

Yvelines

Seine-et-Marne

0 km

5 km

Hydrography

Industrial areas

Poverty rate [%]

32-44 %

23-32 %

17-23 %

12-17 %

8-12 %

Highways and main roads

PARIS, SEINE-SAINT-DENIS : POTENTIALITIES?

Val-D'Oise

Seine-Saint-Denis

Hauts-de-Seine

Paris

Val-de-Marne

Yvelines

Seine-et-Marne

Hydrography

Projects on public spaces

Priority area of intervention

Parks and green areas

Urbanised area

Public transports

0 km

5 km

1.2.

What is left behind

Geneaology of camps

On Wednesday, September 1, 2021, more than a thousand people set up their tents in front of the prefecture of the Ile de France region in Paris to claim for a shelter[1].

An estimated 5.9 million people from 84 countries in the world have been forced to displace by the end of 2021, as a result of political, environmental, social or economic difficulties or wars and disasters occurred in their countries in latest years[2]. The countries that reported the most significant numbers of displaced people out of their country of origin by now are Afghanistan (1.1 million); India (929,000); Pakistan (806,000); Ethiopia (633,000); Sudan (454,000)[3]. Correspondingly, numbers of internally displaced people are even more considerable. The so-called migration crisis[4] began to develop in Europe from 2015, although a certain number of refugee arrivals was already reported from five years before, due to the increase of political and humanitarian conflicts in countries like Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, or Eritrea. Moreover, the climate change and temperature raise are greatly influencing a large part of the nowadays migration, pushing people living in the Global South and rural areas to search for economic, social, and environmental stability in northern countries and cities. Migrating as an effect of climate impacts is therefore a proactive mode of adaptation in the face of health and social risks, developing within or across international borders[5]. As a matter of fact, data from international research and UNHCR address the great possibility that nearly one third of the current population of Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and South Asia (more than 143 million people) will be forced to displace internally or out of their countries borders by 2050[6]. To aggravate this condition is the fact that main climate driven displacements occur in areas already highly affected by political conflicts and scarcity of resources, therefore contributing to exacerbate existing vulnerabilities[7] and then equally intensify the differential equality among those who are able to move and those who cannot resort to migration as a form of adaptation and are forced to remain, due to lack of resources, economic possibility, disability or other social related reasons (e.g. gender issues)[8]. While

1. Paris : le camp de migrants devant la préfecture d'Ile-de-France évacué, *Le Parisien*, 04/09/2021

2. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, *GRID 2022: Global Report on Internal Displacement*, Geneva, 2022

3. *Ibidem*

4. Agier M. et Le Courant S. (Edited by), *Babels. Enquêtes sur la condition migrante*, Seuil, Paris, 2022

5. Mariam T. C. and Alex R., Chapter 9: Migration and the slow-onset impacts of climate change: Taking stock and taking action. *World Migration Report 2022*. IOM. Geneva, 2022

6. Rigaud KK., De Sherbinin A., Jones B., Bergmann J., Clement V., Ober K. et al, *Groundswell: Preparing for internal climate migration*, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2018

7. Brzoska M., Fröhlich C., Climate change, migration and violent conflict: vulnerabilities, pathways and adaptation strategies, *Migration and Development*, 5:2, 190-210, 2016

8. Portail sur les données migratoires, *Migrations environnementales*, mis à jour le 15 juin 2022 (https://www.migrationdataportal.org/fr/themes/migration-environnementale)

at the beginning migrants sought refuge in neighbouring countries, they soon moved to Europe, giving birth to the significant reception dilemma we nowadays continue to experience. However, to tackle the so-called migration crisis the European Union adopted strategies based on the externalisation of their frontiers, by entrenching accords with third countries such as Turkey or Libya to collaborate in the control and holding of people on the move wishing to enter Europe. Using a very questionable procedure of enclosure towards people escaping from political, environmental, and social conflicts, the EU has justified under the terms of humanitarian support, a rather outrageous management and detention of people. However, the present research will be limited to analysing the spatial implications of the phenomena, then looking at how displacement shapes urbanism and rurality. In other words, the mutual connection between the differential inclusivity of contemporary spatial production and the capacity of people on the move and supportive network to subvert these set realities, creating new infrastructures of inhabitation. In this way, the thesis permits to give voices to all those makeshift and often informal practices of resistance generated by the collision between hostile and receptive holding spaces, namely the camps, squats, housing hospitality and daily outreach from local associations. Although the threshold is very thin and blurred, the cause and consequences of the subject in geopolitical terms will not be deepen.

As of many other countries' metropolitan areas, the year 2015 marked the beginning of a systematic migratory flow in the French capital[9]: refugees and migrants have often preferred to migrate and settle in cities, due to work availability and a greater degree of anonymity, allowing them to escape the apparatus of humanitarian assistance and permitting themselves to assimilate to the host population[10]. In this context, since the beginning, the urban and national system, as of institutional means, NGOs, associations, or collectives, have tried to respond through different infrastructures to the urgent need to shelter and aid people in transit, often treating the emergency with most cost and effective -less solutions. Locating and assisting in the urban context becomes then more difficult for either humanitarian assistance and the government, leading migrants to establish into slums, squatter settlements, or inhabiting the public space.

The camps that have been formed since then are therefore mostly makeshift camps, made up of migrants in transit to the United Kingdom or intending to apply for asylum in France. Due to the extreme temporariness of these camps, result of an unfinished migratory need, many of the settlements are situated near the main stations, on the Quai d'Austerlitz – in the proximities of Gare de Lyon, where migrants coming from Italy arrive – and in the areas

9. For data and additional information on migration and transits in France look at the appendix at the end of this book.

10. Malkki L.H., Refugees and exile: from 'refugee studies' to the national order of things, *Annual Reviews in Anthropology 24*, 495–523, 1995

of La Chapelle or Stalingrad, adjacent to Gare du Nord - strategic for migrants wishing to travel to the United Kingdom, via Calais[11]. In the years from 2015 to 2017, considered to be the apex of the European migratory flow, Paris saw the development of makeshift and informal camps and squats capable of accommodating thousands of people.

The Lycée Jean-Quarré, in the 19th arrondissement of Paris, was occupied from 31 July 2015 by the collective "La Chapelle en lutte", acting with the aim of hosting the migrants sleeping on the streets and as a political react against the indifferences of the public authorities[12]. Initially, about 150 people were sheltered in the building in the popular neighbourhood of Place des Fetes; then, following an initial tolerance of the occupation by the municipality, the squat is open to all those who need it and the number of people welcomed grows rapidly. The space is then divided by nationality, each occupying a different floor of the old high school – most of the migrants hosted come from Afghanistan, Soudan, Eritrea. A large hall is transformed into a common kitchen and canteen. From an organizational point of view, it is above all La Chapelle en lutte that coordinates the high school and organizes general assemblies, designating additional delegates by nationality. Their role is to allow the self-management of the shared space, having to deal with problems related to overpopulation, difficult health conditions of the occupants and possible tensions and violence that arise among the migrants and refugees. Finally, the high school was evacuated in October 2015, with 1,400 people moved to reception centres or dispersed in the urban space.
The neighbourhood of Porte de la Chapelle, on the border between the eighteenth arrondissement of Paris and the municipality of Saint Denis, is another emblematic case of the genealogy of the informal camps of the capital. Despite the police evacuations, the district remains a privileged place of informal occupation between 2015 and 2020. The hypotheses of the interest of the place are different: an administrative frontier zone between two municipalities, a space of transit, characterized by the massive presence of the infrastructure, establishing as a limit, but also as a considerable opportunity for invisibility. Likewise, it is here that the municipality of Paris, together with the association "Emmaus solidarité", opened the humanitarian camp of Porte de la Chapelle in November 2016, with a capacity of 400 places, intended to host the first migratory arrivals. Even after the humanitarian camp is dismissed, Porte de la Chapelle remains one of the places where most of the aggregations have been concentrated in these five years. We therefore recall, among the major evacuations: on 7 July 2017, 2700, migrants and refugees are evacuated along the Boulevard Ney; on 18 August 2017, 2,500 people were evacuated, mostly from

Afghanistan, Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea; on November 7, 2019, around 3000 people that had settled between Porte de la Chapelle and Avenue Wilson (Saint-Denis). were forced to move.
From 2017 the association Emmaus Solidarité commenced and managed the project of the Centre d'hébergement d'urgence pour migrants (CHUM) in Ivry-Sur-Seine, in the banlieues of Paris[13]. The centre was co-financed by the municipality of Paris and the prefecture and was conceived as a temporary hub lasting for a maximum of 5 years yet at the time of this thesis the centre is still present and active. Build over an abandoned wasteland, the centre was created as a response to the worrying arrivals of about sixty people daily in the capital and it is therefore part of the larger project of reception managed by the city of Paris, opening in the same period the centre in Porte de la Chapelle in the north of the city, and in Ivry, in the south-eastern side. However, while the first is generally conceived as an emergency reception for mainly lonely men for a maximum duration of seven days, the centre in Ivry has been built as a temporary welcoming – from one to three months – for families, lonely women, and couples with a maximum capacity of 400 people.

To conclude, although hosting facilities, being them either informal or institutionalised, have been put in place in the capital since the increasing of the diaspora and reception crisis, they are always resulted insufficient to respond integrally to the phenomena and people in transit or displaced have been obliged to inhabit the public space, enabling the process of deconstruction of the separation between camp and city. Especially since 2016, in accordance with what has been happening in other European countries and migratory hubs, the procedure for managing makeshift camps in France has often resulted in a systematic displacement of migrants and homeless people in the public space, with constant evacuations and police harassments. Most evacuations in France are followed by the reception of people into welcoming structures for a very limited time and capacity, therefore contributing to the eternal return to displacement[14]. The political control dispositif[15] thus becomes the displacement[16] itself, with the consequent opacification of the action and of the migrant body. The evacuation of the "Jungle de Calais" (2016) or the reception centre at Porte de la Chapelle (2019), for example, have in fact caused, over the past five years, not only new forms of occupation of spaces in their proximities, but also a gradual dispersion of makeshift and informal settlements and a substantial opacity of migrants and homeless people in urban and rural areas[17].

11. Babels, *De Lesbos à Calais : Comment l'Europe fabrique des camps*, Lyon, Le Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », 2017, 130 pages

12. *Ibidem*

13. Emmaus Solidarité, *Les personnes exilées vulnérables hébergées au centre d'Ivry sur Seine*, publié le 17.07.2017

14. Practices and dispositifs of rejection over people on the move and displaced will be further explained and depicted by data in the dedicated chapter 3. On Hold, more specifically 3.2. Practices of rejection.

15. Foucault M., *Surveiller et punir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1975, 318 pages.

16. Tazzioli M., Which Europe? Migrants' uneven geographies and counter-mapping at the limits of representation, *Movements. Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung*, 2015

17. Libération, *Toutes les rues s'appellent « Calais »*, 03/05/2021

48°53'17.3"N 2°21'58.3"E / 16.02.2022

48°53'03.7"N 2°21'58.9"E / 16.02.2022

Former camp of Jardins d'Eole

Former camp of Place de la bataille de Stalingrad

The making of displacement

The framework of asylum and migration in Europe has been built around various policies and agreements[1] that have shaped throughout the years the image and complexity of the phenomena we experience nowadays[2]. In what follows, the main agreements and policies are briefly explained to unpack the position of Europe either in terms of humanitarian assistance or asylum policy, but also to frame the institutional and regulatory dimensions of France immigration and refugee assistance.

The Geneva Convention (12th August 1949) is probably the cornerstone of international humanitarian law, established to be applied in times of war and armed conflicts, seeking to protect people who are not or no longer taking part in hostilities. Consequently, asylum is a fundamental right and an international obligation for countries, as recognised in the 1951 Convention on the protection of refugees. In 1999, the European Council committed to work to a Common European Asylum System on the application of the former Convention, which led to the creation of the Tampere Programme and the adoption of several EU laws and legislative instruments. We therefore include: the Eurodac regulation, a biometric database to identify information of irregular migrants and their first country of arrival; the Temporary Protection Directive, exceptional measure to provide immediate and temporary protection to displaced persons from countries outside EU; the Reception of Asylum Seekers Directive, which ensures that applicants have right to housing, food, health care, and employment; the Qualification Directive and the Asylum Procedures Directive, responsible for displaying criteria for applicants to qualify for refugee status or subsidiary protection status; the Dublin regulation — established as a convention and then replaced by Dublin II (2003) and Dublin III (2013) —, determining the responsibility for the examination of asylum application to the migrant's first EU country of arrival[3]. Thus, these supranational dispositifs are then expressed and rearticulated on the national level, varying on country's specific regulation and administration.

From an overall perspective on the specific case, about 900,000

1. The supranational, national and local scales of these policies are unfolded in the diagram at page 48

2. For data and additional information on migration and transits in France look at the appendix at the end of this book.

3. European Commission - DG Migration and Home Affairs, Policies, Migration and Asylum, Common European Asylum System (https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system_fr)

foreigners are staying illegally on the French territory, according to Patrick Stefanini - former Secretary-General of the Ministry of Immigration[4]. Moreover, parliamentary information reports[5] referring to the department of Seine-Saint-Denis also highlight the massive scale of the phenomenon. According to the estimates of the interlocutors met by the rapporteurs, the number of illegal immigrants in this department alone would be between 150,000 and 400,000, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of people of foreign nationality who reside there legally.

Illegal immigration is largely based on the misuse of legal procedures - notably asylum. The asylum claim in France is examined by the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless people (OFPRA) which comes under the Ministry of Interiors. The application is submitted to the prefecture, which has a fundamental decision-making power since it manages the administrative statutes and carries out a first sorting between the applicants admitted to the status of asylum seekers and those who are not entitled to it. However, becoming an asylum seeker is not automatic: it is in fact mainly linked to the fact that the examination of the application falls, according to the Dublin regulation, to the first country of arrival into the European Union - traced through fingerprint biometrics at the borders. For asylum seekers, the OFPRA can decide to grant refugee status or temporary protection, and, in case of rejection, the applicants can appeal to the National Court for the Right to Asylum (CNDA). In the event of a new rejection, they can, in certain cases, request a re-examination of their file from the OFPRA. The number of requests, however, continues to grow strongly: +7.3% between 2018 and 2019, which makes France one of the most "attractive" European countries in this respect in 2019, with 154,620 requests recorded[6] against around 120 000 in Germany. Only 38.2% of these procedures resulted in a positive decision (recognition of refugee status or international protection): however, only 15% of expulsion measures pronounced were executed in 2018[7]. In other words, there is a stock of rejected asylum seekers who are not returned and stay.

Moreover, the problem of shelter also depends on the aforementioned procedures. In France, asylum seekers have a right, guaranteed by housing, access to care and financial assistance, since they are prohibited from working. Nevertheless, in practice, the number of available accommodations is much lower than the actual needs. In 2016, the reception system for asylum seekers (CADA) and the temporary emergency reception system made a total number of nearly 50,000 places according to the Ministry of the Interior, while, that same year, the OFPRA registered nearly 87,000 asylum applications[8]. In this context, we may then assume that nearly half of the asylum claimers on the French territory are left behind, out of spaces of normativity[9], in spaces of displacement.

4. Patrick Stefanini, *Immigration. Ces réalités qu'on nous cache*, Robert Laffont, 2020, 330 pages

5. *Rapport d'information sur l'évaluation de l'action de l'Etat dans l'exercice de ses missions régaliennes en Seine-Saint-Denis,* enregistré à la Présidence de l'Assemblée nationale le 31 mai 2018 (rapport CORNUT-GENTILLE-KOKOUENDO)

6. Ministère de l'Intérieur, « L'essentiel de l'immigration », 21 janv. 2020

7. Cour des comptes, *L'entrée, le séjour et le premier accueil des personnes étrangères*, 2020, p.150

8. Ofpra, *Rapport d'activité 2016*, Fontenay-sous-Bois, April 2017

9. Sassen, S., Neither global nor national: Novel assemblages of territory, authority and rights. *Ethics & Global Politics*, 2008

1.3.

Spaces of displacement

Practices of uninhabitability

The conceptual and epistemological debate on who is a refugee and how we can define common understandings on practices and spaces of forced migration and displacement is the fundamental incipience to decipher the sequences of a collective territorial system. De facto, the long tradition on refugee studies has often started by simultaneously comprehending origins and geopolitical and social contours of the phenomena and the ethical philosophical background to define the refugee and displaced condition. The ways through which these people are designated reveal a lot about their management and belonging to space: refugees, exiled, *displaced people*.
The term becomes particularly adequate analysing what Sharma refers to as the separation of Natives (autochthones) and Migrants (allochthones) in both colonies and metropoles, thus constituting the hegemony of nation-state power[1]. Therefore, including exceptionalities and excluding possibilities, this condition is the generator of the territorial division of the "people of place" and "people out of place", making migrants and refugees the stateless outsiders. The Article 1A(1) of the 1951 Convention applies the term 'refugee' to any person considered a refugee under earlier international arrangements. Then, Article 1A(2), now together with the 1967 Protocol, provides a more broaden definition of the term, designating "any person who is outside of their country of origin and unable or unwilling to return, due to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion". Stateless persons are also included in this definition, considering the term 'country of origin' not only as citizenship, but also as 'country of former habitual residence'. However, the definition does not fully include the multiple reasons that might push someone to move out of their country, especially those factors that more than others influence the current displacement and reinforce one another in complex ways[2]: intrastate conflicts account now among the main causes of involuntarily displacement. Iraq and Syria are the most dramatic cases within these dynamics[3], with violent and rapid displacements

occurring in latest years; poor governance and political instability, pushing people to seek security through internal displacement or outside national borders[4], as of the postelection violence in Kenya in 2007 or the Arab uprising in 2010; climate reasons, among the most interconnected factors of displacement and that is highly influencing current and potentially future migrations. Other than understanding the root causes of forced migration and displacement, it is essential to take into account timeframes and on-going conditions of refugees and people on the move, when studying spaces and practices of displacement.
As a matter of fact, among the most salient features of contemporary migration is the fact that refugees and people on the move are progressively subjected of wider patterns of either internal or transnational mobility[5]. The majority of refugees and internally displaced people are in conditions of protracted displacement, namely in situations where they find themselves in exile for more than five years, not able to return to their homes because of prosecution or aforementioned factors of displacement[6], and therefore in the constant position of being on the edge of an eternal wait. These dynamics follow the fundamental principle of *non-refoulement* that broadly prescribes that no refugee shall be returned for any reasons to a country where they would be at risk of prosecution, which is nowadays not only part of fundamental rights in international refugee law, but also an essential cornerstone of protection of human rights and a rule of conventional internal law[7]. Although the principle of non-refoulement is vital for the protection of refugees and guarantees their rights to housing and other necessities in their country of displacement, in practice, on the one hand, reception policies are often not able to respond proactively to long-term migration, and, on the other, this eternal condition of holding pushes further displacement, through self-protection strategies among refugees and IDPs, such as microscale displacement and makeshift practices of adaptation[8]. Paris is therefore a perfect example of such situations, with people held into eternal processes of asylum or illegitimacy as *dubliné.e.s*, namely under the regulation of Dublin III, forcing people to seek asylum in their first country of arrival and therefore declaring illegitimate presence of people in certain countries. People gravitating in this so-called infrastructure of holding are thus pushed to look for shelters and new ways to inhabit the public space, mostly relying on assistance from local independent associations. Consequently, looking at displaced people's spatial production through makeshift practices of inhabitability, does not only require understanding the backgrounds and crucial motivation of their routes, because people result in searching for protection for a multiplicity of reasons and through personal experiences that escape from the analytical formulation of data by academics or policymakers. The collective scenario

1. Sharma N., *Home Rule: National Sovereignty and the Separation of Natives and Migrants*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020

2. Zetter R., *Protection in Crisis. Forced Migration and Protection in a Global Era*, Migration Policy Institute, Washington D.C., 2015

3. Ruaudel H., *Armed Non-State Actors and Displacement in Armed Conflicts*, Geneva Call, Geneva, 2013

4. International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC) (edited by Roger Zetter), *World Disasters Report 2012: Focus on Forced Migration and Displacement*, IFRC, Geneva, 2012

5. Zetter R., *Protection in Crisis. Forced Migration and Protection in a Global Era*, Migration Policy Institute, Washington D.C., 2015

6. Loescher G., Milner J., Newman E., Troeller G. (Edited by), *Protracted Refugee Situations: Political, Human Rights and Security Implications*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo, New York, Paris, 2008

7. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh E., Loescher G., Long K., Sigona N. (Edited by), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016

8. Zetter R., *Protection in Crisis. Forced Migration and Protection in a Global Era*, Migration Policy Institute, Washington D.C., 2015 no. 1: 141, 2014 – 54, 2014

of adaptation and spatial deconstruction by people on the move, refugees or displaced encompasses various different past, present and future identities that can only be studied by an equally multiple and diversified methodology in linking causes, effects, and current dynamics of coexistence.

"Acknowledging this diversity is equally significant in order to ensure that studies and policies of, about, and for forced migrants recognize the agency of affected individuals and groups, even in contexts of extreme violence, oppression, and control. Indeed, beyond academics', policymakers', and practitioners' analyses, forced migrants themselves are, of course, active agents, who represent their own and others' experiences of displacement through diverse means, including through refugee- and IDP-produced media"[9].

In this regard, borders and hostile strategies to tackle the so-called migration crisis enclose the central contradiction of the transnational spaces and practices they experience during their routes, being transnationalism referred as the multiple interactions associating institutions or people across and over the frontiers of nation-states. Consequently, being the links from both sides of the migrants and receptor, the diaspora lies between the homeland and reception community of the displaced individual, blurring their belonging to the local and to the identity[10]. In fact, the allusion to the stateless individual is inherent in the definition of the displaced person, it is therefore precisely through its spatialization that this phenomenon becomes relevant. Judith Butler's intuition seems particularly adequate to whom, losing the protection and - I add - the right to space, live in a greater power dictated by a programmed life, managed and, more precisely, displaced[11]. Many refugees and migrants live in a sort of indefinite settlements, in the condition of not being able – either voluntarily or not – to live in the political space yet being part of the physical one. To cite Saskia Sassen[12], not taking part in the normative density of the neoliberal European 21st-century city, these corps are expulsed from the political space of the city, but they are still there, necessarily generating some forms of spatial violence. The corps of refugees and migrants personify then the state of exception[13], deprived of the possibility to assume full citizenship – eventually, even when they succeed in their asylum claim –, thus relegated to the indifference of the physical and conceptual borders in which they are forced to live.

9. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh E., Loescher G., Long K., Sigona N. (Edited by), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016 , p. 30

10. Alfonso, C., Kokot, W., & Tölölyan, K. *Diaspora, identity and religion.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2004

11. Butler J., *Who sings the nation state*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007, 128 pages

12. Sassen S., Neither global nor national: Novel assemblages of territory, authority, and rights. *Ethics & Global Politics*, 2008

13. Agamben G., *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1998, 225 pages

"Reducing them to bare life (Agamben, 1998; Agier, 2008), refugees are victims twice over: of the profound instability that forces them to leave their countries of origin and of the sovereign power exercised by humanitarian organisations in the camps often involving policing control instead of social protection. […] Leaving refugees in a constant state of uncertainty (either in camps or when they are relocated to destination countries which were not of their choosing and lack the structured mechanisms to facilitate their social insertion) corresponds to Agamben's notion of a constant state of exception: a liminality prompted by policy (in)definition and inaction"[14].

Placing these assumptions in the case of the urban space production and use, the general concept of the right to the city and the contrast that arises between citizen and inhabitant emerge. We might refer then to the "right to the city" in which Lefebvre questions the rights of urban citizens: do inhabitants have the same right to the city as citizens?[15]. He, therefore, argues that it is not the citizenship, but "the everyday experience of inhabiting the city that entitles one to a right to the city", being it the "set in motion when inhabitants decide to rise up and reclaim space in the city, when they assert use value over exchange value, encounter over consumption, interaction over segregation, free activity and play over work"[16]. In some ways, paraphrasing Lefebvre, people who transit, by claiming right to space through elaborating strategies to unfold inhabitability in the city, encompass the same right of those who are legally entitled as residents. However, although the conceptual validity of this assertion, the real scenario is made up of people constantly trying to find new ways to protect themselves from eviction and public hostility, , in a context of progressive privatisation of public spaces and subsequent differential inclusion of certain categories of people.
Being deprived of the political space, yet present in the physical one, the refugees or people on the move themselves are therefore forced to find strategies to inhabit the city and dwell their spaces. "Building uninhabitable places," Boano and Astolfo argue, "is the negation of the historical a priori of architecture: to inhabit"[17]. The migration phenomena, among other forms of marginality and exclusion, play a remarkable role in reshaping the social map of the city, as defined by Lefebvre, especially if we set their practices into the vicious cycle of producer and receiver of transnational urban spaces. Hence, through different practices of appropriation of space across the city, the inhabitants are therefore building the public space, subverting its norms, limitations, and reshaping the apparent selective uninhabitability[18] of the city.

14. Sacramento O., Silva P.G., Challinor E., *Quest for Refuge. Reception responses from the global north*, Edições Húmus, Vilarinho Das Cambas, 2021, pg. 19-20

15. Lefebvre Henri, *Writings on Cities*, edited by E. Kofman and E. Lebas. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996

16. Purcell M., "Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City.", *Journal of Urban Affairs 36*, no. 1: 141, 2014 – 54, 2014

17. Boano C. and Astolfo G., "Inhabitation as More-Than-Dwelling. Notes for a Renewed Grammar.", *International Journal of Housing Policy 20*, no. 4: 555 – 77, 2020 (pg. 556)

18. Simone A., "The Uninhabitable?", *Cultural Politics 12*, no. 2: 135 – 54, 2016

to space, deconstructs again the bordered order of the separation between public and private, accessible, and inaccessible or us and them, both in urban management and collective imaginaries.

Spaces of uninhabitability

The migration phenomena, as well as the interactions of the – either virtually or not – modern society, is spatialised in the territory in what we might refer as a model of transnational urbanism, notably the sociocultural and political processes and spaces by which actors forge connections between localities across national frontiers. Nevertheless, these dynamics coexist, on the one hand, with the uncertain and opaque marginalisation of the displaced people, and, on the other, with a spatial system entrenched on boundaries and political liminal spaces. The imaginaries of the contemporary city, often described as an archipelago of fluid spaces, crossed by constant flows and primary representation of the transnational space, therefore implode when those spaces and relations do not function as intended, plunging into crisis, and revealing its flaws[1]. This is the case of most of the makeshift camps and spaces of refuge analysed in the Greater Paris area: Porte de la Chapelle is an infrastructural hub, where different mobility systems encounter and gather a great number of daily commuters, passing through for only a couple of minutes. It is a place of different levels, passages and surfaces which accordingly generate a series of liminalities and wastelands that remain unsolved in the precise and calculated system of the city. This place falls into crisis in the moment in which people are forced to inhabit it, deconstructing its primary function as space of transit and reassembling its legacies of shelter and support – as of the several associations that acts in these liminal area of the city –. Examples of this kind are several, from Delphine Seyrig to Porte d'Aubervilliers, Cheval Noir, La Marseillaise or even Stalingrad. These are all spaces that were not initially conceived to be inhabited, but rather to be traversed, where the efforts of the urban and architectural design have rather focused on the efficiency of their transports and connections. At the same time, this schizophrenic condition of fluid spaces is the case of most of the public areas where refugees, people on the move and homeless find a refuge to set up their tents. In parks, squares, and pavements around the city, turning public areas into shelters, subverting in some ways the public sphere to claim right

1. Hilal, S., Petti, A. *Permanent temporariness*. New York University Abu Dhabi Art Gallery, Abu Dhabi, 2018

"In order to be accepted in foreign countries, refugees are expected to constantly perform the role of the "perfect guest." Access to public space is thus a challenge. Turning private spaces, such as the living room, into social and political arenas, is often a response to this limitation of political agency in the public realm. Located between the domestic and the public, *al madafeh* **is the Arabic term for the room dedicated to hospitality. It is the part of the private house that has the potential to subvert the relationship between guest and host, and give diferent political and social meanings to the act of hospitality. Al madafeh opens itself to the foreigner, the outsider"[2].**

At the same time, the border itself constitutes a spatial dimension, being it not a mere line, but a border space – the grenzraum[3], materialised in the border, a margin that is a zone constituted by an infinity of punctual elements – characterised by the interconnection and conflict between the two localities and identities of the bordering territories. As a buffer zone, the border space, therefore, takes its form from the bordering territories, implying that in order to study it one should first analyse its fundamental principle[4], being it the state, the city, or the neighbourhood. Everything that traverses this liminal space is then somehow equally separate, categorised, simultaneously inside and outside the physical space and its normativity; correspondingly, the border itself changes depending by whom it is traversed[5]. Consequently, the border space is the epistemic element – or, citing Sassen (2007), "heuristic space"[6] –, generator of the multiple and subjective gazes through which the territory can be analysed. It is precisely through this controversial reflection that the border space, being it the separation between states or merely the urban liminalities of unsolved legacies, is the backbone of differential inclusion practices that enable dynamics of reception or exclusion of the so-called *indésirables*[7].

2. *Ibidem*

3. Ratzel F., *Anthropogeographie,* Engelhorn, Stuttgart, 1899

4. Febvre L., *Das Gewissen des Historikers*, Wagenbach, Berlin, 1988

5. Petti A., *Arcipelaghi e enclave. Architettura dell'ordinamento spaziale contemporaneo*, Mondadori, Milan, 2007

6. Sassen S., *Una sociologia della globalizzazione*, Einaudi, Torino, 2007

7. Agier M., *Gérer les indésiderables. Des camps de réfugiés au gouvernement humanitaire*, Flammarion, Paris, 2008

"The border machine is interactive architecture: it changes depending on the citizenship of the person who crosses over it. As a prototype of biopolitical architecture, maybe in its purest form, it becomes porous depending on the nation it belongs to: it constructs

and deconstructs itself depending on the relationship that each individual has with the state; a regulating device that mediates between birth and nationhood"[8].

As argued, as of the concurrent insufficient spaces of reception offered by the city and the urgency of people to find collective shelter thus creating makeshift camps, the strategy in place in the latest years is that of pushing camps and migrants outside. This leads then to the question "out of what?": being the term strongly dependent to an ever-changing polarity, we may assume that the strategy is therefore keeping people at the borders, in the constant state of being at the edge, of being placeless.

To analyse the nowadays situation, the active consultation of articles, fieldwork and inspection have been carried out to keep the research constantly updated on the makeshift camps in the Greater Paris area. The observation of the dispersed camps and the collaboration with associations active in the area made it possible to reconstruct a non-exhaustive analysis of the situation of dispersion of migrant bodies in the Grand Paris area. In fact, the research does not claim to provide a complete account of the territory analysed, rather it presents itself as an assembly of issues, dynamics and gazes aimed at understanding the spaces, rather than describing them. Looking at these marginal spaces in the contemporary city generated by dominant relations driven by capital interests and concurrently the practices elaborated by people on the move to deconstruct set boundaries, requires gaining knowledge of the different legacies and potential sequences of this infrastructure of resistance. At the same time, the condition itself of refugees and displaced persons, constituted of an assembly of different identities and stories of dispossession, transit and adaptation, demands an analysis of the territory that does not unfold nor as a linear, neither as a circular process, but rather as a patchwork of multiple sequences of reassembling set realities.

In what follows, the diagram precisely explains the relations and contradictions between the political framework of asylum and forced migration, the scenario of the contemporary neoliberal 21st century urban system and the experiences of refugees and displaced people in coping with their condition by makeshift practices of inhabitation. Within this context, the state of exception embodied by migrant bodies in a city formed by spaces of conflicts between reception and rejection reveals the flaws of this fictional and differential inclusive transnational identity, plunging into crisis. However, this exact dynamics are able to reflect on contemporary space production and the need to imagine new patterns of reframed borders, informalities, localities and identities.

8. Petti A., *Arcipelaghi e enclave. Architettura dell'ordinamento spaziale contemporaneo*, Mondadori, Milan, 2007, pg. 77-78. Here, Petti refers to national borders as interactive architecture of differential inclusion. Although this is particularly adequate when looking at the frontier – in this case, the French-Italian one –, looking at the context of Paris, the liminalities of Porte de la Chapelle, Delphine Seyrig, Porte d'Aubervilliers and many others seem to embody the same dimension of rejection and reception based on identities and political status of people transiting through them.

48°52'04.9"N 2°21'48.5"E / 08/12/2021

Spaces of refuge in Place de la République

Geneva Convention (1949)
Applied in times of war and armed conflicts, seeking to protect
people who are not or no longer taking part in hostilities.

Common European Asylum System (1999)
Eurodac Regulation
Temporary Protection Directive
Reception of Asylum Seekers Directive
Qualification Directive
Asylum Procedures Directive
Dublin III regulation

Supranational

French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless people (OFPRA)
Manages the administrative statutes, carrying out a first sorting between the applicants
admitted to the status of asylum seekers and those who do not are entitled to it.

National Court for the Right to Asylum (CNDA)
Manages re-examinations of refugee status or temporary protection in case of migrants'
appeal subsequent of rejection from OFPRA

Reception system for asylum seekers (CADA)
Applicants' right to housing, access to care and financial assistance

National

Centre d'hébergement d'urgence pour migrants (CHUM)
Temporary reception system of asylum applicants until they are granted of permanent
solution. Paris: Centre de Paris-Ivry, managed by the association Emmaus solidarité

La Halte humanitaire
Receives and informs applicants on their status, manages hygenic necessities, offers
french language courses and coordinates contributions of local associations

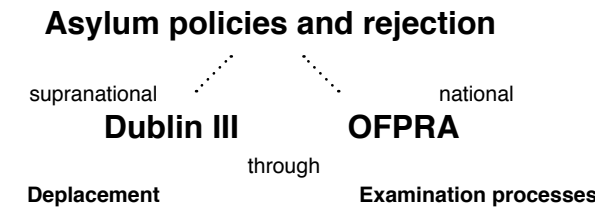**Hébergement citoyen. Solidarity network of associations**
Coordinates maraudes (food distribution), private reception, legal assistance, hygenic
necessities, psychologic assistance. Generally supported by the municipality.

Local

POLITICAL DIMENSION

Asylum policies and rejection

supranational   national

Dublin III   **OFPRA**

through

Deplacement   **Examination processes**

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION

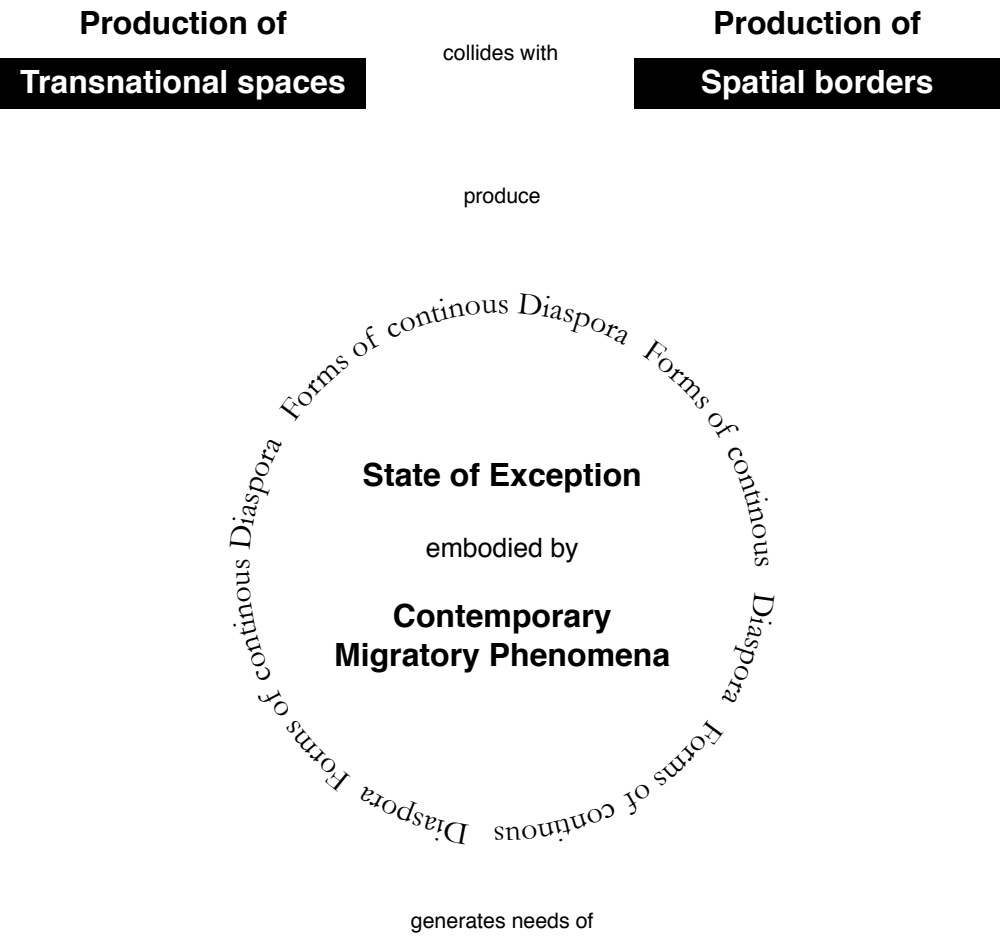### Neoliberal contemporary city
enacting *normative density*

produces

Practices of differential management

SPATIAL DIMENSION

Production of
Transnational spaces

collides with

Production of
Spatial borders

produce

Forms of continous Diaspora

State of Exception

embodied by

**Contemporary
Migratory Phenomena**

generates needs of

NEW PATTERNS OF SPACE PRODUCTION

which requires reframing

BORDERS   **INFORMALITY**   **LOCALITY**   **IDENTITY**

BORDERS	INFORMALITY	LOCALITY	IDENTITY
Strenghten dynamics of transnational urbanism, practices of community development across nation-states limits	Exploration and integration of forms of informal practices in the urban discourse. Embrace temporariness	Refusing universal practices of urbanity and enhance context and local dynamics	Reconfinguration of national settlement assumptions, reinforcing diversity

This research illustrates the spaces of displacement encompassing the specific case – and adequate for the analysed case studies of Paris and the French-Italian border – of the makeshift camp[9]. Over the past decades there has been a growing number of scholars dealing with the development of refugee camps, the analysis of its architecture of confinement and ethical problems[10]. However, the expansion of refugee camps has also brought research to rethink these spaces as city-like[11], thus as a scenography of complex social management, economic activities, and humanitarian assistance. In other words, whether camps can include forms of urbanity and could be seen as becoming more and more cities in their own[12]. Associating the camp and the city is the recognition that most refugees and displaced people in Europe are in fact not living in camps but in cities, as stated clearly by the aforementioned numbers of the difference between people welcomed in structured of reception and displaced people in France. Therefore, migrants and refugees in cities inhabit slums, wastelands, liminal spaces between different municipalities or between the legal and the illegal, constantly reshaping functions and legitimacy of urban spaces. This is reflected by several of the exposed areas in this thesis, such as Porte de la Chapelle, Delphine Seyrig, Cheval Noir, SoiXante AdaDa, La Marseillaise, l'Ambassade des Immigré.e.s and many more, not only from a material perspective – namely through physical urban features that define possible conditions of shelter –, but also reconstructing the boundaries of accessibility and coexistence. L'*Ambassade des Immigré.e.s*, for example, is a squat in Paris developed from the occupation of a vacant building on 18th April 2022, by the local association *La Chapelle debout!*. Refugees, displaced people and the volunteers have transformed an abandoned building into a makeshift experience of reception, providing a shelter for those – either undocumented people or not – who had been forced to live in the streets. Since then, both the association and the inhabitants occupy illegally the building, with any other suitable alternative proposed by the municipality, gravitating in a constant condition of blurred legitimacy, yet disposing of a place to rest, gather, self-care and secure. The growing interest in linking the camp and the city has therefore been mainly dealt regarding the urbanisation of camps, while it is relatively more recent and less debated the analysis of cities becoming encampments, in the way displaced people inhabit its spaces and the consequent reaction of police control and humanitarian assistance. According to Martin, Minca and Katz, makeshift camps are temporary and ephemeral dwellings made by people in transit – "on the move" – that reflect the precarious essence of their condition and their need for shelter. From a more broaden perspective, practices of makeshift and thus subversion of apparent uninhabitability of certain public spaces and legacies in cities have been emerging these latest years

as new feature of the urban, reframing set identities and belongings by informal dynamics of resistance.

"These camps are usually made of basic tents and flimsy shelters built out of simple materials available on site such as cardboard sheets, blankets and sleeping bags, and/or nylon and tarpaulin sheets stretched over a frame made of timber studs or branches collected locally. When these camps grow, and their existence prolongs ... local charities and international humanitarian agencies often step in to provide basic amenities such as water tanks and portable toilets, while minor and more isolated camps are often dependent on smugglers who create and run them"[13].

At the same time, Sanyal pointed out an important feature of these type of camps, which is particularly evident in many of the analysed territories: while these settlements are in essence unplanned and unmanaged and rely on collective trust between the inhabitants, they "incorporate spatial features and governmental practices similar to 'camps,' such as forms of screening and policing of residents, but without the formal legitimacy granted to them either through the state or humanitarian organizations"[14]. Within this frame then entering and studying the camps was challenging in practice and also in terms of ethical manners. Not only was the sense of being out of place constantly permanent in engaging with these makeshift spaces, as if entering in spaces dwelled by those people signified entering spaces possessed by them; but also, the blurred threshold between what is considered legal and illegal or accessible or not. At the same time, as stated by Minca in providing methodologies to study these camps[15], entering makeshift camps is often possible through voluntary aid managed by associations, which was exactly the case for me through the collaboration with Solidarité Migrants Wilson. However, the position and assistance of the volunteering associations are also substantially influenced by prior knowledge on refugee politics[16], which often makes it difficult to understand how spatial hierarchies – social organisation and management – really functions in the camp. Finally, another methodological limitation has been the extremely temporary condition of these camps, not only because they witness the constant possibility to be suddenly evicted by the municipality and law enforcement – often without really disposing of receptive structures to host integrally people in the camps –, but also because makeshift camps are transient, with constantly new people arriving and

9. For data and additional information on makeshift camps and informal places of inhabitation in France look at the appendix at the end of this book.

10. Sanyal R., Refugees and the City: An Urban Discussion, *Geography Compass* 6/11: 633–644, 10.1111/gec3.12010, 2012

11. Malkki, L. H. (2002). News from nowhere. *Ethnography* 3 (3), pp. 351–360.

12. Agier, M., Between war and city: towards an urban anthropology of refugee camps. *Ethnography* 3 (3), pp. 317–341., 2002

13. Martin, D., Minca, C., & Katz, I., Rethinking the camp: on spatial technologies of power and resistance. *Progress in Human Geography*, 44, 743–768, 2020

14. Sanyal, R., A no-camp policy: interrogating informal settlements in Lebanon. *Geoforum*, 84, 117–125, 2017

15. Minca C. Makeshift camp methodologies along the Balkan Route. *Area* 2021;00:1–9, 2021

16. Sandri, E. 'Volunteer Humanitarianism': volunteers and humanitarian aid in the Jungle refugee camp of Calais. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44, 65–80, 2018

people leaving. Makeshift camps are in most cases made by people who wait for a revaluation of asylum claim or people wishing to keep their route somewhere else, then studying these places means incorporating their precariousness and mainly analysing the left legacies and spaces. People inhabiting them are therefore people on the move and in the margin: such condition questions both the framework of inclusion and hospitality as well as the one of integration and settlement. This ambivalence is the core.

Under these theoretical and analytical frames, the research and reports of the investigations carried out, appear as a scattered and messy patchwork of spaces and situations linked one to the other by recurrent notions such as opacity or informality. The research attempt has in fact been to describe the different places with different methodologies of counter-mapping, through narrations, photography and drawings, which are "at the same time a cartographic experiment and a theoretical-epistemic perspective that foregrounds and keeps memory of spaces that are invisibilised and whose traces get lost"[17].

"I head towards the Paris border, by now migrants are no longer in the city, constantly moved and pushed out of the Périphérique, constantly bouncing from one prefecture to the other. At the end of Parc de la Villette I begin to see a settlement, five tents under a bridge. I proceed towards Pantin and I see ten more tents under the highway bridge. I wonder how many people are living here and for how long. I stop, the people around me continue their Sunday walk, jogging, talking, laughing. I think of this ambiguous coexistence, where is the boundary?"

(Field Diary, 17/10/2021)

On 17th and 24th of October 2021 a first inspection has been carried out in the north-east area of the city of Paris and surrounding municipalities, namely the neighbourhoods of - in order of inspection -: Hoche (Pantin), Porte de Pantin (Paris 19), la Villette (Paris 19), Porte de la Chapelle (Paris 18), Porte d'Aubervilliers (Paris 18), Aubervilliers, Porte de la Villette (Paris 19). Throughout the territories analysed, it is evident that the informal occupation methods of the space are diversified and dispersed, yet people inhabiting it tend to equally aggregate in small groups covering sheltered space under bridges or any other possibility of refuge. To unify all the observed situations is the nature of the places, the quay of the canal and the river, the spaces under the bridges or in the proxim-

17. Tazzioli, M., T*he making of migration*. London: Sage, 2020

ity of the motorway, generally liminal spaces between public and private action, and characterised by the ambiguous ambivalence of their accessibility. More generally interstices that can allow not only possibilities of shelter, but also that guarantee people's invisibility. However, two situations of settlement have been detected in this first inspection: along the Ourcq canal, entrance to Parc de la Villette from Pantin; in Porte de la Villette, along the Boulevard Périphérique.

"I found out about Bercy through an article in Le Parisien, saying that two migrants had been attacked in the park, a few days after Zemmour's xenophobic speech[18]. In Bercy I find another makeshift camp: about 40 tents scattered throughout the park, sometimes in a row, aggregated. There is a lot of wind and I wonder if these people have enough to shelter, I wonder again how many there are[19]. The park Bercy is a large open space, with an important presence of spontaneous vegetation, a large roof that has become a skatepark and therefore a refuge for the people inhabiting it; it is generally very quiet today, not many people walk around it. I understand well why these people have chosen to stay here; I understand how they can feel sheltered, not excessively visible. At the same time, I know, through the data collected and the meeting with Elisabeth Essaian[20], that the 12th arrondissement has always been particularly active on the cause and many solidarity networks operate right here".

(Field Diary, 10/12/2021)

On the 10th of December 2021 a second inspection was done in the Parc de Bercy, at the eastern periphery of Paris, near the Gare de Lyon, on the northern bank of the river Seine. This case reported then a different scenario: not only the refugees and migrants have been able to settle in a public park inside the Paris municipality, but they are also clearly visible, compared to the case of the Canal de l'Ourcq. Moreover, compared to the context of Delphine Seyrig in Pantin, tents are more diffuse in the park, as if the green limits of the park represented the barriers of the makeshift camp and displaced people inhabited the space much more individually and preserving each other's private space and individuality. It is however evident that this situation will not be able to persist long and, as a matter of fact, the makeshift camp will be evacuated a few days after my visit, with people sheltered temporarily in reception structures.

18. *Paris : deux réfugiés agressés au sabre sur un campement à Bercy*, une enquête ouverte, Le Parisien, 08/12/2021

19. A few days later I discover that it was 331 people, through an article on the platform Infomigrants, in which the evacuation of the camp was denounced (Paris: 331 migrants évacués d'un campement du 12e arrondissement, *Infomigrants*, 15.12.2021)

20. ENSA de Paris-Belleville, UMR AUSser, *Rendre visibles les nouvelles réponses architecturales aux précarités urbaines. A l'école des situations « informelles »*, Sous la direction de Élisabeth Essaïan et Laetitia Overney, 2021
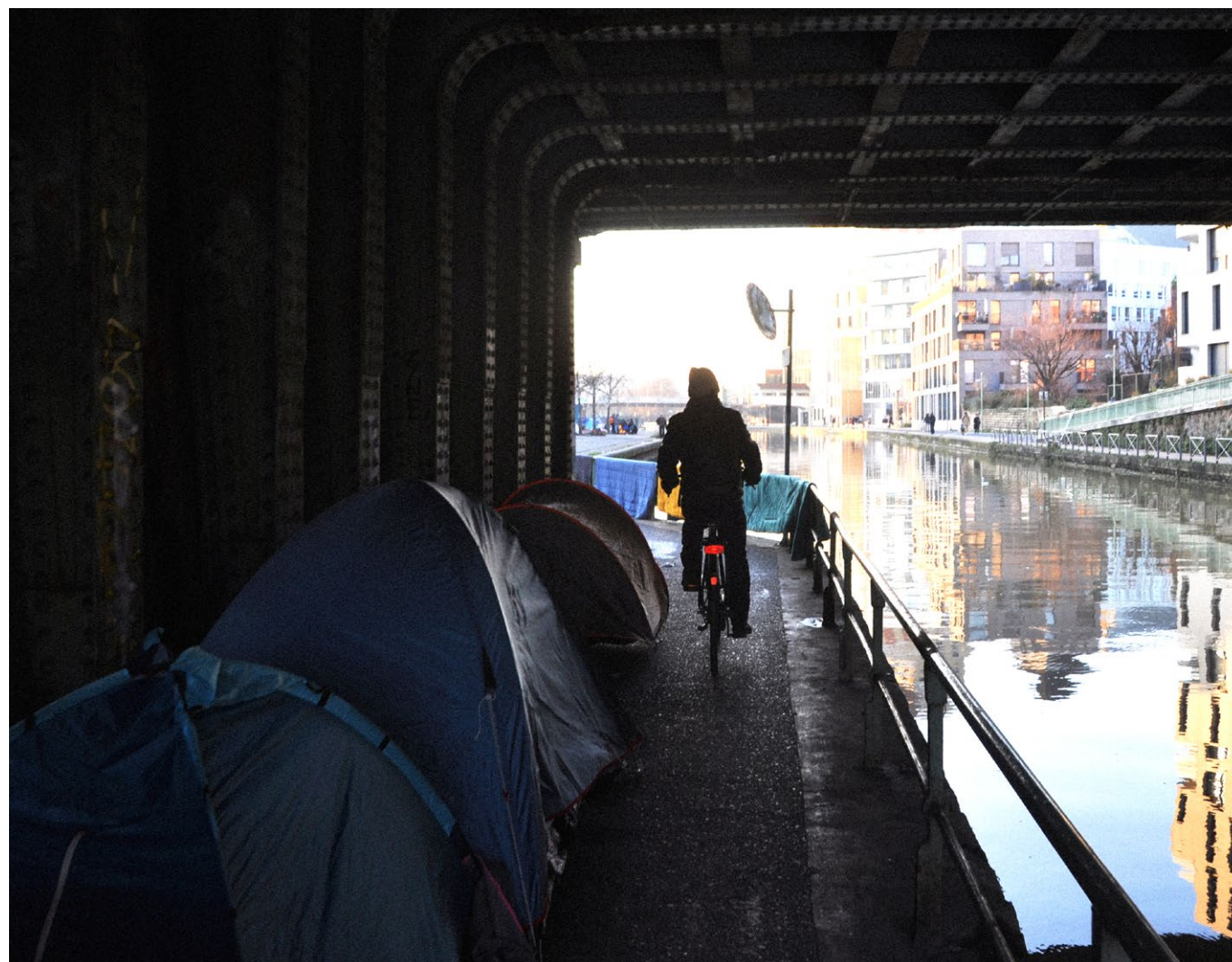
48°53'45.1"N 2°24'04.4"E / 13/01/2022

Makeshift camp in Delphine Seyrig under Pantin's town hall bridge

The opaque presence of migrant bodies in the urban space returns, primarily linked to the intention itself of mobility for people in transit and consciousness of their illegitimacy. At the same time, this dynamics are enhanced and legitimized by the state through displacement as a controlled dispositif of opacification[21]. The result of these observations is therefore a patchwork of fragmented and scattered situations of settlement that cannot be analysed in detail and separately one from the other. It therefore seemed inevitable the need to think not of different 'case studies' and understanding their difficulties, but rather to investigate what relationships and axialities are created not only between the places of migration but also in the migratory subjects themselves. What the migrant does to the territory and what the territory does to the migrant: how this ambivalent relationship creates new features of urban and rural spatial production?

After these two primordial inspections in the former makeshift camps, access and analysis of the subsequent camps formed in the capital have become easier and substantially more frequent – generally twice a week, on Thursday evenings and Saturday mornings – due to collaboration with local associations for food distribution and outreach. Although entering the camp through the volunteer assistance has in some ways made inevitable to look at the makeshift through the lens of association policies and assistance and therefore distorted the actual representation of the camp, it has instead made possible to study it from very closely and comprehend necessities and limitations, trying to decipher hierarchies and spatial connotations of the camps. Through the following pages examples of spaces of displacement are provided, encompassing the notions of makeshift, opacity and resistance that shape them yet engaging with recurring forms of collective past and future imaginations. In the analysis of Greater Paris and the French-Italian border I have chosen to make visible three experiences among makeshift camps, squats, or spaces of reception. This is therefore only a small selection of the several spaces of displacement observed throughout this year and that are dispersedly reported in the whole thesis[22]. The decision behind this selection is not only based on practical manners, namely the duration of the makeshift camp, possibilities to enter or connections with the volunteering at Wilson, but also on the aim to provide knowledge of different scenarios, sequences and timeframes of the welcoming city, *la ville accueillante*[23]. What is left of migrants' spaces indicates looking at legacies of evicted camps, but also sedimented practices that could occur again any time. Hence, places extremely reconstructed by migratory legacies (Porte de la Chapelle), present makeshift modes of inhabiting the public space (Delphine Seyrig), and informal experiences of reception (Soixante Adada) permit to decipher the multiple scattered sequences of the infrastructure of holding[24].
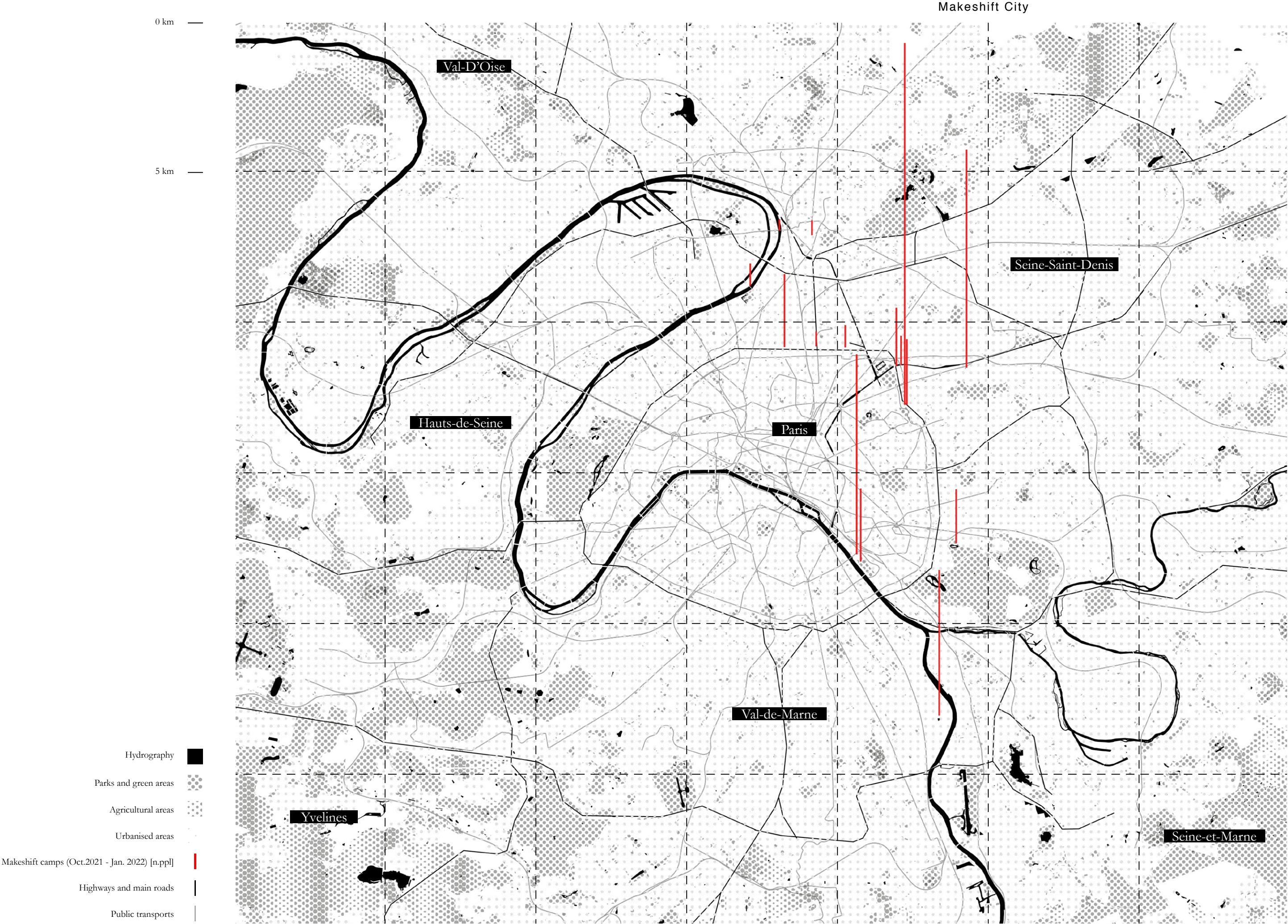
21. 15. Tazzioli M., Which Europe? Migrants' uneven geographies and counter-mapping at the limits of representation, *Movements. Journal für kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung*, 2015

22. Such as (to mention a few) Cheval Noir, La Marseillaise, Porte d'Aubervilliers, Porte de Clignancourt, l'Ambassade des Immigré.e.s, in the territory of Greater Paris. Le Camping, Les Lucioles, Balzi Rossi, the station of Ventimiglia, in the territory of the French-Italian border.
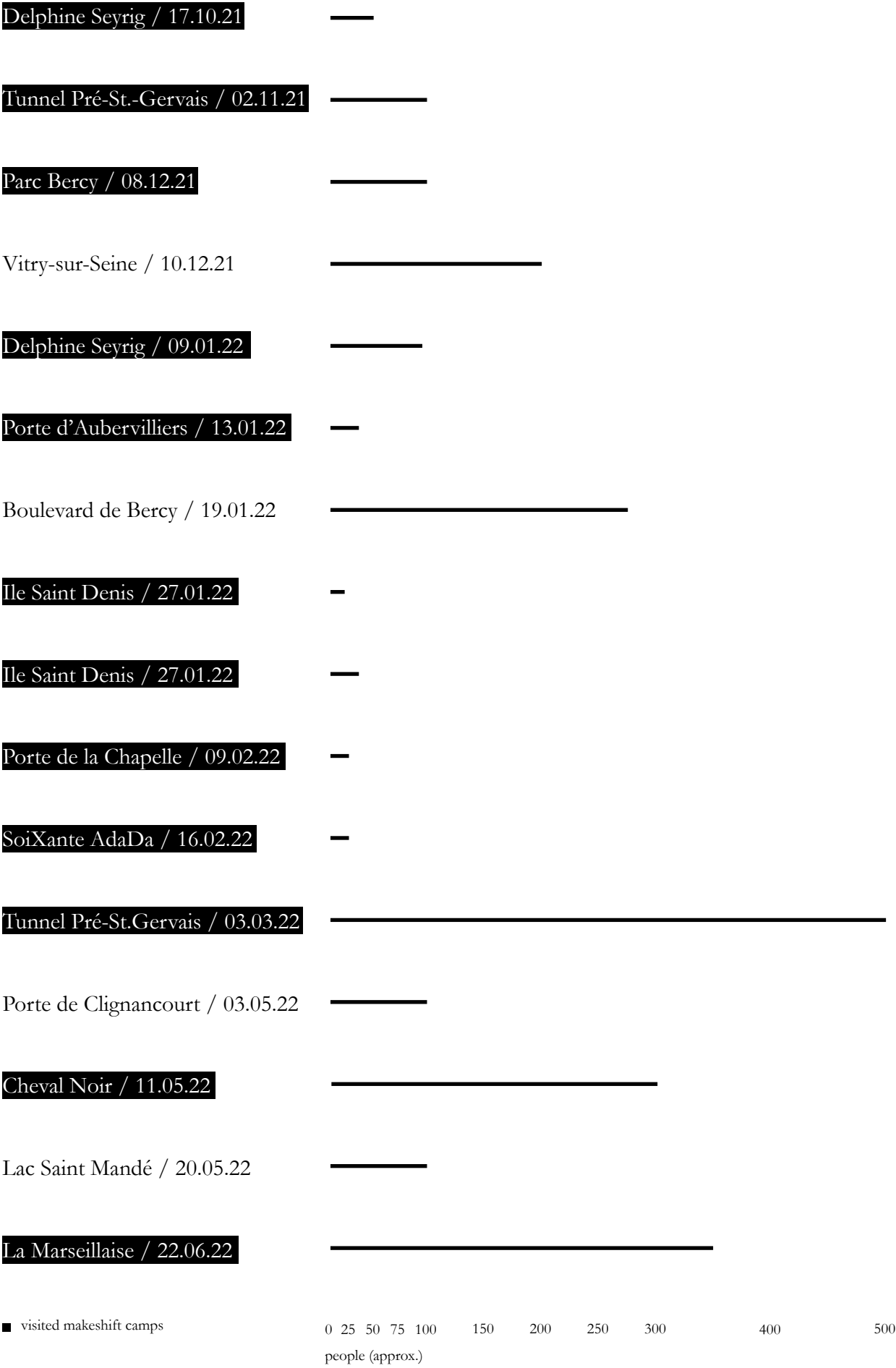
23. Hanappe C. (directed by), *La ville accueillante - Accueillir à Grande-Synthe : questions théoriques et pratiques sur les exilés, l'architecture et la ville,* Editions du PUCA, collection Recherche n°236, Paris, 2018, 528 p.

24. Conceptual features and materialities of the so-called infrastructure of holding will be further explained and depicted by data in the entire dedicated chapter 3. On Hold, with examples of sedimented practices occuring in makeshift camps and situations of reception.

MAKESHIFT CAMPS / OCTOBER 2021 - JUNE 2022

Val-D'Oise

Seine-Saint-Denis

Hauts-de-Seine

Paris

Val-de-Marne

Yvelines

Seine-et-Marne

Hydrography

Parks and green areas

Agricultural areas

Urbanised areas

Makeshift camps (Oct.2021 - Jan. 2022) [n.ppl]

Highways and main roads

Public transports

0 km

5 km

Delphine Seyrig / 17.10.21

Tunnel Pré-St.-Gervais / 02.11.21

Parc Bercy / 08.12.21

Vitry-sur-Seine / 10.12.21

Delphine Seyrig / 09.01.22

Porte d'Aubervilliers / 13.01.22

Boulevard de Bercy / 19.01.22

Ile Saint Denis / 27.01.22

Ile Saint Denis / 27.01.22

Porte de la Chapelle / 09.02.22

SoiXante AdaDa / 16.02.22

Tunnel Pré-St.Gervais / 03.03.22

Porte de Clignancourt / 03.05.22

Cheval Noir / 11.05.22

Lac Saint Mandé / 20.05.22

La Marseillaise / 22.06.22

■ visited makeshift camps

0 25 50 75 100   150   200   250   300   400   500

people (approx.)

MAKESHIFT CAMPS / OCTOBER 2021 - JUNE 2022

Delphine Seyrig / 17.10.21

Tunnel Pré-Saint-Gervais / 02.12.21

Parc de Bercy / 08.12.21

Cheval Noir / 23.04.22

Porte de Clignancourt / 01.05.22

La Marseillaise / 20.06.22

1.4.

What is left of migrants' spaces?

To analyse the different spaces of displacement explained above, the research explores three makeshift inhabitations in the Great Parisian area. The purpose, however, is not to catalogue a series of spaces and provide an exhaustive analysis, nor does it intend to study their architectural and territorial characteristics; rather, the intention in using them is in the investigation of the different axialities generated around the spaces. By axiality I therefore mean the historical, territorial, social relations that the different places of reception and rejection keep generating, thus demonstrating the strong belonging to the territory of spaces and bodies of displacement. Looking at the different ecologies that situations of displacement produce in the urban sphere permits then to raise questions about the interdependency between the capital and dominant relations that are the basis of the contemporary spatial production and the establishment of makeshift resistances and necessities to subvert the uninhabitability of certain spaces of the city.

The main tool of analysis of the following territories is personal and sensible experience, through fieldwork and different modes of representation carried out from October 2021 until July 2022. A preliminary knowledge of the places has been conducted through various individual inspections from the very beginning of the establishment of the makeshift camp – for Delphine Seyrig and SoiXante AdaDa –, the collaboration with local association to food distribution and outreach or interview to associations managing the solidarity actions – such as that with Les Midis du Mie in SoiXante AdaDa. Representational modes are therefore equally various, manipulating photography, axonometric and plan drafting and diagrams to escape from a narrative dimension and describe the experiences through the spectrum of space production and analysis yet privileging a countermapping approach[1].

The mentioned migrants' spaces are only a selection of an archipelago of either punctual or dense aggregation of displaced persons in the territory, they therefore do not pretend to explain the phenomena in detail, rather study it through different oriented gazes. Porte de la Chapelle, Delphine Seyrig and SoiXante AdaDa are then three examples manifesting both the very similar dynamics that characterise the establishment of makeshift camps and the different infrastructures that displacements create in the urban sphere, thus blurring the conventional conflict between the camp and the city.

Porte de la Chapelle arises various questions about the origin of certain place attachments of displaced persons and the genealogies they create. Furthermore, it equally highlights the strong relation between the placeless condition of migrants and refugees and the spaces they are forced – voluntarily or induced – to inhabit. The intertwining of the massive presence of the infrastructures generating very opaque and undefined wastes, the condition of being on the edge and the very blurred position in terms of what is accessible or prohibited, what is private or public: all these configurations are the spatial reflections of the ever-lasting status of waiting that displaced persons embody.

While Porte de la Chapelle might represent the image of what is left of migrants' spaces, emphasizing how different occupations and evictions have shaped the space both in its materiality and collective imagination, Delphine Seyrig and SoiXante Adada show very recent makeshift camps in public and private spaces. Delphine Seyrig is the name of the makeshift camp that formed at the border between Paris and Pantin from October 2021 and was definitely evacuated in January 2022, with a subsequent new aggregation establishing further from Paris in the new camp of Cheval Noir. Delphine Seyrig permits to identify not only the place attachment described in Porte de la Chapelle by a current situation and look further at the spatial ecologies and materiality of a makeshift camp, but also how gatherings arise potentialities of ever-lasting reproductions by the holding infrastructure generated by simultaneous practices of rejection and reception[2]. At the same time, it equally responds to the question of what is left of migrants' spaces by showing the resistances of displaced persons in inhabiting uninhabitable spaces and imagining futures, through the legacies of the former camp. Finally, SoiXante Adada encompasses a completely distinct example, namely of an informal reception centre created by the collaboration of actions of solidarity and empty private spaces. In this sense, the reception is included in the notion of makeshift camp comprehending the condition of ephemerality, precariousness and temporality that are equally manifested in the experiences in the public space. Within this context, then, also SoiXante Adada is central in questioning the dualism of conventional spaces as an illustration of a blurred liminality between the accessible/prohibited, public/private or camp/city.

Three sequences of an infrastructure of practices of hospitality in a hostile urbanity, legacies of resistance and possible coexistence.

1. Tazzioli, M., T*he making of migration*. London: Sage, 2020 and Tazzioli, M., Which Europe?: Migrants' uneven geographies and counter-mapping at the limits of representation. movements. *Journal for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies*, 1(2), ISSN 2364-8732, 2015

2. The concept of holding and the ambiguous forms of welcoming and rejecting gatherings are further explained in the dedicated chapter 3. Hold on

Porte de la Chapelle

Porte de la Chapelle is a neighbourhood in the 18th arrondissement at the edges of the capital, bordering the city of Saint-Denis in the department Seine-Saint-Denis.
As the name suggests, it is part of the 17 portes – gates – of the city, situated on the old Enceinte de Thiers replaced by the Boulevards Périphérique. As a matter of fact, the place is connoted by the massive presence of the infrastructure, being it the intercrossing of the rue de la Chapelle, l'avenue de la Porte-de-la-Chapelle and the Boulevard Ney, with the national route 1 and the highway A1 commencing from this gate and creating an important and massive transport hub. Given the peripheric and industrial nature, the presence of important infrastructures and notably the historical establishment of the informal dwellings and bidonvilles in the area, Porte de la Chapelle is part of a specific collective imagination of the inhabitants, and it is therefore at the centre of the process of requalification initiated from 2002 by the city of Paris. The main urban projects include the Campus Condorcet from 2008, research centre for different universities of Paris focused on social sciences; the ZAC Gare des Mines-Fillettes; the construction of the Paris Arena II, within the plan of the project previewed for the Jeux Olympiques 2024 – Olympic games 2024 –[1].
The peculiarity of the infrastructure and the border shape a territory composed of a series of liminal spaces with no specific functions or management, a patchwork of different yet equally undefined spaces that make opaque the dichotomy between public and private or their accessibility[2]. It is exactly within this context that Porte de la Chapelle becomes a migrants' hub in the city, providing opaque spaces that allow the presence of equally opaque bodies, inhabited from the very beginning of the so-called migration crisis by the undersiderables and displaced that here find possibilities of shelter and thus subvert the apparent uninhabitability of its places. From 2015 and throughout the progressive eviction of the Calais jungle, makeshift camps started to establish in the northeastern periphery of the capital[3], especially in the neighbourhood of la Chapelle. Starting from the overground in La Chapelle, people in

1. APUR, Les mutations récentes et à venir du secteur des portes du 18e - Les évolutions des portes et des projets d'aménagement inscrits dans le périmètre du NPNRU, publié en Septembre 2019
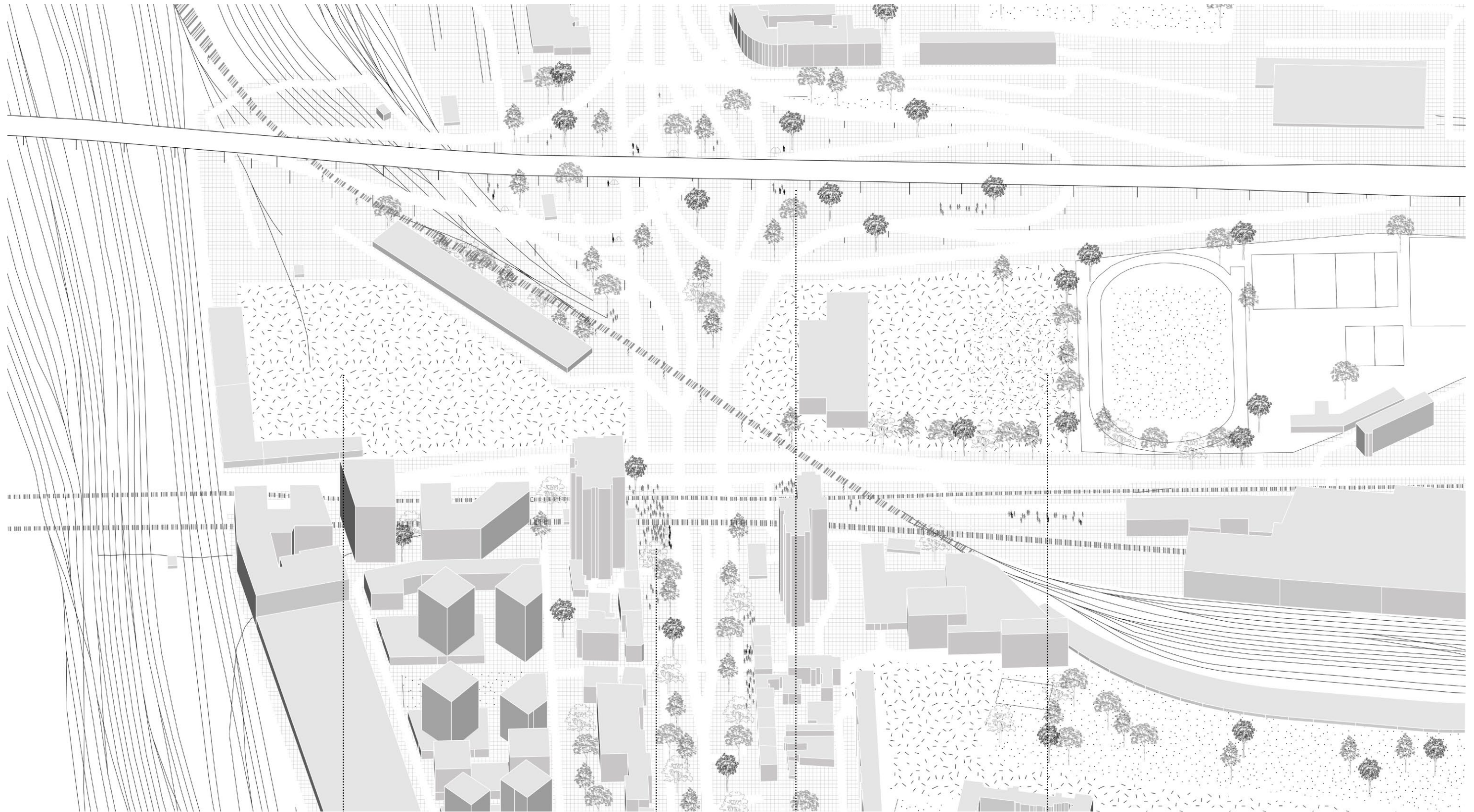
2. The great presence of the infrastructure of mobility and consequently abandoned liminalities is clearly visible in the photos at pages 66-69. The legacies of the infrastructure create either the necessity to separate and secure (66-67), or possibilities of shelter (68-69)

3. Babels, *De Lesbos à Calais : Comment l'Europe fabrique des camps*, Lyon, Le Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », 2017, 130 pages

transit and refugees have been progressively displaced and pushed outside of the city: pushing displaced persons from Paris and from the neighbouring departments soon made the border the privileged and densest migrants' space, keeping people in a constant stateless and placeless condition marked by the opacity and liminality of the spaces they inhabited. With the presence of migrant and homeless population, the neighbourhood is the scenography of many other situations of precarity, such as prostitution, drug dealing, criminality highly denounced and represented in the collective imagination of the colline du crack – the crack's hill –, the camp of crack dealing constantly evacuated and re-established in the area since 2005. Many associations acting in the neighbourhood have regularly denounced the proximity of different conditions of precarity and notably the junctions of the migrants' and drug dealers makeshift camps, which has greatly eased a certain porosity between the two, exposing displaced persons to consummation, addiction or themselves entering into the illegality of drug dealing[4].
Although the perpetual evacuations and rejection over displaced persons in Porte de la Chapelle, the place is also at the centre of a remarkable dispositif of reception put into action from 2016 by the municipality of Paris, namely the Centre Humanitaire de Porte de la Chapelle, commissioned by the state, the city of Paris and Emmaus Solidarité and conceived by the architect Julien Beller[5]. The project develops with the objective to create temporary dwellings from first arrivals migrants – migrants will be hosted for 5 until 10 days and then relocated to reception centres –, thus with the aim to curtail the situation of people living in the streets. However, the centre has often not been enough to host arrivals, enabling then the formation of makeshift camps in its proximities, made of people waiting to be located in the camp or refused for lack of available places.
Both for its physical configurations and for the concurrent practices of rejection and reception to which it was subjected, Porte de la Chapelle has been since 2015 probably the main migrants' space in the capital, with frequent evictions often consisting of a very high number of people inhabiting the archipelago of liminal places.
The current state of the site, analysed through various insepctions carried out from December 2021 until July 2022 and the participation to weekly food distribution managed by Solidarité Migrants Wilson, shows a sensibly less dense presence of migrants, with makeshift camps that appear more as an archipelago of tents and informal dwellings distributing diffusely beneath the infrastructure than a form of aggregation. Nonetheless, the strong attachment of displaced persons to the place, either for the presence of solidarity actions or for the already established multiculturality of this neighbourhood, makes it still highly frequented daily and a perpetual space of migrants' makeshift inhabitation.

4. France Terre d'Asile, Paris : nouvelle évacuation d'un camp de migrants à la porte de la chapelle, publié le 04 Avril 2019

5. At page 70-71 the former location of the centre humanitaire in Porte de la Chapelle, now evicted to build the Campus Condorcet

Centre Humanitaire Porte de
la Chapelle active from No-
vember 2016 - March 2018

Maraude Wilson
Point fixe Porte de
la Chapelle

Maraude Wilson "à pied"
under the infrastructural hub
in Porte de la Chapelle

Main area of intervantion for
the Paris Jeux Olympiques 2024
in Porte de la Chapelle

PORTE DE LA CHAPELLE

ID.ACIER
VENTE-LOCATION
01 64 02 55 11

Pte de CLIGNANCOURT
GARE du NORD
GARE de L'EST
Pte d'AUBERVILL
PERIPHER

N 1 S^t D E N I S - *la Plaine*

Espace tri

10/04/2022 / 48°53'57.0"N 2°21'31.7"E

PORTE DE LA CHAPELLE

Delphine Seyrig

About 15 tents have been set up in early December along the Ourcq canal, between the nineteenth arrondissement of Paris and the municipality of Pantin.

The main feature of the place is the proximity to the Parc de la Villette, a large green area at the border of the capital, divided in two by the canal that reaches République. The spatial arrangement of the place is defined by the presence of the canal and consequently the promenades on both banks, where the various tents are arranged. The layout of the new small makeshift camp is rather disrupted: the tents are in fact set up under the bridges, in the pedestrian passages under the Boulevard Périphérique or under the Pont du Canal de l'Ourcq[1]. The tents detected are mostly two or three-placestents, except for some larger ones and, to a lesser extent, one-person tents.

Although the proximity to leisure areas and the strong accessibility through public transport (presence of metro lines 5 and 7 and tram 3b; presence, moreover, of the Gare de Pantin station, RER E stop), the massive presence of the infrastructure, which marks the division between Paris and Seine-Saint-Denis, makes it a border place, made up of a series of urban interstices. It is therefore a frontier from a purely spatial point of view, while remaining, however, an active relational place. It is precisely this ambiguity already present in the space that activates dynamics of spatial violence when it becomes a space of displacement, generating needs for rejection through police evacuation and at the same time dynamics of reception, from the point of view of the associative network.

From October 2021 to January 2022, two stages of occupation can be detected in the Delphine Seyrig area: the establishment of the camp between October and December; the reoccupation in January after the evacuation of 21 December 2021.

A first arrival is around 10 October, when some tents begin to aggregate under the bridge of the Boulevard Périphérique: at this moment the conditions of occupation are not yet alarming for the administration to ask for an evacuation. From October to De-

1. At pages 76-79 the areas of makeshift inhabitations are under the bridges and around a small sport ground, due to presence of solid rubber surface, warmer than the footpath surface.

cember 2021 the tents and people in the makeshift camp increase, reaching about 40 tents divided between the bridge of the Boulevard Périphérique, the bridge of the Boulevard Sérurier and the Pont du Canal de l'Ourcq. On December 17, 2021, at 6 am, the informal camp was evacuated by the police, declaring to distribute the 105 people detected in reception centres spread over the Ile de France and neighboring regions[2]. It is also stated that an assessment of their administrative situation will be carried out, they will be given social and medical assistance and finally their asylum status will be assessed, thus examining the possibility of repatriation or refoulement to the first country of arrival. At the time of the evacuation, the collective Solidarité migrants Wilson immediately commits to check that this occurs in the absence of violence and that people are housed in reception structures. The collective denounces, however, a constant lack of transparency on the part of the authorities regarding the accommodation facilities or the effective methods of evaluation of migrants, thus stating that in most cases the reception is limited to being extremely temporary, thus also accelerating the need for further displacement or repatriation to the first country of arrival. Moreover, it must be considered that evacuations, and therefore evaluation and reception from police authorities, is a significant obstacle to the migratory route of people transiting in France and willing to reach other countries. This necessarily leads many displaced people in makeshift camps to refuse the accommodation and move again. After the first evacuation, the previous camp in Delphine Seyrig remains empty for about two weeks, the space returns to being the Sunday walk along the canal, a passage between the park and the city and between Paris and Pantin.

From the first days of January, the space begins to be repopulated by new arrivals, occupying only areas belonging to the municipality of Pantin and therefore to the prefecture of Seine-Saint-Denis. The areas occupied by the new tents are in fact under Pont du Canal de l'Ourcq, the Pont de la Mairie and a play area located between the two bridges, through a series of dispositifs of inhabitation to rest, gather and eat[3], provided by local associationsduring maraudes and outreach, such as Wilson or Utopia56. The camp was then evacuated a second time on January 26 by the police of the prefecture of Seine-Saint-Denis[4]. It is then declared again that the 180 people detected - mainly from Afghanistan, of which 18 people in their families and 162 lonely men - will be examined on their administrative and health situation and then hosted in temporary reception facilities distributed in the Ile de France region. In this case, it is the association Utopia56, particularly active in Paris and in various cities in France, to mobilize and denounce the opacity with which the administration manages the reception, documenting the evacuation procedures for a few days.

2. ActuParis, *Nouvelle évacuation d'un camp de migrants à Paris, 105 personnes prises en charge,* 17/12/2021

3. The axonometric, plan, photographic representation of the camp in the following pages aims at showing this overlapping of timeframes and stories of occupation and the dispositifs of makeshift inhabitability used, to interpret a general understanding of the development of practices of hospitality in the hostile urban environment.

4. Le Parisien, *Pantin : 180 migrants installés au bord du canal de l'Ourcq évacués par les forces de l'ordre,* 26/01/2022

First settlement in October 2021 in
Paris 19eme, under the Bd Périphérique

First expansion of the makeshift
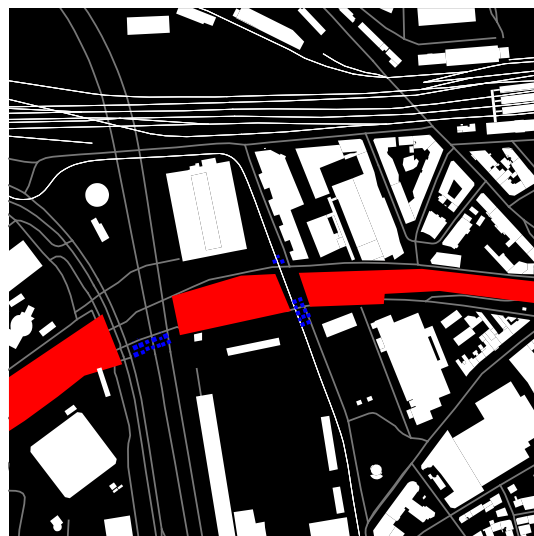camp under the tram 3b bridge

Maraude Wilson
Point fixe Delphine
Seyrig

Second and last expansion of the makeshift camp
occupying the Pont de la Marie and a playground
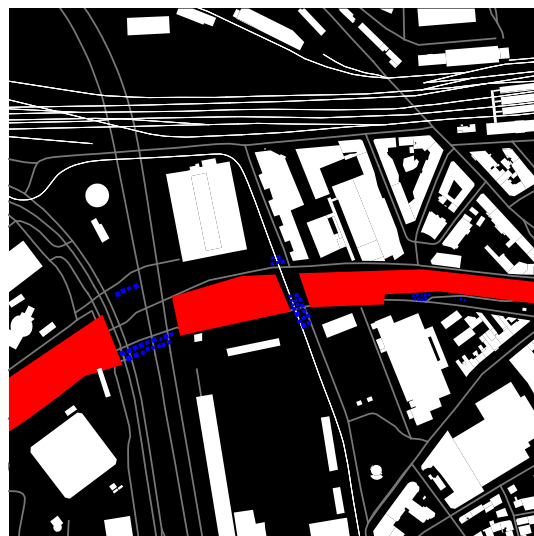in the middle of the canal promenade

Delphine Seyrig / Oct. 2021
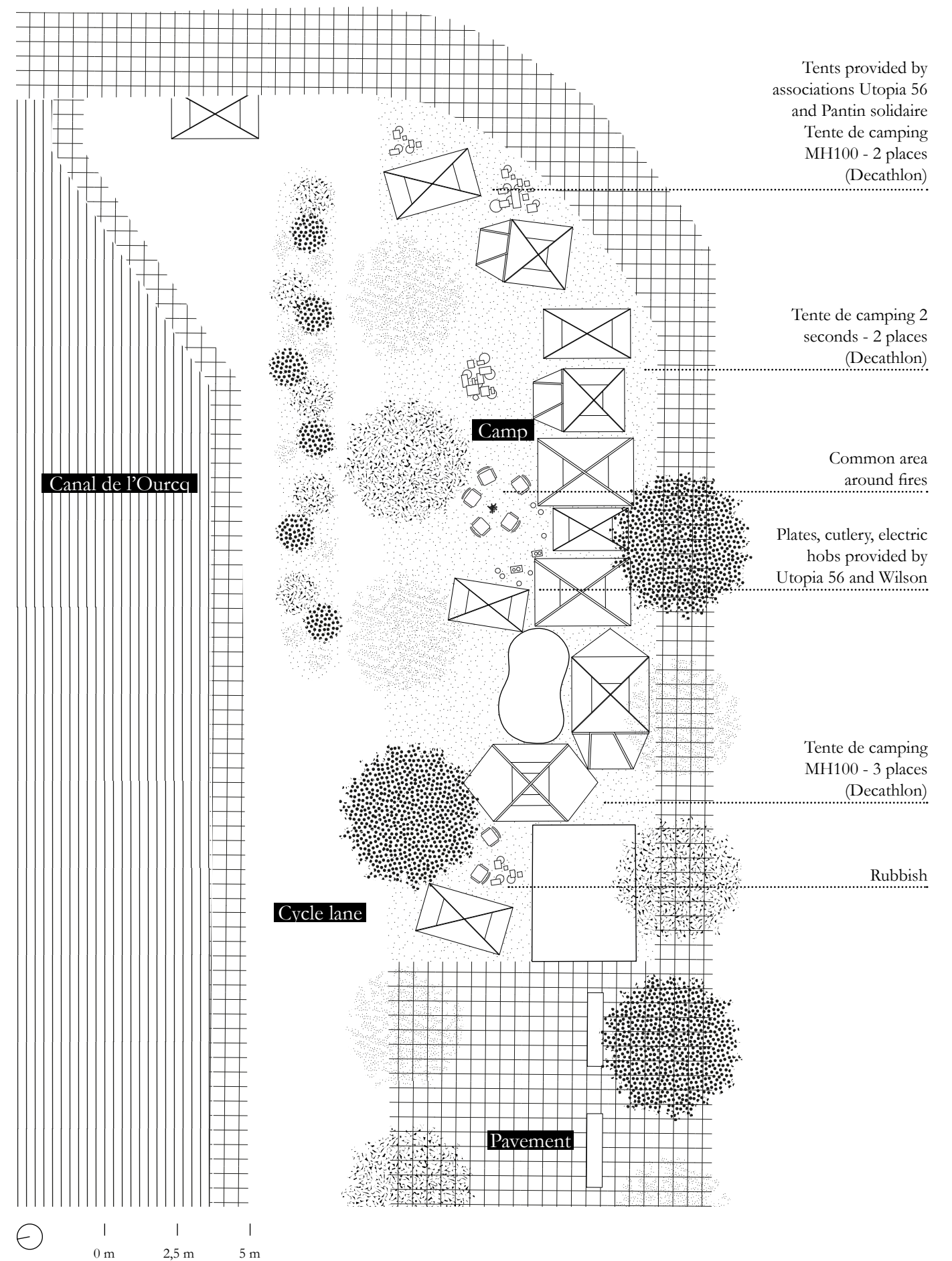
50 people (Approximately)
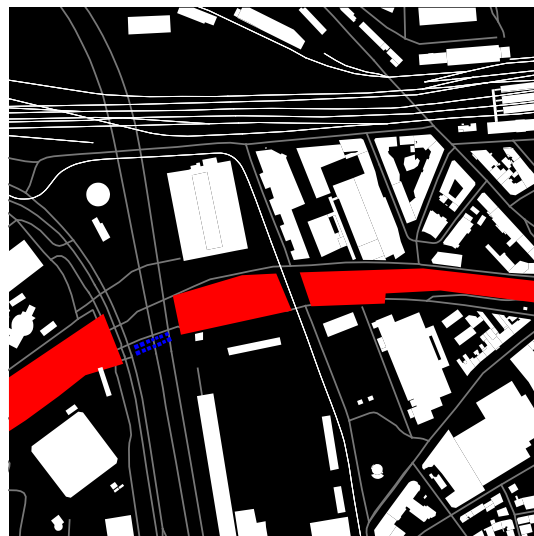
Delphine Seyrig / Dec. 2021

80 people (Approximately)

Delphine Seyrig / Jan. 2022

180 people (reported by Prefecture)

Tents provided by
associations Utopia 56
and Pantin solidaire
Tente de camping
MH100 - 2 places
(Decathlon)

Tente de camping 2
seconds - 2 places
(Decathlon)

Common area
around fires

Plates, cutlery, electric
hobs provided by
Utopia 56 and Wilson

Camp

Canal de l'Ourcq

Tente de camping
MH100 - 3 places
(Decathlon)

Rubbish

Cycle lane

Pavement

0 m   2,5 m   5 m

PART 1

DELPHINE SEYRIG

DELPHINE SEYRIG

04/02/2022 / 48°53'44.3"N 2°23'41.7"E

DELPHINE SEYRIG

SoiXante AdaDa

The 60 AdaDa defines itself as a laboratory of artistic and visual creation and dissemination operating in 60 rue Gabriel Péri, in the centre of Saint Denis, in the Greater Parisian Prefecture of Seine-Saint-Denis[1].

Supported by the municipality, the association, therefore, self-manages a publicly owned space for artistic and social creation and experimentation, through the organization of free workshops and exhibitions. Since January 2021, consistent with their strong social vocation and the emergencies of migratory reception, the association has decided to make the space available to accommodate a group of 20 isolated minor migrants. Since January, the space has therefore become a place of reception, integration and teaching in different periods of the year, thus being able to host minors temporarily for about one or two months. The action is carried out in collaboration with the association Les Midi du Mie, a solidarity collective in support of unaccompanied migrant minors in the Parisian region. In this way, 60 AdaDa is responsible for providing the space and the various artistic ateliers and exhibitions of the works of the people hosted; Les Midi du Mie, on the other hand, deals with all the issues related to the supply of food, showers, accompanying young people in administrative matters, and organizing days of educational visits around the city.

The space of 60 AdaDa is made up of two distinct rooms, which define its accessibility. From rue Gabriel Péri we enter a large room generally reserved for exhibitions, when the back is inaccessible because of the hosting of the young migrants; through a passage covered by a curtain, we have access to the second space, much larger and where the youngsters are welcomed. We enter the dining room, with a kitchenette and a large central table; in front of it there is the toilet with sink, but no shower - the youngsters are, in fact, able to shower thanks to neighbourhoods welcoming them several days during the week; to the left of the kitchen, there is a large space where the ateliers take place throughout the day and where the young migrants stay overnight with the volunteers of the association Les Midi du Mie[2].

1. Information about the reception in 60 AdaDa have been collected through collaboration for food distribution and interviews to the association made the 16 of February and reported in the following pages

2. In the following pages, a representation of the hospitality is provided. Although it might be very imprecise in terms of measures, the intention is to make visible the dispositifs of inhabitability of a space not initially conceived to be inhabited, trying to associate rooms not to the spatial, material organisation of the dwelling, rather to the the different practices of rest, secure, self-care, eat, gather that might be allocated.

"Yesterday we moved back to Saint Denis. Yesterday, we loaded the truck, the cars and arrived for the third time and the second season of the artistic and solidarity month at 60 AdaDa in Saint Denis. It's a bit like a return to our family, within the walls of what was one of our first homes. Nice to see that the artists donate so generously their knowledge, and they share their talent. This is another big new move and a real installation of which we hold the secrets. Extension cords, power strips, a kitchen area to arrange, rugs and curtains to install too, but last night, the gang of young people were laughing as much as in the other houses, they found their spots and were cooking a good dinner. They will also profit from ateliers every evening of the week and will exhibit their work at the end. […] Until the authorities will not propose a suitable solution we will be there. Our knowledge of the field, our humanity, these needs to act will always remain our driving forces".

(Les Midi du Mie, 09/09/21)

"Since when are you staying here? Will you stay longer?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 16/02/2022)

"Now we've been here for about one month and we need to leave. It's always like that, one week, a fortnight, one month, sometimes it happened that we could stay in a place for several months, but it was not for all the boys, only some could stay, and some needed to leave. It's difficult to arrange everything and leave each month, it requires a huge organization and a lot of effort. But of course, we take everything they propose us, even for 2 days, otherwise we must pay the hotel".

(Agathe, Association les Midis du Mie 16/02/2022)

"Were you somewhere else before? What sort of places?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 16/02/2022)

"We have been sheltered in very diversified places, we've been into caravans for about seven or eight months; we've been into theatres, dance halls, both not very far from here, in Saint Denis; we've been in other exposition centres, in Saint Ouen; the Maison

Ouverte, which is an associations hub in Montreuil, they have lend us a party hall that we used during the night to sleep and then during the daytime we had to arrange everything because it had to be used by the associations; we have been into churches or religious places; finally, simply, the guys have been hosted by different and dispersed privates around the territory, which is usually the most common, though the less practical".

(Agathe, Association les Midis du Mie 16/02/2022)

"Why do you manage it so informally and privately? Aren't you able to find shelter solution through the municipality?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 16/02/2022)

"We always try to find a solution through the municipality, we contact different communes in these areas every month to know if they have some places for us to host the youngsters. Very few times we had positive feedback and could find a shelter for some days. I am sincerely a bit skeptic about this, with all the vacant houses we have in the region, with all the unused institutional buildings. It's just that there's not the will to help associations, they probably think we'll find a solution ourselves anyhow – which is true, we will never leave them on the streets again –, but how sad is it?".

(Agathe, Association les Midis du Mie 16/02/2022)

"What about 60 AdaDa? How do you manage this space and the sheltering?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 16/02/2022)

"We pay for the food, or we have it delivered from other associations, like Wilson that often comes to provide food and necessities. In terms of hygiene, we have a toilet here with no shower but there's a fantastic network of neighbours who lend their showers for the guys so we make timetables to use them. Since we come here often we have already established some connections with neighbours who helped us previously. This is absolutely brilliant, especially if you consider that in the majority of places where we've been hosted there were no showers and so we didn't know what to do about it. Finally, we organise several activities: drawing, theatre, music, dance, everything we can to make them have a bit of fun or relax, they need it as well, being a refugee or a migrant doesn't only mean you need a house or food, you need to be able to live".

(Agathe, Association les Midis du Mie 16/02/2022)

Sheltered people's
personal belongings
and equipement

Electric heater provided by 60 AdaDa

Single matresses
provided by Les
Midis du Mie

Keyboard

Kitchenette

Bedroom

Living room

Management and
organisation desk

Wood-burning
heater provided by
60 AdaDa

Toilet

Storage

Reception desk
during exhibitions
and events

Reception

0 m   2,5 m   5 m
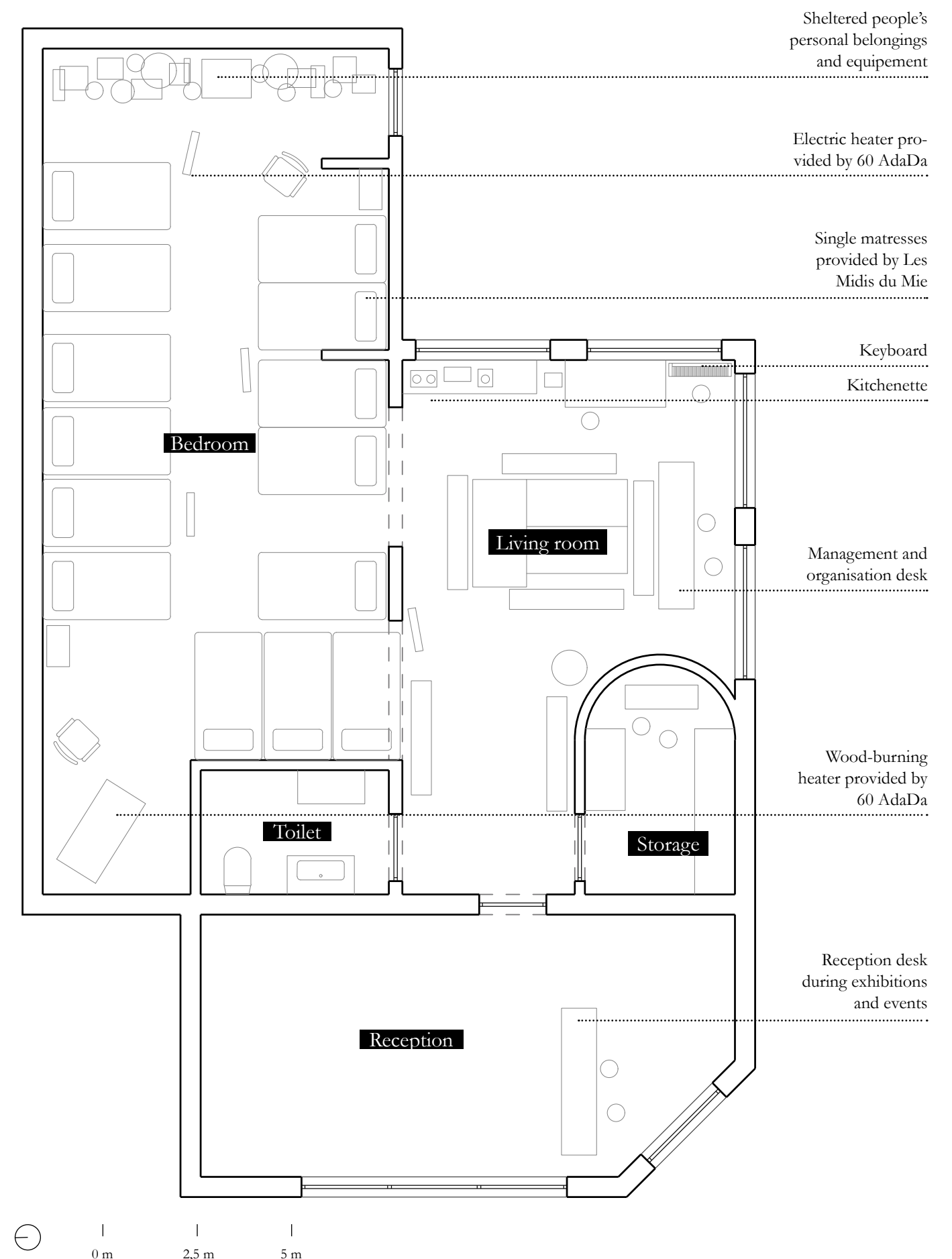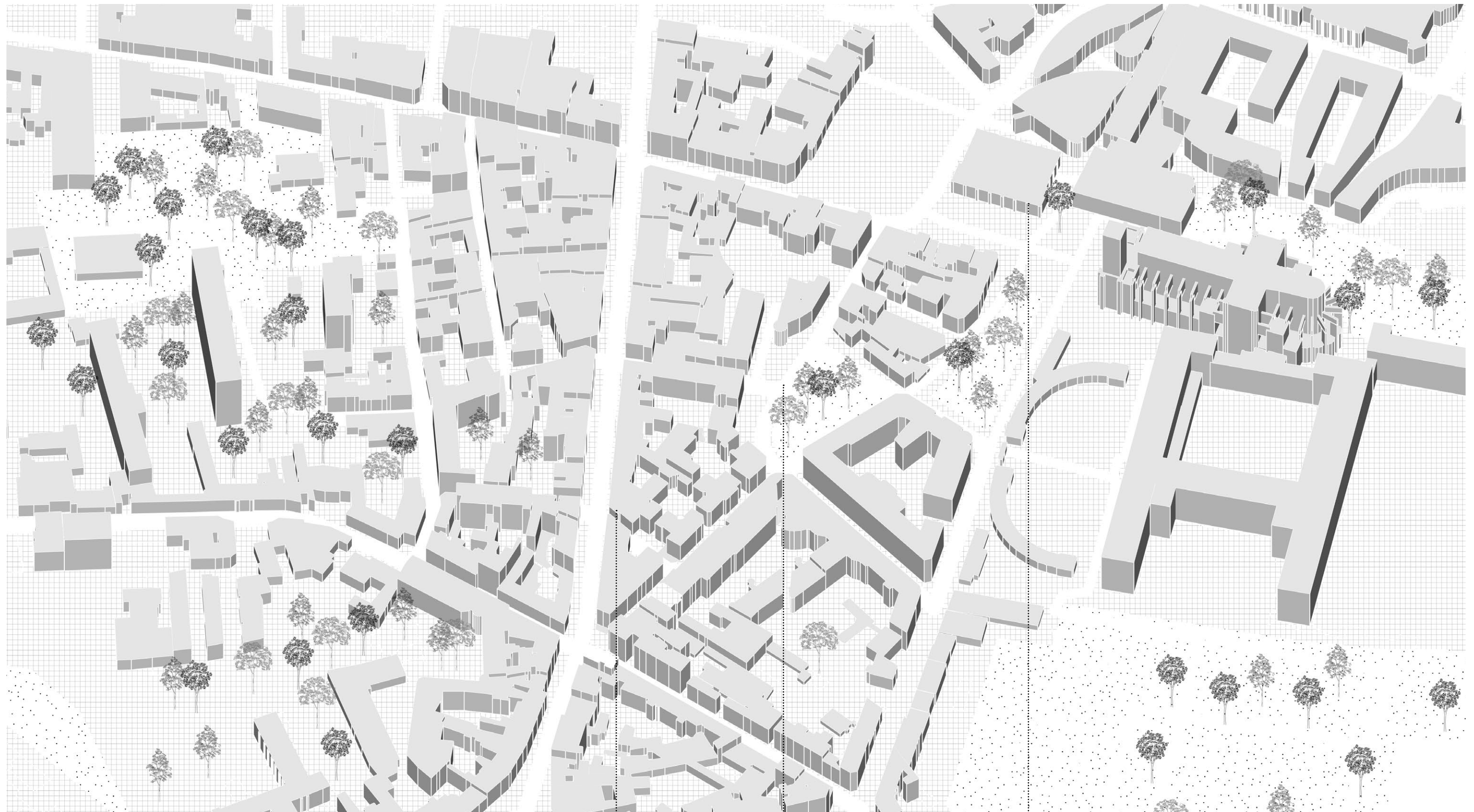
SoiXante AdaDa, makeshift reception
centre managed by Les Midis du Mies

Network of neighbouring houses
providing food and showers

Main square of Saint Denis with
metro station and town hall

SOIXANTE ADADA

SOIXANTE ADADA

SOIXANTE ADADA

2. Edges: narratives

Through a sociodemographic and historical analysis of the territory and the people who inhabit it, the research aims to deepen threshold opportunities and possible dynamics of coexistence between past and present migration. Consequently, the genealogy of people migrated and spaces of migration brings back to reasoning about locality and identity, applying it to the space in which it is established. Confronting spaces of displacement and spaces of border, not only epistemologically but also from a quantitative perspective, the liminality between public and private appears then as the configuration of simultaneous dynamics of reception and rejection, enabling the production of the spaces of holding.

2.1.

Movements

We can briefly synthesise the history of the migratory movement to France into five specific stages – which generally coincide with the European history of migratory movements[1].

It is already in the 19th century that the first mass migration started to develop, due to the technological and transportation improvements, the effects of colonisation, and the attractiveness of West countries as a symbol of modernity. France's population began to increase rapidly and attract foreigners as the country joined the Industrial Revolution, however, it is only after the First and Second World Wars that immigrants started to establish massively in the territory, giving birth to the second important wage of mass migration in the country. While the First War welcomed a significant number of workers coming from colonies, the Second led to a remarkable increase especially due to the demand for labour in the years of the reconstruction. Furthermore, what is extremely new in this second wave of migration is the quasi-completely disappearance of the classical separation between economic and political migrants. As a matter of fact, while the first stage was mainly connected to socio-economic reasons, from the 1930s on we might recall to migratory purposes related principally to European political controversies and persecutions: the Italian antifascists, the Spaniards escaping from the civil war are the main examples.

From the perspective of asylum-seeking, the end of the Second World War marked a turning point and a dramatic increase in the number of claimers in France.

In the global context, in 1946 the International Refugee Organization was founded and four years later the United Nations dedicated created the High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR), while on a local level, the OFPRA was officially established in 1952 under the supervision of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the following years, numbers of asylum claims grew rapidly among Spaniards, and people immigrated lately from Hungary and Poland. During the 1960s France saw, however, a general decrease in refugees' arrival, except for those coming from countries in Central and Eastern Europe communist governments[2].

1. Stora B., Laacher S., Jacques G., Toubon J., *Mouvements migratoires, une histoire française,* L'age D'homme, Paris, 2016, pages 138

2. Forcade, O., & Nivet, P. (Eds.), *Les réfugiés en Europe du XVIe au XXe siècle.* Actes du colloque tenu à Amiens les 23 et 24 mars 2007, org. par le Centre d' Histoire des Sociétés, des Sciences et des Conflits, Université de Picardie Jules Verne. Paris, 2007
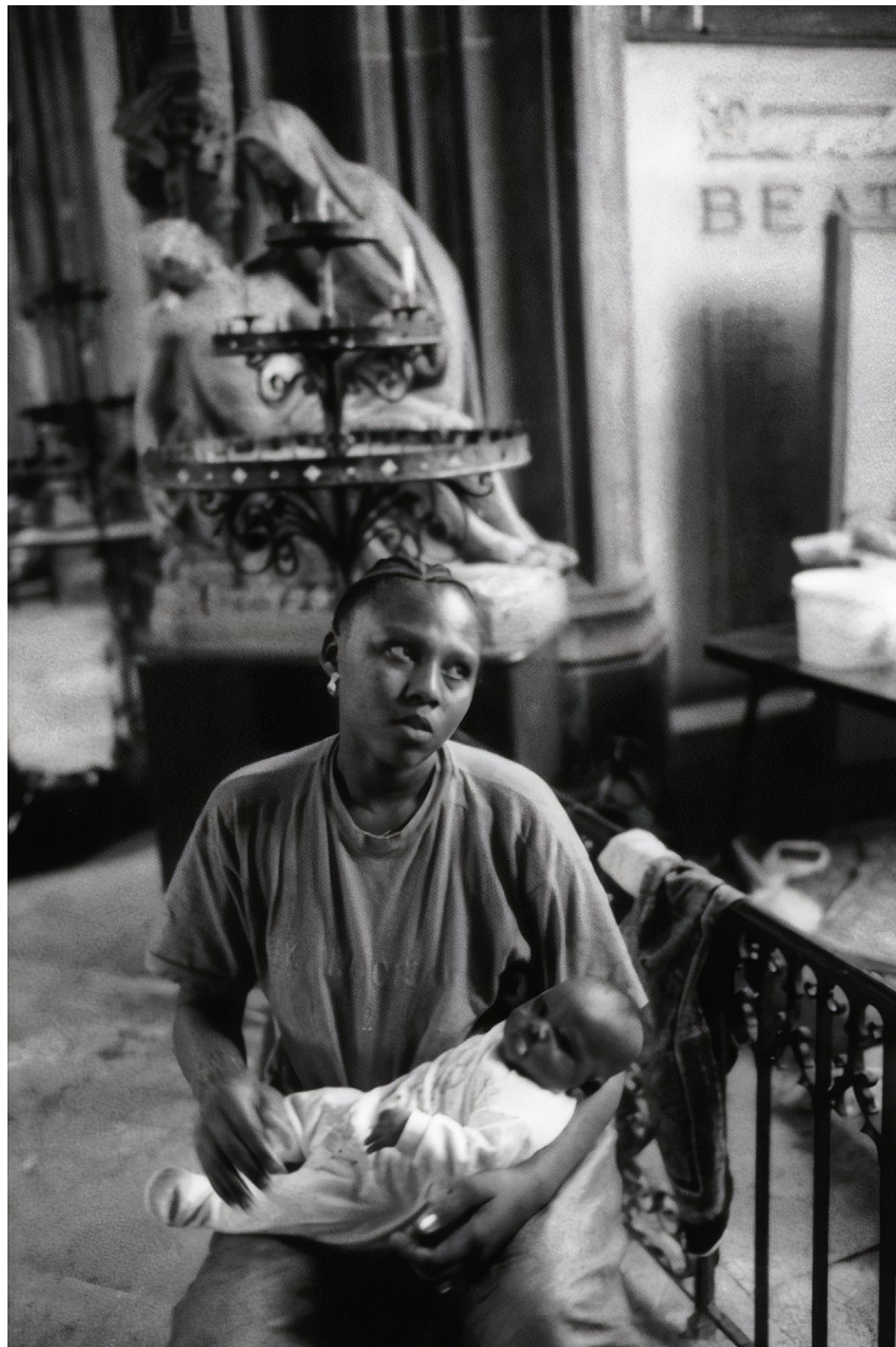
Images:
1. *Réfugiée espagnole dans un camp improvisé,* Musée national de l'histoire et des cultures de l'immigration, CNHI, Paris
2. *Famille d'immigrées dans un bidonville de la région parisienne,* Musée national de l'histoire et des cultures de l'immigration, CNHI, Paris

1

2

The situation started to shift into a new wage of remarkable migratory movements at the beginning of 1970 with political conflicts rising in Latin America and South-East Asia, and then Africa and the Middle East. Throughout these years the country faced simultaneously an economic crisis and a massive influx of immigrants, resulting in a considerable proportion of immigrants suffering from bad housing conditions and high unemployment rates[3]. This period represented, in fact, a significant transition between asylum effectiveness before and after the 1980s and 90s. As a matter of fact, seekers coming after – in what we might recall as the fourth wave of mass migration – did not benefit from the same public support and claim definition of Europeans and political refugees of 1940-1990: OFPRA consequently started taking more and more time to elaborate claims[4], leading seekers to struggle with a precarious and never-ending situation on both economic and social level[5].

Finally, the fifth big refugee crisis in France did not begin in 2015, rather in 2011, particularly through the "destructuration" of Libya. Its turning point was, however, in the years 2014 – 2015, including, then, the Syrian war, the fragile states of Iraq and Afghanistan, which caused the most dominant fluxes of these years[6].

Nearly 40% of immigrants residing in metropolitan France live in Ile-de-France in 1999, and around 15% of the regional population is made of immigrants, a proportion twice as high as at the national level[7]. Over the past twenty years, the polarization of immigrants in the region has been strengthened and the multi-ethnic character has intensified. While Europeans and Maghribs remain the highest foreign populations, also those whose establishment is relatively new, notably people coming from Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, are largely represented in the region. Between 1982 and 1999, the number of immigrants in Ile-de-France increased by 20.6% (+275,000), marking a notable difference with that of the regional population (+ 8.7%) and that of the immigrant population in metropolitan France
(+ 6.7%)[8]. This variation is for three-quarters due to women's immigration, many of them coming within the framework of family reunification.

In recent years, as of in the past, Ile de France is the French region with the largest proportion of immigrants in the country, with 40% of non-French people living there: in 2006, about 35% - 4 million people – were, in fact, either immigrants or son/daughters of at least one parent immigrated in the country[9]. The Portuguese are the largest group of European immigrants, followed by Italians and Spaniards; however, the highest percentage of immigrants in Ile de France is still coming from the Maghreb, being Algerians the biggest population, followed by Morocco and Tunisia[10].

3. Haddad Y.Y. and Balz M.J., "The October Riots in France: A Failed Immigration Policy or the Empire Strikes Back?" *International Migration 44#2*, 2006

4. Barou J., The different integration processes of refugees in France in *Quest for refuge: Reception responses from the Global North,* 2020

5. Kobelinsky, C., *L'accueil des demandeurs d'asile. Une ethnographie de l'attente.* Paris: Éditions du Cygne, 2010

6. Stora B., Laacher S., Jacques G., Toubon J., *Mouvements migratoires, une histoire française,* L'age D'homme, Paris, 2016, pages 138

7. INSEE, Recensement de la population de 1999, *Statistiques et études,* paru le 07/02/2011

8. *Ibidem*

9. Institut Paris Region, Les descendants d'immigrés vivant en Île-de-France, *Société n. 532*, paru le 25/01/2011

10. INSEE, Étrangers - Immigrés en 2016 (Région Ile de France), *Statistiques et études,* paru le 25/06/2019

Image:
28 juin – 23 août 1996 : les sans-papiers de Saint-Bernard, Collection de la médiathèque Abdelmalek Sayad
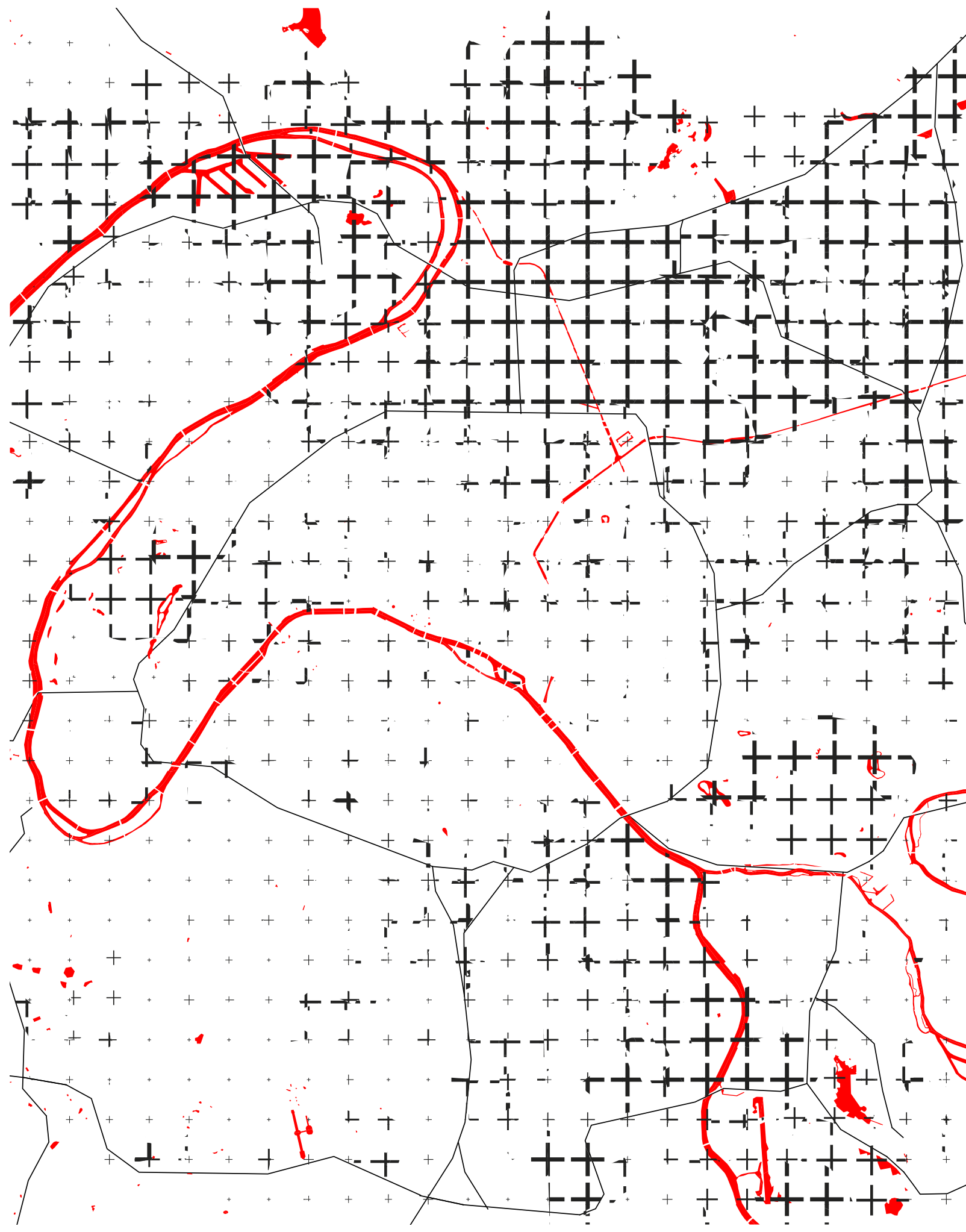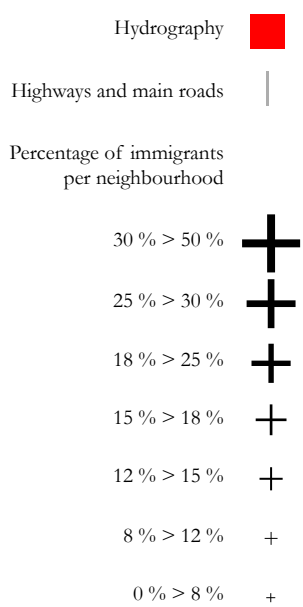
2.2.

Border bodies

Who is left out?

An analysis of the sociodemographic pattern of the territory has been accomplished to understand if there is a connection, in terms of its spatial implication, between past immigration and the present migratory phenomena. The data collected are therefore useful not only to gain a better knowledge of the territory and problematic, but also to question social interactions between inhabitants, former immigrants, and migrants. Consequently, analysing the data and theoretical framework under the potentialities of the urban project, the following perspective is fundamental to decipher what might be the urban dispositifs capable to enact – if needed – dynamics of coexistence.

The immigrant population of Ile de France resides in the capital or in the cities of the Petite Couronne, namely the territory of Grand Paris. While Paris hosts throughout the years a large number of immigrants and claimers, Seine-Saint-Denis remains the department in which the proportion between foreign population and French is the highest. Furthermore, the distribution of immigrants in the region is particularly heterogeneous, depending on the country of origin. As a matter of fact, people coming from European countries – then, especially Portugal or Italy – tend to be more dispersed in the territory; on the contrary, those who come from Maghreb or Asia are more likely to live in some sort of enclaves, specific neighbourhoods, or cities.

To analyse the Grand Paris' spatial distribution of immigrants and the variations in terms of potential urban segregation, data from the French census of the years 1990, 1999 and 2013 have briefly been analysed. In the first, immigrants accounted for more than 30% of the general population in 8 communes: Lognes (Seine-et-Marne); Mantes-la-Jolie and Chanteloup-les-Vignes (Yvelines); Clichy-sous-Bois (Seine-Saint-Denis); Garges-lès-Gonesse and Sarcelles (Val-d'Oise); Gennevilliers (Hauts-de-Seine); La Goutte-d'or (Paris). In 1999, however, the communes increased to 24, including eight more municipalities in Seine-Saint-Denis (La Courneuve, Villetaneuse, Aubervilliers, Bobigny, Saint-Denis, Stains, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Épinay-sur-Seine); two in Yvelines (Trappes,
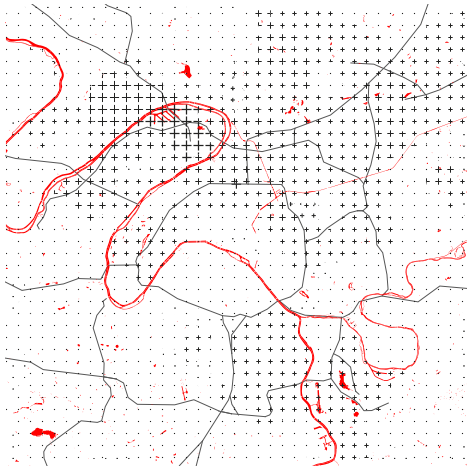
Hydrography

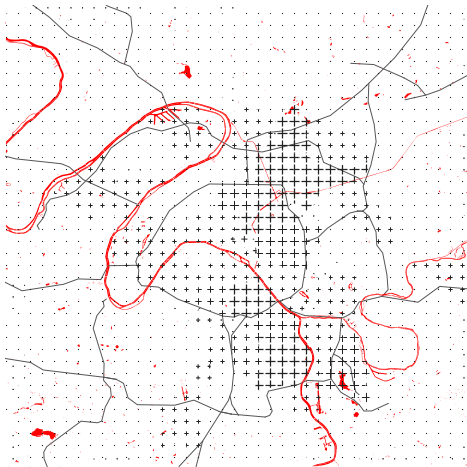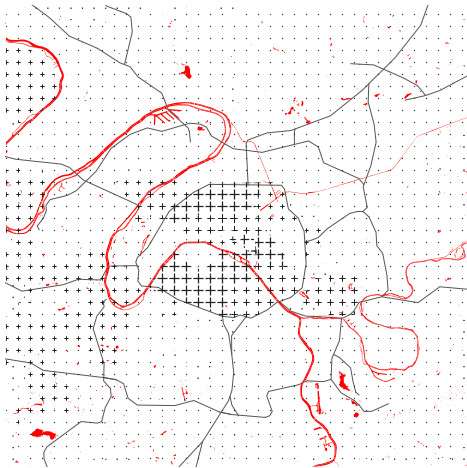Highways and main roads

Percentage of immigrants per neighbourhood

30 % > 50 %

25 % > 30 %

18 % > 25 %

15 % > 18 %

12 % > 15 %

8 % > 12 %

0 % > 8 %
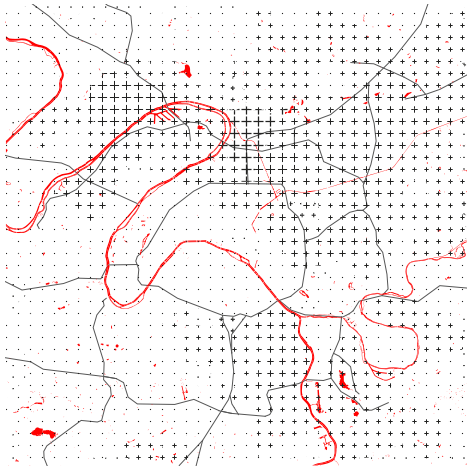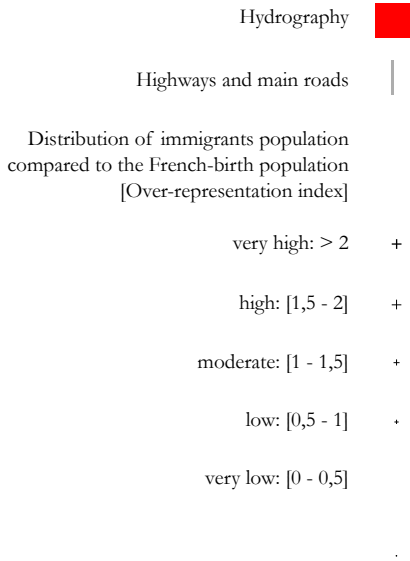
Algeria

Morocco

China

USA

Hydrography ▮

Highways and main roads |

Distribution of immigrants population
compared to the French-birth population
[Over-representation index]

very high: > 2   +

high: [1,5 - 2]   +

moderate: [1 - 1,5]   +

low: [0,5 - 1]   ·

very low: [0 - 0,5]

Les Mureaux); one in Val-d'Oise (Villiers-le-Bel); one in Essonne (Grigny); one in the Hauts-de-Seine (Villeneuve-la-Garenne); three additional Paris neighbourhoods (La Chapelle, La Villette, Pont-de-Flandre). Finally, what is interesting to see in the data collected from 2013, compared to those of 1999, is that not only the highest immigrants' areas are confirmed, but they have also increased in proportion, reporting in some specific cases a percentage of nearly 40%, especially in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis. The highest percentages are reached in La Courneuve and Aubervilliers (43%): in these two municipalities, more than eight children out of ten (under 25) have at least one immigrant parent (88% in La Courneuve and 84% in Aubervilliers). Hence, while peripheric and bordering areas have increased in their immigrant population, the percentage in the departments of Yvelines, Hauts-de-Seine and Paris have generally diminished: the highest difference is, in fact, visible in the 20th arrondissements of Paris, which ranked a proportion of 30% in 1982, and only 20% in 2013. Locally, the share of immigrants is therefore decreasing in the central sectors of the Paris conurbation, which are undergoing gentrification, as of the 9th, 10th, 11th, 18th, or 19th arrondissements.

Immigrants are represented in the highest disadvantaged urban areas of the region, where the rental prices are lower and social housing dominates. They are also very present in former industrial sites around the Petite and Grande Couronne and areas formerly occupied by slums or bidonvilles. Furthermore, the repartition of immigrants is not equally distributed based on the country of origin and the data of 2013 make clear attachments of distinct ethnographies to distinct territories. For instance, this is the case of Algerians, mainly settled in the municipality of Saint-Denis (Seine-Saint-Denis); Moroccans in Gennevilliers (Hauts-de-Seine); Turkish in Gonesse or Sarcelles (Val-d'Oise); Chinese, which are more dispersed around the east of the region, between the 18th and 19th arrondissement or the department of Seine-Saint-Denis (Pantin, Aubervilliers) or Val-de-Marne (Alfortville); on the contrary, people coming from the United States or northern Europe are mainly settled in Paris, in the 5th, 6th, 14th, and 15th arrondissement.

In conclusion, the intensification of spatial segregation collides with French urban policy initiatives that explicitly sought to curtail socioeconomic segregation, acting with the intention of requalifying disadvantaged urban areas, attracting middle and upper-class households[1]. Consequently, becoming Paris more gentrified, not only this process has exalted the reject of immigrants to distinct upper-class areas, but it also seems likely that the conjunction of socioeconomic disadvantage and the presence of immigrants in certain neighbourhoods or municipalities reinforces stigmatisation and avoidance practices[2].

1. Lelévrier C., La mixité dans la rénovation urbaine : dispersion ou re-concentration?, Espaces Et Sociétés 1:59–74, 2010

2. van Ham M., Tammaru T., Ubarevičienė R., Janssen H., *Urban Socio-Economic Segregation and Income Inequality*, Springer, Cham, 2021

Liminal bodies

The concentration of new arrivals of migrants or refugees in territories that are already largely represented by a history of migratory movements raises questions of possibilities of segregation, but also of practices of reception and community engagement.

Asylum seekers and refugees are geographically highly concentrated: in 2018, almost half of all asylum applications in France were registered in the area region Ile de France (46%)[1]. Consequently, since 2018, the proposition of the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFPRA) of a progressive dispersion of migrants around the national territory, has sought to tackle the saturation of the capital, encouraging medium-sized cities and rural areas to promote forms of reception of migrants[2].

Despite the national intentions, in 2018 36% of all asylum seekers still declared residency or applied to registration in the region of the capital, often due to the presence of a higher degree of employment possibilities. However, the absence of stable revenue and the status itself of refugee or asylum seeker is more likely to prohibit housing prospects, triggering a vicious cycle of exclusion[3]. Furthermore, the situation of employment and housing in the region tends to present an upturned trend: while job opportunities are higher, rentals are as extremely demanded as insufficient, provoking high prices in the private market and interminable waiting lists for social housing. On the contrary, then, national areas where housing prices are more moderate lack job offers.

Moreover, as stated in the first chapters of this thesis[4], new migrants and refugees in the city tend to establish, either temporarily or permanently, in those areas where immigrants already represent a remarkable percentage of the population. The hypotheses on the logics under these choices are diverse: on the one hand, as for the established immigrants, the moderate living prices compared to other neighbourhoods and municipalities of the Grand Paris, on the other, the trend might evoke that the capacity of an already existing foreign community has contributed to the attractiveness of migrants and refugees to certain areas of the city. Additionally,

1. OFPRA, Rapport d'activité 2018, Paris, *Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides*, 2019

2. *Ibidem*

3. Bouagga Y., Scalettaris G., Tcholakova A., A reliance on diversified delivery: the case of asylum seekers and refugees in France, in *Betwixt and between: Integrating refugees into the EU labour market*, ETUI, Brussels, 2021

4. Chapters 1.1.2. What is left behind; 1.1.3 Spaces of displacement

from the spectrum of the established receptive community, we might detect that the same areas are often those where the main practices of solidarity take place.

A clear example is the neighbourhood of La goutte d'Or, in the 18th arrondissement of Paris. La Goutte d'Or is an area in the periphery of the municipality of the capital, between the neighbourhoods of La Chapelle and Château-Rouge and it's characterised by the dense presence of social housing, which attracted a large number of immigrants throughout the 20th century, contributing to the creation of what is often referred as the "African neighbourhood" of Paris[5]. As a matter of fact, the streets of la Goutte d'Or are nowadays the scenography of cafés, bars, and activities that represent very specific ethnographies. By the same token, it is especially through the foreign bodies that inhabit the white space of the Haussmannian city that the clear image of spatial coexistence is made visible. La Goutte d'Or is historically a land of immigration and hospitality. The local associative network was partly built in the continuity of solidarity actions towards newcomers. In the summer of 1996, the St. Bernard Church was occupied by undocumented migrants – *sans-papiers* – from June 28th until their eviction at the end of August[6]. From then on, the neighbourhood has persisted to be a place of support and welcoming for migrants and undocumented people, through community engagements of privates or associations. The church of St. Bernard, well-known in Paris for its past and present acts of solidarity, is still engaged in the distribution of meals and welcoming homeless people during the night; the community centre "Accueil Goutte d'Or" is particularly active towards the migrants and undocumented people in the territory, through French language courses, legal aid and school assistance for children. In the same way, private acts of solidarity also take place in the neighbourhood, through inhabitants offering their homes to host migrants and homeless people. As a matter of fact, it is here that the project held by Sebastian Thierry *"Le très Grand Hotel"*[7] with the association Petits Déj' Solidaires, takes place, with the intention to establish interactions and dynamics of coexistence among the reacts of the solidarity network and the support of inhabitants, activating the porous rooms of "the Big Hotel".

To conclude, the historic and sociodemographic analysis of the territory and the overmentioned case of La Goutte d'Or shows another image of spatial integration, that of people subverting the present identity and locality and enhancing new forms of inhabitation, collective support, and community engagement. The exclusion and exceptionality of their presence is, therefore, the means of formulation of simultaneous dynamics of reception and reject that this thesis aims to deepen.

5. Chabrol M., Évolutions récentes des quartiers d'immigration à Paris. L'exemple du quartier "africain" de Château-Rouge, *Hommes & migrations 1308*, 2014

6. Blin T., *Les sans-papiers de Saint-Bernard. Mouvement social et action organisée*, L'Harmattan : « Logiques sociales », Paris, 2005

7. PEROU, *Très grand Hotel*, Mai 2020 : https://www.perou-paris.org/Actions.html

2.3.

Border spaces

La Zone

To reconstruct and study the territory and the people who inhabit it through quantitative analysis is the initial aim of the research, confronting sociodemographic data and spatialising them on a historical investigation of the field. From this perspective, the study has mainly been directed on the genealogy of borders and establishment of informal settlements, in order to confront not only present and past occupations but also the ever-existing process of inhabiting the displacement.

Between 1840 and 1860 the city of Paris took the form we know nowadays, when the President of the Council, Adolphe Thiers, approved the creation of a fortified wall around the city, where lie today the Boulevard des Maréchaux and the Boulevard Périphérique. After the construction and the enclosure of the city with their neighbouring communes, the municipality decided to annex them, creating what remained the current reconfiguration of Paris. The new asset, provoked by the widening of its borders, together with the completion of the restoration works that began under Haussmann, is at the basis of the commencement of the progressive re-spatialisation of social classes and wealth and a substantial displacement of disadvantaged people around – or outside – of the new periphery, confirming the approach of Paris into the "capitalist modernity"[1]. The latest wall will soon start to be progressively abandoned, making it an attractive liminal space for lower classes, who occupied and established there their informal dwellings. From the imaginaries of the rich, the new peripheries, denominated *La Zone*, are areas of crime and misery, occupied by prostitutes, industrial workers, and immigrants, who live in auto-constructed precarious houses, caravans, or wooden shelters. The territory and its conditions will remain stable from its establishment around 1870 until 1920, progressively attracting the growing underprivileged population and new immigrants; only after 1920 the first social housings were established in the area, yet often in the immediate proximity of the previous informal settlements[2]. The real end of the Zone will, however, arrive quite late, only around 1970, with the construction of the Boulevard Périphérique and the massive

1. David Harvey, *Paris, capitale de la modernité*, Les prairies ordinaires, Paris, 2012

2. Fijalkow Y., *La construction des îlots insalubres, 1850-1945*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1998

infrastructure of the highways.

In addition to the Zone, the context of the bidonvilles and slums started to establish in and around the city in the 20th century. The *Petite-Espagne* is among the first auto-constructed neighbourhoods, which appeared around 1910 around the abandoned agricultural areas near the river Seine, in the city of Saint-Denis[3]. Generally, inhabitants of the bidonvilles are old "zoniers", new immigrants, or French people who came to Paris for industrial labour possibilities. However, while the representations of the time associated them almost exclusively with Algerians, actually slums are home to a varied population: 20% French, 42% North African, 20.6% Portuguese, 5.5% Spaniards, and the remaining 12% being made up of Africans, Yugoslavs and other ethnicities[4]. Although we can quite rarely recall the ghettoization of people living in the slums, the desire to eradicate or monitor the inhabitants is closely linked to that of controlling foreign populations whose status is uncertain and deemed potentially dangerous, as the case of the Algerians, in the bidonville of Nanterre[5].

From the spectrum of the analysed territory, the decades 50s, 60s, and 70s – notably the years denoted as the "Trente Glorieuses" – marked the peak of the establishment of informal settlements in the prefecture of Seine-Saint-Denis[6]. On December 31, 1965, the ministry of the Interior publishes its first census of slums in France: with 136 listed in the French provinces and 119 only in the Paris region, the territory is by far the densest in this sense, with about 75,000 people living in precarious conditions[7]. The bidonvilles of Saint-Denis settled in the proximity of social housing blocks and in urban interstices or liminal industrial areas. Hence, the dominant industry gradually enacted a landscape of wastelands – friches – in the middle of which persist the self-built residential neighbourhoods from the inter-war and post-war reconstruction. Le Cornillon was the first bidonville designated by the municipality, appeared in November 1957 with residents varying from 300 to 600, mostly coming from Spain or Portugal. In the north-eastern extremity, on the borders with Stains and La Courneve, a series of shacks and caravans composed the bidonville of Campa, which was a shelter for mostly Algerians, but also Spaniards and Portuguese. Not far from there, at 113 bd de la Liberation, it was as an extension of a hotel that was already welcoming migrants that a new bidonville was formed, housing in 1965 around 200 single workers, the majority of whom came from sub-Saharan Africa. In Pantin, the demolition of emergency housing blocks is the main cause of the settlement of many micro-slums. Therefore, the subsequent lack of rehousing generated the necessity of the population to transfers to other slums, starting a process of a never-ending displacement.

3. Lillo N., *La Petite Espagne de la Plaine-Saint-Denis, 1900-1980*, Éditions Autrement, Paris, 2004

4. Pétonnet C., *On est tous dans le brouillard. Ethnologie des banlieues*, Éd. Galilée, Paris, 1979, pages 260

5. Sayad A., *Un Nanterre algérien, terre de bidonvilles*. Editions Autrement, Paris, 1995, pages 144

6. David C., La résorption des bidonvilles de Saint-Denis. Politique urbaine et redéfinition de la place des immigrants dans la ville (années 1960-1970), *Histoire urbaine 2010/1 (n° 27)*, 2010, pages 121 à 142

7. Blanc-Chaléard M., *Histoire de l'immigration en France*, Paris, La Découverte, 2001

Images in the following pages:
1. *Le bidonville du Franc Moisin en 1960.* Anonyme
2. *Issy Les Moulineaux 1940,* Galerie Lumière des Roses
3. *Bidonville de Nanterre, 1956. Jean Pottier,* Musée national de l'histoire et des cultures de l'immigration
4. *Habitants de la Zone,* photographe anonyme, Galerie Lumière des Roses

1

2

3

4

Liminal spaces

From the analysis of the past makeshift camps established since 2015 as well as the current dynamics of settlement of migrants' makeshift camps, this thesis divides the border spaces of displacement into three categories, which, although they spatialise different practices and political and economic implications, they represent the same state of reception and exception embodied by displaced spaces and displaced people. Public space, private space, and the liminal spaces in between – which will be called *friches* – are therefore explained through their historical, political, and architectural belonging to the corps and the city.

Following the evacuations of the main makeshift camps of the latest years, thousands of asylum seekers, refugees, and generally immigrants at any time live in tents or informal settlements occupying public spaces in cities[1]. Commonly, this is not only the case of Paris but also of many other major cities in France and all over Europe, strengthening the already established dilemma of generally displaced and homeless people who find in the public sphere possibilities of shelter. Moreover, migrants and asylum seekers contributing to the production of the so-called makeshift camps in the city are either waiting for analysis of their claim and possibilities of shelter or intending to move to other countries – notably mainly the United Kingdom – which appears to be partly responsible of forms of aggregation in public spaces around the main stations of arrivals or departures.

Since 2018 the "Night of the solidarity" – *Nuit de la solidarité* –, has been an annual operation to count homeless people at night, which mobilises more than 2,000 volunteers and social professionals each year. The initiative was sponsored by the socialist mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, following the examples in New York, Brussels, or Athens, and it aims to count, at a given time, the number of people on the street, to better understand the profile of the latter, as well as their needs, in order to advance public reception, accommodation, and integration systems and policies. From the perspective of the report 2021[2], the street and the public space

1. Byrne M., On the Streets of Paris: The Experience of Displaced Migrants and Refugees. *Social Sciences* 10 : 130, 2021

2. APUR, *Les personnes en situation de rue à Paris la nuit du 25-26 mars 2021 - Analyse des données issues du décompte de la 4e édition de la Nuit de la Solidarité,* publié en novembre 2021. At the time of writing, the report of the Nuit de la Solidarité 2022 had not been published yet, so personal observation has been confronted with the report of 2021. For data and additional information on makeshift camps and informal places of inhabitation from the "Nuit de la Solidarité 2022" look at the appendix at the end of this book.

– squares, footpaths – is by far the most occupied informal settlement by migrants and homeless people, living in tents, sleeping bags, or simply with blankets generally donated by associations and NGOs. While the establishments of camps – namely aggregations of informal occupations – are generally placed in border zones or interstices outside of the municipality, single people living in the streets are roughly dispersed all over the territory, with a high concentration reported in the 18th, 19th, and the centre of the city. Furthermore, the corps appeared to be exceptionally present around the main stations – notably Gare de Lyon, Gare du Nord, Gare de l'Est, Gare de Montparnasse) – and in vast green spaces, as the two massive parks at the eastern and western edges of the city – Bois de Boulogne, Bois de Vincennes. From a broad viewpoint, while the report recorded a decrease in the number of people living in the streets compared to the previous year – probably due to the Covid19 crisis, which made it easier for the municipality and associations to provide shelters, thanks to an increasing number of unoccupied reception facilities –, the condition of a gradual dispersion and further displacement of homeless people was denounced. This status was then one of the meanings around the decision of an enlargement of the territorial analysis for the following year, leading the Night of the solidarity of 2022 to include 7 municipalities in the prefecture of Seine-Saint-Denis[3].

Another remarkable space of migration that emerged in the analysis of the spaces of displacement in the city of Paris is therefore connected to the private sphere, namely the squats and occupied vacant buildings all over the region. As a matter of fact, this type of shelter for migrants has been able to host a significant part of the population since 2015 and they continue to proliferate nowadays especially outside and at the margins of the city. The schools Lycée Jean-Jeurès and Lycée Jean Quarré represented in fact the most relevant examples of an overall well-managed informal occupation, with thousands of people sheltered and forms of integration inside and outside of the building, enacting new nets of solidarity in the neighbourhood in which they were placed[4].
After the evacuations of the densest camps of the capital, due to the lack of shelters, squats flourished in the Parisian banlieues. A clear example is the case of Thiais, in Val-de-Marne, where around 150 migrants settled in a disused and unsanitary building for elderly people; the case of Vitry-sur-Seine, in Val-de-Marne, where disused office buildings have been occupied by migrants and refugees since January 2021[5]. In June, a request for eviction had been pronounced, but it has never been implemented for the lack of a stable project for the building; at the same time, no occupancy agreement has been signed either. In January 2021 the association Info Migrants denounces another squat established in the outskirts

3. Métropole du Grand Paris, *Nuit de la Solidarité Métropolitaine,* publié le 02/02/2022. For data and additional information on makeshift camps and informal places of inhabitation from the "Nuit de la Solidarité 2022" look at the appendix at the end of this book.

4. Coutant I., *Les migrants en bas de chez soi,* Seuils, Paris, 2018, pages 2016

5. Terraz P., En Ile-de-France, des migrants poussés hors de Paris, *Le Monde,* 10/12/2021

of the capital, in the prefecture of Seine-Saint-Denis, yet they do not give further location information to preserve the place from possible eviction[6]. However, they provide some information on the place, the facilities they have, its management through the association Utopia56, and distributions by the association Solidarité migrants Wilson.

Overall, in France, more than 177 buildings have been occupied in 2021, regarding the latest report of the Observatory of expulsions of informal places of living – *Observatoire des expulsion de lieux de vie informels* –, which is three times more than what was reported in 2020[7].

Finally, to analyse the spaces of displacement in the urban sphere the research cannot be limited to observing the mere dichotomy between public and private, rather it is necessary to investigate all those liminal spaces that are at the threshold between the two dimensions, between inside and outside, between legality and illegality. These spaces, which we will call *friches*[8], are often generated by industrial, agricultural, or residential open spaces that have lost their function over time and are now in a state of economic and political abandonment. Nonetheless, they often constitute many of the spaces of displacement where migrants and refugees tend to settle, being their very status of indefiniteness, ambiguity, and boundary the fitting space for equally indefinite, ambiguous, and border corps.

The *Institut Paris Région* presented the results of his first *Observatoire des friches franciliennes*, a unique tool that they designed at the request of the region[9]. According to the first results of the Ile-de-France Wasteland Observatory, the region has 2,721 potential friches on its territory, including 776 in Paris and the inner suburbs. Present in 728 municipalities, most of these spaces appear to be detected in the department of Seine-Saint-Denis, being strongly shaped by its industrial heritage and disadvantaged situation. Taking back the past camp establishments and the report of the Night of the solidarity of 2021 made by the city of Paris it is clear the attachment of migrant and refugees' settlement to these places, especially in the latest years. Some examples are the case of the camp in Porte de la Chapelle of 2016; the dispersed settlements in Saint-Denis or Porte d'Aubervilliers – discovered through the collaboration with the association Solidarité Migrants Wilson –; but also, although not specifically related to the analysed territory, the famous friche Magnesia in Calais, where since 2020 migrants and refugees were the protagonists of a vicious cycle of camp establishments and evacuations, which is still very present today.

In the following pages, three spaces of migration are displayed through photographic analysis, after or during the presence of the settlement: Delphine Seyrig – makeshift camp from October until

6. Oberti C., "On fait ce que l'État ne fait pas" : la survie de 250 migrants dans un squat insalubre aux allures de camp, *Infomigrants*, 27/01/2021

7. Medicines du Monde, *Rapport annuel de l'Observatoire des expulsions collectives de lieux de vie informels. Oct.2020 – Nov.2021*, 21/11/2021

8. French word for Wasteland: Land devoid of cultivation and abandoned (Larousse).

9. The information given are taken from the conferences held by the Institut Paris Région – "Observatoire des friches franciliennes" at the Ecole Nationale Superieure d'Architecture de Paris Belleville, throughout the Semaine Intensif of Master I, 07/02/2022

January –, the Tunnel of Pré-Saint-Gervais – makeshift camp evacuated in December 2021 and March 2022 –, and a friche in front of the hotel Cheval Noir in Pantin – makeshift camp evacuated in May 2022. Together with the representation of the reception at Soixante Adada, these places show this non-exhaustive categorisation of spaces of migration in the city.

These liminal spaces are therefore the spatialisation of the very condition of the migratory corps that this thesis investigates. They enhance the border space, the grenzraum, not only under a political and institutional configuration but also through the status of being themselves spaces of exception, holding on to possibilities of eviction and reuse. On the one hand, they constitute a status of present and potential habitat, where the communal sphere of the migratory condition takes place, they build the private and the public space, subverting its norms and reshaping the apparent selective uninhabitability of the city. On the other, they are the image of the eviction, of permanent fear and state of exception in which the corps of refugees and migrants are forced to dwell and inhabit. Being constantly on the edge and the scenario of perpetual practices of rejection and reception, these are spaces of holding, in the steady and uncertain spatialisation of the conflict between the necessity of mobility and immobility, visibility and invisibility.

"We arrive at a small house made of wood and paper, there are several chairs outside and a small table. There also seem to be some decorations all around, some plants, and a bike. We are on the quay along the Seine, for many a place of passage, a useless and messy interstice; for them, it is their little house along the river. [...] We feel a great confusion inside, people laughing, people talking; after calling a few times a smiling gentleman opens, happy to see us again. He greets us, thanks us immediately, he tells us that they are 10, and invites us to come inside. We thank him but we still have many deliveries this evening, we give him meals and other things and after the last greetings, we head towards the next informal settlement".

(Field Diary, 27/01/2022)

19/02/2022 / 48°53'45.1"N 2°24'04.4"E

CAMP DELPHINE SEYRIG

19/02/2022 / 48°53'02.0"N 2°23'56.1"E

CAMP TUNNEL PRE-ST.-GERVAIS

PART 1

CAMP CHEVAL NOIR

3. On Hold

The condition of the displaced person as stateless outsider is embodied by the liminality, dispersion and opacification of the space in which they inhabit. However, if we take into account the strong interrelation between spaces and practices that shape them, the result is a sort of ambiguity around the junction of the concepts of camp and city. Practices of containment, control, protracted displacement are consequently coexisting with the production of dynamics of collective resistance and solidarity. Crossing it with the temporality that characterise both the acts of support and reject, as well as the spaces of inhabitation, the resorted question is therefore what is left of migrants spaces and where is the position of the project in reactivating sedimented practices of holding?

3.1.

Holding

The cases of Saint-Denis, Delphine Seyrig, Cheval Noir are only some of the makeshift camps that proliferated in the capital, and they are not sufficient to offer a sociological or complete at-scale reflection, but rather they do illustrate a phenomenon and are able to challenge the architecture dimension of migration. They are mentioned to illustrate practices and configuration of what has been entitled as border spaces, on their physical and social interpretation. The analysis that this thesis is investigating is therefore related to the question of how this collateral accord and dependency of bodies and spaces is activating the space itself. Practices of containment, control, protracted displacement are consequently coexisting with the production of dynamics of collective resistance and solidarity. The proximity of the ambiguous forms of these inheritances is the basis of the equally ambiguous managing of these bodies and spaces: an *infrastructure de l'attente*[1]. Theorising refuge, be it the camp or the settlement, arises various questions generated by anomalies, both because the stateless conditions of the individuals who inhabit them collide with the state sovereignty of the 21st century[2], and because of its mere spatial physical configurations, that of a humanitarian slum[3]. Hanna Arendt theorisation on the rise of totalitarianism[4] is particularly adequate to represent the figure of the refugee, as the body who marks the ethnonationalism of nation-states, legitimised by international and "humanitarian" consensus. As a consequence, the spatialisation of this condition, namely the camp, is the quintessential zone of indistinction, of inclusion through exclusion, where political life becomes bare life and is allowed to be subjected to legitimised forms of violence[5]. Nonetheless, while these assumptions might be particularly accurate relating to the humanitarian camp or institutionalised refuge settlement, they embody different meanings and practices when confronting it with makeshift camps and migrants' informalities within the city. Citing, Abdelmalek Sayed, what characterises migration is its actual or assumed temporariness[6]. The case of urban migration encompasses, then, a different condition of temporality, generating ephemeral and

1. Infrastructure of waiting, I therefore refer to all those practices and dispositifs that enable protracted displacement and a constant condition of wait in migrants' bodies and perspectives.

2. Malkki L.H., *Purity and exile: violence, memory and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1995

3. Sanyal R., Urbanizing Refuge: Interrogating Spaces of Displacement, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2014

4. Arendt H., *The origins of totalitarianism*. Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., New York, 1966

5. Agamben Giorgio, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1998, 225 pages

6. Sayad A., *L'immigration ou les paradoxes de l'altérité. Les enfants illégitimes*. Lectures, Les rééditions, 2006

precarious settlements, as well as forms of eviction and movements of solidarity. Consequently, studying these places with the spectrum of exceptionalism and exclusion is only highlighting one of the various practices that characterise them. The question that this thesis is therefore suggesting is rather how these simultaneous and consequential reactions of rejection and reception have changed the places analysed and the perception around the collective subjects? Which political space did they generate despite their temporary dimension? The inquiry suggests then not only to study political acts of eviction and humanitarian assistance but also enlarging the gazes on the boundary between migrants and locals, stressing the evolution of transversal axialities and relations of solidarity.

"Where do the refugees find home? It seems to us that many attributes of home such as privacy, safety, security, care, belonging, and the possibility of imagining a future are found outside the house, in these small, less formal and precarious networks. We could argue that for people on the move, rather than home being a fixed place, it is a condition, the experience of "being-at home-less" in the world"[7].

The ambiguity around simultaneous spaces of support and dynamics of exclusion is particularly visible in border zones and at national and local frontiers. Hence, in places where settlements tend to be particularly ephemeral, and migrants are constantly exposed to police harassment. Not only appears then crucial analysing the dispositifs of control, either physical or virtual, that police and policies put into action, but also their specific temporalities at stake in the modes of migration governmentality. In this framework, temporal borders[8] enable seeing time not merely as the scenography of control – control over time –, but as well as a specific dispositifs of migrants' management – control through time. As a consequence, displacement is the practical methodology of generation of this practices and temporal borders.
If the aforementioned literature has mainly focused on the inclination and transversalities of power and control, this thesis is looking instead to the effects of these dynamics into space and people inhabiting it, thus targeting transversalities of alliances and reaction of resistance.
Butler refers to assemblies as "bodies that come together to make a claim in public space"[9], therefore necessarily transient, being

7. Boano C, Astolfo G., Notes around Hospitality as Inhabitation. Engaging with the Politics of Care and Refugees' Dwelling Practices in the Italian Urban Context, *Migration and Society: Advances in Research* 3, 2020

8. Tazzioli M., The temporal borders of asylum. Temporality of control in the EU border regime. *Political Geography*, 64, pp. 13-22, 2018

9. Butler J., *Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street*, lecture held in Venice, 7 September 2011, in the framework of the series The State of Things, organized by the Office for Contemporary Art Norway (OCA)

the condition not to be seen as an obstacle, rather manifesting its potential and virtual reproducibility. In this way, linking past, present, and future temporalities, the analysis Butler makes around gatherings rises a remarkable discussion for the thesis, that of the potential reactivation of sedimented practices.
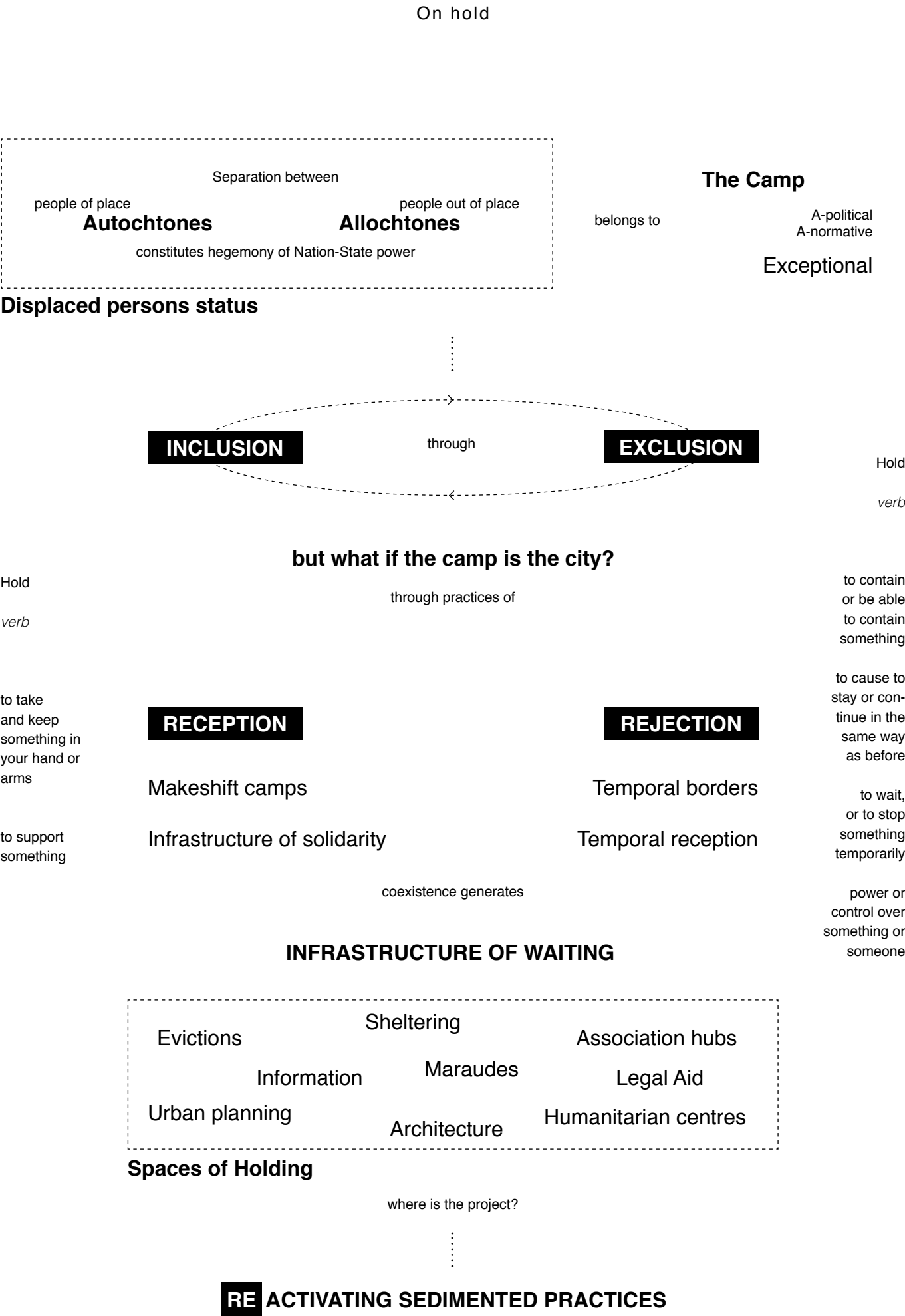
"Gatherings are necessarily transient, and that transience is linked to their critical function. One could say, " but oh, they do not last," and sink into a sense of futility; but that sense of loss is countered by the anticipation of what may be coming: "they could happen at any time! " Gatherings such as these serve as one of democracy's incipient or "fugitive" moments. The demonstrations against precarity may well prove to be a case in point"[10].

In other words, the contribution of Butler and other scholars has interrogated how experiences and political reactions of solidarity movements have remained across time and space. By connecting the history of struggle and the history of solidarity movements[11], the resulting transversal alliances show how singular claims might evoke a greater dynamic of inclusion able to unsettle the division between the migrant and the citizen. This temporality of solidarity[12] allows understanding what lasts of spaces that no longer exist, evicted migrants' makeshift camps, yet, at the same time, it is a support for the recognition of all those sedimented and virtual collective practices of coexistence simultaneously visible and invisible in migration spaces. How have practices of eviction sedimented over time? How has responded the city? What is left today of these practices and what is left of their spaces?
The ambiguity that affects the apparatuses of the camp spreads almost backward from the point of view of the city. Practices of rejection and reception represent not only a simultaneous and interrelated effect of the generated diaspora but also the only possible dispositif of control on a phenomenon distinguished by its constant displacement and opacification, being it either forced or voluntary. The impossibility of regular control or systematic information necessarily generates a series of ambiguous rooms in the urban sphere; rooms marked by the concurrent embodiment of mobility and immobility, the visible and the opaque; rooms between the camp and the city, which will be identified as "spaces of holding".

10. Butler J., *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*, Harvard University Press, Harvard, 2015

11. Davis Angela. Y., *Freedom is a constant struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the foundations of a movement*. Haymarket Books. 2016

12. Tazzioli M., What is Left of Migrants' Spaces? Transversal Alliances and the Temporality of Solidarity. *Political Anthropological Research on International Social Sciences*, 2020

Separation between

people of place **Autochtones**   people out of place **Allochtones**

constitutes hegemony of Nation-State power

Displaced persons status

The Camp

belongs to

A-political
A-normative

Exceptional

INCLUSION   through   **EXCLUSION**

Hold

verb

but what if the camp is the city?

Hold

verb

to take and keep something in your hand or arms

to support something

through practices of

RECEPTION

Makeshift camps

Infrastructure of solidarity

REJECTION

Temporal borders

Temporal reception

to contain or be able to contain something

to cause to stay or continue in the same way as before

to wait, or to stop something temporarily

power or control over something or someone

coexistence generates

INFRASTRUCTURE OF WAITING

Evictions   Sheltering   Association hubs

Information   Maraudes   Legal Aid

Urban planning   Architecture   Humanitarian centres

Spaces of Holding

where is the project?

RE ACTIVATING SEDIMENTED PRACTICES

3.2.

Practices of rejection

Maps of danger

Regardless of the context, techniques of police eviction and harassments are similar, generating practices of filter, dispersion, discouragement, and intimidation on displaced persons[1]. The centrality of the role of police in the management of migrants is inscribed in a long history of people's mobility control, which coincides with the already analysed[2] genealogy of immigration and spaces of displacement in France and Paris. In the 19th century, when regulations were principally concentrated on internal displacement, police commenced to use the "body lecture" (*lire le corps*) as main tool of management and control for the identification of autochthonous and foreigners[3]. Being displaced people commonly identified as criminals, they are subject to particular supervision and identification of their status as foreigner residents in France. The development of a sort of *identité de papier* (paper identity) that starts to take place with the definition of the national and the nation-state, has highly contributed to construct the division between nationals and foreigners[4]. Therefore, later in the 20th century, these procedures of identification primarily concern people the government wishes to exclude from common society, notably criminals, foreigners designated as "nomads". The turning point is from 1970, with decolonisation and regulation of massive migratory fluxes to France, pushing police's practices of management and control to frontier zones in order to limit irregular migration and undesirable people. This procedure is strengthened after 1986, with the introduction of the visa to enter the territory and the consequent thicker construction of the frontier as a place of control. Furthermore, the Schengen convention adopted in 1990 is the final point of convergence of control policies and police management, promoting cooperation between police and law and considerably reinforcing authority at external frontiers of the European Union.
The effective technology of controls is made possible through identity checks, which mainly concern non-white individuals whose basis of evidence is specifically testified by unconventional skin colour or non-Caucasian appearance[5]. The dispositif of expul-

1. For data and additional information on pushbacks and evictions in France look at the appendix at the end of this book.

2. Look at chapters 1.2.1. Movements; 1.2.2. Border people

3. Torpey J., *L'invention du passeport. Etats, citoyenneté et surveillance,* Paris, Belin, coll. « Socio-Histoires », 2005

4. Noiriel G., *L'identification. Genèse d'un travail d'Etat,* Paris, coll. « Socio-Histoires », 2007

5. Fassin D., *La force de l'ordre. Une anthropologie de la police des quartiers,* Seuil, Paris, 2011, pages 118

sion that these harassments are willing to encourage is not only responding to the necessity of a reduction of displaced persons, but it is also acting with the intention of producing social order and making visible distinctions[6]. The social filter engendered by migrants' police thus enhances already existing divisions among the populations through the bias of ethno-racial summons generated[7]: in so doing, harassments constantly reinforce and reactivate structures of rejection.
Police evictions – namely the evacuations of makeshift camps – is also responding to dynamics of control and regulation of the phenomena: while in most of the cases, evacuations lead to provide temporary shelters for migrants and displaced persons, at the same time this process involves the evaluation and legal control of hosted people. The precondition of the evaluation of their administrative situation is not only pushing a considerable number of displaced people to refuse shelter to avoid potential legal repercussions but it is also a marker of the continuity of police violence and institutional violence[8]. Consequently, the result, as well as the primary dispositif of this procedure, is a constant discouragement. Moreover, we may assume that the condition of their state of uncertainty, either being in a constant wait for their claim or relegating them in a systematic being on the move, contributes to highlighting their never-ending status of exceptionality.
While techniques of police operations might be similar, the spaces they oversight differ based on their status of frontier, urbanisation or rurality conditions. In the Parisian context, police controls regard specifically places with a high concentration or frequentation of migrants: some neighbourhoods or cities – Chateau Rouge, Belleville, Stalingrad in Paris; Saint-Denis, Aubervilliers, La Courneve –; specific metro stations in the north-eastern area of the city; proximities of solidarity association or the Cour nationale du droit d'asile (National Court of Asylum). On the other hand, in Calais, for example, the inspections are mainly concentrated in the city centre, enacting practices of securitisation and differential exclusion in certain areas of the city[9]. Consequently, for migrants and displaced people, the operation of police eviction and harassment in specific areas of the city, involves producing some forms of voluntary opacification themselves[10]. Every individual draws his or her own map of danger, based on the intensity of control presence in distinct areas of the city. Nonetheless, the presence of solidarity dynamics and rejection policies in the wWsame spaces of displacement – namely, train stations, metro stations, distinct poles of immigration, and so on – is often the reason behind the stationary presence of migrants and displaced persons in those areas the map of danger demands to avoid.
These operations have resulted in the evacuation of around 30,000 people in three years (who can sometimes be the same people

6. Babels, *La police des migrants. Filtrer, disperser, harceler,* Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2019, 120 pages
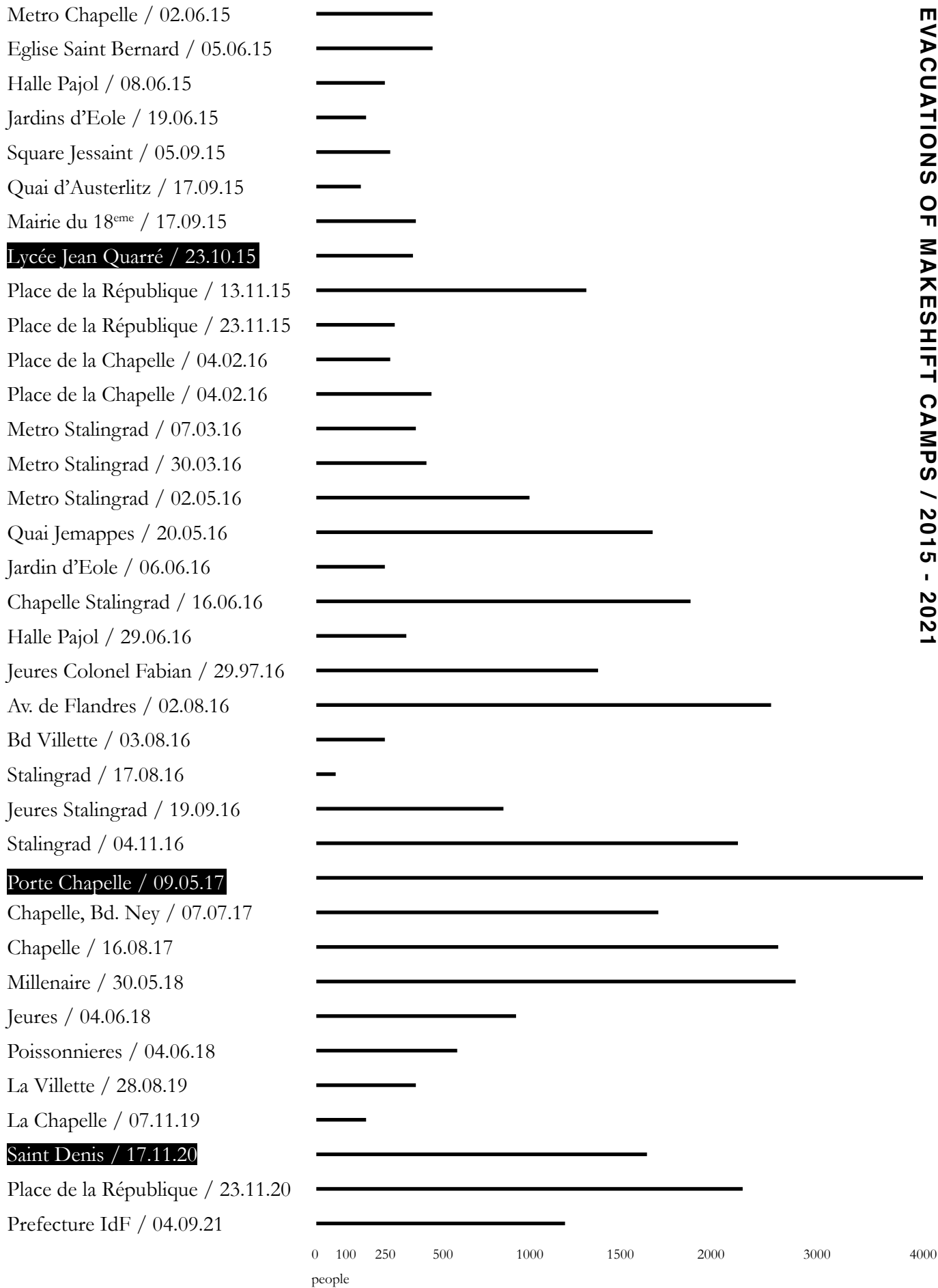
7. *Ibidem*

8. *Ibidem*

9. *Ibidem*

10. Le Courant S., L'intériorisation de la frontière sous menace d'expulsion. Le quotidien des étrangers en situation irrégulière, *Les nouvelles frontières de la société française,* 455-476, 2012
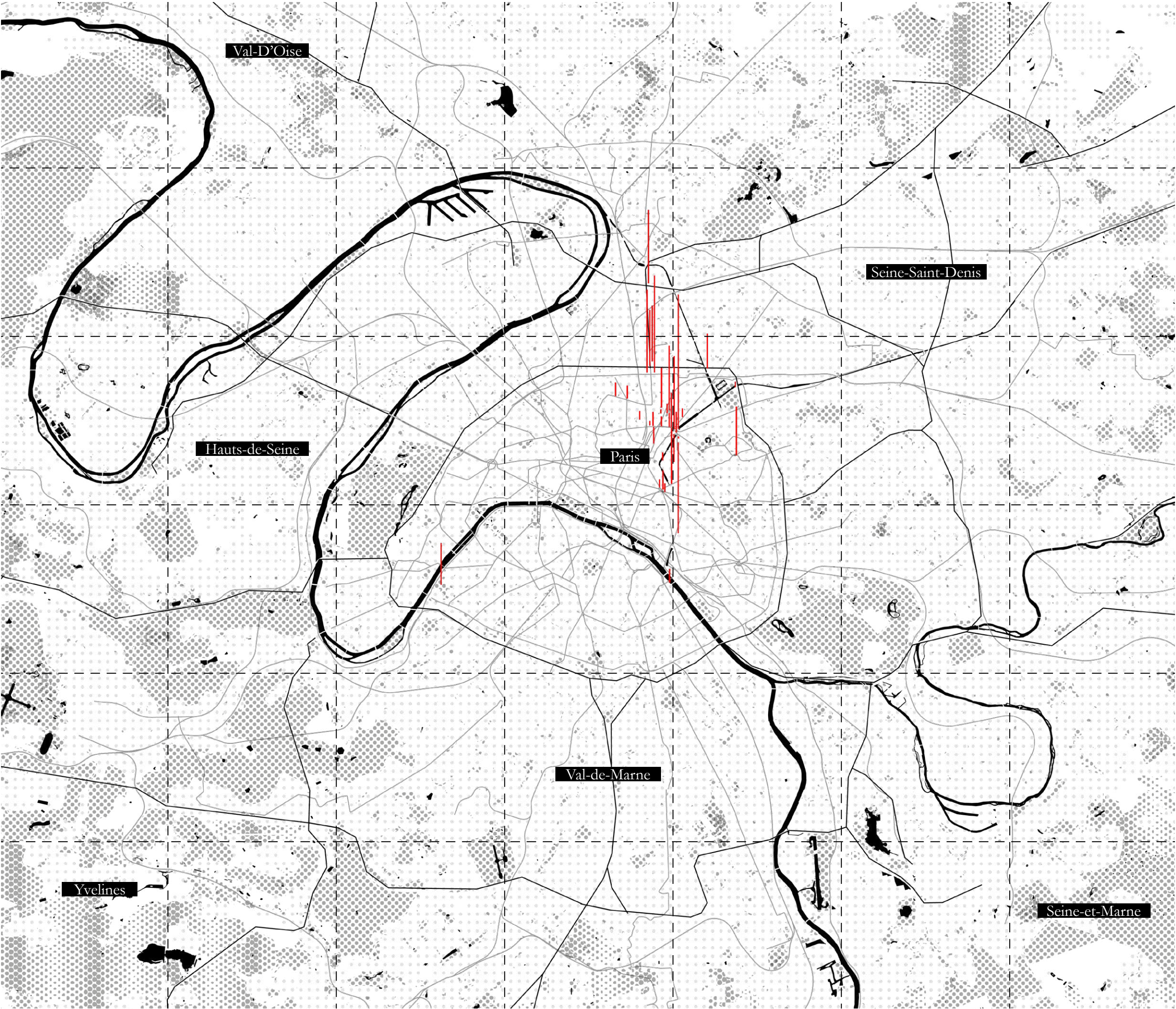
Metro Chapelle / 02.06.15

Eglise Saint Bernard / 05.06.15

Halle Pajol / 08.06.15

Jardins d'Eole / 19.06.15

Square Jessaint / 05.09.15

Quai d'Austerlitz / 17.09.15

Mairie du 18eme / 17.09.15

Lycée Jean Quarré / 23.10.15

Place de la République / 13.11.15

Place de la République / 23.11.15

Place de la Chapelle / 04.02.16

Place de la Chapelle / 04.02.16

Metro Stalingrad / 07.03.16

Metro Stalingrad / 30.03.16

Metro Stalingrad / 02.05.16

Quai Jemappes / 20.05.16

Jardin d'Eole / 06.06.16

Chapelle Stalingrad / 16.06.16

Halle Pajol / 29.06.16

Jeures Colonel Fabian / 29.97.16

Av. de Flandres / 02.08.16

Bd Villette / 03.08.16

Stalingrad / 17.08.16

Jeures Stalingrad / 19.09.16

Stalingrad / 04.11.16

Porte Chapelle / 09.05.17

Chapelle, Bd. Ney / 07.07.17

Chapelle / 16.08.17

Millenaire / 30.05.18

Jeures / 04.06.18

Poissonnieres / 04.06.18

La Villette / 28.08.19

La Chapelle / 07.11.19

Saint Denis / 17.11.20

Place de la République / 23.11.20

Prefecture IdF / 04.09.21

0   100 250   500   1000   1500   2000   2500   3000   4000

people

returning to the same place) from sites concentrated in the 18th and 19th arrondissements, north-east of Paris. Except for a camp on Quai d'Austerlitz (13th arrondissement), those on Place de la République (3rd, 10th, and 11th) and Porte de Saint-Ouen (17th and 18th), it is the two north-eastern arrondissements that hosted most migrant camps.

In its new annual report, the Observatoire inter-associé des expulsions collectives de lieux de vie informels (Inter-Associated Observatory of Collective Expulsions from Informal Living Places) recorded 1,330 evictions from November 1, 2020, to October 31, 2021, in metropolitan France[11]. The same observatory provides information around how the typical evacuation is executed:

6.00h The police arrive at the camp.

6.20h Some inhabitants have already abandoned the camp, leaving their empty tents behind. Some try to recuperate the maximum of their belongings before the police arrive.

6.40h The police verify that all the dwellings or tents are empty.

7.30h Inhabitants wait to know if they will be proposed of some kind of reception facilities. They are only given basic information.

7.50h The services of the prefecture, provided with a list, indicate to certain inhabitants that shelter is offered to the most vulnerable. The centres or hotels are between 15 and 25km from where the camps or slums are. The inhabitants must get there on their own. They must get there before noon if they don't want their room canceled. They can only stay there for 3 days.

8.20h Some families do not understand why they are not entitled as vulnerable and therefore they are not offered a hotel. Others to whom the hotel is offered, do not wish to go there. It is too far from the children's school, their place of work, the place of their social and medical support, and there is no kitchen.

8.20h At the same time, the services of the prefecture check the administrative status of people, some people are thus given the obligation to leave French territory.

8.40h Some families which have been granted a shelter try to find a way to arrive at the hotel, they ask to the present associations to manage and move their belongings or to help them to arrive at the reception centre.

9.20h The police either demands the dismantling of tents and informal dwellings or destroy them, regardless of displaced persons affairs

10.00h The inhabitants who have not been granted a reception facility or who do not want to go there, search for a new place where to install. Some find new camps or squats; some go sleeping alone in the streets, opacifying themselves.

11. Médecins du monde, *Rapport annuel de l'Observatoire des expulsions collectives de lieux de vie informels. 1er novembre 2020 – 31 octobre 2021*. Publié le 15 novembre 2021.

Images in the following pages:
1/2. *Evacuation of the camp in the Tunnel Pré-Saint-Gervais*, © Christophe Archambault, AFP
3/4. *Evacuation of the camp in Delphine Seyrig*, © Raphael De Bengy, Studio Hans Lucas

EVACUATIONS OF MAKESHIFT CAMPS / 2015 - 2021

0 km

5 km

Val-D'Oise

Seine-Saint-Denis

Hauts-de-Seine

Paris

Val-de-Marne

Yvelines

Seine-et-Marne

Hydrography

Parks and green areas

Agricultural areas

Urbanised areas

Evacuation of makeshift camps (2015-2020) [n.ppl]

Highways and main roads

Public transports

PART 1

1

2

3

4

What does the city

These practices of rejection are also reflected on the urban policies and management, through direct and indirect dispositives and actions of exclusion.

The tools of "situational prevention", such as grids, stones, obstacles that make migrants impossible use or stationing in certain areas of the city, have drastically changed the urban space. Especially then in those areas where migrants and displaced persons have strongly marked their passage – namely the neighbourhoods and cities we have frequently mentioned, Stalingrad, Porte de la Chapelle, Saint-Denis, Porte d'Aubervilliers – these systems of obstruction have constituted the image of the simultaneous what migrants do to the city and what cities do to migrants[1]. These dispositifs are therefore the continuum of a progressive urgency of security that strictly belongs to the 21st century neoliberal city, which has materialised demands of control and surveillance through different means: the proliferation of CCTV cameras in urban spaces, privatisation of public areas and security systems in busses and transports, to enumerate some of them[2]. Babels argue that the idea behind this type of mechanism of prevention is that crime does not have a structural cause, it is rather the result of a favourable occasion: if we only increase the control and therefore diminish crime opportunities and escaping punishments, it would be enough to solve the problem and its rooted motivation[3]. In the case of migrants' prevention, we then recognise a similar logic, being the technologies of exclusion the mere opportunity to avoid the existence of the structural factors of displacement, from the global and national scale, namely the rooted cause of migration or the absence of consistent perspectives, to the local spectrum, that is the lack of reception structures. Consequently, the dispositives of control and eviction established are the spatialisation of the inevitable precondition to filter people from the public space, denying the inclusion to the normativity space of the city.

From 2015, the migrants' makeshift camps established in neighbourhoods and surrounding cities that constitute areas of primary intervention for the municipality of Paris and the region Ile de

1. Babels, *Entre accueil et rejet - ce que les villes font aux migrants*, Paris, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », 2018, 120 pages

2. Bonnet F., Contrôler des populations par l'espace ? Prevention situationnelle et vidéosurveillance dans les gares et le centres commerciaux, *Politix*, vol. 97, n.1, 2012, p. 25-46

3. Babels, *Entre accueil et rejet - ce que les villes font aux migrants,* Paris, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », 2018, 120 pages

France[4]. The 18th and 19th arrondissements, as well as the industrial cities of Saint-Denis or Aubervilliers, are in fact subject throughout these years – and also in the future perspectives – of a series of either massive or small-scale projects bent on requalifying these areas, yet enacting practices of differential management of the space.

The cases of grids and stones used as enclosure of former makeshift camps, in order to exclude new potentialities of settlement, is one of the results of the negotiation between urban and national management of the situation, through securing public spaces and avoid evacuations. Nonetheless, the means through which the municipality decides to maintain and supervise the camps after the eviction is a significant symbol of warning and primacy that delegitimises the presence of displaced persons in spaces of potential requalification. Since 2002 the municipality of Paris is transforming into action the propositions of the Grand Projet Renouvellement Urbain (GPRU)[5], an operation of urban requalification of areas of primary intervention, through projects capable to tackle the unfavourable living condition of its inhabitants, economic development, and rights' access to the most vulnerable populations. The project is extended to 8 arrondissements in the eastern part of the city and receives support from various public and private partners. In 2008 the National Agency for Urban Renovation (ANRU) decides to support the project in the national program of urban renovation and the overall consultation culminates in 2017, when the municipality effectively started the development of various projects of urban renovation in the neighbourhoods detected. The intervention in the new area around the station Rosa Parks, the avenue Macdonald, or the Porte d'Aubervilliers are therefore inscribed into these processes and combined with small-scale and more ephemeral strategies that proliferated in the areas.

In 2007 at the Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine in Paris, the former president of the French republic, Nicolas Sarkozy, pronounced the initial important discourse of the management of Grand Paris, the new territorial project aimed at "integrating the banlieues to the capital through adapted communication means". The following year ten architectural firms have been designated to work on the project, marking the beginning of the multidisciplinary territorial consultation of "Le Grand Paris": Richard Rogers, Yves Lion, Djamel Klouche, Christian de Portzamparc, Antoine Grumbach, Jean Nouvel, Studio 08, Roland Castro, LIN and MVRDV have collaborated and separately for one year to translate into projects the proposition of the plan. In 2010, the country promulgated a dedicated law to the project of Grand Paris, fixing as main priorities: reinforce attractivity and visibility of the capital region; make the metropolis balanced in terms of social cohesion; improve the transport network and ease people displacement from

4. *Ibidem*

5. Ville de Paris, *Les projets de renouvellement urbain : GPRU, NPNRU*, mise à jour le 30/01/2020

6. Légifrance, *Décret n° 2010-756 du 7 juillet 2010 relatif à la Société du Grand Paris*, dernière mise à jour : 15 avril 2022

the periphery[6]. At the same time, the architect Bertrand Lemoine was nominated the general director of the Atelier International du Grand Paris, bringing together again the equips to work on the project until the official closure at the end of 2017 and the commencements of the buildings of the Grand Paris Express and urban requalification projects.

Since all these projects fall over those spaces that we have identified as migratory hubs, with various makeshift camps proliferating since 2015, we cannot look at their plans without examining who can and cannot take part to their processes[7]. As a matter of fact, although the primordial French urban policy initiatives have been explicitly oriented towards plans to curtail socioeconomic segregation and possibilities of gentrification, by requalification of disadvantaged areas and equipment of services and transports, in facts spatial inequalities have intensified[8]. Moreover, they are accompanied by a progressive logic of protection promoted by private enterprises that take part in the privatisation of management of public spaces. In this context, the mentioned plans and projects have then also acted as practices of rejection for the migrants' communities that inhabited these spaces, either evicting encampments very often without proposing adequate accommodations for everyone or reconquering space without including their presence. The promenaide urbaine[9] is a project of urban requalification conceived by the collective "Civic Lab", in collaboration with the municipality of Paris, promoted with the intention of rehabilitating the promenade between the overground stations of Barbes, La Chapelle and Stalingrad, a former space of displacement and migration of remarkable importance for the genealogy of camps of the capital. However, the displaced persons had never been mentioned in the design and consultation of the new proposition, once again manifesting the social and spatial rejection of their presence. These projects birth with the intention of letting inhabitants "reconquering" the public space and make explicit their "belonging" to it, are therefore further acts of sovereignty and control over those people who found there a shelter and are now forced to displace and potentially never come back.

In addition to the already established process of gentrification and therefore protracted displacement of migrants in areas to be requalified, the Jeux Olympiques 2024 – Olimpic games 2024 – that will be held in Paris, have been imagined as an additional way to give a new prosperous life to the neighbourhoods of the Parisian periphery and the department of Seine-Saint-Denis, with Saint Denis the city with the majority of Olympic sites projects. This decision aroused a great mobilization among activism in the Parisian banlieues and dedicated scholarship, especially with concerns about potential phenomena of gentrification and additional rejection of migrants and other precarious people inhabiting these places[10].

7. Gonick S., Disciplining the Metropolis: Grand Paris, Immigration, and the Banlieue. *Berkeley Planning Journal*, 24(1), 2011

8. van Ham M., Tammaru T., Ubarevičienė R., Janssen H., *Urban Socio-Economic Segregation and Income Inequality*, Springer, Cham, 2021

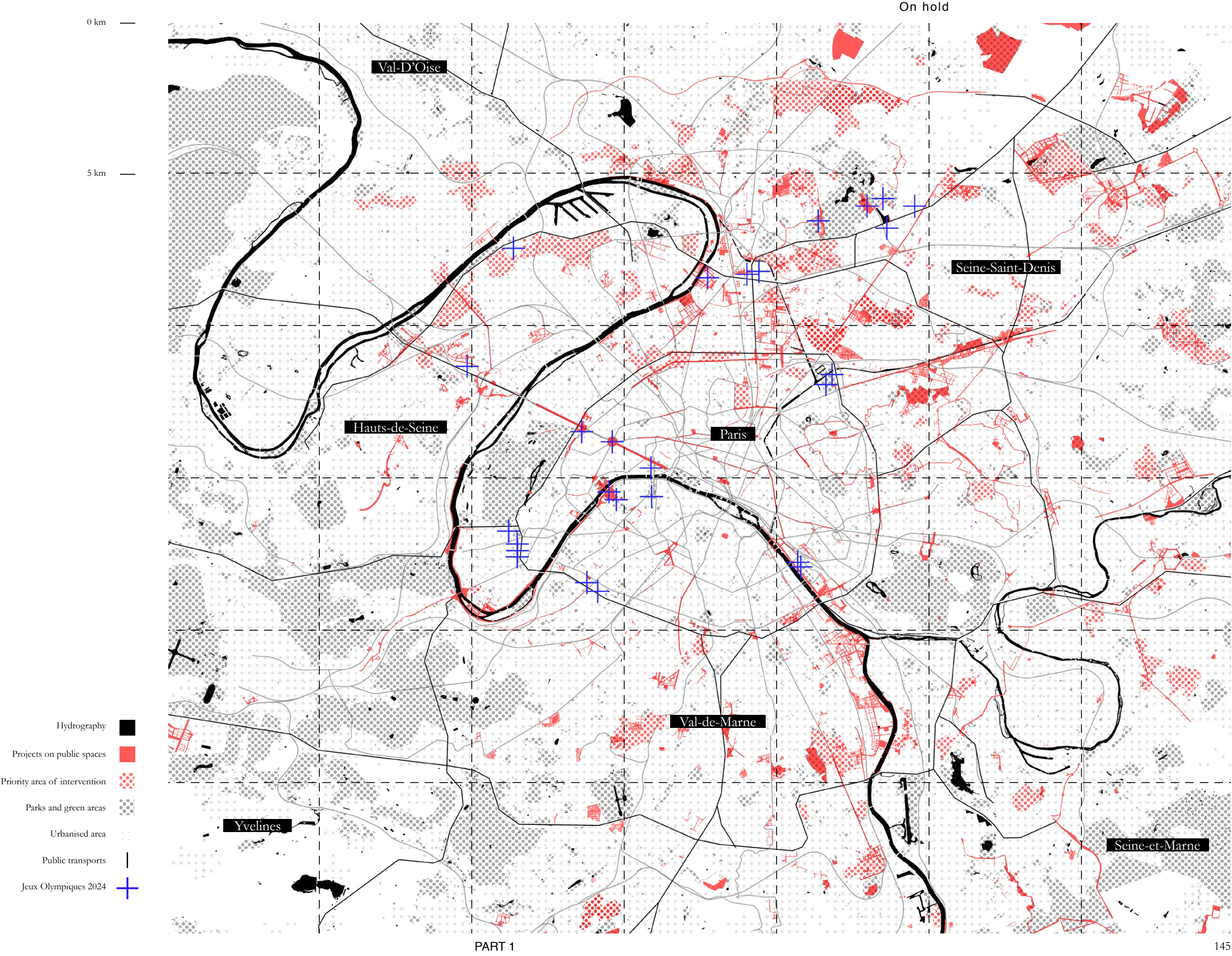9. Ville de Paris, *Promenade urbaine Barbès – La Chapelle – Stalingrad*, mise à jour le 14/05/2019 ; https://www.urbantactics.org/projets/civic-lab/

10. At pages 146-147 the campaign "Vivre est une victoire" – living is vitory – launched the day after the attribution of the 2024 Olympic Games to Paris by La Cimade, to restore dignity to refugees who, every day, are forced to deploy courage and strength in order to find a welcoming land.

JEUX OLYMPIQUES 2024: PROJECTS

On hold

Val-D'Oise

Seine-Saint-Denis

Hauts-de-Seine

Paris

Val-de-Marne

Yvelines

Seine-et-Marne

0 km

5 km

Hydrography

Projects on public spaces

Priority area of intervention

Parks and green areas

Urbanised area

Public transports

Jeux Olympiques 2024

EN 2024 LES ATHLÈTES NAGERONT POUR GAGNER.

CHAQUE JOUR LES RÉFUGIÉS NAGENT POUR VIVRE.

EN 2024 LES ATHLÈTES SAUTERONT POUR GAGNER.

CHAQUE JOUR LES RÉFUGIÉS SAUTENT POUR VIVRE.

EN 2024 LES ATHLÈTES COURRONT POUR GAGNER.

CHAQUE JOUR LES RÉFUGIÉS COURENT POUR VIVRE.

3.3.

Practices of reception

What does the city (2)

Cities have long been at the centre of the general discourse around globalisation and the reconfiguration of new political spatialisations and constructions of the frontier, especially regarding the phenomena of migration[1]. In such context, cities act as junctions of transnational politics and spaces which find in the urban sphere the means of activation of simultaneous practices of the local, national, and global. Being the scenario of different political and economic actors with consequent production of technologies of forced deregulation and privatisation, the city has therefore contributed to the outgrowth of the ambiguous effect of the enlargement and opacification of the frontier yet becoming a frontier zone itself[2]. At the same time, cities have resulted to be the confluence of those who lack power, the disadvantaged and undesirable minorities central in the migrancy question, as well as many other excluded individualities generated by this process. The social question is therefore intertwined to the physicality of the frontier, the grenzraum we articulated previously[3], hence the increasing borderings inside and across cities. Not only in their obvious configurations, such as the proliferation of private public spaces or gated communities[4], but also through all those spaces that embody an ambiguous form of the frontier, positioning on the edge between inside and outside, accessibility and exclusion, which are notably the identified spaces of displacement.

From these assumptions, the analysis of these spaces of migration and displacement makes clear the production of two distinct border spaces in the city, or, to better say, two different reactions to the intertwined transnational relationship of local, national, and global scales and technologies. The generated dimension of protection therefore takes different forms regarding who is protected and who is protecting. Within this framework, as we argued in the previous chapter, the city can become itself the dispositif of control and rejection of the migrant; at the same time, the city can become the refuge, a space where practices of powerless and powerlessness become complex, enabling the powerless individuals and those who support them turn into political[5]. The same dimensions

that have marked the research on the sociology of migrations, between the studies of global citizenship and transnationalism and studies of mobility and control, and the dispositifs of borderisation[6], is reinforcing the ambiguous configuration of practices of reception and rejection of displaced persons. From the very first moment, since 2015, it is precisely into cities that the migrancy phenomena are addressed and where the issues around hospitality are oriented. However, the questions differ regarding what we do mean by cities, if from the viewpoint of the municipality and institutional action; or the inhabitants, the practices of either support or exclusion that they might evoke. In other words, what are the official and informal shapes of reception that cities have generated and where do they differ? Now, what this thesis is investigating is therefore concerned with these dimensions, perceiving the modalities of spatialisation of this ambiguous duality, the means of production of what we refer to as spaces of holding, being the hold simultaneously the act of taking and keeping something in your hand or arms; and supporting something, to keep someone in a place so that they cannot leave[7].

In the framework of institutional reception, we might then refer to the case of the centre humanitaire, established in Porte de la Chapelle, in the French capital from 2016 to March 2018. Other than promoting the reintroduction of the form of the camp in the city and engaging into the construction of a clearly undersized reception centre with temporary admission (the reception would in fact not exceed 10 days, to enable the hosting of new arrivals), the municipality chose not to consider the network of associations already settled and active in the territory[8]. Through these means, the institutionalised hospitality of the model of the humanitarian centre has rather intertwined reception and administrative control, provoking a voluntary space of holding. At the same time, the effect of rejection and oversight of migratory movements and establishments evokes the historical and sociodemographic analysis aforementioned[9], namely to the production of the city as a socially stratified space, submitted to protectionist policies and to differential management of police control. These processes and logics of gentrification and control are consequently the essential elements behind the organisation of urban reception centres and justify a developing and silent attitude of constantly pushing people outside, denying migrants' presence into cities.

As a consequence, the analysis that this thesis intends to research is rather focused on the system of connections around makeshift reception practices, the network of hospitality dynamics in a European space of control and exclusion. In so doing, taking a distance from the exceptionalist dimension, the following research will rather deepen the relations between migrants and citizens who support them, trying to spatialise the different infrastructures of solidarity[10].

1. Sassen S., *The global city. New York, London, Tokyo,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001

2. Sassen S., When the center no longer holds: Cities as frontier zones. J. *Cities,* 2012

3. Look at Chapter 2. Edges: narratives. Specifically, 2.3. Border spaces

4. Secchi B., *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2013, 90 pages

5. For data and additional information on practices and spaces of solidarity towards refugees and people on the move in France look at the appendix at the end of this book.

6. Schmoll C., *Spatialités de la migration féminine en Europe du Sud. Une approche par le genre*, habilitation à diriger les recherches, Université Paris-Diderot, juin 2017

7. Hold, definition (Cambridge Dictionary)

8. Babels, *Entre accueil et rejet - ce que les villes font aux migrants*, Paris, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », 2018, 120 pages

9. Look at Chapter 2. Edges: narratives. Specifically, 2.1: Movements; 2.2. Border People

10. Nettelbladt, G; Boano, C, Infrastructures of Reception: The Spatial Politics of Refuge in Mannheim, Germany, *Science Direct*, 2019

L'accueil poreuse

In the first months of 2015 the inhabitants of the neighbourhood La Chapelle are progressively confronted with the development of a makeshift camp initially established under the overground between La Chapelle and Stalingrad. They see it increasing daily with new people arriving in the capital or already settled migrants rejected from the reception centres or who prefer to sleep on the streets.

It is precisely on this occasion that the historical associative network of the neighbourhood, that of the battles for the undocumented migrants in 1996 and the occupation of the church of Saint Bernard[1], is reactivated and reengages practices of solidarity in the area. The first makeshift camp with the support of the citizens establishes around the church and the neighbouring park. Being a strategically central space for the various associations aiding, they managed the area through the distribution of meals – the maraudes –, outreach and organising manifestations for the demand of a more permanent housing solution than that of the reception centres and the acceleration of asylum procedures. However, it soon appeared clear that the only stable and permanent housing solution for many of them was privately hosting the displaced persons, thus generating a porous and informal system of reception in volunteer's houses. Although the camp was evacuated and dispersed only a few days later, the ties between migrants and associative inhabitants persisted, contributing to the continuous regeneration of new informal camps in the area, subjects to a systematic cycle of parallel exclusion from the police and solidarity practices from the associative system.

From then on, the practices carried out by the associations in these areas have continued to contribute to the production of collective imaginaries of an infrastructure of solidarity in neighbourhoods in the north-eastern areas of the capital and surrounding municipalities. The occupation of the lycée Jean Quarré or the lycée Jean Jeures[2], the proliferation of new solidarity associations or an organised management of private housing reception are some of the examples of how these processes have been spatialised in the

territory and created a web of sedimented practices which coexist and activate themselves not only in the emergency but also in a permanent support. While the management through the reception centres often established in very remote urban areas, or even the humanitarian centre in Porte de la Chapelle, might be seen as an institutionalised tentative of opacification of the migrants in the capital[3], the meals distributions and solidarity actions of the porous system of informal reception have rather identified these neighbourhoods as spaces of support and potential coexistence. In this scenario, the research is primarily focusing on practices and spaces of the informal associative reception system to deepen the ambivalent dynamics behind spaces of exclusion and support. Configuring not only as a technical urban process but also in terms of its necessary social dimension, through the provision of the essentials for living, the informal association network establishes as an infrastructure of solidarity[4]. Consequently, we refer to infrastructure as a link that enables experiences and perceptions, the modality through which practices and necessities are connected and it, therefore, implies looking at it through the active social dimension of the city and the human experience in the territory. The associative system is, therefore, radically different from that of the institutionalised humanitarian aid through reception centres, configuring it as an urban structure entangled with dynamics of power. Through the reactions of resistance, being it either providing assistance to migrants or manifesting against the lack of governmental aid, the associative network embraces the responsibility of the generation of new informalities and relations, enabling the development of potential identities and localities. These makeshift processes describe a tentative of reshaping both the inner city and its transnational identity, thus constantly subverting the apparent uninhabitability of the city.

In what follows, adopting a methodology based on the use of photography, cartography, interviews and plans, I aim to show not only the complexity of the infrastructures of solidarity in the city, but also its strong dependency on space. Offering some thinking from the spectrum of practices and rituals, the following documents testify the present configuration of people as the structural element of the infrastructure, hence its capacity to connect and coexist with each other and provide support through a porous apparatus of necessities. In other words, the analysed ethnologies are explained by looking at the different association assistance, with a focus on Solidarité Migrants Wilson, with which I have volunteered throughout the second half of this year: their implication is then represented through interviews, spatial analysis, and photos. Les Midis du Mie, Wilson, Utopia56, and many others are therefore platforms of adaptable inhabitations, a part of a complex ecology of imperfect modes of inhabiting.

1. Look at Chapter 2. Edges: narratives. Specifically, 2.2. Border people

2. Coutant I., *Les migrants en bas de chez soi*, Seuils, Paris, 2018, pages 2016

3. Babels, *Entre accueil et rejet - ce que les villes font aux migrants*, Paris, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », 2018, 120 pages

4. Nettelbladt, G; Boano, C, Infrastructures of Reception: The Spatial Politics of Refuge in Mannheim, Germany, *Science Direct*, 2019

5. Simone, A. 2004. 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg'. *Public Culture*. 16(3). 407-429.

Baam

The *Bureau d'accueil et d'accompagnement des migrants* was created in November 2015 on the initiative of a solidarity support group, following the evacuation of the Jean Quarré high school in the 19th arrondissement of Paris. Main supporting actions include: french language courses; legal office and aid, as well as training volunteers on the right to asylum and the rights of foreigners; LGBTQ+ assistance, dedicated to legal support for LGBTQ+ asylum seekers and anti-LGBTQ+phobia actions; social and employment support.

Utopia 56

Utopia 56 was founded in 2015 and is a citizen mobilization association that helps exiled people and people on the street, unconditionally and without distinction of legal status, through 8 branches in France. Actions are diverse and adapt to the needs of the isolated people they meet on the street. They organise information and orientation maraudes and utilities and food distribution maraudes; social, medical and legal follow-up and support; sheltering thanks to a network of solidarity hosts for the more vulnerable.

Les Restos du Cœur

Founded by Coluche in 1985, the *Restaurants du Cœur* is an association under the law of 1901. Their purpose is "to help and provide voluntary assistance to the poor, particularly in the area of food through access to free meals, and through participation in their social and economic integration, as well as in any action against poverty in all its forms". Main actions therefore include food distribution, cuisine ateliers, social and employment support, cultural and ludic events.

Watizat

Watizat is the guide for migrants. It compiles all the useful addresses (legal hotlines, food distribution, access to care, showers, day centres, French lessons, etc.). It lists all the associations mentioned above. It thus aims to connect exiled people with the actors present in the territory and able to help them.

Solidarité Migrants Wilson

Born between neighbors of different ages and nationalities in November 2016, the collective organizes solidarity practices in the capital and in the suburbs against the rejection of the undesirables. Main actions include: distribution of meals and basic necessities; organisation of events, debates and mobilisations; social and psychological support to either migrants and volunteers; Interassiociative collaboration to provide support and legal aid to either associations or migrants; Interassiociative collaboration around food distribution.

Le Gisti

The *Groupe d'information et de soutien des travailleurs immigrés* was made in 1972 by a group of lawyers, social workers and activists. The name echoes the Information Group on Prison, led by Michel Foucault, and marks the desire of its founders to combine legal expertise and political action. Main actions include: legal assistance; formation, providing training to a diverse audience: from a professional perspective, legal practitioners, territorial civil servants. Interassiociative collaboration to provide support and legal aid to either associations or migrants.

Les Midis du Mie

The collective Midis du MIE was first formed around an essential mission: to provide food, every day. Since the spring of 2016, the missions of the collective have diversified, primarily focusing on providing assistance to young people rejected by the system. Main actions include: food, clothes and basic necessities distribution; finding solutions of shelter and accomodation; legal assistance. They also provide moral support and organise cultural and ludic activities.

La Cimade

Among the biggest french NGOs, for 80 years, La Cimade has adapted its action to the challenges of the times. From the end of the 1970s, La Cimade became more and more involved in response to the rights of immigrants. Legal assistance and information are the main means of support made by the NGO.

POROSITY OF SOLIDARITY ASSOCIATIONS

Val-D'Oise

Seine-Saint-Denis

Hauts-de-Seine

Paris

Val-de-Marne

Yvelines

Seine-et-Marne

Hydrography	■
Parks and green areas	
Agricultural areas	
Urbanised areas	
Highways and main roads		
Public transports		
Reception centres	+
Food distribution and hygenic assistence	+
Legal aid and french courses	+

0 km —

5 km —
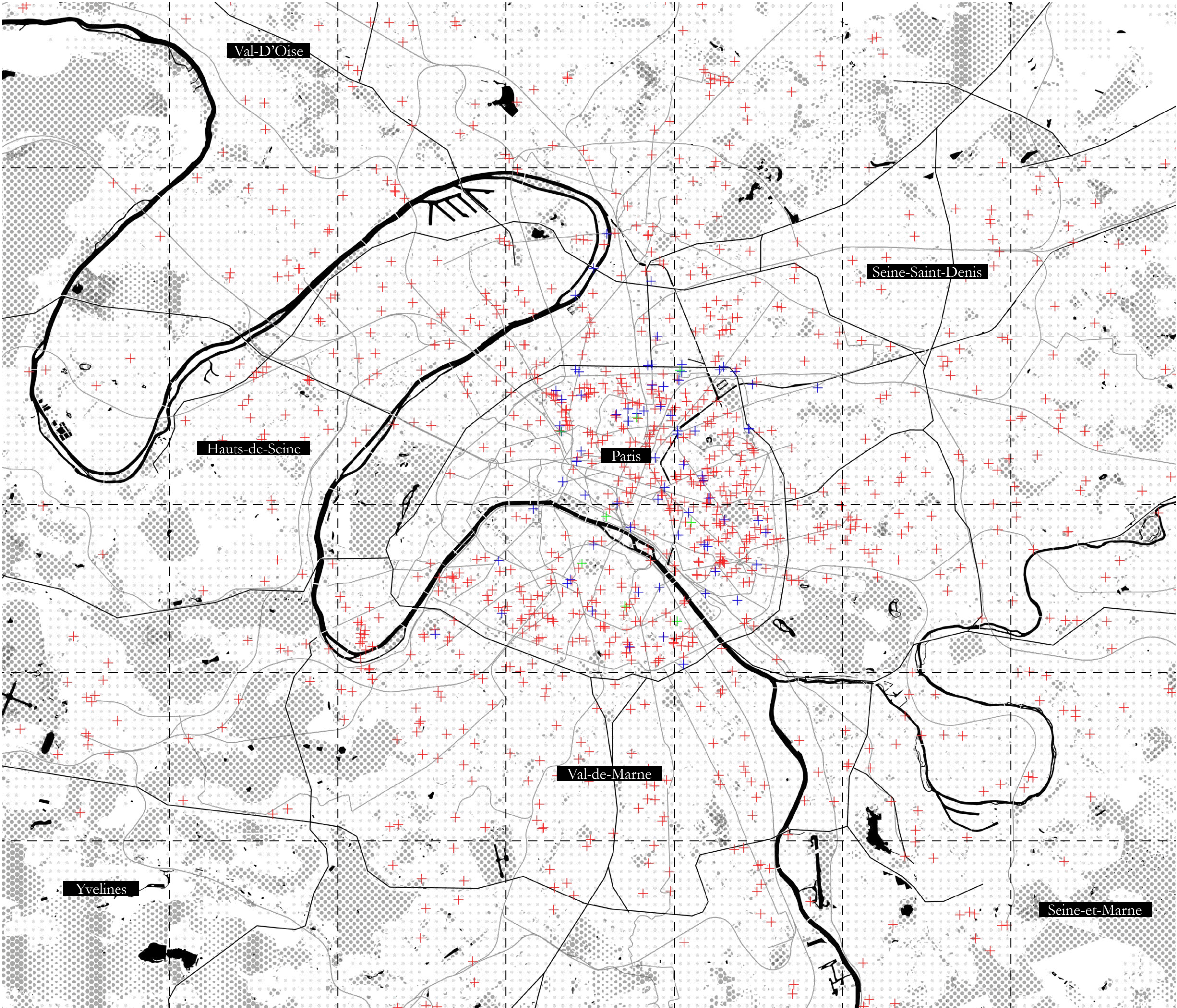
the guide Watizat. Then we decide to split up, a part goes to deliver walking, a part stays at the point fixe. About 70 people arrive, Valérie says it's much less than usual".

(Field Diary, 13.01.2022)

Solidarité Migrants Wilson

"I have been collaborating with Wilson since this summer. I am a teacher, I teach French in a collège and in an association for language learning for migrants, that's where I met Wilson. Hundreds of people arrive in the summer, now it's much emptier but it is normal. It's so cold, they're all in their tents warming up, fortunately there is also a part that goes to deliver directly to them. In general, however, we are always here in this point fixe, it's essential so that they know that on Thursdays and Tuesdays at 7pm this is where they can come to find a warm meal, this sidewalk turns into a canteen somehow. Of course there are always new people, we notify them through other associations or when we have the number of some of them we send a message, hoping that they will also notify their neighbours. Technology is now absolutely essential both for the association and the migrants, it facilitates things a lot, the solidarity network is physical but it is also and above all virtual".

(Velérie, Association Wilson, 13/01/2022)

"It is my first day as a volunteer with Wilson, I signed up for the maraude on foot at 7 pm. As soon as I arrive, I meet Eric, one of the leaders of the collective who greets me as he arranges the meals to bring that evening. He immediately shows me the theatre, he tells me that it is the space that the municipality of Saint-Denis has given to the Compagnie Jolie Môme and in return, they have decided to host the collective Wilson for the two days of the maraudes (Tuesday and Thursday evening). The theatre is made up of a large hall where the show take place, therefore reserved for the company; some bathrooms and closets; a cellar in the basement, where they arrange food and necessities for the maraudes; a large kitchen next to the entrance, where the collective begins at 4 pm to prepare meals, which will then be distributed starting at 7 pm. Eric then explains to me how the distribution will take place, he tells me that I can be assigned to a permanent position (waiting for people to come and get the food) or to the distribution on foot (going to knock at the various tents along the way), he then leaves me with other volunteers, while he continues to organize the meals to be delivered".

(Field Diary, 06/01/2022)

"We all meet at la Station, this recreational space that has been refurbished for a few years, many associations have here their stock of material for maraudes, sheltering or other solidarity actions. We then organise all the things to bring: we prepare sandwiches with jam or chocolate, heat the water for coffee and tea, take masks, Watizat guides and other useful materials. Then we leave for the different distributions. Today, for example, we are divided into three groups: two points fixes, at Porte de la Chapelle and Porte de la Villette - our group -; a maraude by bike. Once there we distribute the food and then we return here to put everything at La Station".

(Field Diary, 05/03/2022)

"I have been collaborating with Wilson for about three months. It's a small collective, acting quite independently and I like that. I usually come by car, I am one of the few and there is a huge need. Then, therefore, we move to where is needed, generally we know the places through contacts with other associations or through experience, over time. What we do in general is the delivery of meals and sometimes we organise the coiffeure solidaire, barbers come to cut the hair of migrants and homeless people. Then if we want we can give clothes ourselves, but it is done more individually, let's say. For example, the other day I met this woman in Delphine Seyrig who needed shoes and so I mobilised to look for some pairs and bring them to her next time".

(Laura, Association Wilson, 06/01/2022)

"The points where there is the greatest need are always the same; therefore, we are more associations collaborating together in the same places. Often there is also the Restos du Coeur who deliver food with us, which is very useful because we know each other, we exchange information and help each other. In addition, we often arrive at different times, which is essential to ensure that everyone can find something to eat or drink. About once or twice a month, we are joined by volunteers from Medecins du Monde, nurses or doctors who are therefore there if there is any problem or if people need to ask about their state of health. A bit like a itinerant hospital. We always leave the Watizat to inform about where they can go to get clothes or basic necessities".

(Justine, Association Wilson, 19/03/2022)

"I have then been assigned to a point fixe at Porte d'Aubervilliers. My group and I go on foot and once there we set up the table and the various meals: couscous with chicken, bananas, a cake, bread, coffee, tea and water. We also provide surgical masks and

SOLIDARITÉ MIGRANTS WILSON: SPACES OF HOLDING

Val-D'Oise

Seine-Saint-Denis

Hauts-de-Seine

Paris

Val-de-Marne

Yvelines

Seine-et-Marne

Wilson: spaces of holding	■
Projects on public spaces	■
Priority area of intervention	▦
Hydrography	■
Parks and green areas	░
Agricultural areas	░
Urbanised areas	░
Highways and main roads	│
Public transports	│
Reception centres	+
Food distribution and hygenic assistence	+
Legal aid and french courses	+

0 km

5 km
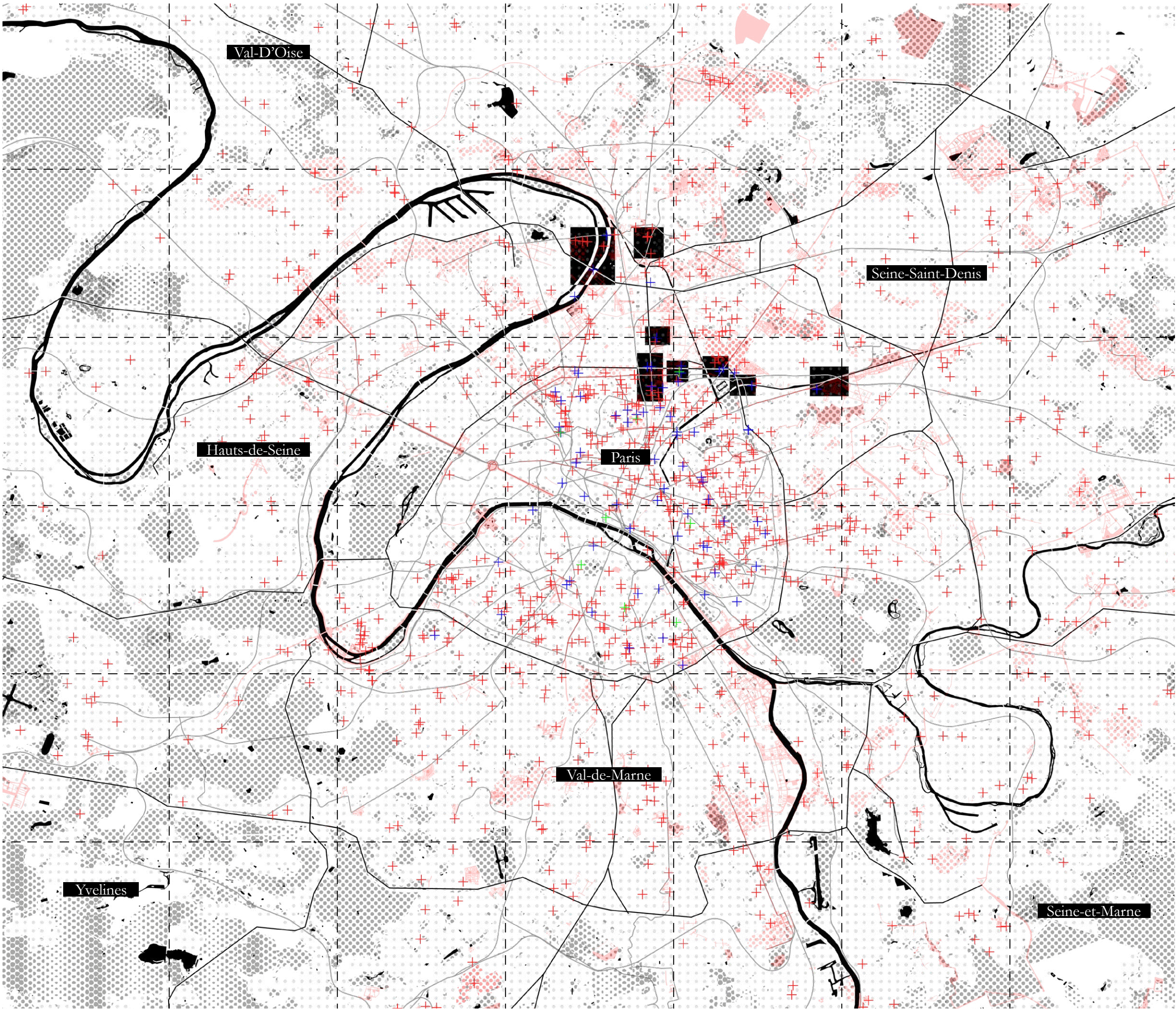
Theatre La Belle Etoile
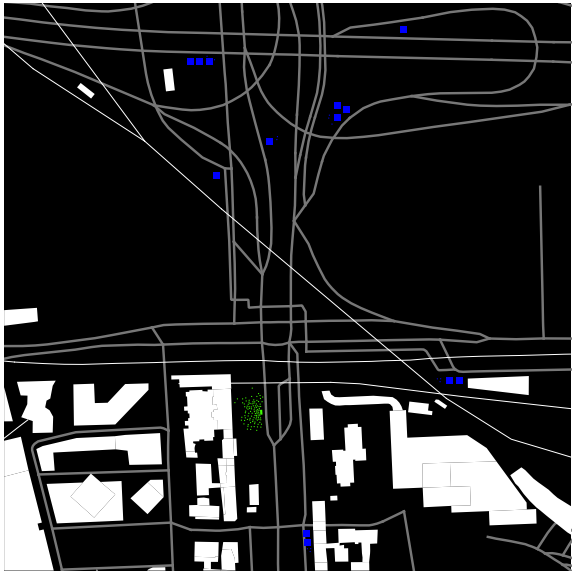
Porte de la Chapelle

Porte d'Aubervilliers
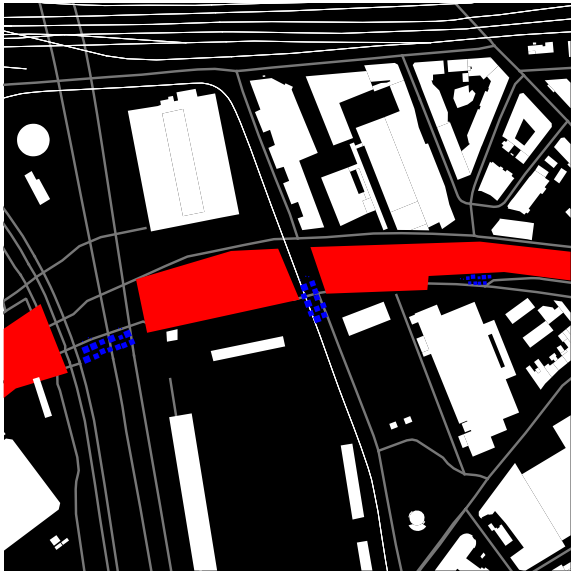
Delphine Seyrig
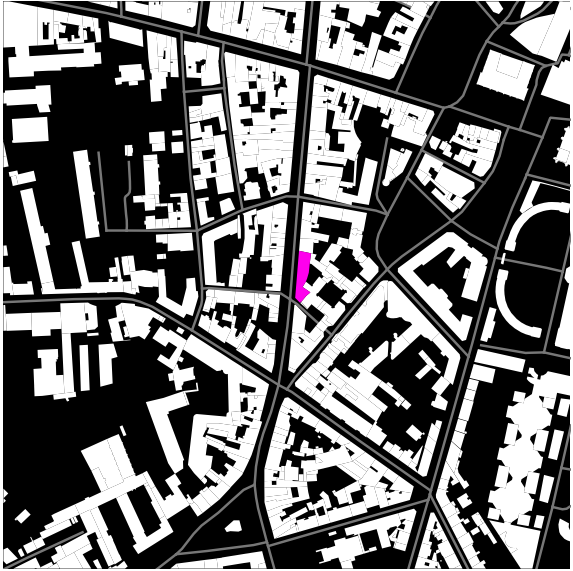
60 AdaDa
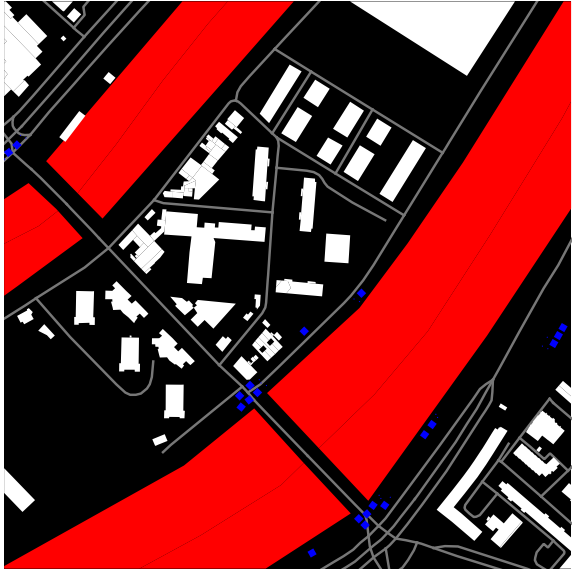
Ile Saint-Denis
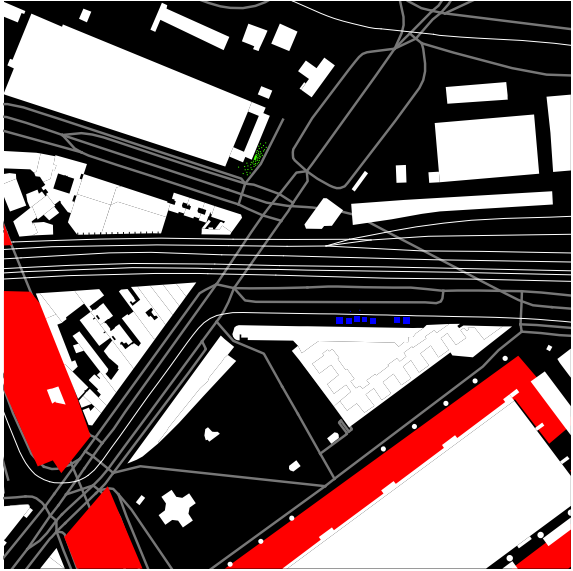
Porte de la Villette
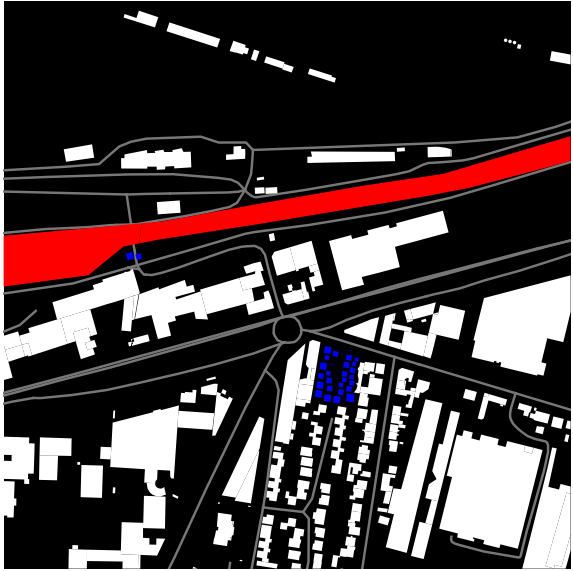
Cheval Noir

Permanent infrastructure
of solidarity

Temporary infrastructure
of solidarity (point fixe)

Itinerant infrastructure
of solidarity (maraude)

Water

PART 1

Theatre La Belle Etoile / 48°54'30.6"N 2°21'40.8"E

MARAUDE DINER 09/02/2022

Theatre La Belle Etoile / 48°54'30.6"N 2°21'40.8"E

MARAUDE DINER 09/02/2022

PART 1

Porte de la Chapelle / 48°54′02.7″N 2°21′32.4″E

MARAUDE DINER 09/02/2022

PART 1

Porte de la Chapelle / 48°54′02.7″N 2°21′32.4″E

MARAUDE DINER 09/02/2022

Quartier de la Chapelle / 48°53'27.5"N 2°21'37.4"E

MARAUDE DINER 09/02/2022

JUS D'ORAN

Quartier de la Chapelle / 48°53'27.5"N 2°21'37.4"E

MARAUDE PETITS-DÉJEUNERS 13/03/2022

Quartier de la Chapelle / 48°53'27.5"N 2°21'37.4"E

MARAUDE PETITS-DÉJEUNERS 13/03/2022

MARAUDE PETITS-DÉJEUNERS 13/03/2022

Quartier de la Chapelle / 48°53'27.5"N 2°21'37.4"E

MARAUDE PETITS-DÉJEUNERS 13/03/2022

Quartier de la Chapelle / 48°53'27.5"N 2°21'37.4"E

MARAUDE PETITS-DÉJEUNERS 13/03/2022

3.4.

Platforms of imperfect inhabitation

Through the spatial ethnography and the participant observation of the spaces and rituals of displacement in the Greater Parisian area, the thesis tried to explain how the temporariness, exclusion, differential management that shapes the migratory phenomena and actions strongly contributes to the production of the ambiguous topologies of the contemporary city.
Thinking through practices of rejection and reception as unique concurrent dynamics, rather than a sequence of dependent actions, permits to highlight the unpredictable and conflictual relation between vulnerability and resistance. As Butler has suggested several times, it seems clear then to think of the two concepts not as opposites and equally consequent, but extremely intertwined, as if one could not operate without the relation with the other.

"Vulnerability can emerge within resistance movements and direct democracy precisely as a deliberate mobilization of bodily exposure. [...] In political life, it surely seems that some injustice happens and then there is a response, but it may be that the response is happening as the injustice occurs, and this gives us another way to think about historical events, action, passion, and forms of resistance. It would seem that without being able to think about vulnerability, we cannot think about resistance, and that by thinking about resistance, we are already underway, dismantling the resistance to vulnerability in order precisely to resist"[1].

Enhancing this strict bound between vulnerability and resistance, the analysis of spaces of holding as roofs of "sheltered exclusions" represent an image of the city through patterns of neglected yet inhabited spaces. The spatialization of the resistive practices to evictions and harassments provides knowledge on what is left

1. Extract of the conference *"Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance"*, pronounced by Judith Butler in Madrid in 2014

of migrants' spaces, both in terms of legacies and what has been voluntarily or consequently forgotten. As a matter of fact, the experiences of Porte de la Chapelle, Stalingrad, Delphine Seyrig – or more generally, the 18th and 19th arrondissement and neighbouring municipalities – as well as the more historical hospitality of the Eglise Saint Bernard, have been reported as the material representation of gatherings that establish sedimented practices into the city, with its potential ever-lasting reproducibility. At the same time, the exact same places have been identified as the oppressive response of state's power, in managing a differential spatial inclusivity, in opacifying migrants' experiences, in reproducing the infrastructure of waiting. In other words, confronting with these inheritances shows how displacement is essential in understanding the contemporary space production and its relation to city's economic, social, and political frames.
It is exactly in this context that the urban and architectural project is present, supporting practices of informal, makeshift managing of the public space, enhancing the voids and the unfinished. When we look at the experiences of solidarity in Paris, the project is already there, already expressing its functions in the space, shaping the city, and resisting to its limits. The actions of Solidarité Migrants Wilson, Utopia56, Les Midis du Mies, as well as all the other associations mapped yet not analysed in detail, have the power to respond to necessities, re-establish identities, delocalize functions into the mentioned spaces of the city through an approach that is exquisitely non-differential, non-colonial, non-extractive, non-singular. In this way, the makeshift infrastructure of solidarity not only subverts the uninhabitability of the frictions and liminalities where migrants and refugees find a shelter, but they also intent to overthrow the relations of power that these bordering spaces represent through evictions or state's systematic control. At the same time, the thesis purpose is exactly to show how all these dynamics collapse when related to the concurrent repressive and violent power built through police harassments and certain urban policies. It is thus with the intention to curtail these representations and, on the contrary, unfold partial, unfinished, ephemeral interventions that the conception of the project has been performed. However, it has seemed necessary to enlarge the gaze, to explain the phenomena by looking at the axialities it generates and to its exquisite transnational identity, represented by an infrastructure of solidarity that works locally when looked in relation to the territory and the border. It has been crucial to shift the research to the frontier and look at the infrastructure from another perspective, which could encompass the dimension of the rural and the transit, and could interpret new topologies[2] of the opaque, differential and temporary condition of displacement that equally yet uniquely identify the Greater Paris and the French-Italian border.

1. Nishat A., Introduction to Border Topologies, *GeoHumanities*, 2:2, 279-283, 2016

PART 2

1. Liquid borders (p190)

2. On hold (p258)

1. Liquid borders

The analysis of the french-italian border allows studying displacement by linking it to its mobile and temporary nature, highlighting not a series of spaces, rather the axialities generated by its transnational condition. The following chapter consequently takes back images of rurality, transit, and danger to which the migratory route is confronted. In this context, the research examines the area of the Vallée de la Roya, French valley in which different migratory genealogies, social tissues and spatial conformations found themselves coexisting and resisting situations of crisis in different ways, contributing to the gradual process of dematerialisation of the frontier.

1.1.

Vallée de la Roya, Ventimiglia

The frontier between Italy and France marks a linear territory of 515 km, starting from Chamonix-Mont-Blanc in France and Courmayeur in Italy. It therefore embraces two French regions – namely, Auvergne-Rhone-Alpes and Provence-Alpes-Cote-d'azur – and three on the Italian side – Valle d'Aosta, Piemonte and Liguria – and has its limits in the Mediterranean Sea, separating the towns of Menton and Ventimiglia.

The current outline and form of the border is the result of multiple changes occurred along the past two centuries: the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 defined the official contours of the upper part of the border, with the waiver of the Savoy and the exchange of Vallée de Suse for the Vallée de l'Ubaye; after the fall of Napoleon, new contours were fixed in the treaties of 1815 and 1816 with various amendments in the following years; in 1860 the Treaty of Turin links back the Savoy and Nice to France; during the Second World War, the coming to power of Benito Mussolini exacerbated relations between France and Italy, with the latter claiming several zones in France, soon occupied by Germany in 1943; in 1947, the Treaty of Paris modifies again the border, including the Vallée de la Roya in the French territory and defining the general outline of the French-Italian border we know nowadays, completely officialised between 1962 and 1975[1].

Whether before or after the Treaty of Utrecht, both the upper and the southern borders have always been marked by major population movements, related to labor – agricultural work, housing or industry – particularly from the end of the 19th century, or wars and political conflicts from the 20th century (Romanians, Kurds, Spaniards, etc.)[2]. Accordingly, the liminal territory is the principal and most practical way to reach the north-west of continental Europe from Italy, which has made it, from 2015 until nowadays, a privileged transit for migrants wishing to reach Paris – or generally France – or the United Kingdom. Thus, the French-Italian border remains a place of population movements, both in its past and present, very often repressed by the French and Italian authorities[3]. Along the frontier, the various migratory hubs are visible and obvi-

1. Information about the genealogy of the border is taken from: Anafé, association d'assistance aux frontières pour les étrangers, PERSONA NON GRATA. Conséquences des politiques sécuritaires et migratoires à la frontière franco-italienne, Rapport d'observation 2017-2018, publié en Janvier 2019

2. A.-M. Granet-Abisset, *Tisser du territoire : les migrations frontalières entre Piémont et Briançonnais au cours des deux derniers siècle*s, Cairn, 20&2/2 n° 140, pp. 71 à 92.

3. Anafé, association d'assistance aux frontières pour les étrangers, PERSONA NON GRATA. Conséquences des politiques sécuritaires et migratoires à la frontière franco-italienne, Rapport d'observation 2017-2018, publié en Janvier 2019

ous, they often coincide with the main points of transnational mobility hubs and connections, as of highways, main routes, and train station. They might be generally divided into three main territories: the valley of Nèvache and Briançonnais, Ventimiglia and Menton, and the valley of Roya[4]. As for a liquid that conforms to the shape of the container in which it is held, these collisions embody the fluid peculiarity of the border space of being simultaneously spaces of repulsion and support, visibility and invisibility, solidity and porosity, based on who or what is crossing the border. The concept of liquid borders reformulates the intuition Bauman had for modern times and society, as "unable to keep any shape and any course for long" and "prone to change"[5], and it encompasses the encounters between the dispositifs of border control, the transnational migration, collective hostility and hospitality and political agreements towards the establishment of the internal frontier[6]. It represents the contradictory management made by production and exchange of goods but interrupted illicit bodies. It embodies the differential inclusion of people of place and people out of place, exacerbating the conceptual frontier between us and them. At the same time, the concept includes the makeshift practices of people on the move in elaborating strategies to cross the border and find new patterns of inhabitation on the edge.

The border between countries, in fact, cannot be understood as a mere physical separation, but requires recognition, which is not a matter of subjectivity, but claims to be universal. Admittedly, borders pretend to maintain a certain objectivity through common international recognition, but in facts they remain entities that are concurrently always questioned by political agreement, and, above all, susceptible to amendments and personal interpretation according to possibilities of crossing by goods or people[7]. The political border is therefore connoted by this ambiguous property of being at the same time open and closed, or better, doubly open[8]: because, regardless of whether it is controlled or not, it might be crossed; and because it is always questioned.

Following the previous part with the Greater Paris, the research's aim is not to develop a comparison between the two territories, nor does it want to provide an exhaustive analysis of the French migratory routes. At the same time, the analysis of the border does not follow the theories of neoclassical economic models like the push and pull that have largely dominated the migration studies[9], nor does it strictly agree with the permanent state of exception shown by Agamben's theories[10]. The intention is rather to make visible the new platforms of inhabitation generated by makeshift practices of people on the move and the network of solidarity, hence unveiling new patterns of contemporary urban and rural production. Therefore, the research tries to study and unfold modes of imperfect inhabitation – namely, practices of decon-

4. *Ibidem*

5. Bauman, Z., *Liquid Modernity*. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2000

6. Moraña M., *Liquid Borders. Migration as Resistance,* Routledge, Oxon, 2021

7. Balibar, É., « Qu'est-ce qu'une frontière ? », dans Marie-Claire Caloz-Tschopp, Axel Clevenot et Maria-Pia Tschopp (dir.), *Asile, Violence, Exclusion en Europe*, Genève, Section des Sciences de l'Éducation, Université de Genève et Groupe de Genève, 1994, p. 335-343.

8. Lourme L., "L'usage des frontières d'un point de vue cosmopolitique", *Éthique publique [Online]*, vol. 17, n° 1 | 2015

9. Borjas, G. J., « Economic Theory and International Migration », *International Migration Review*, vol.23, no 3, 1989, p.457-485.

10. Agamben G., *Lo stato di eccezione,* Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 2003

struction of the universal notion of home and inhabiting a place, enhancing models of non-dominant and non-exclusive spaces of reception –, disassembling the monist duality of nature and culture, city and rural, us and them, but rather thinking of the spaces of displacement as a transnational infrastructure with different sequences of hospitality.

"Migration provides us with an effective lens to investigate the weakness and instability of the current global political conjuncture, and it can also contribute, in a powerful way, to the establishment of political coalitions capable of subverting it."[11]

In this context, while analysing the frontier in its territorial entity, the research intends to focus on the southern part of the Franco-Italian border. The area around the Vallée de la Roya, comprehending its surroundings and the towns of Ventimiglia and Menton, since the strong dependency they manifest, both infrastructurally and socially, allows to decipher new common modalities of these practices and endorse a higher visibility of resistance towards the rural and the violence of the border.

The Vallée de la Roya takes its name from the river Roya, symbol of its strong sedimented attachment to the natural infrastructure. Thus, the river runs along the traces of the French-Italian frontier and culminates into the Mediterranean Sea in Ventimiglia, with a length of fifty-nine kilometers. Despite its end and beginning in Italian territory, the valley is essentially made up of five French villages: Breil-sur-Roya, Saorge, Fontan, La Brigue and Tende, all of them continuously or partly crossed by the river Roya. Also from an infrastructural point of view, the site has a strong dependence to the Italian territory and therefore to the border: to the north, south and east the five villages are surrounded by the the Italian political terrain and to cross them or to exit the valley, the main road is via the D6024 – or, in the Italian denomination, SS20 – which, again, begins and ends into the Italian border zone. Consequently, going down the Roya valley one arrives in Ventimiglia, in Liguria; climbing up the valley one reaches Limone, in Piedmont. To reach Nice, the biggest French urban centre in the proximities of the valley, the route départemental 2204 connects the villages, through Sospel; however, the most practical and fastest way is by taking the highway passing through Ventimiglia. Also the public transports have a strong dependency to the Italian territory: some villages are in fact accessible by train, either via the touristic line

TER ("Train des Merveilles"), linking Tende to Nice through the other villages and Sospel; or via the Trenitalia line, which starts in Cuneo in Piedmont, passes through the valley and culminates in Ventimiglia, in Liguria. On the contrary, the itinerary by bus implies necessarily to cross multiple times the frontier, linking Tende or Breil-sur-Roya to Menton, through Ventimiglia.

As a matter of fact, the junction between the Alpes-Maritimes, Liguria, and Piedmont, namely the territory of the Roya, remains an area of daily mobility either for working purposes – generally between the valley, Ventimiglia, Nice or Monaco – or for touristic attractions from both directions. At the same time, the Ligurian border town probably remains the most important large urban center near the valley; it is precisely there that the citizens of the valley go for large expenses and practical matters[12]. These spatial practices and conformations of the valley and its infrastructures testify the close dependence of the French border to the Italian one, therefore materialising a social and informal weakening of the political and geographical frontier.

In this framework, the use and images of the frontier generated by the valley makes it a remarkable territory for the research when confronting it with its past and present condition of crisis and the acts of resistance it has generated. As a matter of fact, the environment and political status of the frontier of Roya and Ventimiglia, together with its historical and human geography, collide into practices of equally rejecting and receipting resistances against the experiences of the massive transit migration of 2015-2018 and the storm of 2020. Consequently, the constant reactivation of sedimented practices the valley has continuously experienced though time yet taking different forms and responding to different needs, reveals an additional gaze to look at dynamics of resistance and therefore the spaces of holding they have generated. This and the following chapter will be focused on understanding the territory in its implications in the political and social dimension of the border, by looking on the one hand, at conflicts among autochthonous inhabitants and, on the other, among people on the move and the pushbacks from police enforcement. Unfolding the meaning of the mentioned sedimented practices in the valley, the actions carried out by associations and volunteers will be explained in this chapter, through further knowledge of the universal and non-differential mode of resistance they operate, with, firstly, the crisis of hospitality towards people on the move and then the damages of the storm Alex. As for the previous part about Greater Paris, this part culminates with a spatial ethnography and participant observation of the space and rituals of displacement in the Vallée de la Roya and at the French-Italian border, assembling data and fieldwork documentation to explain the infrastructure of holding spaces that connects and pervades the two distinct territories.

11. Mezzadra S., *Proliferating borders in the battlefield of migration Rethinking freedom of movement*, in Moraña M., *Liquid Borders. Migration as Resistance*, Routledge, Oxon, 2021

12. All the given information are collected by the author during fieldwork carried out in May and June 2022 and through the book: Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

FRENCH-ITALIAN BORDER: TERRITORIAL ANALYSIS

Piedmont

Col de Tende

Vallée de Merveilles

Vallée de la Roya

Ligurie

Vallée de la Bévéra

Menton

Ventimiglia

Monaco

0 km

10 km

Woods: decidous

Woods: coniferous

Woods: mixed

Shrubs areas

Agricultural areas

Urbanised areas

Sea

Parks and green areas

Hydrography

Railway path

VALLEE DE LA ROYA: LOCAL ANALYSIS AND MOBILITY

0 km

5 km

Tende

La Brigue

St-Dalmas

Fontan

Saorge

Breil-sur-Rova

Sospel

Woods: decidous
Woods: coniferous
Woods: mixed
Shrubs areas
Agricultural areas
Urbanised areas
Sea
Parks and green areas
Hydrography
Railway path
Roads and footpaths
Main migrants' routes

44°05'10.1"N 7°35'32.7"E / 23.04.2022

44°05'10.1"N 7°35'32.7"E / 23.04.2022

Tende, northern Vallée de la Roya

Vallée de la Roya, northern borderland between Italy and France

43°55'53.8"N 7°31'08.1"E / 29.04.2022

43°56'15.5"N 7°30'49.6"E / 27.04.2022

View from La Ferme of Cedric Herrou in Breil-sur-Roya

Breil-sur-Roya, southern Vallée de la Roya

1.2.

The forms of the border

Narratives of the borderscape

Frontier is to be understood in its territorial and non-territorial entity[1], or through the ability to delimit and separate in its political and administrative functions and in its more informal and virtual meanings, separator of social, ethnic, or religious classes.

From this perspective, the dichotomy between frontier and boundary[2] appears particularly adequate to refer to the different connotation that the notion has in terms of its social and geographical connotations. Firstly, it is crucial to claim the extreme territorial and horizontal dimension represented by the border; in other words, although the frontier might be merely materialised by the linear separation between the two countries, it is especially the countries themselves that testify and construe its essence. It is therefore not the line that delineate the borderzone[3], but its relation to the political and social space on which it is hold, namely the inhabitants and the normative dimension that influence the collision between boundaries. In this way, the assumption that it is essential to begin by the country when studying the frontier[4], thus analysing the proximities between bordering states and bordering inhabitants[5], emphasize the inevitable condition to confront the elements of the borderzones and boundaries as strongly dependent to the space they inhabit.

Applying it to the territory, the valley embodies simultaneously the properties of the frontier, manifested either in the political liminality between Italy and France and in its morphological connotations – namely the presence of the mountains or the river –, and those of the boundary, not only through the conceptualisation of the frontier, which marks a social separation between the Italians and the French, or the inhabitants of Saorge and Breil, but also from the genealogy of the inhabitants of the valley and the passage of the migrant.

In this sense, the introduction of the Schengen convention has contributed to the production of ambiguous forms of boundary and frontiers, opacifying the notions either for the original inhabitants and the displaced persons. Originally the Schengen space was presented as a step forward in terms of internal mobility, being it the technology able to extinguish the frontiers between European countries, in order to transform them into united states of a unique big European nation[6]. However, while this means may have made easier to travel across countries in the old continent, it has contributed to highlight and reinforce the frontiers outside of the Union, reaffirming the selective closure to those coming from outside and constructing the European fortress[7]. The idea of a space of free transit of good and people, theorised with the Schengen convention, crashes soon with logics of systematic controls at the frontier put into action in the same period. Admittedly, the border has always acted to fulfil the principal function of distinguish and differentiate the transits; the implementation through the Schengen convention from 1995 and the entry into force of the Dublin II regulation in 2003 have therefore helped to reinforce this differentiated management of controls.

The apex of this development of exclusion practices has, however, his peak in 2015, notably when the border between Alpes Maritimes and Italy becomes the first internal Schengen space to be questioned and reinforced, giving birth to a progressive process of return of the European internal frontiers[8]. Unquestionably, even though the valley had never thoroughly experienced a lack or decrease of controls at its borders, they rocketed in the occasion of the moments of "crisis" of the Arab spring in 2010 and exponentially multiplying after 2014-2015. In spring 2015 the prefecture of the department announced that every train arriving from Ventimiglia had to be subject to a reinforced control in the station of Menton-Garavan – although the official suspension of the Schengen accords will only arrive in November 2015. Additional controls were then implemented along the highways and main roads linking the two countries, and the first months of the year 2016 will mark the beginning of an extraordinary control and militarisation of the Vallée de la Roya. Admittedly, the intense necessity to supervise the site testify the condition of a remarkable pole of mobility and passage that this specific frontier embodies, with high numbers of fluxes recorded. According to the Central Directorate of Border Police, there were 1,200 pushbacks ("non-admissions") at this border in 2015; 32,285 in 2016; 48,362 in 2017 and 23,695 in 2018. According to data provided by associations and militant groups active in the territory, between thirty and sixty pushbacks per day on average - with peaks of around a hundred - took place during the year 2019[9]. In this context, the border performs its contradictory duality of passage and separation, producing visible spatial strategies of pushback, barrier and opacification of people on the move. Again, however, migrants and displaced persons are made politically invisible yet manifesting their presence in the border space, provoking inevitable forms of spatial conflict.

1. Cuttitta P., *Lo spettacolo del confine. Lampedusa tra produzione e messa in scena della frontiera*, Mimesis, Milano, 2012

2. Barth F., *Ethnic groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Waveland Press, London, 1967

3. Ratzel F., *Anthropogeographie*, Engelhorn, Stuttgart, 1899

4. Febvre L., *Das Gewissen des Historikers*, Wagenbach, Berlin, 1988

5. Donnan H., Wilson T.M., *Borders: frontiers of identity, nation and state*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, 1999

6. Babels, *Le manége des frontières. Criminalisation des migrations et solidarités dans les Alpes-Maritimes*, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2020

7. Balibar E., *Noi, cittadini d'Europa? Le frontiere, lo stato, il popolo*, Manifesto Libri, Roma, 2004

8. Foucher M., *Le retour des frontières*, CNRS, Paris, 2016

9. Babels, *Le manége des frontières. Criminalisation des migrations et solidarités dans les Alpes-Maritimes*, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2020

The legislative and geopolitical architecture that shapes the classical notion of border is therefore both the conceptual and concrete framework around which the migratory systems[10] take their forms. Admittedly, the separation between "outside" and "inside" at the basis of the notion of the border, has always been radically eradicated and implemented by the European political continent[11], starting by the borderlines of colonialised conquers, to the institution of the Schengen fortress and its gradual dissolution after 2015. On this, Mezzadra claims that the proliferation of borders constitutes "the other side of globalization", in other words that globalization is not generated by the dissolution of borders, rather from the crisis between the State and the territory[12]. Therefore, especially in the contemporary geopolitical space, the separation between countries or cities is not only related to what is outside and what is inside, but it decomposes itself in a series of patterns within and without the space, namely through liminalities, inner material and virtual hotspots. This is thus reflected in the experience of displacement, unfolding tensions and conflicts that shape this continuous configuration and dissolution of borders and boundaries.

As argued in the previous chapter, contemporary diaspora and trajectories are unpredictable, enacted by a multiplicity of factors and models that relocate traditional routes, global hotspots and even migratory intentions. Classic "migratory systems"[13] or push and pull factors[14] no longer seem to respond to the comprehension of migratory choices and voluntary or induced dislocation. These consequences explain then the radical connection inscribed between displacement and border, not only how the configuration of the liminality influences transits, but especially how the different forms and topologies[15] shaped by this both material and virtual spatialization of the border differentiates practices and spaces of displacement.

The work of Nishat Awan[16] is particularly interesting in this sense in interrogating contemporary borders through the practices and materialities that shape its limits, being them either formal or informal. In so doing, borders appear in unexpected places and configurations that therefore suggest the need to look at the border from a planetary scale questioning the geopolitical construct. As a matter of fact, borderscapes such as the French-Italian one, encompass many of the concerns of the geopolitical contemporary space, such as conflicts, securitization and the difficulty of movements and risk to which people in transit are confronted during their journey. The term border topologies aim at apprehending the border through a relational approach that includes human processes and ecological entities. Being these practices and experiences exquisitely scattered in the territory and therefore dependent to spatial configurations, studying the border means analysing its close relation to social and environmental topologies, thus through

10. Mezzadra, S., Confini, migrazioni, cittadinanza. *Scienza & Politica. Per Una Storia Delle Dottrine*, 16(30), 2004

11. Balibar E., *Le crainte des masses. Politique et philosophie avant et après Marx*, Galilee, Paris, 1997, pp. 382 - 387

12. Mezzadra, S., Confini, migrazioni, cittadinanza. *Scienza & Politica. Per Una Storia Delle Dottrine*, 16(30), 2004

13. S. Sassen, *Migranti, coloni, rifugiati. Dall'emigrazione di massa alla fortezza Europa*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1999 (ed. or. 1996), p. 95

14. Borjas, G. J., « Economic Theory and International Migration », *International Migration Review*, vol.23, no 3, 1989, p.457-485.

15. Nishat A., Introduction to Border Topologies, *GeoHumanities*, 2:2, 279-283, 2016

16. *Ibidem*

earthly relations that do not necessary follow the limits of continents or states.

"In contrast, the notion of border topologies attempts to highlight the need for thinking of the ecological in relation to borders at a planetary scale and not only in the register of the virtual, of data universes, or from a purely international relations perspective. Today it is imperative to bring together an understanding of borders and bordering through surveillance, migration, and cultural encounters, with borders as ecological entities, keeping the topological approach that has been so successful in the literature described earlier. […] It thus requires a methodological focus that is hinted at in the discussions around borderscapes, where the experiential and representational character of borders and the practices that produce them is highlighted across varied spaces and times"[17].

Within this frame, the Schengen space highlights again the ambiguous distinction between the border and boundary, the entity of the transnational space of transits and connections, concurrently spectacularized and opacified in territories such as the French-Italian border or other internal national frontiers. Here the border acts as dispositif of differential inclusion[18], enabling a shared exercise of sovereignty that includes nation states, supranational formations as the European Union, and other entities such law enforcement, Frontex or the apparatus of institutional humanitarian assistance. However, the analysed border reflects also a peculiar aspect to take into account, namely the collective imaginaries and resistances of migrants and supporting people to subvert these differential processes of inclusion. From a more accurate point of view, then, the dissolution of the frontier into patterns of territorial border has been and will be explained as a process of shared exclusion and sovereignty, enabling new forms of unpredictable violence and rejection, as well as a subsequent opacification of displacement into space. However, at the same time, it is precisely into these new forms of scattered border and opacity that displaced persons and the infrastructure of solidarity are able to elaborate strategies to resist harassments and controls. Looking at the border through the experience of the common social background permits then to unfold not only informal practices of support, but also the ambiguous relations between space and identity that encompasses a specific connection with migration at the French-Italian border and in the Vallée de la Roya.

17. *Ibidem*

18. Walia H., *Border & Rule: Global Migration, Capitalism, and the Rise of Racist Nationalism*, Haymarket Books, Chicago 2021

Patterns of converging boundaries

The border is a dispositif that imposes forms of sub-jective management generating different practices of exclusion[1]. However, this exceptional and exclusive image of the border does not take into account the position of people spatially confronted with it in elaborating strategies of resistance. Its normative and po-litical dimension is therefore necessarily confronted to the collec-tive imaginary and the active participation of people on the move and supporting actors. In this context, it is crucial to analyse the territory through the production of shared boundaries, in order to intertwine it with the consequent reaction towards the migratory phenomena.

The scattered condition of the valley becomes even more diffuse and opaque when related to the social universe inhabiting it, with different cultural dimensions, social classes and belongings to the territory coexisting in the same place. Not only are the socio-demographic peculiarities of the various villages representing a fragmented image of the valley, but also the distinctive forms and genealogies of migration – from Italians and other nationalities immigrating for labour, refugees fleeing prosecution, Jews from 1939, refugees and people on the move[2] – constitute a territory shaped by different rituals and spatial resistances.

From a general perspective, with an overall population of six thousand inhabitants, the valley might be divided into two dis-tinct parts: the north, namely La Brigue and Tende, and the south, with Saorge, Breil-sur-Roya and Fontan. This division is not only marked by the recognizable diversity of their landscapes and geo-graphical position, but also in the collective imaginary of their in-habitants. As a matter of fact, the south is in the proximities of the Mediterranean Sea and maritime cities, such as Ventimille or Nice, while the north has a stronger relationship with the mountains and the skiing touristic locations of Limone Piemonte. Thus, also the inhabitants belonging to the territory is marked by this dialy-sis, often labeling the two populations as "southern" and "north-erns"[3]. On the other hand, in terms of political ideologies the valley appears to be quite united with a right-wing majority: how-

1. Foucault M., *The Subject and Power. Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 777–795, 1982

2. Anafé, association d'assistance aux frontières pour les étrang-ers, PERSONA NON GRATA. Conséquences des politiques sécu-ritaires et migratoires à la frontière franco-italienne, Rapport d'obser-vation 2017-2018, publié en Janvier 2019

3. Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

ever, although the strong presence of a droit bourgeoise in Breil or the progressive evolution of a general support towards Front National, Saorge remains a historically rooted communist village. My arrival in the valley coincided with the presidential elections of 2022 and as expected, while Marine le Pen gained most of the approval from the valley, Saorge maintained its left-wing attitude[4], with a generally more prominent attention to ecological matters and migratory reception. Admittedly, this presence of a right-wing ideology, often quite radical and contentious, explains a general aversion towards people on the move, which appears to regularly be at stake in associations of collective resistance and upturned practices of rejection. In this context, both the physical border and the boundaries between the people inhabiting it return not only in relation to the outside of the valley – namely the French or Italian territory – but also from the internal side of it, contributing to the generation of an extremely scattered and fragmented area of analysis. This condition appears then to be even more accentuated by the different processes of regular and irregular migrancy that took place in latest decades and years, which contributed to the construction of a new spatial and social image of the valley.

To contribute to this extreme fragmentation of the territory is then the arrival of a new unusual immigration that have complete-ly reshaped the site, reappropriating of the left spaces of those who escaped the rurality. Accordingly, from the last decades of the 20th century, the valley has been chracterised by simultaneous processes of decrease and increase of its population. While a large part of the original inhabitants of the valley has decided to leave to search better opportunities in the city or abroad, a considerable number of immigrants from various parts of France and Europe has decided to settle in the mountain territory, to experience new forms of rural life. The development of new spatial and social voids has therefore contributed to the resettlement of new people and practices[5], radically transforming the social space of the valley. Nonetheless, while the new inhabitants result quite well integrated into the territory, the coexistence between new arrivals and original inhabitants presents different dynamics of porosity and conflict-ual division. In this framework, Giliberti divides and analyses the population into two categories[6]: les familles de souche, namely those who are originally from the valley; les nèoruraux, those who decided to move and settle in the valley, in order to pursue a new form of communal and rural way of living.

In what follows, these two communities are confronted in relation to their implication into the hospitality or hostility towards refu-gees and people on the move. As for Greater Paris, looking at the collision and mutual participation among settled population and people in transit allows to interpret the different sequences of the spaces of holding and exhibit possible coexistence.

4. Le Monde, *« La carte des résultats de la présidentielle 2022 : visualisez les votes commune par commune »*, publié le 10 avril 2022

5. Kayser B., *La renaissance rurale. Sociologie de campagnes du monde occidental*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1990

6. Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

Souches and Nèoruraux[1]

The *familles souche* – the original families, literally the stump families –, constitute most of the population in the valley and, often, even if they do not continuously live there, they own houses or keep there their residence, therefore contributing to the political life of the villages.
Most of the lands and houses of the rural space of the valley and its villages is owned by the familles souche and it is often them who occupy and manage municipal administration. Admittedly, overseeing most of the economic, political, and normative space of the valley and its villages they largely represent its material space. Furthermore, their continuous and long-lasting presence in the territory contributes to highlight their symbolic belonging and power to it. Exactly due to the symbolism they embody, being them successors of the social genealogy of a specific family in a village, the belonging the original families have with the territory is strongly related to a clear local dimension, to a specific village more than the valley itself. The autochthonous mainly represent a right-wing political ideology[2], conservative and particularly hesitant regarding the solidarity movements that have taken place in the valley in recent years. A large part of them do not live continuously in the villages, they have rather decided to move to the city or near the coast, although they regularly return or spend there their weekends. However, they often tend to manifest their belonging to the site, and they generally stress the division between them – the familles de souche – and those who came after – the nèoruraux, or as they often call them, the hippies –, defining themselves les *vrais breillois, les vrais saorgiens* – the real inhabitants of Breil, the real inhabitants of Saorge.
A second category of inhabitants is represented by *nèoruraux* – the neorurals –, namely people who decided to move to the valley to embrace a new form of rural way of living, a stronger sense of community and escape from the chaos of the city. They are normally involved in rural or agricultural activities, or work there in the public sphere, as municipal employers, or educators. While they do not have an ancestral relationship with the territory and

they do not take part into the symbolic image of the valley or its villages, they normally have a greater sense of present belonging to the land. Admittedly, taking part to the active development of the territory – through activities as agriculture, breeding, or generally public or public-involved works – they generally tend to intertwine strong connections with other inhabitants – being them either other neorurals or original families – and have a better understanding of what happens in and around the territory. The first generation arrived around the 70s, but the real strong immigration develops only around ten years after; as a matter of fact, the nowadays neorural community might generally be divided into those who settled from the beginning and never left and those who arrived later, following the experience of the others. Most of them arrive from other places in France, often from the big cities, such as Paris or Nice; some, however, came from abroad, with a particular presence of people coming from Germany. Those who decide to settle in the valley come from middle-class families and they all have more or less been involved in some sort of alternative political movements of the 60s or 70s, from radical left-wing resistance movements to anarchist ideologies or squatters' movements happening in European main capitals. Their general ideological and social background, together with the intention to embrace the new communal experience of the rurality of the valley, makes then clear the collision with the original inhabitants who soon started to provide them with the appellative of hippies. Furthermore, the neorural population commonly represent a political left-wing orientation, a strong attention to ecological matters and a greater sense of solidarity and reception over the most vulnerable.
The reception of migrant population that began to develop strongly from the years 2015-2016 is mainly accomplished by them and it is indeed in these aspects that the two parts of the population primarily differ. The confluence between the "established" and the "outsiders"[2], embodied in first place by the ancestral population of the valley and the neorurals who arrived, highlights the difficult process of integration and social porosity sedimented in the valley throughout the last 40-50 years. The old and the new inhabitants do not differ from nationality, ethnic or strong cultural – as in terms of national identity and behaviours – connotations; however, the political universe and territorial perception they formerly experienced generates a considerable distance among ideologies and practices yet presenting very similar ways of living. It is therefore clear how these ideologies and practices have remarkably influenced the situation of *crise de l'accueil* – hospitality crisis –[3], contributing not only to ambiguous forms of incremental estrangement and resistance among the inhabitants, but also to the development of localised moviments of simultaneous rejection and reception.

1. All the information related to the inhabitants of the valley have been taken from: Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

2. Like many other territories marked by the wave of nationalism and populism throughout recent years, growing a shared claim to represent an "us" versus "them", and generally associated with uplifting racism, xenophobia, and discrimination towards minorities. See: Singh, P. Populism, Nationalism, and Nationalist Populism. *St Comp Int Dev* 56, 250–269, 2021

2. Elias N., Scotson J.L., *The established and the Outsiders. A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems*, Frank Cass & Co, London, 1965

3. Lendaro A., Rodier C., Vertongen Y.L., *La crise de l'accueil. Frontières, droits, résistances,* La Découverte, Paris, 2019

1.3.

Latencies of inertial crises

Délocalisation sur place

The department of Alpes-Maritimes is a transnational space that has historically continuously received migrant communities. However, the border acts today more than ever as dispositif of inclusion through exclusion and violence, enhancing forms of differential management by law enforcement on migrants' bodies. The controls and pushbacks have in fact dramatic repercussions on strategies of resistance elaborated by people on the move, who are in most cases forced to try new dangerous routes on the mountains or unsafe modes of crossing through the highways or by train[1]. At the same time, those who manage to cross or escape from controls, arrive at a department that is very well known for its hostility towards migrants and refugees, and they are often confronted to other types of borders and differentiation, namely those of the asylum, Dublin regulation, exclusion from political life and employment – like has been displayed in Greater Paris. Therefore, clandestine work and illegality is usually the only possible solution, increasing a vicious cycle among public hostility and reactions of resistance. The constant discouragement and violence performed by the rejective environment of police control, public hostility and enclosure of the internal frontiers is the generator of a general delocalisation in place of refugees and people on the move, enabling the development of unsolved latencies of displacement, held in the *infrastructure de l'attente*.

As argued in the previous chapters, Italians, Arabs, Armenians, or Russian are in fact the protagonists of a long-lasting development of hospitality, settlements, and integration in the territory. From the beginning, these communities have had the chance to settle, demand employs and contribute to the establishment of a porous and culturally diverse society, enabling progressive fluxes and a subsequent shift in the identity of the place. At the same time, immigrants coming from Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, but also China, North Africa, Sub-Saharan African countries have been able to arrive in these territories without necessarily establish as definitive residents, but rather worked in this area to support relatives in their country of origin or their potential return[2]. However, these

mechanisms are often inscribed in a period of general national growth and with a great demand of workers and people, either produced by the Industrial Revolution or the Reconstruction. On the contrary, the frontier provokes then a rupture for all those situations whose national belonging, sex, age, or familiar situation does not guarantee a potential subsequent porous relation to the territory[3]. If, on the one hand, those coming from ancient French colonies might have found an already settled community in the region and it has therefore been relatively easier for them to establish[4], on the other, those who generally escape from poverty or political violence in their country, remain the most vulnerable. They remain prohibited of administrative practices of legislative aid and, above all, they are denied of working. Consequently, in order to be able to settle in the territory or sustain in their journey, these people are often the most exposed to the illegalities of local economic activities: either in the field of tourism or housing and construction, different places in the region of Alpes-Maritimes have contributed to concurrently repair and extend deficiencies of the government in this sense. This dynamics of "delocalisation in place" – délocalisation sur place – testify the presence and the development of undocumented illegal workers in the region and has radically increased after 2015. In this perspective, the concurrent practices of administrative unwelcoming and rejection over displaced persons and endorsement and negligence over businesses who permit these consequences, have rather contributed to the exponential increase of arrivals of the undesirables[5]. The result on the territory of these dynamics is therefore the ever-lasting presence of people on the edge, excluded from the political asset of the region, but present in the spaces of displacement along the border. Unfolding the illegitimacy of people who thus are forced to constantly delocalise and search for new reactions to survive, creates patterns of makeshift use of the urban and rural spaces at the border, such as inhabiting the street, liminalities or look for shelters with associations, and hence urges to think of ways to include their identities in the contemporary urban and architectural production.

From the context on which this research is focusing, the case of the region Alpes-Maritimes – or, to better say, the specific territory of the frontier between Italy and France – appears as a remarkable representation of transit migration[6], strongly manifested in the collision between Ventimille and Menton, but also in the dual character of reception and rejection accomplished in the Vallée de la Roya. From 2015, we assist to new dynamics of transit at the border, generated by the simultaneous massive presence of migrants trying to cross it and the increase and strengthening of controls and differential management of the borderland. This sort of return to the internal frontier[7], very similar to the situation of

1. Babels, *Le manége des frontières. Criminalisation des migrations et solidarités dans les Alpes-Maritimes*, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2020

2. Look at : Morokvasic M., « La mobilité transnationale comme ressource. Le cas des migrants de l'Europe de l'Est », *Cultures et conflits*, n° 33-34, printemps- été 1999, p. 75-125 ; Look also at : Bénédicte Michalon, Migrations des Saxons de Roumanie en Allemagne. *Mythe, interdépendance et altérité dans le «retour»*, université de Poitiers, thèse en géographie, 2003.

3. Babels, *Le manége des frontières. Criminalisation des migrations et solidarités dans les Alpes-Maritimes*, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2020

4. *Ibidem*

5. Ined and INSEE, *Trajectoires et origines, Enquête sur la diversité des populations en France*, 2010

6. Duvell F., Transit Migration: A Blurred and Politicised Concept, in *"Population, Space and Place"*, 18, 4, pp. 415-27

7. Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

the territory before the Schengen convention, is embodied by the eternal mechanism of migrants trying to cross the frontier and police evicting them, which very soon urge them to search new ways to enter France and escape the police checkpoints, leading to direct the route through the north and the mountain path that divide the Italian and French borderland. Within these frame and circumstances, the valley acquires a certain centrality around the new migrants' spaces and the receptive responses of this fluxes. From summer 2015 until 2020 especially, the border and the valley are inhabited by hundreds of people who try to find shelters under the bridges, in the railway stations, in and around the rural lands in the valley, on the mountains or near the river, with various informal makeshift settlements which began to develop and consequently be evacuated in the territory. With the increase of people on the move in the area, the associative network at the border and in the valley began to reactivate, providing shelters and support through food distribution, outreach and basic assistance. The Vallée de la Roya stands out particularly in this context, with a great amount of people – notably mainly the neorural population – hosting people at home or soon engaging in some form of solidarity movement, as a sort of moral obligation[8]. The progressive mediatisation of practices of reception and the acquisition of a certain notoriety around specific spaces of support increases the new connotation of migratory hub. A clear example is Cedric Herrou, a farmer who decides to host migrants in his farm and lands, whose supporting reputation enacts then growing fluxes of people who head north and cross the border conscious to find a hosting community in the valley. The association Roya Citoyenne is another clear example, with the management of the capillary network of individuals who decided to host migrants in their homes[9].

These practices of reception and new spaces of support are then the crucial representation of a valley that is soon confronted to a radical change in their rituals and nature. However, the massive and often non-justified militarisation and controls in the valley, which increased in the years 2018 and 2019, have greatly contributed to the alleviation of the mobility through the rural territory, inducing migrants to persist their passage on the more conventional area of Ventimiglia. Furthermore, the implications of the Covid19 pandemic and later the storm Alex had a distinct impact on the migratory phenomena, engendering a diffuse shift of mediatisation and collective practices in the valley. In what follows, a brief reconstruction of the damages of the storm is provided as a little digression on the meaning of reactivation of sedimented practices. Especially in the rural dimension of the valley, the environment of solidarity actions is not only able to engender gatherings that could happen anytime , but also overcome the disengagement among different claims, like the climate and refugees justice movements.

8. Lendaro A., « Désobéir en faveur des migrants », *Journal des anthropologues*, 152-153 | 2018, 171-192.

9. Practices of reception and the network of solidarity will be further explained and depicted with data in the dedicated chapter 2. On Hold, more specifically 2.3. Practices of reception

44°04'41.3"N 7°35'55.1"E / 25/04/2022

Poster on a wooden board in Tende, denouncing lack of hospitality of refugees in the department

WHAT IS LEFT OF MIGRANTS' SPACES

Piedmont

Col de Tende

Vallée de Merveilles

Camp St Dalmas

Vallée de la Roya

Roya Citoyenne

D6204

Ligurie

Emmaus Roya

D2204

Roya camp

Caritas Intemelia

Menton

Pont Saint Louis

A8

SS1

Pont Saint Loudovic

Ventimiglia

D6327

Monaco

0 km

10 km

Woods: decidous

Woods: coniferous

Woods: mixed

Shrubs areas

Agricultural areas

Urbanised areas

Sea

Parcs and green areas

Hydrography

Railway path

Roads and footpaths

Main migrants' routes

Main migrants' spaces

Tempête Alex

At the time of my fieldwork and writing, the valley had been affected by multiple situations of crisis. The years 2019-2020 marked a substantial shift in the transit migration of the territory and the consequent activities of resistance. Peculiarly, however, to this situation succeed a new state of crisis in October 2020, originated by the environmental emergency of the Storm Alex – *Tempête Alex*.

On Thursday October 1, 2020, Météo France placed 4 departments of the PACA Region on orange alert "Rain-Flood" and "Storms"; the day after, the Alpes-Maritimes department is placed on red "Rain-Flood" vigilance and orange "Waves-Submersion" vigilance for the coast. After having swept over the west, the Storm Alex led to an exceptional rainfall disaster in the Alpes-Maritimes during the night between the 2nd and the 3rd of October 2020. Flash floods of a unique force devastated several lands and valleys, namely those of Vésubie, Roya and Tinée. Considerable human and material damages occurred, with many dead and missing. Many municipalities also were totally affected, with infrastructure, houses, communication, and transport networks destroyed or highly damaged, causing marginality and isolation. The infrastructures which seem to have resisted the best are the railway infrastructures which served as "lifelines" for several days after the disaster. Some of them have, however, experienced great damages, especially around Fontan-Dalmas, which led to the closure of the station and the connection between Tende-Dalmas. The inhabitations situated in the proximities of the banks and floodable areas have also been greatly affected. Dozens of families found themselves homeless or in conditions of extreme precariousness at night: 106 houses have in fact been classified as to be destroyed; 174 as fragile with risk of collapse; 224 as possible risk in the land in the proximities of the house[1]. Consequently, some of the locals had to abandon their houses and be hosted by friends or parents, returning to their domicile once rehabilitation works were executed by the departmental aid or volunteers; others decided to move outside or on the Mediterranean coast – as aforementioned, a large

amount of the population in the valley dispose of other houses on the coast –, reinforcing the already existing phenomena of villages used as holiday break, especially by the familles de souche. Moreover, a certain number of infrastructures, economic and service facilities have been destroyed, both in urban and rural areas. The offices of the town hall of Breil-sur Roya, like everything that was in the town's flood zone, were devastated and the municipality had to move for several months near the train station. Globally, 70 municipalities have been classified as natural disaster zones in the Alpes-Maritimes through 6 decrees published in the official journal from October 2020 to March 2021[2]. The combined effects of the environmental disaster of the storm and the Covid19 pandemic has therefore largely affected local economy and social life in the valley. According to municipal sources, between 400 and 600 people have decided to permanently leave the territory[3].

In this context, the valley saw the multiple crises converging and intersecting simultaneously: on the one hand the so-called "migration crisis", on the other the disasters of the storm of 2020. From the first days and for several months, the presence of volunteers from all over France was one of the characteristics of the management of the environmental crisis. Committed to cleaning and rehabilitation of houses and public spaces, and the recovery of rural and agricultural areas, these volunteers have considerably helped to overcome the situation. Many residents received volunteers at home, and several dormitories have been set up. This great direct mobilisation of individuals has been at the origin of many initiatives, such as the "Week-End Solidaires", created to help physically and psychologically entrepreneurs and farmers who have seen their activities or fields highly damaged or destroyed. At the same time, the already established associative network who mainly distributed in the valley to respond to the migratory phenomena was at the centre of the management of the new crisis and actions of reconstruction and resistance, having it at that moment entrenched a vigorous latency of solidarity and intercommunality.

To conclude, in some ways, the entrenchment of the porous network of resistance towards the new emergency takes back the temporality of solidarity[4], exposed through the case of the urban context of Paris and Seine-Saint-Denis. However, the storm happens in a period in which migratory transits have substantially diminished, either due to the progressive militarisation of the valley which discouraged passages, either provoked by the effects of the Covid19 pandemic. Nonetheless, the case of Roya peculiarly manifests its potentiality around an occasion which is radically different from that of migration yet preserving the fundamental characteristic of being critical. In this sense, the state of exception of the different tensions generated is the potential medium of reactivation of sedimental practices, whatever nature they embody.

1. Groupe URD, *Rapport de la seconde évaluation post-inondations dans les Vallées de la Roya*, décembre 2020

2. Département des Alpes Maritimes, *Tempête Alex - Mesures du Département*

3. Groupe URD, *Rapport de la seconde évaluation post-inondations dans les Vallées de la Roya*, décembre 2020

4. Tazzioli M., What is Left of Migrants' Spaces? Transversal Alliances and the Temporality of Solidarity. *Political Anthropological Research on International Social Sciences*, 2020

TEMPETE ALEX: INTENSITIES AND LATENCIES

Piedmont

Col de Tende

Vallée de Merveilles

Tende

St-Dalmas

La Brigue

Fontan

Saorge

Breil-sur-Roya

Ligurie

Sospel

Menton

Ventimiglia

Monaco

Woods: decidous

Woods: coniferous

Woods: mixed

Shrubs areas

Agricultural areas

Urbanised areas

Sea

Parks and green areas

Hydrography

Railway path

Roads and footpaths

Main migrants' routes

Main infrastructure damages

Rain accumulation: < 500 mm

Rain accumulation: 300 mm > 500 mm

Rain accumulation: 200 mm > 300 mm

Rain accumulation: 100 mm > 200 mm

Rain accumulation: 50 mm > 100 mm

0 km

10 km

44°03'20.1"N 7°35'18.6"E / 24.04.2022

44°05'10.1"N 7°35'32.7"E / 24.04.2022

Damages of the Tempête Alex, St.-Dalmas-de-Tende

Damages of the Tempête Alex, Tende

1.4.

What is left of migrants' spaces

What is left of migrants' spaces[1] is a broaden and open question, relating not only to legacies and collective dynamics of rejection and reception, but also to the shared image of displacement as pending, forgotten, opaque. Previously, we have analysed genealogies of displacement, trying to assemble roots, rituals, stories, national and territorial infrastructure that shaped the phenomena throughout the years and built their spaces. What is left of migrants' spaces is therefore penetrating the local dimension, it looks at the territory by encompassing the spatial configuration and architecture. In so doing, the following pages try to explain the makeshift by entering it and to understand the border by looking at its topologies[2].

These examples are the result of a fieldwork carried out from the 22nd of April 2022 until the 5th of May 2022 at the French-Italian border. In these two weeks I have been hosted in Tende, in Vallée de la Roya, trying to empathise with local community and absorbe as many information as possible, which have therefore been collected in Paris in the following months. During this period, I have talked with people living in the valley, I have travelled throughout the valley and bordering territories, I have visited multiple times Ventimiglia. Foremost, I have collaborated with local association for food distributions – maraudes – and other necessities, interviewing them to know their stories and those of the people in transit through the valley and the border. It is precisely through the volunteering activity with Emmaus Roya and Caritas Intemelia that I had the opportunity to talk to people in transit also at the French-Italian border, questioning their routes, imaginations, and fears. In particular, both associationism and immersion into the everyday life in the valley, although for a very limited timeframe, have permitted to experience directly past and present spaces of displacement and the infrastructure that gravitates around them. From a general perspective, the following three places presented, named with the appellation given by locals and associations – namely, la Ferme, il Ponte and Via San Secondo –, are provided to explain spaces of displacement through different gazes and

dynamics. Somehow similarly to the Greater Paris, the three places embody what is left of migrants' spaces by including legacies of situations that no longer exist, makeshift camps persistently intertwined with the territory and the community, and forms of reception, thus unfolding the makeshift by showing possible solutions of coexistence.

La Ferme, also named Le Camping, agricultural terrain of Cedric Herrou, an organic farmer settled in Breil-sur-Roya, is presented to show the main migrants' space in the valley throughout the past seven years. In a similar way as Porte de la Chapelle in Paris, la Ferme represents more than other places what is left in terms of legacies and collective imagination in the valley. However, while they share a very similar experience in concepts and on a historical dimension, the bordering example has substantial differences with Porte de la Chapelle, not only in its spatial configuration and nature – in terms of rurality, accessibility, public and private distinction –, but also in its outcomes. Although both of them have in common a gradual and substantial lack of presence of people in transit and displaced from approximately 2019, the experience in la Ferme and the great mediatisation around it was the opportunity to begin a new stable, consistent and formal project of solidarity in the valley by the acquisition of the status Emmaus and the opening of the building of les Tuileries. On the contrary, Porte de la Chapelle embodies the neglected condition of spaces of displacement in Greater Paris, with even projects of requalification and reconquering of those spaces once inhabited by migrants and refugees.

Il Ponte and via San Secondo refer to Ventimiglia[3], explaining the places at the border from the inside, in other words, from the experiences of people trying to cross, thus elaborating strategies of inhabit the temporariness of their stay. Il Ponte is the result of insufficient possibilities of shelter and the necessity of a place that could guarantee the status of pending that people wishing to cross the border experience when blocked at the border. From this perspective, it manifests similar social and spatial configurations with the makeshift camp of Delphine Seyrig in Pantin, with the equal stable presence of associations coming to help and provide necessities, materiality and common imagination and fears in the shelters and sheltered people. However, they greatly differ in terms of why the camp is created, who is inhabiting it and the fluxes of people continuously coming and leaving it, which are exquisitely dependent by its bordering territorial nature.

Finally, via San Secondo represents the migrants' spaces at the border by looking from the spectrum of the infrastructure of solidarity. However, it displays the reception in a territory and conditions that differ greatly from the Parisian context, therefore comprehending a visible, more accessible and formal dimension.

1. Tazzioli M., What is Left of Migrants' Spaces? Transversal Alliances and the Temporality of Solidarity. *Political Anthropological Research on International Social Sciences*, 2020

2. Nishat A., Introduction to Border Topologies, *GeoHumanities*, 2:2, 279-283, 2016

3. Although the thesis initial intention was to focus on the Vallée de la Roya, the inspection made clear how routes and spaces of migration are today substantially present in Ventimiglia. It was therefore necessary to look primarily at these spaces to decipher genealogies, ethnographies, axialities all over the southern Franco-Italian borderland.

Main law enforcement checkpoint in the valley from 2017 until 2019

La Ferme / Le Camping, now agricultural activities of Emmaus Roya and people hosted

Breil-sur-Roya centre and main area of damages after the Tempete

Les Tuileries: reception centre, kitchen and main locals of Emmaus Roya

01/05/2022 / 43°55'55.4"N 7°31'06.7"E

FERME DE CEDRIC HERROU - "LE CAMPING"

FERME DE CEDRIC HERROU - "LE CAMPING"

FERME DE CEDRIC HERROU - "LE CAMPING"

Il ponte

From the experiences of the associations and volunteers, the spaces of migration in Ventimiglia can be essentially synthetized into 3 iconic places: la stazione, il confine, il ponte – the station, the border, and the bridge[1].

In some ways, the first two are notably the spaces of transit, where people arrive and where they depart, the places that mark the transit of people wishing to enter France and equally the places that mostly mark the rejection and eviction to which they are subjected. The main station and – especially – the border are therefore where many of the practices of reception take place, namely where associations and volunteers defending rights to transit assist the displaced people in itinerant legally assistance or general support.

Il ponte, the bridge, located in Via Tenda, has been part of the migration imaginary of the city of Ventimiglia for many years. After the railway passing over the river Roya, the bridge of the Strada Statale 20 marks the landscape of the northern neighbourhood of the city, running along the riverbanks and creating a sheltering space very often temporarily inhabited by migrants and displaced persons. The dimension of the makeshift camps varies based on the different affluence of transits throughout the year, generally expanding linearly under the bridge. Consequently, it is also here that solidarity practices take place: especially in the car park in front of the cemetery, many associations come regularly to distribute food or provide medical and legal aid[2].

The development of the makeshift camp started in the spring of 2016 with subsequent frequent evictions throughout the years. During 2016 and 2017 and the first months of 2018 different fluxes of people kept inhabiting the place, reaching high numbers especially during summer periods. The year 2017 marked the experience of the reception in the church of Gianchette – Chiesa delle Gianchette –, located in the direct proximities of the informal camp, where the parish priest decided to host migrants in the spaces of the church, managing the reception with the help of local associations and the Caritas. However, in the summer of 2017 the municipality stopped the sheltering, displacing people

into the new Camp Roja. From the first months of 2018, due to the constant and progressive increase of people in the area and the establishment of informal and precarious housing constructions, the municipality decided to definitely evacuate the informal camp and deny any possibility of reestablishment, through constant police control and physical barriers to enclose the former informal area. Especially with the installation of the Camp Roja managed by the Croce Rossa in the northern periphery of Ventimiglia, the number of people inhabiting the place generally decreased. As a consequence, the official closure of the Camp Roja in 2020 has brought people transiting in Ventimiglia to return to the camp in Via Tenda, marking then the strong place attachment that certain spaces of migration keep in the collective imaginary of both inhabitants and displaced people[3].

In this framework, the camp under the bridge of Via Tenda constitute a refuge and spaces of support not only through its physical attributes, making people easy to find a shelter under the bridge or in the void spaces of the car park and the riverbank, but also due to the subsequent acts of solidarity that took place here[4]. As aforementioned, the affluence of people staying here led associations to directly implement food distribution and support in place, enacting a further affection of displaced people to the sheltering space. Via Tenda became, as a matter of fact, the main place of manifestation for those who denounced the violence and illegitimate controls of police and the state, those who demanded for a respectable accommodation and those, on the contrary, who were hostile to the presence of the migrants in the city and demanded for a further eviction and oversight. Furthermore, it is precisely in this area that the Infopoint Eufemia took place from summer 2017 until the end of 2018. Born throught the collaboration between the associations Progetto20k, Melting Pot Europe and the local Popoli in Arte, the infopoint has been for several years a place where migrants could rest, demand for clothes and legal support, exchange information or charge their phone. Although it was closed for a denial of contract renewal by the landlord of the building, the associations continued to operate in the area, joining other itinerant support persisting around the informal camp. As a matter of fact, the both French and italian associations and NGOs Kesha Niya, Roya Citoyenne, Emmaus Roya, Diaconia Valdese, Medicins du Monde and many others shaped the migrant space as a fundamental example of reception practices.

The genealogy of sedimented practices of both support and eviction that coexisted in the informal camp in a subsequent and concurrent way throughout these years have therefore contributed to the development of what we call spaces of holding, in either its imaginaries and rituals.

1. Interview to the association Diaconia Valdese in their office in Via San Secondo on the 29.04.2022

2. It is precisely here that the maraude I did with Emmaus Roya took place and where we met also the associations Diaconia Valdese and Médecins du monde.

3. As it was clear for Delphine Seyrig, for example, that has been continuously reactivated by new arrivals or people returning after evictions, although it remained a place of constant control by the institutions.

4. The spatial configuration and materiality of the camp and its surroundings have been displayed in the following drawings and photos. They are therefore presented to show connections and conditions of settlement, allowing to visualise the sediments and legacies.
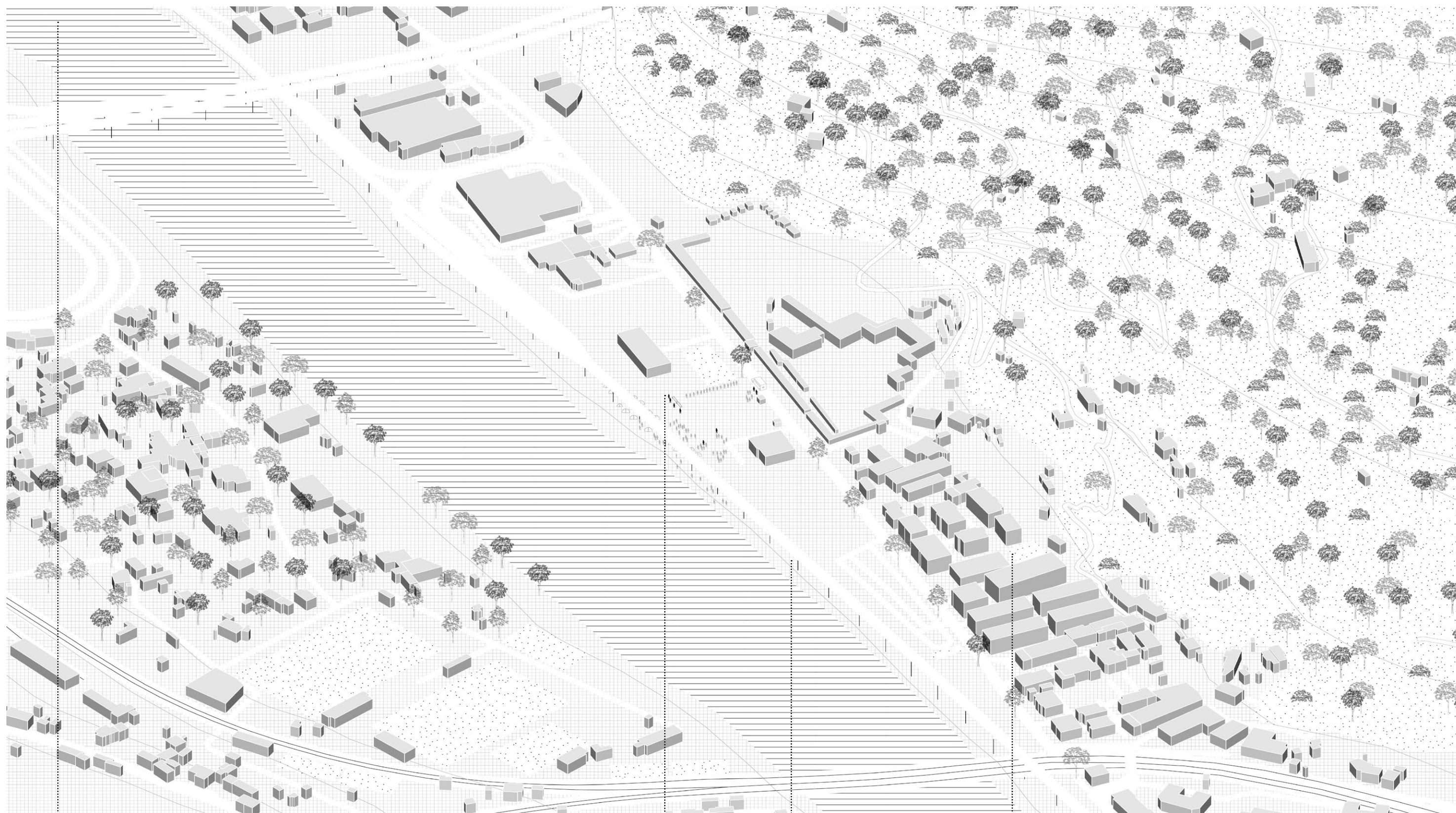
Further north at the border of
the municipality of Ventimiglia:
Red Cross Roja Camp

Parking: main area of food
distribution and outreach from
local associations

Linear area of expansion of
the makeshift camp "Il Ponte"

Chiesa delle Gianchette, local church
hosting and helping migrants transiting
under the bridge in Via Tenda until 2018

27/04/2022 / 43°47'55.6"N 7°36'00.9"E

IL PONTE, VENTIMIGLIA

27/04/2022 / 43°47'55.6"N 7°36'00.9"E

IL PONTE, VENTIMIGLIA

245

IL PONTE, VENTIMIGLIA

27/04/2022 / 43°47'55.6"N 7°36'00.9"E

"Can you briefly describe the place?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 27/04/2022)

Via S. Secondo 20

In a different way than the French spaces of migration, the Italian receptive network is commonly associated with the support of the Church and the associations hosted in Via San Secondo 20 in Ventimiglia are a clear example.
The building is a space of hospitality which hosts different functions and associations[1]. The first organization to be installed here has been Caritas Intemelia, promoting since 1992 diverse and diffused actions of solidarity in the city of Ventimiglia. With the development of transit migration in the city and the progressive support of the Catholic Church, the building opened its spaces also to the associations Diaconia Valdese, We World and Save the Children. Today the place represents a great part of the solidarity practices held in the border city and one of the main spaces of reception used by migrants and displaced people transiting or inhabiting the territory. As a matter of fact, not only is here that the daily distribution, the legal assistance or psychological support take place, but the different associations dispose of a capillary system of housing and facilities around the city and neighbouring municipalities to host families and people in transit or willing to remain in the country[2]. The strong attachment to the territory is also demonstrated by their daily presence around the common spaces of migration of the city – notably, the informal camp in front of the municipal cemetery, the frontier, the main station and, during summer, the beach –, providing field primary assistance and general support over legal and psychological issues. In this way, their commitment to the site and structures disposal highlights the equally porous and permanent receptive image of the border that responds to – and collides with – the equally porous and permanent acts of resistance held by police's pushbacks and controls. In this framework, the building in Via San Secondo 20, as for the case of 60 AdaDa in Paris, is a place of solidarity that did not necessarily develop to respond to the migrancy phenomena but has therefore become part of the spaces of migration of the city, contributing to the ambiguous generation of holding practices which opacify the separation between the camp and the city.

1. In the following page, a draft of the organization inside the building is presented, with very approximate measurements. I have not had the chance to access to the second floor, where people on the move and families are hosted in personal or common rooms. The photos in the what follows are displayed to show physically the place and the practices of solidarity held by the associations.

2. The drawing at the scale of the city highlights the capillary system of spaces of hospitality managed by Intemelia, namely Via San Secondo, Via Cavour and Ventimiglia Alta. At the same time, these places are very close to common makeshift areas of settlement, where people on the move and other associations gather daily.

"We're different associations working together to pursue as many objectives as possible: there is Caritas Intemelia; We World, an NGO that deals with legal assistance and psychological and social aid; then the volunteers and operators of Diaconia Valdese, who provide legal assistance, accomodation; finally, there is Save the Children which deals with immediate assistance mainly for people in transit and minors, women and families".

(Daniele, Caritas Intemelia, 27/04/2022)

"Do you also have and manage accommodations?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 27/04/2022)

"Here in via San Secondo there is the male dormitory, in Bordighera the female one, while in via Cavour in Ventimiglia there is the structure for fragile migrants in conditions of psychological violence; outside Ventimiglia in Trucco there is another structure for migrants in psychological precariousness or drug addicts but in semi-autonomous contitions, they only receive a visit from an operator once a week".

(Daniele, Caritas Intemelia, 27/04/2022)

"What other reception facilities do you manage, especially here in Via S. Secondo?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 27/04/2022)

"There is the primary support office to give first information for services and facilities in the territory. They equally have a direct connection with the Emporio, the food store for those who cannot afford doing their groceries. Then, therapists provide psychological assistance and if the persons needs additional medical aid, we have doctors who can take care of them. All the associations working here together provide legal aid, in terms of asylum requests, residence permits etc. We have showers and bathrooms, although now it's become way more complicated due to Covid19 restrictions. We have two spaces with toys for kids to play, if there are some families in transit. Finally the dormitories, a large kitchen and a dining area".

(Daniele, Caritas Intemelia, 27/04/2022)

"How did you arrive here and what accommodations do you manage?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 27/04/2022)

"We have been here since about 2019, we began this late because at first we mainly dealt with border monitoring and transit, then as people wishing to stay increased, we began to feel the need to mobilize in that sense too. As for people in transit, we host them in two places: in the shelter in Camporosso and in an accommodation in upper Ventimiglia. In upper Ventimiglia mainly families are hosted and left in a very independent way. There are about 20 people. In the shelter in Camporosso we basically host for one night because it's people in transit so themselves they don't want to stay longer, but we are naturally very flexible if they don't manage to cross the border. It is almost entirely managed by volunteers, with regard to assistance, the distribution of meals or various needs.".

(Francesca, Diaconia Valdese, 27/04/2022)

"What other reception facilities do you manage?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 27/04/2022)

"We basically deal with outreach in the main places of migration in Ventimiglia, that is basically the station, the riverside, the border, and the beach during summer. Two collaborators then go to the places and give assistance, inform about the Dublin regulation or eventually how to stay in Italy. If they are interested then we take care of them and show the essential passages".

(Francesca, Diaconia Valdese, 27/04/2022)

"Do you collaborate with other associations? Also in France?".

(Stefano Mastromarino, 27/04/2022)

"We naturally collaborate with Caritas, Save the Children and We World with whom we share the spaces here in via San Secondo. We are then in very close contacts with other associations, both Italian and French, like Kesha Niya, Progetto20k, Roya Citoyenne. We tend to communicate and collaborate in a very informal way and of course we exchange information".

(Francesca, Diaconia Valdese, 27/04/2022)

Medical aid · Counselling · Main office · Legal aid · Nursery · Toilets · Showers · Storage · Play area

0 m · 2,5 m · 5 m
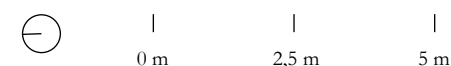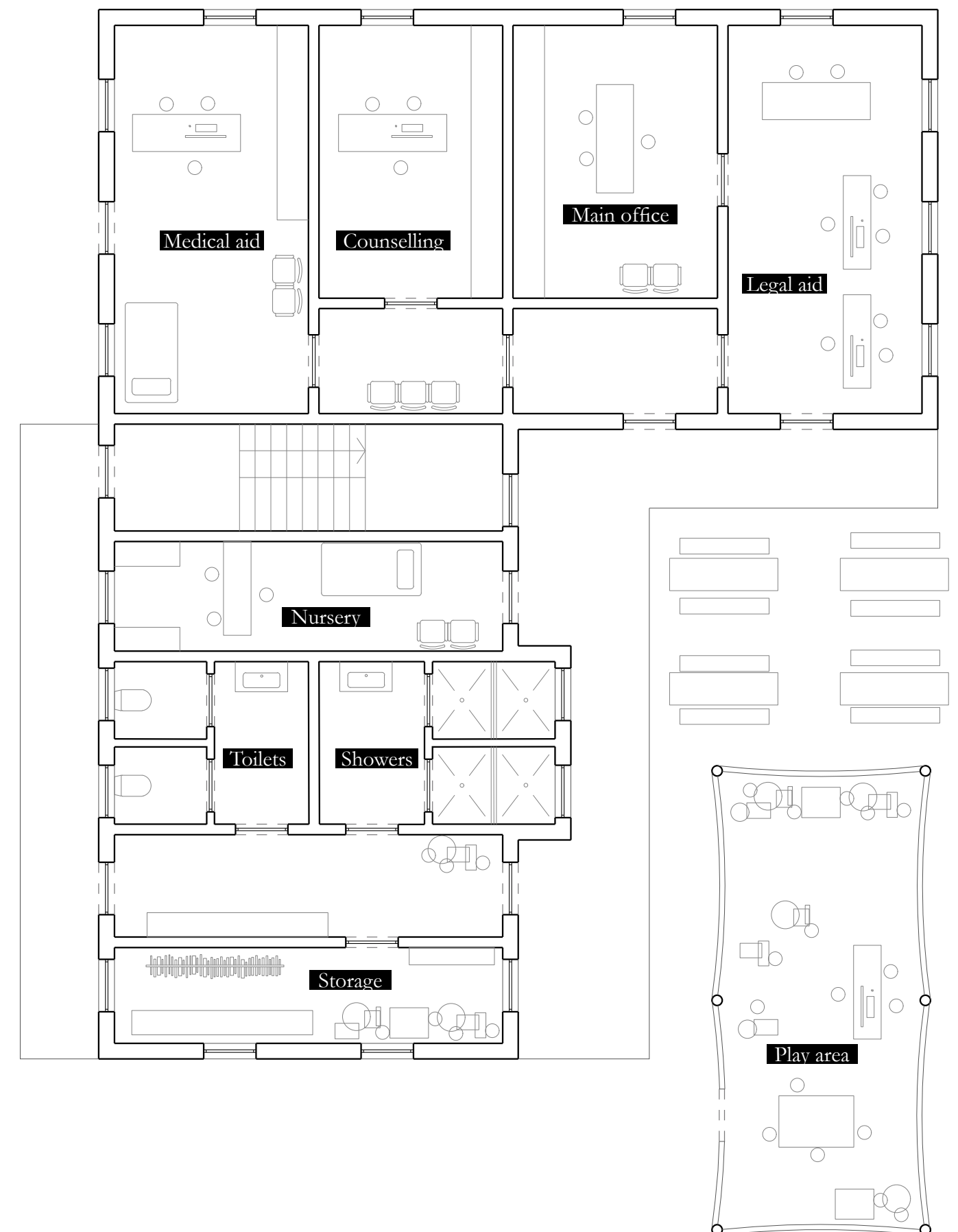
Ventimiglia Alta: reception centre
for independent families in transit

Il Ponte makeshift camp,
Intemelia's main outreach point

Main reception centre of Inte-
melia, with daily food distribu-
tion and outreach

Via Cavour: reception centre for
socially and physically fragile
people in transit

Central station
Arrivals outreach
and police checkpoint

VIA SAN SECONDO 20, VENTIMIGLIA

VIA SAN SECONDO 20, VENTIMIGLIA

VIA SAN SECONDO 20, VENTIMIGLIA

2. On hold

At the southern French-Italian border and specifically in the valley new forms of spaces and practices of holding emerge, namely through the relationship with the rural, the frontier and a radically different social dimension. The progressive increase of transits and the subsequent enclosure of the French fortress explains the simultaneous phenomena of dematerialisation of the frontier and the acts of collective resistance and support. The case encompasses then a new fragment of the infrastructure of solidarity that explains its performativity as transnational dispositif of connection and support, enabling transits through the informal, diffuse, and silent system of collective resistances.

2.1.

Holding

In the first part of the thesis, we have defined what is left of migrants' spaces by encompassing the consequences of conflictual relationships around very different dynamics acting in the public space in Paris. This led then to the conceptual and material identification of a series of ambiguous places in the urban sphere, places marked by the concurrent embodiment of dichotomies around mobility and immobility, visible and opaque, the camp and the city. They have therefore been identified as "spaces of holding"[1].

In the Parisian context, the makeshift camps of Porte de la Chapelle, Delphine Seyrig and the other given examples have sufficiently exposed the conflict between the concurrent practices of hospitality and abandonment, help and pain, to which migrant bodies are subjected. This condition therefore highlighted different shades of temporalities, namely those of a permanent yet protracted displacement from police harassment and urban public policies, and those of the transiency of collective resistances, allowing re-activation of sedimented practices in the public space. Within this frame, the space itself, scenography of the encounter between exclusion and inclusion, undergoes the ambiguous and opaque embarrassment of undefined practices of legal or illegal action, equally causing blurred temporalities and informalities.

The case of the French-Italian border and notably the Vallée de la Roya not only reinforce these processes by providing a very similar condition in a radically peculiar territory, but it also encompasses the dimension of the national frontier and the rural, which adds even more violence to the condition of people on the move. As a matter of fact, the reintroduction of the internal frontiers from 2015 have completely reshaped the spaces and dynamics of transiting at the border. People who arrive in Ventimiglia are coming from the Central Mediterranean or the Balkan route[2] and for most of them the primary intention is to pass the border to settle in – mostly – either France or the United Kingdom. In facts, the border controls and pushback at the border oblige them to temporarily settle in the makeshift camps of the city, with difficult situations

1. Look at Part 1, Chapter 3. Hold on. Specifically, 3.1. Holding

2. Amigoni L., Aru S., Bonnin I., Proglio G., Vergnano C., *Debordering Europe. Migration and Control Across the Ventimiglia Region*, Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship, Palgrave Macmillan Cham, Basingstoke, 2021, pages 248

of inhabitation and coexistence with locals. However, the controls and differential management at the border[3] is only highlighting one aspect of the crossing rituals of people in transit, avoiding analysing their role in conceiving new ways to overcome the frontier and enter France.

"Migrant mobility, although not intended to openly challenge sovereign authority, demonstrates "ways of seeing, knowing, and being" alternatively to the modern geopolitical imaginary of state borders (Mainwaring 2019, p. 17). While border devices attempt to control mobility through a fixed and static idea of space, the diasporic movement of people is based on the kinetic imagination of a space to be crossed thanks to a constellation of voices dislocated across the world"[4].

Moreover, the territory stresses a genealogy of holding spaces and practices in various dimensions. The peculiarity of being at the border is the basic element of historical processes of transit, subsequent evictions, and strategies of bypassing it. At the same time, also within the current period of transits through the border, namely from 2015 until today, the territory highlights peculiar dynamics of hold, which have a permanent and progressive nature, and therefore produce different temporalities compared to the Parisian territory. Being collective resistances, at this point, sedimented practices in the territory and strengthening a crucial mutual connection and relationship with the site, they can produce a very broaden and complete knowledge of it and they embody the capacity to fight for diverse conflicts and situations of crisis. In this context, we might assume that the case of the borderland between France and Italy evokes archival dynamics of spaces and practices of holding that complete the fragments lacking to the central and urban dimension of the capital, the almost opposed effect of a conscious migratory transitoriness and a permanence of practices of simultaneous rejection and reception. At the same time, explaining migrants' spaces with various oriented gazes and from the viewpoint of the border stresses the complexity of migrancy and its strong relation to the territory. Consequently, this representation produces a series of fragments that make it concurrently visible, because it *can* happen, and opaque, because it is *the only way* to make it happen. In this way, the series of rooms of holding explained above and in the previous chapters acquire its crucial transnational dimension, activated by the porous and interconnected global infrastructure of solidarity.

3. Foucault, M., *The Subject and Power. Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 1982, 777–795

4. Amigoni L., Aru S., Bonnin I., Proglio G., Vergnano C., *Debordering Europe. Migration and Control Across the Ventimiglia Region*, Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship, Palgrave Macmillan Cham, Basingstoke, 2021, pages 248

MAIN ROUTES TO FRANCE AND SPACES OF CONTAINMENT

Routes: central Mediterranean and Balkans

Main places of migrants' refoulement

Countries that have restored internal borders

Places of sorting and control

Points de passage autorisés (France):
Hendaye, Perpignan, Briancon, Menton
Transit areas (Hungary):
Tompa, Roszke
Hotspots (Grece et Italie):
Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Leros, Kos Trapani,
Pozzallo, Lampedusa, Taranto

Camps for foreigners present on the territory
of a State and awaiting deportation

Camps for foreigners combining deportation
and examination of entry requests

Civil law prison regularly used for the
administrative detention of foreigners

Presence of five detention facilities in the
same geographic zone

Physical border walls and barriers

Calais

Hendaye

Briancon

Menton

Tompa

Röszke

Taranto

Ceuta

Melilla

Trapani

Pozzallo

Lampedusa

Lesbos

Chios

Samos

Leros

Kos
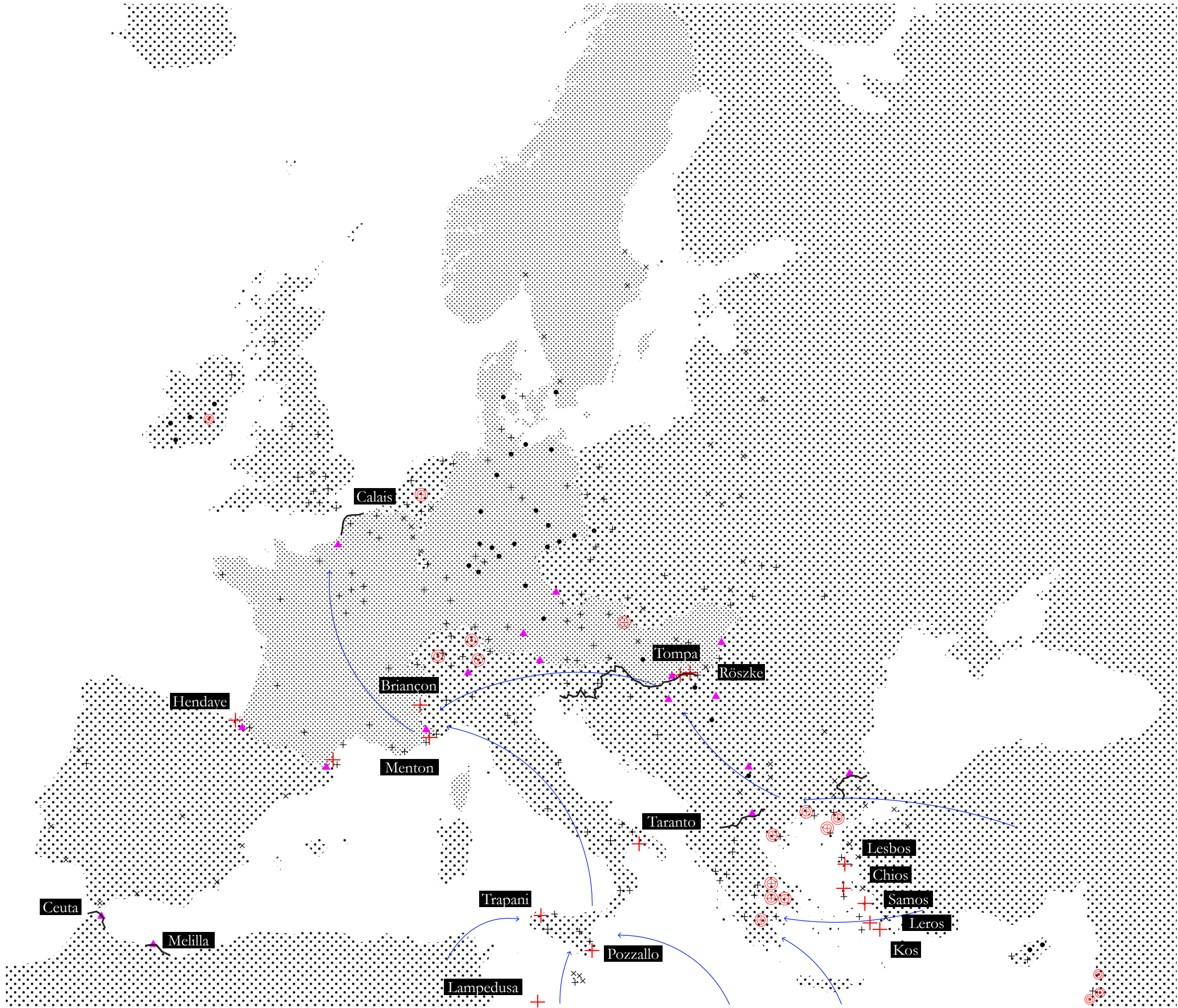
2.2.

Practices of rejection

The violence of the border

The practices of rejection over migrants and displaced people are constituted of the dual and contradictory dimension of virtual controls – namely the biometry and administrative procedures – and physical spaces and rituals – being them either the practices of police eviction or differential management of public space.

This is the case then of both analysed territories of the Grand Paris and the frontier between Alpes Maritimes and Italy, with their specific peculiarities and spatial distinctions. In the case of Paris, we have seen how sedimented spaces of immigration and practices of solidarity assistance have generally enacted a diffuse and capillary state of oversight and expulsion from police services or consequent public urban developments, camouflaged by the image of public space reconquering or requalification. In the bordering territory of Alpes Maritimes and Vallée de la Roya, the incremental rejection has commenced through an institutionalised return to the internal frontier as act of resistance towards the increase of transits after 2015 and proceeded in the production of new dispersed and pixelised spaces of control enacted by the birth of potential alternative routes and the network of solidarity around the migrants and displaced persons. Thereupon, whether if we refer to the first or latest case, the production of spaces and practices of rejection points out the progressive dilution and dematerialisation of the border: in the virtual form of biometric management and the administrative condition of eternal waiting; in the reconstruction of the materiality of security through police checkpoints, walls and barriers multiplying in public spaces. The different dynamics of filter, dispersion, and opacification[1] of the migratory route collides then with their state of being in the physical space of the city[2] or the rural territory and the eternal condition of waiting to which they are subjected let emerge new types of sociological and spatial threats, namely related to their place and belonging in the territory. "Internal borders may be crossed at any point without a border check on persons, irrespective of their nationality, being carried out"[3]. The Schengen Borders code has been established to provide

1. Babels, *La police des migrants. Filtrer, disperser, harceler*, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2019, 120 pages

2. Sassen, S., *Neither global nor national: Novel assemblages of territory, authority, and rights*. Ethics & Global Politics, 2008

3. Regulation EU 2016/399 of European Parliament and Council, *On a Union Code on the rules governing the movement of persons across borders (Schengen Borders Code)*, 9 march 2016

the common rules for free circulation and necessities of control in the internal frontiers. Despite the protection of free movement regardless of nationalities, the regulation allows member states to apply their own rules regarding security and oversight on various circumstances or situations of emergency. Within these conditions, the regulation highlights the extreme temporality of these permissions. At the same time, the permitted additional controls are allowed by the Convention within an area of 20km from each side of the frontier: especially in the Italian side of the border it is not rare to see French military forces collaborating with the Italian ones, carabinieri, police offices, financial police work together in the main spaces of transit from Italy, notably around the stations or specific footpaths.

"Limone is the last stop before the border and as soon as we arrive, I'm ready to see the police get on the train. So it happens, a woman of the Italian police and a man of the French gendarmerie get on the train together and begin the checks. As in the train from Paris, my carriage is fine, they don't know what our nationalities are, but our skin and our physical features seem to speak for us. I think there is probably no one there, it is still cold and the route to the Vallée de la Roya has been particularly dormant for some years now. Instead, a boy, black, not older than 14 years old was stopped for identity checks. Despite the several times in which he tries to present the ticket to Breil-sur-Roya, the police urge him to get off the train and go with them. I don't know where he was going, maybe to Nice and then to Paris, maybe he wanted to reach the UK via Calais. I don't know how many times he tried to cross the border, or if he ever succeeded. I don't know where he has gone now and where he will be in the future. What is certain is that today for him the border is the dispositif that testifies its violent condition of exception; the train, a transit space par excellence, a transnational junction, was for him the space of rejection".

(Field Diary, 23/04/2022)

In this context, from 2014, France, together with other EU countries, has questioned the obligations of the Schengen scheme as inadequate to prevent and deal with the massive arrival of extra-EU migrants, reintroducing forms of internal control and exponentially producing a capillary system of militarisation around its frontiers. Furthermore, the terroristic attacks of 2015 tighten up the

state of tension in the country and, although after 2017 the state of emergency was suspended, the new anti-terrorism law 2017-1510[4] wanted by the government of Emmanuel Macron brought back the main previous security regulations, enabling the political process of opacification between the state of exception and the common right[5]. As a matter of fact, of the 86 320 denials of entry into the French territory of 2017, notified in the internal frontiers throughout the country, only 20 had as explanation "menace à l'ordre public" – threat to public order –[6], testifying then the assumption of terrorism as the dispositif through which the state is able to execute migrants' displacement and rejection.

In France, Calais remains the bordering territory where the presence of law enforcement is more oppressive and where the national public spendings designed to militarisation is the highest. The progressive bunkerisation of the area, together with the increase of gendarmes, PAF (police aux frontières) and CRS (Compagnies républicaines de sécurité) costs the nation just under half milliard euros: of the totality of public spendings of the region designed for migrations, the 85% is destined to repression and only 15% for reception facilities[7]. Nonetheless, the other national borders also receive supplementary law enforcement, and the French-Italian one appears to be particularly remarkable. From an overall perspective, the border is marked by three main hubs, three transit points that are since 2015 protagonists of special oversight checkpoints: the Montgenèvre, in the department of Hauts Alpes, the riviera of Menton and the Vallée de la Roya, in the Alpes Maritimes. After the terroristic attacks in Nice in 2020, in Montgenèvre and Briancon 30 additional gendarmes have been added to the 55 already present in the area and two years later rather than decreasing, the variety and numbers of law enforcement raised to 140 gendarmes, 30 officers of the Operation sentinelle and 60 officers of PAF[8]. A relatively similar amount marks the territory of Menton, where the highest fluxes of transits due to the connections between the Italian and the French riviera and the proximity with Monaco, requires and permits not only a supplementary variety of enforcement, but also a more diffuse and dispersed occupation of the territory, with officers present at the border, along the routes, in the station or in urban public spaces.

Finally, the case of the Vallée de la Roya represents different conditions and dynamics of coexistence with the militarisation, namely of a valley suddenly confronted to a progressive development of practices of rejection and supervision enacted by the establishment of the solidarity network that made it famous. In this way, the territory embodies more than others the ambiguous conflict between support and control, especially when the solidarity remains a sedimented latency yet leaving behind a never-ending state of emergency.

4. Légifrance, *LOI n° 2017-1510 du 30 octobre 2017 renforçant la sécurité intérieure et la lutte contre le terrorisme*, parue le 30/10/2017

5. Agamben G., *Lo stato di eccezione*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 2003 e Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

6. La Cimade, *Dedans, dehors : une Europe qui s'enferme*, Rapport, mai 2018, p. 24.

7. Nadot S., Krimi S., *Rapport fait au nom de la commission d'enquête sur les migrations, les déplacements de populations et les conditions de vie et d'accès au droit des migrants, réfugiés et apatrides en regard des engagements nationaux, européens et internationaux de la France*, 10 novembre 2021

8. Courtois M., Mauvieux S., *L'État dépense un demi-milliard d'euros d'argent public par an pour harceler quelques milliers d'exilés*, Basta !, 14 février 2022

MILITARISATION AT THE BORDER AND IN THE VALLEY

Piedmont

Col de Tende

Vallée de Merveilles

Tende

St-Dalmas

La Brigue

Fontan

Saorge

Breil-sur-Roya

Ligurie

Sospel

Menton

Ventimiglia

Monaco

Urbanised areas	■
Sea	≡
Parks and green areas	⊞
Hydrography	▮
Railway path	▮
Roads and footpaths	▮
Main migrants' routes	▮
Non permanent controls on roads	▲
Permanent controls on roads	▲
Non permanent controls at stations	■
Permanent controls at stations	■
Area of police and gendarmes control	+

0 km

10 km

The infrastructure of exclusion

of fact, the French legislation provides incremental prevention practices, within the framework of integrations to the legislation in 2017 over "internal security" in the state of emergency of the migration crisis. To this extend, various transnational zones allow a regular presence and oversight from police services for an undetermined time, notably around those areas having direct or frequent transits from outside of border, such as stations or main routes. How Giliberti also stated, the police become part of the valley, their cars and guns testifying their omnipresence become a spatial feature of the rural villages[1]. Within this framework, both migrants and citizens have been forced to adapt to the obligation of being constantly supervised and coexist with a progressive condition of a valley becoming a camp.

To avoid the controls at the border between Ventimiglia and Menton, several people on the move have decided from 2016 to pass through the alps, via the footpaths that join the Ligurian riviera to the Vallée de la Roya. Generally, they were – and occasionally still are – used to reach Breil-sur-Roya, where they could take the railway line TER that would bring them to Nice. It is mainly under these circumstances that the fluxes of migration commenced in the valley, once again then the massive conditions of control oblige the migrants to experience new ways to cross the border, contributing to the incidental consensus between displacement and control. In this context, the arrivals of migrants in the valley generated the porous and informal network of solidarity of the inhabitants that soon put into action forms of general assistance such as food provisioning and reception at night. The different forms of associative assistance such as Roya Citoyenne or Les Ami.e.s de la Roya were precisely created or implemented to respond to these issues and with them the progressive mediatization of informal practices of solidarity. Within the frame of a great development of the new route and the supportive reaction, the law enforcement mainly present on the coastal territories and at the frontier began to move to the valley, exponentially increasing in the years between 2016 and 2019.

From a more detailed perspective, the situation of the department of Alpes Maritimes and the Vallée de la Roya implies the presence of the points de passage autorisés (PPA) – authorised transit points – in the internal frontier and the points de passage frontaliers (PPF), already established for the external frontiers and main internal connections with them. Moreover, additional police controls non-PPA are introduced, in other words PPAs that do not fall under the obligation of being declared: the constant militarisation of the farm of Cedric Herrou established from 2016 is the most remarkable example. In these places it is particularly evident the variety of law enforcement: gendarmes, police nationale, police municipal, police aux frontières (PAF), douane are all present in the same places and often work together. As a matter

"We thought that this situation was going to finish and, instead, migrants are no longer present in the valley, but the law enforcement are still here, and it feels like they will never leave. There's this hotel in Sospel which is completely occupied by police officers, when we go out at night to some restaurants we're surrounded by them, when we move in and around the valley, we cross their cars dozens of times. I don't know if they're here to control or simply to discourage arrivals, I only know that the constant feeling I have as a citizen is living in a militarised camp".

(Michel, inhabitant of Sospel, 01/05/2022)

The progressive arrivals of migrants and the development of the consequent constant necessity of policies of control and security enacted not only the supportive practices of solidarity towards the most vulnerable, but also a series of community resistances against them, especially among the original families of the valley. Admittedly, it is crucial then to analyse the radicality of such a phenomenon, especially compared to the case of Paris. The rural territory of the valley and their inhabitants have been in fact suddenly confronted to a radical change not only in their routines – having the military presence reshaped facilities of displacement –, but also in their belonging and use of the public space. The general indifference and detachment that characterizes the frenetic life of the metropolis[2] is absent in the small dimension of the rural communities, where the more dispersed condition of inhabitants and

1. Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

2. Simmel G., Levine D., *The Metropolis and Mental life*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1971

their practices engender the paradox of visibility for even punctual emergency situations, such as people transiting on the streets or sleeping in the public spaces.

Within this framework then, at the beginning of these new presences, the valley starts to experience the concurrent development of the solidarity associations of Roya Citoyenne and the resistances of individual citizens gathered in the new Défendre la Roya. Created in 2017, and particularly close to the political ideologies of Front National, the association is hostile to the arrival of migrants and especially the reception practices operated by mostly neorurals inhabitants. In the same period, the local press – the newspaper "A Vugi d'a la Roya" – commenced to state publicly a great hostility towards the migrants' arrivals and the solidarity towards them, which therefore contributes to the increase of people wishing to pass through the valley. These situations then have greatly influenced the already present and mostly silent opposition of a great part of the citizens in the valley, contributing to the diffusion of a certain resistance propaganda and an incremental separation of the two local societies of the valley, namely the souches and néoruraux. Consequently the migrants' emergency becomes the pretext to rediscussing sedimented conflicts engendered by the opposite political ideology and legitimate belonging to the territory.

"On the one hand, the territory must be defended through an "alternative" neo-rural perspective, against the offensive of neoliberal policies which, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, aim to "call into question all the collective structures capable of hindering logic of the pure market", thus generating the intensive exploitation and disfiguration of this territory. On the other hand, for the others, the territory must be protected against the very action of these movements which challenge the established order, and it must equally be preserved from the "invasion" of migrant populations"[3].

Nonetheless, both Défendre la Roya and the A Vugi d'a la Roya soon commenced to calm their activities and then definitely stop. The local newspaper has been in fact at the center of a legal enquiry towards the publishing director and the distributors in the valley and, in the same context, also the supportive association have started to feel the potential attack of legal representatives, especially after having unsuccessfully denounced the illegality of the actions of Roya Citoyenne, which were therefore claimed legitimate in November 2017. While collective practices might have calmed,

Giliberti claims that the general sentiment within a large part of the inhabitants of the valley continues to be particularly hostile in the following months and years, although the progressive militarisation led to a substantial decrease of people transiting in the rural territory[4]. Admittedly, the opposition has seemed to be focusing especially on the collective solidarity practices and people – with the figure of Cedric Herrou representing an emblematic case – and the mediatisation they enacted, that made the valley particularly famous for their support on the migrancy phenomena.

At the moment of my arrival in the valley, the territory is globally excluded from the route of people wishing to cross the border and also the hostility seems to be eased. Less people are arriving in Ventimiglia and although law enforcement have remained high at the border, daily pushing back people trying to cross, the moderate numbers make it easier to pass. The relative ease to pass in Ventimiglia-Menton, although people are obliged to try several times before succeeding, makes the routes through the valley sensibly more difficult and less attractive, not only for its rural condition but mainly due to the persistent militarisation and the higher exposure of people transiting have in the valley. As a consequence, the population of the valley seems to have calmed its opposition or, more accurately, migrancy does not seems to be anymore a major topic of conversation – compared at least with Ventimiglia, where migrants and refugees are still greatly present in the daily imaginations and conversations among locals – being it mainly replaced by the new emergencies of Covid19 pandemic and then the damages of the storm. The interviews and collaborations with local actors still engaged in the solidarity practices – such as Emmaus Roya and the component of their community – also confirm a general alleviation of those opposition, although the community permanently hosts families of refugees and undocumented people.

From a general perspective then, the valley seems to be adapted and configured in what Giliberti, citing Turner, defines as the third phase of the ritual process into the social change, namely that of the acceptance and aggregation into a new order[4]. However, the constant and growing militarisation, combined with the aforementioned results of the presidential elections of 2022 particularly oriented towards the far right-wing ideologies of the Front National and a programme sensibly hostile to the reception of people in transit, seem to evoke the dimension of a rather silent and sedimented rejection latency that might once again emerge in potential situations of emergency.

3. Babels, *Le manége des frontières. Criminalisation des migrations et solidarités dans les Alpes-Maritimes*, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2020

4. Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020

4. Turner V., *The ritual process. Structure and Anti-structure*, Routledge, London, 1996, 232 pages

44°05'24.8"N 7°35'36.6"E / 27.04.2022

43°52'40.7"N 7°27'04.7"E / 01.05.2022

Police and gendarmerie constantly surveilling the station of Tende

The hotel that hosts the law enforcement in Sospel, according to Michel

2.3.

Practices of reception

La Vallée solidaire: narratives

In the valley the formalisation of the solidarity happened in 2016, when the association Roya Citoyenne has been reactivated with the intention of "défense des citoyens du monde" – defending the world citizens[1].

The initial and crucial priority is then first care assistance to people in transit and accommodation, actions that they will keep doing until today. As soon as they start operating in this sense, one of the main preoccupations becomes the issues of transports and displacements, namely what do to when it is needed to bring people from one place to another or cross the frontier. It is notably under these circumstances that the supporting people and migrants act in the illegality and may be subject to prosecution. From 2016, the network of solidarity towards migrants begins to expand and diffuse in the valley, with many people hosting in their house for some nights or weeks. Among them, the figure of Cédric Herrou stands out particularly, a farmer that makes his farm available to host people in transit, accommodating from 8 people in the first periods until 80 at time in the moments of great arrivals. Given the very basic equipment of its farm, people live in precarious conditions and usually in the impossibility to leave. As a matter of fact, the farm of Cédric Herrou started very soon to be constantly monitored by law enforcement, given the resonance and its engagement around the receptive practices happening in the valley. For a long period, police and gendarmes control the farm 24/7, making it impossible for new people in transit to install in place and for people living there to leave and move to other places. In this context, the farm provides a gaze on the condition of the spaces of displacement, that of the simultaneous presence of support and control and the stable status of being on hold, trapped in an infrastructure of waiting.

The overpopulation of the farm of Herrou is the turning point in the decision to occupy a disused building in Saint Dalmas de Tende. The building is property of the SNCF, and it is an ancient summer camp named "Les Lucioles", completely abandoned since 1993. The main intentions, other than providing a place to sleep

1. Marion Gachet Dieuzeide, *Les conséquences du rétablissement des contrôles policiers à la frontière franco-italienne sud*, Les ami.e.s de la Roya, Novembre 2018

and basic necessities for people in transit, is to alert the public authorities around several issues: assistance by public authorities of young, isolated migrants; access to asylum claim for everyone, as allowed by law; the construction of a humanitarian emergency centre in the Vallée de la Roya. Nonetheless, the reception in the vacant building will only last 4 days. On Monday 17 October 2016 around 17 o'clock the reception starts, with the association and people on the move entering the building without housebreaking, due to the completely abandoned status of the place. They clean the various spaces and bring the necessary materials for people to install and sleep. The days after the occupation continue with media coming to interview and gendarmes arrived to oversight the place. Despite the several interpellations to the préfet of the department Alpes-Maritimes, Georges-François Leclerc, made by the association to demand an interview and discuss of the situation in the valley, he will never answer and instead the evacuation will be demanded for the following day. On Thursday 20 October 2016 law enforcement arrive to evacuate the informal camp and the people hosted are taken in charge by the prefecture and transferred to temporary accommodations. Despite the short reception, the experience of the occupation of Les Lucioles enacts several other forms of support and solidarity, due to the great mediatisation of the case and the situation in the valley, highlighting concurrently the lacks and failures of the state.

Another crucial point that characterises the solidarity in the valley and notably the association Roya Citoyenne throughout these years is the strong political engagement, manifesting the abandoned status of people in transit and the responsibilities of the departmental council. Furthermore, their commitment and mediatic resonance emerge particularly in the context of the different so-called "delits de solidarité"[2] to which they are condemned through their practices of solidarity. The re-establishment of the controls at the internal frontier has in fact concurrently enacted the mobilisation of the citizenship and the persecution of the latter, within the legal frame of the article L622-1 of CESEDA. The direct and indirect aid can be in terms of money, services or undeclared jobs and, although the following articles protect supporting practices when executed to shelter irregular people in any situation of physical or moral danger, the law may easily fall under the personal interpretation of the judge.

To conclude, the increase of acts of solidarity and political commitment has contributed to a radical progressive change in public and private spaces in the valley and the habits of people inhabiting it. While the years from 2015 until 2019 marked a general destabilisation in the ritual process of change, the current situation presents an optimistic image of a valley learning possibilities of coexistence.

2. L622-1 of CESEDA (Code de l'entrée et du séjour des étrangers et du droit d'asile) citing that "Any person who, by direct or indirect aid, has facilitated or attempted to facilitate the entry, circulation, or irregular stay of a foreigner in France will be punished by imprisonment for five years and a fine of 30,000 Euros"

44°03'21.8"N 7°35'11.3"E / 26.04.2022

44°03'21.8"N 7°35'11.3"E / 26.04.2022

Former makeshift reception Les Lucioles, now again a vacant building

Former makeshift reception Les Lucioles, now again a vacant building

The infrastructure of solidarity

From the dynamics of the solidarity of the Vallée de la Roya not only different images of reception emerge, but also new aspects of confronting with the territory and its transnational dimension.

Compared to Greater Paris, in the valley new categories and dichotomies emerge, namely those related to the rural, the border, the conflict of a series of fragments that build the space in a very diffuse, opaque, and a-local way. Veritably, in first place, the solidarity in the valley is a piece – in some cases, a latency – of a general territorial sensibility that has continuously manifested its presence within different contexts: it is part of the larger series of mobilisations around the extractive practices in the Vallée des Merveilles or the construction of the Tunnel de Tende and, moreover, it echoes the radical past of the neorural immigration that settled in the territory from the 70s. To the same extent, the crisis of the storm Alex performed again this eternal return to eradicated latencies, almost manifesting their inertia and sedimentation in place that recovers the condition of gatherings and their necessary transience, explained by Butler[1]. In addition to this sort of genealogy of collective resistances, the solidarity in the valley responds to some peculiarities dictated basically by the rural context. Compared to the city, in the villages of the Roya it is easier to meet and know people, to exchange information and then to coordinate local actions. At the same time, some interviewees of Giliberti[2] highlight a general habit of autonomous interventions in the territory that distinguishes the rurality in a stronger extent compared to the city, whatever size it is. The "know-how", the capacity of solving problems and the general aptitude of collective help that is crucial in a valley where general facilities and necessities are not always and everywhere available, as the case of the city, facilitates the ascendent resistance and the inclination of developing porous and informal networks of solidarity. Finally, quite paradoxically, the question of the density and frequency of situations of extraordinariness materialised almost daily in the case of the city, evokes an indifference[3] and opacity that is consequently absent in the valley,

where the single body of a migrant has a completely different resonance. On the contrary, the solidarity performing in the city, and especially in Ventimiglia, due to the violent presence of the border, is radically different in terms of nature and processes of collective actions: solidarity from locals is less frequent, and the resistance is mainly originated by a political cause. While embodying the opposite endogenous essence of practices in the valley and exogenous dimension in the city[4], the two networks have in common a broaden attachment and relationship to the territory and its significant transnationality.

From the beginning of the emergency, the Vallée de la Roya formalise more than other territories a capillary and diffuse hospitality and various itinerary practices of hospitality that, despite the equally strong police pressure, guarantee the transit of migrants and their temporary protection. In this context, the people in the valley put in action an infrastructure of solidarity[5] made up not only of the decisive core of the farm, but also of private houses spread in the valley and people willing to help. While the farm hosts peaks of 250 people a time, the entire village of Saorge welcomes nearly 60 people in private houses and other villages are mobilised to help in food distribution or in the general outreach throughout the valley and on the coast. The territory of action of the infrastructure has then very fluid and opaque borders, with people continuously displacing to the coast to help associations in Ventimiglia; on the border, to monitor pushbacks with the Presidio Permanente No Borders; to the main cities such as Nice, to manifest and require the institutional support. Furthermore, one of the main assistances performed by the actors in the valley towards people in transit include support to their migration. As a matter of fact, most of the people arrived in the valley do not want to stay permanently there and are often transiting to reach big cities in France, as Marseille, Paris, Lyon, or other capitals in Europe, as Berlin or London. To this extend, the infrastructure of solidarity in the valley performs as a significant transnational dispositif of connection and support, enabling transits through an informal network of diffuse houses and people willing to help. Within a process that might be assimilated to the United Statian Underground Railroad of the XIX century[6], this resistance, together with the others accomplished by the actors in the valley, represents a relationship and attachment to the territory on different scale, various natures and that is not limited to the specific local action. The main associations, NGOs and local actors that create the infrastructure of solidarity at the border are explained in the following page. Confronting the nature and main actions carried out by Kesha Niya, Emmaus Roya or Caritas Intemelia permit to comprehend the functioning of the mutual help and to interpret the crucial aspects of acting in different territorialities yet sharing the same territory.

1. Butler J., *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*, Harvard University Press, Harvard, 2015

2. Giliberti L., *Abitare la frontiera. Lotte neorurali e solidarietà ai migranti sul confine franco-italiano*, Ombre corte, Verona, 2020, pag. 160-162

3. Simmel G., Levine D., *The Metropolis and Mental life*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1971

4. Giliberti L., Queirolo Palmas L., Solidarities in transit on the French-Italian border. Ethnographic accounts from Ventimiglia and the Roya Valley, in Ambrosini M., Cinalli M., Jacobson D. (a cura di), *Migration, Borders and Citizenship. Between policy and Public Spheres*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, pp. 109-140

5. Nettelbladt, G; Boano, C, Infrastructures of Reception: The Spatial Politics of Refuge in Mannheim, Germany, *Science Direct*, 2019

6. The network of clandestine passages and safe houses established and supported by abolitionists and other sympathetic of the escapees, during the early- to mid- 19th century, that was used by enslaved African Americans to escape into free states and Canada.

Roya Citoyenne

Following the dramatic situation of repressive closure of internal frontiers, and the consequent pushbacks, informal camps proliferating in Ventimiglia and therefore the increase of vulnerable people in the Vallée de la Roya, the inhabitants of the valley progressively started to mobilize against the situation and decided to organize themselves. In May 2016, the association was therefore reactivated and its statutes were modified: the aim began then to highlight, in particular, "the defense of the citizens of the world". Currently the association is still particularly active in the mediatisation and manifestation of repressive acts at the borders and it is regularly engaged in food distribution and basic assistance.

Emmaus Roya

The association Emmaus Roya was created by some former militants in the association Roya Citoyenne, as notably Cedric Herrou who is now one of the two administrators of the community Emmaus. As a matter of fact, from 2018, some people stopped their migration and decided to stay at his farm. However, although the farm provided a rest and opportunities of communal life, people settled in the farm started to feel the torment of their legal status, unemployment, and social inactivity. The urge for a shift was then originated by the fundamental questioning of how to go from an emergency reception to a persistent reception. The obstacle was then to seek legal means, an administrative framework to allow these people to live on the farm while participating in the agricultural activity. It is at this point that people gathered around the farm of Cedric Herrou found in Emmaus France the possibility to establish a communauté agricole – agricultural community – in 2019. Following the acquisition of a disused building in Breil-sur-Roya, the association welcomes around ten people in precarious situations. They have a house, food, hygiene facilities and accompanied in their social and administrative processes. The people welcomed take part in a reinsertion activity through agriculture. Concurrently, the association is engaged into outreach practices in the valley and Ventimiglia, managing a weekly food distribution, border monitoring and collaboration with other local associations such as Kesha Niya, Roya Citoyenne, Caritas Intemelia. Since the storm Alex that highly damaged the territory of the Vallée de la Roya, the association commenced to be particularly active in the reconstruction of dykes and the most affected villages in the valley, continuing currently this voluntary and participatory process for the rehabilitation of the association's facilities.

Caritas Intemelia

Since 1991 in the area of Ventimiglia, as a sign of solidarity and a point of reference for vulnerable and marginalized people. Promoted and supported by Caritas Diocesana, since 1992 it is a voluntary association registered in the regional register of ONLUS. Caritas Intemelia works in close collaboration with the social services of the municipalities, with the ASL (Azienda Sanitaria Locale – Local Health Unit) and with associations and cooperatives in the area. Especially from 2015 the association commenced to work almost integrally for the emergency of migrants and refugees in the city and at the border. Currently the Caritas Intemelia operates in a building in Via San Secondo 20 and dispose of several other facilities in the city to host people in transit and provides food, legal assistance, showers and other necessities. Within this frame, the association collaborates strongly with Diaconia Valdese, We World, Save the Children with whom shares the locals in Via San Secondo 20.

Progetto20k

Progetto 20k, operating since 2016, was born adhering to initiatives already present in the city of Ventimiglia, such as the of "No border". The main practices held by the association have been concentrated on the monitor of police pushbacks and assistance and information to people in transit. They have been equally involved in food distribution and necessities and they have been in charge of the Infopoint in the city, an accessible space where people in transit could charge their phones, have information and claim legal assistance.

Kesha Niya

Kesha Niya (Sorani Kurdish for 'No Problem') is a grassroots volunteers organization working in solidarity with people migrating to and within Europe and currently operating at the border between Italy and France, notably in Ventimiglia. They began in 2016 in Grand Synthe providing hot food to the people in the refugee camp "La Linière". From the closure of their kitchen in Grand Synthe they moved to Ventimiglia and started with monitoring the police pushbacks and providing food and primary assistance to people refused to enter France. At this regard, their primary space of reception, also called the "breakfast spot", is set on the route of the French-Italian border.

Emmaus Roya

"How does it work the reception in the community?"

(Stefano Mastromarino, 06/05/2022)

"The principle is the same of the other Emmaus communities, namely the unconditional hospitality - l'accueil inconditionnel. However, there are some conditions: of course, that we have some free spaces, so there needs to be a place for the people to sleep and live; finally, that the person accepts the principle of communal life, so that he or she also contributes to the development of the community. We have a list and when a place is free, we contact the person to propose the hospitality. The people hosted in the community are always in some condition of precarity: it could be migrants or undocumented people, people living in the streets, people suffering from addiction to drugs or alcohol. Overall, they are people that have difficulties in finding a place in the society and that are fragile, the main goal of the community is to protect and give them the opportunity to be socially and culturally engaged again".

(Loic, Emmaus Roya, 06/05/2022)

"There is a specific duration in the hospitality?"

(Stefano Mastromarino, 06/05/2022)

"This is another important principle because in the community people come when we have a place, but they can leave whenever they want. And it happened that someone stayed for three days, some weeks, months or even years as some cases hosted now in the community. They can leave because they have to, because they don't feel comfortable in the community, because they are not liking the valley, they don't necessarily need to provide a motivation to that. For example, migrants or people in transit come and when they are legally settled with their asylum claim approved, they can leave and settle or search for better opportunities in the city".

(Loic, Emmaus Roya, 06/05/2022)

"In case of undocumented people what are the facilities of the community? "

(Stefano Mastromarino, 06/05/2022)

"We don't really have a social insertion schedule or checklist, it happens spontaneously in the time the people are here so that when they feel they are ready to leave, if they want, they can establish individually in the valley or somewhere else. What is important however is that they have legal aid and are accompanied in doing their asylum claim in France by Cedric and Marion – the people in charge of the administration of the community. And therefore, also by the status of communauté Emmaus everything is way easier than doing it privately. Nonetheless, we're always stating clearly at the beginning that it is crucial that people don't try to enter into the community only to get their claim, it wouldn't match with the principles we have and the basic intentions and would necessarily generate some sort of conflict".

(Loic, Emmaus Roya, 06/05/2022)

"In terms of what happens outside of the communauté, do you act also at the frontier or in the informal camps in Ventimille? And what sort of practices do you undertake? "

(Stefano Mastromarino, 06/05/2022)

"The association was born from the resistance at the frontier and informal solidarity practices, carried out in the public space and with a strong sense of interconnection with other associations. Then we took a slight distance to it because the work to be done for the community and in the valley has been massive, but we certainly keep doing maraudes, monitor the frontiers and help other associations. We help with legal aid, information, we participate to manifestation when there are some and monitor police repressions. What is important is that we are not only fighting one battle at time, but other situations of crisis also forced to act elsewhere as well. Notably, during the covid19 crisis we made an informal partnership with the Secours Populaire in the valley to manage food distribution; after the Tempete Alex we have greatly committed into the reconstruction of the damages in the valley, notably through the Chantiers participatifs, participatory and voluntary workshops to build dykes or help people in situations of precarity.
At the moment, every Thursday we do a maraude, a distribution in Ventimille, in the informal camp under the bridge, where people in transit tend to aggregate since 2015. We are in close contacts with Roya Citoyenne, which distributes less frequently, and of course with the other associations that operate in the place when we are there. At the same time, every saturday we have a Chantier Participatif, which is now more involved in the management of the spaces of the community".

(Loic, Emmaus Roya, 06/05/2022)
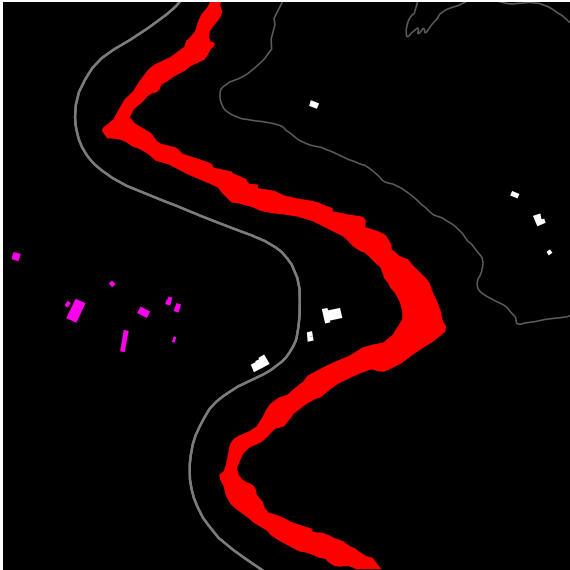
La Ferme, Breil-sur-Roya

Les Tuileries, Breil-sur-Roya
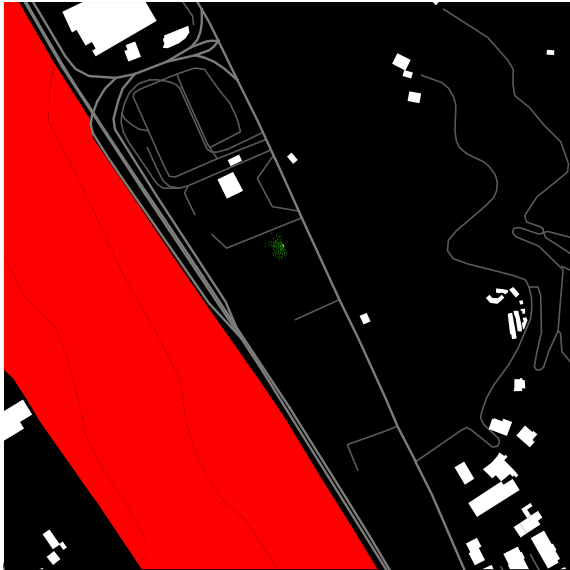
Il ponte, Ventimiglia

The border, Ventimiglia

Permanent infrastructure
of solidarity

Temporary infrastructure
of solidarity (point fixe)

Water

MARAUDE EMMAUS ROYA 28/04/2022

MARAUDE EMMAUS ROYA 28/04/2022

il Ponte / 43°47'55.6"N 7°36'00.9"E

MARAUDE EMMAUS ROYA 28/04/2022

2.4.

Dwelling in transit

The analysis of the border has been considered as necessary to comprehend logics of resistance and exclusion. Admittedly, the characteristics of makeshift camps and actions recalled by looking at spaces of holding in Greater Paris, namely logics of temporariness, spatial violence and support by local and national associations, appear incomplete if we do not displace the gazes on different edges of the infrastructure and therefore what happens on the national border. Moreover, confronting with the holding through the French-Italian border aims at evoking the notions of rurality, transits and different dynamics of protection that would otherwise be neglected.

Practices of solidarity in France and especially at the border can be defined as sequences of the infrastructure, through a network of spaces, bodies and practices, such as il Ponte, Via San Secondo, La Ferme, Intemelia, but also Emmaus Roya, Intemelia or Progetto20k, that constantly dismantle separations at the frontier and enable the transnational passage otherwise prohibited to non-European people in transit. In the same way, practices of repression through harassments, refoulements and control by law enforcement in the vast borderland between France and Italy and the Vallée de la Roya, penetrate porously through a system of movable and constantly attentive hubs, able to delocalize spaces and times of migration and subsequent support. The infrastructure of holding generated by these two interweaved practices – which take back the relations between the notions of vulnerability and resistance[1] –, give power to the progressive dematerialisation of the frontier. From the gaze on the border, although spaces and practices represented similarities and mostly a continuity with what happens in Paris, the holding was also the response to a radically different environment, which is therefore confronted to different logics of opacification, differentiality and resistance. In first place, dimensions and distributions play a remarkable role in shaping the phenomena, not only by simultaneously permitting possibilities of inhabitation yet increasing distances, but also by enlarging times and spaces of support and eviction. This is therefore extremely

intensified by the rural nature of the site and the heterogeneity of its topologies, which equally intensify dynamics of differential inclusivity and the spatial violence of places of transit for those who do not have the dispositifs and protection to face the prohibitive displacement throughout the territory and across the border. When we look at the spaces of displacement and holding in this territory with the intention of the project, not only do we confirm the enhancing of already present unfinished, makeshift practices of inhabitation, but also new categories emerge. Not strictly referring to the case of migration, Tim Ingold uses the line to refer as the act of inhabiting the environment as a connection between fixed threads, engaging in a process of dwelling or assembly where every line serves as a joint. The different traces composing the lifelines are therefore intrinsically dynamic and temporal, which in some ways suggests that to understand how people inhabit environments, we might better revert the notion of the assembly to that of the walk.

"For inhabitants, however, the environment comprises not the surroundings of a bounded place but a zone in which their several pathways are thoroughly entangled. In this zone of entanglement - this meshwork of interwoven lines - there are no insides or outsides, only openings and ways through. An ecology of life, in short, must be one of threads and traces, not of nodes and connectors. And its subject of inquiry must consist not of the relations between organisms and their external environments but of the relations along their severally enmeshed ways of life. Ecology, in short, is the study of the life of lines"[2].

Taking this concept further into the thesis argument, the analysis of the infrastructure of holding suggests then exactly to reinforce these lifelines made up of traces of support and resistance. The places of displacement and holding have showed the ability of displaced persons and associations to dwell and inhabit spaces of protection, opacifying the threshold between legality and illegality or accessibility. To understand and conceive through opacity is therefore the meaning of the project of displacement: "C'est pourquoi je réclame pour tous le droit à l'opacité. Il ne m'est plus nécessaire de « comprendre » l'autre, c'est-à-dire de le réduire au modèle de ma propre transparence, pour vivre avec cet autre ou construire avec lui"[3].

1. Conference *"Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance"*, pronounced by Judith Butler in Madrid in 2014

2. Ingold T., *Up, across and along*, Routledge, London, 2007

3. Édouard Glissant, *Introduction à une poétique du divers*, Gallimard, Paris, 1996

PART 3

1. Assemble / Disassemble (p302)

2. Atlas of borderless-ness (p318)

1. Assemble/Disassemble

Witnessing, on the one hand, the practices of people on the move to elaborate strategies to inhabit public spaces and urban and rural liminalities, and the structures and actions of support accomplished by the associative network on the other, the project proposal emerges by the fundamental dilemma around the thresholds of inhabiting. The very open question about what it means to inhabit the uninhabitable is therefore interpreted by looking at the dispositifs of resistance that people informally develop and intertwined with projects and research attained from literature over informality, displacement, and hospitality. Hereby, the proposal aims at dismantling the architecture of differential inclusivity through unleashed spaces of possible protection, transit, and coexistence.

1.1.

Imagining the uninhabitable

Throughout this research and the multiplicity of spaces I observed, the question that recurred while looking at them in Greater Paris and at the French-Italian border was: what does it mean to inhabit the uninhabitable?[1] While I am fully aware of the expanded nature of the question, which to be fully answered it will probably need further and expanded research beyond my current capacities and time – despite I plan to continue to explore this somehow in the future –, I am equally conscious of the importance and relevance of the centrality of this for my research. Within the last century, the world has profoundly changed through globalisation, technological progress, mobility, migrations, and it has therefore necessarily changed our modes of inhabiting places and what we perceive as a house. If we only look at the past two years, confronted to the global Covid19 crisis that forced us to remain at home, this condition has highlighted a peculiar facet of spaces of inhabitation and their thresholds. The quarantine has been a form of containment and separation[2], creating borders to protect one from the other, a biopolitical dispositif to control belongings of bodies into spaces. It is therefore clear that these are not elements that the pandemic introduced from scratches, but rather patterns of the contemporary neoliberal urban and architectural production that the emergency only exacerbates, making even more visible the differential management of states over the most vulnerable. It is, citing Di Cesare, a biopolitical event "precisely because it exposes the current state of the political order to which life is subjected"[3]. At the same time, while reinforcing the "fortress" between the outside and the inside and clearly stating the separation between what is public and private, those who were privileged of having a house during the crisis, have been able to subvert these set thresholds and commenced to dwell themselves their public space in privacy. Virtual space has become public and, becoming the private space the scenography of people's public lives, the threshold between the two seems no longer existing in our modes of perception, yet it is clearly manifesting its materiality, the separation between what is ours and others and what – espe-

cially in times of pandemic – is legal and illegal.
Within this context, questioning the state of immobility during the pandemic and the ways people find to reimagine thresholds and confinement, arises questions on the ways people in transit and displaced persons inhabit the public space and the makeshift camp, as if in some ways it would be possible to reverse our modes of inhabiting the house during the pandemic in how migrants and refugees inhabit the camp in the city and at the border. How does the act of inhabiting a place take effect? In other words, what does it mean in terms of rituals and everyday mundane spaces? To eat, to care for ourselves, to rest, to care for others, to gather, to secure, to unwind are some of the main actions we accomplish while inhabiting, opacifying in some ways then that separation between living and inhabiting that Heidegger has already profoundly questioned[4]. However, in reality, to categorise and put these terms into a box is way more difficult than this, especially in the contemporary city, where all of these functions can in practice be accomplished in a variety of places and the separation between house and city might be seen as interchangeable rather than complementary. When we think of how we conceive houses and public space the reality is that architecture and urban design is still an art of enclosures, aiming at assigning functions to places and basing its principles on the monist culture of outside/inside, nature/culture and us/them.

"Today, albeit with some effort, a widespread awareness is growing that, parallel to the proliferation of new digital technologies, financial and economic networks, the number of borders, barriers and checkpoints for the protection of select networks is multiplying. While flows of information and capital become ever more intangible, the fortification of physical space is accelerating. This has created a territorial system in which the archipelago (the smooth space of flows) and the enclave (the spaces of exception) cohabit"[5].

This standardisation flattens the way we perceive the house and city and our modes of living together and does not consider the multiple interactions and subversions that make people even spontaneously transform a space into a place. As we shift the gaze to migrants and refugees, the lack of house and basic needs forces residents of the public space to assemble and dwell the acts of living and inhabiting across a much broader landscape and through a variety of tools. Living their privacy in public, migrants and refugees are constantly dwelling and reshaping their spaces, coping

1. Simone A., "The Uninhabitable?", Cultural Politics 12, no. 2: 135 – 54, 2016

2. Bianchetti C., Boano C., Di Campli A., Thinking with Quarantine Urbanism?, *Space and Culture*, Volume: 23 issue: 3, page(s): 301-306, 2020

3. Di Cesare D., *Virus sovrano? L'asfissia capitalistica*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2020, p. 23

4. Heidegger, M., 'Building Dwelling Thinking', in *Poetry, language, thought*. Trans. A. Hofstadter. Harper & Row, New York., 2001, pp. 141-160

5. Hilal, S., & Petti, A. *Permanent temporariness*. Abu Dhabi: New York University Abu Dhabi Art Gallery, 2018

with temporariness, diaspora and acts of simultaneous violence and support they receive from police harassments and associations. They are forced to continuously elaborate new strategies to establish, to dwell their shelters or even to displace. They search for, or produce, new means to sleep, to eat, to care for themselves, to gather, to secure, to care for others[6], and they cannot necessarily accomplish them all in the same place but are often obliged to displace in order to comply basic needs. Ultimately, by living a displaced and temporary life, the displaced subjects unleash practices of imagination to subvert exceptional places of collective identity[7], producing knowledge[8]. Hereby, they find new ways to imagine futures.

Encompassing the very different experiences of inhabiting spaces, the act cannot be enclosed in the traditional concept of the house, rather it is essential to consider all the practices that made it crucial to deconstruct the multiple a prioris of architecture and city in its confinements, and therefore subvert the apparent uninhabitability of the city[9]. When we refer to the makeshift camps, the term itself arises questions on the relations between practices and spaces, namely the act of dwelling in conditions of precariousness and transit. In this way, displaced people and on the move inhabit through a series of makeshift dispositifs that shape and reverse the public space, unfolding somehow its uncanny and fragile essence. Looking at the makeshift camps and liminal and opaque spaces with the intention of the project, requires encompassing what is left of these spaces in terms of legacies and neglections. Thus, embracing the spontaneous and ephemeral strategies that people on the move and displaced elaborate to inhabit the uninhabitable, demands to explicit and reactivate practices of collective imagination through unleashed spaces of possible protection, transit, coexistence.

In what follows, the project of the Atlas of Borderlessness is explained and supported through a series of conceptual and architectural references, from the environment of refugees and camp studies and urban and architectural design. At the same time, the research demanded as crucial reference the place itself, namely the archipelago of spaces of displacement and migration that I have been able to observe throughout the last year passed in Paris and my brief period at the French-Italian border. Thus, different techniques of inhabiting the city are displayed as a starting point for the Atlas' concept. The Atlas of Borderlessness is therefore presented in the following chapter, through a patchwork of open scenarios of possible coexistence: the displayed dispositifs are, in fact, potential mediums of reactivation of the existing infrastructure of holding. It encompasses the possibility to make visible new forms of opaque space productions and enhance them without any form of domination, deprivation, and differential protection.

6. In the following diagram the analysed makeshift camps in Greater Paris and Ventimiglia are displayed, looking at their use (rest, gather, eat, sanitise and secure) from people on the move, migrants and refugees on the one hand, and so-called autochtonous on the other, based on time during the day. This permits not only to decipher common practices of inhabitation in public spaces, but also reveals possibility of coexistence to be unleashed later through the project proposal.

7. Isayev, E., Ancient Wandering and Permanent Temporariness. *Humanities* 10: 91, 2021

8. Hillal, S., Petti A. *Permanent Temporariness*. Stockholm: Art and Theory Publishing, 2018

9. Simone, A. 2004. 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg'. *Public Culture.* 16(3). 407-429

Displaced persons   Autochtonous
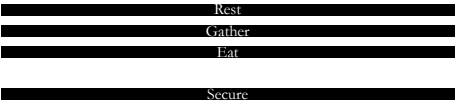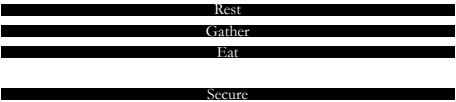
Delphine Seyrig

Porte de la Chapelle

Tunnel Pré-St.Gervais

La Marseillaise

Cheval Noir

Il Ponte

Porte d'Aubervilliers

1.2.

Left and held

The conceptual proposal of this thesis encloses a set of reflections on how to inhabit the public space and the effective already existing strategies displaced people and supporting actors elaborate to reverse these liminal spaces into infrastructures of life. From this assumption, the project is rather conceived as an assembly of strategies materialised into dispositifs[1] of reactivation and enhancement of sedimented practices.

The proposal does not initially aim at reconsidering the humanitarian support system and reshaping poor existing institutionalised reception facilities, as the CADAs or others. The intention is to take a distance from the political and conflictual implications of reception centres and provide alternatives of conceiving through the displacement and what and who is left behind. As a matter of fact, the analysis of past and present spaces of reception carried out throughout this year has sufficiently shown how supporting actors are already able to find makeshift solutions of sheltering by the virtual associative infrastructure dispersed in the territory. Those who help and those who displace know their needs and modes to inhabit space without the dominant presence of a planner. As argued, associations have their kitchens and storage, they are sufficiently aware of necessities and desires of people on the move, because of their daily implication. People on the move and refugees find their ways to inhabit through displacement, they dwell shelters, they manifest their needs, and they imagine futures by deconstructing the exclusiveness of certain public spaces, by setting up tents, chairs, fires, sofas. Thus, the Atlas of Borderlessness aims precisely at looking at these present strategies and build a narrative, constructing a weak infrastructure of inhabitation that stems from the spatial investigation done. A series of in-definite sequences able to cope with the fragility and the inevitability of the migrant bodies in space, and able to make visible and unfold such ephemerality and lightness with no arrogance.

Confronting with such radical and fragile places, at the border between the holding of a bare life and the endeavor to resist, highlights another crucial aspect of the project. The elaboration of

1. Understood in the several notions provided by Foucault and Agamben (in G. Agamben, Che cos'è un dispositivo?, Nottetempo, Milano, 2006, pp. 21-22), as "literally anything that has the ability to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control and ensure the gestures, behaviors and opinions and speeches of living beings".

strategies to support and enable the makeshift in fact raises questions on how to conceive without spectacularize the gravity of this phenomena. In other words, how to keep a distance from practices of dominant, colonial thinking while conceiving what do people need to inhabit and, at the same time, how not to undergo practices of aestheticization of the suffering. The project is not over-determined, it is rather somehow in suspension, somehow equally on the edge, an enhancement of the *infrastructure de l'attente* – infrastructure of waiting –: it is not a solution as it would displace its political nature. Thus, it is a minor project – Progetto Minore –[2] that aims at producing devices that unfold existing practices, therefore looking at the modes of migrants' space production and trying to reproduce them. In this way, the dispositifs endowed to the displaced persons and spaces need to be flexible, spontaneous, not performing one specific function but softening their borders and claim to be unexpected.

"The minor project takes the form of a shade of power, an ethics that recodes, re-elaborates and subverts the key categories of the project (internal / external, public / private, ignorance / knowledge, real / possible) making them endless [...] This diffraction, this staying on the margins, is certainly decentralization but not made up of knowledge, methods, tools of its own. It is another language that renounces sterile arrogance to embrace a fertile minority. Minor is an adjective that qualifies an action, a shade"[3].

To conceive these conditions means to relate to the threshold, material and conceptual. The threshold that permeates the makeshift camps not only in its spatial and territorial configuration, but also in creating opaque liminalities where the separation between outside and inside, legal and illegal, or us and them are blurred. Looking at these threshold enables to encompass the possibility to potentially enclose or to open them, to guarantee the opaque space or the make these practices visible, to keep people apart or to elaborate strategies of living together. The Atlas is an infrastructure that rejects overdetermination, as it would be control, but rather support relations among different scenarios. It is not inexistent, nor thin or simply ephemeral; it is not a temporal urbanism, a tactical move, it is a weak infrastructure capable of not overdetermining and conceiving the subject and the space but still allow some degree of protection. The main assumption of the project proposal is that supporting logics of resistance does not mean choosing

2. Boano C., *Progetto Minore. Alla ricerca della minorità nel progetto urbanistico ed architettonico,* Lettera Ventidue, Siracusa, 2020
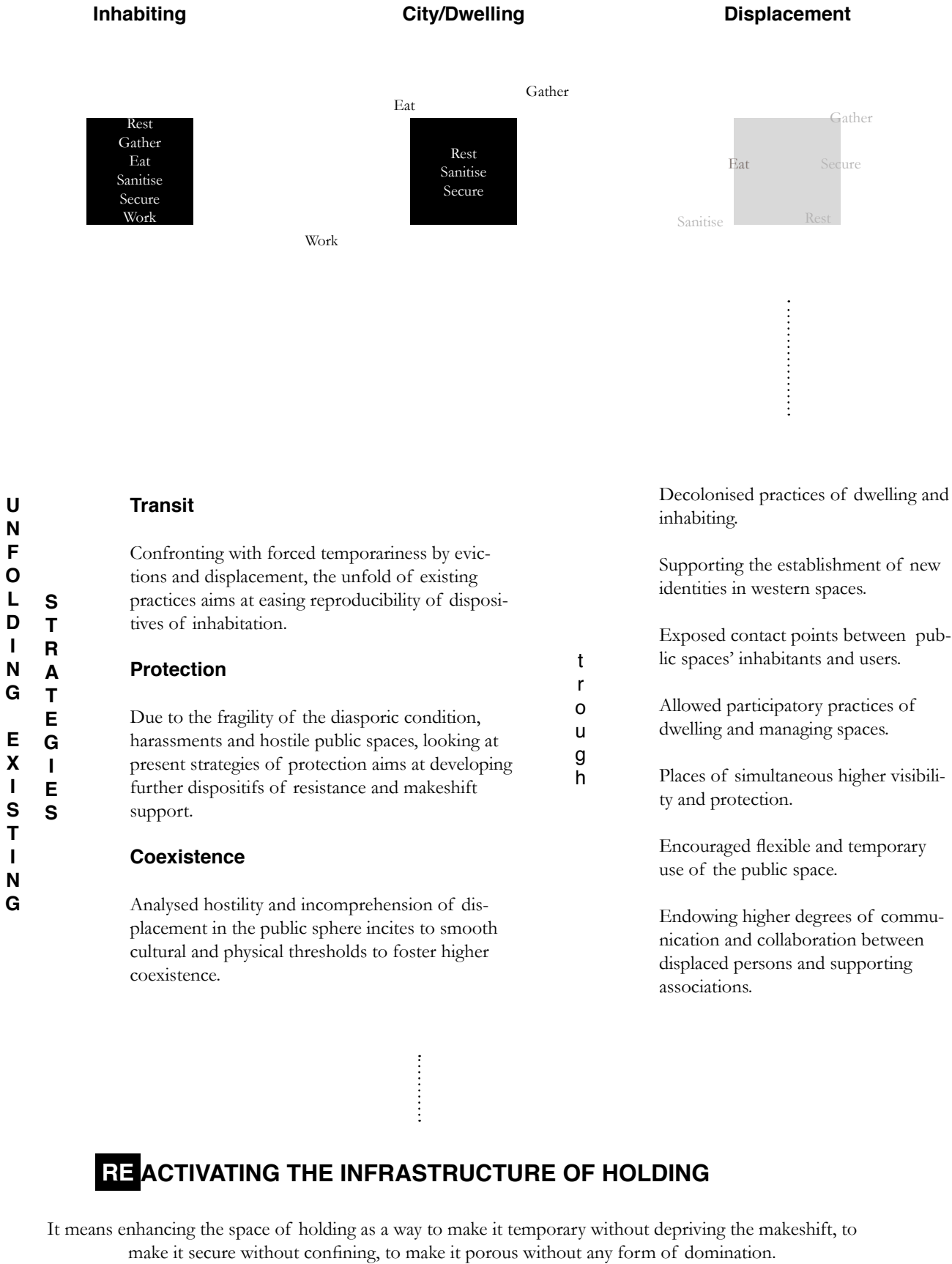
3. *Ibidem*

between opposite possibilities of space production and use, but rather accepting that different people might experience the space differently and potentially coexist.

By saying this, the intention is thought as an assemble of strategies materialised in dispositifs that could be spontaneous, flexible, and weak and that are therefore not intertwining a relation merely with space, but with the people, and with the people and the space. Dispositifs that subvert set realities and try to configure new identities of temporariness, protection and coexistence[4].

Reshape transit by embracing a phenomenon that requires tools to respond to abrupt changes and consequent needs. The dwelling of flexible, movable and undetermined devices, which do not aim at producing spaces, but rather at learning from sedimented practices, enable to enhance resistances to the temporariness of displacement.

Endow protection, as an act of resistance towards eviction, climate, from the constant possibility of being displaced, from the temporariness to which they are subjected. Creating dispositifs of protection means supporting the establishment of people and practices of imagining strategies to inhabit the makeshift. Through very simple dwellings, walls and roofs, the dispositifs of protection try not to create set environments but again remain flexible to people's various potential use, in order to deny possible dynamics of exclusion.

Unfold coexistence, among the displaced persons, among displaced persons and activists, among displaced persons and autochthonous. Promote the development of space and material appropriation, settling of new identities and distinctive cultural experiences that could bridge displaced persons' imaginations and knowledge with the hosting places. The conception of basic dispositifs of unwind, play and gather respond to the equal need of enhancing the proliferation of community activities and of intertwining a relation between distinctive identities and the French environment.

The Atlas of Borderlessness elaborates possible scenarios of coexistence by looking at the analysed spaces of displacement and the makeshift camps, providing as mere examples Delphine Seyrig, Porte de la Chapelle and Soixante Adada in Greater Paris; la ferme, il ponte and Via San Secondo at the French-Italian border. The proposal is then unfolded with and for people inhabiting these spaces, either enhancing makeshift practices of settlement or providing new tools that could guarantee higher protection, autonomy, possibilities of transit or perhaps coexistence with so-called people of place. In what follows, references and existing practices[5] are displayed to escape from the abstraction of these concepts and look at different possible scenarios of critical space production.

4. In the diagram, practices of inhabitation are displayed by analysing relations with the contemporary urban space and, finally, how they deconstruct these relations in a displaced life. This process suggests then possible strategies in elaborating a weak reactivation of the infrastructure of holding, that guarantee spaces of transit, protection and coexistence by makeshift actions that would be non-dominant, non-colonial and inoperative.

5. Makeshift practices of inhabitability are presented at pages 316-317. They are displayed through the dispositifs used by displaced people, people on the move and refugees to subvert apparent uninhabitability of certain public spaces or liminalities. They are therefore shown as dispositifs to eat, gather, self-care, others-care, rest, secure, decorate, trying to categories infinite possible modes of deconstructing set urban specificities and imagining futures.

Inhabiting

Rest
Gather
Eat
Sanitise
Secure
Work

City/Dwelling

Eat   Gather

Rest
Sanitise
Secure

Work

Displacement

Gather

Eat   Secure

Sanitise   Rest

U N F O L D I N G   E X I S T I N G   **S T R A T E G I E S**

Transit

Confronting with forced temporariness by evictions and displacement, the unfold of existing practices aims at easing reproducibility of dispositives of inhabitation.

Protection

Due to the fragility of the diasporic condition, harassments and hostile public spaces, looking at present strategies of protection aims at developing further dispositifs of resistance and makeshift support.

Coexistence

Analysed hostility and incomprehension of displacement in the public sphere incites to smooth cultural and physical thresholds to foster higher coexistence.

t r o u g h

Decolonised practices of dwelling and inhabiting.

Supporting the establishment of new identities in western spaces.

Exposed contact points between public spaces' inhabitants and users.

Allowed participatory practices of dwelling and managing spaces.

Places of simultaneous higher visibility and protection.

Encouraged flexible and temporary use of the public space.

Endowing higher degrees of communication and collaboration between displaced persons and supporting associations.

REACTIVATING THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF HOLDING

It means enhancing the space of holding as a way to make it temporary without depriving the makeshift, to make it secure without confining, to make it porous without any form of domination.

1.3.

Peeking into

The project has its fundaments on the elements marking the makeshift of the analysed camps. The inspection is therefore not looking merely at the spatial configurations of the liminalities and wastelands hosting these people, but rather on the practices and rituals displaced persons elaborate to turn spaces into places and make it inhabitable.

Through the encampments documentation and analysis showed in the previous parts, we see a community of people constantly trying to imagine new ways of living together, creating a domestic space in an environment that either passively or actively is trying to exclude them. From this, how does our perception of the public space change through the lens of domesticity? In other words, what sort of new thresholds might be generated through the fragmentation of the traditional separation between public and private or outside and inside? The practices of inhabiting the uninhabitable through reversing the private sphere in the public, necessarily creates some sort of hostility and estrangement to those that look it from the "outside". The heterotopias[1] that this process create are however the starting point to imagine not only new modes of dwelling and living together, but also to study and design the camp by looking at how their inhabitants imagine lives, and therefore escape from an exceptional and securitarian spectrum.

To this extent, the project starts from the acknowledgement of a series of different experiences directly or indirectly related to the architectural and urban practice, that have been carried out in latest years. From the theoretical and analytic framework, as of the research coordinated by Fiona Meadows – with the contribution of Michel Agier, Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi, Sébastien Thiéry and many others –[2] on inhabiting the uninhabitability of encampments and the infrastructure of waiting, to the materialization on various attempts of support on makeshift camps and urban reception practices. Consequently, the project restores the Lycée Jean Quarré, the Lycée Jean Jaurès, the Ambassade des Immigré.e.s, the Lucioles in Saint Dalmas de Tende, the Tuileries in Breil-sur-Roya; it overlooks at the housing hospitality in Paris, the Vallée de la Roya, in Ven-

1. Foucault M., Dits et écrits 1984, Des espaces autres (conférence au Cercle d'études architecturales, 14 mars 1967), in *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, n°5, octobre 1984, pp. 46-49.

2. Meadows F. (directed by), *Habiter le campement, nomades, voyageurs, contestataires, conquérants, infortunés, exilés*, Actes Sud, Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Paris, 2016

Images:
1. camp La Linière, Actes et Cités
2. camp La Linière, Actes et Cités
3. New Jungle Delire, PEROU
4. New Jungle Delire, PEROU
5. Trés Grand Hotel, PEROU
6. Trés Grand Hotel, PEROU
7. Trés Grand Hotel, PEROU
8. New Jungle Delire, PEROU
9. New Jungle Delire, PEROU
10. Design to Live, MIT FHL

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timiglia; it deciphers the informal dwellings of Delphine Seyrig, il Ponte, Porte de la Chapelle to elaborate new opportunities of territorialise practices and spaces of hospitality. Undoubtedly, the example of the humanitarian camp la Linière in Grande Synthe, conceived with the participation of the architect Cyrille Hanappe and the students of ENSA Paris Belleville[3], is a great reference of the analysis and interventions on what is left in the camp, taking a distance from the dominant act of conception of the planner and rather involving inhabitants' imaginations and capacities in thinking of new infrastructures of life. Displacing this work in the urban context, the project has a fundamental reference in the works of PEROU, coordinated by the political scientist Sébastien Thiéry, - notably in the case of the project of Le Très Grand Hotel, carried out from 2018 until 2021 with the association Les Petits Déj' Solidaires -[4] by confronting with the multiple dispositifs created and acts of resistance supported by the collective in France, trying to enhance strategies of subversion elaborated by people on the move and strengthen the bond between the territorial force of the associative network and the displaced people in cities and rural areas. In a similar way as what the Future Heritage Lab of the MIT did in the Azraq Refugee Camp in Jordan[5], this thesis and the following project aims at contributing to advocate for a shift in humanitarian assistance and control to a broaden self-determination. The intention in associating a domestic potential to the encampment and show tools of imagining lives is precisely in restore a collective image of the camp. The aim is to invite to experience Delphine Seyrig, Cheval Noir, il Ponte, Porte de la Chapelle not as liminalities and spaces of exclusion, but rather as infrastructures of life, full of fears and dangers, but also of dreams, manifested individualities, and identities.

With some degrees of similarity, the proposal might therefore be explained as a new way of mapping demands for an architecture of hospitality[6], deciphering new scenarios of the infrastructure of holding and dismantling not only the boundaries that construct the contemporary city, but also the differential inclusivity of local and national borders. In so doing, the project is not limited to one place or one specific practice of hospitality, but it is rather conceived as an atlas of borderlessness, namely a representation of new possible habitats and territorial configurations of an urban, rural and national system dismantled by the exclusivity and inclusivity of the border. Through the design of simple dispositifs of a new inhabitability, the proposal tries then to assemble different bodies and spaces bonded by their precarious condition and the claim for futures and identities. Within this context, the "spaces of holding" embody a completely different image, showing lines of multiple modes of inhabiting on hold to claim for a possible coexistence.

3. Hanappe C. (directed by), *La ville accueillante - Accueillir à Grande-Synthe : questions théoriques et pratiques sur les exilés, l'architecture et la ville,* Editions du PUCA, collection Recherche n°236, Paris, 2018, 528 p.

4. PEROU, *Très grand Hotel*, Mai 2020 : https://www.perou-paris.org/Actions.html

5. Aksamija A., Majzoub R. and Philippou M. (Edited by), *Design to Live. Everyday Inventions from a Refugee Camp*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 2021

6. Gabu Heindl, Michael Klein, Christina Linortner (Edited by), *Building Critique. Architecture and its Discontents.* Spector books, Leipzig, 2019

7. In the following page: extracts of the research and publication *Design to Live. Everyday Inventions from a Refugee Camp*
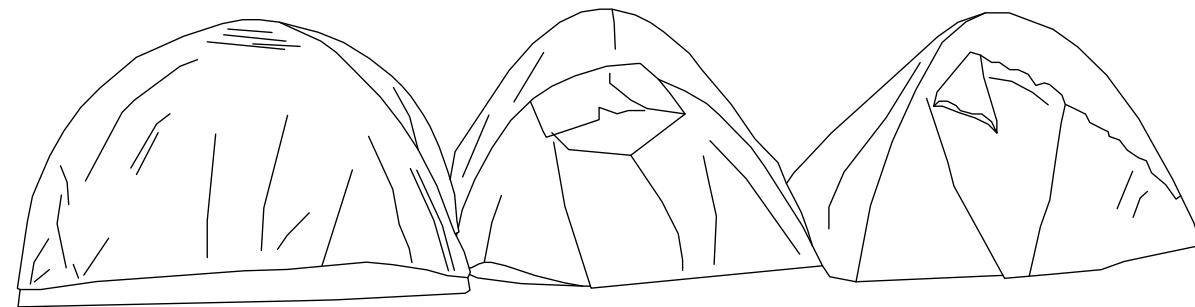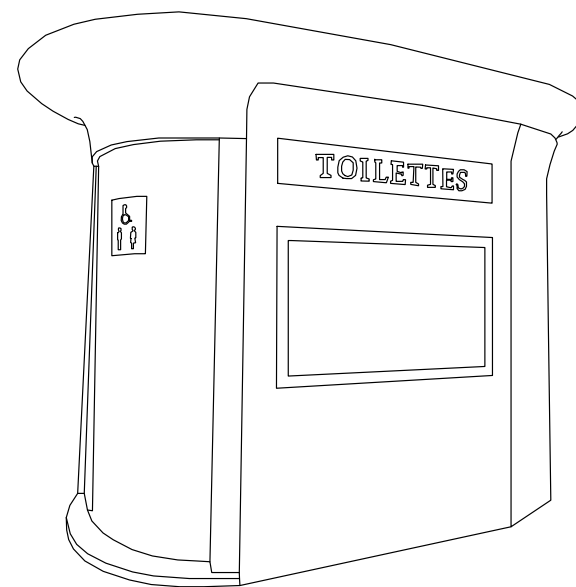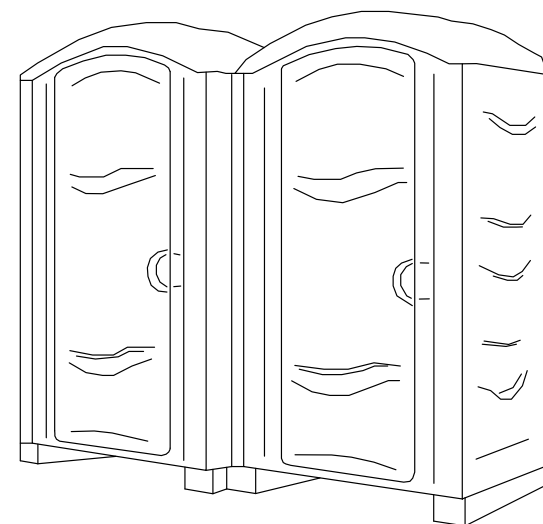
Ile Saint Denis / Porte de la Villette / Delphine Seyrig / Cheval Noir

DISPOSITIFS OF MAKESHIFT INHABITATION
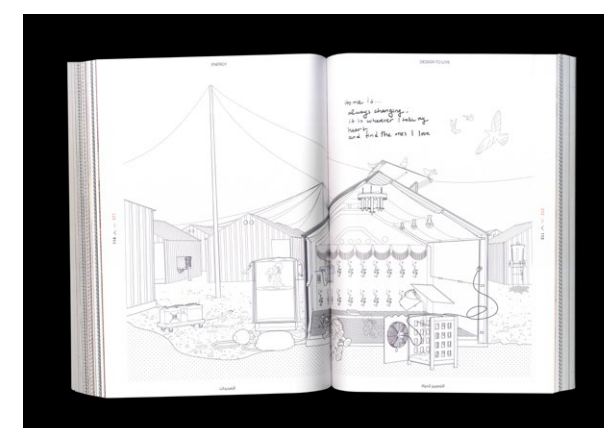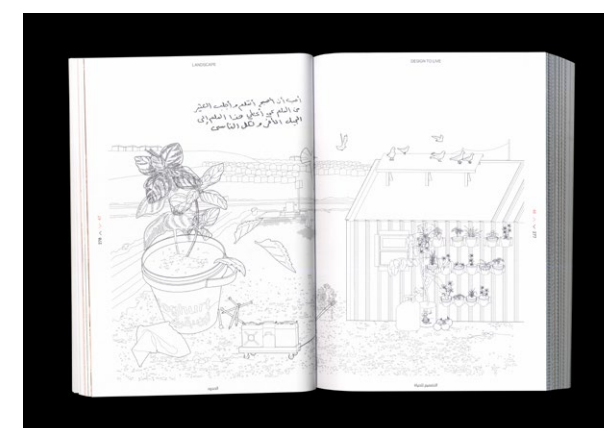
REST
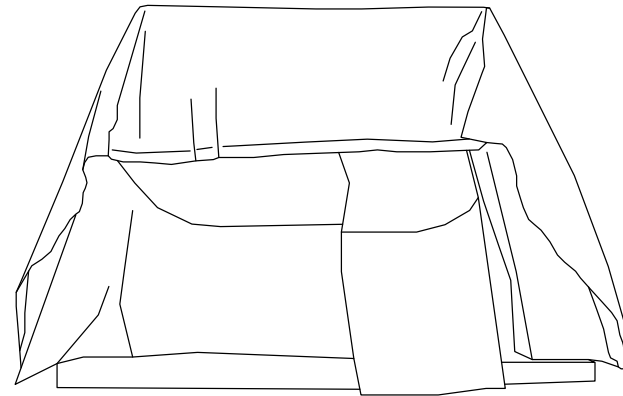
Ile Saint Denis

SECURE
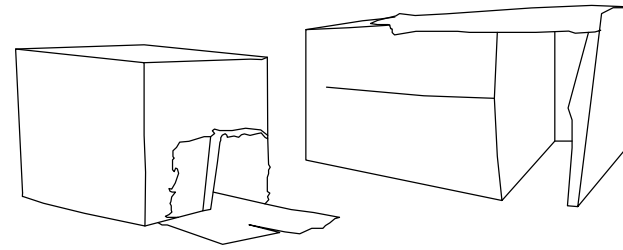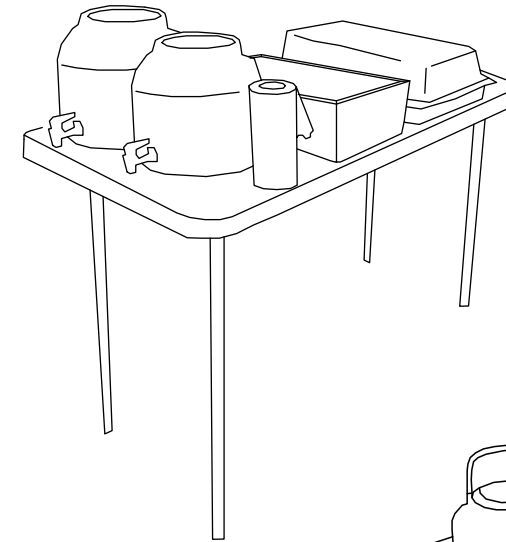
Porte de la Villette

Il Ponte, Ventimiglia

SELF-CARE

TOILETTES

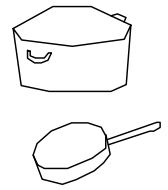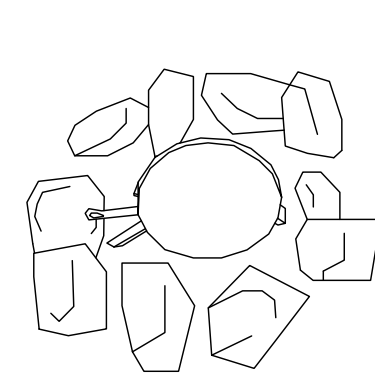Paris public toilets

Cheval Noir
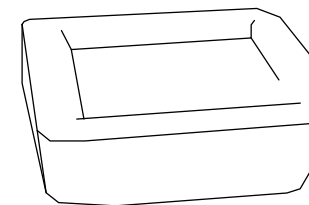
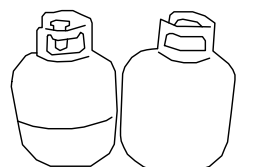# SHARE

Il Ponte, Ventimiglia

Wilson, Delphine Seyrig

EAT
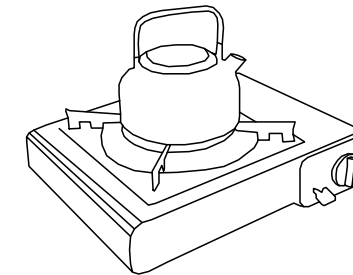
DECORATE
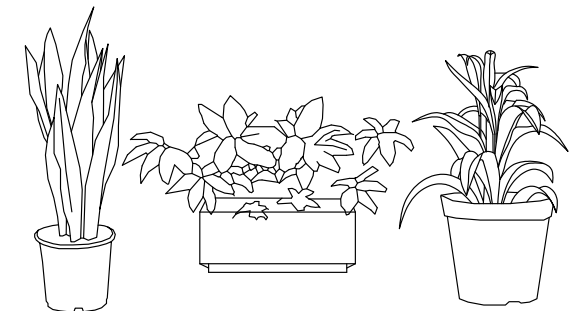
GATHER

Ile Saint Denis
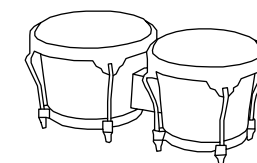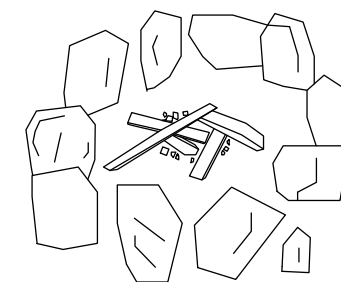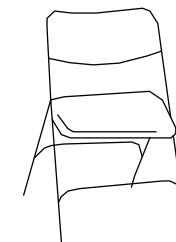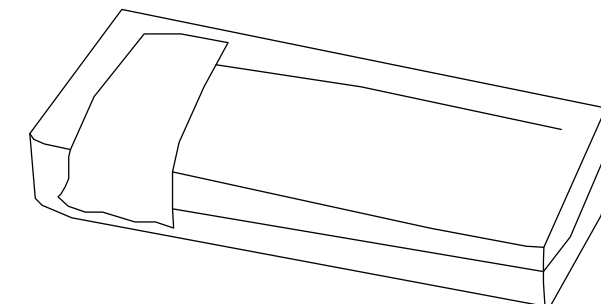
Cheval Noir

2. Atlas of Borderlessness

The project is revealed as a patchwork of open scenarios of possible coexistence. By looking at aforementioned experiences of makeshift camps and practices of support, the proposal aims at unfolding fundamental infrastructures of inhabitation avoiding dominant and colonial methods of hospitality. It suggests escaping from a securitarian and exceptional spectrum and rather endorses the unleashing of people's imagination and autonomies, by assembling legacies and latencies. Therefore, the atlas of borderlessness is an attempt to territorialise existing rituals and identities in transit, by endowing people on the move with flexible dispositives to subvert the apparent uninhabitability of urban, rural and domestic liminalities.

Places of rest and secure

Places of gathering and others-care

Places of eat and others-care

Places of self-care

Infrastructures

Impermeable surfaces

Permeable surfaces

Paris, Seine-Saint-Denis / Ventimiglia, Vallée de la Roya
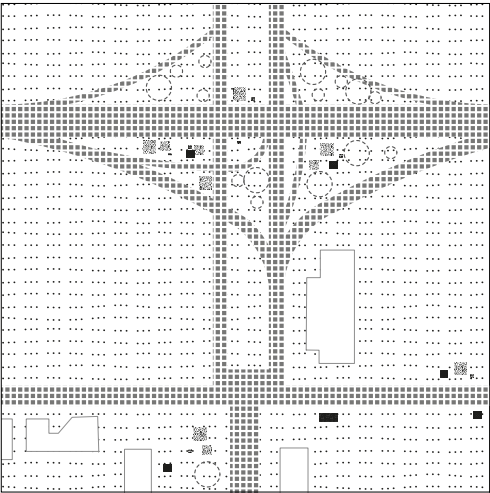
LEGACIES OF INHABITING PRACTICES

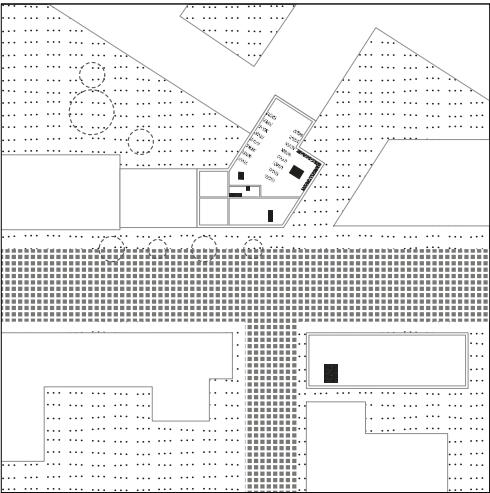Porte de la Chapelle, Paris (2022)

La Ferme, Breil-sur-Roya (2017)

Delphine Seyrig, Pantin (2022)
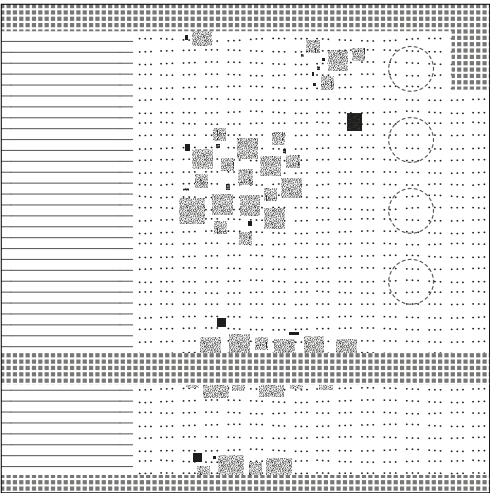
Il Ponte, Ventimiglia (2022)
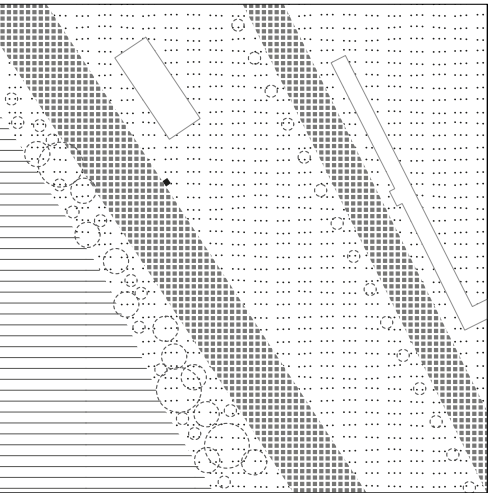
SoiXante AdaDa, Saint-Denis (2022)

Intemelia, Ventimiglia (2022)
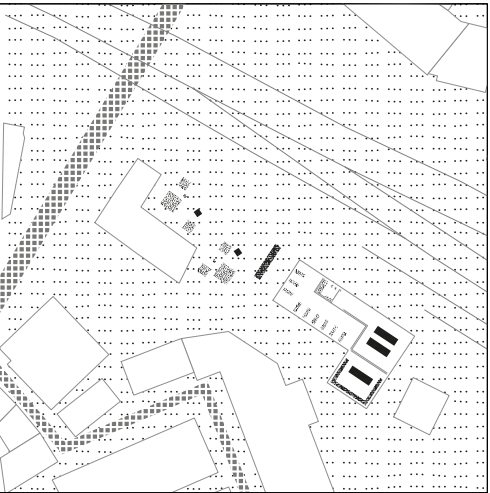
The main strategy of the project aims at enhancing the existing practices of inhabitability and the makeshift places they create. Looking at the analysed spaces in Paris and at the border, their main threats, and legacies of hospitality, the following diagrams suggest maintaining its state of suspension, and endowing people on the move and associations dispositifs that allow reframing reception and transit in urban and rural environments.

Dispositives of Share / Dispositives of Rest / Dispositives of Protection / Dispositives of Gather / Dispositives of Self-Care / Dispositives of Others-Care / Dispositives of Eat / Dispositives of Separation / Dispositives of Information / Dispositives of Exhibition / Dispositives of Worship / Dispositives of Autonomy /

Connection between people and associations
Collective housing and assistance
Implication in local associations
Provide virtual facilities, infopoints
Open borders and freedom of movement
Foster coexistence through manifestation
Autonomous cooking and storing supplies
Information on migratory condition
Food share and local processing
Activation of vacant dwellings for reception
Implication in local ass., petite associations
Enhancing existing reception facilities
Activation of vacant dwellings for reception

Distance/Estrangement
Evictions
Borders
Absence of virtual assistance
Unsupported food distribution
Public hostility
Absence of support policies
Absence of housing
Absence of showers

Share
Exchange
Movement
Self-care
Others-care
Information
Nutrition
Identity
Rest
Gather
Secure
Eat
Adaptation
Attachment
Hygiene

A   Main threats
A   Greater Paris
A   French-Italian border

Re-activating vacant dwellings

Sospel
Paris 19
Paris 20
Paris 12
Menton
Breil-sur-Roya
Pantin
Saint-Denis
Aubervilliers
Tende
Paris 17
Paris 18
Ventimiglia

Invade urban and rural liminalities

Porte de la Villette
Bordighera
Porte d'Aubervilliers
Breil-sur-Roya
Bd de la Villette
Avenue de Flandre
Il Ponte
Mairie de Pantin
Balzi Rossi
Porte de la Chapelle
Sospel
Hoche
Ile Saint Denis

Enhance practices of reception

SoiXante AdaDa
Caritas Intemelia
Ambassade des Immigré.e.s
Les Tuileries
C.A.D.A.(s) Paris
Centre d'hébergement Ivry
Intemelia - Ventimiglia Alta
Maison de Bobigny
Intemelia - via Roma
Spada(s) Paris
Infopoint Upupa
Maison de Montreuil (LMDM)
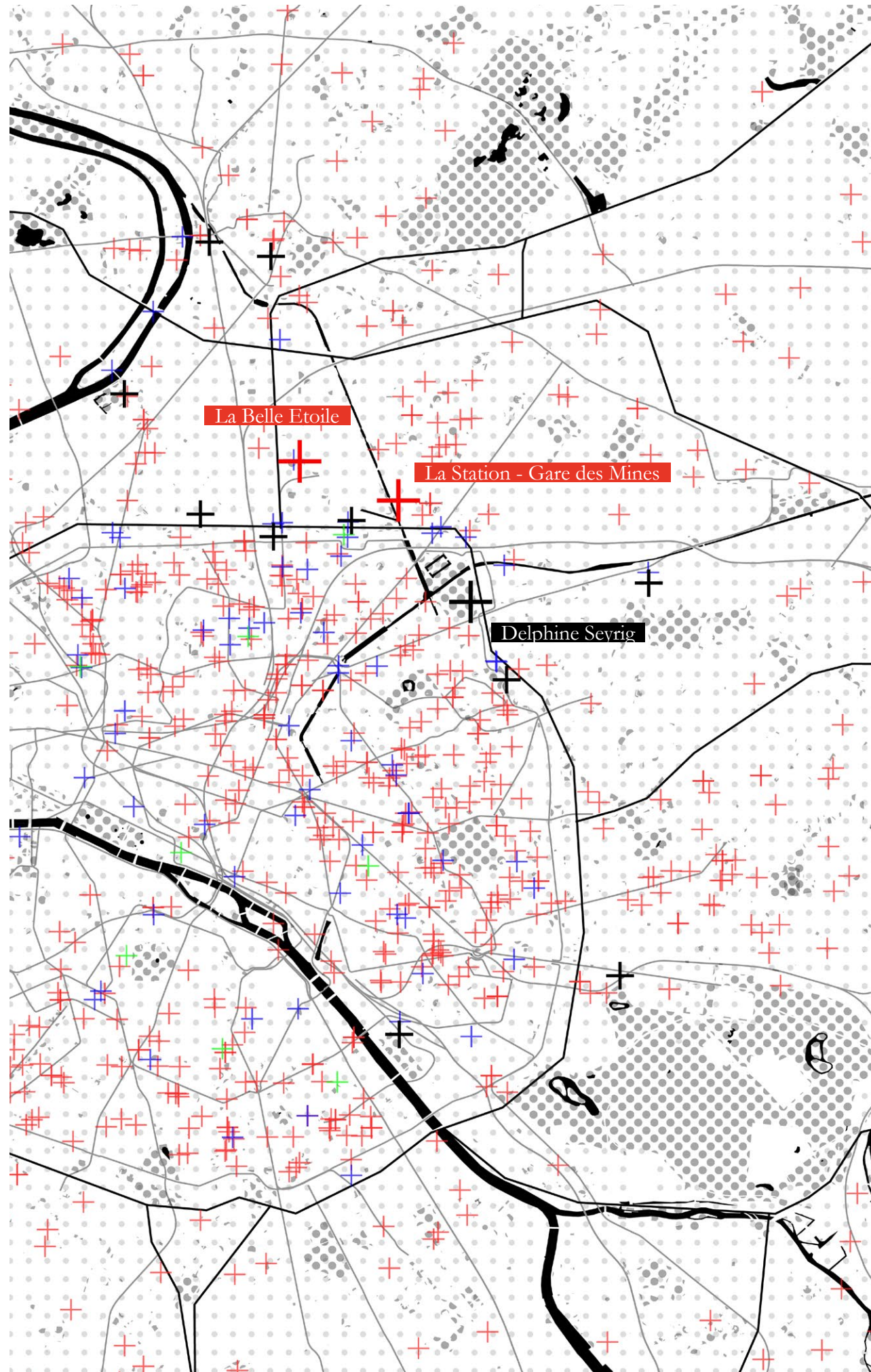C.A.S.P.(s) Paris

Reframe inhabitability in the camps

Delphine Seyrig
Il Ponte
La Marseillaise
Cheval Noir
Ile Saint Denis
Ponte st. Ludovic
Porte de la Chapelle
Parc de Bercy
Tunnel Pré-St-Gervais
Porte d'Aubervilliers
Intemelia
Porte de Clignancourt
Lac Saint Mandé

Strenghten local home hospitality

Programme Share
Tende
Programme Pulse
Programme Warm
Paris 19
La Ferme
Paris 12
Programme Boost
Programme Help
Programme Link
Saorge
Pantin
Saint-Denis

Solidarité Migrants Wilson
Utopia 56 Paris
La Gisti
Les Midis du Mie
Emmaus Roya
Emmaus Solidarité
BAAM
Les Ami.e.s de la Roya
Maison des refugiés
La Station - Gare des Mines
La Cité Fertile
Baobab Experience
Association Aurore
La Croix Rouge
Médecins du Monde
Pantin Solidaire
Kesha Niya
Presidio No Borders
Pantin Solidaire
La Chapelle Debout
Watizat
Auberge des Migrants
La Cimade
Progetto 20k
Yes We Camp
La Belle Etoile
Fondation Abbé Pierre
Anafé
Maat Paris
Droit à l'Ecole
La Halte Humanitaire
France Terre d'Asile
Diaconia Valdese
La Chorba Paris
Les Restos du Coeur
Actions Refugees Paris
Riders for Refugees
Les Jeunes du Canal
Intemelia
We World
Médecins sans Frontières
Enfants d'Afghanistan
Vallées solidaires
Réfugiés Bienvenue
Roya Citoyenne
Paris d'Exil
Eufemia
Benenova Paris
No Nation Truck
Frères et Soeurs de Paris
Infopoint Upupa

Paris / Delphine Seyrig / Wilson

DISPOSITIFS: LATENCY AND TRANSITS

La Belle Etoile

La Station - Gare des Mines

Delphine Seyrig

The camp of Delphine Seyrig and the infrastructure of solidarity gravitating around it have been elaborated in the following pages and diagrams as possible examples of the developing of the dispositifs of inhabitability. As a consequence, the proposal is a reactivation of latent projects of solidarity already ongoing among the makeshift camp(s) of Delphine Seyrig and Solidarité Migrants Wilson.
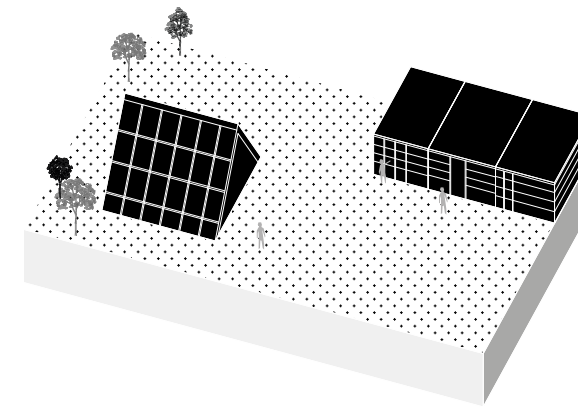
La Station – Gare de Mines, already functioning as storage for the association Solidarité Migrants Wilson, as possible places of stock of materials and elements for the dispositifs of inhabitability.
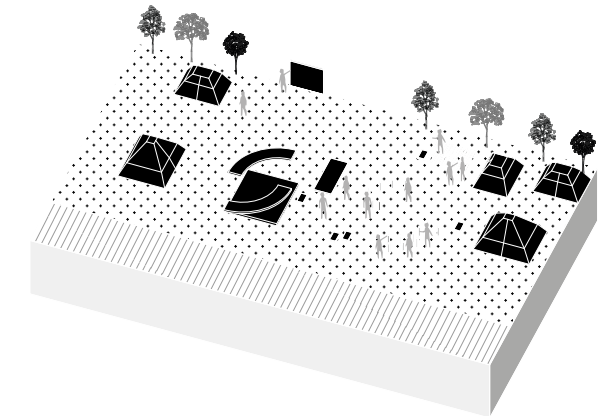
The dispositifs are then assembled and finalised with people on the move and inhabiting the camp inside the camp itself, according to individual and collective needs and preferences.
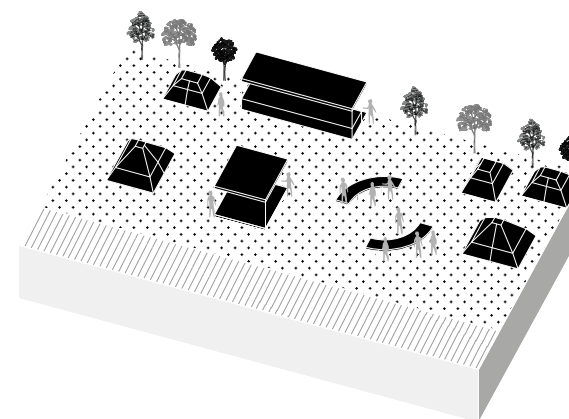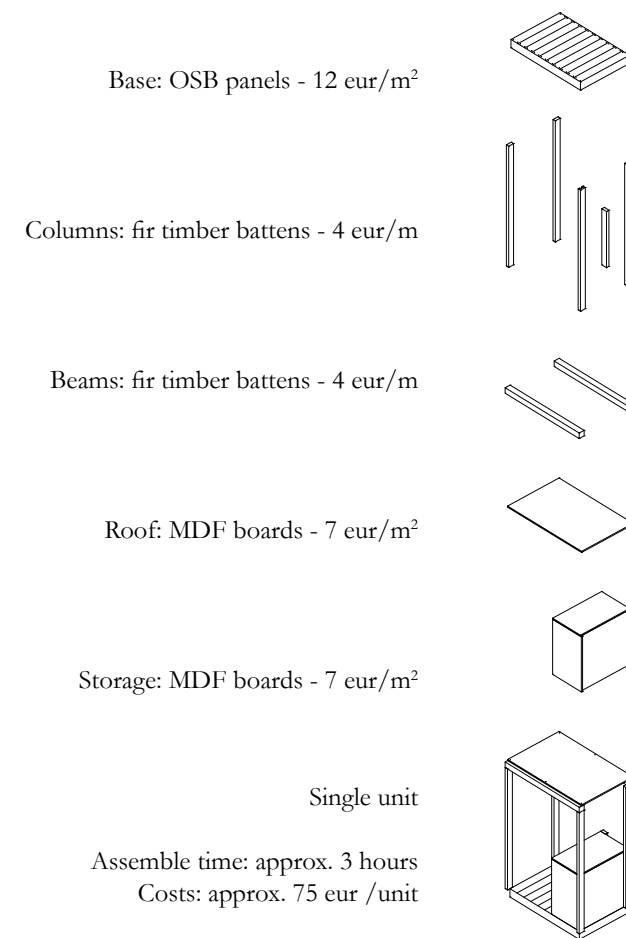

The dispositifs are used and managed by people inhabiting the makeshift camp. Once the camp is evicted, the elements are disassembled and brought back to La Station for future possible use.

DISPOSITIF 1: EAT/GATHER/SECURE/OTHERS-CARE/SELF-CARE

Elements of protection

Cooking and food distribution (maraude)

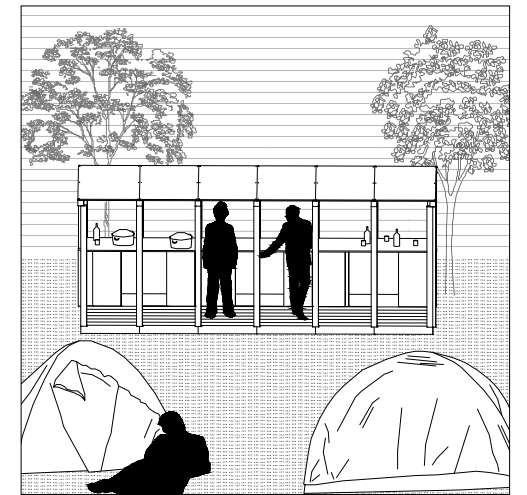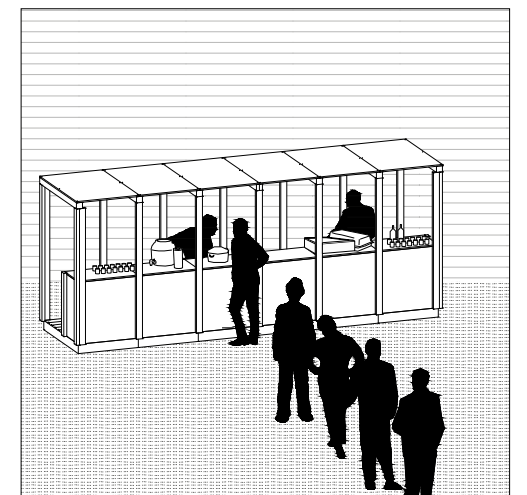Storage for personal and collective belongings
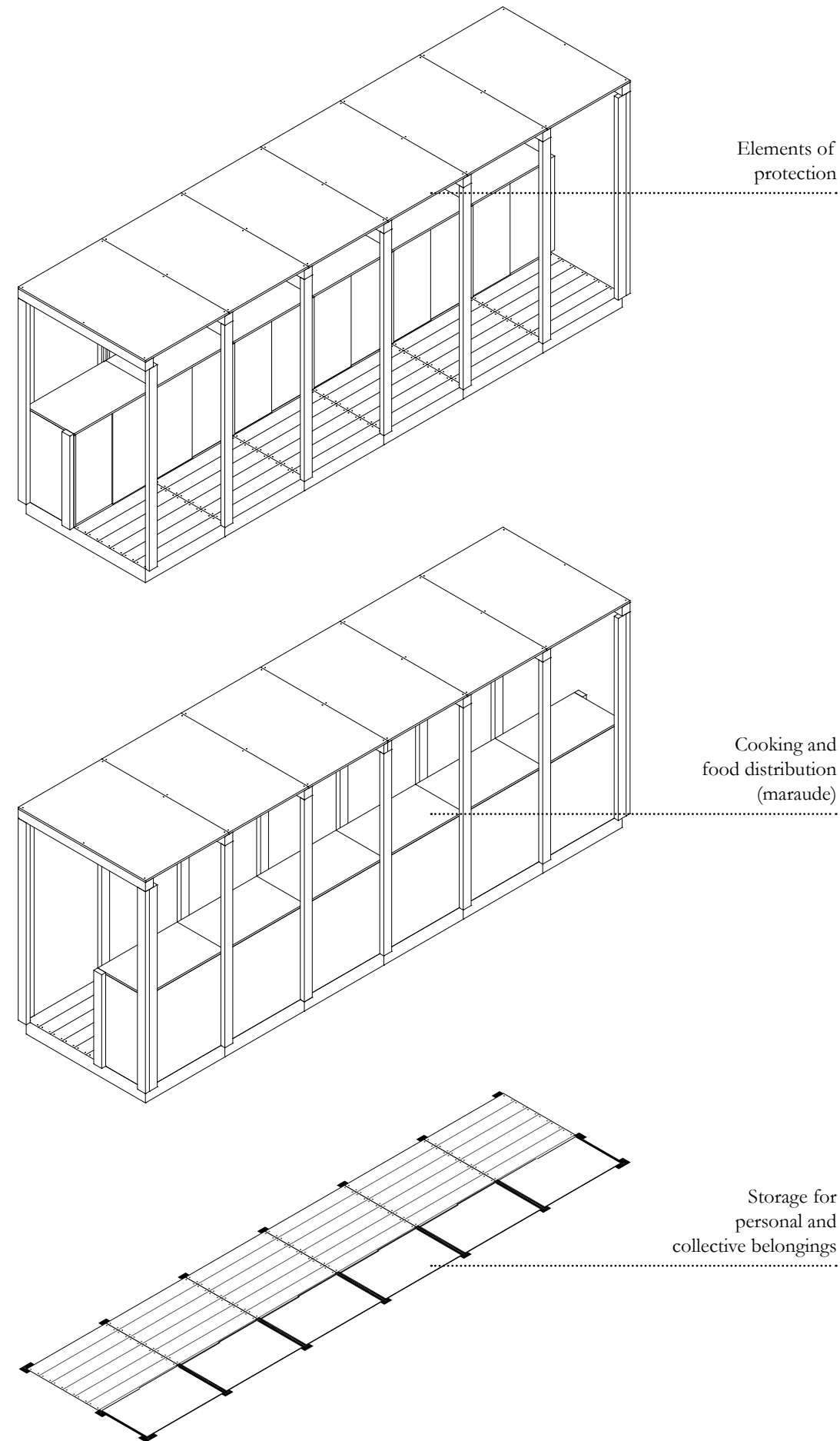
The first dispositif aims at reactivating existing practices of resistance in the makeshift camps, related to the necessities of stocking materials and nutrition. By assembling simple timber elements in serial units, the proposal is an attempt to unfold uninhabitability in the camps by providing movable and possibly personal spaces of cooking, protection and gathering. Concurrently, it might be used by associations camp during food distributions and outreach. All the dispositifs have been designed with a focus on affordability and simplicity of construction, assuming local associations as possible keepers and managers of the materials and donations as main means of finance. Although they are designed as "camp-based", they might not be limited to the makeshift camp, but also to reception centres, hosting experiences and occupations. In this specific case, it is a potential medium to manifest individual use of cooking and storing.

Base: OSB panels - 12 eur/m²

Columns: fir timber battens - 4 eur/m

Beams: fir timber battens - 4 eur/m

Roof: MDF boards - 7 eur/m²

Storage: MDF boards - 7 eur/m²

Single unit

Assemble time: approx. 3 hours
Costs: approx. 75 eur /unit
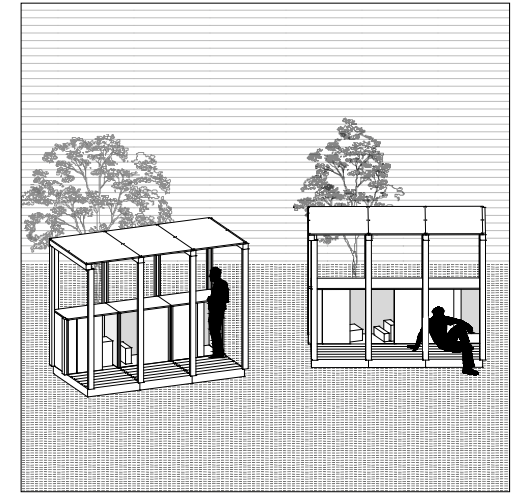
Personal and collective storage

Personal and collective kitchen

Food distribution (maraude) by Wilson

DISPOSITIF 2: EAT/GATHER/OTHERS-CARE/SELF-CARE
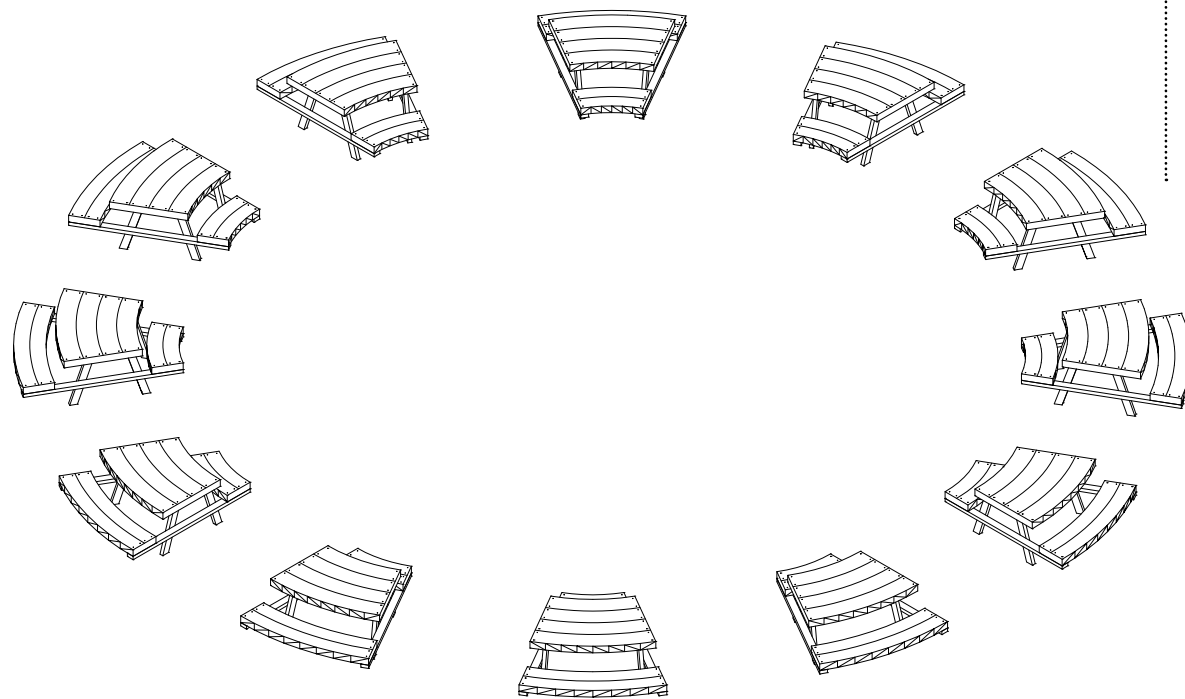
Table used as
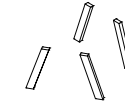collective gatherings
and share
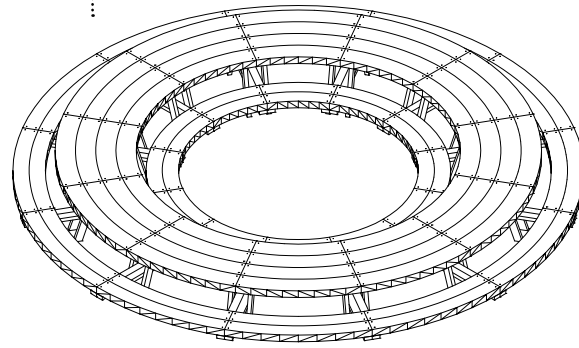
Dis-assembles tables
for individual use

This dispositif develops the latent practices and places of gathering, sharing and affection informally generated by inhabitants and people on the move by setting up chairs, boxes, tables found on the street. As for the other dispositifs, basic wooden elements are assembled to guarantee affordable and practical units, that can be used collectively or separately, according to people's necessities and choices. The round table is therefore, on the one hand, a possible occasion of participation and care of cohabitants in the camp and, on the other, the personal or family space of self-care. Again, the table is conceived as a medium of coexistence among not only people inhabiting the camp, but also inhabitants and local associations, or inhabitants and users of the public space. As a matter of fact, the table might activate potential places of manifestation, exhibition and joint debate, as well as moments of unwind or creative practices.

Collective gatherings, eating and sharing

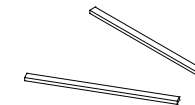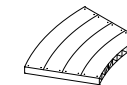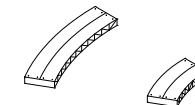Legs: fir timber battens - 4 eur/m

Beams: fir timber battens - 4 eur/m
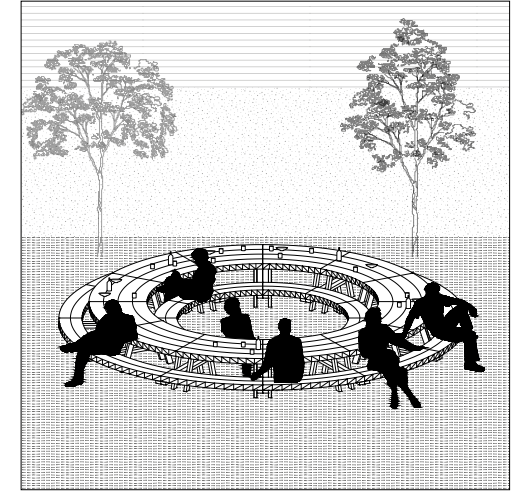
Table: Base: OSB panels - 12 eur/m²

Seats: Base: OSB panels - 12 eur/m²

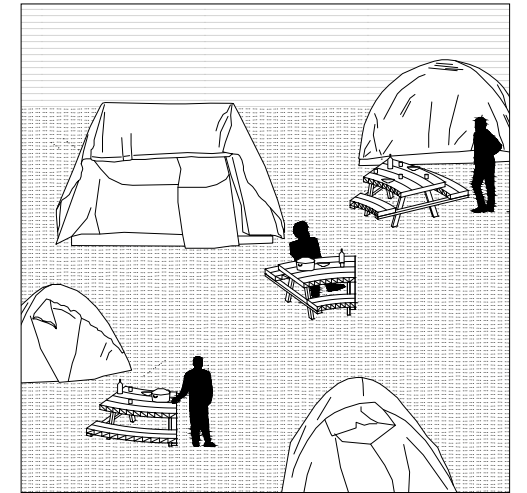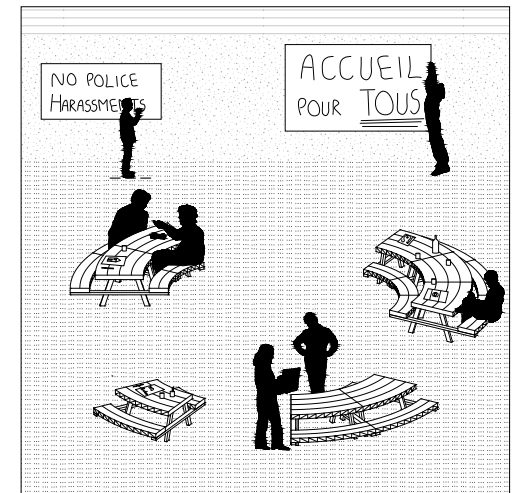Single unit

Assemble time: approx. 2 hours
Costs: approx. 55 eur /unit

Individual use

Manifestation and ateliers

DISPOSITIF 3: REST/GATHER/SECURE/OTHERS-CARE/SELF-CARE

Panels for
exhibiting,
decorating,
manifesting

Rest and protection
for inhabitants

Entrance for users of
the public space
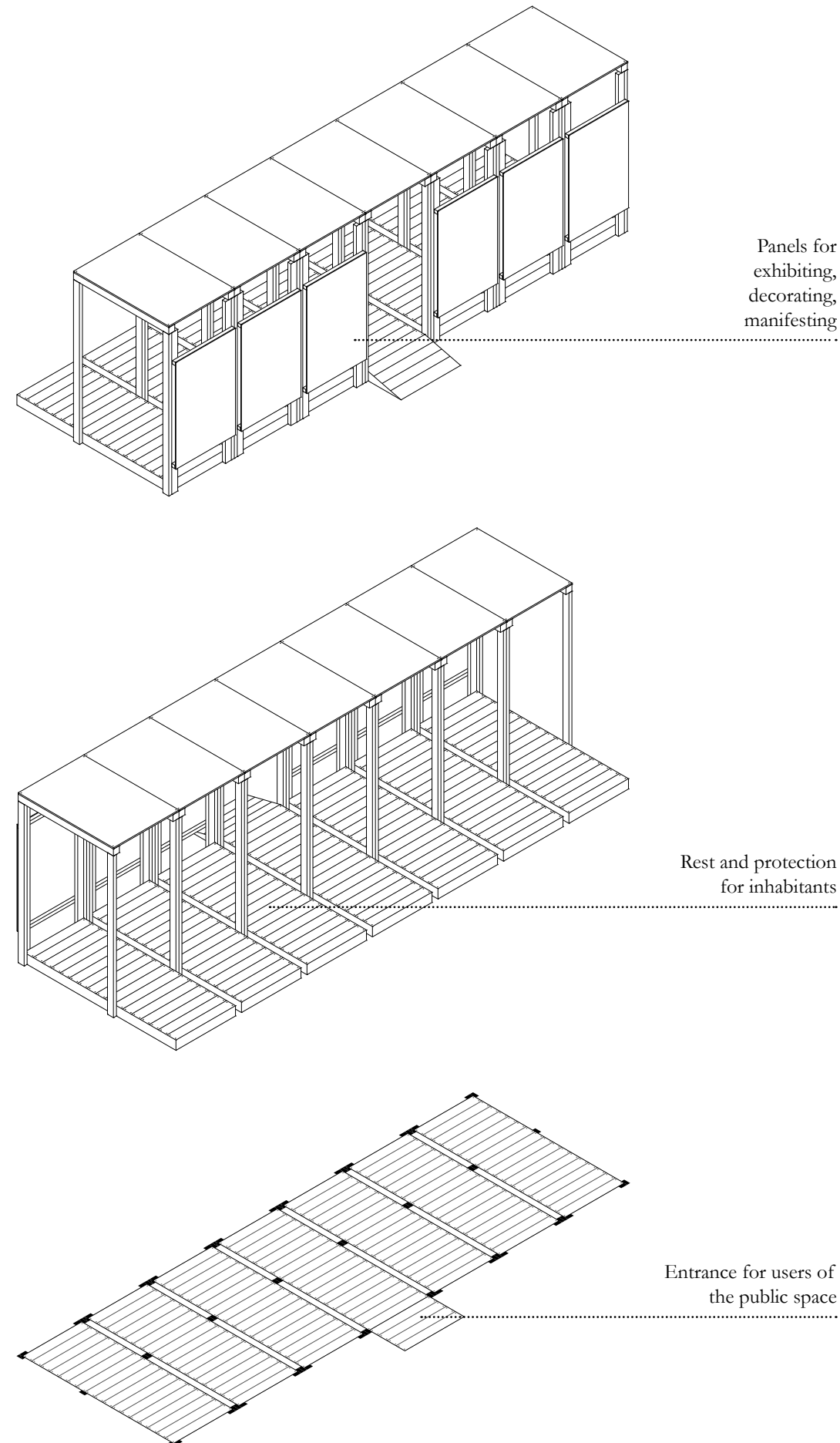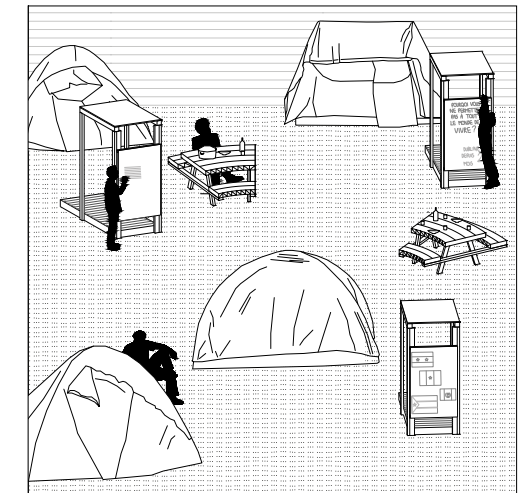
This dispositif takes as a reference and tries to unfold the practices of imagining futures happening in the makeshift camps, expressed by the exhibition of portraits and symbols of resistance on walls and surfaces. In such manner, the elements of exhibition aim at representing people's presence in the space and manifest the condition of holding to which they are subjected. At the same time, it is a way of engaging with the apparent uninhabitability of the places of displacement and offers people on the move the possibility to subvert set identities by sharing personal experiences. Thereby, although they can equally be used as individual elements, the places they potentially create when used collectively is an occasion of coexistence among inhabitants, associations and users of the public space, possibly opacifying the cultural threshold that separates them and activating episodes of information and joint debate.

Base: OSB panels - 12 eur/m²
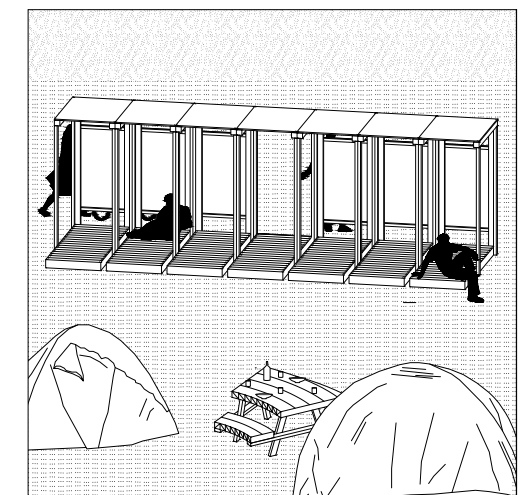
Columns: fir timber battens - 4 eur/m

Beams: fir timber battens - 4 eur/m

Roof: MDF boards - 7 eur/m²

Beams: fir timber battens - 4 eur/m

Exhibit panel: MDF boards - 7 eur/m²

Single unit

Assemble time: approx. 5 hours
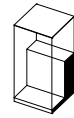Costs: approx. 70 eur /unit

Manifestation of inhabitants' identities
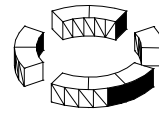

Individual and collective means of decoration

Threshold and roof for resting and protection

L'AMBASSADE DES MIGRANT.E.S: ABACUS OF DISPOSITIFS

As well as subverting the uninhabitability of the city, the dispositifs penetrate into urban and architectural liminalities. The possible tools of solidarity and inhabitability for displaced persons and people on the move are non-exhaustively presented in their specificities and assembled in the "Ambassade des migrant.e.s", an imaginary self-managed hosting community, which takes back the experience of the reception squat in Paris from April 2022 (17 rue Saulnier, Paris 75009).

Individual kitchen

Allow cooking and storing as a form of autonomy

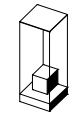**Round tables**

Aim at creating collective and individual conviviality
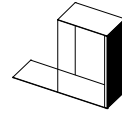
Exhibition panels

To manifest people's presence, pasts and dreams

Dry toilets

As private necessities for unspecified places

Separation walls

Do it yourself, they guarantee privacy and self-care
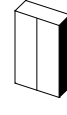
Personal wardrobes

Allow storing and collective individual properties
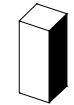
Shower units

As a form of individual and private self-care
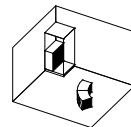
Common areas

Enable gatherings, support and collective resistances
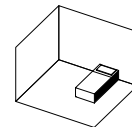
Individual units

To provide unobserved and quite places for self-care
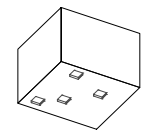
Worship units

As common and individual areas of pray and gatherings
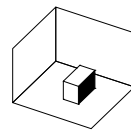
Infopoints

Or virtual refuge of connection and information
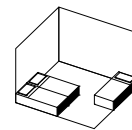
Family units

It guarantees support for families on the move

Collective units: separation walls and personal dispositifs
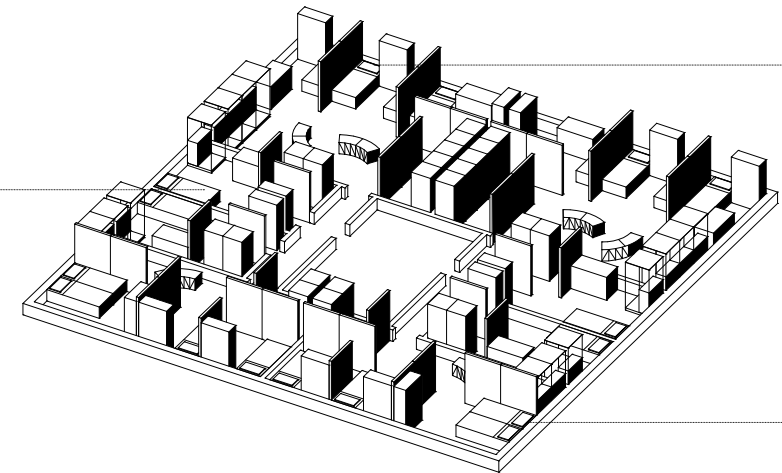
Individual units: dispositifs for self-care, autonomous cooking and storing

Family units: individual and collective dispositifs for privacy and gatherings

Common areas: dispositifs for individual and collective use
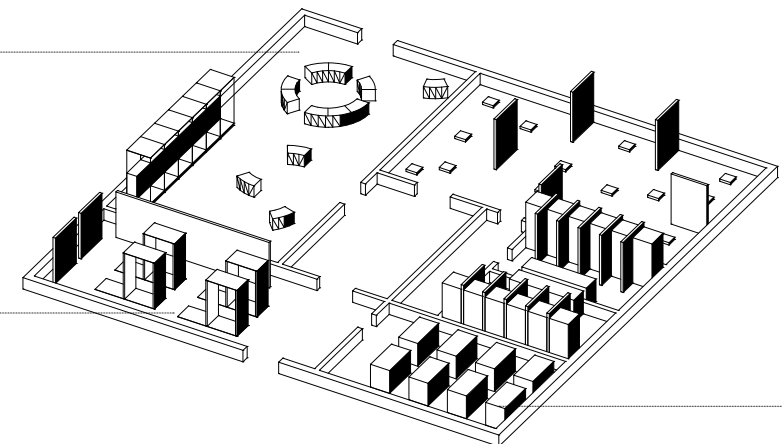
Exhibit: common areas of possible coexistance and imagination

Infopoints: virtual dispositifs of transnational refuge

Paris / Delphine Seyrig / Wilson

ATLAS OF BORDERLESSNESS

Porte de la Villette
dispositifs invade urban liminalities

Makeshift camp Delphine Seyrig
dispositifs unfold camp's habitability

La Cité Fertile
stock dispositifs and outreach

Vacant dwellings near the camp
dispositif to activate reception facilities
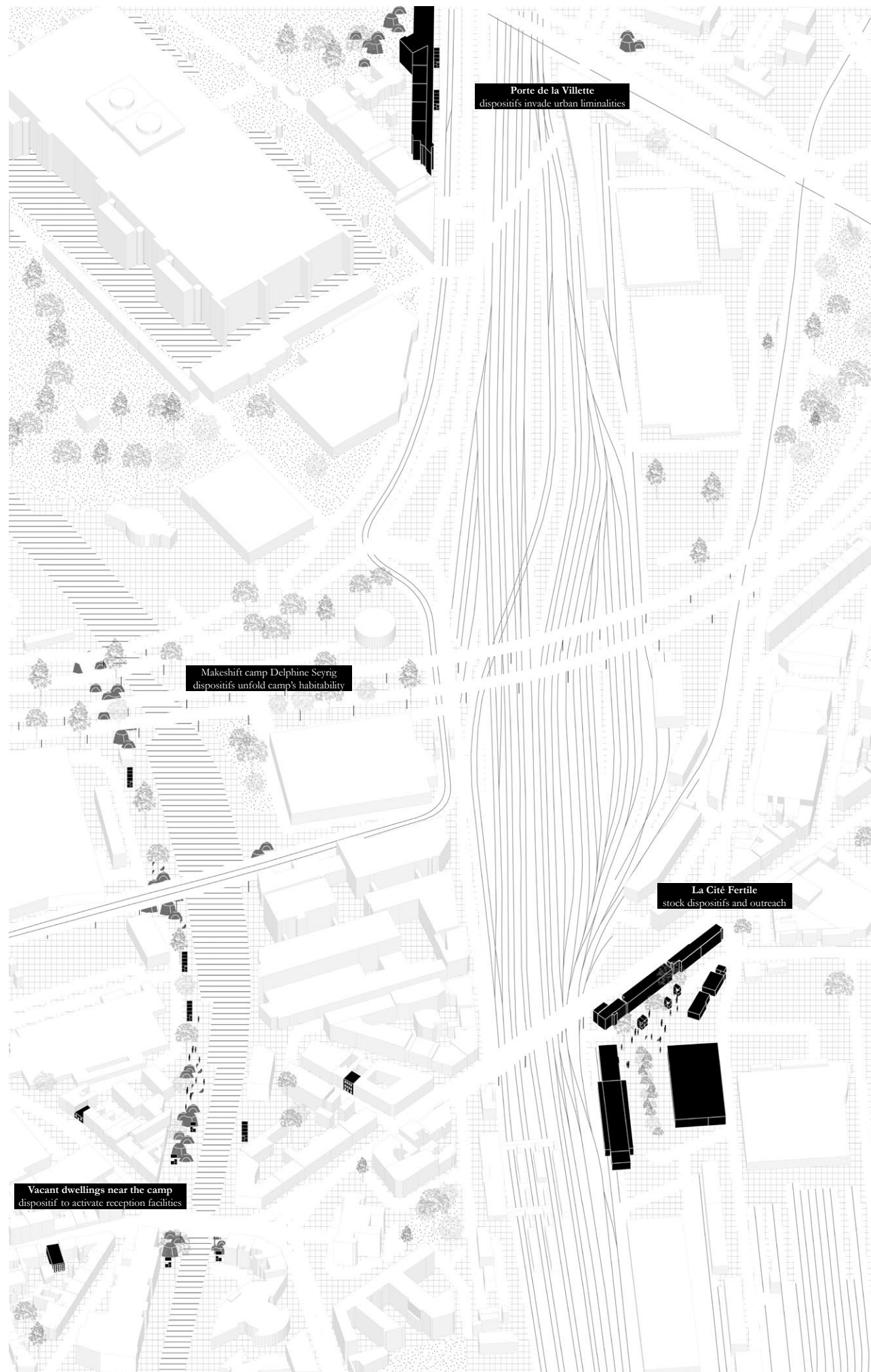
Unfolding inhabitability in the camps

The proposal aims at dismantling the different forms of borderisation, either material or virtual, that simultaneously cause and hold people's displacement by a legitimated infrastructure of waiting. Hereby, developing practices of subverting the apparent uninhabitability of makeshift camps by endowing dispositifs to gather, eat, rest, secure permits to manifest the individual and collective indentities of people on the move and, at the same time, enable potential occasion of coexistence in the public space.

Activating legacies of reception

From the perspective of the reception in the private space, namely the different forms of solidarity in centres, squats or welcoming local housing, the elaborated tools guarantee a reception that, in its extreme plasticity and temporariness, might adapt to different environments. Consequently, the intention is to perform needs and identities of living together able to reactivate legacies of support and possibly create new ones, by the appropriation and enhancement of vacant spaces in the city and nearby the makeshift camps.

Invade urban liminalities

The flexibility and ephemerality of these proposals permit therefore to unfold a more dynamic connection with the site, by re-shaping their forms and thus equally reactivating forgotten spaces of the city. Starting from the already mentioned liminality of corps and spaces that distinguishes the urban condition of people on the move and displaced, the fluidity of the dispositifs creates or develops new possibilities of shelter and support, as for the examples of vacant activities, wastelands or liminal infrastructures.
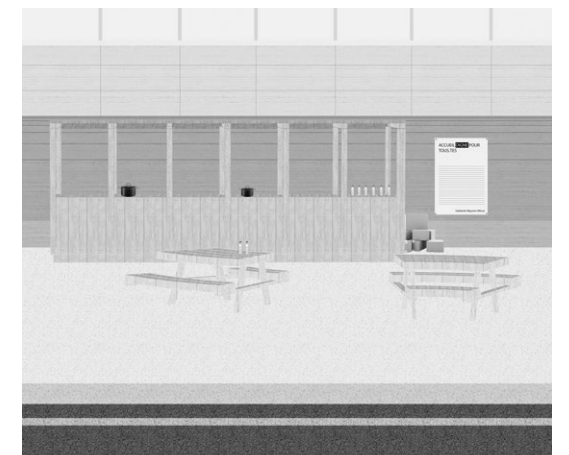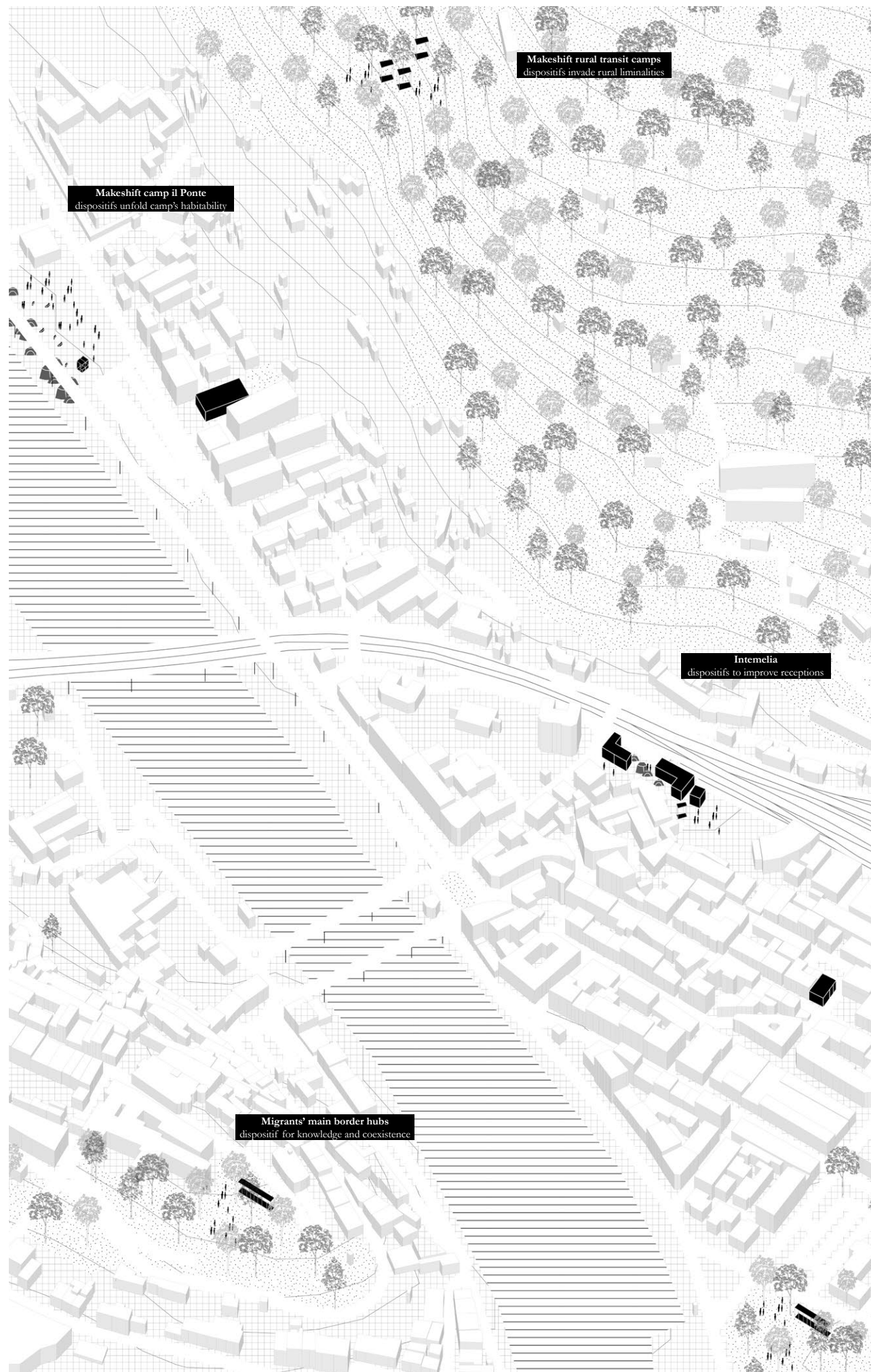
Unfolding inhabitability in the camps

When confronted with the extremeness of the border between nations, the proposal enhances an even stronger conceptual interpretation, materialising the manifestation of a borderless collective identities that claim their rights to the space and to transit. The temporariness of the dispositifs is therefore better explained as a form of transiency, as a condition of ephemerality that guarantees the right to displace and testifies its capacity of creating new transnational spaces that dismantle the differential inclusion of the border.
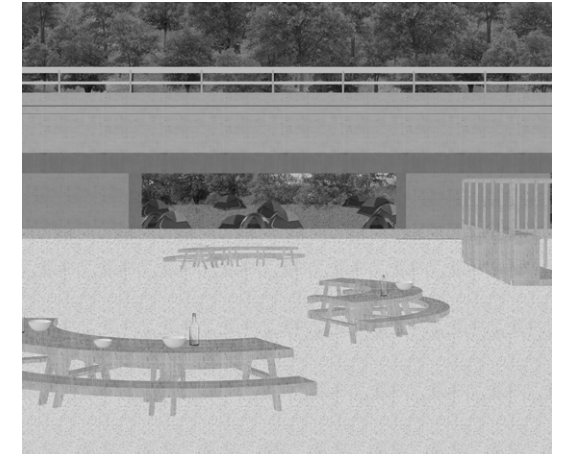
Enhance sedimented practices of reception

As a continuous with the Parisian reception experiences, the project promotes opportunities to reinforce existing or latent practices of support by the association and local/transnational network. The explained necessities and identities for which these tools are designed, implement unsolved or insufficient facilities in the main welcoming structures. Consequently, the conception starts from the latencies of spaces such as those of Intemelia, Emmaus Roya, Progetto 20k, using the dispositifs as medium of possible activation.

Invade rural liminalities

The same tools have been designed thinking of a possible rural inhabitation of people on the move, which appears particularly significant at the French-Italian border. Taking as a main reference the experience of Le Camping of Cedric Herrou, where the farmer and the hosted people built together an informal place of inhabitability in rurality, the different dispositifs equally fulfill their function of gathering, resting, exhibiting, self and others care, deconstructing the bounder and the monist a priori of what is inhabiting.

SOIXANTE ADADA

Secure

Rest

Self-care

Others-care

Eat

Gather

Rest

Gather

Wardrobes for
personal use

Two persons or one
person units

Dispositifs to cook
and stock personal
belongings

Round tables
to gather and est

Desks, computers and
charging sockets

Individual units

Dispositifs to
rest and exhibit
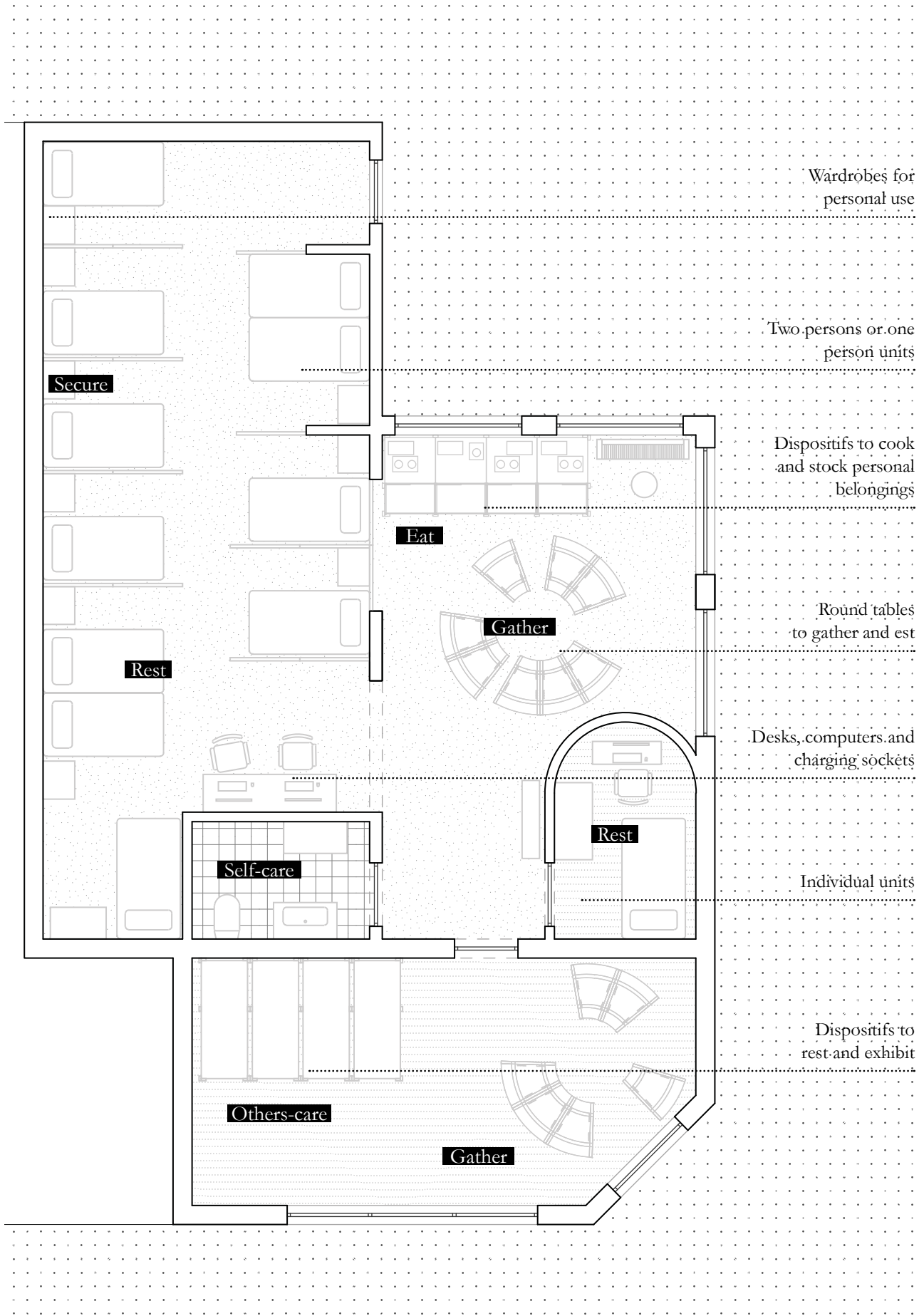
0 m   2,5 m   5 m

The following drawings are presented as focus on the possible scenarios of coexistence imagined through the Atlas. The makeshift solidarity analysed in Soixante Adada is therefore shown as an occasion of enhancing sedimented practices of reception, by endowing inhabitants of additional dispositifs to provide autonomy and unfold coexistence within the community and the hosts.

LE NOUVEAU CAMPING

Dispositifs to cook
and stock personal
belongings

Eat

Gather

Dry toilets

Self-care

Individual units

Rest

Family and
couple units

Rest

Secure

Dry toilets and
showers

Self-care

Gather

Round tables
to gather and est

0 m   2,5 m   5 m
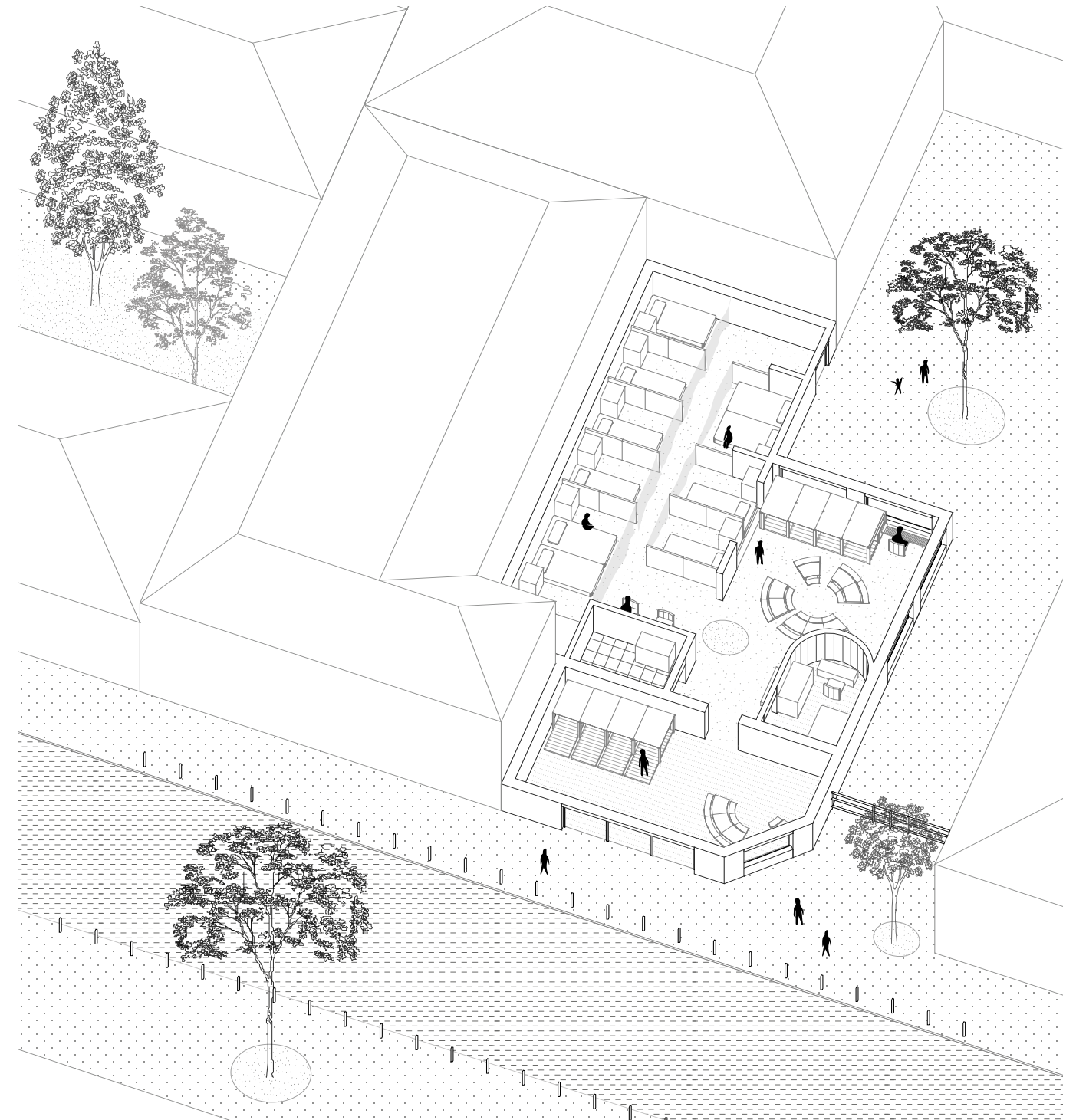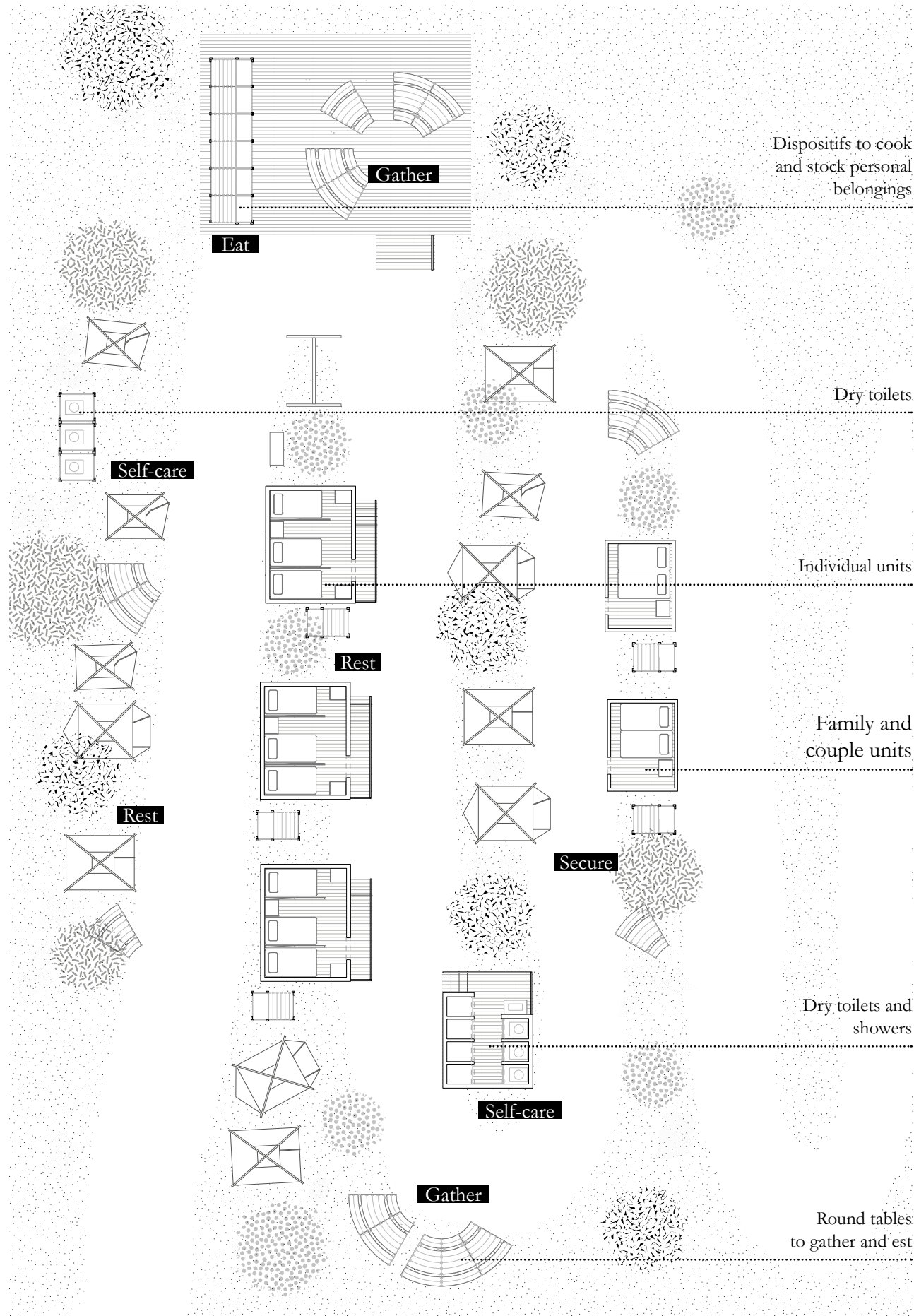
The drawings show an occasion to reflect on reception practices in rural contexts, encompassing the experience of La Ferme of the farmer Cedric Herrou. Although these do not really refer to one specific analysed territory, they take the ferme as a reference to possibly reconstruct anywhere anytime again. Not only they attempt at invading rural liminalities, but they also encourage to unfold autonomy, protection and transit in the camps through the designed dispositifs.

DELPHINE SEYRIG

Dispositifs to cook
and stock personal
belongings

Eat

Others-care

Rest

Dry toilets

Round tables
to gather and est

Gather

Tents, personal or
collective use

Secure

Waterproof tarps and
sheets for protection

Self-care

Dispositifs to
rest and to exhibit

Rest
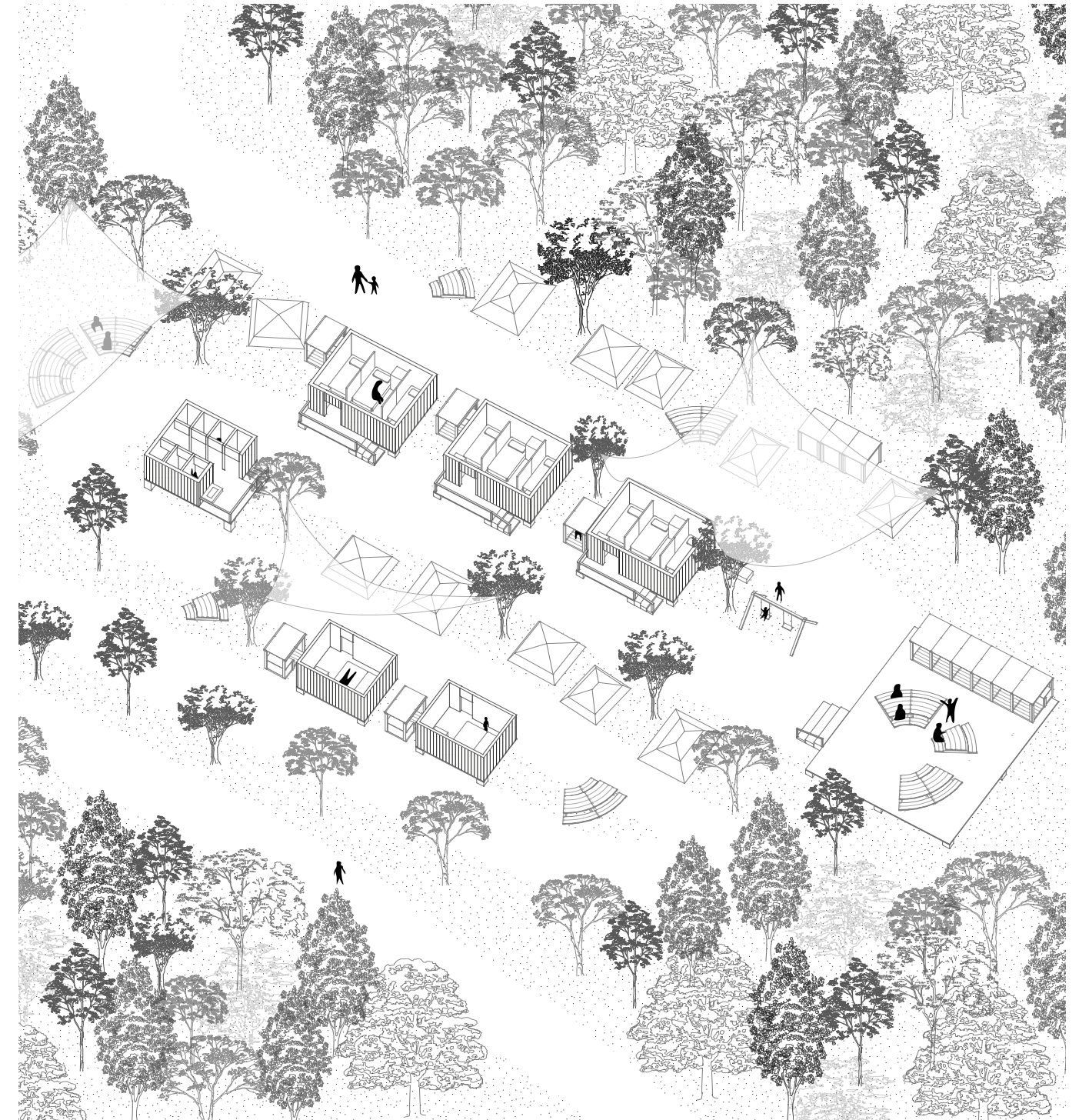
0 m   2,5 m   5 m
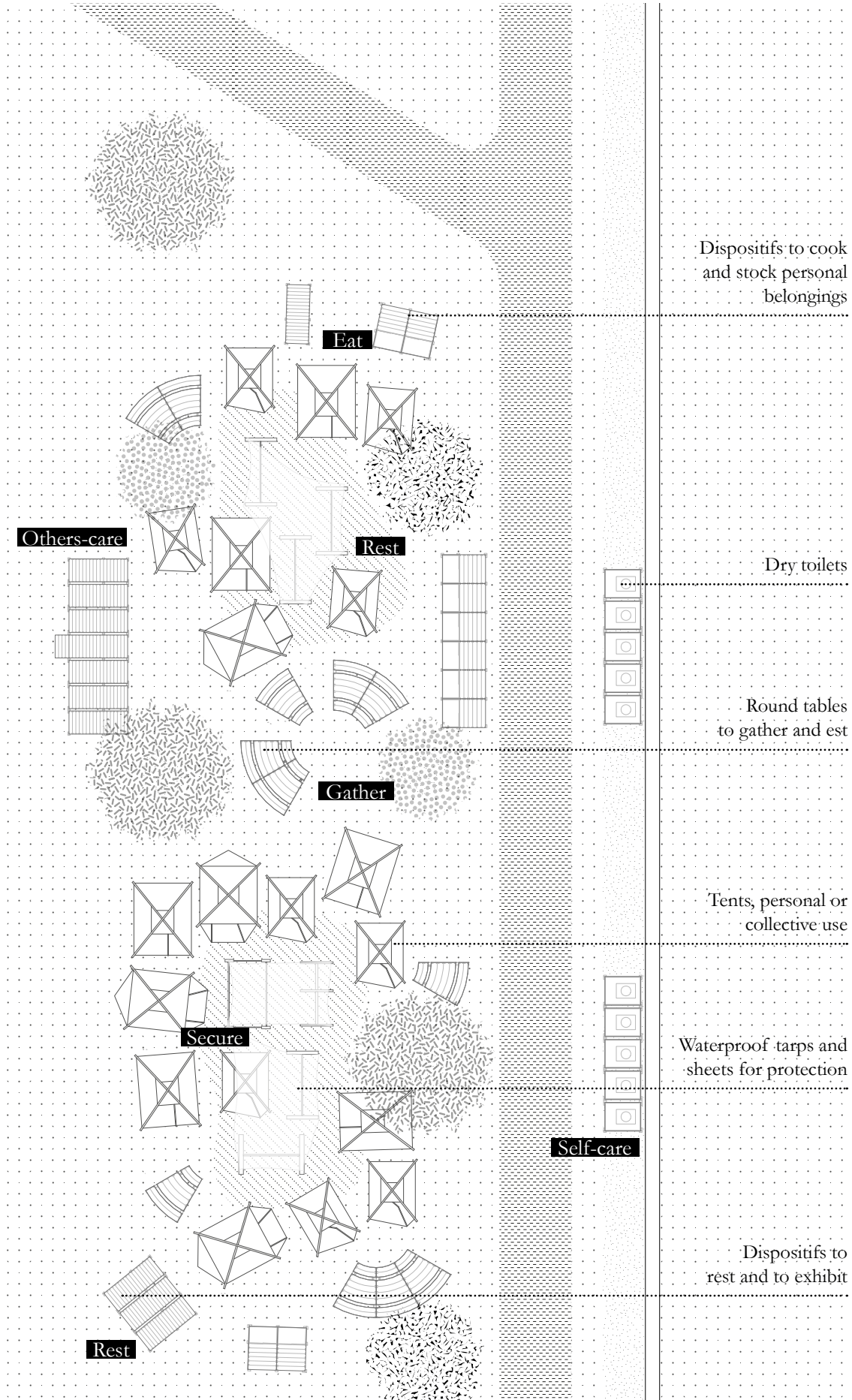
Delphine Seyrig is the scenario of a makeshift camp in the capital and its potentiality as a platform of imperfect inhabitation, blurred by the differential inclusivity of the contemporary urban asset. The dispositifs here act as possible tools of inhabiting in transit, but manifesting one's own identity, claiming right to space and to imagine futures.
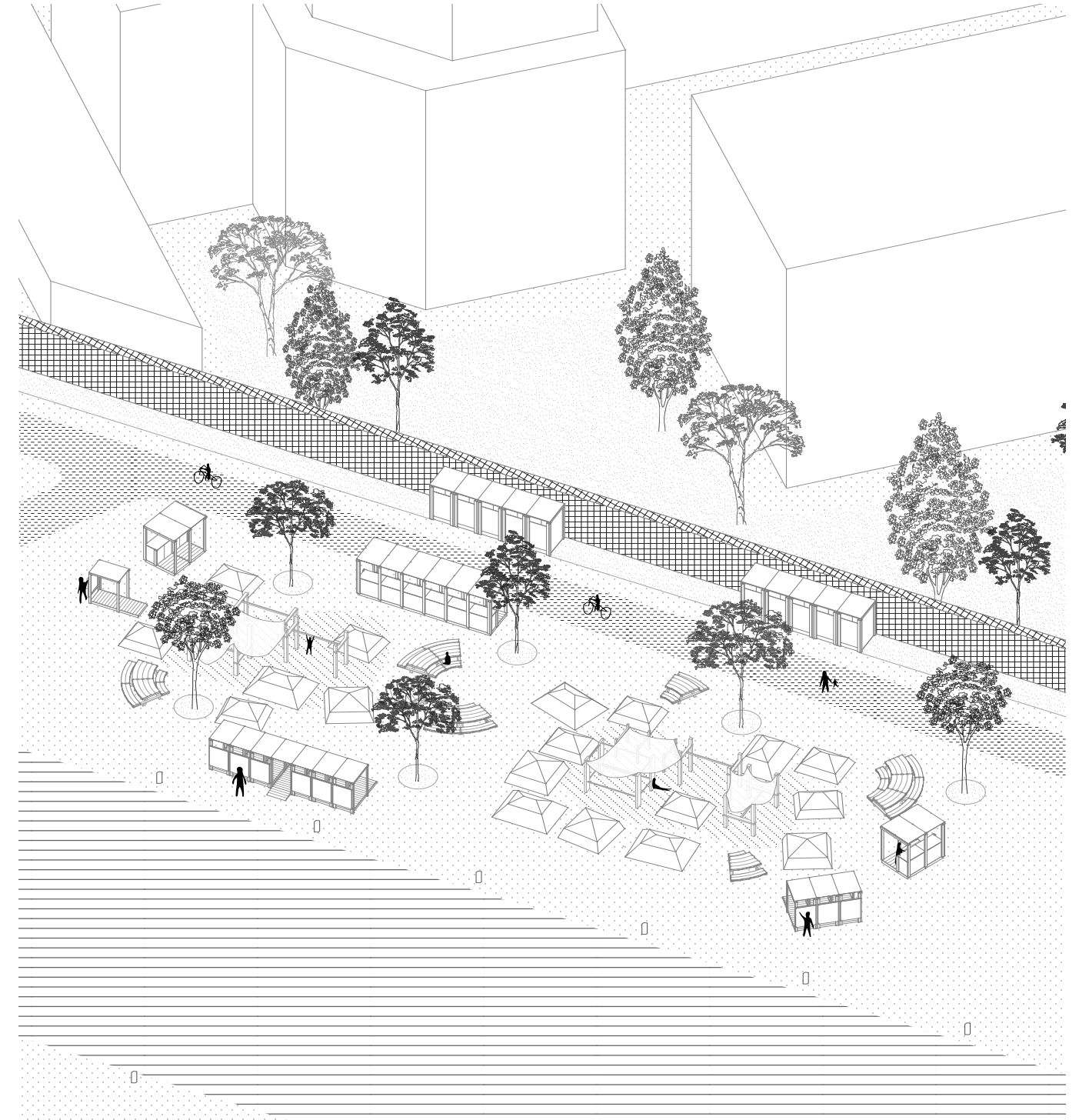
Inhabiting spaces of holding

The Atlas is an occasion to reflect on the spaces of displacement and the condition of bodies and identities that inhabit them, with architectural and urban knowledge as a medium to identify material and social infrastructures. The interpretation of acts of resistance towards the uninhabitability of the contemporary urban space production has therefore been essential to strengthen recognition on threats and dynamics of latent rejection by deciphering tools of subversion elaborated by people on the move and the supporting apparatus of associations. It thus open potential further investigations and inquiries on how to conceive with these legacies.

What is happening every day in these spaces is already a project, namely the operation of imagining new uses, identities and futures; the insurgent action of transforming a space into a place; the attempt to deconstruct the liminality of certain spaces on hold. The proposal has its origins from the recollection of these practices and starts by looking at the people that move them as an infrastructure[1] of resistance. It is therefore primarily conceived by looking at the peculiarities of the different places analysed in Greater Paris and at the French-Italian border, the makeshift dispositifs of inhabitation as possibilities to rest, gather, self-care or share boundaries. Consequently, interactions with local solidarity network highlight possible scenarios of proper inhabitation and coexistence: the collaboration with Solidarité Migrants Wilson, the maraudes, outreach and the close contact with people on the move have been crucial to decipher these conceptual prospects. At the same time, this thesis stresses the ambiguous contradictory condition of migrants' spaces both in the capital and at the border, of being the scenography of simultaneous practices of reception and rejection, with law enforcement exerting powers of control through displacement, by filtering, dispersing, harassing[2] migrant bodies. The comprehension of these rituals and legacies, that have been greatly explained throughout the whole thesis and depicted with data and counter-mapping analysis, is a project: it means not only embracing a political positioning, but also making visible new

patterns of space production and use, blurred by the filter of the European fortress[3].

The project proposal is the unfolding of existing practices, claiming new identities, autonomies, and imperfect modes of inhabitation. It is a project that refuses the overdetermination, the illusion of stability[4] of contemporary urban patterns, and it is therefore weak, fragile, and constantly changing and reconstructing its possible uses and interactions. Three potential dispositifs are then represented in detail, with examples on materials, construction, and scenarios of application, although they gravitate in an abacus of a variety of makeshift tools that attempt at enhancing protection, coexistence, and transit in the camps, in the host communities or in territories of transit for refugees and people on the move. The Ambassade the Migrant.e.s is then a conceptual example that comprehends the integrity of these devices and spaces, but they are designed to simultaneously escape from the context and embrace its liminal latencies. They represent the possibility to unfold inhabitability in the makeshift camps, activating legacies of reception – by claiming endowment of vacant buildings – or enhancing sedimented practices, and invade urban and rural liminalities. Looking closely at its possible evolution, the proposal takes back the analysed spaces of displacement[5], focusing on the makeshift experiences of the camp of Delphine Seyrig and the space of reception Soixante AdaDa in Paris, and the rural context of La Ferme of the farmer Cedric Herrou in the Vallée de la Roya. In Soixante AdaDa the existing devices have simply been reassembled, endowing additional dispositifs such as DIY separation walls or personal wardrobes and stocking units, that provide further autonomy, but also situations of share and gatherings, through the exhibition panels or the round tables. The second scenario represents a similar condition, as the Ferme is only taken as a legacy to interpret new potential sequences of solidarity in rurality. Delphine Seyrig is the radical and delicate attempt at claiming inhabitability in the camps and endowing people on hold of necessary dispositifs to rest, eat, gather, care for themselves and for others. They somehow require tackling both evictions, pushbacks and harassment and the deficits of the humanitarian apparatuses and support a non-dominant and non-singular architectural and urban planning. They promote new modes of inhabitation that could be transient and ephemeral, that could be movable and adapt to spaces, and concurrently produce new uses and legacies with their installation and claim coexistence. These three places serve as a punctual scenography of a multiplicity of different spaces where practices of makeshift, support and hostility converge and urge for a recognition in the wider urban or rural order, precisely by overthrowing it and determining new platforms of an imperfect, transient, weak infrastructure of holding.

1. Simone, A. 2004. 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg'. *Public Culture*. 16(3). 407-429.

2. Babels, *La police des migrants. Filtrer, disperser, harceler*, Éditions du Passager clandestin, coll. « Bibliothèque des frontières », Paris, 2019, 120 pages

3. Balibar E., *Noi, cittadini d'Europa? Le frontiere, lo stato, il popolo*, Manifesto Libri, Roma, 2004

4. Bachelard, G. *The poetics of space*. Trans. M. Jolas. Penguin Group, New York, 2014

5. For further information, look back at chapter 1.4. "What is left of migrants' spaces?" in both the Part 1 and Part 2.

Today with Solidarité Migrants Wilson we will do our maraude in the north of Pantin, in the prefecture of Seine-Saint-Denis, towards what is currently one of the largest camps in Greater Paris, named Cheval Noir because of its location near the homonymous hotel. The makeshift camp is made up of about a hundred tents, arranged in a quite regular way around a central void, which is used as a meeting area. In fact, it is here that twenty people settled around a fire, warming up and playing percussion. In the camp there are rubbish bins and public toilets, installed there by the prefecture of Seine-Saint-De-nis. As soon as we arrive, dozens of people come to meet us, we are literally overwhelmed by those who are asking for tea, those who ask for a meal, those who are simply craving some water. We install the thermos with tea and coffee, meals, water, and all other necessary items on a concrete pylon and ask everyone to line up to start distributing. Of course, the request is not successfully accomplished, some begin to create a long line, others instead scatter around us, continuing to ask for tea, for meals in a quite insistent manner. We therefore start distributing as best as we can: I oversee the tea distribution and I am all the time submerged by people "Chai, chai, chai", "Tea, tea, please". Immediately a boy warns us of the presence of a family in the camp and in fact we see a large tent with a woman further down, the only one among the hundreds of men around us. We therefore distribute first to them, who have remained somewhat aloof.

"I'm new here, I've been here for about a week and I'm still sleeping on the street, I don't have a tent. Do you have one to give me for tonight?" (Sayed, inhabitant of Cheval Noir)

"Unfortunately, we don't have tents, we only distribute food on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning. Anyway, we can try to contact other associations. Isn't Utopia56 come over yet? Have you tried asking them?" (Rudolf, Solidarité Migrants Wilson)

"I don't know who they are, I'm new here. I don't know anyone" (Sayed, inhabitant of Cheval Noir)

Rudolf then tries to write to some contacts and other associations. We continue to distribute food and tea. I am stopped by another guy who looks quite preoccupied, he doesn't speak French or English, so we tried to communicate in German.

"I have some friends who must come here, they are now in Germany, where I was before as well. I don't know how to tell them that I'm here. Well, in fact, I tried to text them all, I've sent photos, location, but I don't know if it works. They were supposed to be here ten days ago, they told me they were at the border with France, now I don't have news from them. I don't know how to do, can you help me?" (Ali, inhabitant in Cheval Noir)

Unfortunately, I don't know how I can help him further, so I try to reassure him. I ask him if he tried to call them, and I ask if I can see the location he sent to check if it is correct. Unfortunately, I am afraid that they have been stopped at the border, that they have not been able to pass but I prefer not to tell him. After all, I believe that he knows better than me that this is the most probable explanation. As we distribute the other meals and drinks, we see the police arriving. Three agents enter the camp with flashlights and start checking all the tents, I don't know what they are looking for but as long as they don't bother us or the people inhabiting the camp, we let them. They stay for about ten minutes, checking closely all the tents, they look at us for some minutes and then leave without saying anything.

After about an hour we have finished all the meals and begin to talk and relax with them, we talk about what we do, we give some additional information on other associ-ations or facilities nearby. We give the guides Watizat with all the necessary information on supporting places and network. Meanwhile most of the boys are still all around the fire sing-ing and dancing together; there are some who video call their family to show the event; there are some who are a little apart to call; someone is eating their meal by the tent; there are also seven guys playing some kind of ball game. At a certain point, the boys around the fire start calling us in chorus "Come, sit here with us on the sofa, let's play a piece for you" we thank them but we must tide all our items up and go back to the theatre, it's already 10 pm; they insist, they beg us to sit there on the sofa with them. "Come on, we must celebrate. When you come, when we have food and company it's party time for us. We must celebrate together". So, finally, we decide to sit down. One boy plays the percussions, another one sings a very long song in a language I don't recognise. Two boys start dancing around the fire, then another one comes, then another one too. They ask us to dance with them, one of us is joining. I am sitting there on the sofa, the sorrow and resentment I felt for their condition when I arrived is gone. Now I am happy, I am relieved, we must celebrate together.

(Field Diary, 30/03/2022)

APPENDIX

	2019	2020	2021	21/20
Premières demandes formulées en GUDA	138 420	81 531	104 577	+28,3%
dont majeurs	105 904	61 982	78 372	+26,4%
dont: procédure normale ou accélérée	103 137	64 114	80 895	+26,2%
procédure Dublin	35 283	17 417	23 682	+36,0%
Réexamens, nouvelles demandes Dublin et réouvertures en GUDA	12 863	11 733	16 977	+44,7%
Total des demandes formulées en GUDA	151 283	93 264	121 554	+30,3%
Autres	26539	22 233	12 931	-41,8%

Evolution du nombre de demandes d'asile déposées en GUDA

...... **Nombre de premières demandes** ...... **Nombre de procédures Dublin**
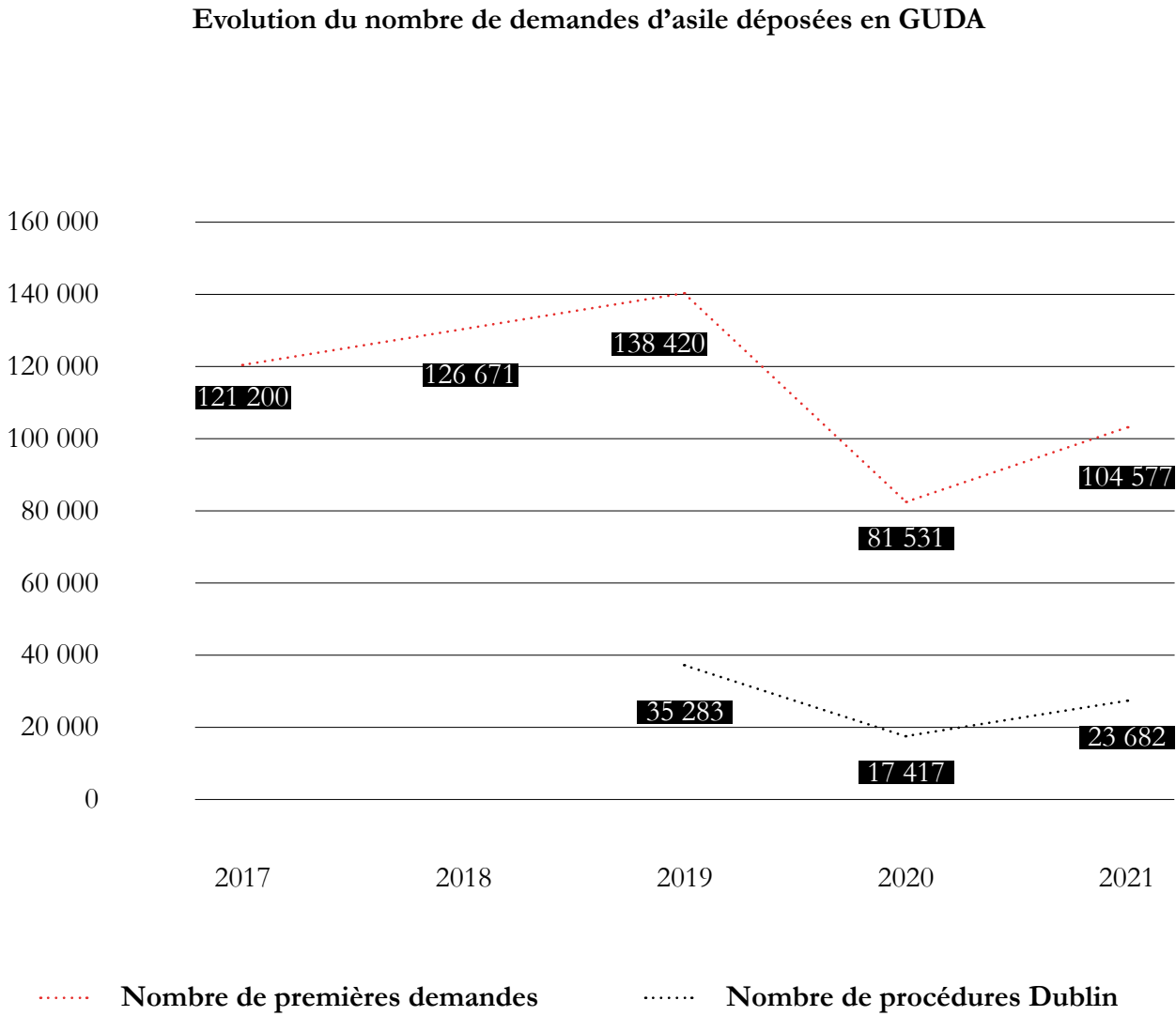
Source: Ministère de l'Intérieur SI-Asile (ciffres arretés au 31/12/21)

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Nombre total de demandes d'asile enregistrées par l'OFPRA	80 075	85 440	100 755	123 625	132 826	96 424	103 011
Nombre de premières demandes enregistrées par l'OFPRA	59 335	78 371	73 802	92 338	101 513	87 514	89 026

Nombre de demandes d'asile enregistrées par l'OFPRA

Source: Rapports d'activité de l'OFPRA, Ministère de l'Intérieur

The following statistics are based on Eurostat statistics, which must be read with caution as they include inadmissibility decisions in rejection:

	Applicants in 2021	Refugee Status	Subsidiary protection	Rejection	Refugee rate	Sub. Prot. rate	Rejection rate
Total	120 685	21 340	12 535	103 140	15.5%	9.2%	72.3%
Afghanistan	17 330	4 565	7 615	4 140	27.9%	46.8%	25.3%
Ivory Coast	6 815	1 755	155	5 900	22.3%	1.9%	75.8%
Bangladesh	6 700	325	100	7 810	3.9%	1.3%	94.8%
Guinea	6 375	2 190	145	5 835	26.8%	1.7%	71.5%
Turkey	5 375	840	40	5 490	13.1%	0.6%	86.3%

Applications and granting of protection status at first instance: 2021

Source: AIDA, Asylum Information Database / Eurostat

	2021			2021	21/20
Afghanistan	9 980	Afghanistan		16 116	+61%
Guinée	4 660	Cote d'Ivoire		6 260	+35%
Cote d'Ivoire	4 631	Bangladesh		6 231	+35%
Bangladesh	4 599	Guinée		5 269	+13%
Pakistan	3 547	Turquie		4 987	+62%
R.P. Congo	3 119	Albanie		4 915	+148%
Nigéria	3 080	Géorgie		4 600	+156%
Turquie	3 074	Pakistan		3 735	+5%
Albanie	1 981	Nigéria		3 183	+3%
Comores	1 826	Comores		3 167	+73%
Part des 10 nationalités	49.7%	Part des 10 nationalités		56%	+6.3% pts

Les dix premièrs pays pour les premières demandes d'asile en GUDA

Source: Ministère de l'Intérieur SI-Asile

	Number	Percentage
Men (incl. children)	82 235	68%
Women (incl. children)	38 445	32%
Children	28 555	23.7%

Gender/age breakdown of the total number of applicants in 2021

Source: AIDA, Asylum Information Database / Eurostat

	Eloignements forcés (A)	Eloignements et départs spontanés (B) + (E)	Eloignements et départs aidés (C) + (D)
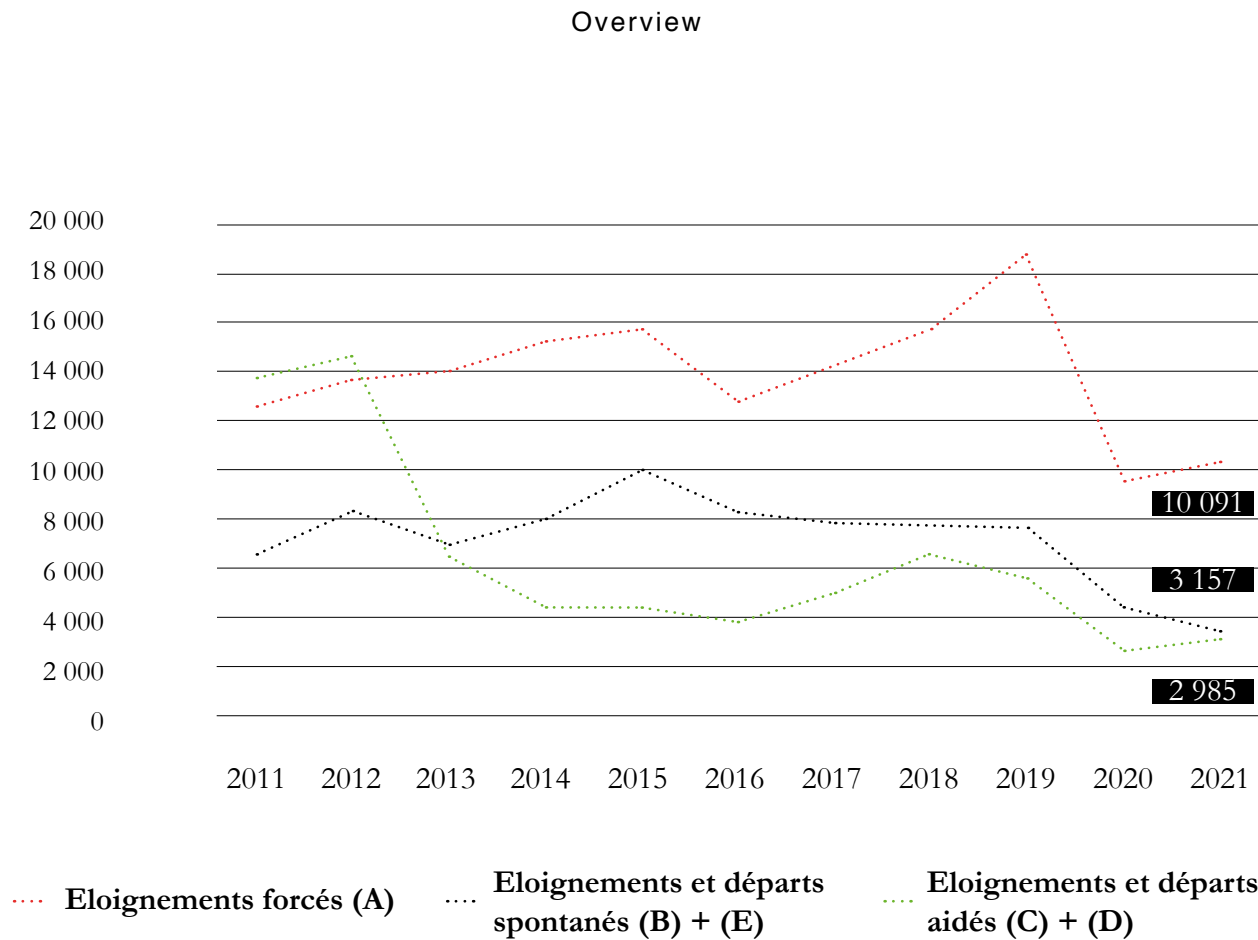
		2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	21/20
Eloignements non aidés	retours forcés RPT	6 539	6 909	7 348	9 060	3 544	3 782	+6.7%
	dont vers les pays tiers	6 166	6 602	7 105	8 858	3 329	3 511	+5.4%
	réadmissions RFT	3 338	4 589	5 372	6 890	3 664	4 367	-19.2%
	renvois forcés RUE	3 084	2 772	2 957	2 956	1 903	1 942	+2.0%
	Total forcés (A)	**12 961**	**14 270**	**15 677**	**18 906**	**9 111**	**10 091**	**-10.8%**
	retours spontanés RPT	2 150	1 861	1 878	1 750	1 259	1 537	-22.1%
	renvois spontanés RUE	537	358	332	338	356	205	-42.4%
	Total spontanés (B)	**2 687**	**2 219**	**2 210**	**2088**	**1 615**	**1 742**	**-10.8%**
Total éloignements non aidés (A) + (B)		**15 648**	**16 489**	**17 887**	**20 994**	**10 726**	**11 833**	**-10.3%**
Eloignements aidés (C)		841	1 078	2 070	2 752	1 658	1 570	-5.3%
Total éloignements (A) + (B) + (C)		**16 489**	**17 567**	**19 957**	**23 746**	**12 384**	**13 403**	**+8.2%**
Départs volontaires aidés (D)		2 627	3 778	4 775	2 515	930	1 415	+52%
Départs spontanés (E)		5 591	5 428	5 544	5 143	2 635	2 001	+24%
Total sorties (A) + (B) + (C) + (D) + (E)		**24 707**	**26 783**	**30 276**	**31 404**	**15 949**	**16 819**	**+5.5%**

Eloignements et départs des étrangers en situation irrégulière

Source: Ministère de l'Intérieur - DCPAF

| Plateforme Telepho-nique OFII Ile-De-France | ..... | Pré Enregistrement en SPADA | ..... | Enregistrement Demande d'Asile en GUDA | ..... | Retour SPADA (Domiciliation) |

Préfecture

OFII

via OFII

Hébergement DNA (CADA, HUDA, PRAHDA...)

| Accueil de jour Migrants | ..... | Centre d'Acceuil et Examens des Situations (CAES) Ile-De-France | via OFII |

| Mise à l'abri depuis les campements | ..... | Hébergement d'urgence (CAES, Gymanases, Hotels) | via OFII |

Procedure de demande d'allocation pour demandeurs d'asile

Source: Les Oubliés du droit d'Asile, enquete réalisées du 1er au 15 juin 2021
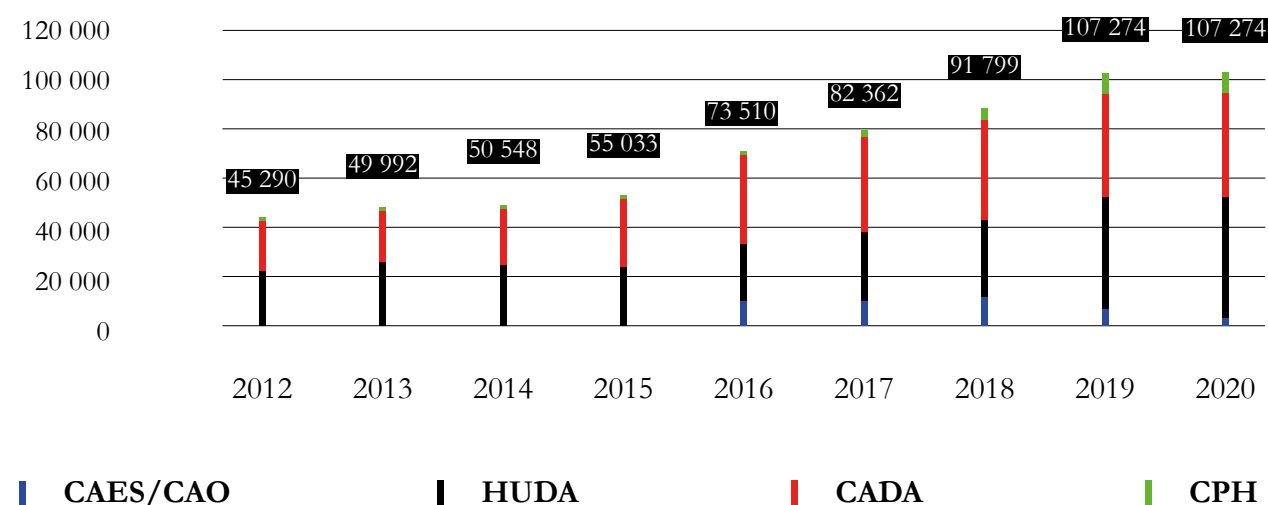
Evolution du dispositif national d'accueil (DNA) 2012-2020

CAES/CAO   HUDA   CADA   CPH

Source: Ministère de l'Intérieur, Schéma nationale d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile et d'intégration des réfugiés

CADA: centres d'accueil pour demandeurs d'asile

As of 1 January 2020, the national reception system had around 43,600 authorized places in reception centers for asylum seekers (CADA). According to the Ministry of the Interior, the system is intended to accommodate people whose procedure is in progress and the most vulnerable people in the accelerated procedure.

HUDA: hébergement d'urgence des demandeurs d'asile

To compensate for the lack of CADA places, an emergency accommodation system for asylum seekers (HUDA) was developed during the 2000s and 2010s. This system is managed regionally. According to the circular of December 31, 2018, this system is intended to accommodate people in the accelerated or Dublin procedures.

CAES: centres d'accueil et d'examens de situations

The latest system set up in 2017 but intended for people who wish to seek asylum, the reception and situation study centers (CAES) have around 4,500 places. Their particularity is a very short stay (in theory one month, two months in reality) and to have direct access to the SPADAs.

DPAR: dispositif préparation au retour

Approximately 2,100 DPAR places, the "specifications" of which were defined by an instruction of May 9, 2022, are intended for the accommodation and house arrest of rejected asylum seekers on the guidance of the prefects and the 'OFII. These structures are financed by a separate budget line from the other places.

CPH: centres provisoires d'hébergement

Historically, the first form of reception center linked to asylum, the temporary accommodation center welcomes refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection. Limited for twenty years to 1,083 places, the system was rolled out with another 1000 seats in 2017, 3000 in 2018, 2000 in 2019 and another 800 are planned for 2022.
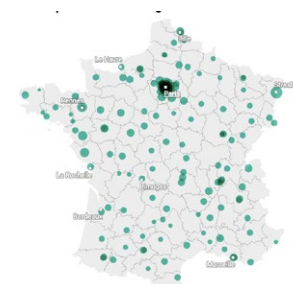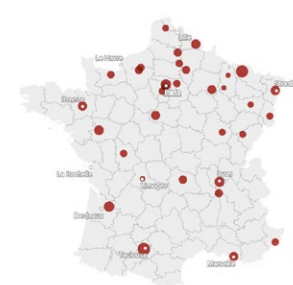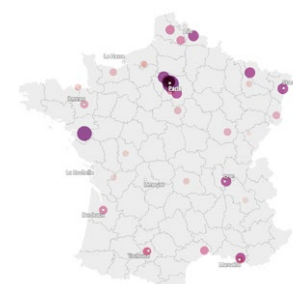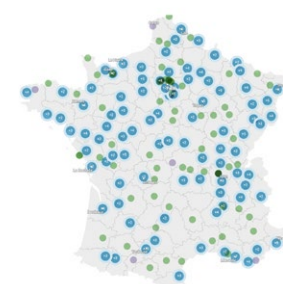
Dispositifs d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile: état des lieux 2022

Source: La Cimade, 22 novembre 2021

Places du dispositif national d'accueil ....   **Entrées en France** ....
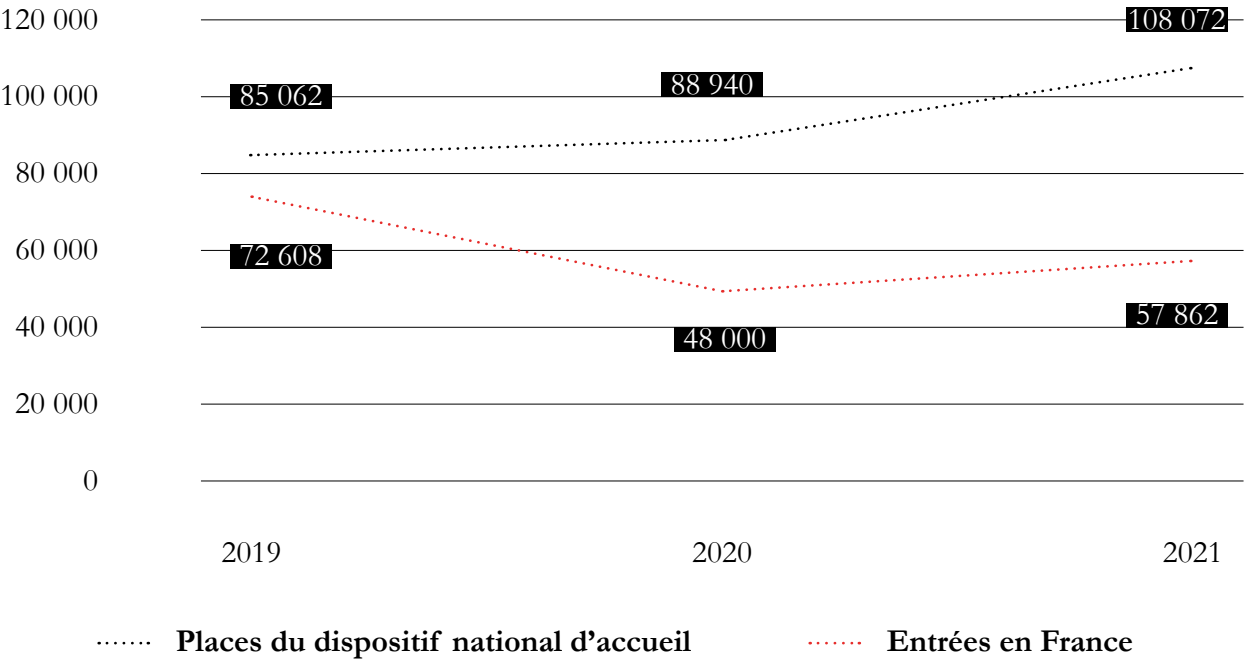
Evolution des places du DNA et des entrées

.... **Demandes pendantes (toutes procédures)**   .... **Bénéficiaires de l'ADA (allocation domandeurs d'asile) des conditions matérielles d'accueil**
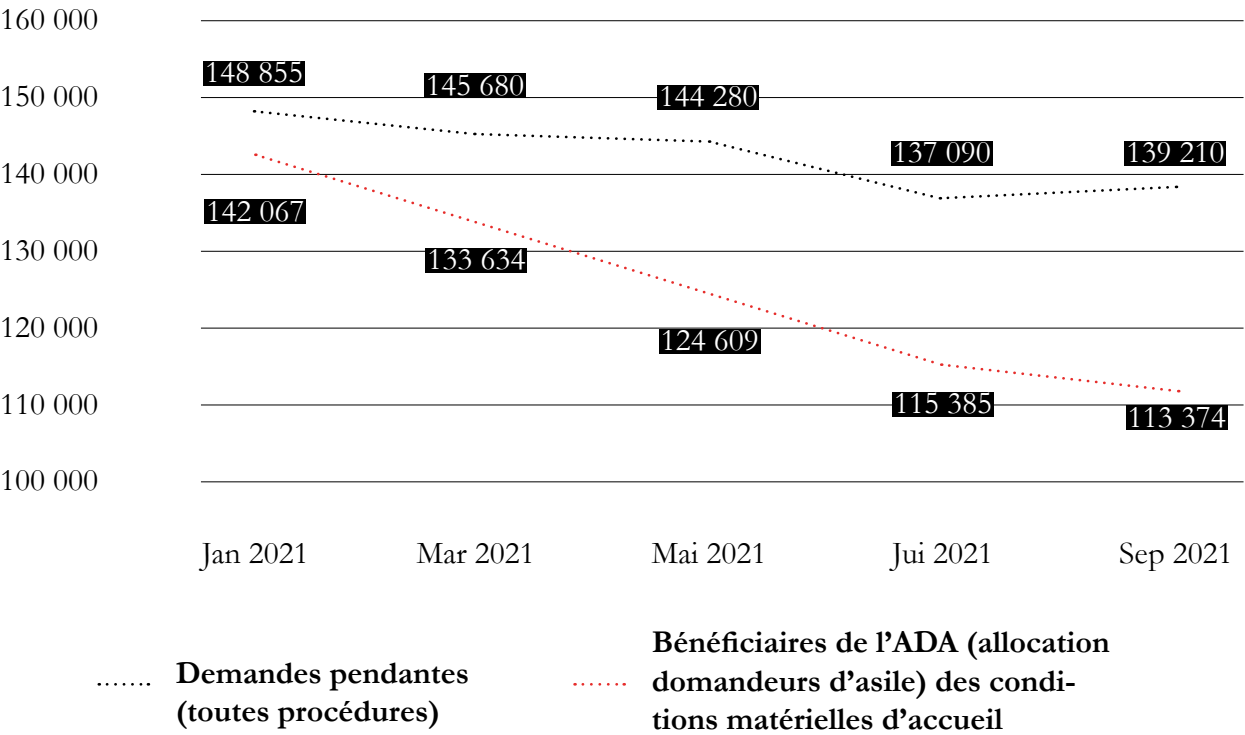
Demandes pendantes et bénéficiaires de l'ADA (jan-sep 2021)

Source: Eurostat et OFII (par La Cimade, Asile en France: Bilan 2021)

52%

of Asylum seekers have accomodation in France

30%

only in the capital region Ile-de-France

28%

of Asylum seekers are accomodated in DNA

Source: Les Oubliés du droit d'Asile, enquete réalisées du 1er au 15 juin 2021

An alternative to the DNA in France are home reception programs, organised and structured through various programs managed by associations, collectives of citizens or start-ups. For example:

	Organisation porteuse	Année de creation	Public accueilli	Durée
SHARE	Association loi 1901	2008	Demandeurs d'asile (seuls)	4 à 6 sem. 9 mois max.
WARM	Association loi 1901	2015	Demandeurs d'asile (seuls, couples, familles)	1 mois min. 1 an en moy.
PULSE	Groupement d'intéret public	2016	Bénéficiaires protection internationale (seuls, couples)	3 à 12 mois
BOOST	Association loi 1901	2015	Bénéficiaires protection internationale (seuls, couples, familles)	3 à 12 mois
CARE	Collectif citoyen puis association	2015	Mineurs	Variable (pas d'urgence)
HELP	Association loi 1901	2017	Mineurs et demandeurs d'asile "vulnérables"	Variable (1 mois min.)
LINK	Soutiens indépendants	2015 (fin: 2016)	Tout public	Variable

Source: Babels, *Hospitalité en France – Mobilisations intimes et politiques,* 2019, p. 36

Solidarité Migrants Wilson
Utopia 56 Paris
La Gisti
Les Midis du Mie
Emmaus Roya
Emmaus Solidarité
Saveurs d'Exil
ATD Quart Monde
BAAM
Act for Ref
Les Ami.e.s de la Roya
PICUM
Maison des refugiés
Tous migrants
La Station - Gare des Mines
Collectif Migrant.e.s CGT
31 Toulouse
OEE
Utopia 56 Calais
Paris d'Exil
La Cité Fertile
Baobab Experience
Delinquants solidaires
Fasti
ARS SAME
Association Aurore
La Croix Rouge
Utopia 56 Dijon
Médecins du Monde
Diakité
Ardhis
Pantin Solidaire
L'ouvre porte
Kesha Niya
Presidio No Borders
Comede
Pantin Solidaire
La Chapelle Debout
Watizat

Utopia 56 Grande Synthe
Auberge des Migrants
Coup de Pouce Marseille
La Cimade
Progetto 20k
Yes We Camp
La Belle Etoile
Utopia 56 Lorient
Fondation Abbé Pierre
L'assiette migrante
Ateliers Jammes GAF
L'Ostalada
Autremonde
Anafé
Maat Paris
Droit à l'Ecole
Accueil de jour Aboukir
SINGA Lyon
La Halte Humanitaire
Solidaires avec les Migrants
Bus de la Solidarité
Utopia 56 Tours
France Terre d'Asile
Le Jeko
Dom'Asile
Bidasoa Etorkinekin
AMI
Diaconia Valdese
Migreurop
La Chorba Paris
Saint Benoit Labre
A.M.P.I.L.
Emmaus France
Les Restos du Coeur
Litimo
Actions Refugees Paris
PAUSA
E.S.P.A.C.E.
Riders for Refugees

F3E
InfoMIE
ASSEDA
Les Jeunes du Canal
Alerte
Intemelia
Aides
We World
Médecins sans Frontières
Jrs Welcome
Enfants d'Afghanistan
Ligue de droits de l'Homme
Utopia 56 Toulouse
Vallées solidaires
Réfugiés Bienvenue
ARGOS
Assocaition Elia
Roya Citoyenne
Paris d'Exil
L'Armée du Salut
La Maison du partage
Utopia 56 Lille
Eufemia
Amnesty International
Benenova Paris
La Fabrique solidaire des Minimes
Association AAJT
No Nation Truck
Association AIME
Frères et Soeurs de Paris
Fondation Le Refuge
Refuges Solidaires
Infopoint Upupa
Utopia 56 Rennes
Aurore
CRID
Anafé
Migrants Outre-Mer

Associations Paris   **Associations at the French-Italian border**   **Other associations**

Some associations supporting refuges and people on the move (2022)

Source: personal knowledge and Watizat (non-exhaustive list)

Utopia 56 is an example of the solidarity actions carried out by the French association system to support refugees and people on the move. Same actions might be found in many other associations.

		Calais	Dijon	Grande-Synthe	Lille	Paris	Rennes	Toulouse	Tours
Hébergement	Long terme mineur.e.s					×	×	×	×
	Long terme jeunes majeur.e.s		×						
	Urgence mineur.e.s	×		×	×	×	×		×
	Urgence familles et femmes isolées	×		×		×	×		
	Urgence hommes seuls	×		×					
Maraudes	Distribution de matériel	×		×	×	×	×	×	
	Distribution alimentaire	×		×	×	×	×	×	
	Information et orientation	×		×	×	×	×	×	
Accompagnement	Social et médical	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
	Administratif et juridique	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×

Activités. Tableu des missions par antenne

Source: Utopia 56. Rapport d'activité 2020

	2015		2016		2017		2018		2019		2020		2021		2022

06 07 08 09 10 11 12 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 01 02 03 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 01 02 03 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08

Y-axis: 4 000 / 3 800 / 3 600 / 3 400 / 3 200 / 3 000 / 2 800 / 2 600 / 2 400 / 2 200 / 2 000 / 1 800 / 1 600 / 1 400 / 1 200 / 1 000 / 800 / 600 / 400 / 200 / 0

Data labels (location / date):

Metro Chapelle / 02.06.15
Église Saint Bernard / 05.06.15
Halle Pajol / 08.06.15
Jardins d'Éole / 19.06.15
Square Jessaint / 05.09.15
Quai d'Austerlitz / 17.09.15
Mairie du 18ème / 17.09.15
Lycée Jean Quarré / 23.10.15
Place de la République / 13.11.15
Place de la République / 23.11.15
Place de la Chapelle / 04.02.16
Place de la Chapelle / 04.02.16
Metro Stalingrad / 07.03.16
Metro Stalingrad / 30.03.16
Metro Stalingrad / 02.05.16
Quai Jemmapes / 20.05.16
Jardin d'Éole / 06.06.16
Chapelle Stalingrad / 16.06.16
Halle Pajol / 29.06.16
Jeures Colonel Fabian / 29.07.16
Av. de Flandres / 02.08.16
Bd Villette / 03.08.16
Stalingrad / 17.08.16
Jeures Stalingrad / 19.09.16
Stalingrad / 04.11.16
Porte Chapelle / 09.05.17
Chapelle, Bd. Ney / 07.07.17
Chapelle / 16.08.17
Millenaire / 30.05.18
Jeures / 04.06.18
Poissonnieres / 04.06.18
La Villette / 28.08.19
La Chapelle / 07.11.19
Saint Denis / 17.11.20
Place de la République / 23.11.20
Place de la République / 25.03.21
Prefecture IdF / 04.09.21
Tunnel Pré-St-Gervais / 10.12.21
Parc de Bercy / 15.12.21
Delphine Seyrig / 17.12.21
Tunnel de Bercy / 19.01.22
Delphine Seyrig / 26.01.22
Tunnel Pré-St-Gervais / 03.03.22
Porte de Clignancourt / 03.05.22
Cheval Noir / 11.05.22
Lac Saint-Mandé / 20.05.22
La Marseillaise / 22.06.22
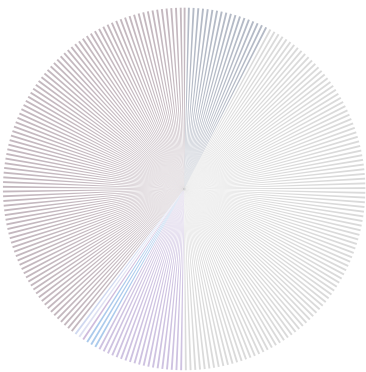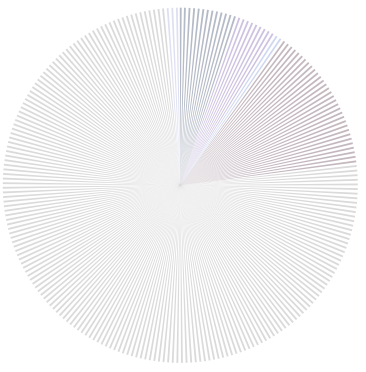Bagnolet / 18.07.22
Delphine Seyrig / 12.08.22

Evacuations of makeshift camps in Greater Paris (2015-2022)

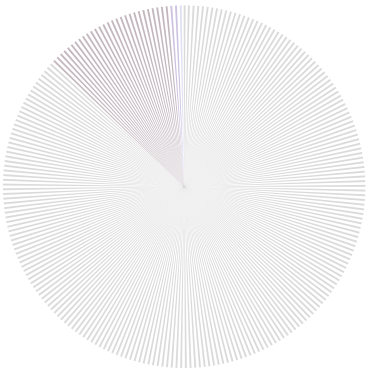Source: various newspapers (such as Le Monde, Le Parisien, Libération etc.)

Bases juridiques des expulsions sur le territoire

- Aucune base juridique : 22 (7,2%)
- Décision de justice obtenue par le propriétaire : 132 (43,1%)
- Décision administrative : 25 (8,2%)
- Exécution d'une mise en demeure préfectorale : 3 (1%)
- Ordonnance d'expropriation : 1 (0,3%)
- Sur la base article 38 de la loi n°2007-290 : 1 (0,3%)
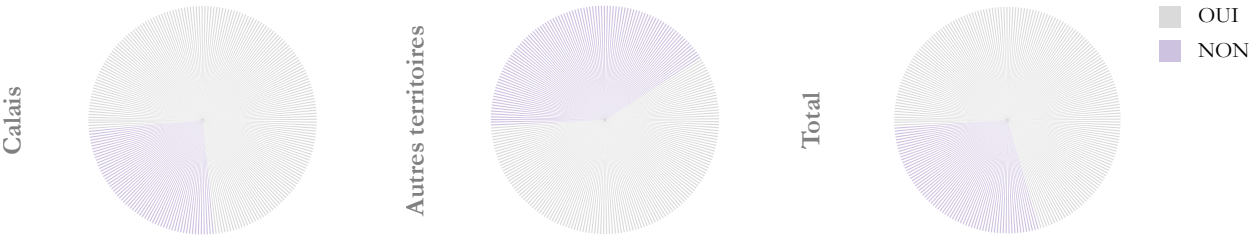- Ne sait pas : 120 (39,3%)

Les propositions faites après une expulsion

- Pour 1069 expulsions (91%), la totalité ou une partie des personnes expulsées, ne s'est vu proposer aucune solution.
- Pour 147 expulsions (12%), la totalité ou une partie des personnes expulsées ont été mise à l'abri temporairement.
- Pour 14 expulsions (1%), la totalité ou une partie des personnes expulsées ont bénéficié d'un hébergement stable.
- Pour 3 expulsions (0,2%), les personnes expulsées ont bénéficié d'une orientation vers un dispositif d'insertion.

Calais — Autres territoires — Total

OUI
NON
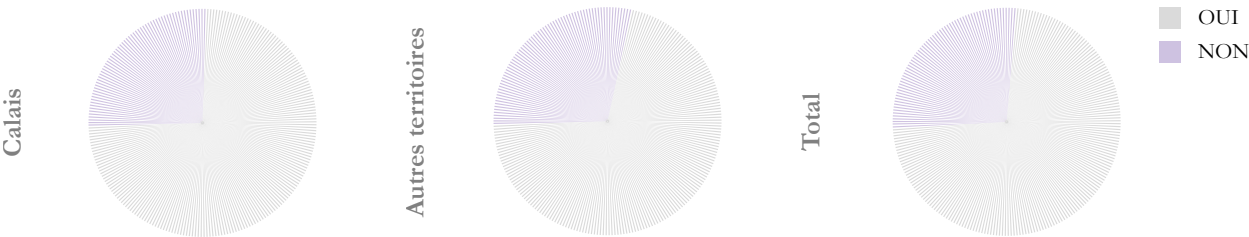
Violences physiques et/ou verbales pendant l'expulsion/évacuation

Calais — Autres territoires — Total

OUI
NON

Destruction/Confiscation des biens pendant l'expulsion/évacuation

Source: Observatoire des expulsions collectives de lieux de vie informels, Rapport annuel, 01.11.20 - 31.10.21

Types d'habitats

- 70 : des auto-constructions/baraques/algécos/cabanes
- 1013 : regroupements de tentes
- 177 : bâtiments occupés
- 7 : lieux de vie composés de caravanes
- 48 : lieux mixtes, caravanes/campings cars/voitures/tentes
- 14 : information n'est pas renseignée

6.00h The police arrive at the camp.

6.20h Some inhabitants have already abandoned the camp, leaving their empty tents behind. Some try to recuperate the maximum of their belongings before the police arrive.

6.40h The police verify that all the dwellings or tents are empty.

7.30h Inhabitants wait to know if they will be proposed of some kind of reception facilities. They are only given basic information.

7.50h The services of the prefecture, provided with a list, indicate to certain inhabitants that shelter is offered to the most vulnerable. The centres or hotels are between 15 and 25km from where the camps or slums are. The inhabitants must get there on their own. They must get there before noon if they don't want their room canceled. They can only stay there for 3 days.

8.20h Some families do not understand why they are not entitled as vulnerable and therefore they are not offered a hotel. Others to whom the hotel is offered, do not wish to go there. It is too far from the children's school, their place of work, the place of their social and medical support, and there is no kitchen.

8.20h At the same time, the services of the prefecture check the administrative status of people, some people are thus given the obligation to leave French territory.

8.40h Some families which have been granted a shelter try to find a way to arrive at the hotel, they ask to the present associations to manage and move their belongings or to help them to arrive at the reception centre.

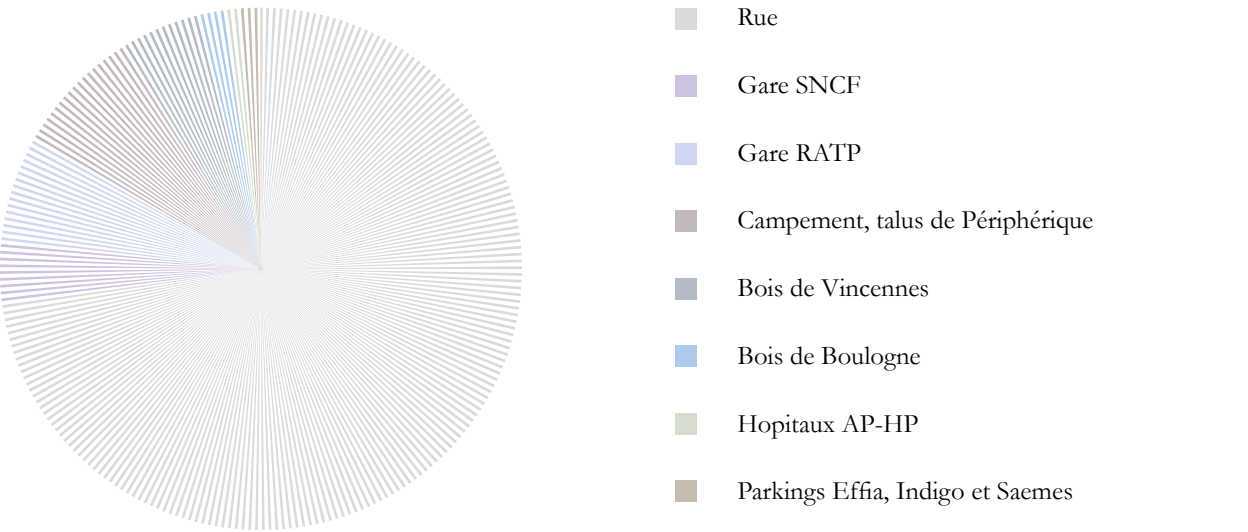**9.20h** The police either demands the dismantling of tents and informal dwellings or destroy them, regardless of displaced persons affairs

10.00h The inhabitants who have not been granted a reception facility or who do not want to go there, search for a new place where to install. Some find new camps or squats; some go sleeping alone in the streets, opacifying themselves.

Comment se déroule une expulsion?

Légende (camembert haut-gauche):
- Rue
- Gare SNCF
- Gare RATP
- Campement, talus de Périphérique
- Bois de Vincennes
- Bois de Boulogne
- Hopitaux AP-HP
- Parkings Effia, Indigo et Saemes

	2020		**2021**		**2022**		**22/21**
	en nombre	en %	en nombre	en %	en nombre	en %	en nombre
Rue	2 299	64%	2 112	75%	1 891	73 %	- 221
Gare SNCF	231	6%	191	7%	108	4 %	- 83
Gare RATP	234	6%	144	5%	164	6 %	+ 20
Campement, talus de Périphérique	526	15%	195	7%	207	8 %	+ 12
Bois de Vincennes	137	4%	112	4%	130	5 %	+ 18
Bois de Boulogne	23	1%	28	1%	39	2 %	+ 11
Hopitaux AP-HP	60	2%	22	1%	19	1 %	- 3
Parkings Effia, Indigo et Saemes	31	1%	17	1%	28	1 %	+ 11
Parcs et jardins	53	1%	6	0%	7	0 %	+ 1
Paris Habitat	7	0%	2	0%	5	0 %	+ 3
Total	**3 601**	**100%**	**2829**	**100%**	**2598**	**100 %**	**- 231**

Evolution de la répartition des personnes decomptés selon les lieux

Source: Nuit de la solidarité 2022, Ville de Paris - Traitement APUR

Légende:
- Hommes
- Femmes

Légende:
- 41% : Dans un autre pays
- 22% : Depuis toujours à Paris
- 18% : Île-de-France (hors Paris)
- 20% : Ailleurs en France (hors IdF)
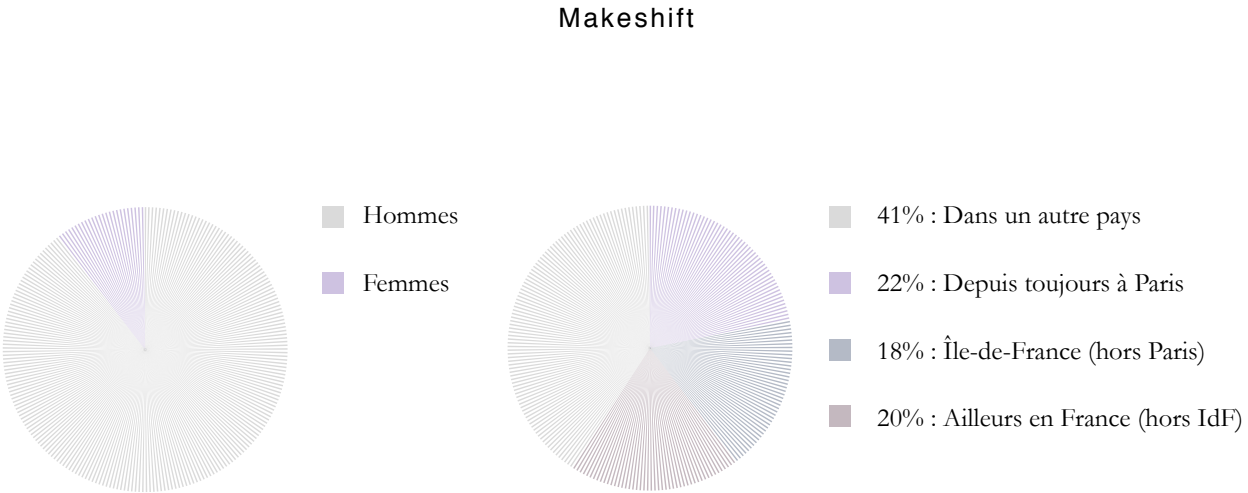
Sexes des personnes rencontrées   **Où viviez-vous avant?**
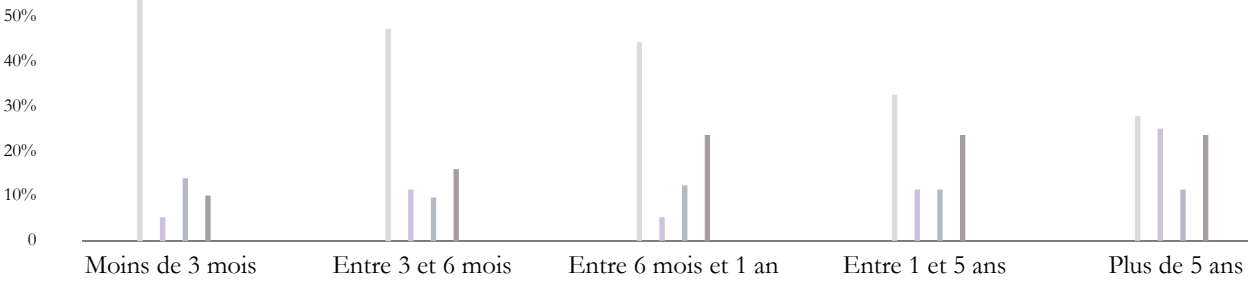
Où viviez-vous avant? selon l'ancienneté à Paris

Age exactes renseigné des personnes rencontées
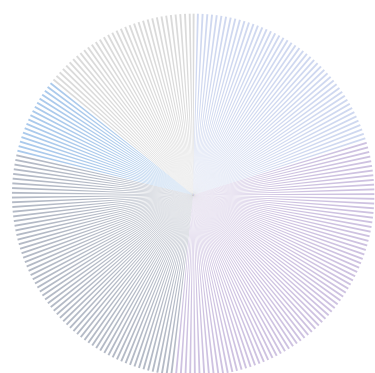
Répartition des personnes interrogées par situation-type

- 27% : Sans-abrisme ancien, habitudes de recours
- 14%: Sans-abrisme récent, éloignement
- 7% : Sans-abrisme récent, dans le recours
- 32% : Sans-abrisme ancien, détachement
- 20% : Période sans logement non renseignée

Quand vous en avez besoin, avez-vous accés aux équipements vous permettant de... ?

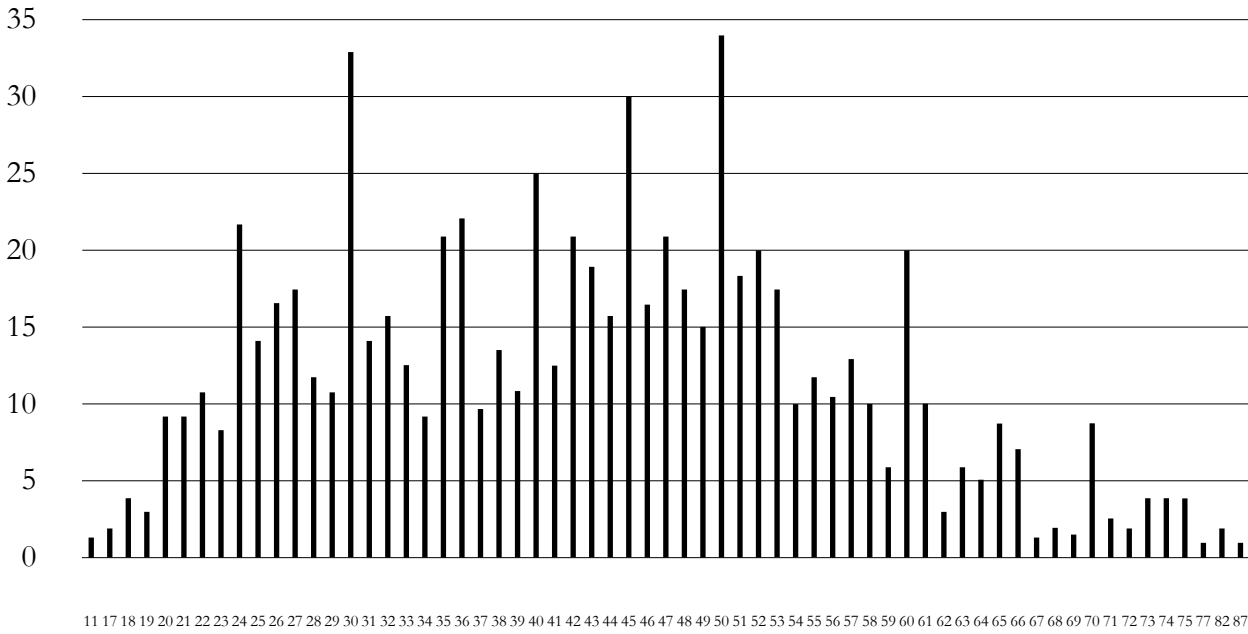**Où pensez-vous passer la nuit?**
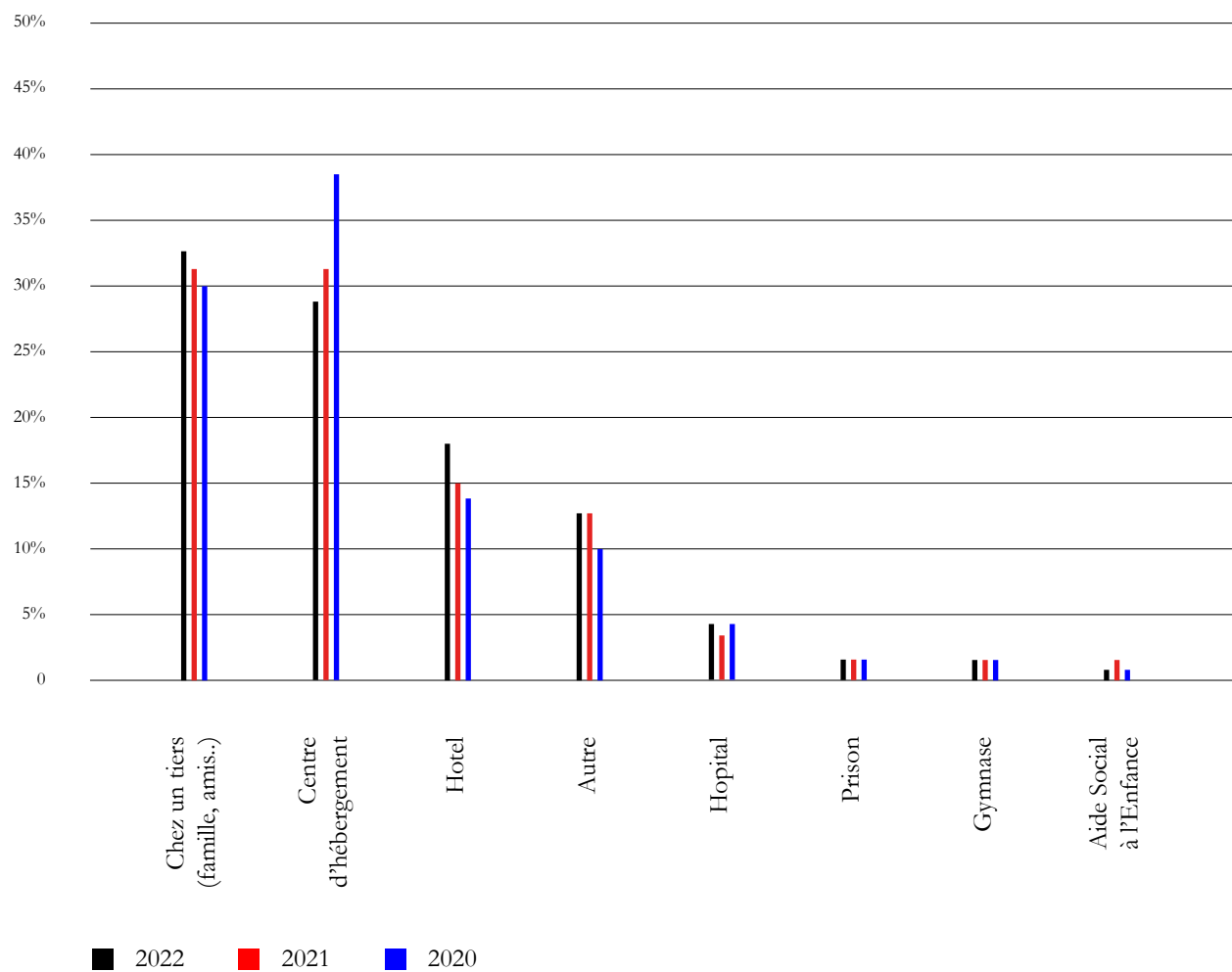
Lieu du dérnier hébergement

Source: Nuit de la solidarité 2022, Ville de Paris - Traitement APUR

Source: Nuit de la solidarité 2022, Ville de Paris - Traitement APUR
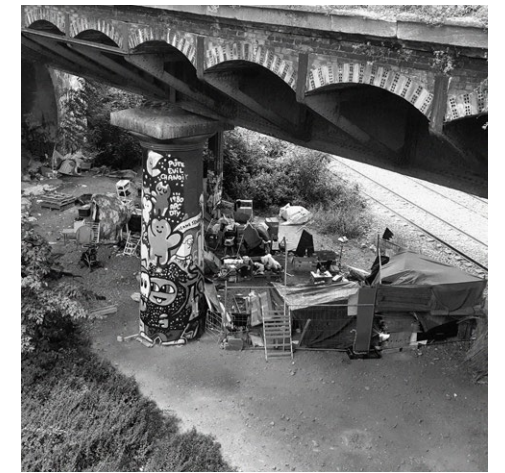
Some makeshift spaces of inhabitation

Source: photos taken by the author

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The research investigates a series of spaces of migration in France, identifying thresholds and encounters between spaces generated by the urgency of received and rejected bodies. Practices of containment, control, and protracted displacement coexist with the production of collective resistance and solidarity. The proximity of the ambiguous forms of these legacies establishes the equally ambiguous management of bodies and spaces, building the infrastructure of waiting. The result in the urban and rural dimension is the generation of a series of sequences on edge, marked by the simultaneous intertwining of mobility and immobility, visible and opaque; spaces between the camp and the city, identified as "spaces of holding". The research is developed through fieldwork in the identified holding places in Greater Paris and at the French-Italian border, aiming at recounting the different conformations that migrants' spaces take on both their materiality and within collective imagination. Developed as a patchwork of different methodologies and representations carried out from September 2021 until August 2022, the research aims at explaining migration by encompassing its multiple identities. The proposal is an attempt to make visible new patterns of urban space production, neglected by the contemporary neoliberal city, and endow open scenarios for possible coexistence. Paris and the border made it possible to unfold these practices through what is left of migrants' spaces, performing the pursuit to remodel both the inner city and its transnational infrastructure, thus constantly subverting the apparent uninhabitability of its spaces.