

Time, movement, urban space

“Places of transit”: an urban asynchrony?

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I, undersigned, Giulia Buffoli, hereby declare that the work presented in this manuscript is my own work, carried out under the scientific supervision of Pippo Ciorra and Pierre Sintès, in accordance with the principles of honesty, integrity and responsibility inherent to the research mission. The research work and the writing of this manuscript have been carried out in compliance with both the French national charter for Research Integrity and the Aix-Marseille University charter on the fight against plagiarism.

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Résumé

Le projet de recherche entend questionner la transformation spatiale des « lieux de transit » pour personnes migrantes dans l'Europe du 21^e siècle. Il s'agit d'analyser les relations entre ces lieux et la ville contemporaine, comment cette dernière se transforme ou doit se transformer en tenant compte – ou non – de leur existence. Les « lieux de transit » sont inscrits dans un temps court, à durée « normativement » limitée ; leur existence a toutefois un impact sur la morphologie de la ville selon une (plus ou moins) longue durée. Plutôt que de les considérer ou comme des « hors lieux » ou comme des « hauts lieux » (médiatiques le plus souvent), partons du postulat qu'ils sont, à l'instar des autres éléments du puzzle urbain, des lieux qui (dé)structurent, organisent, nervurent la cité et la vie de ceux qui l'habitent. Caractérisés par une temporalité spécifique, celle où l'exil se fait attente, ces lieux sont « intervalles » car ils sont tout autant des périmètres obéissant à des dynamiques sociales et spatiales particulières que des « poches de temps » qui recouvrent des manières, désynchronisées ou mal synchronisées par rapport à la « pulsation urbaine », de vivre ce territoire. La question du temps est dès lors une entrée déterminante pour lire la relation entre ces lieux. Agréger ici l'espace et le temps revient à « découvrir » ce qui constitue un maillage, paradoxalement peu visible et pourtant matriciel de l'espace urbain où les nœuds se nomment chronotopes (rythmes), continuités urbaines (durée) et résistances spatiales (mémoire). Ceci est ma ligne d'horizon. À partir de cinq cas d'étude (Calais, Lampedusa, Lavrio, Lesbos, Amman/Zaatari), cette thèse propose un point de vue sur les dynamiques qui président à l'intégration, ou non, des « lieux de transit » dans un maillage qui les dépasse et spatialement et temporellement.

Mots clés : lieux de transit, cohabitation spatiale, temps de la ville, chronotopes, durée, mémoire, migration, dynamiques urbaines.

Abstract

The aim of the research project is to examine the spatial transformation of “places of transit” for migrants in 21st century Europe. The aim is to analyse the relationship between these places and the contemporary city, and how the latter is being transformed, or should be transformed, taking account - or not - of their existence. Transit places are part of a short timeframe, with a normatively limited duration; their existence, however, has an impact on the morphology of the city over a (more or less) long period. Rather than considering them as “out-of-the-way places” or as “high places” (usually in the media), let’s start from the premise that, like the other elements of the urban jigsaw, they are places that (de)structure, organise and shape the city and the lives of those who live there. Characterised by a specific temporality, one in which exile becomes waiting, these places are “intervals” because they are as much perimeters obeying specific social and spatial dynamics as they are “pockets of time” covering ways of living in this territory that are out of sync or poorly synchronised with the “urban pulse”. The question of time is therefore a key factor in understanding the relationship between these places. Bringing space and time together here amounts to “discovering” what constitutes a mesh, paradoxically not very visible and yet the matrix of urban space, where the nodes are called chronotopes (rhythms), urban continuities (duration) and spatial resistances (memory). This is my line of enquiry. Based on five case studies (Calais, Lampedusa, Lavrio, Lesbos, Amman/Zaatari), this thesis offers a viewpoint on the dynamics that govern the integration, or otherwise, of “places of transit” into a network that extends beyond them both spatially and temporally.

Key words: places of transit, spatial cohabitation, city time, chronotopes, duration, memory, migration, urban dynamics.

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« En ville, des éléments relevant de différentes époques s'accumulent. Comme par dépôt, même s'ils n'ont pas de relations entre eux à l'origine, ils se retrouvent proches les uns des autres, dans un même présent qui les fait tenir ensemble. Ce sont les modalités de ce " tenir ensemble ", au présent, qu'il faut essayer d'analyser¹ » (Bernard Lepetit, 1995).

¹ "In the city, elements from different eras accumulate. As if by chance, even if they were originally unrelated, they find themselves close to each other, in the same present that holds them together. It's the ways in which this 'holding together' takes place in the present that we need to try and analyse."
Bernard Lepetit, "Le présent de l'histoire", in Bernard Lepetit (ed.), *Les Formes de l'expérience. Une autre histoire sociale*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1995, p. 273-298, p. 291

Introduction

A thesis is, in any case, a journey. While the ordeal of writing inevitably marks the *terminus a quo* of what historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has said should be a small, personal masterpiece² - and obviously it is by no means so in my case - it invalidates too much the bumps in the road and the trial and error of the years that preceded it. It's as if the finished product erased all its seams. But there were seams, and the pages I am writing about cannot, alas, erase them. A thesis is, or at least that's how I experienced it, the quest for the right combination. Not that it's all about finding a key that will open the door to analyses that are necessarily original; but there's a bit of that all the same. On an issue (the migrant condition) that has been the focus of thousands of books and articles and has been in the news in the media and in research for the last twenty years, how can we make the most of what has been written and not repeat what we already know? In the world of science, 'camps' are a world unto themselves. On the Cairn platform, the term, in the singular, refers to 37,223 occurrences. On Jstor, on the same date, there were 754,486 hits³. The "place of transit" is much less "exuberant": 687 publications on Cairn; its Anglo-Saxon counterpart has 464 mentions on Academia. This is a good starting point for this introduction. As we know, we don't use a particular type of lexicon by chance. "Camp" and "place of transit" are related. However, one should not be confused with the other - we will come back to this. An article by Federico Rahola underlines this remarkably well. Behind the façade of nominalism and semantic refinements, we find classification effects that lead to differentiated treatment by the State and society, to the extent that a word is often an instrument in the service of a policy⁴. On the subject of the "camp form" and the "genealogy of places of transit", the sociologist writes: "Among the "word games" in which the emphasis is placed on the administrative nature of detention, or on that of protection and reception, there is a succession of definitions that constantly emphasise its temporary and precarious nature: emergency and temporary accommodation, for the most widespread and least equipped category; temporary protection zones (or, in a more rhetorical English expression, "safe havens") for displaced persons; "transit processing centres", or "identification centres", for asylum seekers; more commonly "refugees temporary centres" or

² Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Une vie avec l'histoire. Mémoires*, Paris, Tallandier, 2014, p. 41.

³ Results obtained on 20 December 2022.

⁴ On these questions: Michel Foucault, *L'Ordre du discours*, Paris, Gallimard, 1971.

"temporary reception centres" for "*temporary refugees*"; "*detention centres*", "temporary permanence centres", waiting areas for irregular migrants. In other, less euphemistic terms, while it is theoretically possible for a single individual to endorse all the above-mentioned definitions that we have just listed, we can observe the following political constant: to each definition, however arbitrary it may seem, corresponds one of these "equipped centres", one of these definitively temporary zones: a place of transit, like the container in Kanafani's story [which opens the article], whose absolutely provisional nature collides with that of the peremptory inexorability, accompanying and marking the borders of the present⁵ .

So it's not by chance that "places of transit" appear in the writings of those who talk about them. Following Federico Rahola's example of the camps⁶ , we need to look again at the genesis and uses of an expression that conditions our ways of thinking about form and, as far as I'm concerned, its explicit notion of movement, which orders specific relationships to time. It's true that "places of transit" is a catch-all expression. What can be included? Airports as well as detention centres, the "grey zones" that anthropologist Véronique Nahoum-Grappe used in 2009 to talk about the spaces where taggers express themselves under a heading expressly entitled as such. She wrote: "This whole suburban area, essentially devoted to the mechanisation of contemporary mobility, is the tagger's vast field of expression (even if he doesn't spit on a beautiful city-centre facade in passing), with its dominant colour of grey oozing with petroleum gleams and these rectangles here and there of a typical white, that of the abandoned caravan surrounded by nettles and dirty fridges. A space without borders, through which everyone passes but where no one walks except the most precarious of people, their plastic bags in their hands⁷ . The "places of transit" that form the terrain of this thesis are not "spaces without borders", quite the contrary. We can see how, because the definition is loose, it is possible to include extremely disparate spaces. As far as I'm concerned, the term "place of transit" brings together under the same label the places found along the bumpy trajectories of

⁵ Federico Rahola, "La forme-camp. Pour une généalogie des lieux de transit et d'internement du présent", *Cultures & Conflits*, no. 68, 2007, p. 31-50, p. 34-35.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 61-113.

⁷ Véronique Nahoum-Grappe, "Tags et graffitis", *Esprit*, November 2009, p. 248-250, p. 249.

migrants⁸. Beyond this generality, because they are affected by forced movements (the people who live there are either detained or forced to disperse by order of the public authorities), they are above all places that are unable to find their place in the city. This original ambiguity, which has far-reaching consequences for urban dynamics and morphologies, is often so self-evident that it is commonplace to read these places as either enclaves or territories of an 'outside' destined to be occluded. But if we see transit as a temporal specificity, then we can look at these places from a different angle: the camps are no longer just insular spaces outside the time of the city; they become parts that *also* structure the 'urban machine' and shape it in ways that need to be clarified. In his classic reflections on memory, Paul Ricœur notes: "The transit (*transire*) of time," says Augustine, "consists in going from (*ex*) the future through (*per*) the present into (*in*) the past" (...). Let us forget the inevitable spatiality of the metaphor of the place of transit and concentrate on the *diaspora* of this passage. Does this passage - from the future to the past through the present - mean irreducible diachrony or subtle synchronic reduction, to evoke Levinas's vocabulary in *Autrement qu'être ou au-delà de l'essence*?⁹ ". In this extract, we will see a proposition that will have put me on the trail: time does not only characterise places, whatever they may be; it can be used as a tool to read, analyse and better understand their arrangements within urban space. This proposition, which will be the common thread running through this work, didn't come to me straight away.

May 2019. I sent an *abstract* to my thesis supervisor, Pippo Ciorra - at the time, I wasn't co-supervising. His rereading was obviously symptomatic of the ingenuity that guided my first steps as a doctoral student. At the time, my project consisted of a few declarations of intent: the migrant, despite being a man without a territory, transforms space without necessarily recognising himself in it; his passage questions the static relationship to inhabiting; I would have to "work on representation tools capable of bringing out all the spatial divisions and limits that are physically present in the trajectories of migrants (from the border to the gate [of the camps]) and that are constantly changing¹⁰ ". There is no question of a "place of transit" - I use the term *settlements up-rooted*. Nor is it about time. What interests me at the

⁸ On this definition: Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2015.

⁹ Paul Ricœur, *La Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, Paris, Le Seuil, coll. Essais, 2014 [2000], p. 122.

¹⁰ *Abstract* sent by email to Pippo Ciorra on 2 May 2019.

very beginning of my thesis are the tools that can be used to represent the metamorphoses of boundaries, between contiguity and discontinuity, that affect the links between the camps and the rest of the cities. So I left with this baggage and the way I looked at the field depended on it. April-May 2019. I'm in Amman. In my notebooks, which I wouldn't say were survey notebooks (see *below*), I wrote down some remarks that I rediscovered with some emotion: "How do you tell the story, how do you archive the urban transformations caused by the presence of migrants" (28 April); "Need to work on tools that can tell the story of the dynamism of urban elements. Research should focus on *urban issues arising* from the transit of migrants, and more specifically on the transformations of boundaries and confines linked to these passages" (undated); "What do I mean by representation? How can the study of representation contribute to the discussion of the relationship between space and migration" (end May).

Three years on, the perspective is no longer fundamentally the same, even if the question of the relationship between 'transit sites' and their more or less immediate environment has never ceased to be at the heart of my concerns. At the outset there was the idea that the cohabitation of spaces that are so heterogeneous, so antagonistic (a city perceived as immobile, a camp seen as the place par excellence of mobility), could be read by analysing - and representing - the spatial boundaries between the two worlds. As the months went by and then the years, I swapped space for time. More precisely, I reduced my 'reflections' on space to give an increasingly important place to the question of time, not because it was a question of debunking one idol and replacing it with another, but because it seemed to me delicate and misleading to read these boundaries and what they imply in terms of cohabitation, assembly and (re)composition, from an intrinsically spatial approach. Let's take an example: behind the barbed wire that encloses the Moria camp (Greece), there is not only a spatial rupture; there can also be forms of junction insofar as it is because there is this delimitation, which produces a zone of identification (the zone of migrants), that certain relationships are made possible (the commuting relationships with the main town on the side of the NGOs and refugees are proof of this). *Time, used here as a tool* (I'll come back to it often), *offers a finer reading of these forms of (dis)junction.*

I undertook this little Copernican revolution in perspective because I was stumbling over a spatial interpretation that seemed to me, as I went along, to be too superficial in analy-

sing the links between 'transit sites' and the ecosystem of which they are an integral part. There are several reasons for this change in approach. Firstly, I read Michel Agier's preamble, "Temps, espace et politique" (Time, space and politics), published in a collective work¹¹, in which the anthropologist used time, in some of its dimensions (temporalities, history, memory), to analyse the phenomenon of the camps. An extract from his contribution gave me the bug. I think it's worth quoting: "So it's not in themselves the war, the displacement of populations or the building of a wall or a camp that call on the researcher, just as they call on the emergency doctor who comes to the aid of a population in danger, or the journalist who has to do a report in a few hours or a few days on this topical subject. These are events, yes, but insofar as they are part of a lasting reality¹². Time subsequently became a perceptual lever, because I realised that when we talked about it, implicit reference was made to notions such as "waiting places", "temporary spaces", "places without memory". This implicit reference obviously contains reasons for being and, even without knowing it, anyone who juggles with these expressions is *ultimately* reminded that time is also at the heart of the issues. Finally, by dint of turning these questions over and over in my head, it seemed necessary to equip myself with analytical tools that I drew from both my discipline, architecture, and the humanities and social sciences.

This thesis has no theoretical pretensions, and it would be inappropriate, in view of the immense intellectuals who have confronted the metaphysical, ontological or phenomenological subject of time, to try even for a moment to follow in their footsteps. Time is so much a part of the questions that philosophers (Saint Augustine, Kant, Heidegger, Ricœur...), sociologists (Durkheim, Halbwachs, Elias...) or historians (Koselleck, Nora, Hartog, Pomian...) have raised to a level of excellence that there is no need to stress how illusory it would be to try to rise to that level. What reading some of them has given me is an 'intellectual kit' that I have forged for myself thanks to their analyses. This introduction will spare you the need to review the state of the art in the treatment of time in an obviously plethoric bibliography, because that is not the question. If time is at the heart of this work, it is so in the manner of a screwdriver, a

¹¹ Kamel Dorai and Nicolas Puig (eds.), *L'Urbanité des marges. Migrants and refugees in the cities of the Near East*, Paris, Téraèdre, 2014.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 37.

Swiss army knife or a spanner, which operate like the cranks opening the curtain of a stage which, as it rises, never ceases to reveal itself. In this 'do-it-yourself' approach, as it is often described following Claude Lévi-Strauss's metaphor¹³, we can also see the emergence of an iterative process of reflection. Using a number of classic categories (rhythm, duration, memory), the aim is to strip away as much as possible of the temporal aspects that make 'places of transit' excellent observatories for understanding not so much what they are, but what they do to and for the city. This ability of camps to 'reveal' urban dynamics, provided that they are equipped to do so effectively, is based here, as in silver photography, on a long-term process which means that the image becomes clearer as the minutes pass. The to-and-fro between an initial reflection on the usefulness of certain categories and the cases studied later implicitly stems from this ability - if the result is anything to go by - to bring up again hypotheses and doubts, assertions and possible repetitions or even contradictions. But there's more: the hazard will also have helped to strengthen my point of view. By taking me away from the ground on which I needed to build my project, the covid-19 pandemic confirmed - although I hadn't said it to myself at the time - the metamorphosis in my approach. It's probably not insignificant that, as the spaces I had to explore became more and more 'impossible spaces' as a result of confinements and prohibitions, I became increasingly interested in the best way of circumventing them. Time, as I've just written, provided the answer in its own way. It was by no means a spare wheel or a lifeline, quite the contrary. On the contrary, it became a 'breath of oxygen' that helped me to see things more clearly.

At this point, I think it's important to come back to three points: the attempt to hybridize intellectual resources, which is at the heart of this work and *ultimately* refers to the architect's gaze, i.e. the field with which I am most familiar; the question of the field; and writing in the first person. With regard to the first theme, one thing is certain: it is becoming increasingly common to call for interdisciplinarity. This mantra is not new. In 1900, Henri Berr, aware of the difficulties that specialists had in talking to each other, founded the *Revue de synthèse*, which worked to create an editorial crossroads where philosophers, historians, geographers and sociologists could compare their analyses and listen to each other, if not agree on a particular subject. In a completely different vein, the French journal *Espaces et sociétés*,

¹³ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée sauvage*, Paris, Plon, 1962.

founded in 1970 by Henri Lefebvre and Anatole Kopp, defined itself at the outset as an "international critical review of planning, architecture and urbanisation". Interdisciplinarity was the watchword. Architects, economists, urban planners, geographers and sociologists worked together to develop a global vision of the urban ecosystem. Its Italian translation (1975-1978) under the name *Spazio e società*, then its autonomisation, still under the same title and under the impetus of Giancarlo De Carlo, who remained its director until 2001, was part of this same vein in favour of decompartmentalising specialities. So there's nothing new in my attempt to build bridges between worlds that often ignore and, more often than not, misunderstand each other. I would like to stress two obvious points. Firstly, hybridisation, when it is successful, requires a transfer of skills, investment and costs that are far from negligible: every discipline has its own language and juggles with its own paradigms, so the transition from one to the other through translation and interpretation is hardly self-evident. In my case, the thesis years were also a (salutary) test of my initial presuppositions and, quite simply, of what I thought I knew. Secondly, and this is another truism, all (good) interdisciplinarity relies on the ability to be rooted somewhere, to know where you come from and how you got there, so that the exoticism of proximity to other disciplines does not turn into a smoke and mirrors. The works to which I refer do not, therefore, form a motley list for curiosity-seekers; they have been loyal and faithful travelling companions in an approach in which poaching and tinkering have gone hand in hand. In this sense, they have led me to reflect on the ways in which, coming from the shores of architecture, work on 'places of transit' can be enriched by the architect's perception and vice versa.

In so doing, I'm proposing a long excursus on a professional dimension that is not just a facade of identification. Basically, what I'm trying to do isn't very far removed from the role of the architect. It can therefore be seen as an extension or a mise en abyme of a social function that I have recently been examining¹⁴ in a reflection that is modestly a matter of epistemology. The architect's long lament (I am neither an urban planner, nor a geographer, nor a landscape architect, nor...) says a lot about architecture's minority position in the scientific field. Pierre Bourdieu's sociology teaches us the extent to which disciplines are subject to

¹⁴ Giulia Buffoli, "L'architecture, un dialogue reticulaire", *Exercice(s) d'architecture*, no. 9, January 2021, p. 82-90.

competitive forces in order to gain access to the most prominent positions and the recognition that goes with them¹⁵. Architecture is no exception when it comes to establishing models or paradigms. So how are we to understand the asymmetry between the intellectual substratum that nourishes the discipline and its apparent lack of epistemological output? We hypothesise that architecture is preferentially forged as the discipline of *reticular dialogue*. While Aldo Rossi draws a distinction between "architecture as a creation inseparable from the life and society in which it manifests itself", and "architecture as a technique and as an art that is transmitted rationally", it is in "its process of continuous formation and verification in relation to the urban context¹⁶" that architecture develops the principles that make it autonomous. These principles guide the architectural gesture and make the architect, according to the doxa attributed to Le Corbusier, an actor capable of "formulating problems with clarity". The specificity of the architectural discipline is thus characterised by this continuous exchange between gesture and principles. It seems to me that this is one of the keys to architecture's disciplinary performance in the scientific arena, a performance that is all the more promising if the architect feels able, for example, to tackle the formidable question of time.

Architecture is a science of place. Place is the form that a space takes at the crossroads of the spatial and social interactions that have helped and are helping to shape it, and the action of the architect who aspires to give it a *facies* (in the geological sense of the term). The site is therefore the object of a transubstantiation, the outcome of which depends, for the specialist, on his or her ability to put together a jigsaw puzzle. It goes without saying that space has not waited for the architect to be the object of all kinds of requests and projects that have given it a singularity - some would say an identity. However, the specificity of the architect is that, by taking into account several scales (spatial and temporal) and several instruments of representation, he is able to shape the place - let's also call it a city, a metaphor for spatial forms which, despite and because of their heterogeneity, only exist concretely in their relationships made up of multiple imbrications. An operation that is both virtual (cemeteries are populated by architectural utopias) and real (architects are sometimes regarded as 'semi-de-

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Science de la science et réflexivité*, Paris, Raisons d'agir, 2001.

¹⁶ Rosaldo Bonicalzi (ed.), *Aldo Rossi. Scritti scelti sull'architettura e la città, 1956-1972*, Milan, Clup, 1975, p. 27.

miurges' by those involved in public policy), the shaping of place, which contributes to the development of a 'spirit of place' (the famous *Genius Loci*), ultimately reflects the paradox of architecture: Although architecture is an autonomous knowledge, it is intrinsically a heteronomous discipline, in terms of both its approach and its *practice*. The architect's city is therefore an expression of holistic thinking. "Places of transit" are no exception to his point of view. At least, they shouldn't be. Writing this is not about defending a particular area, whatever the cost. It's an account of why, among other things, I took an interest in these spaces with the baggage that was initially mine, a baggage that was constantly expanded with other references as the questions that arose seemed unresolvable to me while I was only armed with the architect's skills.

The second point I'd like to address at some length is the status of the field in my work. In a long and remarkable commentary on Daniel Céfai's *L'Enquête de terrain*¹⁷, the sociologist Jean-Louis Fabiani sets the scene from the outset. It's worth starting with his remarks: "In a text that has remained unpublished, the American anthropologist Dominic Boyer notes that one of the elements of the contemporary crisis of anthropological knowledge can be found in the fact that the specific techniques of ethnographic research have gradually been adopted by a whole series of non-university institutions, ranging from capitalist firms founded on a strong investment in research to NGOs, via the Federal Reserve Bank. We are thus witnessing a kind of trivialisation of the collection of ethnographic data in very diverse social worlds, at a time when the mythology of the field, or of *fieldwork*, has historically contributed to the construction of a methodological arsenal capable of asserting a monopoly of competence through procedures aimed at certifying the methodologically armed modes of presence of the ethnologist in the social world and at corroborating his reports. No other discipline, and not only in the social sciences, has placed as much emphasis as ethnology on the problems of constructing the object of study, a preoccupation that can even become obsessive and obscure the original project of the enterprise, which consists in increasing our knowledge, firstly of the social other, and then of the social world in general, through the forms of symbolic organisation and the modes of relationship to nature that constitute it as such¹⁸". The foundations have

¹⁷ Daniel Céfai, *L'Enquête de terrain*, Paris, La Découverte, 2003.

¹⁸ Jean-Louis Fabiani, *La Sociologie comme elle s'écrit*, Paris, Éditions de l'EHESS, 2015, p. 67-68.

been laid. How, then, can we escape the field when, by capillary action from what anthropology has made of it, a place of intellectual conquest, almost every discipline has become involved in it in one way or another? We tend to forget that the great works of Durkheim and Mauss were the work of scholars who never left their desks or their libraries and who, poring over thousands of references, drew inspiration from them to develop their brilliant theories. As Daniel Céfai points out, the Malinowskian moment in the social sciences is one of those intellectual turning points that pre-empt disciplinary futures. As we know, Bronislaw Malinowski, following stays in the Trobriand Islands (the first of which took place in Mailu between October 1914 and January 1915), 'invented' a protocol whose subsequent criticisms increasingly sanctioned anthropology's new framework for work and reflection: This insistence on *fieldwork*," writes Céfai, "analogous to any scientific activity, in a cultural isolate treated as a natural laboratory, where the parameters are relatively well controlled and where the limits of intervention are well circumscribed, marks the birth of modern ethnography¹⁹ ".

Of course, this is not the place to trace the genealogy of the diffusion of fieldwork well beyond the sphere of anthropologists. However, it is worth noting that its 'magic' has been contagious, so that 'doing fieldwork' has become a sesame, if not a licence, given to anyone who takes an interest in the forms of life in society. Beyond the heroisation of the great ancestors of the Malinowski type, a heroisation that is part of the deployment of instruments designed to ensure disciplinary primacy, it turns out that fieldwork obviously poses all sorts of problems that it would be adventurous to list. As the texts presented by Céfai attest, the 'tormented consciousness²⁰ ' that fuelled, especially from the 1960s onwards, a measured mistrust of a terrain called 'terrain-à-presque-tout-dire, Clifford Geertz's famous article on *thick description* (1973) set the record straight in many respects by emphasising the idea that anthropological narrative is a literary exercise in its own right²¹ . The fact that the field remains a nexus of questions is hardly original. The fact that it is an umbrella under which a variety of practices and activities can be found, from the gestation of the research project, with all that it

¹⁹ Daniel Céfai, *L'Enquête de terrain*, *op. cit.* p. 32. In his *Ethnographer's Diary*, he wrote: "Friday 23 January 1915 [*sic*]. "I am exploring my territory more and more concretely. It is certain that if I could stay here a few more months - or years - I would get to know these people much better", Paris, Le Seuil, 1985 [1967], p. 86.

²⁰ Daniel Céfai, *L'Enquête de terrain*, *op. cit.* p. 32.

²¹ Clifford Geertz, "La description dense", *Enquête*, no. 6, 1998, <https://doi.org/10.4000/enquete.1443>.

has of an initial trial gallop, to its production in narrative form, is equally obvious. Who better than Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser to assert²² that it cannot be reduced to an enclave of knowledge miraculously picked up by a researcher in his or her position, and that it 'does not condemn us to remain within the limits of the terrain defined as the closed field of investigation'²³ ? In this epistemological labyrinth, it will be recalled briefly that the procedures that facilitate the setting up of a ticket of entry into a social group, the techniques of observation and data collection, the right distance of the observer or the protocol of transcription by writing have caused and still cause a lot of ink to flow, affecting to orientate, reorientate or repeat what sometimes resembles the psalmody of the ethnographic operation.

Escape from the field, from those who might dispute that mine was modest and fragmented? If so, under what conditions? These questions persisted. I was all the more sensitive to them because, given that fieldwork is not a reflexively valued part of architectural studies²⁴ and that I had to train on the job, I went through the process with a feeling of guilt and imposture - a feeling that was redoubled, as I have already written, by the impossibility of gaining access to places following the closure of borders during the pandemic. Reading Fabiani's text *afterwards* had a liberating effect. The sociologist rightly points out, not because it is a justification, but because I read in it, beyond the umpteenth 'speeches on method', what seems to me to be the most appropriate way of achieving some results: "There is more to the life of the social sciences than the field, and the essential thing is less the mastery, no doubt illusory, of field operations, than *the ways in which the field is summoned* in the writing of the social sciences and in their claim to veracity²⁵ ".

My fieldwork was built at the crossroads of several experiences. Very factually, my fieldwork during my PHD studies can be summed up as follows: one month in Jordan (May

²² Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser, 'Producing theory from data', *Enquête*, no. 1, 1995, p. 183-197.

²³ Jean-Louis Fabiani, *La Sociologie comme elle s'écrit*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²⁴ As we know, site visits by architects are a fundamental link in the project development process; see, for example, Alexandre Chemetoff, *Visites*, Paris, Archibooks, 2009; on the idea of surveying a place, see the great book by ethnologist Martin de la Soudière, *Arpenter le paysage. Poètes, géographes et montagnards*, Paris, Anamosa, 2019; he writes on page 271: "Working on a site means writing a narrative and staging it. The project takes on the appearance of a play: a quest, a wander, a monologue, a climax where passions are unleashed, dialogues, a confrontation and finally calm and rest".

²⁵ Jean-Louis Fabiani, *La Sociologie comme elle s'écrit*, *op. cit.* p. 70. Emphasis added.

2019), two weeks between Athens and Lavrio (July 2019), around ten days in Calais (April-May 2021). However, my field of work goes beyond this etic list. It so happens that if I wanted to do a thesis on 'places of transit', it's because before I had the chance to embark on this journey, 'places of transit' were by no means foreign to me. In autumn 2015, I joined the PEROU collective (Paris). Working with a group of architects and urban planners, I produced an *Atlas of the Architectures of the Calais Jungle*, which I visited two or three times a month from January to April 2016. As an employee of the CapaCités association (Paris) from October 2016 to April 2018, I had a front-row seat to the organisation of the accommodation centres for two reasons: as the association was based at Les Grands voisins (Paris, 14^e), I was in daily contact with the seven accommodation centres that were set up there; in particular, I was working on a project called 'The Residence of Tomorrow', the aim of which was to work with the residents of these centres on the specifications of a hypothetical ideal accommodation centre. Finally, as part of the Radio Activité association, of which I remain one of the key players, I have taken part in countless radio workshops in refugee camps and reception centres (Athens-Lesbos-Thessaloniki, April-May 2018; Italy (13 towns hosting SPRARs - *Sistema di protezione per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati* -), September-December 2018; Briançon on three occasions in 2019 (January, February and June); Calais and Lille, February 2020). So my field is not just a student card under cover of which I have amassed material. I would even go so far as to say that, in terms of my interest in my subject, the distinction between my skills (doctoral student, community 'activist') has had very little impact, even if I never cease to make a distinction between what I have gathered in the course of my professional and community activities and what I have produced as a doctoral student. The truth is that my intimacy with the 'places of transit' did not come about through enrolment in a doctoral programme and, consequently, the discovery of a social space in which I had not mastered certain codes. The opposite is true. Because I had been there on several occasions, given my training and experience, my questions were sharpened, because it wasn't just a question of seeing in order to understand, but of understanding in order to see. In a way, my point of view benefited from this double roof, since, without feeling constrained by an 'academic exercise' (the thesis), I went out into the field without knowing it and gathered information that subsequently fed the mill of reflection. What the fieldwork, in the most commonly used ethnographic

sense of the term, did for my work can be summed up in two points: an impregnation, without any initiatory dimension, of an urban and social space (the "place of transit") which led me to read the "world of the camps" as a world where the similarities did not have to outweigh the asperities; a desingularisation of the usual monograph (I was initially going to work on Calais and/or Lesbos) which forced me to decentre my initial object (a case study) and to reverse the perspective. It was no longer the 'place of transit' analysed in terms of its temporal specificities that was important to me; it was the temporal organisation of the city based on 'places of transit' that became the main prerequisite for my questions.

The third and final point I wish to address is the one that has been running since the beginning of this introduction: writing in the first person. In a recent book, Enzo Traverso looked at the assumption of the 'I' in scientific literature, even though one of its implicit rules was, until recently (the 1980s of 'ego-history'²⁶), to neutralise all subjectivity by using the third person²⁷. The "narrative I"²⁸, which invites us to shift the boundaries between the expression of knowledge and its implementation, and of which Ivan Jablonka is one of the best spokespersons²⁹, takes many forms, depending on the author: Under the aegis of Jules Michelet's 'historical self' or of the narrative identity developed by Paul Ricœur³⁰, the 'I' can be one of 'investigation', 'emotion' or 'introspection', thereby expanding the 'autobiographical pact' which, as Philippe Lejeune has shown³¹, gives the reconstruction of the past an imprint based on the alignment of the identities of the author, the narrator and the character³². Throughout the pages, we find a double 'I': an 'I of presence' and an 'I of position'. By the 'I of presence', I mean an 'I' that tries to express as best I can a situation that I have experienced, not because I have simply experienced it, but because it seems to me to provide grist for some of my propo-

²⁶ We owe the expression to Pierre Nora and the collection he edited, *Essais d'ego-histoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1987.

²⁷ Enzo Traverso, *Passés singuliers. Le "je" dans l'écriture de l'histoire*, Montréal, Lux, 2020.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 71.

²⁹ Ivan Jablonka, *History is a contemporary literature. Manifesto for the social sciences*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2014.

³⁰ Paul Ricœur, *Temps et récit*, t. 1: *L'Intrigue et le récit historique*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1983.

³¹ Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte autobiographique*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1975.

³² *Ibid*, p. 36.

sals. By the 'I of position' - which takes up one of Jablonka's categories - I mean an 'I' which, taking into account the back-and-forth between the 'doing' of the field and the 'doing' of the intellectual work, tries to produce in stages a point of view on the object which is mine. This 'I', which is certainly not a production of the self, is not the 'I' of the activist either. Every day or almost every day, the European newspapers mention events directly linked to the "misery of the world" of migrants: shipwrecks, expulsions, predations, dismantling, trafficking in human beings, death at sea, all of which make up a news story of tears and despair. Getting rid of the feeling of profound injustice that could obviate the gaze - others suggest the opposite - while at the same time not losing sight of the fact that the inhabitants of "transit places" are not just women and men who build perimeters and more often than not produce urban asynchronies: the border is tenuous, to say the least, and it is on this ridgeline that I have tried to walk. The 'I' that I use will therefore not be an 'I' of militant affirmation because, for my part, I do not see it as adding to the intelligibility of my treatment of the subject. This does not mean, of course, that a political dimension is excluded, given that every space is intrinsically endowed with one - Henri Lefebvre has written remarkably about this at³³ - and that the way I looked at my fieldwork was not axiologically neutralised, once I found myself there, in the name of a scientific posture summoned to anaesthetise it. The conclusion of the afterword to Céfaï's book is entitled "Ethics and politics of the field³⁴". It reads: "The best we can do is to show reality in all its moral and political complexity, and sometimes in all its tragic light, without apology or condemnation, just by revealing, beyond differences, a 'common humanity' between stigmatised or marginalised people and readers³⁵". I like to use these words myself.

More than that, I would like to defend the idea that the 'cooling' of the condition of migrants through a tool - time - and a questioning of the temporalities of 'transit places' within the urban ecosystem, has been at the origin of an understanding of what makes the world of

³³ Henri Lefebvre writes in the first article of the first issue published in *Espaces et sociétés* under the title "Réflexions sur la politique de l'espace", 1970, p. 3-12: "Now it appears that space is political. Space is not a scientific object hijacked by ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic. If space looks neutral, indifferent to content, and therefore 'purely' formal, abstracted from rational abstraction, it is precisely because it is already occupied, already developed, already the object of ancient strategies, traces of which are not always to be found. Space has been shaped and moulded by historical or natural elements, but politically. Space is political and ideological", p. 4.

³⁴ Daniel Céfaï, *L'Enquête de terrain*, *op. cit.* p. 605-615.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 611.

refugees, exiles and people put on the road for all sorts of reasons not just a world of 'the misery of the world'. It is something else: a world that forces certain spaces to undergo metamorphosis. The great historian Jean-Pierre Vernant recalled that he worked on ancient Greece to escape the emotions that, as a member of the French Communist Party and a member of the Resistance, would not have allowed him to work intelligently on the contemporary period³⁶. This 'wisdom' in the objectification of a reflection on what makes us try (very modestly at my level, it goes without saying) to produce knowledge by not fundamentally investing it with what we believe in, I would like to make it a common thread. My experiences in areas that are sometimes described as sensitive are full of the voices of migrants that I have heard, listened to and recorded. I know their names, I often know how they got there, where I found them in centres or camps. They do not 'make up' the humanised background of my thesis. Moreover, we will hear very little from them. The recourse to testimonies, which I could have drawn from the logbooks I kept and from the dozens of radio workshops where the word was widely circulated, in no way constitutes the backbone of this work. As you will have realised, this first-person account is in no way the 'I' of a researcher who has been humanly affected by what she has seen and who, in the course of writing, would become a megaphone through the transubstantiation of writing.

This choice is largely borne out by the way in which I have gradually built up my subject. The international scientific literature on the 'migrant condition' is immense, and the subjects covered are no less so. A recent book, *Babels*, edited by Michel Agier and Stefan Le Courant, is a timely reminder of this³⁷. Anyone wishing to familiarise themselves with an issue that is, to say the least, a burning one, from "routes and roots" to "intimate and political mobilisations", via "borders adrift" and "how Europe makes camps", has at their disposal an overview of its intellectual treatment. It would be an understatement to say that the "migrant condition" is now being examined by the humanities and social sciences in a remarkably well-documented way. If we had to establish a 'state of the art' on what is being written, photographed, recorded or filmed, we can be sure that a very large introduction would not be enough

³⁶ Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Entre mythe et politique*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1996.

³⁷ Michel Agier and Stefan Le Courant (eds.), *Babels. Enquêtes sur la condition migrante*, Paris, Le Seuil, coll. Essais, 2022 [2017, 2018, 2019].

to list all the references. There are, however, a number of guidelines that run through this teeming field of global research. One of them, spatiality, resonates most with me, given my interests and my questions. Through the frontierisation of space ("bordering process"³⁸), it is possible to reflect on the tensions between mobility and immobility and on the territorial mutations resulting from the countless flows crossing³⁹. The insularity of "transit places" leads us to reassess the choices that lead to temporary "confinement" on islands, to their dramatisation as "condensation sites" of the migratory crisis and, by extension, to the way in which a geographical element (the island) is transformed into a model for assigning migrants wherever they may be⁴⁰. Efforts to categorise the 'camp form' (which has three defining features: extra-territoriality, exceptionality and exclusion⁴¹) also stem from a desire to find out how best to describe the 'realities of encampment'⁴², which are so heterogeneous that there would be a risk of considering them for and in their unique singularities⁴³. Finally, the rhizomatic dissemination of these places invites reflection on the 'sanctuary city' and 'cities of refuge', i.e. urban spaces that are subject, most often unwillingly, to the social and territorial management of migrants⁴⁴.

This thesis is therefore the fruit of all these considerations. I am not an ethnologist in the manner of the 'great' Alban Bensa, who justified the assumption of a personal 'I' by pointing out that it was impossible for him, given the ploughing of his fields (at the heart of his scholarly enterprise), not to tend towards 'another kind of writing [which] is needed to give an

³⁸ Paolo Cuttitta, *Lo spettacolo del confine. Lampedusa tra produzione e messa in scena della frontiera*, Milano, Mimesis, 2012.

³⁹ Olivier Clochard, thesis published under the title *Le Jeu des frontières dans l'accès au statut de réfugié : une géographie des politiques européennes d'asile et d'immigration*, Poitiers, 2007; Paolo Cuttitta, *Lo Spettacolo del confine. Lampedusa tra produzione e messa in scena della frontiera*, Milan, Mimesis, 2012.

⁴⁰ Bernard Debarbieux, "Le lieu, le territoire et trois figures de rhétorique", *Espace Géographique*, t. 24, no. 2, 1995, p. 97-112; Ervin Goffmann, *Asiles*, Paris, Minuit, 1968; Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux*, Paris, Minuit, 1980.

⁴¹ Michel Agier, *Campement urbain. Du refuge naît le ghetto*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2013, p. 65.

⁴² Yasmina Bouagga and Céline Barré, "Introduction" to volume 4: "De Lesbos à Calais. Comment l'Europe fabrique des camps", in Michel Agier and Stefan Le Courant (eds.), *Babels. Enquêtes sur la condition migrante*, *op. cit.*, p. 387-404, p. 402.

⁴³ Michel Agier, *Un monde de camps*, Paris, La Découverte, 2014, p. 137.

⁴⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Hospitalité*, vol. 1: *Seminar (1995-1996)*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2021.

account of what happens between observers and observed⁴⁵ '. My work has to do with the pragmatics of an architect curious about these other disciplinary perspectives, which have taught me just how much the "forms of summoning the field in writing", to quote Jean-Louis Fabiani, are one facet, and not the least, of what is basically the result of a little personal alchemy. The use of the word 'I' was in fact a response to the search for a balance between the maturation of reflection at a distance from the field and the sharpening of memories of those moments on site that were either speculative levers or proofs of evidence when, once the hypotheses have been forged and the conclusions seem to have been reached, the field itself returns⁴⁶ .

⁴⁵ Alban Bensa, "Le dessous des mots", *Sensibilités*, no. 2, 2016, p. 163-173, p. 165.

⁴⁶ Rather than delivering a methodological kit at the outset, I'm betting that the thesis, in its general economy, takes the place, when it is successful, of a lesson in method.

Part 1: In small steps. Places of transit" through the lens of time

In a stimulating text, *Faire profession d'historien*, in which he looks back over his career, Patrick Boucheron entitles one of his chapters "Ville, pouvoir, mémoire. Comment je me suis disputé (avec ma thèse)⁴⁷ . After recalling that "urban history [was] the bedrock of [his] training⁴⁸ " and admitting that he was dazzled by reading "*Ville j'écoute ton cœur*" by Alberto Savinio, undoubtedly one of the most beautiful texts that an urban experience has inspired in a writer⁴⁹ ", Boucheron notes, following Marcel Roncayolo ("Under the name of city, a sum of historical experiences accumulates, rather than the rigour of a concept⁵⁰ ") how "reducing the definition of the urban phenomenon to morphological, and even less demographic, criteria⁵¹ " leads to a dead end. Concerning the outlines of a doctorate he devoted to the links between urban planning and municipal politics in Milan in the fourteenth^e and fifteenth^e centuries⁵² , Boucheron, in his reflections on what architecture produces in people, and therefore on the scientific mechanisms best suited to exploring the links between them, wrote two pages that I must quote at length: "Considering architecture as a language therefore poses as many problems as it solves - particularly (...) in terms of the intentionality of the sender of the message, but also of the attention of the receivers. Even the most fervent structuralists used this metaphor - for it is a metaphor - with circumspection. The pages that Umberto Eco devoted to this subject in a chapter of *La Structure absente (The Absent Structure)* seem to me to be essential. (...) In it, the semiologist carefully distinguishes connotation from architectural denotation, which can vary according to context and situation, and describes how architecture whose primary meaning is lost is frequently reinterpreted by giving it secondary meanings subject to "losses, recoveries and substitutions of various kinds". Although these meanings are increasingly imaginary, they ultimately become part of our perception of monuments that are ultimately constituted by the layering of their successive re-semantisations. When we look at a

⁴⁷ Patrick Boucheron, *Faire profession d'historien*, *op. cit.* p. 89ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 96.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 98-99.

⁵⁰ Marcel Roncayolo, *La Ville et ses territoires*, Paris Gallimard, coll. Folio essais, 1990, p. 28.

⁵¹ Patrick Boucheron, *Faire profession d'historien*, *op. cit.*, p. 109-110.

⁵² Thesis published under the title *Le Pouvoir de bâtir. Urbanisme et politique édilitaire à Milan (XIV^e -XV^e siècles)*, Rome, Collection de l'École française de Rome, no. 239, 1998.

cathedral today, we see all of this - an anachronistic montage in which we see the shadow cast by all the views that have been cast on it, from the Gothic eye to the Romantic vision. But we don't just see it: we feel it, intimately, physically, in a perception that Umberto Eco calls psychagogic, echoing Walter Benjamin's analysis of architecture as "the prototype of a work of art perceived in a way that is both distracted and collective"⁵³ .

I quote this long extract for two reasons. Firstly, because, as I wrote in the introduction, it condenses the assumptions on which I have built my object and which I shall endeavour to develop throughout the pages that follow. Secondly, by referring to the semiotics of Umberto Eco and the re-semantisations of urban space, Patrick Boucheron raises the question of the categorisations and definitions that contribute to the imprint that words leave on facts and situations, and to their entanglement with forms of social experience that also dispense with words. The taxonomy I use is not intended as an attempt at conceptual or notional clarification. More prosaically, it is a lever that can be used to refine and/or propose analyses. The aim is not to apply terms to situations, but to consider how some of them (rhythm, memory, duration) may or may not lead to an understanding of the way in which the experiences of life in society are configured. The words I have chosen from the lexicon I have built up invite us to open up fields of visibility onto social realities. They don't pretend to be anything more than that: tools that facilitate a broadening of perspectives.

⁵³ Patrick Boucheron, *Faire profession d'historien*, *op. cit.*, p. 117-118.

Chapter 1: Nomenclature and "authorised" discourse

"The hold of common notions is so strong that all the techniques of objectification must be used to effectively achieve a break that is more often professed than accomplished. So the results of statistical measurement can at least have the negative virtue of disconcerting first impressions. Similarly, Durkheim's definition of the object as a "provisional" theoretical construct intended, above all, to "replace the notions of common sense with an initial scientific notion" has not been given sufficient attention. In fact, insofar as ordinary language and certain scholarly uses of ordinary words constitute the main vehicle for society's shared representations, it is undoubtedly a logical and lexicological criticism of common language that appears to be the most indispensable prerequisite for the controlled elaboration of scientific notions⁵⁴". Addressed to apprentice sociologists in 1968, the epistemological advice of the Bourdieu-Chamboredon-Passeron trio retains the freshness and vigour of leading works. In France, the book is a social science classic. Since, as Claude Lévi-Strauss insisted, the necessary meaning of the world depends on the emergence of language, any good lesson in method must at least begin there. There is nothing more delicate than breaking with 'common sense' when this break is based on the incessant dialogue between the empirical construction of an object and its semantisation, in order to restore the way in which words refer to modes of apprehending reality, even if it is often masked. The aim of this first chapter is therefore to lay the foundations of a nomenclature that I will subsequently use to develop my case studies.

⁵⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Le Métier de sociologue. Préalables épistémologiques*, Paris, Éditions de l'EHESS, 2021 [1968]. It should be remembered that, from a perspective that is not my own, Pierre Bourdieu has given a great deal of thought to time, particularly in his *Méditations pascaliennes*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1997, p. 249 ff.

1.1- Architects between the quest for solution(s) and the enchantment of informality

Venice, 2019

This thesis was officially launched at the end of January 2019 in Venice, at the first meeting of the Villard de Honnecourt PhD students. At the time, my subject, in its first stage, seemed to be a fashionable one: the 'migration crisis⁵⁵' was still making the headlines; political decisions at both government and European Union level were showing how difficult it was to find a minimum agreement and ways of 'dealing with' the issue; scientists were using their tools to examine a phenomenon that, for many of them, was obviously not completely new. Nonetheless, because it is difficult to escape one's era, this subject, if you think about it, was intrinsically *mainstream*, if by that you mean that my starting point was the following: what are contemporary migrations doing to and from the city, and vice versa?

The Venice meeting gave rise to certain concerns about my position as an architect. Some of the people I spoke to warned me of a number of "drifts" and potential difficulties that lay ahead. I'll list three of them. Firstly, the very contemporary nature of the phenomenon could lead me into forms of dehistoricisation (or non-historicisation) of the phenomenon. (In his book *Lo Straniero*, Richard Sennett proposes a reading of the history of Venice since the Renaissance based on the figure of the foreigner and the presence of the Ghetto⁵⁶; Donatella Di Cesare, for her part, has looked at the great cities of antiquity such as Rome, Athens and Jerusalem, focusing on the links between heterochtony and citizenship⁵⁷), there was a great risk of producing an internalist, not to say 'journalistic', reading of my subject, where a diachronic perspective could help to avert the perils in this area. Secondly, because I intended to take a resolutely interdisciplinary approach, I was reminded that the prospect of working primarily on space and not on people risked becoming remote, even though the core of the thesis

⁵⁵ "The migratory crisis in Europe is the increase, in the 2010s and particularly since 2015, in the number of migrants arriving in the European Union via the Mediterranean Sea and the Balkans, from Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, making it one of the largest migratory crises in its contemporary history", according to the Wikipedia definition, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crise_migratoire_en_Europe_de_2015 (accessed on 10.08.2022).

⁵⁶ Richard Sennett, *Lo Straniero. Due saggi sull'esilio*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 2016 [2014], p. 11-51.

⁵⁷ Donatella Di Cesare, *Stranieri residenti. Una filosofia della migrazione*, Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 2017, chapter 3, p. 159-201.

fell into the first category. In *retrospect*, this can be seen as a defence and illustration of the preserve of each discipline: architecture, space; sociology, societies. In addition to this type of justification, it can also be seen as a reminder that we don't come from nowhere, and that it's a good idea to borrow the tools of others, not to replace those we already have, but to sharpen them by renewing, as far as possible, the scales on which we have learned to play and look at the world. Finally, it was said that this subject could hardly be considered a 'noble' one, since my work could in no way lead to an effective and useful response to the problems associated with moving people around and finding solutions to them in terms of housing. No reservations were expressed about my ability to produce an analysis, however modest; I was warned about the inability of architects to 'solve', from the point of view of their discipline, a problem that had become so political.

The challenge that all architects face through the idea of the project, an idea that is at the heart of their profession, at least as it is administered from the first year of study, is to generate responses to a "problem of space". Since architects are constantly confronted with the world in and around which they work, it is clear that they have been and continue to be led to embrace the issue of migration. The fifteenth Venice Architecture Biennale (2016) was no exception. At one with the "heat of the moment", the event was entitled *Reporting from the Front*. In the press conference that opened the Biennale, its president, Paolo Baratta, stressed that the *Mostra* had a duty to "speak the language of urgency and hope". He continued: "We're not celebrating any great successes, none of the architects invited have come to showcase a satisfactory result in their work or a triumph in their results. They are all here to show the need to be involved in the new theme and in the new demands that the present time is placing on us, with the hope that the tools will be available without being prisoners of pre-constructed assumptions about technology or a special role for the architect. With this exhibition, we have the tools to give hope to the world, here and elsewhere, which is looking for that hope⁵⁸". The curator, Alejandro Aravena, added: "*Reporting from the Front* therefore proposes to share with a wider public the work of people who are scanning the horizon in search of new fields of action, tackling issues such as segregation, inequality, suburbs, access

⁵⁸ Press conference on 26 May 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ATyzRRcOz-s&ab_channel=BiennaleChannel, accessed on 10.09.2022.

to sanitation, natural disasters, housing shortages, migration, informality, crime, traffic, waste, pollution and community participation⁵⁹ ". The grandiloquence of the proposals was matched only by the urgency to intervene, as the situation, which appeared to be explosive, seemed to require it. This was echoed in the press, so much so that the leading magazine *Artribune* ran the headline on 19 August 2016: "*Venezia. L'emergenza migranti alla Biennale di Architettura*"⁶⁰ ("Venice. The migratory emergency at the Architecture Biennale").

The "air du temps"

There were many projects that took up the question of the time. In *retrospect*, they appear to have been as much detailed, ad hoc responses as developments in architectural thinking that never dispensed with the need to reflect on the interactions between migration and space. While there were many different approaches, all were guided by the idea of dealing with the most pressing problems. Among the projects, I have chosen to mention three that I believe reflect the way in which the subject was dealt with. Germany devoted its pavilion to solutions for the spatial integration of migrants. Under the title *Making Heimat. Germany, Arrival Country*, visitors could discover, among other things, shelters built for refugees in the towns where they arrived, as well as research into the conditions needed to accommodate them. The Dutch agency BeL Architekten had installed an enormous polystyrene model representing five cases of "incremental construction": using a matrix and a self-build kit, migrants were able to complete the building according to their cultural background. The Arms Room, on the Arsenal site, housed a marble block representing one of the emergency shelters in the Calais camp. Designed by the British agency Sam Jacob Studio, the "sculpture" was intended to illustrate the ability to conserve an element of a migratory landscape torn between the ephemerality of personal trajectories and the durability of a situation destined to last.

Entitled *Insecurities: Tracing Displacement and Shelter*, the exhibition held at the same time at the Museum of Modern Art (Moma) in New York (October 2016-January 2017) appears to

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ "Venezia. L'emergenza migranti alla Biennale di Architettura," *Artribune*, August 18, 2016, <https://www.artribune.com/progettazione/architettura/2016/08/venezia-lemergenza-migranti-alla-biennale-di-architettura/>.

be another facet of architects' involvement in what remains one of the major issues of current social, political and international concern. The exhibition explored the ways in which contemporary architecture and design approached shelter both as a notion and as a spatial model. Because the duration of the camps was now part and parcel of the urban fabric, it became urgent to take an interest in them, not only because they were becoming cities in and of themselves, but also because they were producers of a new urbanity. Among the invited 'artists' were the architects Teddy Cruz⁶¹, Manuel Herz Architects and Shigeru Ban Architects, who in many ways are the 'stars' of the informal sector movement, alongside, surprisingly, Médecins sans Frontières and UNICEF. The blurring of the boundaries between architecture and humanitarianism reflects a blending of genres that is particularly characteristic of an era: the retreat of architects into the realm of shelter, refuge and precarious housing, in addition to demonstrating the need to work with other players and clients involved in dealing with an extremely complex migratory situation, was *ultimately a sign* that architects were finding it more difficult to develop an overall project for the city - which was not the case several decades earlier. This is not to say that architects found in these "new" forms of living a very small common denominator on which their interventions were immediately prehensile; it is to emphasise the extent to which the camps are also prisms through which we can read how architects produce ideas about the city by grappling with contemporary problems that they are not - less and less - the only ones to deal with.

It wasn't just exhibitions that took up this theme in the mid-2010s. Many publications followed suit. In 2015, at the height of the migration crisis, *Lotus* devoted a section of its 158^e issue, "*People in motion*", to "*shelter*". Nine projects by contemporary architects⁶² were taken as examples: from a vaccination centre in Kenya to a sustainable house in Cambodia and a playground for Syrian refugees in Lebanon, the magazine aimed to paint a non-exhaustive portrait of certain interventions that placed at the heart of the question of popular appropria-

⁶¹ Teddy Cruz is renowned not only for his work in informal settlements, but also for being a "mediation specialist [who] puts his knowledge and methods at the service of residents involved in a collective process, which concerns them first and foremost and thus enables them to make better use of their resources, however weak they may appear, and their skills and, beyond that, to acquire new abilities", as Michel Lussault notes in *Hyper-lieux. Les nouvelles géographies de la mondialisation*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2017, p. 187.

⁶² They were : Selgascano, Ignacio Peydro and UNmaterial Studio MIT; Olivier Ottevaere, John Lin, University of Hong Kong; TYIN tegnestue Architects; Toshiko Mori Architect; Shigeru Ban Architects; CatalyticAction; Building Trust International; a.gor.a architects; ARCò, Mario Cucinella Architects.

tion of architectural sites and, consequently, their duration. Commenting on their project in Nepal (a structure housing shelters), one of the players from Shigeru Ban Architects said: "If the roof is put up, people can immediately start living in the shelters. Later, the residents themselves will be able to place the bricks they have salvaged in the frames and complete the construction themselves, albeit more slowly⁶³". There were also recurring research projects on the choice and use of building materials in difficult situations: designing "with less, or with nothing, or with the few materials available in the middle of nowhere⁶⁴", designing with materials and modules that could be reused several times - this was the goal that architects all over the world set themselves in response to a social emergency, over and above certain clichés that unfortunately sometimes proliferated.

In his book *Displacement. Architecture and Refugee*, Andrew Hercher, professor of architecture at the University of Michigan, considers the difficulties involved in including these "shelters" in the history of architecture: "It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that refugees have no (...) place in the history of architecture, just as they have no political place anywhere other than in a refugee camp⁶⁵". If we follow Hercher, what is generally described as "humanitarian architecture" (an institutional camp, a hotspot, etc.) goes some way to filling this gap. However, the architectural history of the "refuge" cannot be reduced to this. The long excursus that the academic offers, interweaving references drawn from earlier periods, shows that many projects that addressed the issue of welcoming refugees are no longer (re)known for what they were at the time of their genesis. Le Corbusier's Dom-Ino house (1914) was not just a manifesto of modernism as "architecture about architecture"; it was also the prototype of a dwelling for the hypothetical return of some 200,000 Belgians who had fled the country at the very start of the Great War. Hercher writes: "In the history of architecture, the inter-war period has often been presented as the historical moment when modern architecture fully emerged (...). But the inter-war period was nothing more than a period between two world

⁶³ "If a roof is secured on top, people can immediately begin to inhabit the shelters. Afterwards, people can stack the rubble bricks inside the wooden frames and slowly complete the construction themselves", *Lotus*, no. 158, 2015, p. 34.

⁶⁴ "We deeply explored the possibilities of working with less, even with nothing, or with the few materials on hand in the middle of nowhere. It is a land that is not even a desert: no materials, no water, nothing stable, but where life happens", *Lotus*, n° 158, 2015, p. 19.

⁶⁵ Andrew Hercher, *Displacement. Architecture and Refugee*, London, Sternberg Press, 2017, p. 5.

wars, defined by the displacement of populations caused by the First World War. As Le Corbusier's Dom-ino suggests, the modernity of his architecture is not independent of these displacements⁶⁶. In Germany in the 1920s, Ernst May designed housing models for refugees. The aim of these models was to standardise, rationalise and industrialise architecture for displaced people who needed to be resettled. 1,200 units were built in several towns over sixteen months, housing a total of 5,000 refugees. On the strength of this convincing experience, May was asked to build public housing for the municipality of Frankfurt in 1925.

In the light of these considerations, migrants are not really a blind spot in the history of architecture. On the contrary, they have been vectors for reflection on mass housing and the adaptability of the built environment to the urgent needs of war-stricken societies. However, the years following the Second World War changed all that. Because refugees were given a status (establishment of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1950, Geneva Convention of 1951), it was no longer just up to architects to think about the spatial responses to migratory crises. From then on, architects' ambitions had to go hand in hand with the "humanitarian treatment" of the issue and its management through specific laws and administrations. While the crisis of the 2010s has, among other things, put on the international agenda a multi-faceted analysis of the spatial and architectural response to the challenge of forced migration, it would be amnesia to forget how many projects have been tackling this type of challenge and the best ways of meeting it since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The beginning of my PhD was therefore set in the intellectual environment of architects as I briefly described above. In fact, when I took part in the production of an *Atlas of the Jungle* in 2015, I spent time accurately recording and drawing just as accurately what had been built within the confines of the camp. At the time, I thought this was the best way of documenting a situation and analysing how a city in the making was being built. It's true that this way of looking at things often bears fruit. One example is Mona Fawaz's analysis of the informal settlements of Syrian refugees in Beirut in the 2010s, particularly in the Nab'ah neighbourhood⁶⁷. By objectivising the frictions linked to any 'inhabited' cohabitation, Fawaz

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 48.

⁶⁷ Mona Fawaz, 'Planning and the refugee crisis: Informality as a framework of analysis and reflection', *Planning Theory*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2017, p. 99-115, p. 110 ff.

questions the work of the town planner and the architect in regulating and balancing the formal and informal. Seven years on, although *shelters* are still at the heart of my concerns, they are no longer so in the same way. It's not so much their morphology that interests me; it's what they are as entities of 'places of transit' caught up in other entities and in other settings that holds my attention. If I had to sum up my career, I would say that my years as a propaedeutic (because the thesis is one) have seen me gradually move from buildings to places, investing them with a toolbox that is, as you will have realised, essentially based on time.

1.2- "Places of transit": places so seized as to be elusive

Capitoline triad

Anyone interested in "places of transit", camps - in short, anything to do with contemporary migration today - comes up against questions of definition. Michel Agier, one of the world's leading specialists on this subject, which has been taken up by a wide range of players (intellectuals, NGOs, journalists, public authorities, etc.), has had to grapple with these issues more than most. *Un monde de camps*⁶⁸, aptly titled at a time when millions of Ukrainians are fleeing their country, a tragedy that follows on from all the tragedies of the first twenty years of the 21^e century (Central Africa, Afghanistan, Burma, Syria...), is no exception to the rule. The introduction uses words that try to capture a reality that is both local and global: "Refugee camps, displaced persons' camps, migrant camps, foreigners' camps, waiting zones for people awaiting trial, transit zones, administrative detention centres, identification and expulsion centres, border crossing points, asylum seeker reception centres, temporary reception centres, refugee villages, migrant integration villages, "ghettos", "jungles", hostels, migrants' homes...⁶⁹". The list, as we can see, is long, at the risk of blurring the image of these perimeters where men and women on the move are temporarily housed. To counter this semantic drift, which obscures the reading of a global phenomenon, Agier proposes to consider 'places of transit' from two angles: the 'camp form', a type of spatial morphology in the same way as

⁶⁸ Michel Agier and Clara Lecadet, *Un monde de camps*, Paris, La Découverte, 2014.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

the pavilion or collective dwelling; and the 'global landscape' of camps, i.e. the sum total of 'places of transit' which, on a global scale, form a background to our 'late modernity'⁷⁰, in which NGOs with a very broad international spectrum are particularly active. From the Rohingya camps in Bangladesh to the Lavrio camp (near Athens), from the Zaatari camp (Jordan) to the Kouankan camp (Guinea), trajectories shattered by war and economic necessity are inscribed in places: if they all have their own topography, we can also identify repeated spatial organisations and recurrences that force us to ask questions.

If we are not to consider camps for and by themselves, we must analyse them through the prism of other qualifiers. Michel Agier invites us to do so when he says that "we need a singular notion to describe the spaces produced by this multiform and global exclusion"⁷¹. To this end, we have three notions that appear to be the most frequently operative in this case: 'non-place', 'hyper-place' and 'off-place' make up a lexicon that allows us to go a little further in defining and understanding the places that occupy my work. Unable to "be defined as identifiable, relational or historical", "non-places", according to Marc Augé, who first described them in this way, form a composite galaxy that includes squats, refugee camps and shantytowns doomed to collapse or rotting perpetuity⁷². Aware that this definition comes up against two limitations⁷³ (there is no non-place in the absolute sense of the term, since "one person's place can be another person's non-place, and vice versa"; since new technologies create "virtual communication spaces" that enable individuals to be in contact with one another, these virtual places "cannot so easily be defined as non-places"⁷⁴), the anthropologist rightly pointed out a weakness stemming from his desire to generalise social practices where their plurali-

⁷⁰ Hartmut Rosa, *Resonance. Une sociologie de la relation au monde*, Paris, La Découverte, 2018.

⁷¹ Michel Agier, *Anthropologie de la ville*, Paris, Puf, 2015, p. 137.

⁷² Marc Augé, *Non-lieux : introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1992, p. 35.

⁷³ In his synthetic work, *L'Anthropologue et le monde global*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2013, Marc Augé returns to the meaning of 'non-place': "The definition of place came straight out of my African experience: it was a space in which social relations could easily be read, due in particular to the rules of residence. It was natural, then, to call non-places spaces where this reading was not immediately possible, such as a supermarket or an airport. But I made it clear back in 1992 that there was no such thing as a non-place in the absolute sense of the term, that the notion was relative, even if we are now seeing, on a global scale, an accelerated development of spaces of circulation, consumption and communication - what we might roughly call 'empirical non-places'", p. 78.

⁷⁴ Raymond Depardon and Paul Virilio (eds.), *Terre natale. Ailleurs commence ici*, Arles, Actes Sud, Paris, Fondation Cartier pour l'art contemporain, 2009, p. 107.

ty means that "non-places" can become places. For all that, Marc Augé has raised a question that is, in my view, essential: the 'non-places' of supermodernity, as he calls the period since the 1980s, are inscribed in a double excess of space and time. Excess of space: the world appears ever smaller as a result of the globalisation of flows, which systematises the idea that the world is at our fingertips, while, paradoxically, the vertigo of being a tiny speck comes from our understanding that the universe is ever larger. Excess of time: all contemporary people are immersed in an avalanche of events which, by placing them in a perpetual present (this is the "presentism" described by François Hartog⁷⁵), condemns them to feeling unable to master history and their own history. Represented as "the traveller, the passer-by, the stranger⁷⁶", the contemporary can then become this "man without qualities" abandoned to his wanderings and believing, despite everything, that he is in control of his destiny.

Excess: in many ways, this is the term that covers Michel Lussault's definition of "his" "hyper-places". The geographer, who sees "non-places" less as a concept than an imaginary one, credits them with being places "exasperated by the effect of globalisation", "dense, diverse and intense", "points of maximum concentration⁷⁷", one of whose qualities is to converge and "radiate" a whole network of places. Characterised by "hyperspatiality" and "hyperscalarity", they offer a double proximity: topographical in that they are "here⁷⁸" (co-presence); topological in the very strong connection that drives them and allows all scales, both spatial and temporal, to permeate and complement them. Time Square, in New York, would be a "manifesto" of this, if we were to consider that every day, 24 hours a day, those who consciously (globalised companies) or unconsciously (the hundreds of thousands of passers-by every day) intermingle there contribute to the evidence that it is one of the "*cross-roads of the world*". So is Calais, but in a different way. "The⁷⁹ Jungle has become a "hyper-place" precisely because it has condensed, over a given period of time, individual time-spaces

⁷⁵ François Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expériences du temps*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2003.

⁷⁶ Michel Agier, *Anthropologie de la ville*, *op. cit.* p. 125.

⁷⁷ Michel Lussault, *Hyper-Lieux. Les nouvelles géographies de la mondialisation*, *op. cit.* 2017, p. 56.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 56.

⁷⁹ The camp's original name, "de la Lande", was immediately renamed the "Jungle", using the Pashtun term "*djangal*", meaning "corner of the forest", used by some of the migrants who arrived at the camp.

that have come together for similar reasons. An event therefore creates a hyper-polarity, and it is entirely appropriate to refer to their existence as a "hyper-place-event"⁸⁰ .

In this nomenclature, the concept of "hors-lieu" is less general, having been coined to refer to "places of transit". Its promoter, Michel Agier, has used it as a semantic resource to describe a reality that may be highly composite, but which can be reduced to a certain number of features. Heterotopic" spaces, as Michel Foucault defined these "kinds of places that are outside of all places, even though they can actually be located"⁸¹ , Agier's "out-of-place" spaces⁸² are characterised by three *ex*: exception from a legal point of view; extraterritoriality from a spatial point of view; exclusion when we come to consider their social structure. Because they are home to those who, as Giorgio Agamben points out, find themselves in "a zone of indistinction between inside and outside, exception and rule, licit and illicit, where the very concepts of subjective right and legal protection no longer have any meaning"⁸³ , because their extraterritoriality is such that they are obscured from the map of a country or region even though they may be in the spotlight, these "out-of-place places are constituted first and foremost as outsiders, placed on the edges or limits of the normal order of things - a "normal" order that remains, to this day, ultimately a national and increasingly urban order"⁸⁴ . From then on, to live in an "out-of-place" is to suffer a double exclusion: an exclusion from the places of origin that have been lost as a result of forced displacement; and an exclusion from the space of the "local populations" insofar as the vast majority of the latter do not wish to be confronted with an otherness that is not consented to.

This taxonomy obviously has its reasons, and it is thanks to this typology that we think we can go further. One thing is clear: the concepts presented function in a profoundly dichotomous relationship which, if only in the use of the prefixes attached to the term place (non-, hyper-, hors-), encourages us to think in terms of oppositions. "Non-place' *versus* an-

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 119.

⁸¹ Michel Foucault, *Des espaces autres*, in *Dits et écrits*, t. IV, Paris, Gallimard, 1984, p. 752-762.

⁸² Michel Agier, *Campement urbain. Du refuge naît le ghetto*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁸³ Giorgio Agamben, *État d'exception. Homo Sacer II, 1*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2003.

⁸⁴ Michel Agier, *Anthropologie de la ville*, *op. cit.* p. 66.

thropological place, local co-presence/global connection, *ex* and *in*: these are all ways of approaching 'places of transit', positioning them either as islands or as spaces so connected to a globalised exterior that they cannot be considered as stakeholders in the territories that are most immediately adjacent to them⁸⁵. In the *final analysis*, this twofold dimension ties in with a principle that guides a number of studies: insularisation. It is because 'places of transit' are approached as places that are so different in their topography, morphology and temporality - which, of course, they are - that it is difficult to analyse them for what they also are: ephemeral parts (albeit⁸⁶), *anchored in* a wider space. The term "*anchoring*" seems the most appropriate for documenting what the camp does to the "host" territory (city, island, suburb, etc.) and vice versa. *Anchoring* is, remember, the act of dropping anchor and, therefore, the possibility of lifting it. This tension, which is at the very heart of this action, refers back to what camps are: segments of an eminently complex social reality that vacillate between the ephemeral and the tendency towards permanence, instability and the aspiration towards stability. *Anchoring* thus makes it possible to discuss two phenomena that we tend too often to separate: hyper-mobility in a post-modern world shaped by flows that would mechanically give birth to such 'places of transit'; staticity, which is often confused in certain discourses with notions as complex, when they are mastered, as those of proximity, locality⁸⁷ or even autochthony⁸⁸. However, a close look at the camps in their immediate environment reveals that they are less ecosystems obeying their own laws than places at the intersection of the mobile and the static or, in the words of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "smooth space" and "striated space"⁸⁹. *Anchoring* is therefore, when applied to "transit places", a way of avoiding reducing them to forms of atomisation and a means of reinserting them into a spatial fabric blended by incessant movements (goods transport, tourism, commuting, etc.) that they hybridise in dif-

⁸⁵ For example: Alessandro Petti, *Arcipelaghi e enclave*, Milan, Mondadori, 2007.

⁸⁶ Some camps are ephemera that last: Lavrio is a perfect example.

⁸⁷ Michel Agier, *Anthropologie de la ville*, *op. cit.* p. 126.

⁸⁸ Marcel Detienne, *Comment être autochtone. Du pur Athénien au Français raciné*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2003.

⁸⁹ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux*, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

ferent ways by embodying two oxymorons that could define them: a "blocked mobile"; a "temporary that lasts".

Tempus fugit

Anchoring is fundamentally a matter of intersections, and *anchoring* is therefore difficult to grasp, because the interactions between spatialities as different as a suburban neighbourhood developed by a municipality, a town centre duly identified by the inhabitants and a "transit site" call into question what constitutes the experience of living. Take the case of the "Jungle". The area, which housed around 10,000 people at the height of its expansion, is regarded either as an exceptional cell, studied for its quasi-programmatic architecture and vernacular aspects⁹⁰, or as one of the links in a number of individual and collective trajectories marked by hyper-connectivity. But it is also, if we want to read it in all its complexity, a place that exists in, through and against Calais. *Anchored* in the city, the "Jungle" has never ceased to "disrupt" the urban rhythm of a conurbation that is most often considered to be linear, homogeneous and regular. It was by becoming aware of this disruption and the questions that go with it (can we identify this disruption as an exogenous break in the urban pulse, or is it merely a revelation of the multiplicity of suburban temporalities unified by a general rhythm?) that I chose to approach time and temporalities as a tool for grasping what forms the *anchorage* of the camp.

Sandra Bonfiglioli, on the one hand, and Kamel Doraï and Nicolas Puig, on the other, have marked out this entry point through time. In *L'Architettura del tempo*⁹¹, Bonfiglioli proposes, following on from Krzysztof Pomian's work⁹², to consider the existence of a specifically urban "temporal architecture". A blend of several temporal strata (individual, collective, relational, physical, transcendental, etc.), this architecture is specific because its components coexist diachronically without their differences being cancelled out, overcome or incorporated into a more general, fundamentally uniform temporality that every city aims to allow people

⁹⁰ Robert Venturi, Scott Brown Denise and Steven Izenour (eds.), *Learning from Las Vegas*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1972.

⁹¹ Sandra Bonfiglioli, *L'Architettura del tempo. La città multimediale*, Naples, Liguori editore, 1990.

⁹² Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Ordre du temps*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984.

to experience and show. In *L'Urbanité des marges*, the two social science researchers draw on the idea that "transit sites" are "sites of interval"⁹³, because they constitute a temporal break in urban continuity. Places where exile becomes an expectation, their synchronisation with the rest of the surrounding space is profoundly aporetic: As "neighbourhoods" full of a social life that would make them resemble spaces of "organised precariousness" (shanty towns, favelas...), they are forced to adapt to a new reality., they are both marginally (some migrants work "in town") and centrally (rounds of the forces of law and order) subject to the tempo of urban planning; mushroom "neighbourhoods" designed and built in a hurry, they can be dismantled just as quickly to become "evaporation neighbourhoods"; territories of human misery at the centre of media attention, their programmed disappearance by the public authorities is part of a desire to erase them from memory. Places without memory because, as in the case of "places of remembrance", the aim is not to make them the producers of a shared history⁹⁴, they remain places where a latent collective memory struggles to express itself because the relays that would allow it to emerge do not exist and are in no way supported by the State.

1.3- The meaning of anchoring

Living at

No architecture library could overcome this first-group verb. Ever since architecture became architecture, a Vitruvian science at the service of the city, it has been so heavily invested in a mortifying tandem: to live is to remain; to live is to move. The opposition between those who advocate a definition based on sedentariness, the idea of a place itself that would have such a performative dimension that the place would manufacture society, and those who start from the principle that movement is at the heart of the urban fact, this opposition causes a dulling of the perception of the said fact.

There is obviously truth in both categorisations. Mathis Stock, for example, highlights the difficulty that everyone faces when it comes to moving beyond a definition based solely

⁹³ Kamel Dorai and Nicolas Puig (eds.), *L'Urbanité des marges. Migrants et réfugiés dans les villes du Proche-Orient*, op. cit, p. 15.

⁹⁴ Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, t. 1: *La République*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984.

on the equation that inhabiting equals being in space⁹⁵. Heidegger, whose work has been much commented on by theorists of space, invoked "the way in which mortals are on Earth" as "a fundamental trait of the human being" and postulated: "To be human means: to be on Earth as a mortal, that is to say: to inhabit⁹⁶". This interpretation, which, because it has been widely commented on and disseminated, has become a veritable paradigm, confines the human condition to its capacity to reside as close as possible to a place that constitutes the main part of its identity. What looks like yet another variation on the feeling of autochthony, a feeling that presided over the development of an ideology of being-here in ancient Greece, as magnificently expressed by Nicole Loraux and summarised by Marcel Detienne at⁹⁷, refers back to these words that enclose more and more: rootedness, proximity, fixity, immobility⁹⁸ delimit a lexicon whose rhetorical and political uses offer every kind of facility of mind and expression for affirming that one-is-good-from-somewhere. From the cherishing of 'the earth and the dead' in the work of Maurice Barrès⁹⁹ to the most contemporary injunction of 'rootedness¹⁰⁰' as an antidote to a post-modernity made up of flux, there is a whole range of statements that resonate more or less opportunely with the Heideggerian model. Moreover, in a world where mobility is no longer Heidegger's time, the definition of being-in-the-world in its inhabitation stumbles over situations that the paradigm struggles to approach. Stock is therefore right to conclude: "The question of inhabitation can no longer be posed as a question of a single modality of *being* with space, but of *multiple* relationships to space, brought to light according to intentionalities and practices¹⁰¹".

⁹⁵ Mathis Stock, "Théorie de l'habiter. Questionnements", in Thierry Paquot, Michel Lussault and Chris Younès (eds.), *Habiter, le propre de l'humain*, Paris, La Découverte, 2007, p. 103-125, p. 104.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 106.

⁹⁷ Nicole Loraux, *La Cité divisée. L'oubli dans la mémoire d'Athènes*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 1997; Marcel Detienne, *Comment être autochtone. Du pur Athénien au Français raciné*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2003.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 109.

⁹⁹ Maurice Barrès, *La Terre et les Morts*, Paris, L'Herne, 2016.

¹⁰⁰ Marcel Detienne, *Comment être autochtone. Du pur Athénien au Français raciné*, *op. cit.*

¹⁰¹ Mathis Stock, "Théorie de l'habiter. Questionnements", art. cité, p. 111.

An alternative to this model, which has made sedentary life the alpha and omega of the way we exist, has been built around the figure of the nomad. In the 1960s, Georges-Hubert de Radkowski published "Le crépuscule des sédentaires"¹⁰², a key contribution to his future *Anthropologie de l'habiter* - subtitled *Vers le nomadisme*¹⁰³. The aim could not have been clearer: to restore to the centre of human activity the movement that had been depreciated by a 'school' concerned with thinking of man solely in terms of his epicentres. The Polish philosopher called for account to be taken of the emergence of a "network-space in which living no longer means residing, but circulating"¹⁰⁴. The shift was profound. Beyond the often fantasised reification of the nomad, there was, in this case, a desire to take up the question of inhabiting by linking it to old and new forms of mobility¹⁰⁵. Erected as a possible way of being present in the world, polytopia took the opposite tack from a monotopia that was far too reductive to be capable of embracing the multiplicity of spatial challenges that punctuate the lives of individuals. Mass tourism, secondary residentialisation, a workforce that is both salaried and managerial 'summoned' to live the same life in different places: modernity, in its globalised expression, has accentuated diversified appropriations of space, to say the least.

What seems obvious to us today - the massification of unconstrained mobility and constrained travel, in other words, the possibility/obligation of becoming unfamiliar with a place that is *a priori* familiar - should not, however, force us to think of space solely in terms of flows. It would be a mistake to suggest that the hypertrophy of movement can only lead to a global nomadism, as if the 'Mongolian horseman', an ecstatic figure of an unlimited and unbounded universe, became the archetype of societies combining wandering and the yurt, in other words the ability to move around while remaining momentarily somewhere. Charlotte Marchina is right to point out that the Mongols are not nomads who herd cattle but "herders

¹⁰² Georges-Hubert de Radkowski, "Le crépuscule des sédentaires", *L'Homme et la ville*, no. 13, 1967.

¹⁰³ Georges-Hubert de Radkowski, *Anthropologie de l'habiter. Vers le nomadisme*, Paris, Puf, 2002.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁵ Céline Regnard's recent book, *En transit. Les Syriens à Beyrouth, Marseille, Le Havre, New York (1880-1914)*, Paris, Anamosa, 2022, devotes a chapter to ways of "inhabiting transit", p. 37-101.

who nomadise¹⁰⁶ ", which is obviously not the same thing. In a recent and highly acclaimed book, *Où sont les gens du voyage?* the legal scholar William Acker, who rightly dedicates a paragraph of his typology to *sedentary Travellers*, points out: "Sedentarisation cannot therefore be limited solely to a process that leads from a mobile to a sedentary way of life. Sedentarisation is an alteration of the Voyage. Yet the complexity of the Voyage has been reduced to a term, itself emptied of its substance by the jurist, that of *nomadism*". And Acker adds: "This means that discrimination (legal and social) still exists, so that today it is possible to be sedentary without being considered sedentary, by being referred to as a "nomad" (when in fact you are not) and therefore as a "sedentary Traveller", an oxymoron that makes it possible to maintain a form of identification and social control over individuals considered on an essentially ethnic basis¹⁰⁷ ".

As you will have noted, two opposing approaches often preclude any possibility of taking other paths, because by building one against the other, they have constantly ossified and, as a result, have confined a great deal of research to models that needed, if not to be developed further, at least to be validated. So what can be done? It seems to me that if we are to move beyond a sometimes caricatured opposition, we need to go back to the most commonly accepted definition (to inhabit is to habitually occupy a place and, by extension, "to habitually stand in"¹⁰⁸) and twist it in a way that gives it greater plasticity: to inhabit is as much a question of *habitus* as of appropriation of a space, whether permanent or ephemeral, on condition that we remember that appropriation does not boil down to mere installation. Vinciane Despret's observation of "bird-like inhabitation" enables her to capture the complexity of appropriating a place: not a way of being established there, but a way of making a place a perimeter contiguous to one's own presence. From then on, every space exists according to the presence of the person who gives it body, form and representation. Despret points out: "I understand the term appropriation here in Souriau's sense, a sense that relates the proper to appropriation (...). According to Souriau, writes David Lapoujade, "to possess does not consist in appropriating

¹⁰⁶ Charlotte Marchina, *Nomad's land. Éleveurs, animaux et paysage chez les peuples mongols*, Le Kremlin-Bicêtre, Zones Sensibles, 2019, p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ William Acker, *Où sont les gens du voyage*, Rennes, Éditions du commun, 2021, p. 92 and p. 93.

¹⁰⁸ Definition cnrtl.

ting a good or a being. Appropriation is not about property but about the proper. The verb of appropriation should not be used in the pronominal but in the active voice: to possess is not to appropriate, but to *appropriate to...*, i.e. to make exist in one's own right. Or, in other words, and this will be even clearer, we can say that a being appropriates its existence to new dimensions¹⁰⁹ ". In many respects, Henri Lefebvre had already brought this up to date by developing the idea that the body is capable of making space (see 5.1 *below*).

This phenomenology of living is at the heart of the animal condition. Let's look at a few examples. Birds mark out their territory through their song, in other words "through a regime of actual presence¹¹⁰ ". Song is both the signal of their presence and the element that permeates a space. This space becomes all the more theirs when the other birds know not to nest there. The temporal variable is fundamental in this species, and it is for this reason that Despret goes on to evoke "a different relationship [with mammals] to presence at time¹¹¹ ": to sing at a moment *t* is to make a place exist at a given moment. For mammals, it's a different matter: their "historical presence regime¹¹² " defines a place over time in terms of the traces they leave behind. A wolf's territory remains after the wolf has left the area, because its footsteps are still there. The smell of a cat's urine tells its fellow cats whether or not it has been there recently, and whether or not they can enter what may or may not be a sanctuary, depending on the passage of time. Here, appropriation is a function of the evanescence of the trace, and therefore of its historicity. Ants are no exception to the "rule": their pheromones influence the paths of those who follow them. Vinciane Despret concludes: "The animal then becomes as much appropriated *by* and *to* the space as it appropriates it by marking it, creating with the places a bodily agreement by which the 'self' and the 'non-self' are rendered indistinct¹¹³ ".

¹⁰⁹ Vinciane Despret, *Habiter en oiseau*, Arles, Actes Sud, 2019, p. 120-121.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 35.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹¹² *Ibid*.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, p. 36.

The time of inhabiting

Inhabiting, then, is not so much about being in an *in situ setting* that we endow with functions and properties that place the individual, once and for all, in an ecosystem. Nor does it mean meshing a territory according to its trajectory and the points that will conveniently mark it out. It's about being in space, because we are first and foremost beings who inhabit time. Consequently, observing and analysing the anthropisation of the world also means taking an interest (above all, above all?) in the ways in which space is appropriated, provided we see them as ways of giving concrete expression to what individuals and societies project onto their time(s). We can see that, because travellers - whose term obviously carries with it the idea of non-staticity - and migrants do not have the same relationship to the time of living, their appropriations of an apparently identical space do not have the same resonance, the same effectiveness or the same formulations. In this respect, it is worth noting that the difficulty of categorising "places of transit" and the proliferation of terms used to try and define them reflect the multiplicity of ways in which spaces are appropriated, so that, in a desire for shorthand, they are easily (too easily?) classified as "camp(s)" and their residents as "migrants"¹¹⁴.

In the light of these introductory thoughts, we will assume that time is not only a fact, a datum, a variable, a focal point of intellectual reflection, but that it can become a key, and not the least important one, in the researchers' toolbox. To state this, is to affirm, as we shall develop *below*, that our bias is based on a choice: the assembly of urban space as a spatial assembly so heterogeneous that it would benefit from being deciphered from the focal point of time.

¹¹⁴ *Terre Natale. Ailleurs commence ici (Elsewhere Begins Here)*: the exhibition held at the Fondation Cartier (Paris) from 21 November 2008 to 15 March 2009 explored the relationship between mobile living and the issues of rootedness/deracination for migrants; a book summarises the content: Paul Virilio, Raymond Depardon, Diller Scofidio + Renfro, Mark Hansen, Laura Kurgan, Ben Rubin, *Terre Natale. Ailleurs commence ici*, Arles, Actes Sud-Fondation Cartier, 2009.

1.4- What to do?

City laboratories

Indicators, symbols and symptoms of our 'late modernity', made up of countless tensions between mobility and immobility, ebb and flow, 'places of transit' didn't wait for architects to take an interest in them. "Hors-lieux", "non-lieux", "lieux intervalles", they are above all, in my view, places that encourage us to reconsider the city in its entirety. Nothing would be more clumsy than to freeze them in their exteriority or their marginality, which would return them to what many residents and their spokespeople in Europe want: their invisibility. Because they clash with the routine conceptions of architects and urban planners, who see sedentarity and permanence as the fundamental, even univocal, relationship between society and space¹¹⁵, "places of transit" can be conceived, on the *contrary*, as laboratories of the city in the making. They could be described as "places of general impact", so much so do they question, by the very fact of their existence, what constitutes the essence of the city. Let's take a look at the homogeneity and density of the places that make up the city, the ways in which they are used and inhabited, the ways in which they are constructed (formal and informal constructions), and the relationship between public and private spaces in their crucible. Far more than interstices, holes or gaps that need to be circumscribed or even erased, "transit spaces" are aporetic spaces in that they are a spatial and temporal breach in what constitutes the functional perimeter of architecture: the ordering of the place.

What amounts to a reversal of perspective (starting from a knot in order to think of a whole) requires the architect to take up the question of time. More than just an opportune focal point, time is, in fact, a category of analysis and a category of practice. Let's imagine the city as a geological map: the colours would no longer refer to the spatial distribution of lithological facies, but to what makes the city what it is: an addition of pockets of time. If we assume that every place is a palimpsest, that it is an aggregate of portions, each with its own his-

¹¹⁵ Nausicaa Pezzoni, *La Città sradicata. Geografie dell'abitare contemporaneo*, Milan, O barra, 2013, p. 30.

tory and temporality, then we suggest that the architect is both a morphologist (an interest in the "shape of a city"¹¹⁶ ") and a stratigrapher (an awareness of its sedimentation).

Getting equipped

Living with time means discerning and/or provoking points of temporal contact that allow the whole to be held together by its parts. Taking into account the singularity of a "place of transit" - by extension, the singularity of any spatial segment - not in order to make it the umpteenth showcase for an architectural uchrony, but rather a place connected to the general pulse of the city, is as much a matter of being able to interpret the plurality of its rhythms as it is of taking an interest in their assembly. The architect is a composer, and architecture is an ever-renewed process of composition. Applied to the question of time, this assertion implies that we prefer to consider the architectural act as a process whose primary virtue is that it is based on a reticular dialogue. Many architects see the process as an act of synthesis, offering a solution to a problem (the enigma) by making their skills available. The dialogical dimension of the process as we see it from the centrality given to time articulates two aspects. Driven by its own historicity, the process is defined first and foremost, as it progresses, as a linking together of theory and practice. Confronting, aggregating and combining elements that come as much from intellectual and technical toolkits as from a 'terrain' full of social and spatial contradictions, means combining thoughts and experiences with different histories and uncertain contemporaneities. The reticular dialogue that the architect promotes serves to combine them, as far as possible, into a grammar that, because it draws "elsewhere", is its own. By precipitating a point of junction which, at a moment *t* (terminal, momentary), offers a subjectivised alignment (the architect's subjectivity) of the past, the architect participates in their concretion into a future thought of as common. But there is more. The reticular dialogue is based (this is the second aspect) on the fact that the architectural operation links spaces (and the individual and collective social experiences inscribed in them) in order to integrate them into a (unique?) 'place'. While the architect cannot be the master of time, let us think of him as

¹¹⁶ Reference to Julien Gracq, *La Forme d'une ville*, Paris, José Corti, 1985.

a watchmaker whose work, because it goes beyond his project - his 'terrain' - aims to set the city's clocks in time.

The aim of this project is to examine the spatial transformation of 'transit places' for migrants, particularly in 21st century Europe. The aim is to analyse the relationship between these places and the contemporary city, and how the latter is being transformed, or should be transformed, taking account - or not - of their existence. These urban phenomena are part of a short period of time, with a 'normatively' limited duration; however, their existence has an impact on the morphology of the city over a (more or less) long period. Talking about these places means extracting them from their so-called 'non-existence'. On the one hand, they are hidden from the social reality of many of the inhabitants who are their immediate neighbours and contemporaries. On the other hand, they are such focal points that the media make them the embodiment of major global issues (migration, terrorism, geopolitical relations, etc.). We can also look at the erosion of traces or, on the contrary, their exaltation, which contribute, or not, to making them, if not places of memory, at least places of a pluralised memory, given the personal or collective trajectories of which they are the receptacles.

Rather than considering them as 'out-of-place' or as 'high places' (mediatic and, therefore, ephemeral because they are 'in the spotlight'), why not 'cool down' the subject? We could in fact consider them as places which, like the other elements of the urban jigsaw puzzle, (de)structure, organise and give structure to the city and the lives of those who live there. These questions seem to me to be all the more timely given that migratory phenomena in Europe are most often managed as 'crisis' or 'emergency' phenomena, to which are commonly attached the themes of 'impossible management', 'overflow' or 'non-absorption'. The proliferation of camps and places of refuge in Europe is the most obvious sign of this "crisis". Characterised by a specific temporality, one in which exile becomes waiting, these places are "intervals" because they are as much perimeters obeying specific social and spatial dynamics as "pockets of time" covering ways of living in this territory that are out of sync or poorly synchronised with the "urban pulse".

The question of time seems to me to be a decisive entry point for reading the relationships between these places, whose nomenclature we would first have to study in order to qualify them, and the territories in which they are located. To write that these camps are pockets

of time is: 1) to state a reality, since all micro-society obeys temporal logics; 2) to try to go against this common sense by understanding this pocket of time as a prism that makes it possible to 'reveal' in counterpoint an 'urban pulse' that is so homogeneous that it would condemn these 'out-of-place' places to being pockets of an urban 'out-of-time'. And yet there are contacts between these pockets and their environment that go beyond the single interface constituted by the camp boundaries (the transport network, the local press in its role of constructing an urban identity, street names, contacts with players from outside the camps, first and foremost the NGOs)¹¹⁷.

The time spent in a "place of transit" is an interweaving of individual timeframes based on different personal trajectories. However, it is based on their temporary homogenisation within the same framework (food distribution, showers, school at set times, etc.). Above all, it is a laboratory for the interactions between these temporalities and the granularity of the urban fabric. To understand the impact of these interactions, I believe that a multiscale analysis is necessary. This type of approach enables comparisons to be made at both spatial and temporal levels - these two levels need to be permanently linked and not studied independently of each other, space being considered as a block of time. On the scale of a year, a newly created 'transit site' takes the form of an epiphenomenon. On the scale of a decade, if the 'transit site' still exists at all, it may appear as much as a 'cyst' as a routine feature of the urban landscape. On the scale of a century, what can it be: a residual space, an integrated space, a place forgotten in the same way as another part of the city? One thing is certain: seeing the city as a palimpsest allows us to consider it as a mosaic of pieces that are reconfigured over time. *Ultimately*, this way of looking at things invites us to consider the possible existence of the trace as a condensation of human and spatial experience.

When we talk about the trace, we inevitably refer to two major authors, Walter Benjamin and Carlo Ginzburg. In *Paris, Capital of the 19TH Century*^e, the German philosopher drew a distinction between the trace and the aura: "The trace is the appearance of a proximity, however distant that which left it may be. The aura is the appearance of a distance, however

¹¹⁷ Kamel Dorai and Nicolas Puig write in the introduction to their collective work: "We want to bring to light some of the mechanisms by which spatial segregation is established in the city and different formulas for differentiation and cohabitation are developed", "Insertions urbaines et espaces relationnels des migrants et réfugiés au Proche-Orient", art. cité, p. 12.

close that which evokes it may be. With the trace, we take possession of the thing; with the aura, it is the thing that takes possession of us¹¹⁸. The trace thus becomes an imprint and, in its elementary form, invites those who pay attention to it to consider that something has happened. In a vein that takes up "the immemorial meaning of the imprint¹¹⁹", Carlo Ginzburg in turn mobilises the trace within the framework of his indexical paradigm, the birth of which he dates from the 19^e century. Here we have an extract and a statement: "We can therefore speak of an indexical or divinatory paradigm, which, depending on the form of knowledge, looks to the past, the present or the future. Towards the future - and we had divination in the literal sense; towards the past, present and future - we had medical semiotics in its dual aspect of diagnosis and prognosis; towards the past and we had jurisprudence. But behind this indexical or divinatory paradigm we can glimpse what is perhaps the most ancient gesture in the intellectual history of the human race: that of the hunter crouching in the mud, scrutinising the tracks of his prey"; "If reality is opaque, there are privileged areas - tracks, clues - that make it possible to decipher it¹²⁰". History, as a narrative, is nothing more than a selection of traces that leave other traces in suspense, obliterating or excluding them. To get off the beaten track produced by techniques for reading the past (the narrative, in all its linear and etiological aspects, is one of them, and the main one at that), is to give back to the trace its primary quality: to be a source of questioning and, consequently, of hypotheses, provided, as Ginzburg reminds us, that each trace 'plays' with a set of traces that can answer each other if the question intended for them is the most accurately posed. For me, then, the trace will be less an arbitrary thing (the fixing of something once and for all) than an open breach in time and space. So, if we adopt the idea that any 'city' can be conceived, in Tim Ingold's terminology, as a 'mesh' whose lines 'are knotted in the middle' while 'its ends, always free, seek to attach themselves to other lines¹²¹', then we can imagine that the traces participate in the elaboration of these

¹¹⁸ Walter Benjamin, *Paris, capitale du XIX^e siècle. Le Livre des passages*, Paris, Cerf, 1989, p. 464.

¹¹⁹ Patrick Boucheron, *Faire profession d'historien, op. cit.* p. 28.

¹²⁰ Carlo Ginzburg, "Traces. Racines d'un paradigme indiciaire", in *Mythes emblèmes traces. Morphologie et histoire*, Lagrasse, Verdier, 2010 [1986], p. 218-294, p. 246-247 and p. 290.

¹²¹ Quoted in Catherine Perret, *Le Tacite, l'humain. Anthropologie politique de Fernand Deligny*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2021, p. 354-355.

knots. The trace is what determines the presence (past, present or even future) of a place. Bringing space and time together here amounts to 'discovering' what constitutes a mesh, paradoxically not very visible and yet matrix-like, of urban space where the nodes are called chronotopes, urban continuities and spatial resistances. This is my horizon.

Chronotope (rhythm), urban continuity (duration) and spatial resistance (memory) are the three categories I use to decipher the mesh (for a justification of the categories used, see 2.2 *below*). Because they have a specific relationship with this nomenclature, the 'places of transit' serve as a spur to a better understanding of the urban composition. With the categories at the heart of my approach, I decided to study a certain number of cases on the basis of what they were capable of generating in terms of understanding the network in which these places are located. This approach may come as a surprise, because it goes against the grain of what is commonly accepted: starting with a field and, on the basis of what is observed there, breaking it down into ready-to-use categories. To avoid this kind of mechanistic, not to say deterministic, approach, I think it would be more appropriate to take a more panoramic view. I could have taken three examples - the Calais conurbation, the island of Lesbos and the town of Lavrio - and put them through the mill of my triad. The reason I didn't go down this route is that stripping away the leaves would have led to repetition. The point is not to say that the memory of the 'Jungle' (Calais) is equivalent to that of the Moria camp (Lesbos), but to point out that their memory channels have much in common because the 'world of the camps' forms an apparently homogenous landscape within a European society which, despite differences in status and nationality, is subject to similar logics of memory and, more generally, of time. In the course of my reflections, it became clear to me that focusing on 'borderline cases' in terms of the categories that mattered to me would be all the more interesting in that these cases offer the opportunity to complicate and thicken what is at the heart of my questioning: how time can reveal the continuities and discontinuities of urban space (see 2.2 *below*).

The choice I have made to focus on five cases reflects my desire to cover a variety of situations that the term "place of transit" tends to standardise too much. For migrants, Lesbos and Lampedusa are 'gateways' to the European Union. As islands in the Mediterranean, they embody the policy of hotspots in Europe and the difficulties involved in setting them up, organising them and managing them in an environment that they have disrupted. The town of

Lavrio (Greece) is less a "place of transit", in the sense that it is structurally ephemeral, than a "transit machine" (between Turkey and the rest of the continent) with all the social and political engineering that this implies. Faced with the obligation of detention due to its border position, the Calais conurbation has, for more than three decades, been the setting for a sprawl of more or less permanent camps, of which the "Jungle" has been like a crystallisation. This urban sprawl has had an impact on the way in which urbanity is produced, in the same way as the 'reception' sites for migrants in the other cases mentioned. I propose to combine these four cases with the examples of the Palestinian and Syrian camps in Jordan in order to examine, by comparison, the dynamics involved in the integration, or otherwise, of these 'transit sites' into a network that extends beyond them both spatially and temporally.



A World of Fragile Parts. The Venice Biennale, *Reporting from the Front*, 2016. Photo de Andrea Avezzi.

Chapter 2: From space to time

"At its origins, the city stood still. Two founding myths preside over its existence and underpin its supremacy. The wall on the one hand, and the age of the foundation and past splendour on the other, freeze cities in time and space. (...) Even if the wall remains, the image of the walled city fades. But ancient walls didn't just provide material security. They also provided conceptual security. The wall defined the space of the city, but it also defined its very being, if not more so. No more walls. Where is the city? (...) *The new image of the city, which took hold in the second half of the EIGHTEENTH century^e*, introduced the city into the realm of the variable. Making the nature and intensity of economic activity criteria for urbanity meant subjecting the city to the economic climate and its variations¹²²". We owe these observations to the historian Bernard Lepetit, who took a fresh approach to urban history in the 1980s, to the point where his work, *Les Villes dans la France moderne (1740-1840)*, is now considered a classic. These remarks form the framework for his research, and they explain why the city as we represent it is based on criteria in which the spatial is shaped and moulded by time, not only because the city changes, but also because the ways in which it is perceived and experienced depend closely on what a society makes time say. By giving birth to fluidity, modernity unquestionably reconfigured time and the categories that went with it. It is therefore with and in relation to modernity that it is possible, if not desirable, to produce a discourse on space.

¹²² Bernard Lepetit, *Les Villes dans la France moderne (1740-1840)*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1988, p. 60, p. 62, p. 80-81. Emphasis added.

2.1- Reversing the perspective

From collage to score

As you will have gathered, time will be my main tool for understanding places and, more specifically, 'places of transit', in the context of this thesis.

We start from the obvious: every territory is an assembly whose parts are linked by interactions that modify its perimeter, topography and morphology. We'll say that one of the crucial elements of this combination is the mortar: what ensures that, in one configuration, the assembly holds together, or that it cracks, heals, cracks again before sometimes collapsing. Mazagão is a borderline case. Mazagão was originally a Christian fortress built by the Portuguese in 1514 on the southern coast of present-day Morocco. More than two centuries after it was founded, because it was too expensive to maintain and because the geopolitical stakes had changed, the decision was taken in 1759 to move the population to the other side of the Atlantic. 2,000 inhabitants were called upon to populate Nova Mazagão along a tributary of the Amazon. Transit camps and forced deportations were all part of the move. The displacement in space also became a displacement in time, and the new assemblage functioned in part on the imitation of a mythologised history that now held together an experiment (a utopia?) that would gradually fade away over the course of the 19^e century to become nothing more than a shelter for fleeing Indians¹²³ .

As far as I'm concerned, Mazagão is a borderline case in more ways than one. The fortress embodies the existence of an unchangeable perimeter within which the inhabitants have little room for manoeuvre in managing their flows. The urban mole is also an example of deliberate, but not exclusive, sealing off from the outside world. The authorities felt that the citadel's relocation project was based on the same architectural challenges and, consequently, on the use of the same mortar that was supposed to hold a society together across the ocean. But, and this is the central point, this urban pocket that was also a pocket of time could no longer be an identical pocket because the space-time of the Amazon and the new social temporalities born of transposition condemned Nova Mazagão, despite the replica of the name, to be this other

¹²³ Laurent Vidal, *Mazagão, la ville qui traversa l'Atlantique, du Maroc à l'Amazonie (1769-1783)*, Paris, Aubier, 2005.

thing. In fact, it was because it was something else that it disappeared, leaving only very modest traces. Reputed to be borderline cases, 'places of transit' could resemble Mazagão, though comparison is obviously not reason, when one reads the most commonly accepted discourse on what they are supposed to be. There are countless books and articles objectifying them as exceptions, places-in-their-own (see 1.2) whose 'reputation' is staked on their singularities. The borderline case here is that element of the assemblage which seems to challenge the mortar of the urban unit, and it is often for this reason that behind its identification, there is a hypertrophy of its exceptionality. Now, if we are willing to consider any 'transit place' as a temporal unit that enters into a relationship with the other temporal units that make up the 'city', we will argue that its difference is not solely, not fundamentally, a matter of its morphology (architectural, spatial, social), but of what makes this place synchronise or not, with difficulty or not, in terms of the ecosystem with which it interacts, with other urban segments - in other words, with other pockets of time. Understanding the assembly of an urban space is therefore based on an initial operation that is very often overlooked: the decomposition of the said assembly into as many temporal units that exist not only in the reality of life but also, and this is one of the functions of researchers, in their eyes and from their point of view.

Vinciane Despret uses another term, that of score, to define what a territory is: "The score is, on the one hand, what is written by the musical choir composing with songs and, on the other hand, what describes the operation of dividing space into differentiated territories - with the precision that the term has today lost its sense of division in favour of that of 'sharing'¹²⁴". She adds that partition "designates both a musical composition and a way of dividing up and sharing places¹²⁵". The term "partition" is one of the most apt to capture the difficulty we face in deciphering any humanised space. When played, a score implies, as soon as it involves several instruments, the implementation not only of actors and devices designed to hold them together, but also and above all a game, complete with its own rules, with the "architectures of time". By "architectures of time" we mean what, through an appropriate lexicon, conveys both the idea of time and the experience of it. Duration, rhythm and memory are variations on a well-established semantics, and I'm not interested in them for what they

¹²⁴ Vinciane Despret, *Habiter en oiseau*, op. cit. p. 169.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

are most commonly used for - being scales - but for what they can be used for: as instruments in the service of a finer understanding of what an assemblage is. In short, and in a lapidary formula, we can say that if the city is a symphony, its score will be all the more legible if these three categories give it back the finesse of its arrangements.

The metaphor of the city as a score can be matched by another metaphor: the city as a collage. This metaphor will allow me to explore the dimensions of assemblage in greater depth. Coined by Colin Rowe¹²⁶ and taken up in particular by Kevin Lynch¹²⁷, the idea that the modern city is conceivable through a *tabula rasa* (it would subject its existence to the possibility of (re)building without taking into account the historicity of previous forms) is a utopian idea that has no place because it denies what makes the city the city: a set of strata and traces, deposits and renewals, thwarted ambitions and aborted projects, dilatory developments and a kind of rectitude which, all in all, gives it a line if not of hope at least of existence. I mentioned the term mortar, which holds the whole thing together. For Rowe, the mortar is undoubtedly time, except that time is taken univocally in the sense of history. A city 'holds together' because the past pre-empts not only the present but also the future, and a dialogue is established that is akin to passing the baton: each stage confirms the existence of the previous one and affirms in filigree the advent of the next, so that the city is like the arrow of time; it is stretched between a here and now that is projected into a there and now in the name of a retrospective vision of its 'destiny'. Let's turn, perhaps surprisingly, to the geological map. I like to use it because it enriches the collage with a dimension that is often under-recognised, its three-dimensional dimension. What links the geological map and the collage is their ability to be used as a metaphor in the service of a spatio-temporal representation. Using patches of colour, the geological map represents the rocks that outcrop on the earth's surface. The colours correspond to the ages of the rock deposits. The contours visible on the map therefore tell a three-dimensional story: the geometry of the layers; the mineral classifications; the erosion of the traces. By analogy, the city cannot simply be read as a collection of elements that coexist despite having been created at different and sometimes very distant times. It is also a combination of strata that pile up over time and, in some cases, destroy themselves or are destroyed.

¹²⁶ Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage city*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1984.

¹²⁷ Kevin Lynch, *The image of the city*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1990 [1960].

What a geological map provides is both a composition at a given point in time t and a cross-section showing the sum of points in time t^{128} .

Reading the time

As we can see, the approach based on time is a delicate one, to say the least, because the way in which it is used most often remains trapped in a synthetic function which drowns out its potential for interpretation. This is the point of view defended by Aldo Rossi when he talks about "the city as history": "The historical method seems to be the only one capable of offering us the most accurate verification of any hypothesis about the city; the city is in itself a repository of history"; all the more so since it is "*a manufatto*" (an artefact) "whose construction took place over time and which retains the traces of time, even if discontinuously¹²⁹". In other words, every city is simply the product, defined in the present, of an accumulation of experiences and events, which it embodies as an object of history that is both completed and yet to come. Karl Schlögel says of the thesis he defends in his book, translated into Italian as *Leggere il tempo nello spazio*: "What happens if we think of history and its places together?¹³⁰". Attentive to the traces, sometimes the smallest ones, those that visitors and passers-by rarely linger over (the street signs, the cemetery, the famous "passages de Paris" and elsewhere), the German historian describes the city as a historical assemblage, where zooming in on details allows us to look at and consider the seams of this assemblage. This 'model', which gives pride of place to the most legible, most immediate facet of time - time as an interweaving of more or less formalised memories - is opportunely offset by Lynch's vision of it. Time is not just a layer of history that encompasses every individual in an urban history in which they are bound to merge or even disappear; it is a subjectivised fact, so that the city never ceases to resonate with the ways in which individuals inhabit it, giving it meaning and temporality. The

¹²⁸ William Least Heat Moon's *Prateria. Una mappa in profondità*, Turin, Einaudi, 1997, was a great inspiration.

¹²⁹ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "Il metodo storico sembra quello capace di offrirci la verifica più sicura di qualsiasi ipotesi sulla città; la città è di per se stessa depositaria di storia." (...) "un manufatto, la cui costruzione è avvenuta nel tempo e del tempo mantiene le tracce, se pure in modo discontinuo", Aldo Rossi, *L'Architettura della città*, Milan, Il Saggiatore, 2018, p. 164.

¹³⁰ "Cosa succede se "pensiamo insieme" la storia e i suoi luoghi?", Karl Schlögel, *Leggere il tempo nello spazio*, Milan, Mondadori, 2003, p. 3.

hubbub of the city is matched only by the interweaving of temporalities that give it a face: Clocks here and there, time stamps, trees whose leaves bear witness to the passing of the seasons, markets and fairs that punctuate the weeks and highlights of the year, the screeching of train brakes announcing their arrival at the station - these are all signs and manifestations of the presence of time in the city - a time that remains profoundly irreducible to its mere sedimentation under the aegis of a history that the public authorities would be responsible for ordering.

Lynch's reading of it resembles a photographic snapshot of time in the city as Lynch perceives it. In this sense, his reading echoes that promoted by George Perec during his countless urban circumnavigations, which were so many tests of a man in a metropolis. To speak of putting oneself to the test in the case of the author of *Espèces d'espaces* is to recall the extent to which the Oulipian worked to make his Parisian peregrinations a place for observing the passage of time. *Lieux*, the posthumous work that has just been published, is a collection of notes assembled into a compendium as spectacular as the approach of an author haunted by the theme of memories (childhood or otherwise). Based on this exercise in style, it restores what makes a place more than just a place burdened by a history of varying length, density and depth. At the crossroads between what it is as such, a historical concretion, what it is for the person who occupies it at a given moment as a function of what he or she is at that moment, and what society, through the invitations or demands of power, would like it to be or sums it up to be, a place is a passage of time - the time that lies at the heart of Perec's invitation to look at and experience any space as a portion of intersecting times. Perec notes: "At the end of a year, I will have described each of my places twice, once in the mode of memory, once on the spot in real description. (...) I don't have a very clear idea of the final result, but I think it will show the ageing of the places, the ageing of my writing, the ageing of my memories¹³¹". What's more, and the words of Michel Lussault commenting on Perec are of great help here, "time is therefore what makes it possible to truly activate, through memory and its fixation, a

¹³¹ Michel Lussault, "Avec l'espace, va, tout s'en va - sur *Lieux* et *Espèces d'espaces* de George Perec", *AOC*, online daily, 9 May 2022, <https://aoc.media/critique/2022/05/08/avec-lespace-va-tout-sen-va-sur-lieux-et-especies-despaces-de-georges-perec/>.

place that would otherwise simply remain a geographical potential offered up to human practice. Conversely, however, time only takes on substance if it is expressed in space¹³² .

The protocol for *Lieux* was simple and "monstrous¹³³ ". It involved the writer of *La Vie mode d'emploi* describing twelve Parisian places over a period of twelve years, twice a year: once on the spot, and once based on the memories he had retained of them. This elaborate, long-term reading system finally got the better of its creator, who didn't finish the exercise, tired of what it had generated, and paradoxically disinterested by the dryness that his description had conferred on the places he had chosen for himself. The attempt to exhaust places had come up against the practical and literary impossibility of "exhausting reality¹³⁴ ". Space preserved its mysteries, became an enigma as if nothing, not even an intellectual operation to discretize the world, had been able to overcome it. *Espèces d'espaces*, the wording of which reflects the writer's irritation at the difficulties of lifting the veils, ends with an admission of powerlessness and, *ultimately*, a call to continue the adventure: "I would like there to be places that are stable, immobile, intangible, untouched and almost untouchable, unchanging, rooted; places that would be points of reference, points of departure, sources: My native land, the cradle of my family, the house where I was born, the tree that I would have seen grow (that my father would have planted on the day I was born), the attic of my childhood filled with untouched memories... Such places do not exist, and it is because they do not exist that space becomes a question, ceases to be self-evident, ceases to be incorporated, ceases to be appropriated. Space is a doubt: I have to keep marking it, designating it; it is never mine, it is never given to me, I have to conquer it¹³⁵ .

The beauty of Perec's text also lies in its admission of powerlessness and the intrinsic truth that it bears: taking an interest in space is never, under any circumstances, a neutral operation. Indeed, behind the description or what urban planners, geographers and architects do with it, in their desire to understand it, lies a desire for knowledge that is also a desire for po-

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ George Perec, *Lieux*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2022, back cover.

¹³⁴ Michel Lussault, "Avec l'espace, va, tout s'en va - sur *Lieux* et *Espèces d'espaces* de George Perec", *op. cit.*

¹³⁵ George Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, Paris, Galilée, 2000 [1974], p. 179.

wer. Circumventing space is indeed at the heart of all attempts to exhaust a place. Lynch emphasises the extent to which one of the problems of urban planning is to reduce the city to a place of both spatial and temporal control, as if the city could - or should - be stopped or, more precisely, vitrified¹³⁶. In the same vein, Siegfried Giedion calls on all specialists to exchange a view that confines the city to a "static state¹³⁷" for a view full of "spatio-temporal acuity¹³⁸" that would invite us to perceive it for what it fundamentally is, a "living organism¹³⁹".

Perec will momentarily have the last word: "The problem is not to invent space, still less to re-invent it (too many well-intentioned people are here today to think about our environment...), but to question it, or, even more simply, to read it; because what we call everydayness is not evidence, but opacity: a form of blindness, a kind of anaesthesia¹⁴⁰".

2.2- Time, a key with several entries

A small library

Saint Augustine is invoked almost unanimously when we talk about time. Three sentences from chapter 14 (vol. 1) of the *Confessions* are invoked to open any discussion: "What is time? If no one asks me, I know; but if someone asks me and I want to explain it, I no longer know¹⁴¹".

Since man first left written records of his experience of time, there have been countless books and articles dedicated to it. Carlo Rovelli was no exception, working on a popularised essay in which time is treated from the perspective of physics. Following in the footsteps

¹³⁶ Kevin Lynch, *What time is this place*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1972, p. 73-74.

¹³⁷ Siegfried Giedion, *Espace, temps, architecture*, Paris, Denoël, 1978, p. 461.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 460.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 461.

¹⁴⁰ George Perec, *Espèces d'espaces*, *op. cit.*, "Prière d'insérer", unpaginated.

¹⁴¹ Saint Augustin, *Confessions*, Paris, Gallimard, coll. Folio classique, 1993.

of Saint Augustine, the title of one of his works is *L'Ordine del tempo*¹⁴². In one of the very first paragraphs, he writes: "The development of our knowledge has led to a slow erosion of the notion of time. What we call 'time' is a complex collection of structures, of strata. Studied in ever greater depth, time has lost these strata one by one, one piece by one¹⁴³. Because we have accepted the idea that there is not a single time but a multiplicity of times, its pluralisation can be represented like a spider's web, so that each time is different for each point in space. So physicists are not describing "how the world evolves in time: they are describing things evolving within local times that themselves evolve in relation to each other¹⁴⁴". Before arriving at what today constitutes an orthodoxy, intellectuals questioned time in terms that still have an analytical proximity. *Primus inter pares*, Aristotle came to the conclusion that time was the measure of change. Another milestone in a profuse and complex history whose lineaments have been traced by François Hartog¹⁴⁵, Newton thought the opposite: as the complement of relative time, absolute time is "completely other than the things of the world¹⁴⁶"; it is therefore independent of these things and their advent. Unlike Aristotle, who suggested that time does not pass if nothing changes ("because time is our way of locating ourselves in relation to the transformation of things¹⁴⁷"), Newton believed that time passes in all cases. Einstein was, in a sense, the missing link or, rather, the man of synthesis. Absolute time exists as a function of the temporal contingencies that affect it, so this absolute (which does not intrinsically exist) is an absolute-relative. It is not indistinct from the things of the world. In their time, the Greeks tried to use the term *chronos* to describe this time which is - apparently

¹⁴² Translated into French as *L'Ordre du temps*, Paris, Flammarion, 2018.

¹⁴³ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "Il crescere del nostro sapere ha portato a un lento sfaldarsi della nozione di "tempo". Quello che chiamiamo tempo è una complessa collezione di strutture, di strati. Studiato via via più in profondità, il tempo ha perso questi strati, uno dopo l'altro, un pezzo dopo l'altro. La prima parte del libro è il racconto di questo sfaldarsi del tempo", Carlo Rovelli, *L'Ordine del tempo*, Milan, Adelphi, 2017, p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "(...) come il mondo evolve nel tempo: descriviamo le cose evolvere in tempi locali e i tempi locali evolvere *uno rispetto all'altro*.", *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁵ François Hartog, *Chronos. L'Occident aux prises avec le temps*, Paris, Gallimard, 2020.

¹⁴⁶ Carlo Rovelli, *L'Ordine del tempo*, *op. cit.* p. 61.

¹⁴⁷ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "Perché il tempo è il bistro modo di localizzarci rispetto al cambiare delle cose", Carlo Rovelli, *L'Ordine del tempo*, *op. cit.* p. 60.

- absolute and which passes elusively by. But as *chronos* did not provide a concrete approach to the experience that humans could have of it, they split it up by using another term, *kairos*. While *chronos* represented ordinary time, the time of the world, *kairos* referred to the right moment, the opportune moment, what we commonly call the alignment of the planets. The 'right' combination of *chronos* and *kairos* was the key to successful action¹⁴⁸.

Time, then, has never ceased to spill ink. Among the works that have been devoted to it, I am particularly interested in Paul Ricoeur's undertaking, which is, to say the least, instructive. Taking into account the heritage of the main thinkers and predecessors who have dealt with this eminently liquid subject (from Aristotle to Kant, via Plato, Husserl and Heidegger), Ricoeur has consistently formulated a new thesis aimed at articulating, at the level of each individual, the plurality of temporalities within a narrative identity. Following in his footsteps, Sandra Bonfiglioli, whose work since the 1990s has been at the origin of studies on chronotopes, has emphasised the extent to which the contribution of the French philosopher was a major factor in identifying how time, because it is experienced in both its social and subjective dimensions, is based on the need, in order to be tangible, to rely on forms and formulations: the narrative for Ricoeur, whose links with urban policies are shown by Michel Lussault¹⁴⁹; the city for Bonfiglioli who, following her reading of Krzysztof Pomian's theses¹⁵⁰, proposes to consider the city as a satisfactory prism for what time really is, an architecture - in the sense of a principle of organisation of a whole made up of heterogeneous elements.

To say that the city is a completed expression of time is undoubtedly to give us a hint¹⁵¹. If we agree, it means admitting that there is a mountain to climb. And with good reason: "Establishing a bibliography on time in the urban context would quickly prove to be an

¹⁴⁸ Francois Hartog, *Chronos. L'Occident aux prises avec le temps*, *op. cit.* introduction.

¹⁴⁹ Michel Lussault, "Temps et récit des politiques urbaines", in Thierry Paquot (ed.), *Le Quotidien urbain*, Paris, La Découverte, 2001, p. 145-166, p. 148 et seq.

¹⁵⁰ Krzysztof Pomian, *L'Ordre du temps*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984.

¹⁵¹ It should be noted, however, that the state of urban studies produced in a recent book under the title of the first chapter, 'Une historiographie éclatée et cloisonnée' (A fragmented and compartmentalised historiography), devotes no entry to the question of time, even though, paradoxically, some of the 'theoretical proposals' are based on 'socio-temporal relationships'; see Hélène Noizet and Anne-Sophie Cléménçon, *Faire ville. Entre planifié et impensé, la fabrique ordinaire des formes urbaines*, Saint-Denis, Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2020, p. 17-43.

impossible, and pretentious, ambition. Who would have the audacity to achieve it?¹⁵² ". Thierry Paquot, who knows a thing or two about the subject, is right to ask. The philosopher, professor emeritus at the Institut d'urbanisme de Paris, where he spent part of his career, suggests that, in order to make up for the suffocating encyclopaedism that would be of little use, we should create a library in which the point of view prevails over mere erudition. Not that Paquot's library was a bible that I followed from the start of my thesis, but it does condense what is often the most relevant in the field (the relationship between city and time). By the back door, I had read some of the works in it. In the interests of intellectual honesty, I think it essential to stress that this inventory is so remarkable that it would be absurd to try to find a better entry in the bibliography. For the sake of the reader's legibility, I have included in a footnote, at the risk of being too long, the references that concern one of the major themes when

¹⁵² Thierry Paquot, "Bibliothèque", in Thierry Paquot, *Le Quotidien urbain*, *op. cit.* p. 180.

we are interested in what makes up the city, "the relationship between everyday life, the city and urban planning"¹⁵³ .

¹⁵³ Thierry Paquot, "Bibliothèque", in Thierry Paquot, *Le Quotidien urbain, op. cit.* p. 186-188.

"There is a great deal of work on the relationship between everyday life, the city and urban planning, often scattered and not necessarily interconnected. The English Archigram movement, for example, is interested in the instantaneous city, and an architect like Yona Friedman in the mobile city and the architecture that goes with it (*L'Architecture mobile*, Casterman, 1970 and *Utopies réalisables*, UGE, 10/18, 1975). Similarly, Nicolas Schöffer, the theorist of *La Ville cybernétique* (Tchou, 1969), strove to shape the "material of time", to establish a "chronodynamism" combining day and night, to describe "cities of leisure" (sexual, spiritual, static, moving, etc.) and to escape from the "material of time".) and to escape from the "carapace of time" by multiplying the "micro-time" that eludes the old notions of "duration", "instant", "infinity", "beginning", "end" and so on. The situationists took over everyday life in the context of commodity and consumer society, hijacking its constituent elements, enriching them through "drifting" and promoting a "playful city", *New Babylon* ("Une critique de l'urbanisme moderne", by Thierry Paquot, dossier "Guy Debord et l'aventure situationniste", *Magazine littéraire*, no. 399, June 2001). Pierre Antoine and Abel Jeannière bring together their articles published in *Projet et Études*, under the title *Espace mobile et temps incertains. Nouveau cadre de vie, nouveau milieu humain* (Aubier, 1970), the content of which is not far removed from current concerns about time, speed, lifestyles and networks. More recent research includes: "Mode de vie dans sept métropoles européennes", by Bernard Prél (*Données urbaines, 1*, edited by Denise Pumain and Francis Godard, Anthropos-Economica, 1996); "Le sens du travail et le sens de l'habiter", by Richard Sennett (*Cerisy. Les métiers de la ville*, edited by Édith Heurgon

and Nikolas Stathopoulos, Les Éditions de L'Aube, 1999); *Villes du XXI^e siècle* (La Rochelle symposium, edited by Thérèse Spector and Jacques Theys, CERTU-Ministry of Public Works, 1999); "Les lieux de transport: des centres commerciaux au

XXI^e siècle? "by François Bellanger, "Mobilité et densité urbaine", by Vincent Fouchier, "Ville et vitesse : une certitude et beaucoup de questions", by André Pény (*Les Vitesses de la ville*, edited by André Pény and Serge Wachter, Les Éditions de L'Aube, 1999); "Les usages du temps à partir des études de mobilité : points de repères", by Jean-Pierre Orfeuill, "La fréquentation des espaces marchands: regroupement et dispersions", by René Péron, "Une politique des horaires urbains", by Matthias Eberling, "Politiques sur les temps urbains: le panorama des villes italiennes", by Sandra Bonfiglioli and "Un temps pour la ville", by Ulrich Mückenberger (*Entreprendre la ville. Nouvelles temporalités-Nouveaux services*, coordinated by Alain Obadia, Les Éditions de L'Aube, 1997), the "Emplois du temps" dossier in the journal *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine* (No. 77, 1997), with "Une ville à temps négociés" by Jean-Yves Boulon, "Temporalités étudiantes: des mobilités sans qualités", by Michel Bonnet and "Du vivre en juste temps au chrono-urbanisme", by François Ascher. Chronotopia comes from Italy: *Il tempo della città*, by Carmen Belloni (Franco Angeli, Milan, 1984), *L'Architettura del tempo*, by Sandra Bonfiglioli (Liguori editore, Naples, 1990) and, edited by Sandra Bonfiglioli and Marco Mareggi, "Il tempo e la città fra natura e storia. Atlante di progetti sui tempi della città", *Urbanistica Quaderni* (supplemento al n° 107, Piani, 1997). William Mitchell, an American architect, has published two works on the repercussions of new information technologies on the built environment, the disappearance of certain buildings that have become obsolete (the town hall, the university, the gigantic hospital, etc.) and the reorganisation of city life, all with a certain optimism, *City of bits: Space, Place and the Infobahn* (MIT-Press, 1996) and *E-topia. "Urban Life, Jim - but not as we know it"* (MIT-Press, 1999). Two researchers, Bruno Marzloff (of the Chronos group) and Alain Guez (of the chronomobility observatory Parcours) respond to Monique Dreyfus, "À la recherche du temps maîtrisé" (*Diagonal*, No. 141, January-February 2000): "Ville et quotidienneté. Essai sur le quotidien urbain, ses temporalités et ses rythmes", by Thierry Paquot, in the collective work edited by Ingrid Ernst (forthcoming). François Ascher, in his essay *Ces événements nous dépassent, feignons d'en être les organisateurs* (Les Éditions de L'Aube, 2000), devotes chapter six ('La maîtrise des espaces- temps', p. 173 *et seq.*) to a critical examination of the various analyses of urban time (extensive bibliography, p. 262 *et seq.*). With Francis Godard, he co-edited the excellent supplement to issue 337 of *La Recherche*, 'ville.com' (December 2000), with contributions from Marc Guillaume ('La nouvelle socialité des hypervilles'), William J. Mitchell ("L'avènement des cyberquartiers"), Philippe Moati ("Risques et promesses du e-commerce"), Frédéric Ocquetau ("Les caméras nous menacent-elles?"), Pierre Chambat ("Vers une agora d'internautes?") and interviews with Manuel Castells and Jean-Pierre Orfeuill. *Undertaking the city. Gérer les temporalités : du travail à la ville*, edited by Francis Godard (Les Éditions de L'Aube, 1997); by the same author, "Les temps des villes et le sens du rythme", in *Le Projet urbain* edited by André Sauvage (Les Éditions de La Villette, 2000). Édith Heurgon, who heads up research at RATP, is constantly commissioning studies and presenting the results. Her book *Nouveaux Rythmes urbains : quels transports ?* (Les Éditions de L'Aube, 2001), co-written with Jean-Paul Bailly, bears witness to the richness of the investigations and the confrontation between researchers and 'operators'. Finally, we should mention the report *Temps des villes*, written by Edmond Hervé at the request of Nicole Pery (Secretary of State for Women's Rights and Professional Equality) and Claude Bartolone (Minister Delegate for Urban Affairs).

Categories

Bibliography is obviously not everything. One thing is certain: in the enormous mass of works and contributions linking urban space and time, categories are necessarily required if we are to refine what the city is as a combination, a meeting, an assemblage. Some researchers have attempted to do this. Edoardo Benvenuto has proposed the diptych circularity/linearity, looking at "the influence that the different figures of time can exert in the creation of the city and the ways in which it is inhabited¹⁵⁴". The sacred city, the city of ritual, the city of recurrences (seasons, festivals, work), in short the city where time is repetitive, is circular. Linear is the city that "transgresses proximity, not so much between one event and the next, but because the city of linear time must look towards the 'leader' of history (...). The parable that can be likened to this figure is that of progress¹⁵⁵. In 1999-2000, in Montreal, the architect Cedric Price proposed an exhibition entitled *Mean Time/De tout temps*, in which he questioned the interactions between time, space and movement in the built environment. To this end, he suggested a grid of 14 categories¹⁵⁶, including 'interval', 'simultaneity', 'suspended time' and 'temporal distortion', which gave me food for thought as I developed my own nomenclature (chronotope/urban continuity/spatial resistance). Kevin Lynch also invokes seven dimensions according to which time can vary: its 'grain', its 'period', its 'amplitude', its 'rhythm', its 'synchronisation', its 'regularity' and its 'angle¹⁵⁷'. Because these categories act as gateways to the decomposition of time, they become a prerequisite for its intelligibility, at the risk, otherwise, of time being no more than a container for the pieces of a patchwork quilt.

Since the city is a production of time, and not just a production of space, the city is forged at the intersection of multiple temporal relationships that are more or less inscribed in forms (rhythm, duration, memory, etc.). From then on, temporal relations are the means - the

¹⁵⁴ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "Quale influenza le figure del tempo possono avere esercitato sulla creazione della città e nei modi dell'abitare?", Edoardo Benvenuto, "La città. Figure del tempo", in Sandra Bonfiglioli and Marco Mareggi (eds.), *Il Tempo e la città fra natura e storia. Atlante di progetti sui tempi della città*, Urbanistica Quaderni, Rome, Piani, 1997, p. 97.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 100.

¹⁵⁶ "Fourteen ways of looking at time" is exactly the title of the series of points that Price used to explain his concept of time in and through the city.

¹⁵⁷ Kevin Lynch, *What time is this place?* op. cit. p. 76-77.

instruments - for reading the complexity of spatial relations in a new way. We're betting that time is not just a product of space, but that it is in fact a lever. By acting as a revealer, it offers the opportunity to recompose space in a different way. If we start from the principle that space can be divided up into a certain number of spatial and temporal units based on intellectual and/or technical operations that favour one scale rather than another, one boundary rather than another (a business park, an administrative district, a sports or cultural facility, a residential area, a fountain, a washhouse, a retirement home, a dwelling house, etc.), under cover of issues (epistemological, economic, political...) that are specific to them, we will realise that the temporal relationships between the units reveal a different reality from what an analysis based on classic instruments for analysing space (the map, the plan...) allows us to (perceive) see. If the city is a space produced by time, then time reveals something other than what the space of the city *immediately* reveals. Time, then, is more than just time as we are used to understanding it: it becomes, in this case, a 'hidden script', the use of which makes it possible to discover what also makes space, a configuration made up of new forms (not just spatial, therefore) of continuity.

As far as I'm concerned, there are three points to this "hidden script". I owe my awareness of the matrix of time in space to the authors I have cited and with whom I have worked. The fact remains that, despite these readings, which were an essential foundation, it seemed to me that the temporal categories promoted, following the example of Kevin Lynch's objective categories, were mixed up and made the 'photography' of spaces nebulous to say the least. In his search for signs of time in Boston's public spaces, Lynch combined, for example, a commemorative plaque with the seasonal colour of a tree's foliage, the opening and closing times of a theatre with the way people dressed (again, an indicator of seasonality), and ononymy with the ephemeral décor of a neighbourhood party, in order to unwind the narrative thread of a city caught up in a multitude of temporalities. In this approach, the object cut out by the watchful eye of a researcher becomes the mirror of a time that expresses itself concretely through sedimentation. For Lynch, the city is part of a process of ossification of time. This all-encompassing, undifferentiated time obscures the very thing that gives it structure: the dialogue that it allows to take place, in different configurations, between different temporalities.

For my part, I think of time primarily as a mode of relationship between elements.

Let's look at the categories in more detail. The first is the chronotope, which, as Luc Gwiazdzinski and Guillaume Drevon point out, is a "*place where the spatial and temporal dimensions meet* [which] remains a vague notion, an attitude, a reading grid, a driving force for reading and writing the worlds of today and tomorrow¹⁵⁸". Rhythm is the key element here, even if its use is often ambiguous. We refer here to Henri Lefebvre's deconstruction of its semantics. Lefebvre pointed out that rhythm was the victim of "circumstantial synonyms", with movement, speed and sequencing becoming *sparrring partners that were far more cumbersome than they were heuristically effective*¹⁵⁹. He suggested going beyond homologies that aridified the scope of the word to give it back all its interpretative power: "Concrete times have rhythms, or rather are rhythms - and every rhythm implies the relationship of a time with a space, a localised time or, if you like, a temporalised place. Rhythm is always linked to this or that place, to its location, whether it's the heart, the beating of the eyelids, the movement of a street or the tempo of a waltz. This does not prevent it from being a time, that is to say, an aspect of a movement and a becoming¹⁶⁰. Rhythm is a movement that is not necessarily regular and repetitive; it is a combination of intensity and cadence. Its ordering depends on the periodicity of intervals, unplanned events that tend to break its regularity, and the arrangement of episodes¹⁶¹. A thesis would not be enough to circumscribe it. In their reading of it, in the light of Benveniste's and Barthes's proposals, the authors of the *Manifeste pour une politique des rythmes* write: "Rhythm escapes the limited, arithmetical conception of the 'order of movement' inherited from Plato, and is defined as a 'specific way of flowing' [Benveniste in his *Problèmes de linguistique générale*], a 'modality of accomplishment', or 'particular configurations of the moving'¹⁶²". Because that's what it's all about: our ability, in grasping rhythm, to

¹⁵⁸ Luc Gwiazdzinski, Guillaume Drevon, "Conclusion", in Luc Gwiazdzinski, Guillaume Drevon and Olivier Klein (eds.), *Chronotopies. Lectures et écritures des mondes en mouvement*, Grenoble, Elya, 2017, p. 184-199, p. 186.

¹⁵⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *Éléments de rythmanalyse et autres essais sur les temporalités*, Le Lilas, Eterotopia, 2019, p. 31 ff.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 99.

¹⁶¹ Manola Antonioli, Guillaume Drevon, Luc Gwiazdzinski, Vincent Kaufmann and Luca Pattaroni, *Manifeste pour une politique des rythmes*, Lausanne, EPFL Press, 2021, p. 115-117.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 73.

grasp not just recurrence, repetition and succession, but also the change(s), metamorphosis(s) or mutation(s) that it induces and introduces into a whole. Venice is a borderline case in Georg Simmel's analysis: no rhythm, exogenous to the city, is capable of disrupting 'the' rhythm of a city which, in its uniqueness founded on a kind of historical inertia, comes not only to resemble it but above all to give it its identity¹⁶³. As specialists in chronotopia have rightly pointed out, the articulation of inhabited space and time makes it possible to distinguish spatio-temporal forms and configurations, the examination of which is a source of a different view of the city. Architects are making good use of this. Against a backdrop of hyper-connectivity, social aspirations to other ways of living and thinking about time, and an ecological emergency that is overturning our own eschatologies, the work of Alain Guez and his colleagues is an invitation to understand and improve urban space by objectifying chronotopes¹⁶⁴.

In this thesis, I will use the chronotope in three studies: on the scale of an island, Lesbos (Greece), which became one of the Mediterranean hotspots in the 2010s; on the scale of the Calais conurbation (France), where the 'Jungle' has been a media flashpoint and a Gordian knot in Europe's migration crisis; and on the scale of the Zaatari camp (Jordan), which is home to some far from insignificant fountains. Rhythm is, in this case, a means of accounting for the synchronisations and asynchronisations and, by extension, the urban continuities and discontinuities that reconfigure space - on condition that we suggest that this reconfiguration occurs where we don't necessarily expect it; there is not on one side 'the camp' and opposite 'the city', but rather points of junction and/or friction that only rhythm can materialise. What rhythm allows here is to break with an internalist reading of "transit sites" that condemns them to being only sites closed in on themselves, impermeable to the rest of a space with which they are not only in direct confrontation but which they impact, in many places, in many ways, temporally speaking.

The second category is spatial resistance (more commonly known as memory). One of the chapters that Italo Calvino devotes to 'the city and memory' in his collection *Invisible Ci-*

¹⁶³ Georg Simmel, *La Parure et autres essais*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2019, p. 77.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example: Alain Guez, "Pour un urbanisme des possibles : des espaces, des temps et de la chronotopie", in *CIST2020, Population, temps, territoires*, Collège international des sciences territoriales, Paris-Aubervilliers, 2020, p. 649-652.

ties introduces some thoughts that I will use to specify the function that I credit to memory in the work that I am doing: "I could tell you how many steps the stepped streets are made of, what shape the arches of the porticoes are, what sheets of zinc the roofs are covered with; but I already know that this would be telling you nothing. This is not what the city is made of, but of the relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past (...) The city does not tell its past, it possesses it, like the lines of a hand, inscribed on the street corners, in the window grilles, on the banisters of the staircases, the lightning rods, the flagpoles, on every segment marked in turn with claws, serrations, notches, commas¹⁶⁵". Applied to the city - because here too, we could do the umpteenth doctorate on memory - memory resembles it morphologically. It is a labyrinth of paths and strata, of routes and itineraries that we take as our actions dictate. The city cannot be reduced to a theatre of memory(s). It is also an inextinguishable reservoir of memories from which we can draw depending on the investments we make in it¹⁶⁶. Maurice Halbwachs has shown how difficult, not to say impossible, it is for an individual to extract himself from an urban setting that he both transforms and is transformed by¹⁶⁷: every place carries within it an 'essence', made up of history(ies) and memory(s), which imposes itself more or less openly on those who move about in it. Following in Halbwachs' footsteps, Jean-Louis Cohen has coined the notion of interurbanity, i.e. "the transhistorical relationship between two urban forms¹⁶⁸". Interurbanity is the possibility of going back from the present to the past, not on the basis of a regressive chronology, but because the traces of and in the city are so many small frames that, by calling up memories, make it possible to construct mental representations of a space of one's own. Aldo Rossi goes on to refine the link between individual and collective memory, pointing out that every space-in-itself takes on

¹⁶⁵ "Potrei dirti di quanti gradini sono le vie fatte a scale, di che sesto gli archi dei porticati, di quali lamine di zinco coperti i tetti; ma so già che sarebbe come non dirti nulla. The city is not made of this, but of relationships between the measures of its space and the events of its past (...) la città non dice il suo passato, lo contiene come le linee d'une mano, scritto negli spigoli delle vie, nelle griglie delle finestre, negli scorriamo delle scale, nelle antenne dei parafulmini, nelle aste delle bandiere, ogni segmenti rigato a sua volta di graffi, seghettature, intagli, svirgole. "Italo Calvino, *Le Città invisibili*, Milan, Mondadori, 1993, chapter 1, paragraph 3.

¹⁶⁶ Umberto Eco, "Architecture and Memory", *VIA*, no. 8, 1986, p. 85-88.

¹⁶⁷ Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire collective*, Paris, Puf, 1950 (quoted by Aldo Rossi, *L'Architettura della città*, *op. cit.*, p. 169).

¹⁶⁸ Jean-Louis Cohen, "Architecture et forme urbaine", *L'Annuaire du Collège de France*, 118, 2020, online since 01 April 2021, accessed 22 August 2022.

part of its meaning because it is impregnated with the meanings that others place on it. The city, then, as Walter Benjamin put it in his *Berlin Chronicle*¹⁶⁹, is "the *locus* of collective memory"¹⁷⁰, a hard core that pre-exists our experience of it and is the press button of memory.

Since traces without memories cannot create a collective memory, and memories without traces cannot do the same, collective memory is fundamentally ductile, since it is the result of adaptations based on reciprocity. Thanks to memory, ruins are not "a dead time"¹⁷¹ as Zygmunt Bauman points out; on the contrary, they are a time that lasts because they "live" through what societies do with them in order to pass them on, or not. Composed of innumerable traces and the memories that are attached to them, the city is the bearer of memories which, because they obey group logics, are less innumerable than these traces and memories. These plural memories, which can be memories in competition, memories in confrontation, fall under a number of major 'figures' that offer a way of defining them as closely as possible: the palimpsest; the collage; the catalogue. Baudelaire wrote: "All the echoes of memory, if we could awaken them simultaneously, would form a concert, pleasant or painful, but logical and without dissonance"¹⁷². The palimpsest-city is a city where traces preserve the possibility of exploring its strata and embracing its chronology. By juxtaposing traces, the collage-city, discussed *above*¹⁷³, does not account for the thickness of time; it guarantees that the visitor can see an identical surface with the same gaze, from which mounds of evidence emerge here and there, reminding him that one (the collage-city) cannot exist without the other (the palimpsest-city). The city-catalogue, a metaphor used by Rossi, inventories objects whose "form and po-

¹⁶⁹ Walter Benjamin, "Berlin Chronicle", in Walter Benjamin, *Enfance. Éloge de la poupée et autres essais*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2011 [1932], p. 193.

¹⁷⁰ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "Il *locus* della memoria collettiva", Aldo Rossi, *L'Architettura della città*, *op. cit.* p. 169.

¹⁷¹ Zygmunt Bauman, *La Vie liquide*, Arles, Le Rouergue/Chambon, 2006.

¹⁷² Charles Baudelaire, "Visions d'Oxford", in *Les Paradis artificiels* (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1966 [1860]), p. 145.

¹⁷³ Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage city*, *op. cit.* 1984.

sition are fixed, but whose meaning can change (...). Archetypal objects whose emotional charm reveals timeless issues¹⁷⁴ .

In this thesis, I will use memory (aka spatial resistance), understood as an interweaving of these 'figures', in two studies: on the scale of the Calais conurbation, where the 'Jungle' has become a space for burying what was once a migratory 'divide'; on the scale of the island of Lampedusa (Italy), where the Museum of Immigration and the Porta d'Europa represent an attempt to institutionalise a living memory that is not, however, a shared one; as part of a *coda* (Binario 21 at Milan's central station) that will attempt to extend the reflection.

The third category is duration. It is, in fact, a much more difficult category to handle than it might seem. In the first place, the regime of historicity in which we move is a framework from which it is often difficult to escape. It is because we still live, despite the insistent presence of presentism in our lives, according to a mode of interpretation of time that values a progressive articulation of past-present-future, that duration is taken for granted. Reinhart Koselleck writes of the "concept of history": "Formerly signifying only the evanescent duration of the past, it can now demand a lasting disposition towards the future, indicating the direction we should take¹⁷⁵ ". Siegfried Kracauer, in a remarkable essay published in 1969, three years after his death, openly reminded us of this: "Modern historiography imagines history as an immanent and continuous process that takes place in linear or chronological time, which in turn is seen as a flow in an irreversible direction, a homogeneous medium that indiscriminately encompasses all imaginable events¹⁷⁶ ". As a result, and symmetrically, we might say, the idea of duration exists alongside "the idea of discontinuity [which] becomes the decisive criterion of historical experience in modern times¹⁷⁷ ". It is this duo, then, that often obliges or even constrains us. Secondly, the handling of time stumbles over the 'event-centredness' of the world, which means that current events, in all their media staging, infatuation with novelty, internationalisation of information, and investment in the ephemeral, appear to be one of the

¹⁷⁴ Aldo Rossi, "An Analogical Architecture", *A+U*, no. 56, 1976, p. 74.

¹⁷⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *The Experience of History*, Paris, Le Seuil/Gallimard, 1997, p. 85.

¹⁷⁶ Siegfried Kracauer, *The History of Penultimate Things*, Paris, Stock, 2006 [2005], p. 205.

¹⁷⁷ Reinhart Koselleck, *The Experience of History*, *op cit*, p. 84.

compasses guiding our temporalities. Places and the meanings given to them have been profoundly altered as a result. Michel Lussault writes of the gatherings following the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*, which took place across France on 10 and 11 January 2015: "During this total spatial event, something like a people, this strange reality born of the meeting of humans and their specific spaces/times, appeared¹⁷⁸". The deployment of this "kind of place-event¹⁷⁹", which is in keeping with a society accustomed to the idea of a constantly reconfiguring agenda in which individuals are "condemned" to exist through all kinds of one-off mobilisations, is what the geographer calls "a book of the 'Jungle'¹⁸⁰". He argues: "A place-event, whatever its scale, must above all be able to be designated as a delimited and emplaced spatial totality, a fraction of space-time that is situated somewhere and brings together humans, non-humans and varied social realities, that installs them in a material arrangement of spaces and is understood as a totality on which one or more issues can be attached, projected and staged¹⁸¹".

In its most usual form, the "place of transit" is, in fact, a textbook case of the way in which we have internalised what duration is. Because it appears to embody discontinuity both in the morphology and in the long history of the city, it serves to justify the idea that it can - and should (this is the rhetoric of those in power) - only exist on a very temporary basis. However, if we consider that every camp is one element of (dis)continuity among other elements of (dis)continuity, then we can conceive that duration is perhaps not the linear steamroller to which we are accustomed. The spatio-temporal illusion of the duration of the city, as it is often objectified, has been remarkably denounced by Bernard Lepetit. We need to quote him at length here, because his analysis (1995) has not aged a bit: "Social space is full of past forms (norms, institutions, objects), whose use in the present renews their meaning. What remains is to try to think about such a process in a non-mechanical way, without getting caught up in the symmetrical risks of the tyranny of legacies and the freedom of uses (or their determination in the moment). The materiality and durability of forms have forced us, perhaps more than el-

¹⁷⁸ Michel Lussault, *Hyper-Lieux. Les nouvelles géographies de la mondialisation*, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p 123.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 143.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 156.

sewhere, to reflect on the ways in which the past has been appropriated. The stock and configuration of houses and workspaces, the character and distribution of public buildings, the layout of the road network, the distribution and organisation of spaces for production, exchange and leisure are almost universally derived from pasts of differing depths and, in their evolution, from different rhythms. *The materiality of a city is marked by the continuous action of time, and the urban inventory is almost entirely inscribed in history.* Archaeological models of analysis, however, are of little interest: the city of today was not built "on" the city of the NINETEENTH century^e, and the latter did not cover the classical and medieval cities. The Gothic cathedrals, the royal squares and the Haussmann breakthroughs belong to our space and our time¹⁸². So do the "places of transit".

At this point, it is worth referring to the analyses of Fernand Braudel. In his classic article on the "longue durée", the French historian and great continuator of the message of the *Annales* school used the term "structure"¹⁸³ to emphasise the extent to which duration is based on the organisation/orchestration of elements of organised continuity, without which they would remain no more than evanescent forms. Structure', he reminded us, whether in the form of the city, geographical boundaries or 'mental frameworks', both incarcerates and supports the social world. We are interested in this point of view because 'places of transit' disrupt 'structure'; in so doing, they force us to shift our gaze away from what seems self-evident: the city as a machine for reproducing its own duration by absorbing and linking together heterogeneous durations.

In this thesis, I will use timeframes in three studies: in the Calais conurbation, which has been living for over thirty years in a time of scattered camps, and is confronted with a conflict of temporalities between the authorities' desire to see an end to the current situation, and the continuous passage of migrants through an urban space which, whatever the authorities may think, is clearly shaped by their imprint; in the town of Lavrio, where the establishment of a refugee camp as early as 1949 has continued, so that the temporary has become a kind of end in itself, and an implicit solution to the acceptability of reception, provided that it

¹⁸² Bernard Lepetit, "Le présent de l'histoire", art. cité, p. 290-291. Emphasis added.

¹⁸³ Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et Sciences sociales: La longue durée", *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, no. 4, 1958, p. 725-753.

is not too visible; the Palestinian camps in Jordan, which combine the continuous presence of a population waiting to return with the long-term management of areas dedicated to a Palestinian "question" that is all the more tolerated because certain players have an interest in it.

Referring to the "urban fabric" as an "unthought process" in which "spatial forms play the role of unthought intermediary" between "the diachronic temporality of the process (of the order of one or more centuries) and the ever shorter and more synchronous temporalities of social agreement (of the order of one or more decades)¹⁸⁴ ", H  l  ne Noizet and Anne-Sophie Cl  men  on, in a recent book entitled *Faire ville (Making Cities)*, set out to re-establish the opposition between space and time that is so deeply rooted in Western modernity. That one cannot exist without the other is self-evident. That both contribute to the concretisation of spatio-temporalities that would induce harmonious relationships between the moment and duration is much less so, because one thing has become increasingly clear to me over the years, and I'll sum it up as follows: since synchronies and diachronies are most often difficult to articulate, we might as well look at where things rub, stumble and seize up, rather than where 'things work well'.

In a dense and stimulating work, the historian and archaeogeographer G  rard Chouquer, a specialist in Antiquity, has also contributed his thoughts on how to deal with time. Among the five requisites on which he bases his conception of space-time, I quote the last two because they confirm me, as much as to write it, in the 'road map' that I have given myself: "4. Forms, like materialities, are endowed with temporalities of their own that are not typonchronological and historicist. (...) 5. Finally, there is no longer any point in thinking about temporalities and spatialities separately, even though this is the first level of hybridisation, and the most fundamental for our object of study. Time does not dominate space and places. This domination is a joint effect of rationalist modernity and the disciplinary structure¹⁸⁵ . Chouquer then develops his own lexicon and proposes a typology. Uchrony is "a spatio-temporal modality for the transmission of ancient ecumenical events, which occurs when a struc-

¹⁸⁴ H  l  ne Noizet and Anne-Sophie Cl  men  on, *Faire ville. Entre planifi   et impens  , la fabrique ordinaire des formes urbaines*, op. cit, p. 67.

¹⁸⁵ G  rard Chouquer, *What scenarios for landscape history? Research guidelines for archaeogeography*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade da Coimbra, 2013 [2007], p. 251.

ture imprints a form on the ground, leaving a trace, which itself becomes a potential that subsequent events (any development or transformation of space) can replay¹⁸⁶ ". Hysterechrony, which is part of the work emphasising morphological hysteresis, is the "response time of forms¹⁸⁷ ". Borrowed from Blaise Cendrars, prochrony refers to "the capacity of certain events, distant in space or time, to communicate¹⁸⁸ ". The list is not exhaustive. If I quote some of the terms in Chouquer's glossary, it's to emphasise the extent to which we have to deal with language and the extent to which the latter, whether by dint of neologisms or not, can steer us in one direction rather than another. One thing is certain, however. Without this prior effort at classification, urban space would be like a magma, whose fascination would be matched only by the difficulty of unravelling its "enigmas". One thing is equally certain. If we see the urban form as a "mystery", as indeed any object of study can be, we will inevitably find ourselves confronted with what is the joy of research, but also its price: its resistance. How many objects resist and force us to develop avoidance strategies, intellectual gymkhanas and acrobatics? How many objects which, in so doing, invite us to put our scholarly elaborations to the test and to step outside our (modest) theoretical architectonics. That's what case studies are for.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 267.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 269.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 269.

A building is coming down here, and has left the traces of its function on the surrounding walls, while a sign proclaims the future.

Figure 54



A store window also alludes to two coming events, and the brick wall next door carries an unofficial announcement.



Figure 55
Figure 56



At the central corner, time usually seems to pass rapidly.



Figure 57

But on Sunday morning there is a different sense to it.



Figure 58

On contemporary Washington Street just south of the State House, a digital clock tells us when we are to the nearest 1/1440 of a day.



Figure 37

Public clocks are constantly referred to. Even false clocks catch the eye.

Figure 38



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If the business district lacks some of the time signals we see in the rural countryside, it is rich with the rhythmic actions of people. So there are many indicators of time on the street. In the morning and evening the traffic swells. At lunchtime the restaurants fill up. The traffic light runs slow and the parking meter fast.



Figure 39
Figure 40

People can tell time by the sun, by watching crowds and what they are carrying, by listening to the level of noise, or by seeing that shops are closed.



Figure 41

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Part 2: Testing. Three prisms and five cases

Opposing terms are often part of a researcher's lexicon, especially when it comes to establishing the basis of their approach. There are countless (cursed?) pairs of terms that require you to situate yourself somewhere: micro *versus* macro, quantitative *versus* qualitative, structure *versus* context. It's as if, once you've opted for a particular approach, your points of view are irreconcilable. A history of paradigms would easily show how each discipline intends to position itself in relation to its competitors, and how, even within each discipline, the lines of demarcation can be sharp in order to affirm which side (of the truth and of the search for truth) one intends to take. The criticisms levelled at *microstoria*, for example, which underwent an epistemological revolution in the 1980s, have less to do with what the Italian historian Edoardo Grendi called "the exceptional normal"¹⁸⁹ than with the idea that the transalpine movement was merely a pleasant revival of the monographic genre. In short, it is sometimes for the wrong reasons that one asserts what one believes to be one's (correct) position.

As I hope will become even clearer in the chapters that follow, the choice to 'think in terms of cases', as the sociologist Jean-Claude Passeron and the historian Jacques Revel (¹⁹⁰) so aptly put it, does not stem from an initial assertion that would condemn any other way of approaching the subject. I have already written *above* about how the ups and downs of recent years have led me to change both my approach and my focus, so there's no need to go into that at length. In practice, however, I feel it is important to reiterate what constitutes the framework of this second part: an articulation of cases which, on reading the table of contents alone, might lead one to suppose that there is no backbone. There would be a collection of examples that time would link in a tenuous way in its three declensions (rhythm, memory, duration). No more, no less.

This is clearly not the case. I therefore feel it is important to justify not only their existence, but also why they seem to me to offer prisms whose export to other fields would probably enrich our ways of seeing. The five cases (Lesbos, Calais, Lampedusa, the Palestinian camps in Jordan, Lavrio), to which I have added Binario 21 at Milan's central station in the

¹⁸⁹ According to the famous oxymoron coined by Edoardo Grendi, "Micro-analisi e storia sociale", *Quaderni storici*, vol. 12, no. 35, 1977, p. 506-520, p. 512; on the use of this oxymoron, see the remarks by Carlo Ginzburg, "Carlo Ginzburg, 'L'historien et l'avocat du diable'. Interview with Charles Illouz and Laurent Vidal", *Genèses*, no. 53, 2003, p. 113-138, p. 122-123.

¹⁹⁰ Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Penser par cas*, Paris, Éditions de l'EHESS, 2005.

form of a coda, form a constellation in which the existence of each entity is linked to that of the others. What's more, these five cases reflect what has always been at the heart of my approach: a constant back-and-forth between upstream questioning and the objectification of materials, a method that is refined by the test of the field and questions in return that invite us to look for the right place to test our hypotheses - all things that have long fuelled the cognitive process in the social sciences¹⁹¹ . So the cases did not exist from the outset. They became cases.

A geographer or anthropologist accustomed to spending long periods in a territory might cry foul, since the extensiveness of my fieldwork - when it has been made possible - has nothing to do with the intensiveness of a practice of observing a place and a society at regular intervals. The fact remains that a field study or a monograph cannot be reduced to a case study. After all, what is a case? The question is obviously complex: the opposition between nomographic logic and idiographic logic most often leads to the suggestion that the micro offers an opportunity to gain in granularity whereas the macro leads to the search for, and therefore the finding of, beautiful regularities; the obviousness of the Pascalian couplet according to which the infinitely small is within the infinitely large, and vice versa, is often a pretext for closing the case. There are several points to bear in mind here. The game of oppositions generally does little to account for the interweaving of several systems which, within a single study, try to achieve the best possible elucidation of the object under investigation by 'looking through every angle'. As Jean-Louis Fabiani points out, "attempts at sociology or micro-history have never, as is often believed, given up on generalising ambitions: rather, they have sought to envisage other ways of 'grasping reality' that allow for a more experimental relationship with the constituted object, in particular by intensifying or densifying the account¹⁹² ". We might add to this observation that it is not so much the scale as the "interplay of scales¹⁹³ " that is important, and that the principle of multiscale variation is bound to prevail

¹⁹¹ See the opening pages of Pierre Bourdieu's classic, Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Le Métier de sociologue*, *op. cit.*, p. 85 ff.

¹⁹² Jean-Louis Fabiani, "La généralisation dans les sciences historiques. Epistemological obstacle or legitimate ambition?", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2007/1, p. 9-28, p. 20.

¹⁹³ See, in particular, Jacques Revel (ed.), *Jeux d'échelles. La micro-analyse à l'expérience*, Paris, Gallimard-Le Seuil, 1996.

over any fetishisation of "*small is beautiful*". The weave of social experiences that make up the layered fabric of each universe and the field of possibilities in which the individuals and groups that move within it evolve become horizons that point to the need to "constitute the contexts that are necessary to understand the behaviour observed"¹⁹⁴ ". Bernard Lepetit, who has written many fine pages on the use of scale by architects and their obligation to arbitrate between "several desirable models of a future building" in order to "master the overall coherent image of the project"¹⁹⁵ ", notes: "The question of knowing in which field of validity the explanation can be situated according to the chosen scale of observation has perhaps no other solution than a practical one. If there are scales that are more relevant than others for developing certain issues and testing certain hypotheses, we must try, for each particular subject, to establish as systematically as possible the consequences caused by variations in the scale of the field chosen on the content of the explanatory grids. By empirically determining the thresholds which separate significant levels of observation which provide different images and different ways of understanding the reality in question, we can at best expect to find rules of correspondence (or simply typologies of associations) between hypotheses and scales of analysis. Assessing the effects of analytical reduction on the knowledge produced is a practical science"¹⁹⁶ . The "rue de l'église" (Calais), the fountains in the Zaatari camp (Jordan) and the Museo della Fiducia e del Dialogo per il Mediterraneo (Lampedusa) were chosen and worked on with this in mind.

At this stage, and to explain how I have tried to situate myself, it is best to quote the first sentences of the introduction to *Penser par cas*. They are by Passeron and Revel, the two co-editors of the book: "Through the diversity of their cultural figures or throughout the history of knowledge and know-how, the logical modalities of 'thinking by case' reveal a constraint specific to all reasoning which, in order to found a description, an explanation, an interpretation or an evaluation, chooses to proceed by exploring and deepening the properties of a *singularity* accessible to observation. Not in order to limit its analysis or to rule on a single case,

¹⁹⁴ Jacques Revel, "Micro-analyse et construction du social", in Jacques Revel (ed.), *Jeux d'échelles. La micro-analyse à l'expérience*, *op. cit.* p. 15-36, p. 26.

¹⁹⁵ Bernard Lepetit, "De l'échelle en histoire", in Jacques Revel (ed.), *Jeux d'échelles. La micro-analyse à l'expérience*, *op. cit.* p. 71-94, p. 86.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 92-93.

but because we hope to extract from it an argument of more *general* scope, whose conclusions can be reused to found other intelligibilities or to justify other decisions¹⁹⁷ ". The rest of the introduction could not be more remarkable. Over and above the questions concerning the argumentative and methodological treatments reserved and/or that should be reserved "for entities that escape classification and the stabilised formulation of regularities as well as the prestressed approaches of the evaluation of actions in relation to unconditional norms¹⁹⁸ ", the duo's proposals point, among other things, to two elements with which I have tried to be as companionable as possible: "No 'generality' is ever generated by the addition of 'singular existential statements'¹⁹⁹ "; "The case is more and it is something other than an example²⁰⁰ ". Consequently, "if it has the ambition to give an account of a temporal experience, the case is not identified with this experience. From the mass of available data, it makes a selection which reorganises and possibly stylises the elements within a given conceptual framework in accordance with an anticipated demonstration²⁰¹ ". In my opinion, at least, it couldn't be said any better. The 'case-based thinking' we will read about in the following pages has tried to walk this fine line. In this case, the cases used owe as much to the devotion we have shown to a place for reasons that are sometimes extra-scientific as they do to their potential - to become laboratories for putting to the test what we perceive elsewhere and whose relevance we wish to validate. Far from being locked into the dual logic of singularisation and 'obvious' comparatism, they should be seen as test beds for testing hypotheses, even if the results do not live up to expectations. Because a case-by-case study would be profoundly futile, we would add that "case-by-case thinking, on the contrary, brings out a property common to all scientific knowledge, by immediately revealing the reciprocal implication between the articulation of a theory and the unfolding of an investigation, and this is as true in the history of the exact

¹⁹⁷ Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Revel, "Penser par cas. Raisonner à partir de singularités", in Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Penser par cas, op. cit.* p. 9-44, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 13.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 14.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 18.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 25.

sciences as it is in that of the historical sciences²⁰² ". We believe that architecture and urban planning are no exception, especially when time becomes an object of choice in the questioning and practices of those involved.

²⁰² *Ibid*, p. 43-44.



Case studies, locations.

Chapter 3: Chronotopes (rhythms)

"If rhythmic phenomena are rooted in time and use it as their privileged vector, they are also simultaneously inscribed in space. Or rather in places: they occupy and animate them, along with the beings associated with them. It is the notion of place (*locus*) that is characteristic of medieval civilisation. Every being and every object is attached to a place and derives its identity from it²⁰³": these sentences open the twelfth chapter of the sum that the great medieval historian Jean-Claude Schmitt has devoted to rhythms in the Middle Ages. In many ways, they apply to our own times. In a long preamble to his introduction to the subject, Schmitt traces in great strides how intellectuals (Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Georg Simmel and Erwin Panofsky in the forefront), artists and architects came, from the turn of the end of the eighteenth^e century and the beginning of the NINETEENTH^e century, to develop a reflection on rhythm and its modalities in the orchestration of a society. Irreducible to the mere froth of human and non-human movements within the urban space²⁰⁴, rhythm is just as much, if not more, one of the endogenous forces by which the city develops and contracts, in short, metamorphoses.

²⁰³ Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les Rythmes au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Gallimard, 2016, p. 362.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, the article by Tural Aliyev and Alireza Hashemi Behramani, "Le rythme urbain: un outil de réflexion sur la reconfiguration de la morphologie de l'espace", *EspacesTemps.net*, 2019, 10.26151/espaces-temps.net-n0w2-pp10.

3.1- The rhythms of Lesbos.

To be there

Lesbos: these two syllables have become increasingly visible since 2010²⁰⁵. Media visibility (but not only) of course. For most of our contemporaries, Lesbos is like Calais: one of those places that we are less successful in placing exactly on a map of Europe than in making the echo of human misery born of the geopolitical instability of the Near and Middle East, or even of the iniquitous fear stirred up by the advocates of the "great replacement".

First and foremost, Lesbos is an island. And that's no mean feat for our purposes. It's even more difficult to talk about "places of transit" when they are located on stretches of land surrounded by the sea. In the Western imagination, since the 18^e century, the island has been so emotionally charged, so sensitive, so utopian that its morphology and topography are the source of a concentration of stories in which the invention of humanity seems to be replayed. Over the course of a long process that has created a new way of seeing and experiencing the "desire for the shore"²⁰⁶, the island has become a mirror of regenerative utopias, but also of ancestral fears. The island of the shipwrecked Robinson Crusoe is that piece of land drowned in the ocean where man learns to become a human being capable of mastering his own destiny. Over the last two centuries, the island has become a synecdoche of what history can do to the land and vice versa. The fact that there are 'places of transit' on islands, especially in the Mediterranean, the embodiment of Cycladic or Adriatic hedonism, is a sign that the island dream that drives Western societies is being disrupted. Now, on Lesbos or Lampedusa, but also - and this is sometimes less documented in the media - on Chios or Leros, these "places of transit" are now an integral part of the landscape. It is this tension and cohabitation that will be at the heart of my analysis.

Let's start by "decompartmentalising" the islands and the "places of transit" on them. By 'decompartmentalizing', we mean that islands are not the enclosed territory that their topography would lead us to imagine, or as some social science researchers would have us be-

²⁰⁵ More episodic arrivals were already being dealt with in the early 2000s.

²⁰⁶ Alain Corbin, *Le Territoire du vide : l'Occident et le désir du rivage*, Paris, Flammarion, 2010 [1988].

lieve, by turning them into a 'laboratory of geography'²⁰⁷. Camille Schmoll and Nathalie Bernardie-Tahir counter this approach, which constantly isolates them and reduces them to singletons, by proposing to turn away from "the image of a closed place, isolated from any outside influence and whose effectiveness and operational value are linked to its entrenchment and closure, which is precisely the opposite of what the island territories are today²⁰⁸". They go even further. Pursuing a reflection on the terminologies of the island function, they use the category of "place of condensation" in the wake of Bernard Debarbieux's innovative proposals²⁰⁹. Defining place as the synecdoche of a territory, Debarbieux argued that it was possible to classify places according to certain criteria: Alongside 'attribute places' (the Tower of Pisa in Italy, Versailles in France, the Acropolis in Greece, etc.) and 'generic places' (a small village on the plains in France, a medieval Tuscan-style town in Italy, a suburban housing estate or a skyscraper district in the United States, etc.), there are 'condensation places' (a small village on the plains in France, a medieval Tuscan-style town in Italy, a suburban housing estate or a skyscraper district in the United States, etc.), the "places of condensation" (the monumental capitals scattered across the globe) operate more than the others (which makes it possible to differentiate them) at the crossroads of "the values that a society gives itself through its territory²¹⁰". A fundamentally synecdochic place in that it "simultaneously concerns the spatial (the territory imposes itself on the place) and the social (the collectivity imposes itself on the individual)²¹¹", the "place of condensation" is perfectly suited to the island situation if we continue to follow Camille Schmoll and Nathalie Bernardie-Tahir, since islands are "issues (...) in the construction and animation of the world-system²¹²". Decompartmentalizing is based here on an analytical desire: it aims to break down the intellectual and social barriers which, more often than not out of inertia, invite us to consider the island in

²⁰⁷ Anne Meistersheim, *L'Île laboratoire*, Paris, Éditions Aedis, 1999.

²⁰⁸ Nathalie Bernardie-Tahir and Camille Schmoll (eds.), *Méditerranée. Des frontières à la dérive*, Paris, Le passager clandestin, 2018, p. 25.

²⁰⁹ Bernard Debarbieux, "Le lieu, le territoire et trois figures de rhétorique", *op. cit.* p. 97-112.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Nathalie Bernardie-Tahir and Camille Schmoll (eds.), *Méditerranée. Des frontières à la dérive*, *op. cit.* p. 28.

such a radical singularization that it would not be soluble in all sorts of continuums (spatial, economic) and, especially, in relational continuums.

Although little use has been made of the idea of 'decompartmentalising' 'places of transit' on islands in the scientific literature, this has been done in the case of Lesbos. In 2015, Laurence Pillant²¹³ and Louise Tassin proposed to "decompartmentalise the confinement" of "transit sites" and thus go beyond the "inside/outside or open/closed dichotomies" by focusing on the relationships between such sites and their environment. I am more interested in the spatial approach to the interactions between migrants and the island (movements, places of settlement, intra-island mobility, restructuring of official and unofficial spaces, etc.) than in their conclusions, which document the difficult cohabitation between residents and migrants. The presence of migrants cannot be reduced to what is most glaring: these institutional 'transit places' (hotspots, detention centres) that focus attention to the point of obscuring the reticular, arborescent dimension of these micro-movements of population that are part of a much more heterogeneous territory. If you look closely, Lesbos is more like a nebula made up of tiny migrant insularities linked by threads that are more or less invisible depending on the time of day and the season, than an island (re)defined by an abscess of fixation - Moria. In the wake of this orientation, which seems to me to be relevant to avoid over-specifying a social and spatial situation on the basis of a single place, I propose to go a little further. If we are to think of the island of migrant reception as a whole, an ensemble woven from "concrete places²¹⁴ " that enter into a relationship with one another - because a migrant is not someone who stagnates in an indefinite wait, because a migrant has to undergo all sorts of operations that "constrain" him or her or encourage him or her to live beyond his or her place of accommodation - we should also think of the island of migrant reception within the island itself. It should not be forgotten that Lesbos is also an island inhabited by year-round residents, a tourist destination, an island in an archipelago, a confetti of a nation-state integrated into the European Union, the demarcation line of a geopolitical space (non-exhaustive list).

²¹³ Laurence Pillant defended a thesis in geography under the supervision of Pierre Sintès and Apostolos Papadopoulos, *La Frontière comme assemblage. Critical geography of migration control on Greece's eastern border*, Aix-Marseille University-University of Harokopio, 1 vol, 2017.

²¹⁴ Nicolas Fischer, "Un lieu d'exception? Retour sur le statut de la rétention administrative dans un contexte démocratique", *Politix*, n° 104, 2013, p. 181-201.

As far as I'm concerned, Lesbos is all about spatial cohabitation. In saying this, I'm not suggesting that all spaces are not. I'm saying that the 'migration issue' has heightened this dimension, even if it's not the most obvious one. As much as social interactions have given rise to brilliant analyses in terms of strategies of inclusion, avoidance or segregation, spatial interactions have only been approached from the angle that a place is first and foremost the delimited framework of a group or society. Lifejacket Graveyard is not just a beacon in a 'spatial system' shaped since the 2010s by the settlement of migrants. In the north of the island, three kilometres from Molyvos, the small town of 2,000 inhabitants that is heir to the ancient city built by the Aeolians around 10^e century BC, Lifejacket Graveyard is a "spontaneous monument²¹⁵ " made of lifejackets used by migrants during their crossing from the Turkish coast. While in many ways it embodies a clear sign of the presence of a motley population in transit, and thus an element in the spatial composition linked to their mobility, it is now an element in the spatial fabric of the island as a whole. To treat it solely as a place of memory would be to relegate it to the status of an exception. To take it for what it is, a trace among many others in a landscape that is so palimpsest-like (the islands of the northern Aegean have for centuries been open spaces that have been travelled through), is to give it back its banality, the banality that forces us to think about most places, even if they are tragic places (even if Lesbos is not Auschwitz, that goes without saying), as points in a weave whose meaning also depends on the way in which they (the inhabitants, passers-by, those who talk about them, those who study them) are experienced and viewed. To do this (to understand spatial interactions in as much detail as possible), I suggest we shift our attention from space to time, using one of the three categories in the typology I put forward earlier²¹⁶ : rhythm.

End of April 2018. This is my second visit to Lesbos. The first time was in 2012: I had transited there on my way to Turkey and the reason was not the same. It was for a holiday. This time, I'm there for a completely different reason. With a member of the collective to which I belong, Radio Activité (an association under the law of 1901 founded at the end of 2016), we are spending just over a month in Greece between Thessaloniki, Athens and Lesbos. Our aim is to use a microphone to talk about aspects of the "migration crisis" as it was

²¹⁵ Google Maps nomenclature.

²¹⁶ In paragraph 2.3.

most often conceived and presented to "public opinion". Of course, we're not the only ones taking the Lesbos route. In just a few years, the island has become a media-successful hub for all kinds of initiatives in the fields of reporting, journalism, social science research and art. On 28 December 2015, Ai Weiwei posted a video on Instagram of an inflatable boat loaded with exiles from the Turkish coast. On 22 March 2017, *Libération* published a short text by playwright and novelist Simon Abkarian in its annual "*Libé des écrivains*" issue, which ended with these words: "Erdogan and his European colleagues are playing hide-and-seek in a labyrinth of flesh and blood. They insult each other over walls of corpses. And when they finally meet at the crossroads of history, they shake hands and spit on the dead, ignoring the wind that will one day change". The list of those who set out to document a "disgrace to Europe", to use the title of a book by Jean Ziegler²¹⁷, would be worth compiling if we were to understand the dynamics that direct our gaze and mean that, at a given moment, a place crystallises a set of questions and problems before routine condemns it to a form of silence²¹⁸. I have deliberately chosen to be part of this dynamic.

Living border

End of April 2018. For me, Lesbos is no longer a memory of an already distant holiday. Lesbos is a critical node. It is much more than that. It is now a border that seems to seal off two worlds: on one side, the world of migrants; on the other, Europe. I share this binary vision of either side of a line that is all the more reified because the States and, in their wake, most of the media, have made it a point of friction. I saw *Fuocoammare, beyond Lampedusa*, Gianfranco Rosi's remarkable documentary (winner of the Golden Bear at the 2016 Berlinale). Based in part on an extremely elaborate visual rhythm, the filmmaker's ability to tell the story of the mixed and intertwined island rhythms of a border location (Lampedusa) that is just as high-profile as Lesbos gave me a glimpse not only of the complexity of crossing a border, but even more so of the thickness of the border itself. By the thickness of the border,

²¹⁷ Jean Ziegler, *Lesbos, la honte de l'Europe*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2020.

²¹⁸ Éric Fottorino, *La Pêche du jour*, Paris, Philippe Rey, 2022.

I mean the borders that are the object of what Paolo Cuttitta calls "*frontierizzazione*"²¹⁹ ("frontierisation") or how spaces are subjected to political and state choices that turn them into marshalling yards, *hubs* and sieves with ever denser meshes. While Lampedusa was a gateway to Italy and the European Union almost like any other, at the turn of the millennium it became a concrete example of the process of "borderisation" (in 1998, the Turco-Napolitano law introduced administrative detention; from then on, the reception centre began to be used as a detention centre, before this function was definitively adopted in 2002 following the Bossi-Fini law, which extended the maximum duration of detention from 30 to 60 days). What Gianfranco Rosi has succeeded in capturing in *Fuocoammare* is the fact that Lampedusa has become more than just a hotspot, as many would suggest, establishing links between the island of the Pelagian archipelago, Chios, Kos, Lesbos, Samos and Leros²²⁰. Beyond the process of 'frontierisation', beyond what it covers - a laboratory for the total takeover of a place by the outside world - it is an example of what every society produces spatially: a jigsaw puzzle combining the new and the old, the immediate and the slow, the known and the unknown... Except that here, the edges are sharp because the situation is treated - and more often than not experienced - as exceptional.

End of April 2018. The image I have of the border at Lesbos is linked to the accumulation of all these elements. I stayed there for a fortnight to record the viewpoints²²¹ of a number of people (exiles, residents, NGO staff, etc.) on the ways in which they inhabit a border that has become part of their daily lives. Many of them are confronted with an ephemeral settlement that sometimes lasts for several years (the time it takes for the procedures to be completed). As we were unable to work inside the camps, we held dozens of workshops outside, in places run by humanitarian associations. For me, Lesbos very quickly became a territory in which the juxtaposition of human movements (tourists, international volunteers, migrants, locals, etc.) was backed up by a multiplicity of places. I'm now going to look at this juxtaposition from the point of view of rhythm.

²¹⁹ Paolo Cuttitta, *Lo Spettacolo del confine. Lampedusa tra produzione e messa in scena della frontiera*, op. cit.

²²⁰ Angeliki Dimitriadi, "Governing Irregular Migration at the Margins of Europe: The Case of Hotspots on the Greek Islands", *Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa*, 2017, p. 75-96.

²²¹ Radio Activité is a not-for-profit association governed by the law of 1901, which *uses* radio as a medium to encourage the most disadvantaged people to speak out and/or to do so again in their familiar surroundings.

As we have seen, borders are a matter of rhythm(s). What the border never ceases to be depends on the 'management' of population flows in transit, the activation of certain state measures, their impact on the ecosystems they affect, and the resistance that is put up locally, but also internationally: a pulse that beats differently according to migratory situations and geopolitical contexts. Given that 'frontierisation' is a process, we will analyse it in three stages. The first appears as a line, imaginary and, incidentally, profoundly concrete, which can easily be crossed by anyone with the necessary papers. In the space of two and a half hours (maximum), it is possible to reach Ayvalik on the east coast of Turkey. The island is nothing more than an extension of the European Union, and the sea is less an impassable boundary than an intercontinental link. The second stage is the thickening of the line: if you don't have the right documents, crossing the border requires even more illegal means, as the border becomes more rigid, like a wall whose initial function is to act as a deterrent. For migrants, this "highlighted" border must become the symbol of a dead end. At the end of the process, the third stage is increasingly based on the insularisation of the island, which takes the form of a bastion that is difficult to penetrate. This means that the border of Lesbos becomes a sieve that must filter arrivals (from Turkey) and above all prevent departures (if by any chance people have managed to outwit the trick). In contrast to the first stage, the final stage establishes Lesbos as an extension of the Turkish coast (10 kilometres away) and, as such, an even more obligatory passage (a waiting room) in the migratory trajectory. The migration agreement of 18 March 2016 between the European Union and Turkey enshrines this fact: the European Union delegates to its partner the control of flows at some of its entry points into Greece. The chronology of the border pulsation described here does not therefore follow a regular cycle. It is the result of political choices and varies according to the social profile of the actor confronted with the border. Since September 2015, Lesbos has been a hotspot approved by the European Union, i.e., according to official texts, a place designed to "implement temporary relocation mechanisms" (i.e. to facilitate the resettlement of recognised refugees in Member States) and to "ensure rapid identification, identification, registration and fingerprinting of migrants on arrival and (to) coordinate return operations²²² ", the border island is a border whose thickness also provides opportunities, albeit minimal, for migratory movements. Just as

²²² "European Agenda for Migration 2015 - the four pillars of better migration management".

a high mountain dam organises the management of water according to external variables (rainfall) and internal variables (human needs), the Lesbos border, as Thomas Nail emphasises, is about the circulation and channelling of movements rather than interrupting them²²³ .

Combining rhythms

An excessive focus on the rhythms of the border, however, only imperfectly captures what rhythm can say about Lesbos. The external border is not duplicated inside the island in the form of a demarcation line arbitrarily opposing two worlds, two societies, two inscriptions in the island space. The first obvious point, which is perhaps worth remembering, is that migrants are neither confined nor obliged to stay near the "transit points"²²⁴ during the day. Lesbos is therefore potentially their entire "playground". With a surface area of 1,633 square kilometres, the island is the third largest in Greece and the fifth largest in terms of population. The capital, Mytilene, from where the ferries depart, is located to the east, where the main "transit points" are concentrated. On the internet, maps made available to those working in non-governmental associations and/or aimed at new arrivals show a two-headed "migratory space" up to 2020:²²⁵ . People disembark on the north coast, between the villages of Molyvos and Skala Skamnias, before being transported, usually by bus, to three camps: Moria (7.5 kilometres north-east of Mytilene), run by the Greek government and the European Union; Kara Tepe (2.5 kilometres north-east of Mytilene), run by the municipality of Lesbos; and Pikpa (near the airport), run by the NGO Lesvos Solidarity. At first glance, the fact that the two centres are connected might seem to suggest that the "migratory area" only concerns a very small part of the island. But this is not the case. Although the hotspot is seen and imagined as cannibalising the entire island, it is far from the case that all parts of Lesbos are affected in the same way. Made up of a myriad of beaches and holiday resorts, the seaside area is not, for

²²³ Thomas Nail, *Theory of the Border*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016.

²²⁴ Except for people placed in the camp's internal detention centre because they cannot be deported (non-asylum seekers, rejected asylum seekers).

²²⁵ Valerio Raffaele, "Da Lagkadikia al Mediterraneo: gli spazi delle migrazioni in Grecia", in Luca Gallarini, Dino Gavinelli, Thomas Maloutas and Mauro Novelli (eds.), "La Grecia degli altri: percorsi letterari, geografici e culturali nella Grecia contemporanea", *Lingue culture mediazioni*, no. 8/1, 2021, p. 135-151, p. 140.

example, an area frequented by migrants²²⁶. The fact remains that to see Lesbos from the topographical angle of the division between those who "land" in camps and those who don't is to overlook too much the way in which the pieces of the jigsaw are put together.

There will be no analysis here of the human and physical geography of Lesbos - indeed, there are very few scientific monographs documenting it. I will simply mention a number of elements that I feel are necessary for the demonstration. In addition to Mytilene, which is home to around a third of the island's population (109,000 in 2018), thirteen villages scattered across the island, and not exclusively along the coast, are inhabited all year round. Their size is far from modest: the least dense have a population of 2,400, while the largest peak at nearly 6,700. The island, which saw its population grow throughout the 2010s, is, like all mass tourism destinations, prey to human densification, particularly during the summer holidays. In 2015, the airport recorded 72,647 arrivals from foreign countries; in 2016, 31,599; and in 2019, 66,563²²⁷. These tourist flows, which slowed sharply during the peak of the (so-called) "migration crisis" (in 2015), before returning to the "usual" low point of the pre-crisis years, obviously have an impact on Lesbos: more residents in the villages and in Mytilene, occupation of the seaside area, increased flows linked to the transport of people and goods on more congested roads. The island is now living at a different pace, that of seasonal tourist destinations, where there is a clear distinction between the few months with holidaymakers and the rest of the year without. However, one singularity is particularly noteworthy: although official figures are impossible to establish because the NGOs working in the area sometimes have little contact with the local authorities, some authors have estimated that between November 2014 and February 2016, several thousand volunteers (between 2,000 and 4,000) settled temporarily on Lesbos²²⁸. Their numbers have continued to grow: between 2016 and 2018 there were more than 7,300 volunteers working for 114 humanitarian associations²²⁹.

²²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 140.

²²⁷ www.mjt-airport.gr/en/mjt/air-traffic-statistics

²²⁸ Giovanna Di Matteo, "Carrefours: Migrants' Support Volunteer Tourism in Lesvos", in Luca Gallarini, Dino Gavinelli, Thomas Maloutas and Mauro Novelli (eds.), "La Grecia degli altri: percorsi letterari, geografici e culturali nella Grecia contemporanea", *Lingue culture mediazioni*, no. 8/1, 2021, p. 115-133, p. 122.

²²⁹ *Ibid*.

These humanitarian contingents cannot be reduced to a workforce that spends all its time with exiles. It turns out that some of the people registered at the airport are part of what Stephen Wearing calls *volunteer tourism*²³⁰. The seasonality of tourism is therefore less marked than in places where the binary pulse (life with summer visitors/life without) orchestrates lifestyles and ways of inhabiting an area. While most volunteers come to help for two to three weeks (average stay²³¹), their continuous presence throughout the year swells from spring to autumn and underlines, if need be, that a volunteer, no matter how well-intentioned, is also a potential tourist.

Whether they have come for a holiday in the sun and/or are momentarily one of the kingpins of an international aid effort that has continued to grow and become more structured in the second half of the 2010s, travellers who inevitably go to Mytilene (this is the urban area where all the services and most of the shops are based) cannot help but be "confronted" with the presence of migrants. He can quickly return to his holiday village and be convinced, even if he is not aware of the situation, that Lesbos is a configuration in its own right. Lesbos is unquestionably part of the "world of camps". In 2015, an "exceptional" year, 59% of arrivals in Greece came via Lesbos: 500,018 people passed through the island²³². Following the agreement between the European Union and Turkey (2016), the number fell drastically (15,034 arrivals in 2018). In 2021, 1,154 migrants will have arrived on Lesvos. The ebb and flow of migration (migrants, tourists, etc.), based on the arithmetic of arrivals and departures, creates a spatial framework that cannot be reduced to a compartmentalisation of places isolated from each other and, therefore, to "parallel histories".

The fact remains that the three camps present until 2020 are at first sight, but not only, a world in themselves. Despite their different management, Moria, Kara Tepe and Pikpa have a similar morphology. Close to the main roads serving the island, they are all linked to Mytilene. Varying in size (Moria: a plot of around 10 hectares; Kara Tepe: around 7 hectares; Pikpa: around 2 hectares), created on previously occupied land (Moria: a former military base;

²³⁰ Stephen Wearing, *Volunteer Tourism: Experiences that Make a Difference*, Oxon, CABI, 2001.

²³¹ Federica Letizia Cavallo and Giovanna Di Matteo, "Volunteer tourism and lived space: representations and experiences from Lesvos", *Tourism Recreation Research*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2021, p. 19-38, p. 26.

²³² reliefweb.int/report/greece/greece-lesvos-island-snapshot-31-dec-2015 (source UNHCR)

Pikpa: a former children's holiday centre) or created *ex abrupto* (Kara Tepe: a municipal site), they were initially designed as emergency solutions to the crisis before the hotspot (Moria) became the nerve centre for the other two "transit sites" to act as back-up (admission of the most vulnerable people, occasional decongestion of Moria, etc.). However, there is one major difference. Pikpa still looks like a holiday camp. Kara Tepe hardly stands out in the landscape, since the tents and the few containers that dot the area are hardly visible from the road leading down to the sea. Moria, on the other hand, perhaps also because it is at the centre of a media influence that makes it the embodiment of the world of camps, is one of those places that impress by the distance they create. The former military base is surrounded by barbed wire. Two entrances equipped with barriers and control booths reinforce the feeling that this is a world that can only be entered by those with 'rights' (and there aren't many of them, by the way). Although the initial plans of Moria resembled a well-oiled spatial mechanism (distribution of accommodation, administrative identification, maintenance and detention functions²³³ ...), it is impossible not to note that very quickly the informal prevailed over the formal, to the point that by 2020 the boundaries between the inside and outside of the camp had been broken, given the inflation in the number of residents and the "wild" occupation of the fringes.

This delimited, enclosed, perimeter world, as most commonly envisaged through the example of Moria, is more than a world. It is a turgid, reticular system. The camp in fact extends beyond the camp through all sorts of places that are formal enough to be identified as remnants of the situation of people in transit. The presence of dozens of NGOs has given rise to a multiplicity of support points whose existence is more or less permanent depending on the number of volunteers involved, the complacency of the authorities and the management by the humanitarian associations of what they consider to be their competences. Three places seem to me to be good observatories of this spatialisation of "places of transit", which operates like a constellation whose extent varies according to all the parameters we have outlined. Mosaik Support Center was created in 2016. Located in the heart of Mytilene, in a palace built in 1860, the centre, which is run by Lesvos Solidarity (an NGO founded in Lesbos in 2016 after four years spent informally housing refugees in Pikpa), offers all kinds of activities linked to the education of migrants (English, IT, Farsi, Arabic, yoga and Greek classes, etc.).

²³³ See map: https://migreurop.org/article2895.html?lang_article=fr

Since spring 2017, One Happy Family has been based in a rented hangar 700 metres from Kara Tepe. The Swiss association of the same name, whose aim is to create a *safe space* near a camp, is working along the same lines as Mosaik Support Center. Now called Home For All, the NGO Home For A Day, which grew out of the decision made in 2015 by a couple of lesbian cooks to open their restaurant to refugees, is continuing in the same vein. Based 7 kilometres from the Moria camp, in the Bay of Gera, the association is supported by dozens of international volunteers who enable it to operate throughout the year.

If we read this constellation solely in terms of social experience, we can see it as a universe that is expanding to a greater or lesser extent, based on the way in which migrants, by virtue of their presence, transform a society. Doesn't this reading (similar to Deleuze and Guattari's famous rhizome interpretation grid²³⁴) through the social - because the social is 'burning' - run too great a risk of unifying, smoothing out, but also singling out our analyses of a migratory phenomenon where issues that are also spatial issues collide? To answer this question, I think it would be a good idea to take a look at rhythm and, more specifically, at some of its variations²³⁵ . Sandra Bonfiglioli rightly points out: "Generally speaking, the constructed city and the city of human relations are referred to together by a single term, the city, which designates less the totality of a variety of institutional, social and physical spheres than the intimacy of the necessary relationship between constructed forms and social forms. (...) In the necessary relationship that binds human beings to a built environment, the first temporal architecture that characterises the city manifests itself: all the temporalities specific to the physical side and those specific to the social side are linked together in a relationship

²³⁴ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Rhizome. Introduction*, Paris, Minuit, 1976; applied to my object, the concept of rhizome interests me because its modularity refers to the structure of the constellation.

²³⁵ In this vein, the article by Alain Guez and Pietro Zanini, "Des rythmes et des chronotopes", *EspaceTemps.net*, Travaux, 12.03.2021, explores the question of "rhythm in general, and urban and metropolitan rhythms in particular". Based on research funded by the City of Paris entitled "Chronological exploration of a Parisian territory", the authors propose four categories (agreements, promises, freedom and landmarks) as part of an anthropological approach to the experience of time. From these they derive three anthropological 'fundamentals' of the experience of urban time: chronotopic reference points, temporal constraints and chronotopic appropriations.

that allows physical and social forms to inhabit each other, to be each other's environment²³⁶". I will examine the question of rhythm in terms of three stages: synchrony through rhythm, polyrhythm and random movement.

Time units, constellations and galaxies

Let's assume that each "transit point" is a "pocket of time" that obeys its own logic. We'll call it a "unit of time". Remember that every space is a "unit of time", and that some authors liken it to an "areola" in which "space and time are static and are embodied as a fenced territory, characterised by an inside and an outside and identifiable boundaries²³⁷". As a result, Lesbos is a "unit of time" structured by a multitude of pockets²³⁸ whose relationships are not as clear-cut or as obvious as one might suppose. In the space of a few years, and if you think about it very quickly, the camps have established themselves as temporal perimeters that seem all the more easily definable because they are well delimited in space. These units operate in ways that, although set in "remarkable" places, resemble those at work almost everywhere in the "world of camps": the hotspots of Chios, Samos, Kos, Leros and Lampedusa *ultimately* obey the same kind of temporal regulation. The camps are in fact, and perhaps above all, places where temporal regulation governs the lives of their inhabitants. The thickening/reduction of the border has had the knock-on effect of a symmetrical thickening/reduction of the camps, so that geopolitical time is very concretely inscribed in their space and in their form²³⁹: since Moria became a hotspot, asylum application procedures for European Union

²³⁶ (In generale la città costruita e la città delle relazioni umane sono indicate assieme da unico termine, città, che nomina non tanto il farsi *totalità* di una varietà di ambiti istituzionali, sociali e fisici bensì l'intimità della *relazione necessaria* tra forme costruite e forme sociali. (...) Nella relazione necessaria che lega gli esseri umani a un ambiente antropizzato si manifesta la prima *architettura temporale* che caratterizza la città: l'insieme *delle temporalità proprie del versante fisico e quelle proprie del versante sociale* si legano in una relazione che permette alle forme fisiche e sociali di abitare l'una nell'altra, di essere l'una l'ambiente dell'altra. "Sandra Bonfiglioli, "Che cos'è un cronotopo", in Sandra Bonfiglioli and Marco Mareggi, *Il Tempo e la città fra natura e storia. Atlante di progetti sui tempi della città*, Urbanistica Quaderni, Rome, Piani, 1997, p. 90-92, p. 90.

²³⁷ Manola Antonioli, Guillaume Drevon, Luc Gwiazdzinski, Vincent Kaufmann and Luca Pattaroni, *Manifeste pour une politique des rythmes*, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

²³⁸ A village, a seashoresort, a school, an administration are all pockets of time.

²³⁹ Manola Antonioli, Guillaume Drevon, Luc Gwiazdzinski, Vincent Kaufmann and Luca Pattaroni, *Manifeste pour une politique des rythmes*, *op. cit.* p. 74.

countries are carried out on the island, which considerably slows down the possibilities of leaving Lesbos quickly²⁴⁰. Without belonging to the range of "total institutions" whose features and main characteristics were defined by the sociologist Erving Goffman in his classic work, *Asiles* (1961), it has to be said that, in everyday life, the camp is a space with a very tight time frame for both objective and subjective reasons. Objective: the bus timetable means that it is difficult, to say the least, to get to the city between 9.45pm and 5.30am²⁴¹ when there is no public transport available. Meals are served morning, noon and night, on presentation of tickets, according to timetables that force each resident to queue for three hours before obtaining them²⁴². The same applies to the use of the toilets. These lives sequenced by waiting²⁴³ are all the more conditioned by time constraints that are compounded by subjective considerations: after certain hours, few people venture outside the camp, because the camp is basically a very unsafe place. What applies to the internal organisation of Moria applies, with adjustments, to the other two "transit sites", were it not for the insecurity that is less of a shadow cast over Pikpa. The camps are borderline cases, and are all the more so because they are governed by a time schedule that insularises them in a specific temporality - this dimension is undoubtedly part of what Kamel Doraï and Nicolas Puig call "interval places", i.e. places that "make a break in the urban continuity²⁴⁴".

However, these places are not just islands of time, if we accept that they belong, often invisibly, to networks. The topographical discontinuity that most often springs to mind when we refer to them solely as socially excluded and spatially exceptional does not do justice to the fact that they also exist: their insertion into a system that links each of the temporal units within a network. This topological dimension enriches the topographical aspect because, by

²⁴⁰ Prior to 2015, migrants arriving on Lesbos were either held in a detention centre or a holding centre set up in Moria, or sent to other centres in the country, or they benefited from all sorts of ruses to obtain an obligation to leave Greek territory, which in this case allowed them to stay only a short time on the island and to take a ferry. See Laurence Pillant and Louise Tassin, "Lesbos, l'île aux grillages. Migrations et enfermement à la frontière gréco-turque", *Cultures & Conflits*, no. 99-100, 2015, p. 26-55, p. 39.

²⁴¹ On Sundays, buses only run in the afternoon.

²⁴² Information recorded during radio workshops run with the association Radio Activité in May 2018.

²⁴³ Kamel Doraï and Nicolas Puig (eds.), *L'Urbanité des marges. Migrants et réfugiés dans les villes du Proche-Orient*, op. cit, p. 16.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 15.

introducing the variable of time into the analysis of 'migratory space', it means that space is not condemned to being no more than a juxtaposition of places with physical and social properties²⁴⁵. Identifying the topological limits of the network is possible through what remains for me a tool for refining what 'places of transit' do to space. On Lesbos, the network cannot be reduced to the three camps, even if there are links that synchronise them. Although they live at the same pace, they also live in relation to each other: because they are communicating vessels depending on the pace of arrivals and departures, because governmental and non-governmental institutions devote part of their time to unifying their actions, because daily communications between camp residents lend credence to the idea that everyone is experiencing their situation in the same unit of time, for all these reasons (a non-exhaustive list), the "transit sites" respond to each other as part of a scansion that links them more or less perceptibly. But there's more.

The "migratory space" has given rise to places that came into being *ex abrupto* or that were invested because of the new situation. Mosaïk Support Centre, Home For All and One Happy Family, for example, are all part of this network, which has continued to develop over the years. Rather than structuring, the more appropriate term would probably be mutating: it so happens that alongside the three places that serve as beacons here, other places that are the product of this "migratory space" have come into being, changed address or even disappeared over the last ten years. In 2022, One Happy Family moved to Athens, where the association opened a "multifunctional community space"²⁴⁶ modelled on what it had founded on Lesbos. These points - these units - are outside the "places of transit", and help to keep the rhythm of the network going by synchronising with the rhythm of the camps, while at the same time enriching or even changing it in ways that are their own. Mosaïk Support Centre, for example, is an archetypal "synchronising site", because it is a link that operates in a double synchrony. Synchronicity with the camps: because most of the visitors are residents of the "transit areas", the two-storey neoclassical building, which also has a garden, lives to the rhythm of the camps, since the activities on offer are designed to fit in with a schedule that is manageable

²⁴⁵ Manola Antonioli, Guillaume Drevon, Luc Gwiazdzinski, Vincent Kaufmann and Luca Pattaroni, *Manifeste pour une politique des rythmes*, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

²⁴⁶ According to the presentation on the website (ohf-lesvos.org/en/projects-and-activities/).

for migrants (it takes roughly an hour from Moria to reach the site of the NGO, which distributes bus tickets to participants in its courses); synchrony with the city: Mosaik Support Centre, which was designed from the outset as a meeting place and social inclusion centre for people living on Lesbos, is open at the same times as the adjoining bookshop (9am-8pm) and, because it is physically part of the town, is also in tune with its rhythm.

In a different way, One Happy Family has chosen to be outside Mytilene and closer to Moria by renting a hangar in a craft and commercial area. As an extension of the camp's pulse, the association offers a range of activities and makes spaces available by exporting and reconfiguring, in a place that was not at all intended for that purpose, a tesserae whose temporality is that of urban space. A medical centre, a café, an internet café, a cinema, a hairdresser, a library, a bank, a garden, a sports hall and a crèche all come together here to give passers-by the impression of an ordinary urban space. To come here is to rediscover, or try to rediscover - the aims of the association are explicit²⁴⁷ - what makes the city a city: a rhythm that belongs to it. The aim of importing a familiar rhythm into a world in the grip of rampant urbanisation is to recreate a sense of normality as opposed to urgency. The mobilisation of resources to alleviate the "unhappiness of the times" *ultimately* involves working on rhythm and on the possibility of providing a glimpse of the life before and the (dreamed of) life after, either occasionally or regularly, depending on individual possibilities. This quest for a daily life free of the excesses of the migratory situation is even more pronounced in the case of Home For All. Born under the name Home For A Day (which says a lot about the authors' intentions), the association, which is based in a seaside resort, played on the bubble of domestic space from the outset. By collecting the migrants from the camp entrances and taking them to Skala Sikountos, where the tavern overlooking the sea serves them meals, the organisers have taken the gamble of taking them out of the rhythm of the camp so that in the space of two hours they can rediscover the ritual of the collective meal (chosen and not suffered) and leisure time²⁴⁸. Connected to the life of the camps, the restaurant is not just a place for conviviality; it opens a parenthesis at the opposite end of the spectrum from the rhythm of "transit places" and offers an interlude that is repeated cyclically.

²⁴⁷ ohf-lesvos.org/en/projects-and-activities/

²⁴⁸ Alain Corbin, "Temps des loisirs, espaces de la ville", *Histoire urbaine*, no. 1, 2000, p. 163-168.

To define the arrangement of units in a spatial network that is only intrinsically migratory, i.e. oriented uniquely by the rhythm of migratory flows, is to fail to acknowledge, as I showed *above*, that each unit is driven by a polyrhythm that potentially links it to multiple units and therefore opens it up to other temporalities. By trying to conceal the rhythm of the camp, Home For All can only import it into a universe (a seaside hamlet) that is cadenced by other tempos. In the same way, Mosaik Support Center imports the temporality of the camp into an island capital whose pulse is that of the main towns on the islands of the Northern Aegean. The One Happy Family hangar, on the other hand, imports the dynamics of the city just a few hundred metres from Kara Tepe. The layout of this network is therefore in a state of perpetual tension: behind the apparent convergence of the rhythms of the units, which tend to unify them, there are other rhythms whose divergences can be fraught with tension, leading to a disorder that would shatter the network. This network is obviously not the only one in existence. In many respects, the tourism network is the one in which the units have, with the force of evidence, a polyrhythm. Between 2014 and 2018, the near doubling in the number of foreign volunteers (fewer than 4,000 volunteers stayed on the island between 2014 and early 2016; 7,300 did so between 2016 and May 2018) was accompanied by a scarcity of arrivals on international flights (almost 73,000 in 2015; 31,000 in 2016; 50,000 in 2017). The fact that *volunteer tourists* are generally based in Mytilene gives the Biotec capital a dominant role in orchestrating the rhythm of the "migratory space". The fact remains that *volunteers* are also tourists almost like any others who, apart from their activities linked to international aid, behave topographically like other summer visitors²⁴⁹. It is because they are volunteers that they import the rhythm of the camps into the holiday resorts that they occupy momentarily (*days off*). The fact that they chose to stay in the north-eastern part of Lesbos, where migrants disembark and where they come to pay their respects at Lifejacket Graveyard, reflects the permeability of the two networks (migration/tourism) and the rhythms associated with them.

Metaphorically, the space of Lesbos can be read as a galaxy formed of multiple constellations born of the assembly of a set of units. Rhythm is all the more useful for decoding the shifting forms that the galaxy takes because it is stretched between, on the one hand,

²⁴⁹ For example, they visit the villages of Kalloni, Molyvos and Plomari, or the petrified forest in the west of the island.

the aspiration of those who intend to control its unification - to arrange the tesserae according to a determined order that is both inclusive for some of them and exclusive for others - and, on the other, the Brownian movement instituted by the interactions and continuous re-configurations that, by virtue of their polyrhythm, agitate the units working to form these constellations.

Any galaxy, given the interweaving of rhythms and the consequent risk of 'disharmony' that can occur, is fundamentally confronted with the possible existence of a black hole. Beyond the metaphor, the point is to underline the extent to which arrhythmia, the product of anarchy, of turbulence in the rhythms of certain constellations that no longer manage to synchronise *at a minimum*, lurks²⁵⁰. Two figures will be used here to support this hypothesis. Migrants are people who are connected by the communications that enable them to escape from their condition as individuals in disarray. A map, even of calls made and received in an extremely short space of time, would show an image that is both saturated and blurred, something whose structure is constantly evolving day by day. At the crossroads between the operators who make communications possible and these communications which, even if they refer to all sorts of similar social demands (staying in touch with one's family, sorting out urgent problems, finding a place to 'land'...), are extremely diverse, the apparent banality of a globalised communication that would take the same routes for each individual in fact restores what it also is: a kind of magma. In a completely different register, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari²⁵¹ have suggested the idea of a "smooth space" made up of a non-homogeneous space, a "field without conduits or channels". Breaking the general rhythm by introducing a disturbance that affects the temporality of a unit, and possibly a constellation, is tantamount to causing the invisible metronome that organises all the rhythms, and therefore all the spaces, to jam, at the risk of coming to a standstill. In September 2020, Moria was completely ravaged by arson. The containment measures introduced to deal with the covid-19 pandemic made the

²⁵⁰ Following in the footsteps of Panofsky, Deleuze and Guattari, Jean-Claude Schmitt writes: "The crisis is the imbalance, the unevenness in the measure, the arrhythmia which, by working on the rhythm from within, gives it its dynamism and constitutes it", *Les Rythmes au Moyen Âge, op. cit.*, p. 63; we cannot disagree with this, but we would point out that by making the crisis the driving force behind rhythm, we come to forget that in social experiments, the mastery of rhythm and the efforts to overcome crises are all equally creative of what makes up the order of time.

²⁵¹ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux, op.cit.* p. 434 ff, 450, 462, 470.

lives of the inhabitants, already extremely precarious, even more unbearable - the camp had been confined since March 2020 and the decontainment, which affected the whole of Greece at the beginning of May, did not apply here. By setting fire to some of the camp's infrastructure, some of those involved in the "migratory space" were rebelling against restrictions on freedom. What's more, they demonstrated the subversive power of the frameworks within which they were confined. In so doing, they confronted those in power with what they fear above all else: the impossibility of controlling flows and, consequently, rhythms in the territory they control. The camp, which housed four times as many migrants as its capacity allowed, was no longer the perimeter that could contain *the* threat: homeless and potentially wandering populations. Wandering thus became the antithesis of what the institutions were constantly trying to safeguard by erecting barriers and dedicated places: the possibility of an organised "migratory time", structured according to a protocol which, even if it is mostly informal (a camp is not a barracks), is obligatory if not constraining. In this case, the implosion of a temporal unit (Moria) was likely to produce a lethal arrhythmia, whereas polyrhythms allow for beneficial crossovers. The infarction (the black hole) threatens. As orchestrated by its main protagonists (city technicians, political staff), the mastery of time comes up against a considerable stumbling block, as solutions must quickly be found to plug the temporal breach that has opened up and freeze the constellations. Michel Lussault, in his reading of Paul Ricœur's work²⁵² on the relationship between time and fiction, points out that: "One of the most important tasks of the urban planner, the technician and the political protagonist, albeit one that is most often not objectified, is to bring these times together so that they can be integrated into a *fiction*: that of the univocal time of action. This fictional integration is attempted, in particular, with the help of the instrument of the action narrative and the figures (maps, plans, photographs, sketches, film, etc.) that it contains like so many windows allowing the observation and description of proven and/or predicted phenomena". In his own way, Hartmut Rosa adds to this point of view: "Knowing how to define the rhythm, duration, tempo, order of succession and synchronisation of events and activities is the arena in which conflicts of interest and

²⁵² Michel Lussault, "Temps et récit des politiques urbaines", in Thierry Paquot (ed.), *Le Quotidien urbain*, art. cité, p. 149-150; Paul Ricœur writes: "The narrative is significant insofar as it outlines the features of temporal experience", *Temps et récit*, t. 1: *L'Intrigue et le récit historique*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1991, p. 17.

the struggle for power are played out. Chronopolitics is therefore a central component of any form of sovereignty²⁵³ .

By causing a temporal unit to lose its rhythm, an uncontrolled flow reminds public authorities of the extent to which the management of heterogeneity/synchronisation²⁵⁴ , which is at the heart of all their spatial policies, stumbles over the vagaries of certain circumstances that they can no longer control. Drawing on the work of Henri Meschonnic, who refused to see rhythm as simply a question of metrics, Jean-Claude Schmitt asserts: "The question of rhythms is fully a political question²⁵⁵ ". What the implosion of Moria underlines is the effect of accumulation and dispersion which, in one fell swoop, makes reality more raw and vivid than it appears - in a sense, the skeleton of the constellation is laid bare and the fractures risk becoming gaps. Because of their "nature" and function, certain places are obviously more exposed to disruption. Because "places of transit" are, by their very nature, places of movement, the fact that sudden overflows break up what also makes the city, the "*settled lifestyle*²⁵⁶ ", suddenly makes it impossible, if not unthinkable, to integrate these places into the urban planning framework. Measures are being taken to put things back in order. At the request of the municipal authorities, Home For All had to choose between NGO status and commercial status (restaurant). What might seem trivial is not: the choice stems from a desire to channel space by breaking the physical *and* temporal links between urban space *and* "migratory space".

A comparison with the situation in the Palestinian camps in Jordan seems appropriate here. It shows the extent to which "places of transit" remain "spaces of ambiguity²⁵⁷ ", to the extent that the way we look at them can be tilted in one explanatory direction or another. We'll

²⁵³ Hartmut Rosa, *Accélération. Une critique sociale du temps*, Paris, La Découverte, 2010, p. 26.

²⁵⁴ Michel Agier, "De nouvelles villes: les camps de réfugiés", *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine*, no. 91, 2001, p. 128-136, p. 129. Commenting on Bernard Lepetit, he notes: "The very being of the city", underlines Bernard Lepetit, is a heterogeneous set of identity resources whose confrontation defines "the space of action of city dwellers" and determines the "transformative capacities of the urban".

²⁵⁵ Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les Rythmes au Moyen Age*, *op. cit.* p. 31.

²⁵⁶ Nausicaa Pezzoni, *La Città sradicata. Geografie dell'abitare contemporaneo*, *op. cit.* p. 26.

²⁵⁷ Achilli Luigi and Lucas Oesch, "Des espaces d'ambiguïté : les camps de réfugiés palestiniens en Jordanie", *A contrario*, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 17-36, p. 17.

look at them later when we talk about duration. The fact remains that, before embodying durability, these camps also embody what the authorities initially saw as an "encapsulation" of the city before coming to see them as possible "*sparring partners*". Today, nearly two million Palestinian refugees live in Jordan (population 10.7 million), including 370,000 in the ten camps run by the government and the UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East). Six of these camps are in the Amman conurbation. Because they have been there for so long (al-Wihdat and Jabal al-Hussein are over sixty years old) and because of the capital's galloping expansion, these "transit sites" have become an integral part of the urban fabric, making it impossible for an untrained outside observer to read borders that are deeply invisible. To say that these camps live in unison with the rhythm of the city is fair, but it also needs to be weighed in the balance. Located close to Amman's city centre, they are nonetheless enclaves, since the municipality does not include them in its development policy (they are absent from the 1998 and 2008 *master plans*). However, they are crossed by roads that are among the capital's busiest thoroughfares. If we examine this tension between inclusion and exclusion using the question of time, we will notice that integration into the city is not accompanied by a "Jordanisation" of these areas. Many Palestinians could leave (we're easily into the third generation of "inhabitants"). Some do not, for reasons that have to do in particular with the manifestation of an eminently political will: to embody an exile (that lasts) while waiting to return to their promised land. The Jordanian state plays the game because it intends to remind Israel that Jordan cannot be a substitute homeland for a population that is still waiting for a different future²⁵⁸. The fact that the management of the camps is based on converging interests (Jordan receives international funds directed towards the camps and is trying to obtain compensation from the Jewish state) does not hide the fact that these places - which are continuously "places of transit" (in 2006 the average age of the residents was 17 according to the UNCHR²⁵⁹) - remain singular temporal units that reflect the granularity of the city's rhythms... and the pending dimension of the management of their unification.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 33.

²⁵⁹ UNHCR. The State of the World's Refugees 2006: Human Displacement in the New Millennium; UNHCR: Geneva, Switzerland, 2006, Available online: <https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4dc1a89/state-worlds-refugees-2006-human-displacementnew-millennium.html>

3.2- Around the street in the Calais "Jungle". Condensing effects

Crossing the street

The case of Lesbos enabled me to address the question of rhythm within urbanised space. In this case, the island was analysed as a delimited object: a framework structured by a network of chronotopes that I set out to define as a galaxy formed in turn by multiple constellations born of the assembly of a certain number of temporal units. If we adopt Tim Ingold's point of view, according to which these constellations constitute a mesh "knotted in the middle" and with "ends always free" that seek to "attach themselves to other lines"²⁶⁰ , then, to continue, it seems important to me to account for the way in which temporal units can be spatially linked to one another. I'll use the street as my guiding thread here. Unlike the route, the street is in fact the first element that makes it possible to associate built spaces and materialise a form of settlement. As Joseph Rykwert points out: "It took thousands of years to move from the notion of a path to that of a road as a surface and, consequently, as an object within a more stable and explicit establishment... The word street derives from the Latin *sternere*, to pave, and is related to all the words derived from Latin with the root *str* that refer to construction... *road*, on the other hand, suggests movement towards a destination and - incidentally - the transfer of people and goods on foot, with beasts of burden or vehicles. Its Anglo-Saxon root is *ride* (Old English from *ridan*) and designates a passage from one place to another. In this sense, it corresponds to the French word *rue*.²⁶¹ . Drawn up around 10,000 BC in today's Val Camonica, one of the first maps to depict the connections between built-up areas shows "a complex system in which the lines of the routes through the void intersect to distribute the various solid elements of the territory. Francesco Careri continues: "You can see

²⁶⁰ Quoted in Catherine Perret, *Le Tacite, l'humain. Anthropologie politique de Fernand Deligny, op. cit.*, p. 354-355.

²⁶¹ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.) "Ha richiesto un processo millenario il passaggio dalla nozione di *percorso* a quello di *strada* quale superficie e, perciò, quale oggetto entro un più stabile ed esplicito insediamento... La parola *street* deriva dal latino *sternere*, pavimentare, ed è legata a tutte le parole di derivazione latina con radice *str* che si riferiscono al costruire...*road* invece fa pensare al movimento verso una meta e - incidentalmente - al trasferimento della gente e di merci a piedi, con bestie da soma o veicoli. Its Anglo-Saxon root is *ride* and denotes a passage from one place to another. In this sense it corresponds to the French word *rue*", Francesco Careri, *Walkscape. Camminare come pratica estetica*, Turin, Einaudi, 2006, p. 20.

scenes of people at work, paths, steps, huts, houses on stilts, fenced fields and areas for livestock²⁶² ". This representation is interesting in that it highlights the very thing that animates anthropised space: a hierarchical organisation of places that, despite their functional specificities and the fact that they are fixed by design, are punctuated by the movements and, therefore, the rhythms of their inhabitants.

It's obvious to say it, but it's worth repeating: movement is at the heart of all life in society. Jean-Claude Schmitt makes this point on several occasions. Let's quote him: "I think once again of what Elias Canetti wrote in 1960 in *Masse et puissance*, referring to the Viennese processions of 1927: "[T]he rhythm is originally a rhythm of the feet"²⁶³ ; "In the Middle Ages, the procession was the most effective rhythmic mode of symbolic control and appropriation of space²⁶⁴ ". Because movement enables us to connect and exchange, it conditions our ways of grasping space and shaping it. Drawing on Jean-Claude Margueron's work on the Mesopotamians, Marcel Hénaff reminds us that it was not water that favoured the birth of the city, but rather the course of the river that, by establishing communications, presided over it²⁶⁵ . "Commerce and traffic are the two components of the street²⁶⁶ ", noted Walter Benjamin in the famous text he devoted to Parisian passages. He added: "The stroller sabotages traffic. He is not a buyer either. He is a commodity²⁶⁷ ". Objectivised on the basis of his readings of Baudelaire and many other authors, the figure of the flâneur as an archetypal figure of *Paris, the capital of the 19TH^e century*, underlines the extent to which the human being in his movements plays with his own score of space (even if Benjamin was, as Patrick Boucheron reminds us, "a walker, but with a light step, who runs exhausted through unknown cities²⁶⁸ "). Space is therefore the sum total of singular experiences that organise, calibrate and dimension

²⁶² *Ibid*, p. 23.

²⁶³ Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les Rythmes au Moyen Âge*, *op. cit.* p. 45.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 369.

²⁶⁵ Marcel Hénaff, *La Ville qui vient*, Paris, L'Herne, 2008, p. 30.

²⁶⁶ Walter Benjamin, *Paris, capitale du XIX^e siècle. The Book of Passages*, *op. cit.* p. 73.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁶⁸ Patrick Boucheron, *Faire profession d'historien*, *op. cit.* p. 13-14.

the city along invisible paths, even though the paths are very real. The German philosopher once remarked: "The street leads those who stroll towards a bygone era. For him, every street is a slope, leading, if not to the Mothers, at least to a past that can be all the more bewitching because it is not his own past, his private past²⁶⁹". He added: "The streets are the flat of the collective. The collective is a being in constant movement, in constant turmoil, which lives, experiments, knows and invents as many things between the façades of buildings as individuals do within their own four walls²⁷⁰".

Dadaism elevated strolling to the status of an "aesthetic operation²⁷¹", making the Parisian stroll described by Benjamin "an art form that is inscribed directly in real space and time and not on material supports²⁷²". Promoted by André Breton, surrealist wandering, understood as "letting go of everything", then anticipated what the Situationists, and Guy Debord in particular, established as an intellection of space: drifting. While accepting chance, this operation was not based on chance alone, since it obeyed certain rules established by psychogeographical cartography: "With the help of old maps of aerial photographic views and experimental drifts, we can draw up an influential cartography that has been lacking until now²⁷³", noted the herald of situationism in 1958. Entitled "Guide psychogéographique de Paris. Discours sur les passions de l'amour", the first map encouraged people to "lose themselves" in space. The capital was transformed into a vast archipelago made up entirely of islands and districts selected according to the routes they took. The cross-hatching between them indicated the different routes that could be taken to reach them: countless paths, "trajectories into the void, mental wanderings between memories and absences²⁷⁴".

Debord's cross-hatching and Benjamin's flâneur are obviously metaphorical figures. They attempt to give an account of a state of connections that often eludes what any map,

²⁶⁹ Walter Benjamin, *Paris, capitale du XIX^e siècle. The Book of Passages*, *op. cit.* p. 435.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 441.

²⁷¹ Francesco Careri, *Walkscape. Camminare come pratica estetica*, *op. cit.* p. 47.

²⁷² *Ibid*.

²⁷³ Guy Debord, "Théorie de la dérive", *Les Lèvres nues*, no. 9, 1956, *republished* in *L'Internationale situationniste*, no. 2, 1958, p. 23.

²⁷⁴ Francesco Careri, *Walkscape. Camminare come pratica estetica*, *op. cit.* p. 73.

when looked at from the point of view of drawing lines, does not allow us to discern. However, if they are not to be confined to a "poetics of the city", to use the title of Pierre Sansot's fine book²⁷⁵, they also require a closer look at what makes them real. The street will provide the answer. Marcel Hénaff writes: "Why is the street so important? Undoubtedly because it exemplifies what constitutes the most specifically urban sociality, a sociality which, from the outset, was invented by breaking away from previous, essentially village (or nomadic encampment) lifestyles²⁷⁶". In a few words, I think it's important to come back to my interest in this subject. When, at the very beginning of this thesis, I was wondering about the definition of 'places of transit' as disruptive elements of urban space, it seemed obvious to me that the street had a special place: by virtue of its status as a 'connector', the street is capable of attenuating spatial ruptures and revealing plausible cohabitations - and equally plausible synchronisations.

The street lamps in "rue de l'église"

This thought process has continued to develop in the course of my fieldwork. In Calais, what a surprise it was when, for the first time at the beginning of January 2016 (see *below*), I discovered the 'Jungle' and, within it, a semi-roadway that had been concreted over by the local council and lit by a few street lamps. I was temporarily living in Jordan in May 2019 when, while strolling through the al-Wihdat district of Amman, I realised that the street served as the camp's "border": a commercial artery, it demarcated the camp while at the same time being open to the rest of the city. For an outside observer, as well as for the inhabitants of the Jordanian capital, this street, several hundred metres long, is a marker of spatial division, but it is also a junction, so that to walk along it is to be on the edge of two worlds that also communicate through it. It is this contradiction between places that are destined to disappear - and not included in a municipal development plan - and the construction of tarmac roads in or around them that Luigi Achilli has documented when he talks about the "spaces of ambigui-

²⁷⁵ Pierre Sansot, *Poétique de la ville*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2004 [1971].

²⁷⁶ Marcel Hénaff, *La Ville qui vient*, *op. cit.* p. 205.

ty²⁷⁷ " that make up the Palestinian camps in Jordan. Reading his article confirmed what I had observed empirically. Achilli takes as examples the al-Urdun road along one end of the Jabal al-Hussein camp and the Sumayya road running through the al-Wihdat camp. These roads have become major transit routes in the urban area, while the camps have continued to be obscured in the 1998 and 2008 master plans of Amman²⁷⁸ . Observations and readings invite us to ask a seemingly banal question: what do a tarmac street and streetlights in a "transit area" say about the city? There are many possible answers, depending on who you talk to and what the situation is. *Ad libitum*, we could mention elements of security in an unstable landscape, the genesis of a "neighbourhood" that is destined not to see the light of day, the management of a parcel of urban space based on the extension of the primary networks (electricity, water supply, etc.) that characterise it, the signals, however weak, of an anthropisation of the space - a list that is not exhaustive. From my point of view, the street and the lamppost are not just about spatial metamorphosis. Rather, they embody what might be described as connections. The aim here is to restore their importance and their attributes by focusing on a study that places them at the heart of the chronotopic functions of which they are both the carriers and the vectors.

From 8 to 10 October 2015, DSA Major Risks students from the École nationale supérieure d'architecture Paris Belleville carried out an "architectural, urban and human survey of the Calais Jungle²⁷⁹ ".^{ème}The aim of the operation was to identify "behind the apparent disorder, a laboratory for the city of the 21st century²⁸⁰ ", according to the terms used in the report. In my view, the order chosen by the students to ward off the "disorder" is emblematic. The epicentre of the first few pages of the summary is the "church road"²⁸¹ (southern road). It

²⁷⁷ Luigi Achilli and Lucas Oesch, "Des espaces d'ambiguïté: les camps de réfugiés palestiniens en Jordanie", art. cit.

²⁷⁸ Hélène Noizet and Anne-Sophie Cléménçon are right to point out that "the road network offers resistance that translates into long timeframes: a street is generally in use for several centuries, or even several millennia, because it constitutes a strong constraint that is easier to adjust than to radically transform", *Faire ville. Entre planifié et impensé, la fabrique ordinaire des formes urbaines*, op. cit, p. 152.

²⁷⁹ <https://www.fichier-pdf.fr/2015/12/11/jungle-calais-releve-integral-compressed/> consulted on 01.04.2021. See also the illustration booklet.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ The roads were not named, hence the use of inverted commas.

guides the analysis of "nationalities", "activities and services", "shops and electricity", "chronotopies", "traffic and flows". It is through this street that the whole of the "transit area" is apprehended. There's nothing insignificant about this street. It says a great deal about the internalization of our own representations, which condition any attempt at human agglomeration on a structuring by path, pavement or cobblestone. It justifies the perception I had when I had to approach this reputedly inhospitable place in January 2016. Developed a few months after it was laid out by local residents and associations, "rue de l'église" was lined on both sides with shops. In the spring of 2016, the prefecture listed 72 businesses that it had ordered to be demolished: small grocery shops, "restaurants", hairdressers, modest "bakeries" (premises with a bread oven) and "hammams" formed an urban backdrop of buildings (with no foundations) made of metal and wood. In addition, a library, places of worship (including a church and a mosque) and a school gave this axis the appearance of a street that could have been like any other, except that the motley ensemble proved just how much the "place of transit" was fundamentally a place on borrowed time. Michel Agier described better than anyone else the impression he had - and in which I recognise myself - when he entered the "Jungle". I'm happy to quote it at length, because it tells of a feeling that, on reading it, rises to the surface of my memories: "Entering the Jungle via rue des Garennes is a very powerful moment. The street is lined on both sides with shops of all kinds - restaurants, grocery shops, hotels, phone card shops, etc. The generators, televisions, etc. are all on display. Generators, televisions and hi-fi systems playing Indian pop songs in the restaurants create a lively soundscape, while the comings and goings of large international NGO lorries, volunteers' utility vehicles and tankers emptying the few sanitary facilities or distributing water give a fleeting impression of a frenetic South-East Asian city. The restaurants and shops are run by Afghans. They have evocative names (Kabul Restaurant, AFG Flag, Salam Bar...) and the graphics of these names, created by talented street art artists, give a particularly rich image, at the crossroads of different urban cultures. The restaurants are the largest buildings in the Jungle, with surfaces that can exceed a hundred square metres. The structures, which are rational but always on the verge of being undersized, are made from commercial timber, allowing for greater spans: up to 4 metres, and heights of over 3 metres. (...) As with the residential huts, the exterior is waterproofed using black tarpaulins fixed with cleats or nails driven into plastic bottle tops; these

taraulins are continuous from the roof to the ground, where they are connected by small piles of sand and heavier branches that act as ballast. Walls and roofs are insulated from the inside by blankets or duvets attached to the structure. The interior architecture of the restaurants is always characterised by the division of the space between the kitchen and the dining room, separated by a bar that serves as a display area. In the dining room, there is always a very wide bench that runs along the walls. Covered in fabric, it is large enough to allow you to eat lying down, sitting cross-legged with a tray or simply sitting sideways on a low table opposite. Larger restaurants also have a 'European-style' area with tables and chairs. The kitchen overlooks the street, so that menu items can be sold directly. The restaurants all serve as accommodation for their owners, and sometimes as hotels for new arrivals. As for the shops, they are simpler but striking in their profusion. You can't get inside them, and all they have is a large glass or wire façade facing the street, with a small opening for transactions. On every wall, floor and ceiling, they sell tins, drinks, cans and phone chargers. The large Eritrean church was located at the end of this area, surrounded by a few dwellings for people of the same nationality, including many women²⁸² .

As well as being a commercial and service artery, "Church Street" was also an element of spatial synchronisation. A double synchronisation, I would add, in the sense that the roadway made it possible to integrate the rest of the camp and, at the same time, to lay the foundations for its possible inclusion in an urban perimeter extended to the rest of the conurbation. To say this is to affirm that every street has the capacity to articulate space, but also - and this is no paradox - to delimit the experience we have of it. Nausicaa Pezzoni's analysis comes at just the right moment to corroborate what is being treated here as a hypothesis. In her book *La Città sradicata*, the architect examines the ways in which the city of Milan is appropriated, based on a hundred maps drawn by as many migrants and people in transit. To do this, she uses the method and categories put forward by Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks*. By using *paths*, Pezzoni emphasises the extent to which their drawn lines serve to delimit the perimeter within which migrants punctually and erratically inscribe their existence. Take map no. 38 produced by Pham Van Tièn, a 32-year-old Vietnamese man who has been living in the Lombardy conurbation for a fortnight. He

²⁸² Michel Agier, *La Jungle de Calais. Les migrants, la frontière et le camp*, Paris, Puf, 2018, p. 92-94.

used a circle to identify two spaces: on the inside, the city of Milan; on the outside, his migration route. A recurring feature in most of the drawings, the figure of the circle symbolises the public transport system and, consequently, the space that is accessible in the absence of other means of locomotion²⁸³. This example, which may seem far removed from my concerns, is of the utmost interest to me because it shows how an axis endowed with a very strong temporal evocative power (public transport systems are organised according to rhythms that orchestrate part of the lives of the inhabitants) becomes a profoundly unifying and synchronising element. As Anthony Giddens has shown in his sociological proposals for understanding what makes up a society, the rail network does not simply determine a geography that makes it possible to connect points with others. It is an instrument for ordering space and time and, above all, the links that virtually unite them along sections that are fundamentally sections of space-time²⁸⁴. In many respects, and this is where the analogy seems relevant, the "rue de l'église" in the Calais "Jungle" has had the same function. By making it possible to identify a *main* segment in a space that was intrinsically fragmented, piecemeal and mosaic-like, the street served to bind, gather and join together the scattered pieces by bringing them together within a single unit - in this case, the camp.

Understanding the street

Marcel Hénaff suggests that "to understand the street is perhaps to understand the very reason for the urban phenomenon, for the desire for a city²⁸⁵". He sees it as "par excellence the site of what might be called *communal life*, insofar as it is distinct from private life and public life²⁸⁶". Finally, he points out that the street "condenses the reality of the city; it captures its atmosphere, style, rhythm, charm, surprises, and sometimes its faults and blockages²⁸⁷". While it is obvious that the main axis of the camp condenses the reality of the

²⁸³ Nausicaa Pezzoni, *La Città sradicata. Geografie dell'abitare contemporaneo*, op. cit. p. 195.

²⁸⁴ Anthony Giddens, in Giampaolo Nuvolati, *Lezioni di sociologia urbana*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011, p. 265.

²⁸⁵ Marcel Hénaff, *La Ville qui vient*, op. cit. p. 201.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 205.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 201.

camp, it is less obvious to think that it condenses the reality of the city. And yet, it seems to me that there are grounds for interpreting it in this way. For several reasons. Firstly, because if we rely on the categories proposed by the French philosopher and anthropologist to determine how a street gives shape to "a *common life*", we have to admit that they can be applied to the case in hand. Let's break them down here. Vicinity: the "rue de l'église" brought together people who were close neighbours, establishing a relationship that depended not just on family ties but, much more importantly, on frequenting the same place²⁸⁸. The web of relationships that was woven there helped to develop a rhythm specific to the life of the camp. It goes without saying, however, that people did not always live at the same pace, as many migrants spent the night trying to escape from the "place of transit" and force their way through to England. Civility: the "good manners" of getting around the city, through implicit gestures and accepted and internalised systems, fed the practices of cohabitation that would otherwise not exist, as in any thoroughfare. Visibility: the camp's showcase par excellence, the "rue de l'église" was also a place where people passed through and crossed paths. To be there, even occasionally, was to be part of it, in other words, to assert your *presence* in the "Jungle". Diversity: if a photographer had taken snapshots over the course of a day in spring 2015, he would inevitably have captured the multiplicity of players who walked along this axis, a "public space" in that the men and women who have the right and the great opportunity to enter it *are not*, as Zygmunt Bauman points out, pre-selected²⁸⁹. It was through this intermediary that the "outside world" was penetrated and, more importantly, joined. Of course, there were the volunteers who arrived in the morning and left in the evening once their work was done. Journalists did the same. However, it would be wrong to think that the "outside world" consisted of these "curious people from the Jungle²⁹⁰", as the writer Emmanuel Carrère described them in a report. Virtually or physically, the "outside world" was akin to the way in which a

²⁸⁸ Referring to what Ludger Schwarte calls the "linearisation of behaviour", the German philosopher writes: "Urban squares are nodal points for traffic, providing an overview and automating collective orientation. They allow large enough gatherings, but also large enough groups, to refer to each other, and to the whole city, without ever losing control of these movements, whatever the oscillations and spontaneity", *Philosophie de l'architecture*, Paris, La Découverte, 2019 [2009], p. 77.

²⁸⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *La Vie liquide*, *op. cit.*, p. 123. This statement applies less from the moment (the dismantling of the southern part of the "Jungle") when the people who could enter the camp were "selected" on identification by the forces of law and order.

²⁹⁰ Emmanuel Carrère, *Calais*, Milan, Adelphi, 2016.

shopping street is not a place closed off to the population around it: anyone in Calais (or elsewhere) who wanted to buy supplies in the stalls of the "rue de l'église", eat there or wander around could do so. The prohibitions were much more in people's heads than in the latitudes that were left open. In the 'Jungle', as elsewhere, the street was undeniably and invariably the receptacle of the different human rhythms that *inhabited* it. Paul Ricœur was right to point this out when he emphasised the extent to which "the path, the road, the street, the square are also part of the act of building, insofar as the acts they guide are themselves an integral part of the act of inhabiting. Inhabiting is made up of rhythms, stops and movements, fixations and displacements. The place is not just the hollow in which to settle, as Aristotle defined it (the inner surface of the envelope), but also the interval to be travelled. The city is the first envelope in this dialectic of shelter and displacement²⁹¹ .

We have just been talking about the human cohabitation that shapes the street through its passage and movement: shops and activities are the most obvious signs of this. In *Il tempo della città*, Maria Carmen Belloni highlights four fundamental dimensions relating to the question of time in the city, which can be found in every type of urban activity: a strictly temporal dimension (activities associated with their specific timetables); a dimension of placement (activities in their periodicity and in their determined space); a relational dimension (activities in their synchrony or diachrony with other activities); a dimension of value (activities between constraints and margins of freedom gained or granted)²⁹² . As Belloni has defined them much more fully than I have, the four dimensions can be applied to the artery of the "Jungle" to account for what it was not: an unlikely, "exotic", exceptional element, even though it existed to meet human needs which, beyond the more or less visible borders of the "places of transit", are quite simply needs common to most of humanity. Let's take a closer look. Food shops, which were the most numerous, opened according to timetables, just like shops in town; in no case did their opening and closing depend on "subjective evaluations"²⁹³ " (the first dimension in Belloni's typology). In the same way, the recurrence of religious and

²⁹¹ Paul Ricœur developed this concept in his contribution entitled "De la mémoire" to the Architects' Reflection Group in 1996 (this contribution was published in 1998 in the journal *Urbanisme*, no. 303, p. 44-51).

²⁹² Maria Carmen Belloni, *Il Tempo della città. Una ricerca sull'uso del tempo quotidiano a Torino*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 1984.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 40.

school activities met a requirement for regularity (the second dimension). Under the '*School*' sign, a timetable indicated the times to which children and teenagers/adults were invited: for the former, a time slot in the morning (generally from 10am to midday) and another in the afternoon (generally from 2pm to 4pm). Religion also set the pace for the residents' week, and there was nothing anarchic about this rhythm: on Fridays, as in all Muslim places of worship, churchgoers met at the mosque. The links between commercial activities (the third dimension) were part of a structured system, so that each shop also existed in relation to the others. Michel Agier explains: "The cost of opening a restaurant in the shanty town is lower than in the city, yet it requires start-up capital, not only to buy the equipment, but also to set up a building on sufficient space: unless you were there at the beginning of the shanty town, you often have to either buy or rent space from the previous occupants. Almost all the shops are run by Afghans or Pakistanis who have invested their savings in the business (sometimes from previous migration to England) and hire other refugees, often from the same region or town. There is an informal property market, with prices varying according to the commercial interest of the site, with the main arteries of the shantytown being the most sought-after: goodwill can be exchanged for 2,000, 3,000 and even 6,000 euros. However, this value can fall sharply because, by definition, these are precarious facilities, liable to be destroyed by order of the public authorities or as a result of fires which, whether deliberate or involuntary, are frequent and devastating²⁹⁴ . Finally, the fourth dimension (the value dimension), as expressed in the "Jungle", reflects a characteristic that is too often overlooked and that this work hopes to highlight in a modest way: the externalization of the "transit site" within the conurbation. By 'externalization', I mean, using the example of 'rue de l'église', that it did not just concern the people who lived there or came there. The presence of this street had an impact on the commercial space in Calais because, although it may seem strange in *retrospect*, it disrupted the "good" order of this space. In July 2016, the Pas-de-Calais prefecture referred the matter to the Lille administrative court on the grounds that the 72 shops were illegal and should be dismantled. This hunt for informality is proof, if proof were needed, of the porosity between spaces and of the resonance chamber that the city could be, which, faced with "basic

²⁹⁴ Michel Agier, *La Jungle de Calais. Les migrants, la frontière et le camp*, *op. cit.*, p. 119-121.

issues" (the place of a shop in the city), found itself having to come to terms with what the camp also was: an extension of its urban space.

Speaking of the city clocks that mark the rhythm of the city, Thierry Paquot notes: "Of course, no city lives on the same time, but they all share the same reference. This unification does not mean uniformity, but it does condition the reflexes of certain institutions and certain social categories²⁹⁵". Like "biological clocks", "city clocks" are highly diverse. Contributing, from the very beginnings of modernity, to the "fetishisation of time²⁹⁶", they can be impacted or modified by "a few 'time givers' who come to disrupt their rhythms and modify their cycles...²⁹⁷". I refer to Paquot's reflections because they help me to extend my thinking on the capacity of certain urban elements (the street, in particular) not only to synchronise adjacent spaces around them, but also to synchronise themselves with a "city clock" which, by setting the pace of life in the city, sets them beyond their most tangible physical perimeters. In the case of "Church Street", it was easy to see that it standardised the camp around it, despite the diversity of its actors and activities. It was because the street existed that the camp became a camp, at the end of a process that is very common when it comes to human settlements. At that point, the camp unit becomes solidified and structured... and, in so doing, raises the question of its integration into the urban fabric. If we postulate that every city is fundamentally a network whose main characteristics are its mobility and plasticity, then its capacity to "constantly remake its programme²⁹⁸" stumbles over the interweaving of elements considered from the point of view of disruption. Urban policies aim to counter what we have called "Brownian motion" (3.1). Moreover, once the "place of transit" has disappeared, it does not mean that the mechanisms for maintaining security along the camp's perimeter roads have disappeared, a maintenance of security that is also a maintenance of urban order. It was in fact because the "Jungle", despite its relatively short lifespan, was not a completely hermetic place that its presence was so disturbing.

²⁹⁵ Thierry Paquot, *Le Quotidien urbain*, *op. cit.* p. 16.

²⁹⁶ Ludger Schwarte, *Philosophy of Architecture*, *op. cit.* p. 66.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Marcel Hénaff, *La Ville qui vient*, *op. cit.* p. 131.

In fact, 'The Jungle' never ceases to highlight the paradox on which the city is built. Turgescent, developing according to a dynamic that tends never to stop, in short, the product of hysteresis, the city is not an anarchic space, at least that's how the authorities see it, think about it and organise it. James C. Scott devotes to what he calls "the high-modernist city"²⁹⁹ ". Criticising the "total urbanism"³⁰⁰ " promoted by Le Corbusier and his followers in their utopia of an abstract city of clear lines, the anthropologist takes a particular interest in the case of Brasilia, whose emergence sanctioned "the death of the street"³⁰¹ ". His diagnosis, which is amply documented over ten pages, shows how Kubitschek, Costa and Niemeyer, steeped in a culture of technical modernity that was to express itself in the division of functions and the consecration of automobile mobility, deliberately eliminated "the street and the squares as places of public life"³⁰² ". Scott explains: "In Brazil, the street provided the space for public life outside the generally cramped living quarters. The colloquial expression for 'I'm going into town' was 'I'm going to the street'. As places for socialising, these spaces were also crucial for the development of public opinion and "*barrio* nationalism", which could be expressed through sports teams, music groups, the celebration of patron saints, festivals and so on. It goes without saying that, in the right circumstances, the street or public square could also become a venue for demonstrations and riots against the state"³⁰³ . The banishment of the street and its negation in the plans of the architects of Brasilia were not simply the result of the urban planning of demiurges determined to "plan for the unforeseen"³⁰⁴ ", even though, if we follow Scott's reference to (and denunciation of) Le Corbusier, "it was this cacophony of intentions that was, in his eyes, responsible for the clutter, the ugliness, the disorder and the many shortcomings of the unplanned city"³⁰⁵ ". Banishment and negation were also an expression, if

²⁹⁹ Title of chapter 4 of James C. Scott, *L'Œil de l'État. Moderniser, uniformiser, détruire*, Paris, La Découverte, 2021 [1998], p. 164-223.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 166.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 189.

³⁰² *Ibid*.

³⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 189-190.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 217.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 218.

not of an agoraphobic state, at least of public authorities that intended and still intend to control what makes up the essence of the city: the street in uses that need to be circumscribed and/or programmed.

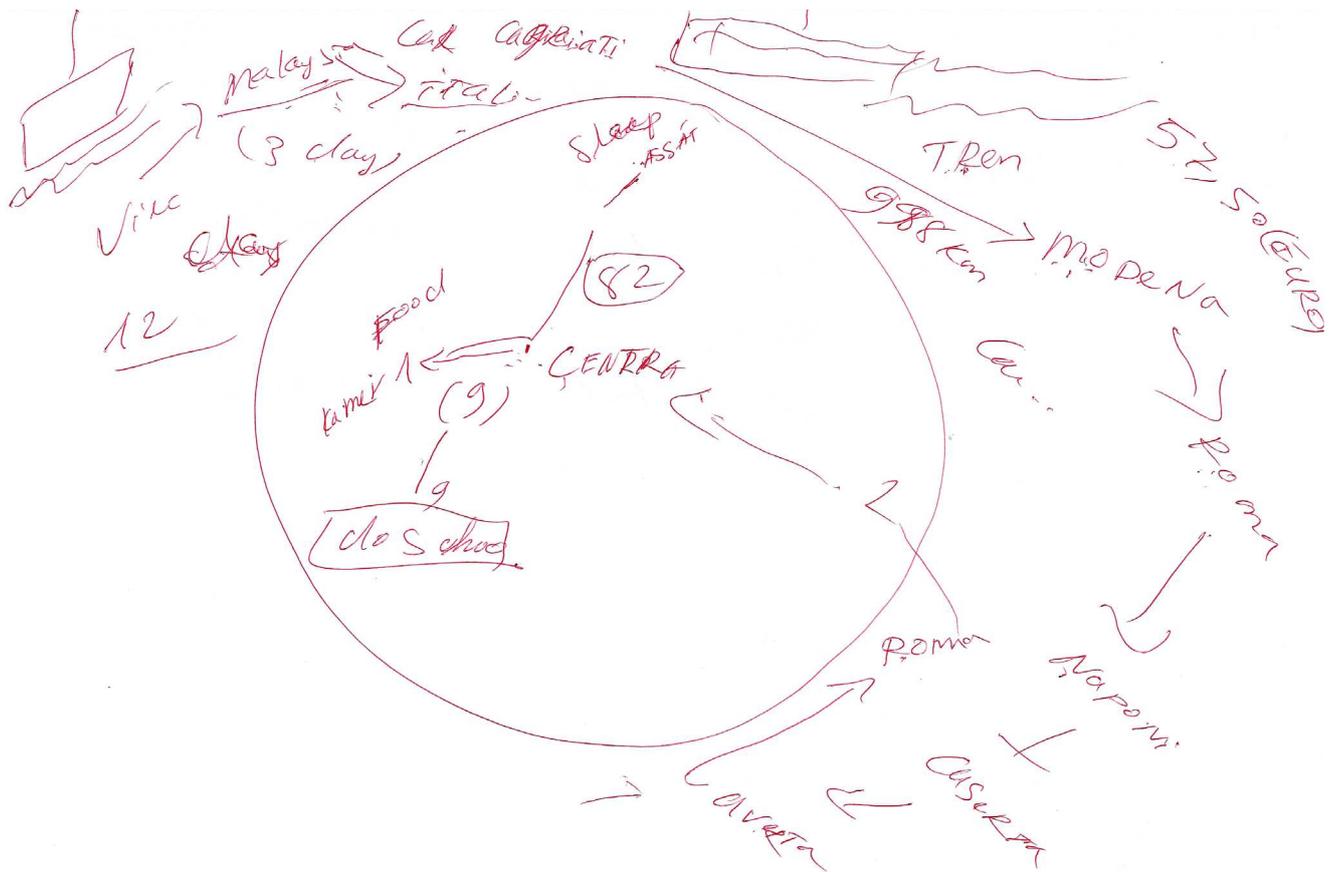
Fluid, provided that this fluidity does not call into question the static bases on which it is founded, the city is fundamentally a place of discrimination and spatial (and inevitably social) segregation³⁰⁶. So there are good spaces and bad spaces, those to be developed and those to be contained. Except that the picture is too idyllic. The "Jungle" was like a pebble in the road, both because the camp made a mess of things and, more subtly, because this mess was a mess that was difficult to contain, while certain elements of the "transit site" referred back to what allows the city to be identified as such: the continuous urban pulse. The "rue de l'église" was dangerous not because of what actually happened there, but because of the "connection" to the city that it *ultimately* provided. Aldo Rossi made the following comment, which I'm happy to repeat as I see fit: "I've already spoken of the negative aspect of the classifications of naive functionalism; it can be said again, however, that they are acceptable in certain cases, provided they don't go beyond the scope of teaching manuals. These classifications assume that all urban features are statically constituted for a certain function, and that their very structure coincides with the function they have had at a given time. We maintain, on the contrary, that the city is something that endures through its transformations and that the functions, single or multiple, that it fulfils over time are moments in the reality of its structure³⁰⁷. There's no better way to put it.

³⁰⁶ Bernardo Secchi, *La Città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*, Rome, Laterza, 2013.

³⁰⁷ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.) "Dell'aspetto negativo delle classificazioni del funzionalismo ingenuo mi sono già occupato; si può quindi ripetere che esse possono accettarsi in alcuni casi purché non vadano oltre i confini manualistici in cui le accettiamo. Classificazioni di questo tipo presuppongono che tutti i fatti urbani siano costituiti per una certa funzione in modo statico e che la loro stessa struttura sia coincidente con la funzione che essi svolgono in un determinato momento. Sosteniamo invece che la città è qualcosa che permane attraverso le sue trasformazioni e le sue funzioni, semplici o plurime, a cui essa via assolve sono dei momenti nella realtà della sua struttura", Aldo Rossi, *L'Architettura della città*, *op. cit.* p. 55.



Rock inscription, Val Camonica, around 10,000 BC, map taken from Mariano Pallottini, *Alle origini della città europea*, Rome, Quasar, 1993.



Map n° 38 produced by Pham Van Tièn, dans Nausicaa Pezzoni, *La Città sradicata. Geografie dell'abitare contemporaneo*, Milan, O barra, 2013, p. 195.

See also Nausicaa Pezzoni, *La Città sradicata. L'idea di città attraverso lo sguardo e il segno dell'altro*, Milan, O barra, 2020, p. 184.

3.3- The fountains of the Zaatari camp: elements that set the rhythm

Import

It's not just "the" road that can be a synchronising element. At Zaatari, in Jordan, the road is very much present within the camp. When I say road, I mean the axes that structure the place and organise it orthogonally. The camp resembles a chequerboard divided into twelve districts, along which roads allow means of transport to circulate, while dirt tracks irrigate a perimeter made up of containers (*caravans* in the UNHCR nomenclature) and tents. This veining is a very strong marker of a spatial organisation that leaves nothing to chance. Every square metre seems to have been designed to best meet a demand that has never dried up. Alongside "the" road, anyone familiar with this apparently homogenous area will notice another feature: the fountain. As part of the décor, it takes on forms that reflect the general economy of urbanisation, where, in the context of a place that remains a "place of transit", we import ways of living, and therefore of building, that provide an eminently tangible link with habits that belong as much to the life we had before as to the society we have left behind.

May-June 2019, Amman. I spend a month and a half in a capital I'm exploring for the first time. I'm writing the first *abstract* for my thesis, frequently talking to researchers at the Institut français du Proche-Orient, and taking part in the Palestine Open Maps Mapathon *workshop* organised by Studio X Amman³⁰⁸. I'm also there because Radio Activité organises workshops for refugees. While it's easy for us to work with NGOs working with Palestinians who, as I've noted, now live in "neighbourhoods" "wedged into the urban fabric of Amman"³⁰⁹, it's impossible for us to have access to the two camps built following the exodus of Syrians. In the north of Jordan, Zaatari and Azraq, respectively 13 and 80 kilometres from the border with Syria, and both more than 80 kilometres from the capital, take their names from the eponymous villages that are more (Zaatari camp is 3 kilometres from Zaatari) or less (Azraq

³⁰⁸ Studio X Amman is a regional platform for research and programming in architecture, run by the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation - Columbia University's GSAPP and the Columbia Global Centers | Amman. <https://www.arch.columbia.edu/environments/11-studio-x-amman>

³⁰⁹ Blandine Destremau, "Les camps de réfugiés palestiniens et la ville, entre enclave et quartier", in Jean Hanoyer and Seteney Shami (eds.), *Amman. Ville et société*, Beirut, Presses de l'Ifpo, 1996, p. 527-552.

camp is 40 kilometres "from the desert" from Azraq) close to them. The first camp was inaugurated in July 2012 and the second, smaller camp in April 2014 by the UNHCR and the Jordanian government.

I never managed to get into the Zaatari camp because I couldn't get a pass from the NGOs. So I saw Zaatari from a distance, on its northern perimeter, from the car that was taking me to Mafraq: dunes and soldiers, that's what I remember. There were no tents, no containers, no barbed wire: as far as I'm concerned, the camp will remain a 'non-place' in the sense that I didn't see it and the analysis I'm going to propose is based on the readings and work of people who were, in some cases, actors there. Let's start with a few technical points. In September 2012, 30 hectares of Zaatari were occupied by several thousand people. The influx would continue to grow as the war in Syria became increasingly paroxysmal. Six months later, 530 hectares were home to 150,000 people, making this nerve centre of the Syrian diaspora the second largest camp in the world after Dadaab (Kenya). In 2022, Zaatari was still home to 80,000 people in the same area, representing 61% of the 130,000 Syrian refugees registered in the country's camps³¹⁰ and only 6% of the total number of Syrian exiles living throughout Jordan³¹¹. As we can see, the camps are only part of the reality of a migratory situation that, in many respects, does not correspond to them. Most immigrants live and work just about everywhere in Jordan. In fact, for a tourist visiting Petra, it is almost impossible to distinguish between the different populations. Those who remain in the camps form a composite group whose apparent unity is based on two things: the benefit of international aid, which is distributed to them as a priority, and the hope of a rapid return to Syria.

"Here's what would be left if the temporary buildings at Za'atari were dismantled: courtyards with fountains³¹²": Killian Kleinschmidt, a UNHCR official and former director of

³¹⁰ I don't know whether this figure refers only to the other Azraq camp or whether it includes people living in two informal camps, Hadalat and Rukban, which formed spontaneously on Jordan's eastern border following the closure of the north-western border.

³¹¹ Jordan was hosting more than 672,000 registered Syrian refugees in March 2021, but the real total is estimated at around 1.3 million if unregistered people are taken into account.
<https://www.acaps.org/country/jordan/crisis/syrian-refugees#:~:text=Overview&text=Jordan%20hosted%20more%20than%20672%2C000,were%20also%20registered%20in%20Jordan>
<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36>

³¹² (Ecco cosa resterebbe se il costruito temporaneo di Za'atari venisse smantellato: cortili con fontane", Margherita Moscardini, *01 Le Fontane di Za'atari. Abitare senza appartenere*, Macerata, Quodilibet, 2020, p. 29.

the Zaatari camp, makes a most appealing diagnosis. The "place of transit" cannot in fact be just a pile of tents and containers, the "usual" perimeter of wanderers who have to be "stuck" in a given place at a given time. Every place, even when it tends to replicate itself, is inhabited by something that distinguishes it and reminds us, for those who may have forgotten, that individuals nest there and form micro-societies full of their own habits, practices and know-how. Here, it's the fountains. Or, to be more precise, they are the fountains as Margherita Moscardini has observed, documented and objectified them. The Italian artist discovered Zaatari in 2016 through an interview with Killian Kleinschmidt, who emphasised how necessary it was to think of the camp as a reality made to last, because there was one element of concrete life that inevitably jumped out at her: Zaatari was as much a camp as a town full of courtyards with fountains. With a competition in his pocket and the necessary funding, Moscardini found herself in Jordan in 2017 to put her project into action: *Inventory. The Fountains of Zaatari*. For several months (October 2017-March 2018), she coordinated the census and survey of the 61 water points that punctuate the 'interiors' of this 'migratory space'. Following the inventory, an exhibition and a book, based on the stylisation and modelling of the fountains, will showcase the beauty of the volumes and the diversity of forms of a hydraulic system that families adapt according to their skills and lifestyle. The rest of the project is based on the possibility for European local authorities to acquire a piece of the project and reproduce it in practice. The aim is to organise a circuit for the acquisition of courses recognised as sculptures in their own right and, in so doing, to remunerate their "authors" who have settled in the camp. In addition, acquisition can only take place on condition that la-fontaine-et-la-cour remains an extraterritorial object with a legal personality detached from national soil. Importing a reflection of the Zaatari camp therefore implies, if we follow Donatella Di Cesare, "introducing the camp into the city"³¹³ .

The birth of these fountains is far from insignificant. At the very beginning of the camp's existence, it was forbidden to bring in materials for permanent constructions. The idea was to ban any idea of permanent settlement. As the months went by, the rules were relaxed: *caravans were* moved to form courtyards and cement slabs were built to mark the courtyards,

³¹³ (Introduce il campo nella città", Margherita Moscardini, *01 Le Fontane di Za'atari. Abitare senza appartenere*, op. cit, p. 147.

giving the camp a different appearance. The morphology of the "place of transit" has changed to such an extent that the courtyards have become like a trademark of an area which, despite what the authorities had hoped - a one-off place of occupation - has become a permanent feature. While most of the courtyards have the same profile (concrete, rectangular), they all have different fountains, which are their focal points. In the second volume of the book that Margherita Moscardini wrote following her experience³¹⁴, the artist provides a complete inventory of the 61 fountains. As well as a three-dimensional representation of each fountain, she indicates its location, its volume, the materials it was built from and the way it was supplied with water. An explanatory note explains the reasons for its construction. What is striking about reading the directory is the richness and inventiveness of the formal and decorative elements, which make it possible to stand out in a homogeneous world of containers. Fountain no. 15 reads: "Inhabitant: Ali Ahmad al-Zoubi: Ali Ahmad al-Zoubi. Comes from Al-Mahata, Dara'a. District 3, block 1, house 44. *Nafura* [fountain in Arabic]. Diameter: 300 centimetres. Blocks of cement, sand and stones. Powered by the motor of a washing machine connected to an electric generator. The water circulates from the basin to the motor and so on. Courtyard: 804 centimetres x 651 centimetres. Earth and white pebbles. "It's used as a water tank. It adds beauty to the house. It inspires wonder. It cools the atmosphere" [Ali Ahmad al-Zoubi]³¹⁵. We also read about fountain no. 27: "Inhabitants: Mohammad Yousif al-Humayyer and Hadiya Swidani. Fountain builder: Ibrahim al-Ghouthani. From Mahajjah, Dara'a. District 4, block 3, house 30. *Nafura* [fountain in Arabic]. Height: 70 centimetres. Width: 150 centimetres. Blocks of cement, sand, tiles, shower nozzle, part of a narghile, ornamental plants. The engine of a washing machine is connected to the electricity network (at night) and to a generator (during the day). Courtyard: 750 centimetres x 553 centimetres. Dark concrete. "We built it in 2016. It adds beauty to the house and is used to store water. The gurgling of the water soothes and reassures us. In 2013, because of the violence in Syria, we left our town to come to Jordan. When we set off for the border, there were almost 3,000 of us from different villages in the area. We moved ten years ago, but our first daughter was born here in the camp last year. In Syria, I had a tree nursery and here I've built a garden. When I saw Ibrahim's fountain, I

³¹⁴ Margherita Moscardini, *02 Le Fontane di Za'atari. Guida della città*, Macerata, Quodilibet, 2020.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 56.

bought the materials and asked him if he would build one for me too. During the night, we put the fruit on the tray, so that the water keeps it cool. The fountain is an essential part of the house. We want to go back to Syria" [Mohammad Yousif al-Humayyer and Hadiya Swidani]³¹⁶ .

In their most private aspects, these fountains show how people living in similar and precarious conditions find in a familiar object a way of responding, through uniqueness and heterogeneity, to the injunctions of the same normativity. For the local residents, the construction of each water point has certain characteristics: it aims to make everyday surroundings more beautiful; it helps to rekindle an old domestic memory of a place and a neighbourhood that have been left behind; it refreshes a space where sand and dust make living conditions increasingly difficult; it provides a reservoir outside the only circuits that supply the camp with water. Ahmad Ibrahim al-Hmayyer, a former clothes merchant in the souk al-Hamidiyah (Damascus), is quite clear about fountain no. 45 (diameter: 200 centimetres; height: 150 centimetres; made of bricks, cement, earth, tiles and stones; powered by the pump of a washing machine connected to the electricity network; installed in a dark concrete courtyard measuring 613 x 650 centimetres): "Damascus must take up a central space in my house"³¹⁷ .

These fountains obviously belong to the lexicon of informality in architecture. In many respects, they are the focus of what many studies have documented: either a "draft city", to use Michel Agier's expression³¹⁸ ; or one of the umpteenth variations of an informality (they are, on reflection, built feats) that institutional and restrictive rules are unable to anaesthetise. The two versions are similar. In the same way as the arrangement of self-constructed built forms (privatisation of rooms, the relationship between interior and exterior, inventive use of materials, the fluidity of a 'built structure' that undergoes metamorphoses as its social uses change, etc.), fountains could be studied, in both senses, for what they are intended to be: a renewed approach to inhabited space against the backdrop of a domestic utopia rooted in all kinds of vernacular traditions (the reproduction of certain ways of living, through architectural elements, in the host places - in this case, Zaatari's fountains take up

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 86.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 142.

³¹⁸ Michel Agier, *Anthropologie de la ville*, *op. cit.* p. 141-156.

those that Syrians left when they fled the war and their former living quarters -) ; the emergence of one of those formulas that give pride of place to what every "place of transit" is also, a concrete laboratory of ways of living and of collectivising resources, however meagre they may be³¹⁹ .

These two approaches obviously have their reasons. They underline the extent to which human beings remain social agents imbued with a collective history that cannot be reduced to intrinsically uprooted individuals by the atomisation of migration flows. When they leave a place, all human beings carry it with them in one way or another, even if it means bringing it to fruition in 'degraded' or residual forms as a result of the extreme situation in which they find themselves. In line with the analysis that I have been trying to carry out since the beginning of this thesis, I propose that we should not simply read the fountains as 'exercises in style' for a city to be conjugated in the future tense, because these fountains are an integral part of the urban fabric. Let's return here to the questions about the rhythms of Lesbos. As already indicated, Lesbos can be seen as a large galaxy made up of constellations whose polyrhythmic units are assembled according to the situation, and in this way mark out the space. On the Aegean island, the identification of certain temporal units (the camps, the Support Centres, the restaurants, the town of Mytilene, etc.) has served to reveal the way in which their cohabitation renews the forms of the urban fabric according to the events that are so many potential pulsations. In the Zaatari camp, the fountains are temporal units with similar properties. Admittedly, we are on a different scale here. But their function, through rhythm, is the same: to reveal spatial cohabitation.

A double cohabitation

I propose a two-point reading. The first cohabitation is that which associates "living in the present" (the camp) and "living in the past", since every fountain weaves an invisible link between the life before and the life after. The second is the link between an interior, the centre of the "house" with its courtyard and fountain, and an exterior that can be summed up as the

³¹⁹ An example: Mona Fawaz, Ahmad Gharbieh, Mona Harb and Dounia Salamé, *Refugees as City-Makers*, Beirut, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs-American University of Beirut, 2018.

camp. To understand the two cohabitations as revealed by the fountains, we need to look at the concept of inhabiting, because, as Vinciane Despret points out, "there is no way of inhabiting that is not first and foremost 'cohabiting'³²⁰". Donatella Di Cesare adds: "In Latin, *habito* is a frequent form of the verb *habeo*: to inhabit means 'to have habitually, to continue to have'³²¹". Continuing to have" refers to an action that takes place according to a regular rhythm over time. When applied to people in migrant situations, this action is clearly marked by obligation. It is because they are forced to live in extreme conditions that the containers become houses. *Their* homes. I think it's interesting to see this as a forced "mono-topical" form. In *contrast*, most studies of "living and mobility" stress the idea that "societies with mobile individuals produce temporary inhabitants of one or more places, rather than permanent inhabitants of a single place³²²". Mobility is therefore, in essence, the creation of a "poly-topic dwelling" which "is characterised by the search for a match between places and practices³²³". This means that for each project, for each phase of life, individuals tend to choose the right place by adopting migratory or circulatory strategies³²⁴. Reducing "exile to simple uprooting or wandering³²⁵", as Donatella Di Cesare points out, runs the risk of misunderstanding what migrant people make of a place: not one of those places of passage, the repetition of which would be the hallmark of their wandering identity, but a space where it is sometimes possible to hold on and "nest", between nostalgia for the past and expectation of an

³²⁰ Vinciane Despret, *Habiter en oiseau*, *op. cit.* p. 41.

³²¹ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "*In Latin habito è una forma frequentativa del verbo habeo: abitare significa "avere abitualmente, continuare ad avere"*", Donatella Di Cesare, *Stranieri residenti. Una filosofia della migrazione*, *op. cit.* p. 164.

³²² Mathis Stock, "L'hypothèse de l'habiter poly-topique : pratiquer les lieux géographiques dans les sociétés à individus mobiles", *EspacesTemps.net*, Travaux, 26.02.2006, <https://www.espacestemp.net/articles/hypothese-habiter-polytopique/>, accessed 26.05.2022.

³²³ Yona Friedman, *L'Architecture mobile*, Paris, L'éclat, 2020.

³²⁴ Mathis Stock, "L'hypothèse de l'habiter poly-topique : pratiquer les lieux géographiques dans les sociétés à individus mobiles", *art. cit.*

³²⁵ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.). "*Come non può essere ridotto allo sradicamento, così l'esilio non è neppure erranza*", Donatella Di Cesare, *Stranieri residenti. Una filosofia della migrazione*, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

uncertain future. The case of the Zaatari fountains is, it seems to me, a good counter-example to this 'poly-topical dwelling'.

Let's continue. Each in their own way, Henri Lefebvre and Anthony Giddens have drawn attention to the fact that every individual is produced as a spatial framework, which is fundamentally the first framework for the experience of space. Because they are in a state of latent mobility, because they are immobilised in the³²⁶ camp, sometimes for several years, migrants appear as "blocked bodies". Consequently, it is through these "blocked bodies" that the space of inhabitation is constructed, as a response to a situation that not only has to be accommodated, but also shaped. Seen in this way, the containers are no longer part of a migratory chain, housing only people passing through. Rather, they are places that are invested for the long term. It is here that the fountain comes into play, both as a concrete object and as a profoundly metaphorical element. A sign of the presence of the individual who is creating his or her own place in a *seemingly* hostile environment, it 'magnifies' the routine of everyday life. The fountain is the perimeter of conversations between friends and family, the place where people try to enjoy the luxury of coolness, the place where they gather at night to share and rest, and the pendulum of the everyday clock.

But make no mistake about it: fountains are not just everyday objects. Henri Lefebvre reminds us that every place exists at the crossroads of a practice linked to the experience we have of it and a perceptive dimension. By coming together, practice and representation endow every place with an identity that is not only phenomenological, but also imaginary. Zaatari's fountains are no exception. They are places of the *hic et nunc* of the people who use them. But they are much more than that: they are objects that allow each resident to extrapolate his or her own condition as a migrant individual by rediscovering the rhythm (the regularity) of the neighbourhood they have left behind. These objects, which project all sorts of affects, reminiscences and echoes into places that were, let's not forget, places of 'sedentariness', offer to 'fetishise' a former life that was experienced through a routine of which they formed markers, among other things. As bearers of an ancient architectural tradition, fountains are undoubtedly still extremely powerful symbols of the Syrian home. In Zaatari, they are their extension.

³²⁶ Migrants in the Zaatari camp can only leave under certain conditions: obtaining a work or study permit. Margherita Moscardini, *01 Le Fontane di Za'atari. Abitare senza appartenere*, op. cit, p. 70.

Their quality, their rhythmic value, is twofold, to say the least. While they make it possible to synchronise lives with lives before (but not only: members of the family and friends have remained in the country and carry out identical gestures every day), they are fundamentally asynchronous elements as soon as you look at the temporal organisation of the camp. Because they embodied an act of disobedience based on the desire to break with what was expected by the authorities - the same rhythm everywhere and for everyone - they were "pregnant" with this polyrhythm that could virtually undermine the "beautiful" temporal organisation of the "place of transit".

The second cohabitation links the fountain-and-the-yard with the space outside the camp. I'm going to apply the same principle here as I did when reading the Moria camp in its spatio-temporal relationship with the town of Mytilene, except that the scale is obviously different. The camp now forms a totality made up of multiple units, of which the fountains I'm interested in are pivotal. For the purposes of my analysis, I'll refer here to Iain Chambers' reflections, which seem to me to provide an excellent common thread: "Developing a sense of place, of belonging, of constructing and inhabiting space (...), involves inscribing boundaries, limits; at the very least between an interior and an exterior, between the cultivated space of the domestic scene and the strangeness and turmoil of the outside world. Of course, after Freud, but, as Jean-François Lyotard reminded us, we can say, in the wake of Greek tragedy, that this house is illusory, that the foreign, the repressed, the unconscious, always manage to infiltrate the domestic space; the door is porous. Georg Simmel noted that with the door, the confined and the unlimited come into contact, not in the dead, geometric form of a dividing wall, but in the sense of the possibility of a continuous exchange³²⁷. The first action involves limiting a perimeter that is both a unit of time and a unit of place. The concrete courtyard forms the threshold between the domestic space and the territory of the camp. It is a buffer space, one of the functions of which is to slow down the external rhythm of the "transit area"

³²⁷ (Elaborare un senso del luogo, dell'appartenenza, edificare e abitare lo spazio, quello del Mediterraneo o quello della città di Napoli, per esempio, implica registrare dei confini, dei limiti; come minimo tra un dentro e un fuori, tra lo spazio coltivato della scena domestica e la stranezza e l'inquietudine del mondo esterno. Naturalmente, dopo Freud, ma, comme Jean-François Lyotard ci ha ricordato, possiamo dire, sulla scia della tragedia greca, che questa casa è illusoria, che l'estraneo, il rimosso, l'inconscio, riescono sempre a infiltrarsi nello spazio domestico; la porta è porosa. Georg Simmel noted that with the door the confined and the unconfined reach out to each other, not in the geometric and dead form of a separating partition, but in the sense of the possibility of a continuous movement", Iain Chambers, *Paesaggi migratori. Cultura e identità nell'epoca postcoloniale*, Milan, Meltemi, 2018, p. 149.

by gradually introducing people to a private universe. Because they are delimited by containers and protective metal fences, the courtyards undoubtedly mark a concrete and visible spatial break that is symbolically reinforced by an object: hung where possible, a birdcage with its tenant (*hasson bilqafs*) not only emphasises that a tradition has been preserved (it is found everywhere in Syria), but also that an airlock acts as an element of distancing from the rest of the environment, however uniform it may appear³²⁸ .

Secondly, Chambers³²⁹ draws attention to the porous nature of the boundary and, in this case, of the courtyard. Separation does not hermetise. If it induces a double exteriority (when you are in the courtyard, you are exterior to the camp; when you are on the other side, you become exterior to a domain conceived and perceived as private), this double exteriority only exists because there is contiguity. As proof of this, let's look at sand. In this semi-desert area, sand is obviously a predominant part of the ecosystem. Its permanence, wherever you are, despite all the human efforts made to get rid of it, undoubtedly restores what makes the courtyard less of a 'sanctuary' and more of an open space. Because it is porous, the threshold is an artefact whose symbolic dimension cannot make it any less fragile. Taking shelter behind it in no way detracts from the reality of a world that is also experienced from the inside, with an exteriority that is often difficult to control. Just as the sand takes on a rhythm of its own in the courtyard, the stranger who is invited to the courtyard brings with him the rhythm of the camp. So it's fair to say that the courtyard is also a place built for the camp to curl up in, on the express condition that the invitation has been extended. Sandi Hilal, the architect behind the *Living Room* project in Boden, talks of a "*right to host*". Invited by the Swedish Public Art Agency to reflect on the reception of refugees in the *Yellow House* (the accommodation centre through which new arrivals pass), Sandi Hilal imagined and then set up, in dialogue with the people accommodated, a "public living room" on the ground floor of the building to enable residents to exercise their right to host and reverse the host/guest relationship³³⁰ . The parallel with what is happening in Zaatari seems to me to be a fruitful one. Here too, migrants are reclaiming their right to accommodation, which is much more than a sense of

³²⁸ Margherita Moscardini, *01 Le Fontane di Za'atari. Abitare senza appartenere*, op. cit, p. 20.

³²⁹ Iain Chambers, *Paesaggi migratori. Cultura e identità nell'epoca postcoloniale*, op. cit, p. 149.

³³⁰ Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti, *Permanent Temporariness*, Stockholm, Art and Theory Publishing, 2019.

hospitality. By controlling who comes and goes, by working to ensure that the reception is as they wish it to be (doing the shopping, setting a time for appointments, etc.), they control a rhythm that is their own and does not depend solely on the goodwill of the authorities.

So, as we can see, the exchange is not episodic, even if it is fragmented. Drawing on the work of Georg Simmel, Chambers emphasises that every doorway potentially feeds an ongoing exchange. The two forms of cohabitation described here echo the idea of a "palimpsest territory", as expounded by André Corboz³³¹. For Corboz, every territory is the result of different processes which, like the strata of geomorphological maps, add up and intertwine over time. At the heart of his demonstration, what appears to be self-evident (every territory does not exist in and of itself) must become a microscope for uncovering the underlying aspects that determine the morphology of the place³³². Because it is a creation, the fountain-and-the-yard is not a "palimpsest territory" in the narrowest sense of the term. Nonetheless, because it recreates rituals that pre-existed its foundation, one of the functions of which is to produce a temporality in tune with that which marked the abandoned daily life, and because it offers a connection to the rhythm of the camp via the "*right to host*" with which it is endowed³³³, the fountain-and-the-yard can integrate this nomenclature by the very fact of what it offers to read: a spatial *habitus*, woven from all sorts of experiences, which links places that are both disparate and distant (the house, the public space in the Syrian neighbourhood, the other fountains in the camp, all the spaces worn by the individuals who enter the courtyard, the places in the making in a semi-utopian, semi-realized state depending on each person's situation). In this way, a *seemingly* anecdotal element lifts a corner of the veil on the rhythmic composition of a "place of transit".

³³¹ André Corboz, *Le Territoire comme palimpseste et autres essais*, Besançon, Les éditions de l'imprimeur, 2001.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti, *Permanent Temporariness*, *op. cit.*

Lesbos

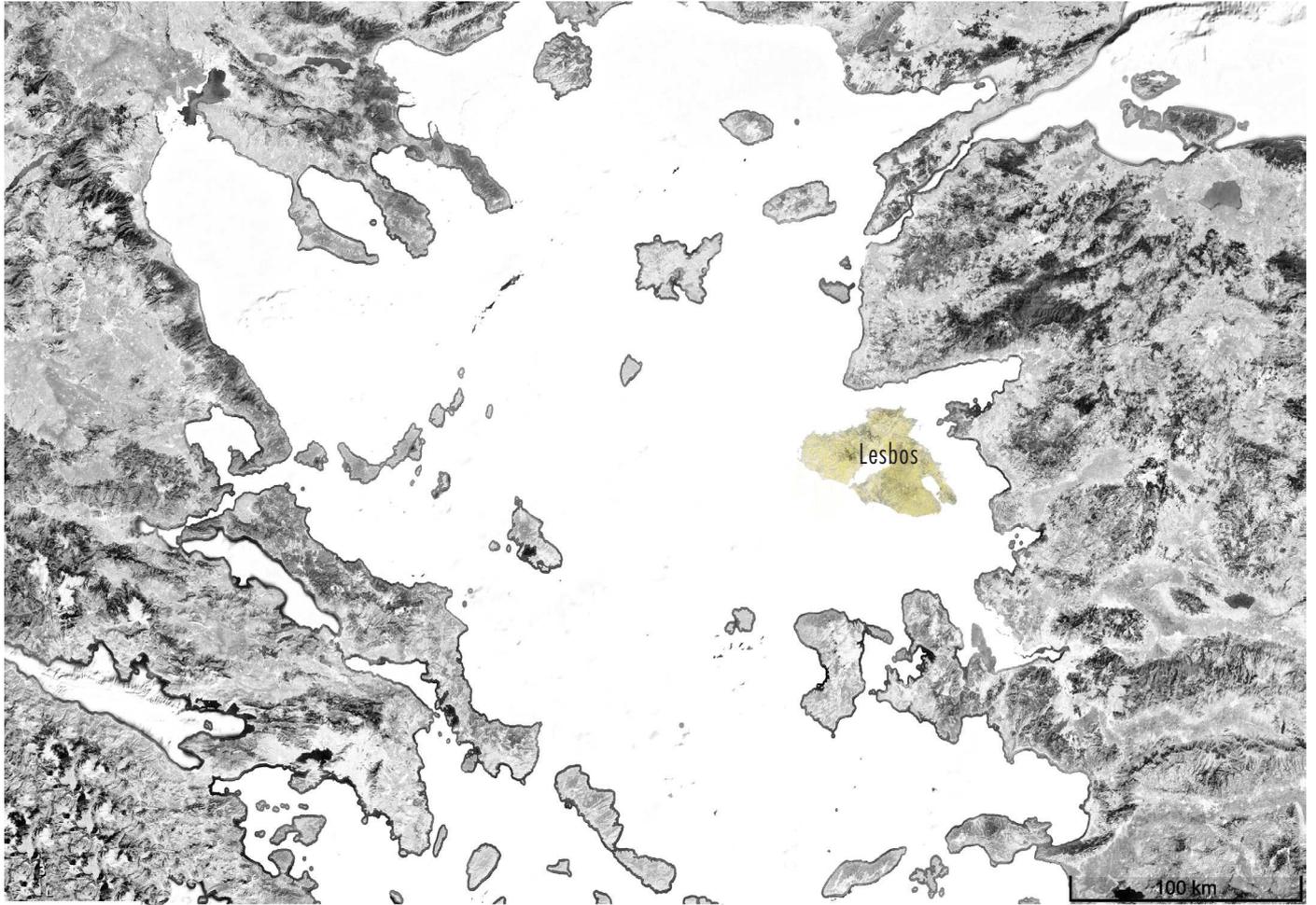
illustration notebook



The last days of the Moria camp, Angelos Tzortzinis photographer, September 2020.
The camp before the fire on 9 September 2020.

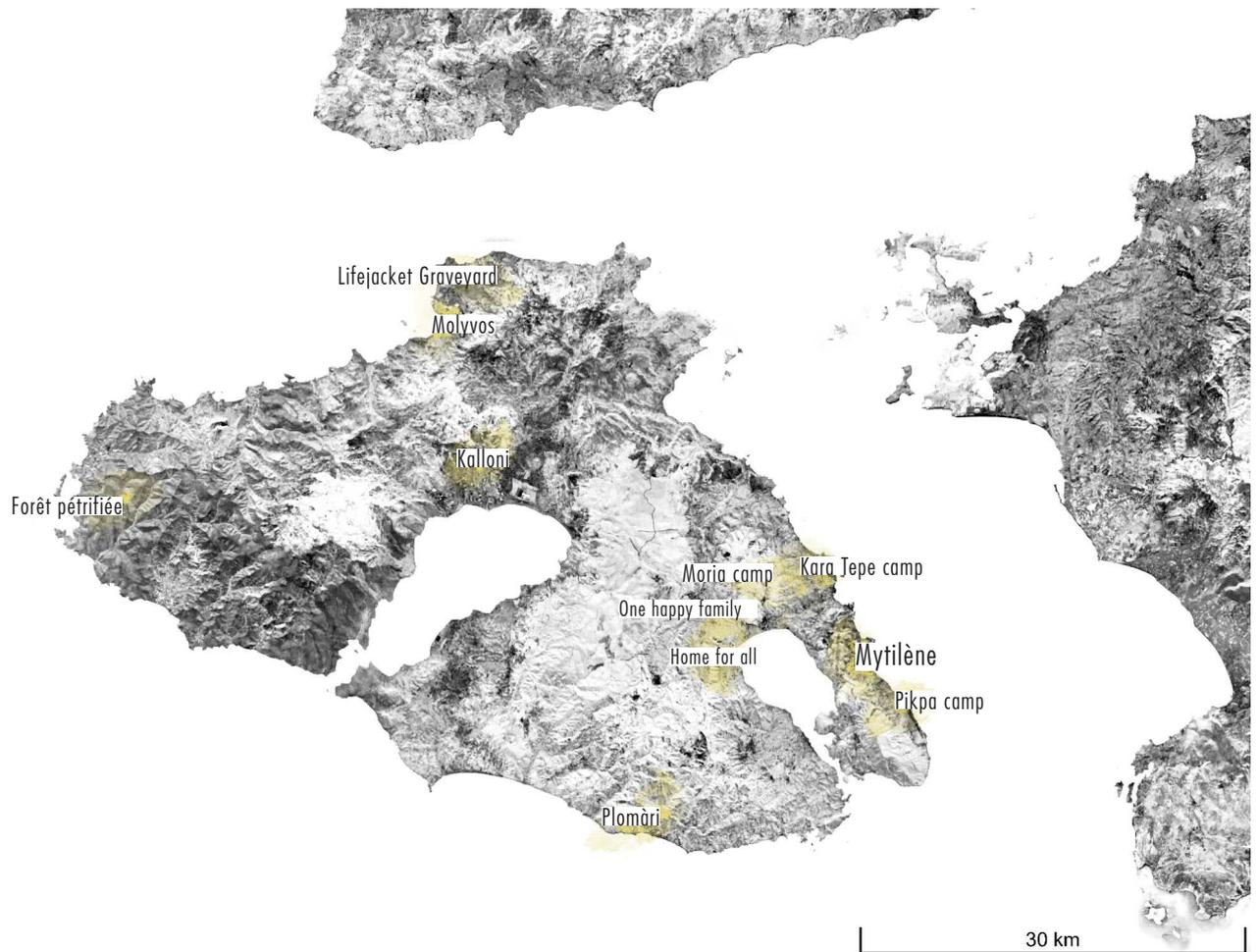


The last days of the Moria camp, Angelos Tzortzinis photographer, September 2020.
The camp after the fire on 9 September 2020.



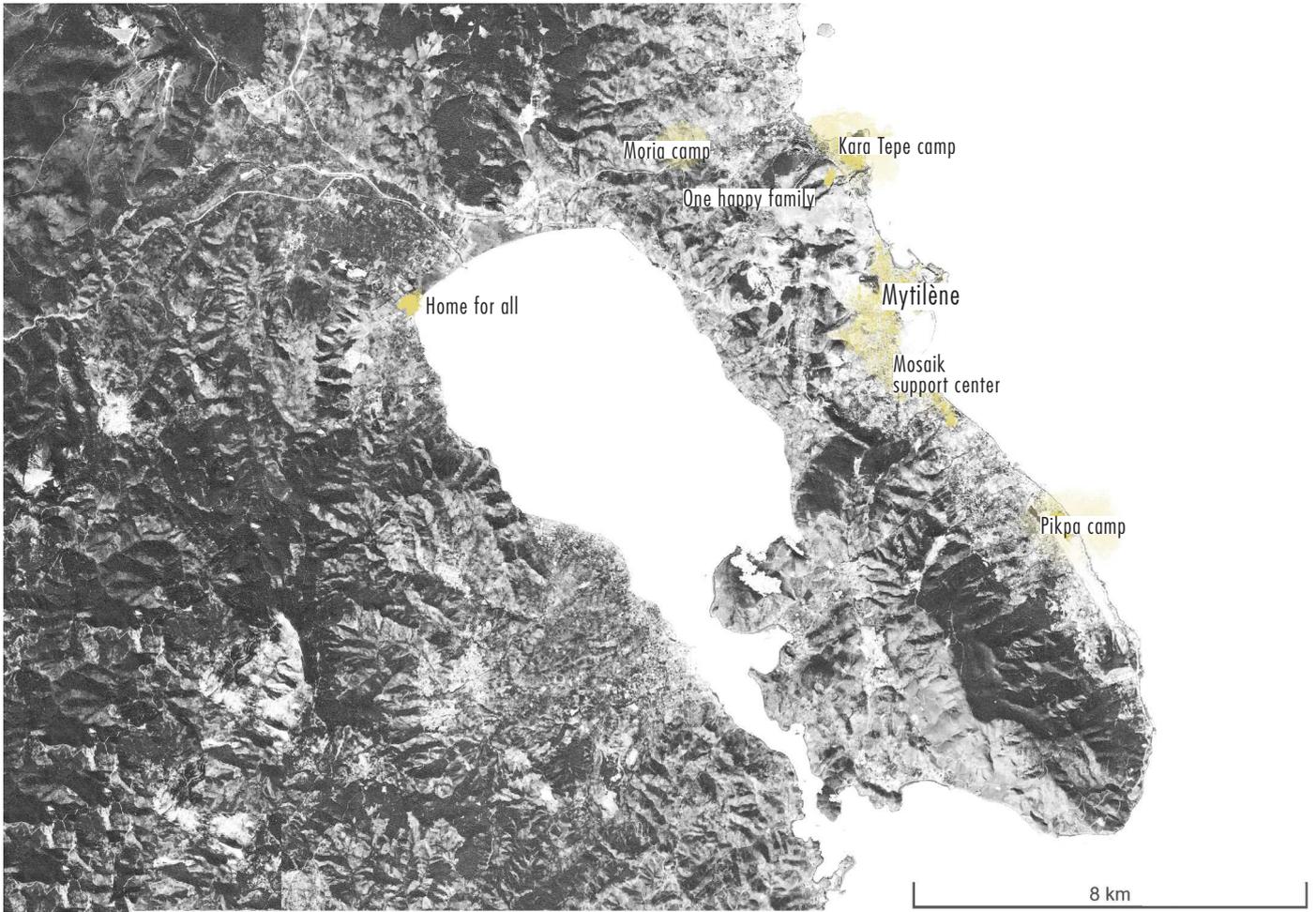
Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Reworked Google Earth satellite image.
Status in May 2018.



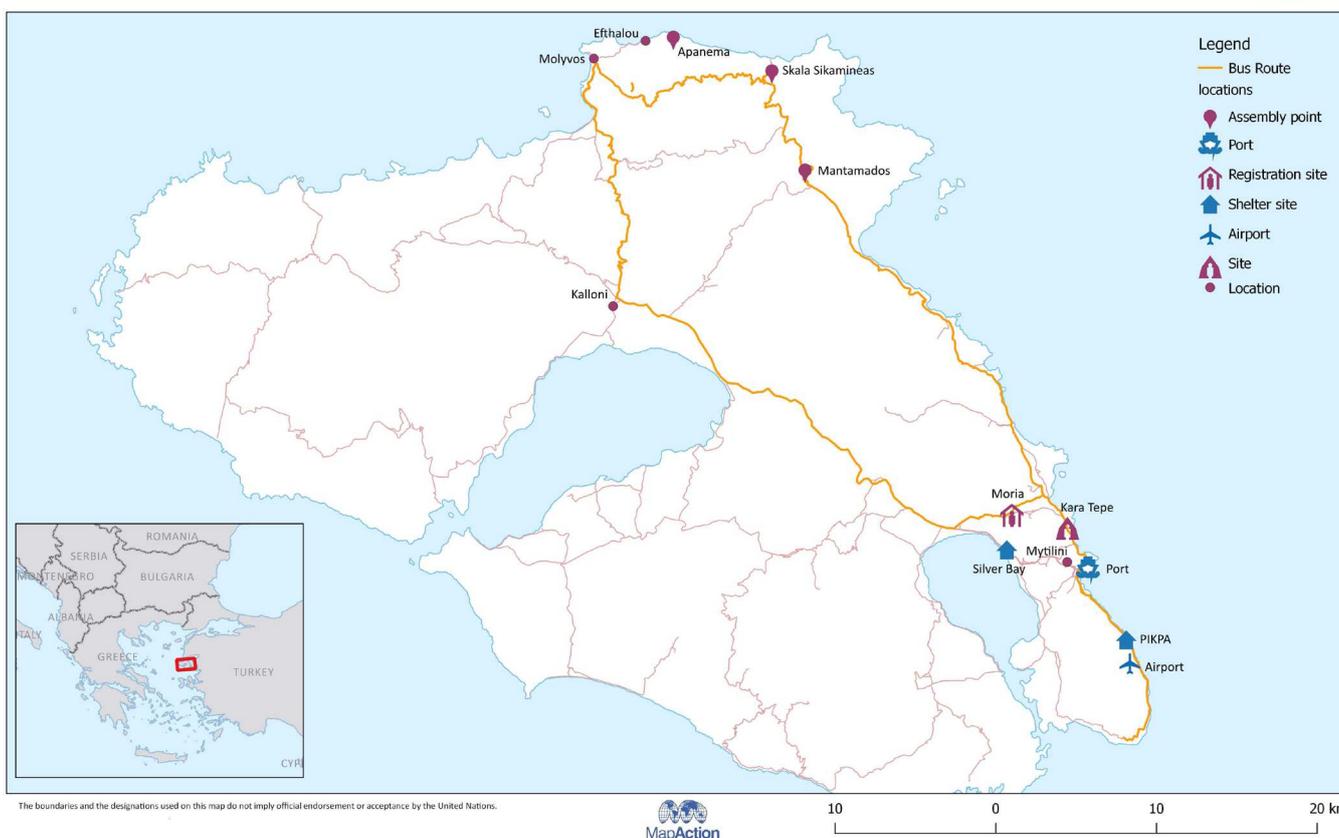


Reworked Google Earth satellite image.
Status in May 2018.



Greece

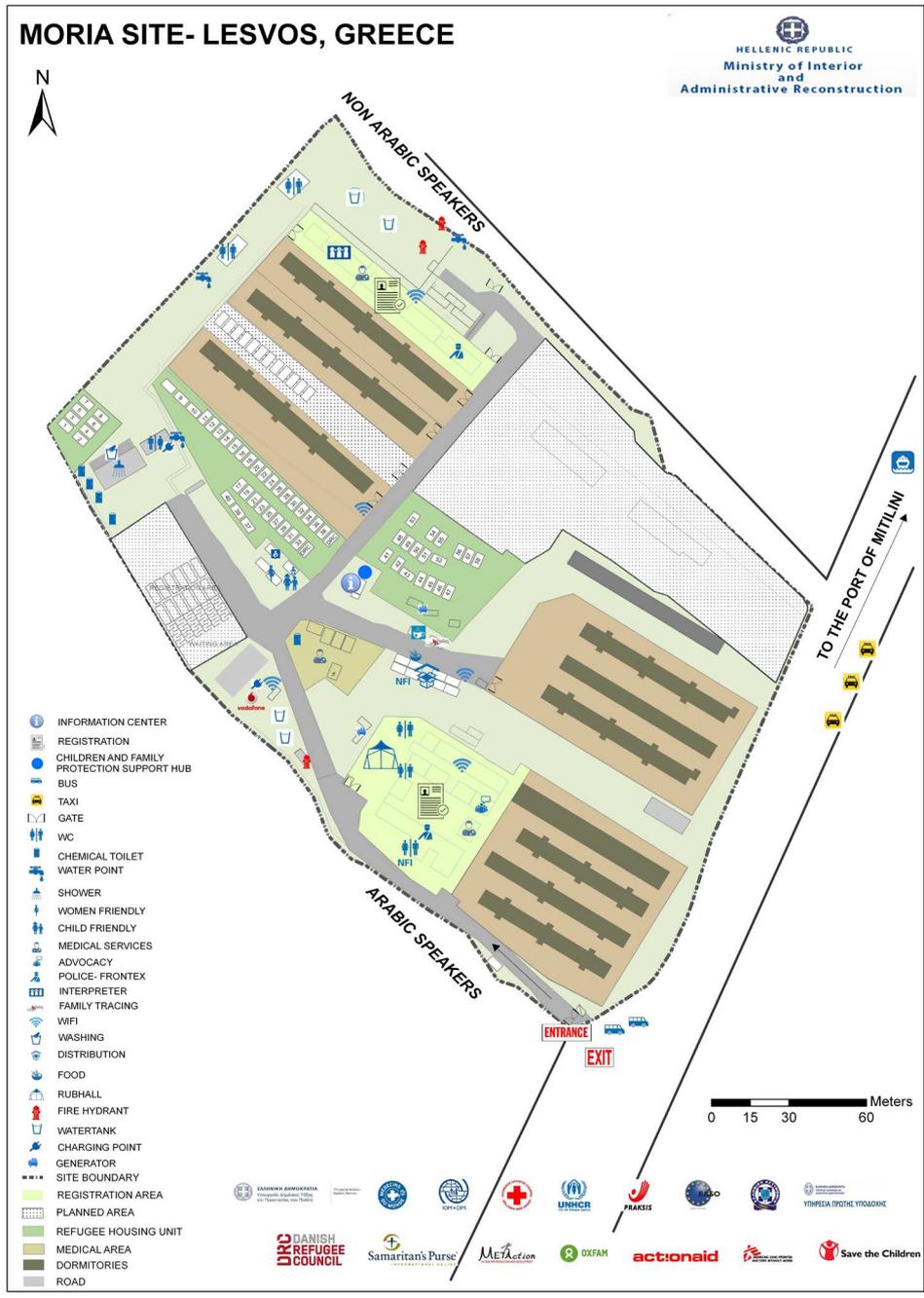
Key Locations on Lesbos as at 14 Jan 2016



Documentation UNHCR, <https://reliefweb.int/map/greece/greece-key-locations-lesvos-14-jan-2016>.



Documentation UNHCR, 7.02.2016. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/46887>.



Documentation UNHCR, 21.02.2016. <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/46995>.

Calais

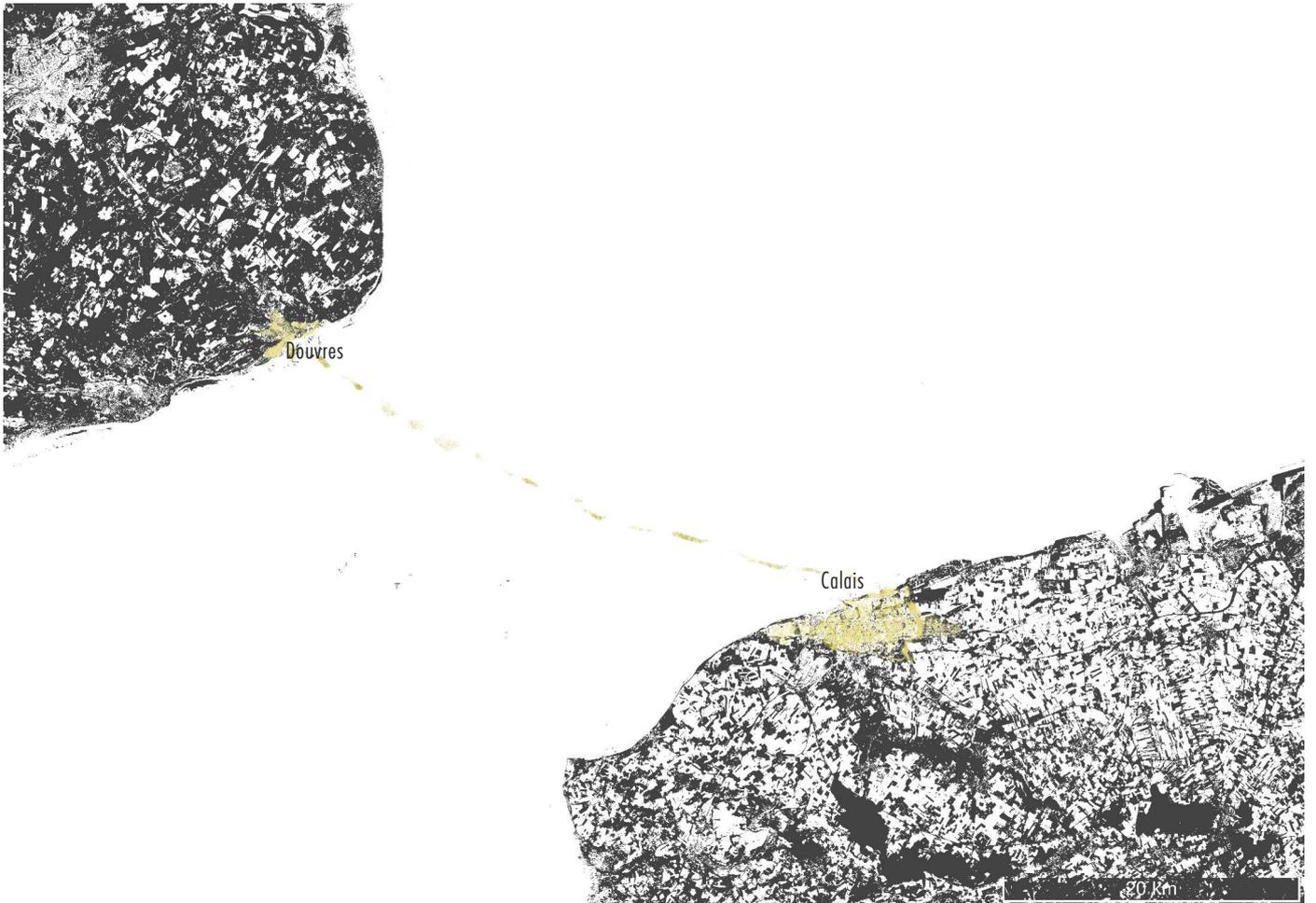
Illustration notebook



Gilles Raynaldy photographer. *"Welcome my friend"*. *La Jungle de Calais* décembre 2015 - octobre 2016. The church road (south road) before demolition.



Gilles Raynaldy photographer. *“Welcome my friend”*. *La Jungle de Calais décembre 2015 - octobre 2016*.
The church road (south road) after demolition.



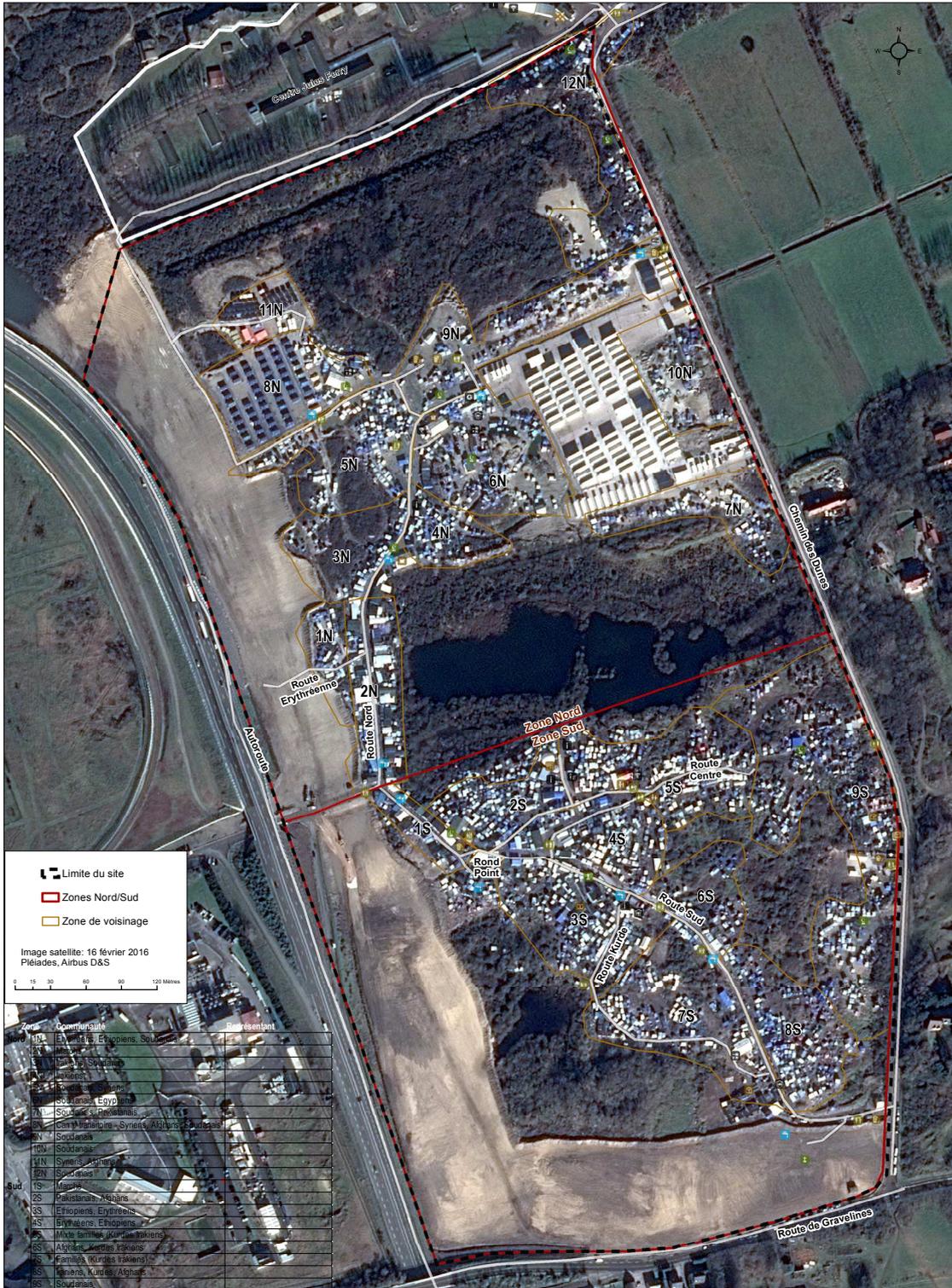
Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Reworked Google Earth satellite image.
Situation in May 2021.

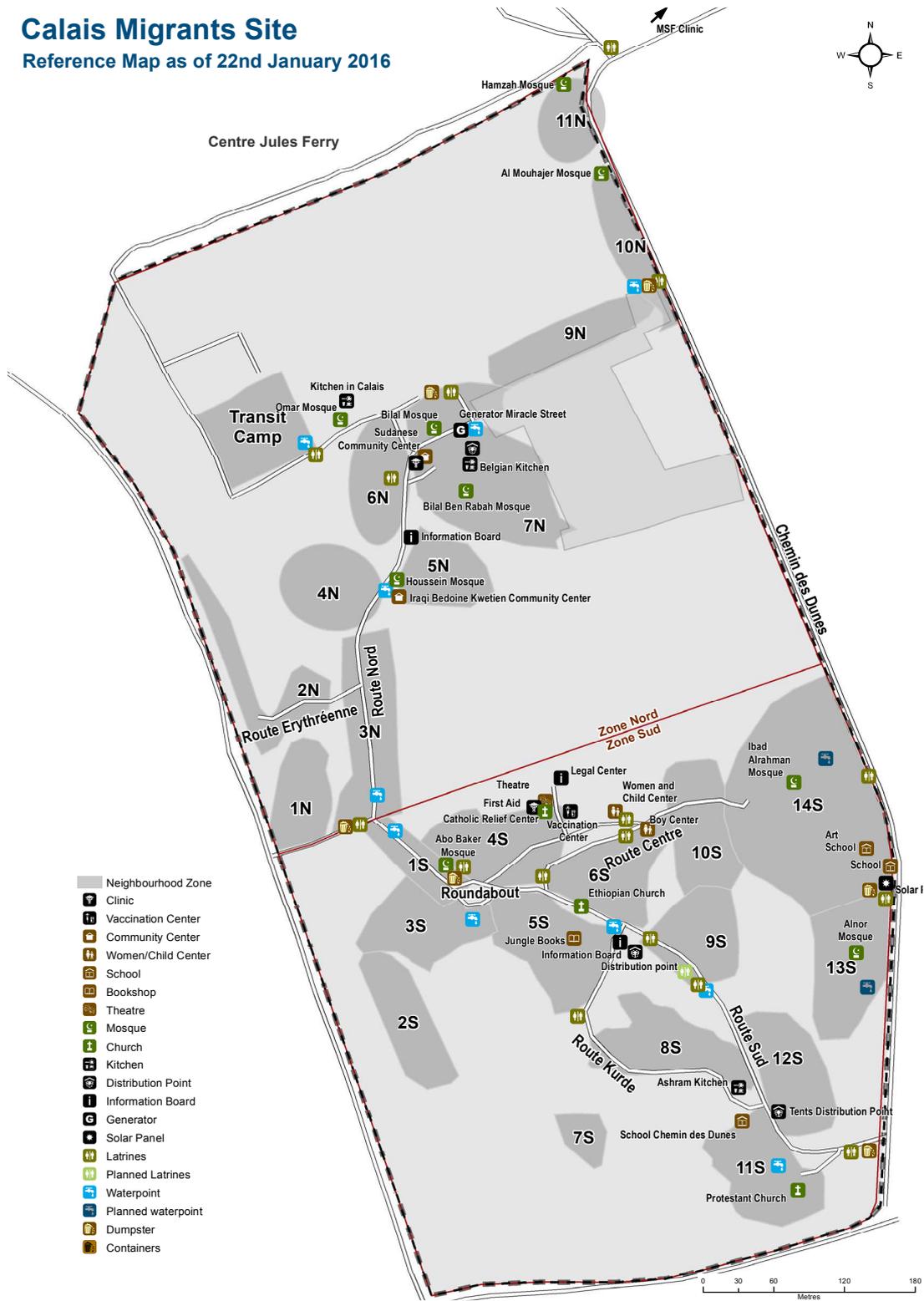




Documentation ACTED, an association appointed by the French government to develop the site from October 2015.

Calais Migrants Site

Reference Map as of 22nd January 2016

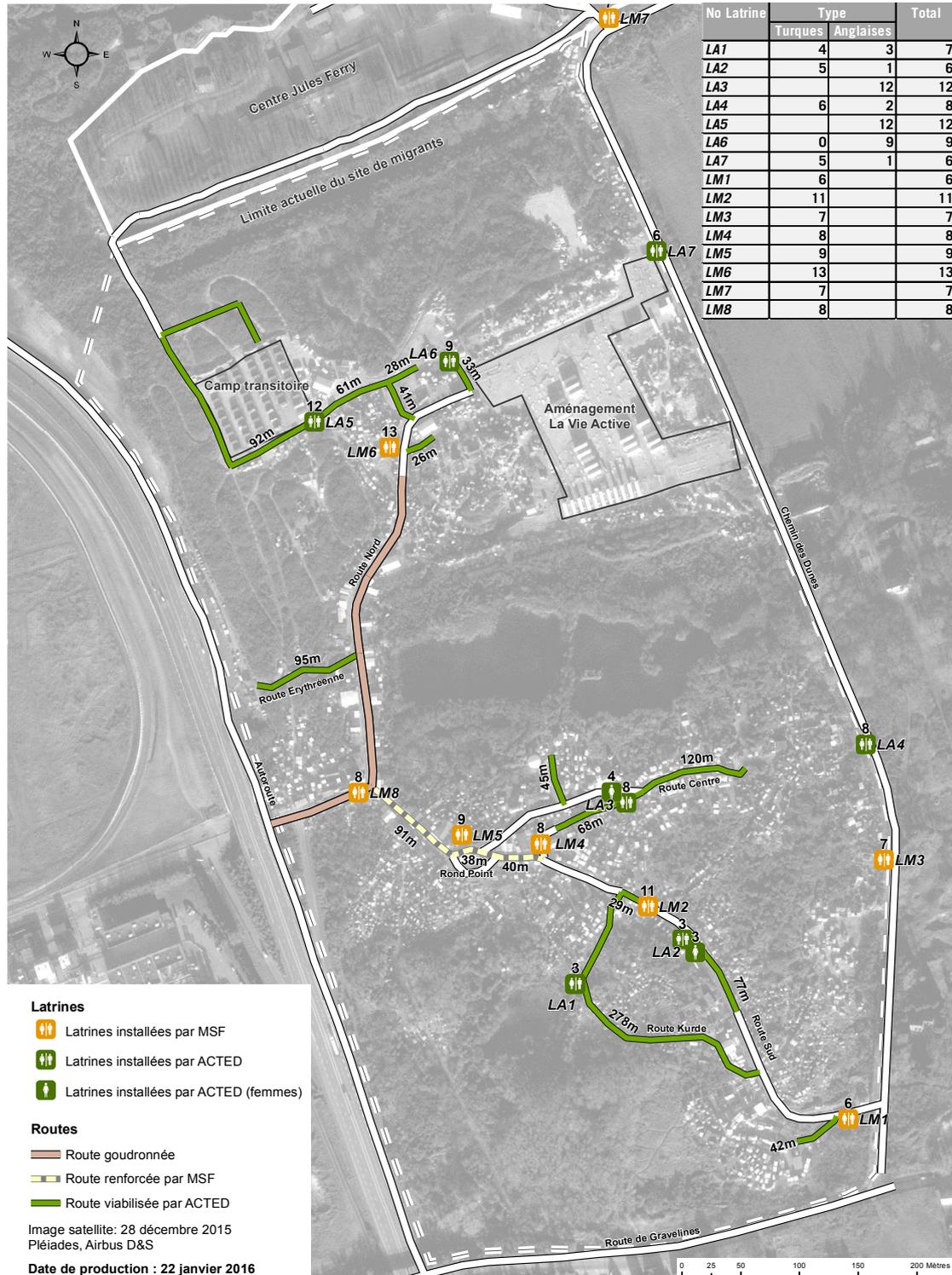


Documentation ACTED, an association appointed by the French government to develop the site from October 2015.



ACTED Site de migrants de Calais

Routes à viabiliser et latrines - 22 janvier 2016



Documentation ACTED, an association appointed by the French government to develop the site from October 2015.



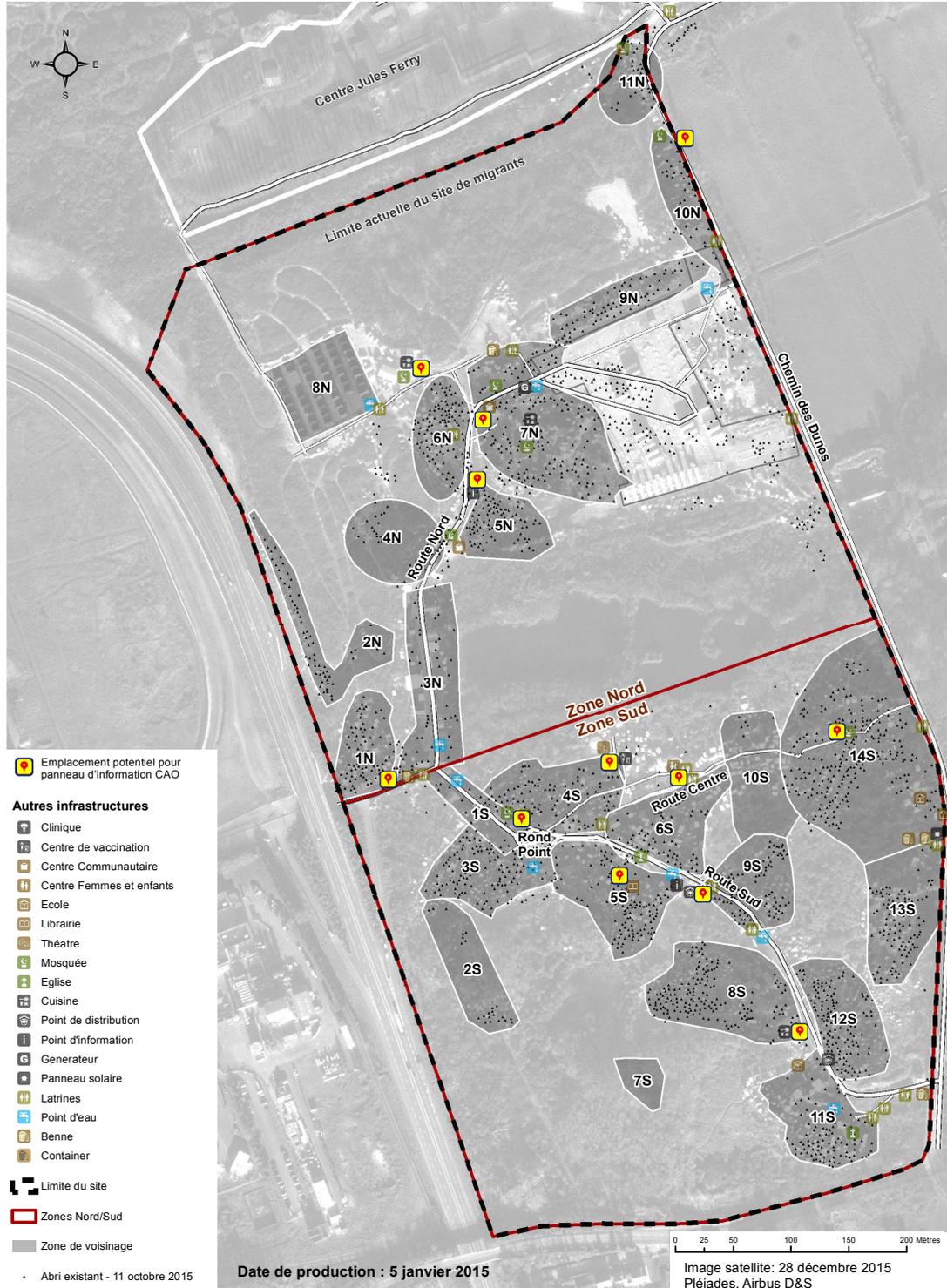
ACTED

Site de migrants de Calais

Densité d'abris au 28 décembre 2015



Documentation ACTED, an association appointed by the French government to develop the site from October 2015.



Documentation ACTED, an association appointed by the French government to develop the site from October 2015.



Renaturation of the Calais moor, projections.

Conservatoire du littoral, <https://www.conservatoire-du-littoral.fr/Diaporama/326/9-diaporama.htm>.



Renaturation of the Calais moor, projections.
Conservatoire du littoral, <https://www.conservatoire-du-littoral.fr/Diaporama/326/9-diaporama.htm>.

SUR LA ROUTE DE L'ÉGLISE

SECTEUR SUD/OUEST

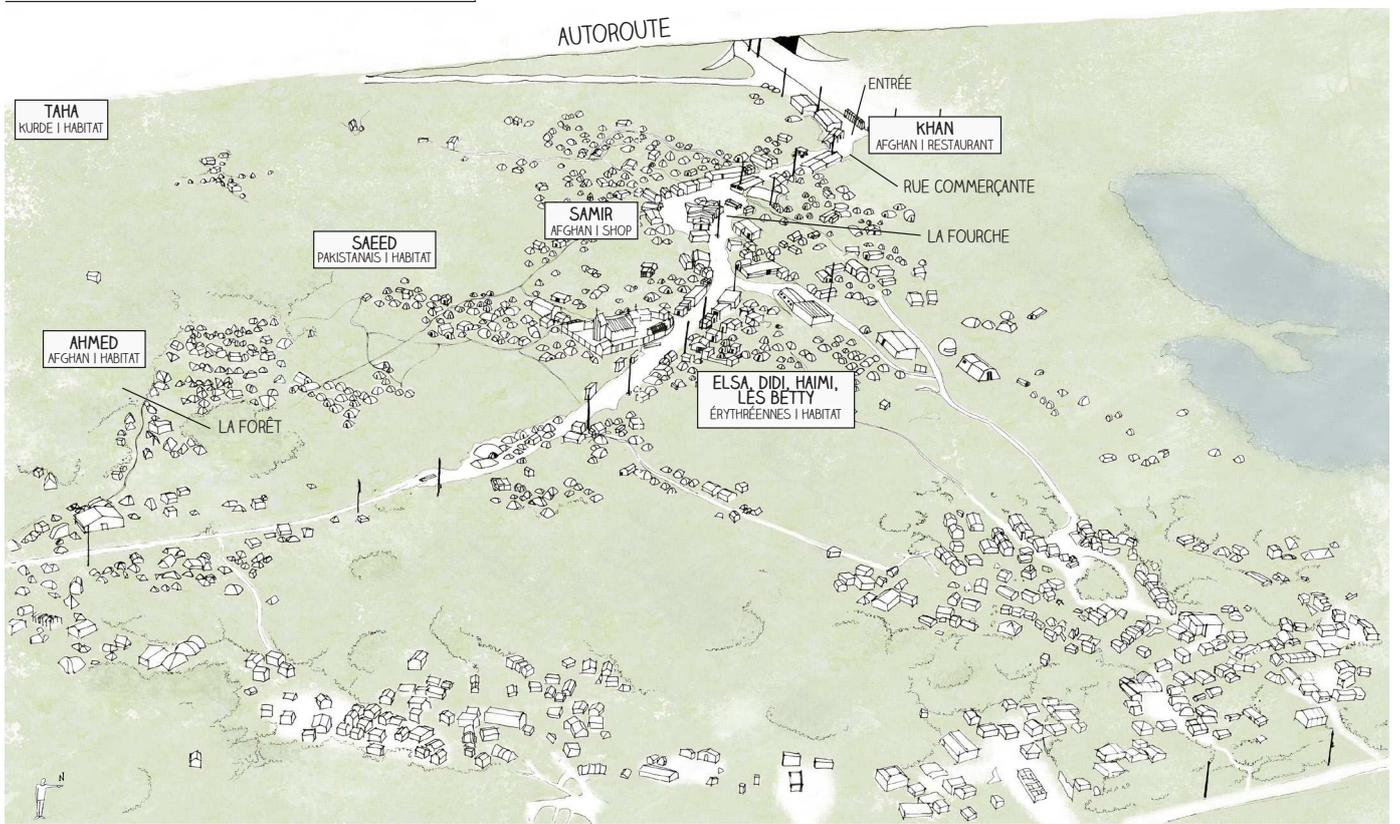
MERIEM FRIKHA, LINA GUARIN, PAULINE PUJOLE, SAMANTA TUMBARELLO



ENSAPB- DSA RISQUES MAJEURS 2014-2015- C.HANAPPE ET P.CHOMBART DE LAUWE ENSEIGNANTS AVEC L.MALONE, PHOTOGRAPHE
RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 01

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SUR LA ROUTE DE L'ÉGLISE PRÉSENTATION GÉNÉRALE

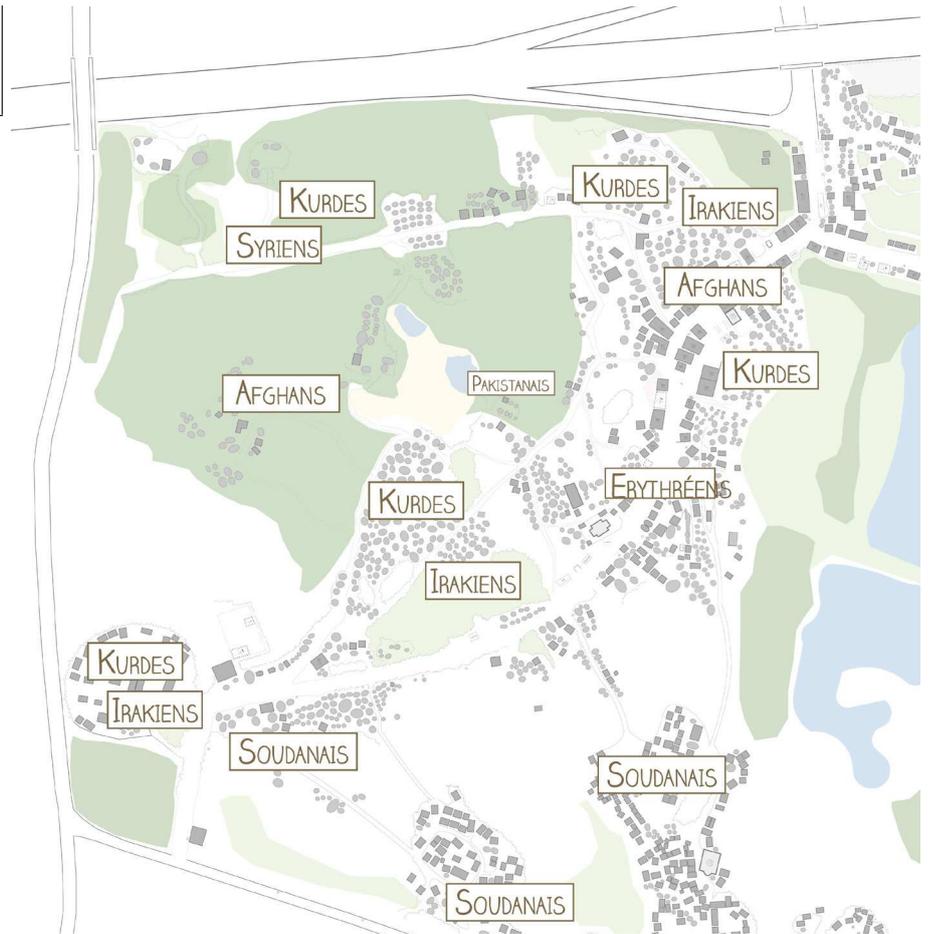


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RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 02

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SUR LA ROUTE DE L'ÉGLISE NATIONALITÉS

FORTE DENSITÉ DE POPULATION
8 NATIONALITÉS
MAJORITÉ D'AFGHANS, KURDES ET
IRAKIENS



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RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 05

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SUR LA ROUTE DE L'ÉGLISE ACTIVITÉS ET SERVICES

SERVICES RÉPARTIS LE LONG DE L'AXE STRUCTURANT QUI EST ÉQUIPÉ PAR UN ÉCLAIRAGE PUBLIC

3 POINTS D'EAU
3 POINTS AVEC DES TOILETTES
1 POINT DE DOUCHE
(PEU D'INTIMITÉ : CES ESPACES DONNENT DIRECTEMENT SUR L'AXE LE PLUS PASSANT)

2 LIEUX DE CULTES
(ÉGLISE COPTE ET UN LIEU DE PRIÈRE MUSULMAN)

3 POINTS DE DISTRIBUTION DE NOURRITURE (ASSOCIATIONS)

2 ÉCOLES (DONT UNE EN COURS DE CONSTRUCTION)
1 LIBRAIRIE (PEU VISIBLE)

PLUSIEURS POINTS DE RECHARGES ÉLECTRIQUES AU NIVEAU DES COMMERCES ET DONC PRINCIPALEMENT LOCALISÉS AU NIVEAU DE L'ENTRÉE OUEST

-  POINT D'EAU
-  WODOUCHE
-  ENCLIS POUR LE RAMASSAGE DES ORDURES
-  BÉNINIS
-  ÉGLISE
-  MOSQUÉE
-  BÂTIMENT
-  TENTE
-  BÂTIMENT EN CONSTRUCTION
-  PÔTEAU ÉLECTRIQUE
-  ROUTE/CHEMIN
-  AUTOROUTE
-  LIEU DE DISTRIBUTION DE REPAS
-  TOILETTES INFORMELS
-  MÉDECINS DU MONDE
-  POINT D'INFORMATION
-  ESPACE CULTUREL (THÉÂTRE, ÉCOLE, LIBRAIRIE...)
-  POINT D'EAU
-  TOILETTES
-  DOUCHES
-  LAVÉRIE
-  RECHARGES ÉLECTRIQUES
-  ÉCLAIRAGE PUBLIC



ENSAPB- DSA RISQUES MAJEURS 2014-2015- C.HANAPPE ET P.CHOMBART DE LAUWE ENSEIGNANTS AVEC L.MALONE, PHOTOGRAPHE RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 04

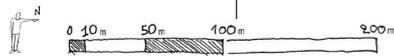
La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SUR LA ROUTE DE L'ÉGLISE COMMERCES ET ÉLECTRICITÉ

CORRÉLATION FORTE ENTRE LES COMMERCES ET LES POINTS DE RECHARGES ÉLECTRIQUES. LA PLUPART DES RESTAURANTS ET MAGASINS PRÉSENTS DANS LA JUNGLE SONT ÉQUIPÉS D'ÉLECTROGÈNES

SEUL UN REGROUPEMENT D'HABITATIONS, UN DES PLUS ÉLOIGNÉS DANS LA FORÊT, S'EST ÉQUIPÉ D'ÉLECTROGÈNE

- MAGASINS/RESTAURANTS
- RECHARGES ÉLECTRIQUES
- ÉCLAIRAGE PUBLIC



ENSAPB- DSA RISQUES MAJEURS 2014-2015- C.HANAPPE ET P.CHOMBART DE LAUWE ENSEIGNANTS AVEC L.MALONE, PHOTOGRAPHE RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 05

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SUR LA ROUTE DE L'ÉGLISE CIRCULATION ET FLUX

CIRCULATION ESSENTIELLEMENT PIÉTONNE ET À VÉLOS. EN GRANDE MAJORITÉ CE SONT DES CHEMINS DE TERRE (ZONE BOUEUSE FRÉQUENTÉE)

LA CIRCULATION SE CONCENTRE SUR L'AXE STRUCTURANT QUI DISPOSE D'UN ÉCLAIRAGE PUBLIC. LA CIRCULATION EN VOITURE EST POSSIBLE SUR UNE PARTIE DE CET AXE (ROUTE GOUVERNÉE AU NIVEAU DE L'ENTRÉE ET VOIE ASSEZ LARGE)

-  CONCENTRATION DES FLUX
-  FLUX IMPORTANTS
-  FLUX MOYENS
-  ACCÈS CARROSSABLE



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RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 07

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SYNTHÈSE

RÉPARTITION DES TYPOLOGIES

CONSTRUCTIONS EN DUR ET BIEN ORGANISÉES DANS LE SECTEUR DES COMMERCES ET DES MAGASINS (AU NIVEAU DE L'ENTRÉE ET DE LA FOURCHE LE LONG DE L'AXE)

REGROUPEMENT PEU ORGANISÉ DE TENTES DE PREMIÈRE NECESSITÉ EN GRAND NOMBRE DANS LA ZONE INTERMÉDIAIRE (ENTRE L'AXE STRUCTURANT ET LA FORÊT)

REGROUPEMENT EN COURS D'AMÉNAGEMENT AVEC DES TENTES ORGANISÉES AUTOURS D'UNE OU PLUSIEURS CONSTRUCTIONS EN DUR (SECTEUR DE LA FORÊT ET REGROUPEMENT AUTOUR DE L'ÉGLISE COPTE)

-  AXE STRUCTURANT
-  AXE SECONDAIRE
-  MAJORITÉ DE TENTES
-  TENTES + CONSTRUCTIONS
-  CONSTRUCTIONS
-  REGROUPEMENTS PEU ORGANISÉS
-  REGROUPEMENTS AVEC DES PRÉMICES D'ORGANISATION
-  REGROUPEMENTS ORGANISÉS



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La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SYNTHESE CARTE DES RISQUES



BRÛLAGE D'ORDURES POUR LES DÉTRUIRE



FEU DE BOIS POUR CUISINER À L'INTÉRIEUR DES TENTES



RESTAURANTS MUNIS DE CUISINIÈRE AU GAZ

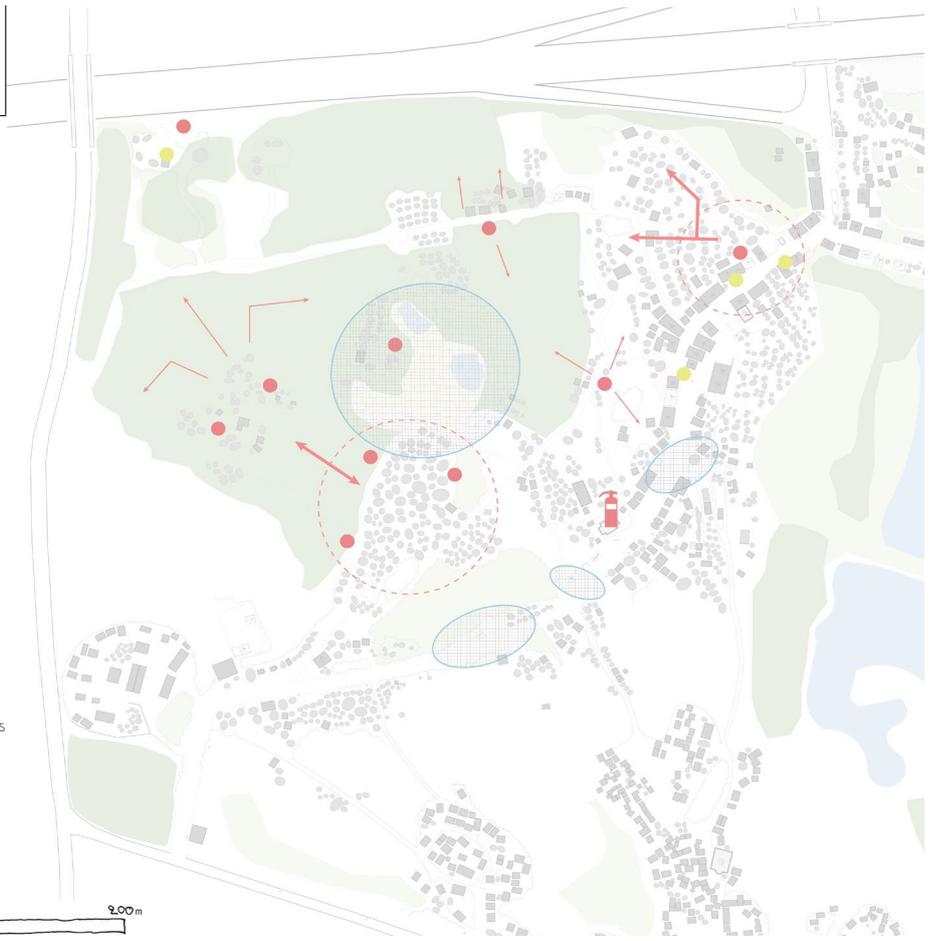


ÉGLISE REMPLIES DE BOUGIES MAIS AVEC UN EXTINCTEUR

-  ZONE RISQUE INCENDIE ÉLEVÉ
-  ZONE RISQUE INONDATION ÉLEVÉ
-  FEUX POUR BRÛLER LES ORDURES
-  RECHARGES ÉLECTRIQUES
-  EXPANSION INCENDIE



0 10 m 50 m 100 m 200 m



ENSAPB- DSA RISQUES MAJEURS 2014-2015- C.HANAPPE ET P.CHOMBART DE LAUWE ENSEIGNANTS AVEC L.MALONE, PHOTOGRAPHE RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 09

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SUR LA ROUTE DE L'ÉGLISE CHRONOTOPIES

PEU D'ACTIVITÉS LE MATIN.
UTILISATION DE L'AXE STRUCTURANT
ET QUELQUES MOUVEMENTS DANS
CERTAINS REGROUPEMENTS D'HABITATIONS AVEC LE RETOUR DE MIGRANTS RENTRANT DE CALAIS

DÉBUT DE L'EFFERVESCENCE AVEC
L'OUVERTURE PROGRESSIVE DES MAGASINS ET DES RESTAURANTS À PARTIR DE 11H

FORTE AFFLUENCE DANS LE SECTEUR
DE L'ENTRÉE ET DE LA FOURCHE
L'APRÈS MIDI ET LE SOIR

FRÉQUENTATION DES BARS SITUÉS
ENTRE LA FOURCHE ET L'ÉGLISE
COÛTE EN FIN DE SOIRÉE OU DÉPART
VERS CALAIS DEPUIS L'ENTRÉE OUEST

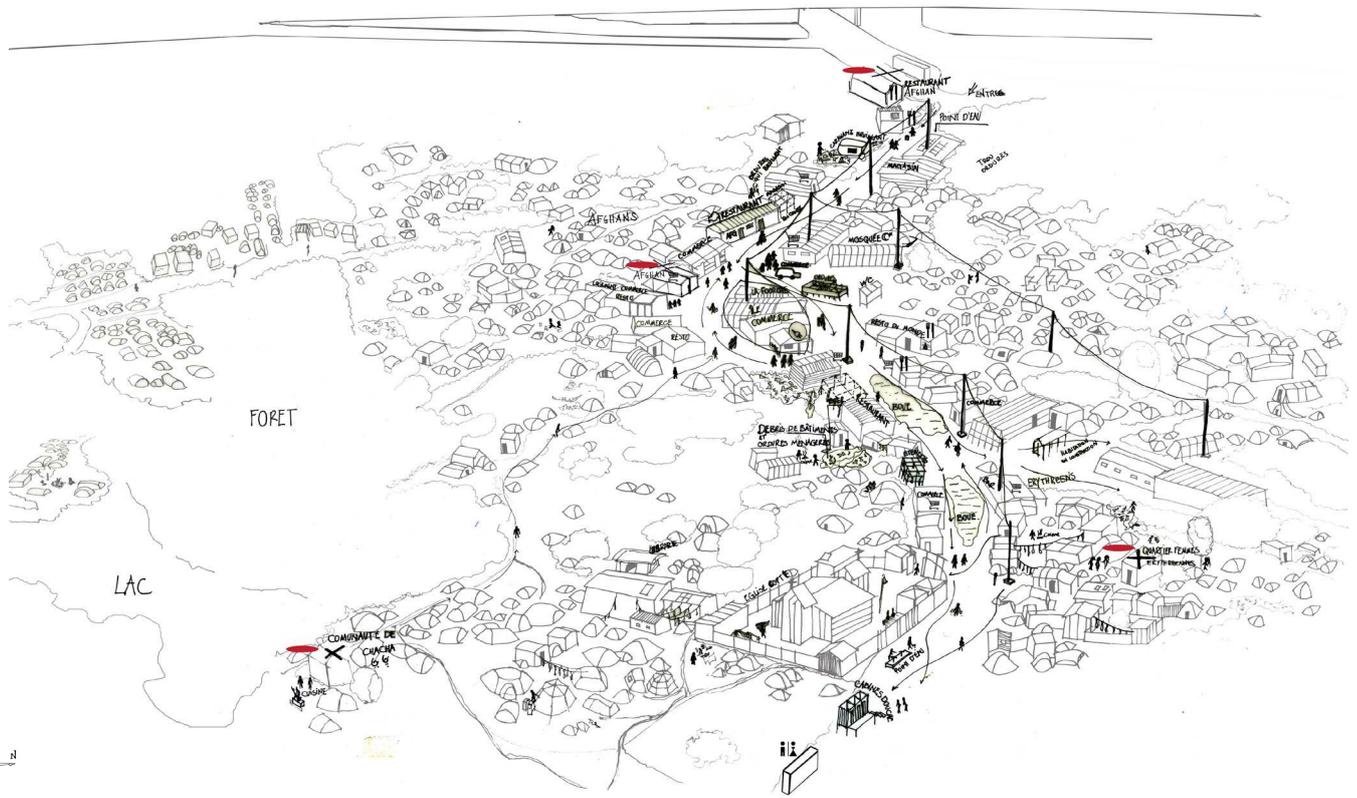
- FRÉQUENTATION LE MATIN
- FRÉQUENTATION L'APRÈS-MIDI
- FRÉQUENTATION LE SOIR
- FRÉQUENTATION LA NUIT



ENSAPB- DSA RISQUES MAJEURS 2014-2015- C.HANAPPE ET P.CHOMBART DE LAUWE ENSEIGNANTS AVEC L.MALONE, PHOTOGRAPHE
RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 06

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.

SECTEUR D'ENSEMBLE AXONOMETRIE



ENSAPB- DSA RISQUES MAJEURS 2014-2015- C.HANAPPE ET P.CHOMBART DE LAUWE ENSEIGNANTS AVEC L.MALONE, PHOTOGRAPHE
RELEVÉ DE LA JUNGLE DE CALAIS - 8-10 OCTOBRE 2015 - SECTEUR SUD OUEST - 011

La leçon de Calais. Architectures de la Jungle, October 2015. Work by students in the DSA Major Risks, ENSA Paris Belleville.



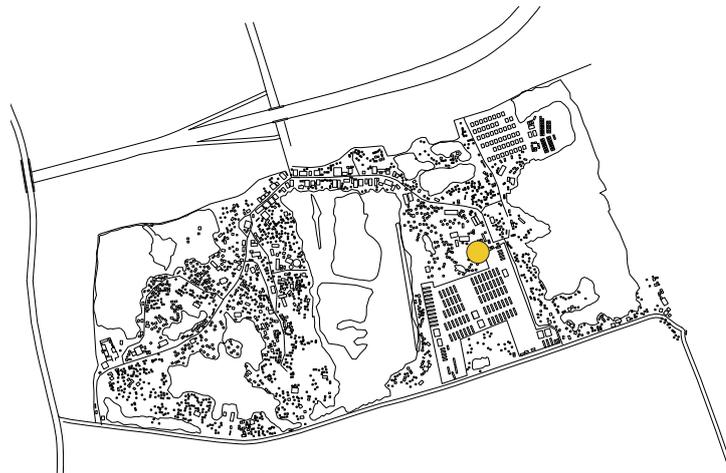
Extracts from the *Atlas Architectures de la Jungle*.

Team composed of : Collectif SANS PLUS ATTENDRE (Nicolas Genest, Anita Pouchard Serra, Antoine Segurel), Arthur François, Marie Menant, Giulia Buffoli, Valeria Russi (Architects), Claraluz Kaiser (Geographer), Clémentine Fouquet (Image Reporter), Hélène Grosdidier (Architecture Student) as part of a research project led by the PEROU association (Pôle d'exploration des ressources urbaines). April 2016, <https://sansplusattendre.org/projets/architectures/new-jungle-delire-2016-calais-france/>.

CUISINER

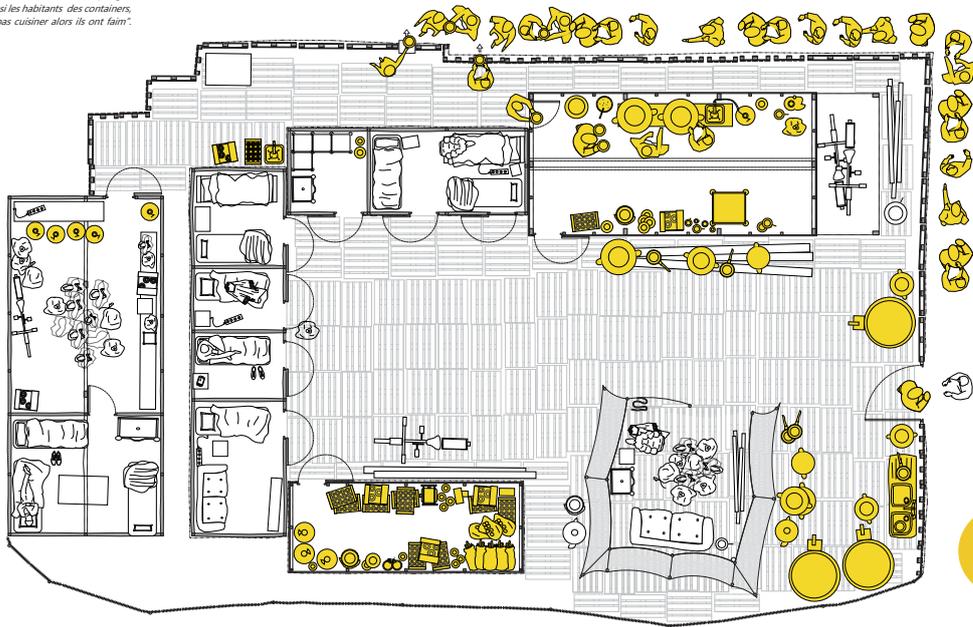
Considérant le besoin des habitants de la Jungle de se nourrir, la Belgium Kitchen a été créée pour distribuer des aliments et repas tous les jours. Entre 1000 et 1500 repas sont préparés et offerts par des bénévoles tous les soirs.

THE KITCHEN BELGIUM



ELYASSE

"Au début, quand on a commencé, je ne pensais pas qu'on finirait avec un truc grand comme ça ! Dans les bons jours on fait 1000 repas, quand il fait mauvais temps on n'en sert que 400, alors les gens peuvent avoir du rab, il ne faut pas gâcher. Et il y a aussi les habitants des containers, ils ne peuvent pas cuisiner alors ils ont faim".



YACINE

"C'est espétard, on est content. Depuis la destruction du sud de la jungle, les rats se sont enfuis et viennent vers le nord, chez nous. On les craint car ils sont très gros, mais pour l'instant ça va, il n'y a pas de rats car la cuisine et les stocks sont fermés"

THE KITCHEN BELGIUM

PLAN

COLLECTIF BAYA

Suite à la sollicitation d'Okdo Pabis, architecte ayant déjà contribué à la construction de la Cuisine du Parc Maximilien à Bruxelles, la Belgium Kitchen fut conçue et construite en collaboration avec le collectif Baya. La structure de la cuisine a été conçue en 4 jours et construite en une journée grâce à la contribution d'une quinzaine de membres du collectif et de personnes présentes sur place.



POLLUTION

Installée dans un creux du relief, la Belgium Kitchen doit lutter contre le ruissellement des eaux chargées de pollution. Le sol est composé de palettes posées sur des poutres en bois, ce qui permet de rester hors d'eau la plupart du temps. "On a essayé de faire un drain au pied de la butte mais ça envoyait l'eau chez les voisins... alors forcément il a pas voulu..." (l'acine) Si aujourd'hui le projet s'est bien développé, le problème de l'eau demeure: un camion vient pomper l'eau polluée une fois par semaine pour maintenir le niveau d'eau sous les palettes.

DISTRIBUER

Selon un organisateur, s'il y a 3 bénévoles, il est possible de faire à manger pour 1000 personnes. Le cuisinier, un réfugié syrien, est responsable du menu du jour tandis que les autres s'occupent de l'organisation générale. Pour que les repas soient distribués tous les soirs entre 20 et 21h, l'équipe se met à la tâche à partir de 13h. Les activités débutent par la vaisselle du jour précédent pour, ensuite, commencer à faire à manger. En plus de la distribution des repas, ils donnent aussi de la nourriture, notamment des haricots blancs, de l'huile, du sucre, du riz, des lentilles et de l'eau à quelques réfugiés qui viennent frapper à leur porte pendant la journée.

COUPE

THE KITCHEN BELGIUM



THE KITCHEN **BELGIUM**

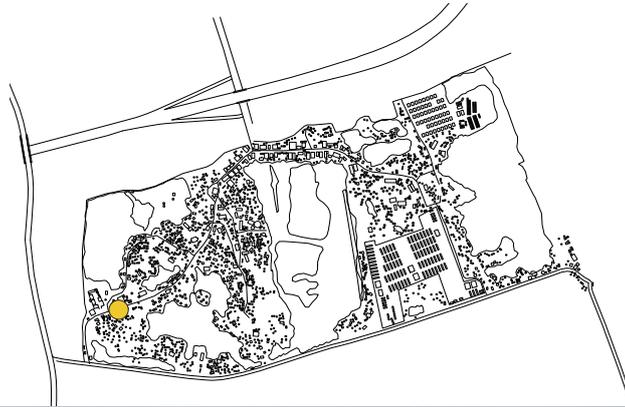
ÉLÉVATION



APPRENDRE

Considérant la citation « qui ouvre une école ferme une prison » et que apprendre une langue est le premier pas pour démarrer une nouvelle vie dans un pays étranger, Zimako avec le soutien d'une quarantaine de bénévoles enseignants et personnes issues de la société civile, ouvre une école dans la jungle. Les principes de laïcité et d'ouverture à tous sont à la base de ce lieu de vie, de rencontre et d'échange.

ECOLE LAIQUE DU CHEMIN DES DUNES

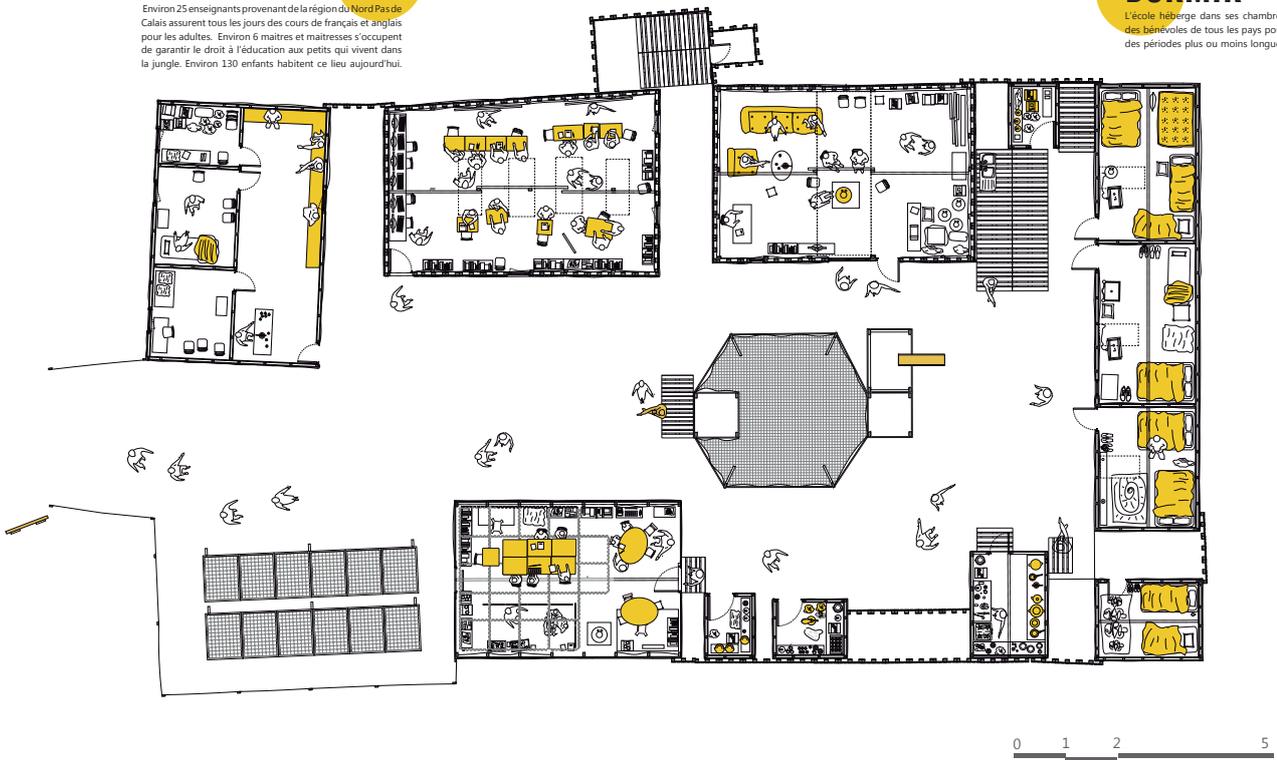


ENSEIGNER

Environ 25 enseignants provenant de la région du Nord-Pas-de-Calais assurent tous les jours des cours de français et anglais pour les adultes. Environ 6 maîtres et maîtresses s'occupent de garantir le droit à l'éducation aux petits qui vivent dans la jungle. Environ 130 enfants habitent ce lieu aujourd'hui.

DORMIR

L'école héberge dans ses chambres des bénévoles de tous les pays pour des périodes plus ou moins longues.

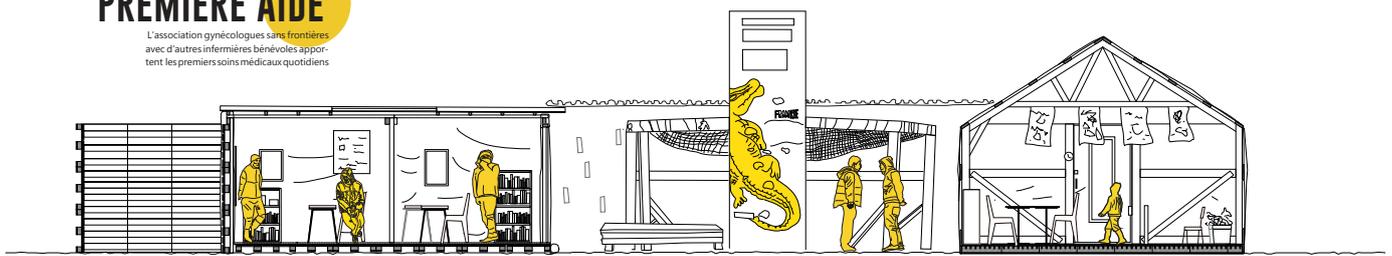


ECOLE LAIQUE DU CHEMIN DES DUNES

PLAN

PREMIÈRE AIDE

L'association gynécologues sans frontières avec d'autres infirmières bénévoles apportent les premiers soins médicaux quotidiens



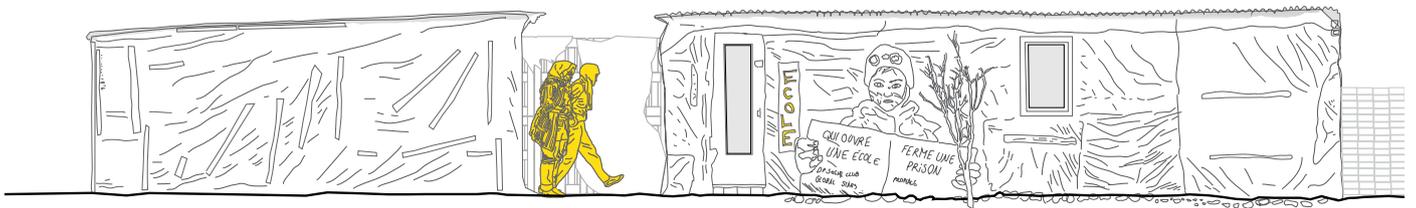
0 1 2

DUSTIN

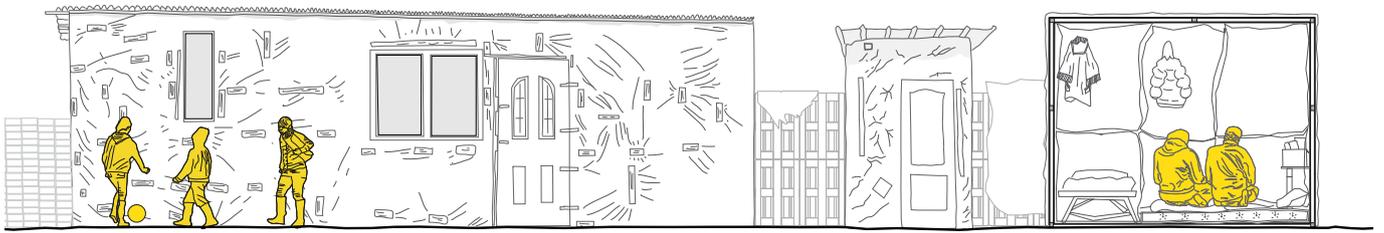
Dustin, un garçon afghan de 22 ans nous raconte : « Je suis allé dans un CAP à Clermont Ferrand, mais je suis revenu ici car j'ai un projet de vie à porter à terme. Je veux aller au Canada et devenir ingénieur, j'ai besoin d'apprendre l'anglais. Je viens à l'école presque tous les jours car pour moi l'éducation est importante. Dans mon pays j'allais à la fac tous les matin, ça me manque. »

COUPE

ECOLE LAIQUE DU CHEMIN DES DUNES



ÉLÉVATION

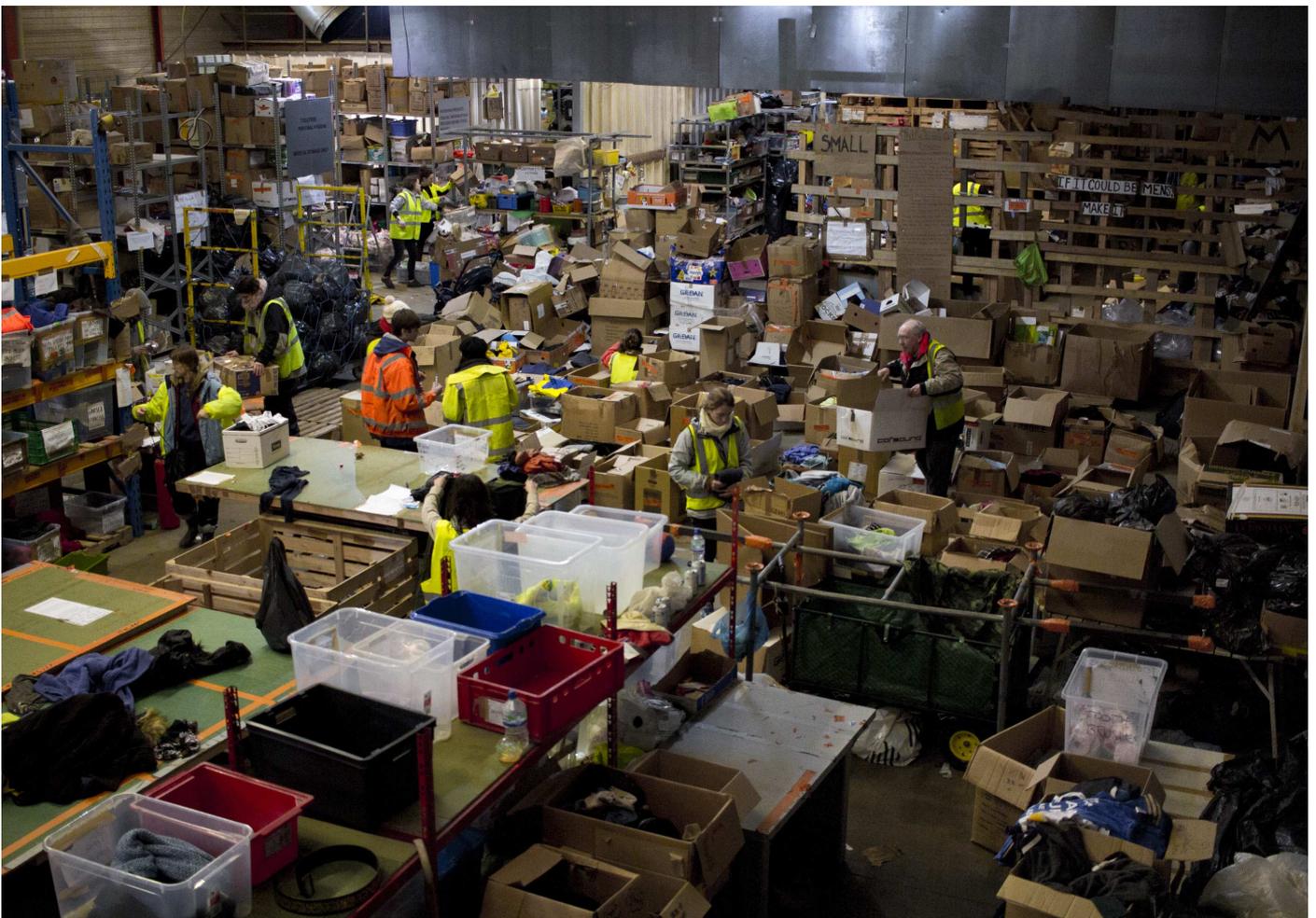
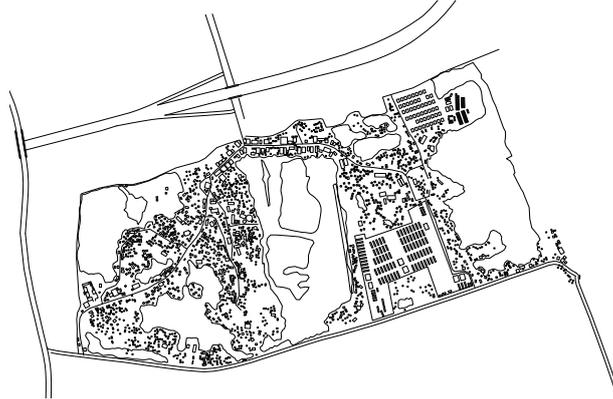


ECOLE LAIQUEDU CHEMIN DES DUNES

A G I R

Considérant qu'il n'est pas envisageable de laisser des semblables dans le dénuement le plus total, les associations *Help Refugees*, *l'Auberge des migrants*, *Care4Calais*, *Utopia 56* et *Refugee Community Kitchen* se sont installées dans cet ensemble de Hangers à l'abandon. Elles fournissent nourriture, abris préfabriqués et vêtements aux personnes qui en ont besoin, que ce soit dans le New Jungle, à Grande Synthe ou encore dans Calais ville

THE WAREHOUSE



Caravanes, camions, shelters, chambres simples, doubles ou colocations, les associations ont installé un campement pour héberger les bénévoles qui souhaitent rester sur place, certains venant passer plusieurs mois à Calais pour participer aux actions de solidarité. L'organisation de ce campement est géré, entre autres, par Adam (aka bear) un britannique membre de Help Refugees. Le confort reste sommaire mais un réseau électrique a été installé au mois de Février pour les caravanes et les shelters.

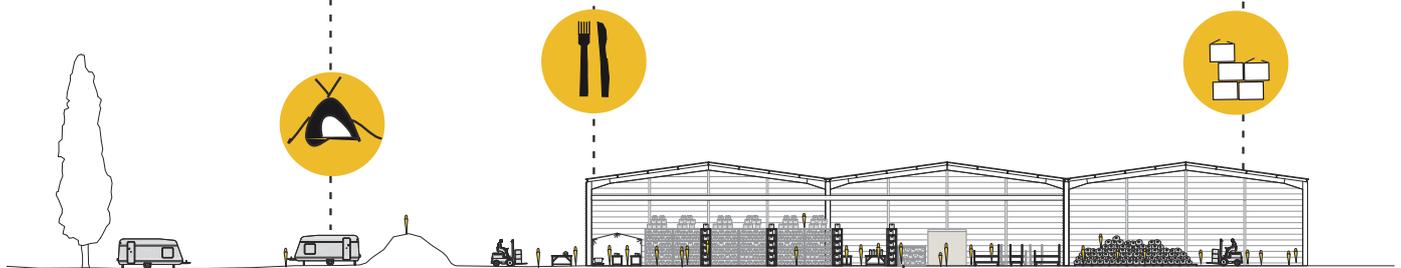
50 CHAMBRES

Grâce aux dons et aux financements associatifs, la cuisine assure la préparation des repas pour la Jungle et pour les bénévoles de la Warehouse. Un groupe est chargé de couper et préparer les légumes, des chefs se chargent de la préparation de repas inspirés des spécialités d'origines variées. Depuis novembre des dizaines de chefs se sont succédés : « On a même eu des chefs étoilés au Michelin ou encore un chef qui s'occupait du catering lors des JO de 2012 » (Philippe de Refugee Community Kitchen).

2000 REPAS
PAR JOUR

Malgré l'efficacité des bénévoles en charge du tri, une montagne de sacs subsiste dans cet entrepôt. Des vêtements pour la plupart, mais aussi des tentes, couvertures ou sacs de couchage attendent de pouvoir intégrer la chaîne de tri, et finir dans des cartons prêts à être distribués.

600 M3 DE DONS



112 M3 DE BOIS
PAR SEMAINE

De nombreux déchets de bois sont récupérés dans les zones industrielles et les villes de la région. Ces déchets sont triés par types (souches, palettes, bois de construction) et débités à la hache ou à la scie circulaire par des bénévoles. Une voiture se charge de faire la navette avec la Jungle 4 fois par jour pour approvisionner les réfugiés en bois de chauffage ou pour la cuisine.

450 BOISSONS CHAUDES
PAR JOUR

Le service de thé et de café est continu tout au long de la journée. Pour éviter de dédier un responsable vaisselle, des tasses sont en libre service au dessus de deux bacs de lavage (lavage et rinçage), chaque bénévole étant invité à laver sa tasse après emploi, ou à la conserver tout au long de son séjour. Les visiteurs ont un accès libre aux boissons chaudes alors que les repas sont réservés aux bénévoles ou à leurs invités. C'est Sidonie de l'Auberge des Migrants qui assure d'une main de maître la délicate logistique de ce pilier de culture britannique.

THE WAREHOUSE

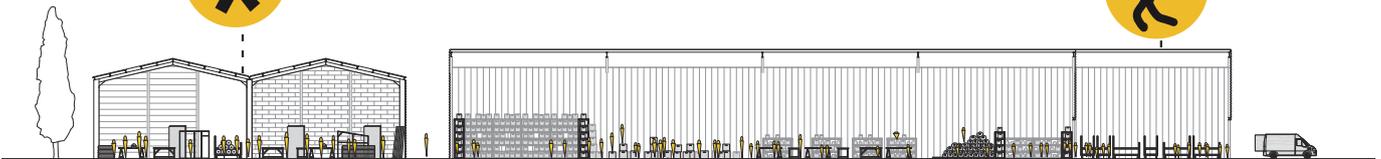
Considérant la nécessité d'offrir une protection contre la pluie et le froid, Help Refugees a créé un modèle de cabane en kit, très rapide à construire et facile à transporter. L'assemblage peut être réalisé par les futurs occupants, qui peuvent renforcer l'isolation avec des couvertures ou autres textiles superposés. Pendant l'hiver 2015 - 2016, l'atelier a produit plus de 40 shelters par jour, pour un total supérieur à 1000 unités

47 SHELTERS
PAR JOUR



Venus de Grande Bretagne, de France ou d'ailleurs, les véhicules chargés de vêtements, vivres, couvertures ou autres défilent toute la journée devant l'entrée de la Warehouse. 5 en moyenne pas jour et 3 fois plus le week-end, majoritairement venus d'Angleterre. Ces dons sont acheminés grâce à d'immenses chariots vers la cuisine ou le hangar à vêtements, où ils attendront d'être dignement triés par les bénévoles.

65 LIVRAISONS



60M3 DE VÊTEMENTS

TRIÉS PAR JOUR

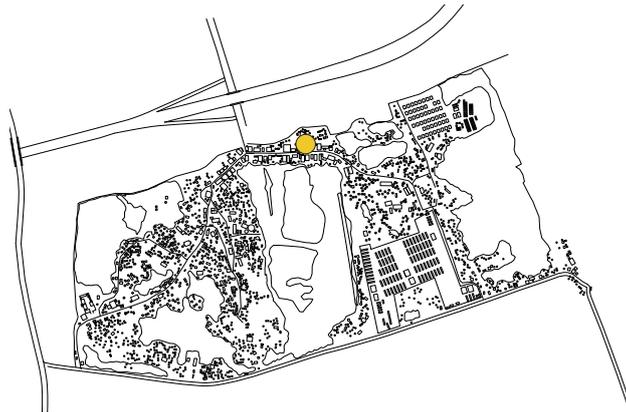
Une fois les dons déchargés, les sacs sont soigneusement triés en fonction du type, du sexe et de la taille. Les vêtements sont ensuite rangés dans des cartons pour être acheminés vers la Jungle et distribués aux réfugiés. Les vêtements de couleur claire ou non-appropriés (robes fantaisistes par exemple) sont mis de côté et parfois données aux associations locales.

THE WAREHOUSE

SE DISTRAIRE

Considérant la Jungle comme un lieu d'opportunité pour rassembler quelques économies avant de partir en Angleterre, six Afghans se sont organisés pour créer le Restaurant - Boulangerie - Epicerie - Bar Chicha, nommé "White Mountain" dans la rue principale de la partie Nord de la Jungle.

RESTAURANT WHITE MOUNTAIN

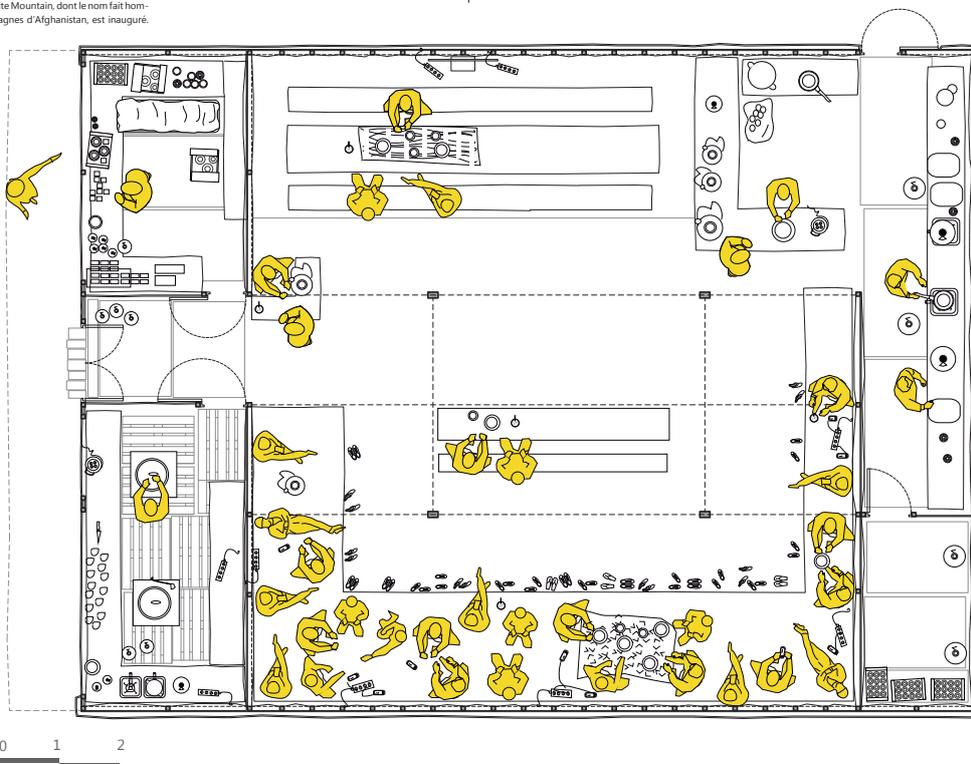


HOMMAGE

En octobre 2015, six Afghans ont commencé à couper des arbres pour construire le Restaurant-Boulangerie-Epicerie-Bar Chicha White Mountain. Après un mois de travaux et un investissement d'environ 10 000 euros, le White Mountain, dont le nom fait hommage aux montagnes d'Afghanistan, est inauguré.

PASSER LE TEMPS

Entre 18h et 2h, de nombreux Pakistanais, Érythréens, Soudanais, Syriens, mais surtout des afghans et des bénévoles viennent s'asseoir sur les dalles pour manger, boire du thé, fumer la chicha, jouer aux cartes, discuter et charger leur téléphone portable. Selon le gérant, les quelques personnes qui s'assoient sur la longue table avec des bancs sont surtout des étrangers (ici, les étrangers, ce sont les bénévoles venant notamment d'Angleterre et de France). À 2h du matin, quand le Restaurant-Boulangerie-Epicerie-Bar Chicha ferme, deux travailleurs du restaurant restent dormir sur place. Cela leur permet d'avoir un lieu chaud pour dormir et d'assurer la sécurité du White Mountain.



RESTAURANT WHITE MOUNTAIN

PLAN

CULTURE

Le White Mountain expose de très belles photos de la Jungle en noir et blanc, prises par un photographe anglais. Bien que les photos fassent le décor, c'est la télévision écran plat qui crée l'ambiance dans le restaurant. Pendant la journée, des clips de musique de Bollywood, du Liban et d'Afghanistan attirent l'attention des clients. Les soirs, un film est projeté, souvent un épisode de 'Tumko Na Bhool Paayenge', un classique indien du film de baston. Cependant, si le gérant se rend compte que les gens ne consomment pas et qu'ils ne sont là que pour regarder la télévision, il arrête le film pendant un moment.



0 1 2

FACILE

Selon un des gérants, « c'était facile de construire tout ça » et les imperfections de la structure ont été résolues avec de menus dispositifs bricolés, comme, par exemple, les dix sacs de riz accrochés au toit pour éviter qu'il ne s'envole avec les forts vents du Nord.

COUPE

RESTAURANT WHITE MOUNTAIN



RESTAURANT **WHITE MOUNTAIN**

ÉLÉVATION



Calais, de la ville frontière au camp retranché

La signature de l'accord du Touquet en 2003 entre Paris et Londres a entraîné la multiplication de travaux de sécurisation qui ont défiguré la ville et le littoral

LA GESTION DRACONNIENNE DES FLUX MIGRATOIRES...

Eurotunnel et le port

Dispositifs sécuritaires des deux principaux sites frontière

- 📹 Espace frontière sous surveillance (vidéosurveillance, agents de sécurité...)
- 🇫🇷🇬🇧 Contrôle frontalier effectué par les autorités françaises et britanniques
- 🏠 Centre de rétention administrative (2003)
- 🕒 Centre de détention de courte durée tenu par les Britanniques
- 🚧 Grillage et barbelé autour des sites du port de Calais et d'Eurotunnel
- 🚧 Déboisement sur le site d'Eurotunnel pour faciliter la surveillance

Les camions

Engrillagement des structures autoroutières pour empêcher les migrants de monter à bord

- 🚧 Grillage, barbelé et mur autour des axes routiers stratégiques
- 🚧 Mur anti-intrusion de 3 mètres de hauteur autour de la station-service Total et des parkings
- 🚧 Sécurisation de la zone TransMark : parkings privés accueillant camions et chauffeurs en transit

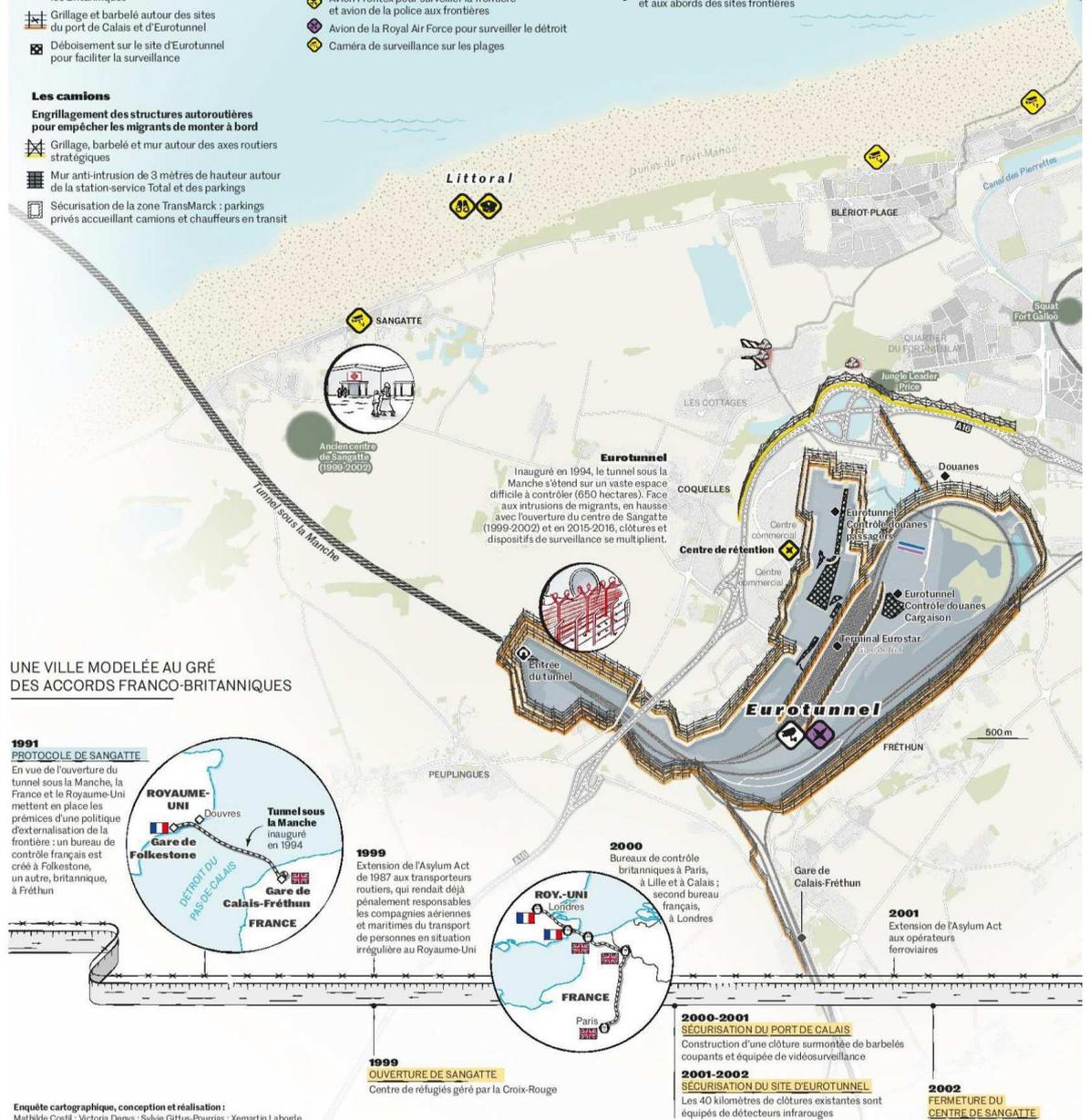
La mer

La fermeture des sites frontières pousse les migrants à prendre la mer, et les autorités à surveiller la côte

- 🚢 Surveillance du littoral par la police à partir de 2019 (CRS, police aux frontières, garde républicaine, gendarmerie...)
- 🚁 Drone
- 🚢 Patrouille de CRS en mer équipée de jumelles et de caméras thermiques
- ✈️ Avion Frontex pour surveiller la frontière et avion de la police aux frontières
- ✈️ Avion de la Royal Air Force pour surveiller le détroit
- 📹 Caméra de surveillance sur les plages

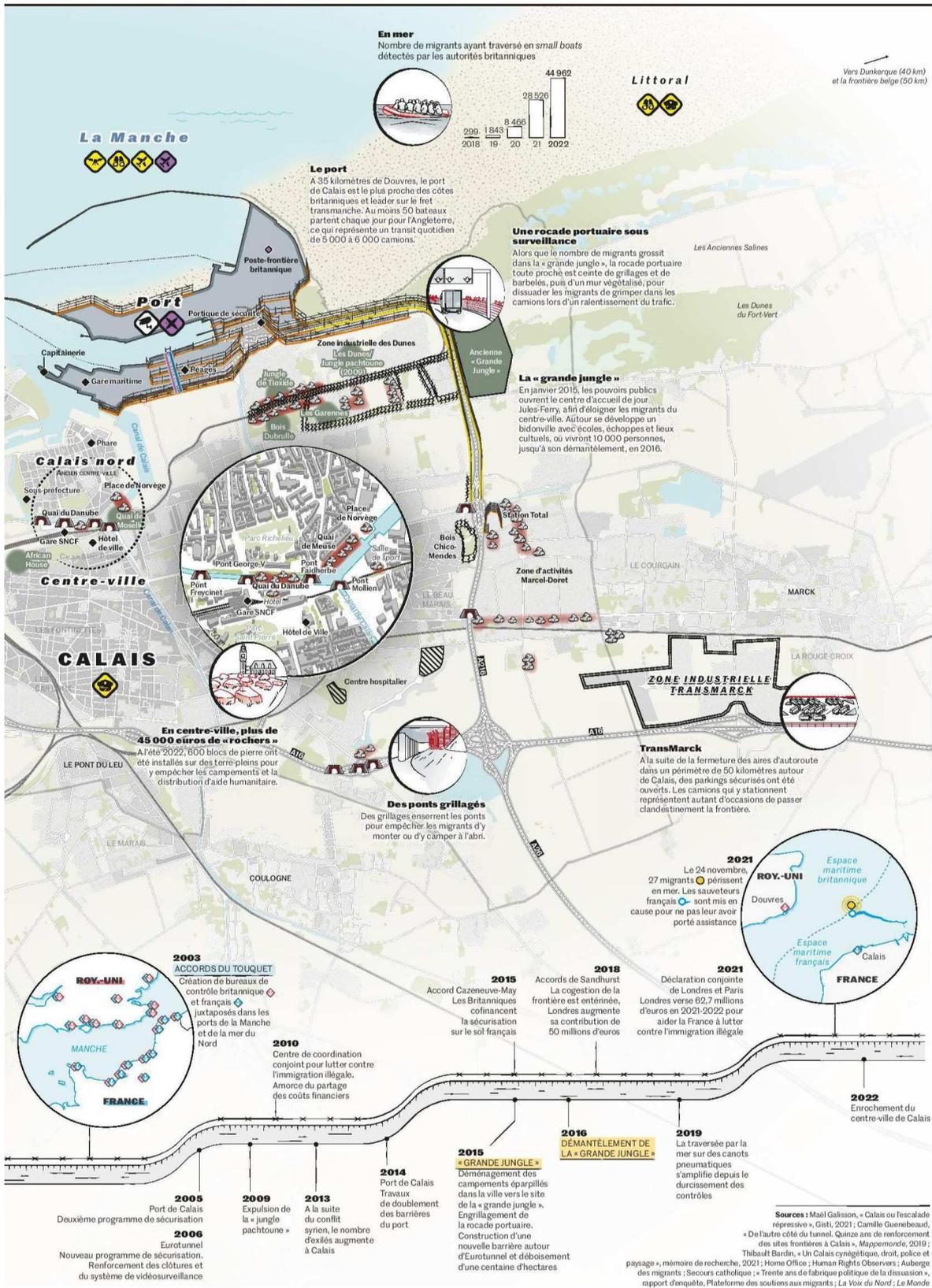
... A CRÉÉ UN ENVIRONNEMENT HOSTILE

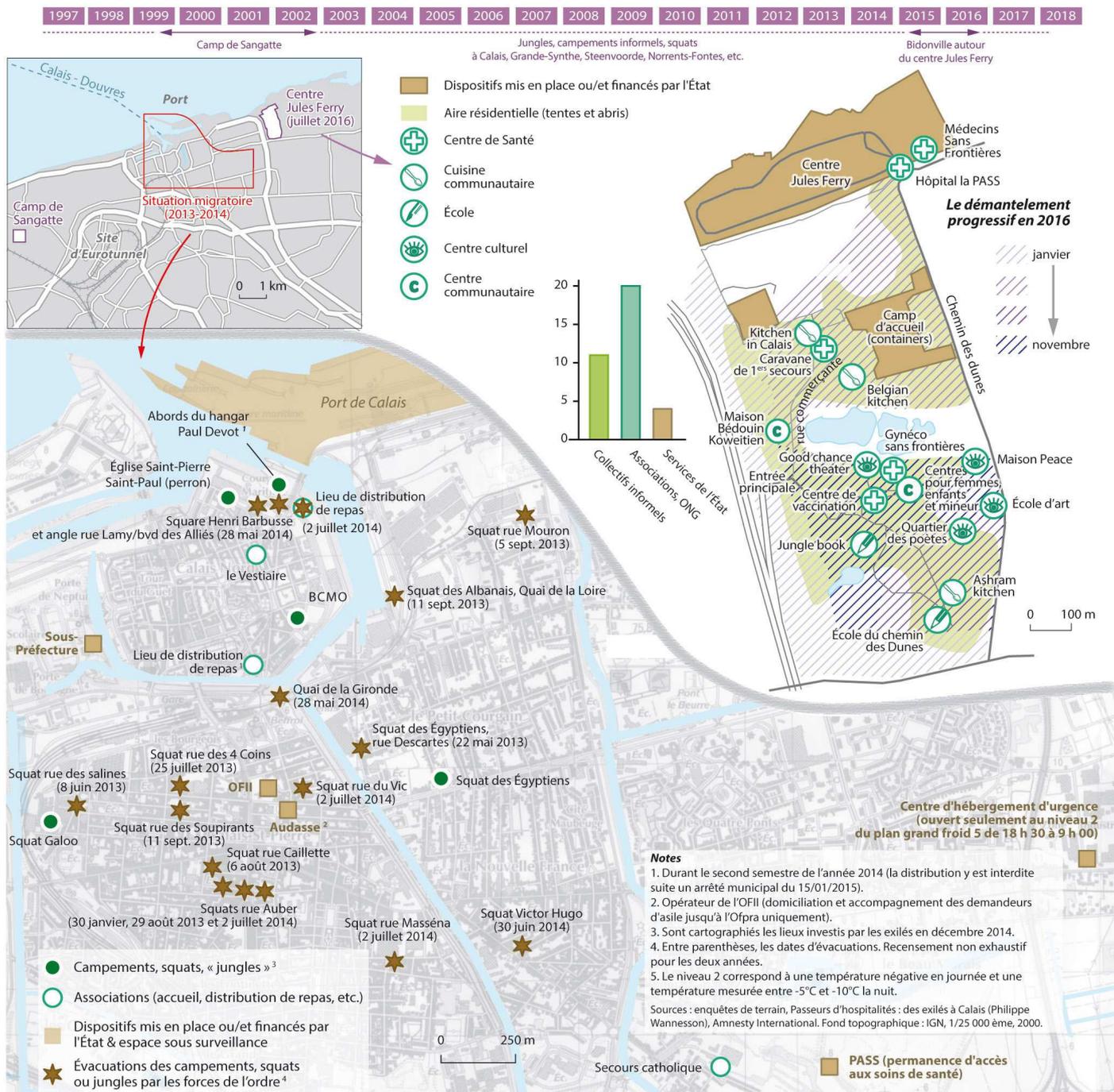
- 🏠 Principal lieu de vie des migrants avant 2014
- 🌿 « Grande jungle », lieu de vie toléré autour du centre Jules-Ferry, 2015-2016
- 🚧 Grille autour de lieux de campement évacués
- 🌳 Déboisement sur d'anciens lieux de vie
- 🚧 Grillage sous et aux abords des ports
- 🚧 Enrochement pour empêcher l'installation de tentes et bloquer l'accès de l'aide humanitaire
- 👮 Forte présence policière dans la ville et aux abords des sites frontières



<https://journal.lemonde.fr/data/2695/reader/reader.html?i=1675635182819#!preferred/0/package/2695/pub/3766/page/18/alb/157176>

Julia Pascual, Mathilde Costil, Sylvie Gittus, « À Calais, la frontière bunker avec l'Angleterre repousse les migrants vers la mer », *Le Monde*, 3.02.2023.

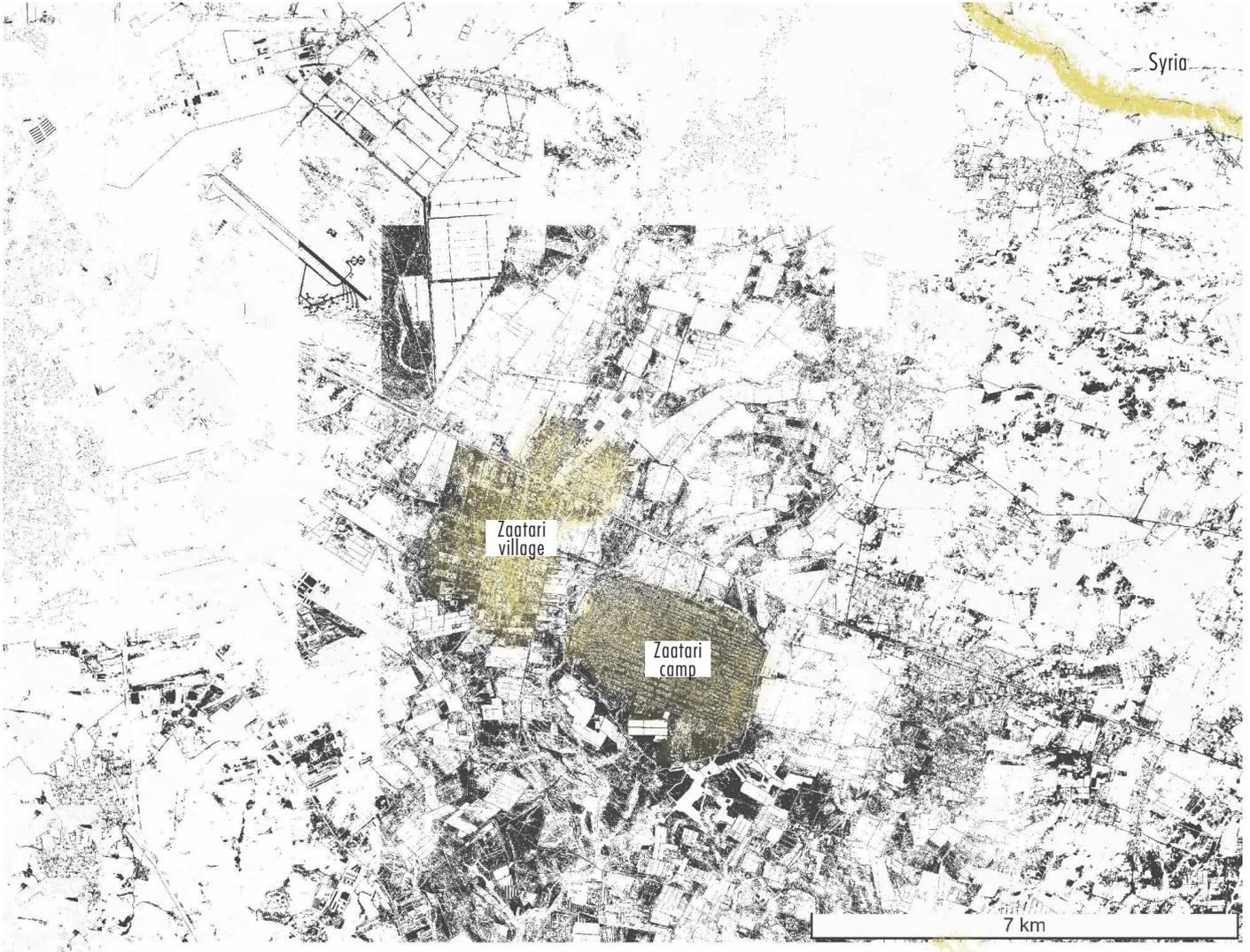




Map by Olivier Pissot and Olivier Clochard, Migreurop, 2017.

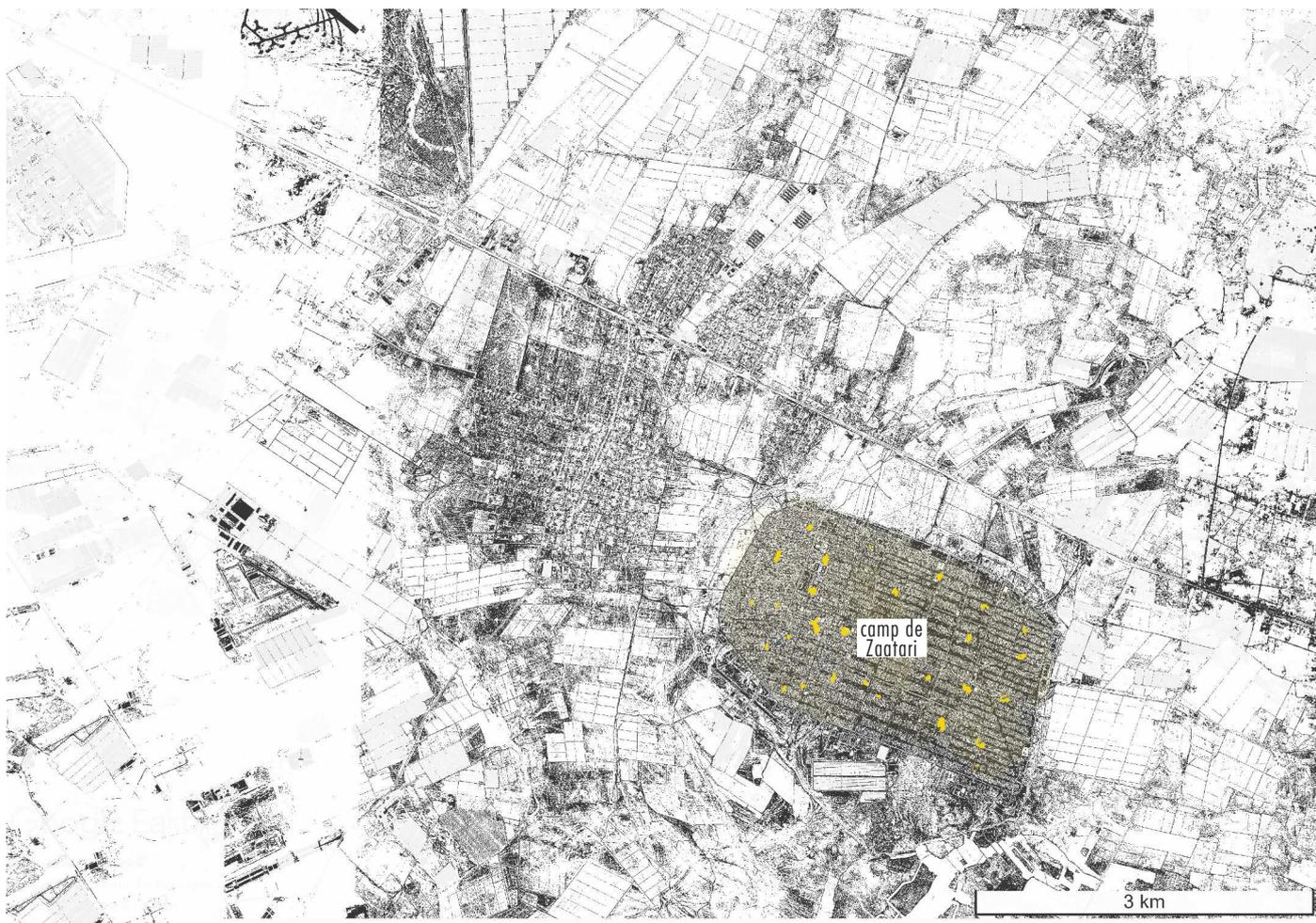
Zaatari

Illustration notebook



Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





From *The Fountains of Za'atari project*. Courtesy of the artist Margherita Moscardini.



From *The Fountains of Za'atari project*. Courtesy of the artist Margherita Moscardini.

27

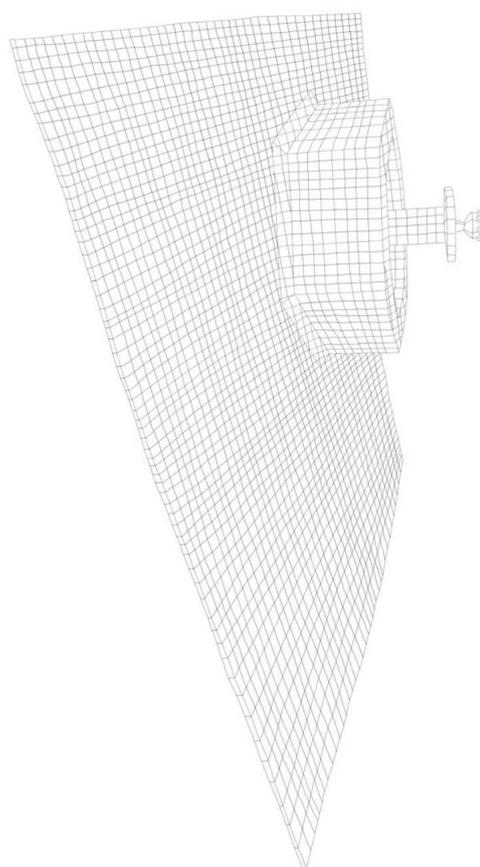
Mohammad Yousif al-Humayyer and Hadiya Swidani
Maker: Ibrahim al-Ghouthani
Mahajjah, Dara'a

District 4, Block 3, House 30
Nafourah

70 cm. high, 150 cm. wide
Blocks, cement, sand, tiles, shower and *nargeeleh* devices, ornamental plants
The washing machine motor is connected to the electricity (at night) or a generator (during the day)
Courtyard: 750×553 cm., dark concrete

Notes

We built it in 2016, it adds beauty to the house, and is used to store water. The murmur of the water offers psychological rest.
In 2013, due to the extreme violence in Syria, we left our city to move to Jordan. When we left to cross the border, there were around 3,000 of us, from different villages in the area. We got married ten years ago, but only last year was our first daughter born within the camp. In Syria, I worked as a gardener, taking care of trees. In Za'atari, I have built a garden. When I saw Ibrahim's fountain, I bought the materials and asked him to build a fountain for me. In the night, we put fruit in the plate of the fountain, where the water flows to refresh it. The fountain is an essential element in the house. We want to go back to Syria.



86

Za'atari Courtyards with Fountains

87

Extract from *The Fountains of Za'atari*, vol. 2, Quodlibet, 2020.

15

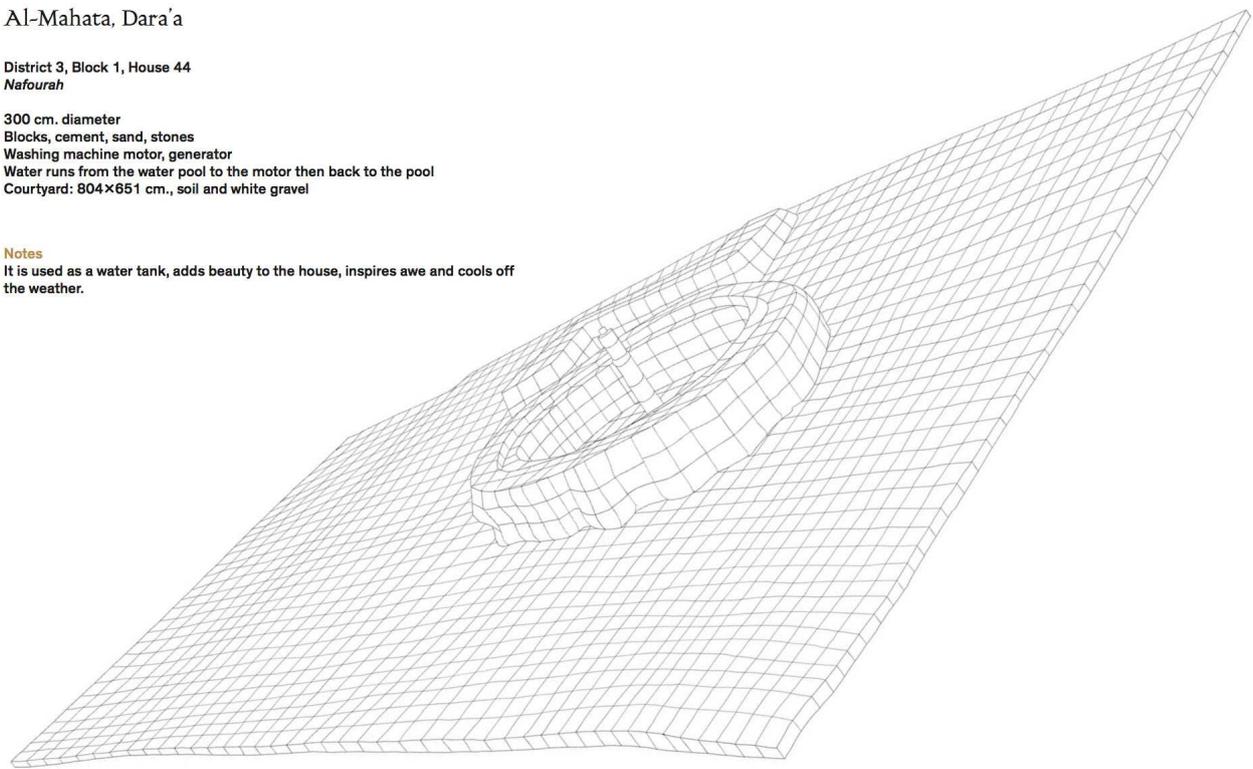
Ali Ahmad al-Zoubi
Al-Mahata, Dara'a

District 3, Block 1, House 44
Nafourah

300 cm. diameter
Blocks, cement, sand, stones
Washing machine motor, generator
Water runs from the water pool to the motor then back to the pool
Courtyard: 804×651 cm., soil and white gravel

Notes

It is used as a water tank, adds beauty to the house, inspires awe and cools off the weather.



56

Za'atari Courtyards with Fountains

57

Extract from *The Fountains of Za'atari*, vol. 2, Quodlibet, 2020.



Exhibition *The Fountains of Za'atari* (2021), Soil on wall, 300 x 500 cm, Collezione Maramotti, Reggio Emilia. Courtesy of the artist and the Collezione Maramotti, Reggio Emilia. Photo Bruno Cattani.



Exhibition *The Fountains of Za'atari* (2021), Soil on wall, 300 x 500 cm, Collezione Maramotti, Reggio Emilia. Courtesy of the artist and the Collezione Maramotti, Reggio Emilia. Photo Bruno Cattani.

Zaatari Refugee Camp - Infrastructure and Facilities

May 2019



The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map Satellite Image Date: 13 April 2019 Source: US Department of State, Humanitarian

Documentation UNHCR, <https://data.unhcr.org/fr/documents/details/69690>.

Chapter 4: Space resistance (memory)

"Few words are as overused as "memory". Its spread is all the more impressive given that it entered the social sciences relatively late. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was virtually absent from intellectual debate. (...) 'Memory' is often used as a synonym for history, and has a singular tendency to absorb it by becoming itself a kind of metahistorical category (...) In short, memory appears as a less arid and more 'human' form of history. Today, it invades the public space of Western societies: the past accompanies the present and takes root in the collective imagination as a 'memory' powerfully amplified by the media and often regulated by the public authorities. It is transformed into a "commemorative obsession" and the valorisation, even the sacralisation, of "places of memory" engenders a veritable "topolatry". This overabundance and saturation of memory marks out the space³³⁴. Enzo Traverso's observations date back almost twenty years. Two decades on, they set the scene for an omnipresent memory that has not aged a day. The obsession with memory that produces an objectification of the past other than that to which its lukewarmness or even its absence during periods when memory did not have the same allure and played even less the same game remains today a fact in itself. This fact in itself distributes, according to the actors and the situations, the ways of interpreting not only the history of men but also that of their spaces, which is obviously not insignificant.

We are all familiar with the fortunes of the expression "place of memory" after Pierre Nora made it as much a publishing venture as an indicator of a transformation in the relationship of French society (and Western society by extension) to its past³³⁵. And not just its past, either! As Marc Augé has pointed out, if, despite its extensive use and loosening of semantics, the place of remembrance is still popular, it is also "because of the combination of the two words 'place' and 'remembrance', which seemed to constitute a new space-time of reference against which each of our contemporaries felt they could situate themselves³³⁶".

³³⁴ Enzo Traverso, *Le Passé, modes d'emploi, op. cit.* p. 10-11.

³³⁵ Marie-Claire Lavabre, "La 'mémoire' comme objet des sciences sociales", in Anne de Mathan (ed.), *Mémoires de la Révolution française Enjeux épistémologiques, jalons historiographiques et exemples inédits*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2019, p. 41-52.

³³⁶ Marc Augé, *Où est passé l'avenir*, Paris, Le Seuil, Essais series, 2011 [2008], p. 92-93.

4.1- Calais, from the Jungle to the Observatory. Creating space to make us forget time

To be there

April 2021. Here I am again in Calais. I hadn't been there since February 2020. That was, just before the first confinement, for a different reason. However. As part of my community work, I spent a day in this town that I knew so little about, even though I'd been to the 'Jungle' on many occasions. That was in 2015-2016. My memory of that day is rather hazy. That afternoon, in a cramped room at the Secours Catholique reception centre, I led a radio workshop. We talked about the situation. There was nothing really new: 'wild' camps were being gassed at dawn, migrants were visible in the city's main thoroughfares, and voluntary organisations were continuing to do their 'work'. In the morning, I wanted to find my way back to the Dunes. There was nothing left of the "Jungle" and I felt disorientated behind the car windows, a spectator of a flattened, uniform and almost desert-like space. We'd made a clean sweep.

A year later, I found myself back on the Chemin des Dunes. The kilometre-long semi-traversable road marks the eastern edge of the Lande de Calais site. The Conservatoire du Littoral defines it as follows: "An area of more than 20 hectares³³⁷ long known as the "Calais Jungle". Located around 600 metres from the entrance to the trail, the brand-new Fort-Vert car park is the perfect place to stop and access a brand-new observatory. A raised wooden hut is an invitation to observe the ornithological and plant species that have recently been introduced and/or reintroduced to the site. It is used by locals who come to walk along the redeveloped paths, as well as by numerous hunters interested in the proliferation of certain birds. Nearby, a lookout offers a view of the entire site, while the town and its belfry (south), the Grand Port infrastructure (east), the Fort-Vert natural site (west), the beaches of the Domaine Public Maritime and the Oldenburg Battery, a reinforced concrete vestige of the Second World War (north) all stand out in the distance.

³³⁷ The site is distributed as follows: the Conservatoire acquired 20 hectares, then a further 10 hectares (the Centre Jules Ferry); the remaining 10 hectares, which make up the 40-hectare site, still belong to the town of Calais.

I'm struggling to locate landmarks that were so familiar to me that they have remained engraved in my memory. I sometimes climbed "the hill" during the six months I spent in the camp. Looking out towards the sea, you could see the Jules Ferry holiday and leisure centre, which for dozens of summers looked after the children of the region before it was closed in 2013³³⁸. Alongside the bunkers, the asbestos-contaminated buildings, which had been reallocated in an emergency for migrant women and children, lined the southern flank of the 'Jungle'. Even they have disappeared. They've simply been razed to the ground. In front of me lies a 40-hectare pond where bank swallows and small gravel birds nest and roam. They are the new inhabitants of this amphibious space. The newspapers have not been mistaken. "Calais: nature has reclaimed its rights in the Lande area³³⁹"; "The former Calais Jungle soon to be transformed into an "exceptional natural site"³⁴⁰": a discourse on the remodelling of the site accompanied a metamorphosis that took place very quickly. An "exceptional site": the title might well have been appropriate for the situation as I discovered it in December 2015...

The site seems much smaller than I remember it: the main axis of the camp, known as "rue de l'église", the area known as "la butte", the white patch created by the 190 converted containers of the temporary reception centre, and the wooded area to the north made up "my" landscape. At the time, because the area was densely populated³⁴¹ (around 3,000 inhabitants/km²), the space was, in my eyes, dilated. What I'm rediscovering is a perimeter. The rectangle bounded by the rue de Gravelines, the chemin des Dunes, the dual carriageway (N 216) and the beach has not changed. It has changed all the less because the CRS lorries, which always use the same loop at regular intervals, perpetuate its existence. It's as if their uninterrupted navigations underline the now invisible limits of what was once a camp. One thing is certain: while the perimeter no longer defines the same reality, the smell has remained. The pungent smell of that dark grey mud that used to surround you, the olfactory presence of a mixture of

³³⁸ The Communist municipality, faithful to the hygienic principles of the time, built the centre in 1965.

³³⁹ *La Semaine du Boulonnais*, 14 July 2020, <https://lasemainedansleboulonnais.nordlittoral.fr/90020/article/2020-07-14/calais-la-nature-repris-ses-droits-zone-de-la-lande>.

³⁴⁰ Television report on France 3 Hauts-de-France, 29 December 2016, <https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/hauts-de-france/pas-calais/calais/ex-jungle-calais-bientot-transformee-site-naturel-exception-1163421.html>.

³⁴¹ Maximum density reached in August 2016.

damp earth, rubbish, piss and excrement, I find it just as it was five years later. Let's say that I find it perhaps less than I imagine and feel it at that precise moment.

Mélanie Calcoen arranged to meet me at the lookout point³⁴². She is a project manager for the Conservatoire du littoral, and was already in her post before the start of the "Jungle". One of the first operations she told me about was the mechanical removal of rubbish. After removing the top thirty centimetres of soil from the entire site, the Conservatoire then enlisted the help of an integration company in Calais to pick up the 16 tonnes of rubbish that had been left behind. Rubbish is an integral part of the site's recent history: before the "Jungle", the site was home to the remains of a disused rubbish dump; during the "Jungle", it was overwhelmed by the rubbish of the thousands of people who had settled there from time to time; after the "Jungle", it still hasn't managed to get rid of the plastic bags that keep rising to the surface. For Mélanie Calcoen, the "Jungle" is a time marker that punctuates her speech. There is inevitably a before ("the old Jungle", she says) and an after. "Old": does she know? On Google Maps, it says: "Definitely closed". In most of the comments made about this place, the "Jungle" is now ancient history. An ancient and very recent story, you might say. At the end of October 2016, the camp was dismantled and 6,000 people evacuated. The public authorities decided to close what they had always wanted to see there: a parenthesis that had to be closed as quickly as possible because Calais embodied one of the great failures of the State, in this case its inability to objectivise with dignity, and over the long term, the reception and transit of migrant populations.

At the start of winter 2015, the "Jungle" was already ten months old. In November, I had approached the PEROU association (Pôle d'exploration des ressources urbaines), which I knew from its work in the Roma shanty town at Porte de la Chapelle in Paris. A new research-action project took shape every Tuesday evening in a small room on the first floor of a café near the Carreau du Temple. Many people came together. Some were veterans of the structure, others had arrived through university networks, and still others, like me, had written an email to get more information about the association's activities and then been invited to the weekly meetings. While the focus was still on shanty towns and informal settlements, this time it was about working in Calais. Political scientist Sébastien Thiéry, founder and coordinator of

³⁴² The interview from which I have extracted parts took place on 29 April 2021.

PEROU, led the discussions, which were attended by students and researchers in the social sciences, photographers and urban planners, architects and landscape architects. The project brought people and ideas together. Above all, it was a cause. Much more than a "common place", a "place-above-all" occupied all the attention. The "Jungle" was a "place above all" for many reasons: the urgency of the situation, which polarised all kinds of interests (social, intellectual, humanitarian); the desire to do something about this "synecdochical place" where all the world's miseries (at least, that's how we saw them) seemed to converge to the point of making it an almost photographic revelation of a planet in the making; the collective dimension of the mobilisation, which implied that we would go all the way, as long as our commitments did not weaken over time; the desire, too, to "be there and be part of it", in other words to be part of the informal chain of players *concerned* by the fate of migrants. I'd never been to Calais before.

The aim was extremely simple: to tell a collective story about what was being invented on the site, which we called, like everyone else, without really knowing where the name came from, the "Jungle". All means were good. Some planned to use their cameras exclusively. Others planned to take the evils at their word by writing prose or doing field journalism³⁴³. Still others, the group of 'designers' (architects, town planners, landscape architects) of which I was a member, were going to carry out a small revolution in their usual practices (project/action/intervention) in order to concentrate not on what they felt capable of doing - providing an urgent response to the housing crisis - but on that other thing for which we had to be 'out there': documenting that place, that place-surtout-là. For the first six months of 2016, ten of us spent many of our weekends in Calais. PEROU had commissioned us to produce an *Atlas Architectures de la Jungle*³⁴⁴. The idea was to go all the way, despite our limited resources.

Late on Friday 8 January 2016. I'm leaving the agency where I've been working for the last few months. Off to Calais. We arrive there in the early evening. It's "my" first time. In the camp, a few streetlights illuminate a semi-corridor lined with shops, restaurants and businesses. An "oriental market": that's my very first impression. If the aim of our weekends is to

³⁴³ *Calais mag*, "special edition April 2016". https://www.perou-paris.org/assets/archives/actions/calais/PEROU-Actions-Calais-Calais_Mag-Avril_2016.pdf

³⁴⁴ <https://sansplusattendre.org/projets/architectures/new-jungle-delire-2016-calais-france/>. See also the illustration booklet.

describe, through drawing, what is being created spatially, it is not easy, if not impossible, to abstract oneself from this human bustle characterised by an overflowing and often desperate energy. We have the sensation of being among marathon runners who, after running for months on end, finally see the final goal. At the outset, surveying the site, making surveys, sketches and photographs seemed a bit out of place: while the NGOs and associations were busy from early in the morning until late at night "managing" and organising the emergency, there was something out of place about what we were doing, so my colleagues and I decided to alternate between making the atlas and helping out in all sorts of ways. Things moved very quickly. At the end of January and beginning of February 2016, when the dismantling of the southern part of³⁴⁵ began, our work became much more urgent. With the diggers forcing the "inhabitants" to move to the north of the camp with their wooden shelters, we don't know how quickly the whole site will suffer the same fate. It is becoming essential to draw and draw again the elements that have formed and structured a place that is destined to disappear rapidly. The "Jungle" is now on borrowed time, even if the evacuation work will only leave a virtually deserted space at the end of ten fateful days (24 October-4 November).

End of June 2016: our atlas is complete. On 4 November, the camp was nothing more than "a huge void"³⁴⁶. A year later, the Conservatoire du Littoral began a process of "renaturation": stripping the soil, creating wetlands, removing roads and equipment, putting up fences, terracing the lake and filling in the cliffs... The Observatoire de la Lande project had been in the pipeline since 2014, after the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Region handed over ownership of the marshes to this public body, and was quickly reborn from the ashes at the end of 2016. Four years have passed since Mélanie Calcoen took me on a tour of the site. Her technical and enthusiastic talk about the reallocation and "repopulation" (animal and plant) of the site underlines the extent to which distancing a place that was never a place-like-any-other from its recent history means "de-specifying" it and integrating it into one of the coastal ecosystems for which the Conservatoire is, publicly, the guarantor. Nothing can tarnish the obvious: as a remedy for the ills of a globalised world which, for some of those involved, has begun to re-

³⁴⁵ The southern part of the "Jungle" was municipal property.

³⁴⁶ "Après le démantèlement de la " jungle ", " un grand vide " pour l'association La Vie Active", *La Voix du Nord*, 4 November 2016, <https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/69286/article/2016-11-04/apres-le-demantelement-de-la-jungle-un-grand-vider-pour-l-association-la-vie>.

flect on the relationship between nature, culture and modernity³⁴⁷, renaturation is indeed an antonym of anthropisation, even if it means that migratory birds take over from displaced human beings without this substitution being supported in any discursive way. If the Conservatoire du littoral is true to its mission here (protecting the coastline), we can assume that its action is in line with what the public authorities are saying has become an imperative: "Turn the page³⁴⁸".

I meet Marie Capon in her office overlooking the town hall square³⁴⁹. The head of the development department at Calais town hall is adamant that the policies of Natacha Bouchart, who was elected in 2008 at the head of a Les Républicains list, are aimed at renewing the image of the city³⁵⁰. In March 2016, while the "Jungle" was attracting ever more migrants, work began on a highly symbolic project: the development of the 9-hectare Sea Front. Coincidence of timing? The BASE landscape design agency, which has commissioned a project with a budget of €23 million, is in tune with the rhetoric of the elected representatives, declaring that "the destiny of a revival and a change of image is at stake here³⁵¹". The idea that "Calais [is] a seaside resort before being a 'jungle'³⁵²" continues to flourish. When I ask her about the parallels between the two places, Marie Capon answers without hesitation that they share the same type of morphology: they are coastlines to be developed for their recreational dimension. She also insists on their complementarity, based on nature being promoted as an essential element of urban identity: while the Seafront is part of "anthropised nature", the former "Jungle" must now be part of "nature *naturans*³⁵³". Although in both cases it is a ques-

³⁴⁷ Philippe Descola, *La Composition des mondes*, Paris, Flammarion, 2014.

³⁴⁸ "The former "jungle" where 10,000 migrants lived has been transformed into a natural area", *La Voix du Nord*, 8 June 2018, <https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/393569/article/2018-06-08/l-ancienne-jungle-ou-vivaient-10000-migrants-ete-transformee-en-une-zone>.

³⁴⁹ The interview from which I have extracted parts took place on 30 April 2021.

³⁵⁰ On this point, see Patrick Le Galès, "Comment les villes sont-elles devenues des entrepreneurs de mémoire?" in Sarah Gensburger and Sandrine Lefranc (eds.), *La Mémoire collective en question(s)*, Paris, Puf, 2023, p. 255-265.

³⁵¹ <https://www.baseland.fr/projets/calais-amenagement-du-front-de-mer/>.

³⁵² *Marcelle*, 26 January 2022, <https://marcelle.media/calais-une-station-balneaire-avant-detre-une-jungle/>.

³⁵³ The idea of "nature *naturans*" refers to nature as a divine essence.

tion of "manufacturing nature³⁵⁴ " in accordance with a logic and social dynamics that make each person the actor and spectator of a designed and crafted landscape (cycle path, kiosks, heritage bathing cubicles, recreational activity zones, etc.), the relationship that the latter is called upon to maintain with the two spaces does not proceed from the same register: the Front de Mer is supposed to magnify a controlled link with nature that is part of the city; the disappeared camp is supposed to symbolise a legitimate reappropriation of the site by nature, as if in the "extremely problematic compromise" between man and nature³⁵⁵ , it is nature that should win.

In truth, it is not the "compromise" between man and nature that is the problem in the new orchestration of the camp's perimeter. It is the compromise between man and man that is delicate, and it is for this reason that man is using nature as a tool to neutralise the site. The fact remains that in the case of the former "Jungle", the apparent "ensauvagement" of the site, which was intended to erase the traces of a concentration of humanity in transit, and break with its exceptional character, paradoxically rests on the production of a new spatial exception. Nature *naturans*" is intrinsically capable of disrupting the desired order. For the purposes of this analysis, we will refer to Pierre Senges' text, *ruines-de-Rome*³⁵⁶ . An "adventitious gardener", as the novel's main character describes himself, decides to turn his inner exile into an apocalypse that will transform the city forever. A plant-based *tabula rasa* will do the trick. On the verge of retirement, the land registry clerk, a connoisseur of the urban space that he has mastered to perfection, nurtures species after species of an all-consuming utopia: to shape an inexorable movement according to a dynamic made up of plants, shrubs and flowers that, by escaping him, should lead to a transfiguration. In many ways, his desire to "de-urbanise" resonates with the words of Marie Capon, who, speaking on behalf of the local residents, says that the dunes, swallows and wetlands have really made it possible to "draw a line and return to calm".

³⁵⁴ Michel Lussault, *L'Homme spatial*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2007. p. 20.

³⁵⁵ Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope. Pour une version réaliste de l'activité scientifique*, Paris, La Découverte, 2001, p. 329.

³⁵⁶ Pierre Senges, *ruines-de-Rome*, Paris, Verticales, 2002.

"Place above all"

We need to return here to the paradox of the Lande site. Controlling nature, in this case by giving it a 'natural' appearance, is a way for an urban community to ward off what the city cannot contemplate: the existence of the void. If we define the void, with the help of quantum physics, as a space-time whose existence is latent, and the city as an entity in search of contiguity and therefore seeking to evacuate it, then the proliferation of plants, like any form of transit, introduces a disturbance. By calling into question the spatial and temporal continuity of the city, the Lande, like the camp before it, gives the site an exceptionality that does not go hand in hand with what every urban project tends to create: the smoothing out of differences. As much as the Front de Mer appears to be a means of linking the city to its now asserted 'balnearity', the Lande never ceases to be the hole that has been filled, betting on the fact that this new spatial and temporal rupture (this time under control) would be the best antidote to the presence of a void that could nevertheless, as we have emphasised, threaten the urban order.

The status accorded to nature is therefore essential. All the more so because, as Marc Augé suggests, nature "leads us towards the timeless³⁵⁷ " and "abolishes not only history, but also time³⁵⁸ ". Because it carries within it a form of eternity, something whose permanence is beyond us, nature creates a break in the temporality of the city when it is not part of the public garden which, on the *contrary*, provides its justification³⁵⁹ . It is therefore possible to read the creation of the Observatoire de la Lande from two angles: as an attempt to "neutralise" a space that would avoid any form of occupation and redevelopment of the site; as an attempt to "neutralise" a deeply violent past that would be capable of erasing any trace that might nourish the memory of the place and thus prevent the creation of a history. The only "scar" pro-

³⁵⁷ Marc Augé, *Le Temps en ruines*, Paris, Galilée, 2003, p. 37.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid*; in *Où est passé l'avenir*, Marc Augé refines his point of view: "Ruins accumulate too much history to express a history. It is not history that they show us. On the contrary, what we see is the impossibility of fully imagining what they represented for those who looked at them when they were not ruins. They do not speak of history, but of time, pure time" (*op. cit.*, p. 129); in 2009, he added the following about the spectacle of ruins: "It is a landscape that has emerged from the mists of time, but which exists, in its present form, only for us. In this sense, it is a vision of 'pure' time", *Pour une anthropologie de la mobilité*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2009, p. 56.

³⁵⁹ Pierre Sansot, *Jardins publics*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 1993.

duced by human history is, as we have noted, a vestige of the Atlantic Wall. Demolished in April 2018, the hard-standing buildings of the former Jules Ferry holiday centre have left only a few traces, destined to disappear once the dune grass has colonised the soil, which is still too arid to grow there. In the Observatory's wooden hut, two modest laminated A4 sheets explain the "Renaturation work on the former Calais Heath". They draw visitors' attention to "An eventful history" by weaving a "temporal red thread" through aerial images documenting the site's transformations from 1961 to November 2016. A few sheets of the same size and a few more rigid panels line the route to explain why the site is "A remarkable site shaped by man" (this is the title of the first panel you come across on entering or leaving the observatory) and what animal and plant species you can encounter there. Descriptive asepticism reigns, and with good reason! The Conservatoire's decision to leave it at "that" is unambiguous because, as Mélanie Calcoen confirmed to me during our interview, it's better to "experience the site than read about it".

A day later, Marie Capon agrees. On a personal level, she believes that the town council has chosen not to take responsibility for the memory of the "Jungle". Moreover, she is not aware of any action that has been taken in this direction. Could it be that an experience that is too hot and too recent is so incandescent that it cannot be transformed into the beginnings of a memory? Or is the memory still too vivid for a story to take over, or at least to take over? The objectification of memory is, as we know, eminently complex, and we need to unravel certain aspects. Pierre Nora says: "If we were still inhabiting our memory, we would have no need to devote places to it. There would be no places, because there would be no memory swept along by history. (...) As soon as there is a trace, a distance, a mediation, we are no longer in true memory, but in history³⁶⁰". In her desire to refine Maurice Halbwachs' seminal approach to the frameworks of memory³⁶¹ (1925), Marie-Claire Lavabre makes a distinction: alongside a "collective memory", the fruit of the memory of a collective that thinks of itself as such because it is welded together by "the trace of the shared past" and can therefore make use of it,

³⁶⁰ Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, t. 1: *La République*, *op. cit.*, p. XXIV.

³⁶¹ Maurice Halbwachs' theses on memory are well known: an opposition between the emotional developments of memory and the rationalised constructions of the historical narrative; the perpetuation of the past in the present that memory makes possible, whereas history tends to freeze the past in a rigid temporal order; the multiplicity of group-based histories in opposition to the unitary dimension of history, especially when it is national.

there is a "common memory"³⁶² " which is based on the addition of the individual memories of these thousands of actors who have been subjected to the same ordeal³⁶³ .

The case of the "Jungle" is extremely complex. NGOs, community groups and even groups of residents who were involved in some way in the activities of the "transit site" could produce a "collective memory", except that these latent bearers have not taken up this issue until now - probably too busy plugging the human and social breach. Migrants have never been, and never will be, a kind of "mobile people" who can conveniently be categorised in this way. So many people in transit, so many stories and projections into their future, I'd be tempted to say, even if there are strong similarities that make it possible, from the outside, to unite them into a single, duly identified group. So many pasts incorporated over the course of journeys that diverge from one person to the next and, consequently, so many memories that, while they reflect a common experience, cannot be transformed into a "collective memory" for lack of frameworks and players betting on its effects in uniting a community of interest. In short, the former Calais "Jungle" is a place that has not been "consecrated" as a memorial by history³⁶⁴ for at least two reasons: because the strategy of deliberate erasure pursued by the public authorities has not been offset by an effort to memorialise³⁶⁵ ; because the small-scale carriers of migratory flows who are embodied in each migrant do not in any way invest what must be called a memorial resource - it is probably only a very small part of the means they intend to use to get by³⁶⁶ .

A site steeped in many histories, a place that will be imprinted differently in the minds of thousands of individuals marked by the same destitution, a place that saw countless outside players converge (as I have already mentioned, Emmanuel Carrère wrote a very fine report on

³⁶² Marie-Claire Lavabre, "La 'mémoire' comme objet des sciences sociales", art. cit.

³⁶³ For an up-to-date overview, see Sarah Gensburger and Sandrine Lefranc (eds.), *La Mémoire collective en question(s)*, op. cit.

³⁶⁴ Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, t. 1: *La République*, op. cit.

³⁶⁵ Enzo Traverso suggests an analogy: "The only difference between a language and a dialect (...) is that the language is protected by a police force and the dialect is not. We could extend this observation to memory. There are official memories, maintained by institutions, even states, and underground memories, hidden or forbidden", *Le Passé, modes d'emploi*, op. cit. p. 54.

³⁶⁶ A survey would be welcome to support this intuition.

Calais at the time³⁶⁷): the former "Jungle" is today a place that has been *humanly* devalued. Or, to put it another way, its naturalistic enhancement is like a lid that had to be placed as quickly as possible over a perimeter that was inherently threatening (political and state fear, but also the fear of local residents faced with the return of makeshift tents). It's easy to understand why Mélanie Calcoen insisted on something that initially appeared to me to be a detail: the obligation, written into the specifications for awarding the management of the moor to the Conservatoire du littoral, not to create any "fixation points" on the completely redesigned site. Without beacons (both real and metaphorical) to hold onto or cling to, a place of memory can neither emerge nor exist in the long term³⁶⁸. By extension, the abolition of any possibility of *anchoring* oneself (for new migrants in the first place, and then for people looking for traces of a recent and troubled past) is a response to what time produces when it is controlled: the anaesthesia of an out-of-control memorial future that could flirt with history in the sense of a narrative that is often difficult to shake off. Because, in the end, what the public authorities wanted to avoid was that, by dint of actors, dynamics and sedimentations that were external to them, a collective memory would one day blossom to the point where we could say, because it had become powerful enough to impose itself: "Calais? Ah yes, the 'Jungle'".

The living bodies of the migrants who still roam the city undoubtedly carry with them this ever-present memory. Reminders of *what* was and could be³⁶⁹, they reconstitute a "place of transit" fragmented into so many small groups and solitary individuals in the four corners of the conurbation. In counterpoint, the new site of La Lande seems to freeze forever the "page turned³⁷⁰". Perhaps we should be wary of adopting the *doxa* of the public players. It's true that wooden fences to protect the site have replaced the metal barriers that used to protect

³⁶⁷ Emmanuel Carrère, *Calais*, *op. cit.*

³⁶⁸ However, some authors have developed the idea that there could be places of remembrance without a place, following the example of Waterloo (Largeaud, 2002) or the pieds-noirs (Blackfoot) (Comtat, 2009).

³⁶⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *La Production de l'espace*, Paris, Anthropos, 1974.

³⁷⁰ In *La Voix du Nord* on 16 May 2018, under the headline "Redeemed as a nature area, the former Jules-Ferry centre will open in a fortnight", we read: "It will be possible to observe the bodies of water on the moor and access a viewpoint, installed on the top of a blockhouse, to get a new look at Calais and the Fort-Vert.", <https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/376967/article/2018-05-16/redevenu-zone-naturelle-l-ancien-centre-jules-ferry-ouvrira-dans-quinze-jours#:~:text=It%20will%20be%20possible%20to%20observe,we%20will%20r%C3%A9accept%20the%20work>.

people from the site. Signs of urban renewal in the eyes of the developers, new houses are springing up in the vicinity because it looks like "countryside in the city", in the words of Marie Capon. The fact remains that the Heath has not swallowed up the "Jungle": a sanctuary perimeter, whose boundaries have not changed, is what it's all about in the end. A place where people want to conjure up ghosts, the very ghosts that can be seen from time to time in Calais, which is also constantly criss-crossed by the cars of the forces of law and order.

The 'Jungle', even if it's defunct, is for me the expression of a 'place above all else'. To write this is not to add another neologism to an already crowded spatial nomenclature. It's an attempt to define what I think it means: a place of eternity or, more precisely, a place driven by eternity, whether it's the eternity desired by human beings or an eternisation engendered by its resistance to being anything other than a perimeter which, whatever the ways in which we wish to arrange it, reshape it, organise it, remains in its bare perimeter. This could be seen as a variation on the notion of survival³⁷¹, a mound-witness without witness(es). Above all, in the case of Calais, it can be seen as one of those counter-fields to the urban pulse which, if it intends to unify a fabric over a long period of time of its own, has to deal with invisible enclosures if it is to be affected. The quintessence of place, in terms of all the investments it may have made at certain moments in its history, the "place-above-all" does not fall into the category of places disconnected from their immediate environment. Subjected to all sorts of injunctions, most of them contradictory, it is much more a place that comes to exist by itself, offering in the process to be the hidden script of a spatial dynamic made up of full and empty spaces, of synchronic junction points and irregular intervals. Finally, at this stage, there is a hypothesis that deserves to be tested in other fields, and which obviously does not exclude others.

³⁷¹ Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'Image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg*, Paris, Minuit, 2002.

4.2- Lampedusa, from the Porta d'Europa to the Museo della Fiducia e del Dialogo per il Mediterraneo. Attempts to institutionalise a memory

Hearing about it

I've never set foot on Lampedusa. Nor have I ever set foot in Ukraine. Since the beginning of the Russian war against the Kiev regime and its people, like many others, I have been following the news of this conflict in the heart of Europe on a daily basis. An article published in *Le Monde* on 26 September 2022 caught my attention. Pavlo Netyosov, a 48-year-old Ukrainian, decided to "glean from the battlefields everything the Russians left behind: weapons, aircraft debris, personal documents...³⁷²". A long article by Florence Aubenas looks at the memory that is being created at a time when the Putin regime's use of memory in Russia is constantly producing a mystified version of history that defies the rules of scientific method (consider the dissolution of the Memorial association, co-founded by Andrei Sakharov in 1989, by the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation in December 2021). At a time when 'post-truth' is embodied in a pluralisation of viewpoints that reinforces the idea that all truth is relative, the question of memory, how it is created and how it is used is obviously a very acute one. The martyred Ukraine is (inevitably) no exception. Pavlo Netyosov's undertaking is striking in this respect. The veteran has taken to collecting all sorts of objects in order to display them in public places. The journalist notes: "This way of showing the war in the middle of the war, of taking history by storm, provokes both surprise and rejection, but above all an incredible popular craze³⁷³". Four exhibitions toured the country, raising countless questions: how does a living memory - and the expression is by no means overused here - combine personal histories and an "authorised memory³⁷⁴", in the sense that it involves constructing a history that tells the truth and leads to a traditionalisation of the past, even if it is immediate? Who are the small-scale bearers of this memory in the making, and in the name of what interests, and under cover of what rationale, are they contributing to an enunciation of history that can only

³⁷² Florence Aubenas, "En Ukraine, les débris de la guerre exposés comme des pièces de musée", *Le Monde*, 26 September 2022.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁴ Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *La Religion pour mémoire*, Paris, Cerf, 2008.

be anecdotal (good for a newspaper article)? How do such initiatives resonate with others undertaken in the past? For example, as early as 1917, the British government authorised the formation of a committee to consider the creation of a war museum which, in the first version of the Imperial War Museum in 1920, collected over 100,000 objects³⁷⁵.

One of the photos illustrating the article strikes me as remarkable because it captures the paradoxical relationship between time and history. The history of this war is not yet over (without being positivist, it has to be said that we know neither the end nor the last word) but its memory is being prepared. In this photo taken on 5 July 2022 in Kiev, before the counter-offensive at the end of the summer had taken place, a young woman poses on the charred remains of Russian machines on public display in Place Saint-Michel. We have already had occasion to refer to Marc Augé's brilliant phrase that "future history no longer produces ruins. It just doesn't have the time³⁷⁶". Is this really so? What does this "sculpture", worthy of *arte povera*, say either about the ability of certain ruins to construct a collective history in the cauldron of a present whose outcome we don't know, or about a burning topicality that generates all sorts of "trinkets" with no real impact on the writing of that history? The blue sky of the photo and the smile of the young woman cannot hide the fact that this photo is not just another illustration documenting the resistance of a people; it conceals the potential for a memory that will justify a history.

The situation is obviously not the same and the dead do not have the same faces. The fact remains that Lampedusa invites us to ask the same questions, because the island is subject to a flow of information that all points to the violence of the world and the ways in which it is dealt with, by the state, by the organisation, but also in terms of memory. 3 October 2022: on the *Corriere della sera* website, as on all the news websites on the peninsula, an article reviews the commemorations taking place on the Sicilian island. Since 16 March 2016, at the

³⁷⁵ Jennifer Wellington, 'National beginnings, tragic pasts: the construction of memory of the Great War in the British Empire', *Histoire@Politique*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2016, p. 82-96.

³⁷⁶ Marc Augé, *Le Temps en ruines*, *op. cit.*

request of the 3 October Committee³⁷⁷ and with the approval of the Italian Senate, 3 October has become the Day of Remembrance and Welcome in Italy to honour the deaths of 368 migrants when a boat sank in 2013. Every year in Lampedusa, a march between Piazza Castello and the Porta d'Europa (1.3 kilometres) brings together the local population, local authorities, a number of political figures (in 2016, the President of the Republic, Giorgio Mattarella, came to inaugurate the island's museum) and members of the Committee. At the end of the march, speeches are made, the names of the victims are read out and bouquets of flowers are thrown into the sea, while the authorities are taken by speedboat to the site of the accident. This year (2022), Filippo Mannino, mayor of the Pelagic Islands, went back over the proposed law that he, the mayors of Lampedusa and Linosa and the Medici senza frontiere association have tabled to make 3 October the European Day of Remembrance. Here too, Lampedusa is at the heart of a paradox: the annual commemorations contribute to the desire to shape what might be described as a "memory of non-acceptance" - less a "memory of shame" (the inability of European countries to rise to the challenge of welcoming populations in disarray) than a "memory of 'we won't forget those who perished at sea'", which, let's face it, is much more convenient for States - even though the Mediterranean is annually the cemetery of hundreds of dead and the setting for an ongoing tragedy. So what does this memorial operation have to say about a situation, a state of affairs that, by repeating itself, fuels the existence of a present that cannot be ignored³⁷⁸ ?

³⁷⁷ "Il Comitato Tre Ottobre è un'organizzazione senza scopo di lucro che ha l'obiettivo di sensibilizzare l'opinione pubblica sui temi dell'integrazione e dell'accoglienza attraverso il dialogo con cittadini, studenti e istituzioni. On 3 October 2013, 368 migrants lost their lives in a shipwreck off the coast of Lampedusa. The survivors were 155, including 41 minors. For this reason, on 3 October we set a symbolic date, not only to commemorate the victims of this shipwreck, but also to remember the many thousands of people who regularly die in the Mediterranean Sea or remain stranded on the eastern borders of Europe.

Il 16 marzo del 2016, il Senato italiano ha approvato in via definitiva la proposta di legge del Comitato per l'istituzione della "Giornata della Memoria e dell'Accoglienza", da celebrarsi il 3 ottobre di ogni anno."

("The Three October Committee is a non-profit organisation that aims to raise awareness of integration and reception issues through dialogue with citizens, students and institutions. On 3 October 2013, 368 migrants lost their lives in a shipwreck off the coast of Lampedusa. There were 155 survivors, including 41 minors. This is why we have identified 3 October as a symbolic date, not only to commemorate the victims of this shipwreck, but also to remember the thousands of people who regularly drown in the Mediterranean Sea or who remain stranded on Europe's eastern borders.

On 16 March 2016, the Italian Senate finally approved the committee's bill to establish the "Day of Remembrance and Welcome", to be celebrated on 3 October each year. www.comitatotreottobre.it (accessed on 01.09.2022).

³⁷⁸ Reference to Éric Conan and Henry Rousso, *Vichy, un passé qui ne passe pas*, Paris, Fayard, 1994.

In recent years, Lampedusa, like Calais, has undergone a metamorphosis in its image. The island is now deeply linked to certain representations of the migratory phenomenon. Unknown to most of our contemporaries until very recently, unless you look at the tourist destinations (which are somewhat off the beaten track), Lampedusa has more or less become a symbol in the same way as Lesbos. The turning point in its history came in the early 2000s; in the space of two decades, Italy 'welcomed' almost a million migrants³⁷⁹ and it became one of the main interfaces on the central Mediterranean route linking it to part of the Maghreb (Tunisia, Libya). Covering an area of 21 square kilometres, the island, which is inhabited by 6,000 residents throughout the year, sees its population grow enormously during the summer: over 200,000 visitors come to enjoy its clear waters and white sandy beaches. Situated 70, 110 and 150 miles respectively from the coasts of Tunisia, Sicily and Libya, Lampedusa has become a gateway to the Schengen area, so tourists have found themselves competing with another type of transient population. Although it is still very difficult to obtain precise figures for migrant arrivals in Lampedusa because the statistics mainly concern the overall flow that "irrigates" the central Mediterranean route (2016: 181,459 people; 2019: 14,874; 2021: 67,724³⁸⁰), we do know that in 2021 32,841 people disembarked there (i.e. almost half the overall flow) - an extremely low figure when compared with those for 2016 and 2017 (180,000)³⁸¹. Yet the news never ceases to confirm that displaced people are still landing in Lampedusa. However, Lampedusa is not like Calais in terms of the way in which the migrant situation has been and is being managed. It is this difference that will be at the heart of this section. While the public authorities in Calais have done their utmost, since the end of the "Jungle", to fill the image of a city "stigmatised" by the general perception of a migratory cul-de-sac, those on the island have favoured a different approach. Because Lampedusa was built, especially from the 1970s

³⁷⁹ https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/ispitel-fact-checking-migrazioni-2021-31027?gclid=Cj0KCQiAg-OefBhDgARIsAMhqXA5b3WdUwEMcsegaTgpniSnnv5JscLv_w0i-JCc5Yv5GFar8m9gkPHEaAia-vEALw_wcB, consulted on 01.02.2022

³⁸⁰ <https://frontex.europa.eu/we-know/migratory-routes/central-mediterranean-route/>, consulted on 01.02.2022.

³⁸¹ Olivier Bonnel, "À Lampedusa, des migrants invisibles, instrumentalisés par l'extrême droite", *Le Monde*, 22 August 2022.

onwards, on the Cycladic model of mass island tourism³⁸², Lampedusa has been able to "companion" current migration issues in a different way. Just as Calais decided to turn over a new leaf by drowning the 'Jungle' in an ornithological marsh and promoting a seaside resort dimension, so the pelagic island decided to spatially conceal the migratory presence without erasing its imprint on its recent history.

Anyone arriving in Lampedusa today by ferry or by plane may never come across the hotspot located right in the middle of the island. The history of this hotspot is complex to say the least, as its many names cover an extremely fluid reality. Briefly, in 1998 a holding centre was built near the airport to manage the arrivals, which were greeted by the local population with "indifference or compassion³⁸³" as long as they were not accompanied by facilities. In 2007, the CPSA (First Aid and Reception Centre) was built on the outskirts of the town, and ten years later it became the first hotspot on the European continent. It is the matrix of this logic of confinement that prevails within European institutions and governments to deal with what they consider to be a major political challenge. The island became a focus for media coverage and debate on the conditions faced by migrants, as the closed institution of the centre became a "sensitive perimeter³⁸⁴", the politicisation of which served the interests of certain political movements, first and foremost the Lega. When the hotspot was created in 2016 as an "approach", according to the lexicon used by the public authorities to describe the sorting system at the gates of the EU³⁸⁵, Lampedusa was increasingly endowed with a plural identity: the island for holidays had also *become* a border crossing point.

³⁸² Francesco Vietti, "Turisti a Lampedusa. Note sul nesso tra mobilità e patrimonio nel Mediterraneo", *Archivio antropologico mediterraneo*, No. 21 (1), 2019, accessed 01.02.2022.

³⁸³ Louise Tassin, "La fabrique des îles-frontières", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 48-1, 2018, accessed 01.02.2022.

³⁸⁴ Louise Tassin, "Accueillir les indésirables. Les habitants de Lampedusa à l'épreuve de l'enfermement des étrangers", *Genèses*, vol. 96, no. 3, 2014, p. 110-131, p. 113.

³⁸⁵ "The hotspot approach, which has never been precisely defined, was created on the basis of simple communications from the European Commission setting out its essential characteristics. It has emerged as a means of implementing the "relocation" procedure proposed by the European Commission, in a context described as an emergency situation and a "massive influx" of migrants. Relocation consists of a programme for distributing asylum seekers identified at the EU's external border throughout the EU4. The hotspot approach, which should have been temporary because it was closely linked to the relocation procedure, has only worsened the precarious asylum and reception systems in Italy and Greece and has contributed to worsening the asylum crisis in Europe", http://migreurop.org/IMG/pdf/notes_plaidoyer_fr.pdf

Sequences from the border island

Paolo Cuttitta's *Lo Spettacolo del confine* is essential when considering the place of the border in Lampedusa. Cuttitta points out that "political and media authors choose Lampedusa as a stage for the representation of the 'spectacle of the border'³⁸⁶ " because this border, which separates Europe from Africa and the Middle East, can easily be presented as a "border not only between Christian 'civilisation' and Muslim 'civilisation', but also between the old continent's dream of security and the nightmare of international terrorism with an Islamic matrix³⁸⁷ ". If we continue to follow him, the migrants find themselves on the stage of the border, taking on different roles depending on the situation and the way the story is told. The border scene resembles a play in which one act follows another to the rhythm of political developments that interfere with the scene itself. From then on, it is possible to divide the scene into acts that relate to the way the border is managed by the institutions and the way it is publicised to public opinion by certain players. First act (2004-2006): firmness; this leads to an emphasis on protecting the border by means of an arithmetic of expulsions designed to reinforce the idea that Lampedusa is a fortress for Italy. Second act (2006-2008): humanity; the idea of a welcome based on the transparency of the "reception" system is promoted (the Temporary Reception Centre becomes a First Aid and Assistance Centre). Third act (2008-2009): the emergency; following poor transfers of migrants to the mainland, the overcrowding of the accommodation centre (it housed 1,500 residents for 380 places) created tensions on the island to such an extent that the centre was partly burnt down by its occupants and the population became increasingly reticent about its existence. Fourth act (2009-2011): zero immigration; the closure of the centre in 2010 became the marker of a policy of total border closure based on the elimination/invisibilisation of the migratory dynamic. Fifth act (2011-2012): the emergency (encore); the reopening of the centre following the influx of migrants in the wake of Tunisia's 'Jasmine Revolution' signals a state of humanitarian emergency, forcing the public authorities

³⁸⁶ (Gli attori politici e mediatici scelgono Lampedusa come palcoscenico per la rappresentazione dello "spettacolo del confine", Paolo Cuttitta, *Lo Spettacolo del confine. Lampedusa tra produzione e messa in scena della frontiera*, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

³⁸⁷ (Frontiera non solo tra "civiltà" cristiana e "civiltà" musulmana, ma anche tra il sogno di sicurezza del Vecchio continente e l'incubo del terrorismo internazionale di matrice islamica", Paolo Cuttitta, *ibid.*

to abandon their fortress policy and the European Union to become one of the partners in the crisis. Cuttitta's analysis ends in 2012. Since then, the 'acts' (of the sinister piece) have multiplied and been repeated as geopolitical upheavals (war in Syria, instability in Libya, etc.) have occurred. The hotspot is undoubtedly the thermometer of the haphazard management of a compression/decompression phenomenon that is now almost twenty years old. The media occasionally report on it, as if Lampedusa could no longer be anything more than a "place of transit" whose evocative power is indexed to the idea of overflow and therefore excess. One dissonant voice was that of the island's mayor from 2012 to 2017. By promoting, with her colleagues from Lesbos and Barcelona (before other councillors joined the movement), a network of "cities of refuge" for migrants, Giusi Nicolini revived the idea of cross-border hospitality intended to break the spiral of inward-looking feelings³⁸⁸. Unfortunately, however, it is when "things get out of hand", when a shipwreck seems more inhuman off the coast, that Lampedusa emerges from its media torpor and finds its way back into the headlines. In *Le Monde* on 22 August 2022, under the headline "À Lampedusa, des migrants invisibles instrumentalisés par l'extrême droite" (In Lampedusa, invisible migrants exploited by the far right), we read: "In recent weeks, as the deadline for the Italian parliamentary elections on 25 September approaches, a refrain has resurfaced in Lampedusa. The island is said to be on the brink of collapse. A section of the country's press is constantly talking about "mass" arrivals on the coast, thanks to the mild weather. This rhetoric is directly fuelled by Matteo Salvini's far-right League. Migrants are invisible, but the former interior minister, who aspires to become interior minister again if he wins the elections, has constantly put them back at the centre of the political debate. It was here, in fact, that the head of the Italian League began his campaign on 4 August, repeating his favourite leitmotif: "Let's close the ports"³⁸⁹. The rest is history.

³⁸⁸ In February 2016, students from the Sciences Po Paris Urban Planning Cycle held a workshop with the mayor of Lampedusa and some of her European colleagues. Speaking at the event, Giusi Nicolini said: "The tragedy of the refugee flows has taught us that we are unique in the Mediterranean. The island has shown that it is where Europe begins. The time has come to project Lampedusa as the gateway to the continent". At the heart of the workshop: combining the issues of migratory flows, the economy and the island's landscape. At the end of the workshop, Marco Cremaschi published: "Apprendre de Lampedusa", *Urbanisme*, n° 402, 2016, p. 58-59. There was also a collective publication: Jérôme Baratier and Marco Cremaschi, *Réparer la ville. Pour un urbanisme des transitions: les ateliers du Cycle à Lampedusa, Salonique, Buenos Aires et Berlin*, Rome, Planum, 2020.

³⁸⁹ Olivier Bonnel, "À Lampedusa, des migrants invisibles, instrumentalisés par l'extrême droite", art. cit.

Two decades of flows and the prevention of these flows have made Lampedusa an outpost of a border whose thickness fluctuates not only according to current events, but which is now part of a past woven from multiple memories. On the island, the centre, whatever its name, is in many ways the nexus of these memories, since on both sides of its walls, of its enclosure, there are many people who have memories to tell of what happened or would have happened. The centre is by no means a place of memory as defined by Pierre Nora. Current events are too hot and too salient for the cooling - or even sanitising - of time to have had any effect. Nonetheless, the centre remains a latent point of anchorage for a memory that could be institutionalised when at least one of the conditions - and not the least - is met: that a final point brings the "spectacle of the border" to an end. And that's the question: when does a place become a place of memory? At the cost of what process(es)? At the end of what dynamic(s)?

"Migrant heritage" and a place of remembrance under pressure

This is where we need to return to the metaphor of "acts" as worked out by Cuttitta. While the acts in a play often end with a "curtain call", they also and above all exist as a function of their association and a dynamic that concludes with the final act and the point that goes with it. Each act therefore exists by and for itself, but it cannot be purely autonomous. It produces all sorts of interactions and leads to conclusions which, when the play is not finished, are only provisional conclusions. In Lampedusa, certain acts led to the creation of spatial markers for commemorative and memorial purposes. The Porta d'Europa was not built at random. Inaugurated on 28 June 2008 on the southernmost tip of the island (Punta Pesce Spada or Punta Cavallo Bianco) - and by extension on the southernmost tip of Italy and the European Union - it embodies and symbolises the second phase ("humanity") which, let's not forget, sees the institutions accepting the fact that migration is not something to be ignored and that it is even part of Lampedusa's identity. In many ways, the Porta d'Europa is a terracotta translation of what the Ministry of the Interior stated in 2007: the guarantee that everyone would be offered "the fullest transparency and knowledge of the activities and services rendered to the guests [of the

accommodation centre]³⁹⁰ ". In its modest monumentality, the Porta d'Europa is a manifesto that reminds us that Lampedusa can now only come to terms with what some people probably felt, but whose affirmation was either attenuated or passed over in silence: the island is on the edge, and this position helps to forge a specificity that it is therefore free to claim. Highlighting Lampedusa's affinities with what comes from the outside by means of a door without a door means crossing out with an artist's stroke the opposing idea of the fortress. Instead of giving the tip of the island a monument to the dead (at sea), Domenico Paladino proposed another building whose function would not be solely commemorative or dedicated to meditation. In an interview given in 2020, at a time when the Porta d'Europa was the talk of the town in terms of the budget needed to renovate it, Paladino went on to explain: "I remember that, throughout history, the gateway has always been built by mankind as an idea of welcome. I wanted to create a door that doesn't open or close, precisely to produce a form through which people can pass without obstacles³⁹¹ .

As a transition from one world to another, the impact of the Porta d'Europa was all the greater because it implied that the "Lampedusa model" - as it was gradually formalised during those years (2007 and onwards) to style the experience of "reception" on the island based on innovative methods involving various local and state players³⁹² - was sufficiently viable to be "put on the map". In a sense, the "monument" could be seen as the culmination of a story for which it had become a compass: from then on, it seemed possible to combine "welcoming" with dispelling fears. The end was probably in sight, or at least that's how his contemporaries saw the continuation (and the end) of all these stories of migration. If the Porta d'Europa undeniably asserted a political position, it also asserted that this political position had to be embodied in a space. The building on the southern tip of Lampedusa is a reminder of a time when those involved were convinced they had found a "recipe" - a martingale - and is there-

³⁹⁰ Quoted in Paolo Cuttitta, *Lo Spettacolo del confine. Lampedusa tra produzione e messa in scena della frontiera*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

³⁹¹ (Perché ritengo che, nella storia, il portale sia sempre stato eretto dall'umanità come idea di accoglienza. Io ho voluto creare una porta, che ne si apre ne si chiude, proprio per produrre una forma attraverso cui si passa senza ostacoli", *L'Osservatore romano*, "Un specchio per guardare dentro di sé", 31 July 2020, <https://www.osservatoreromano.va/it/news/2020-07/un-specchio-per-guardare-dentro-di-se.html>

³⁹² Chiara Denaro defended a thesis (in Progettazione e Gestione delle Politiche e dei Servizi Sociali) under the supervision of Maria Stella Agnoli, *La Crisi del Modello Lampedusa. Studio di caso sulle politiche di gestione dei flussi migratori provenienti dal Nord Africa*, La Sapienza University, 1 vol. 2012.

fore officially the venue for commemorations linked to the fate of migrants. Nowadays, it is also the expression of the memory of a bygone era: at present, it would be difficult for this door to open, because between 2006 and the present day, the "refugee crisis" has produced a rhetoric and a radicalisation of points of view, but also a weariness among the inhabitants that anaesthetises any desire to embody the ideals of "an island as an open frontier" in a lasting commemorative project.

The Porta d'Europa was not built at random," I wrote. It was born in a particular configuration to signify something of a situation that was thought to be temporary. The same is true of the Museo della Fiducia e del Dialogo per il Mediterraneo, which opened on 3 June 2016. The genesis of the project can be traced back to the shipwreck of 3 October 2013, which not only sent shockwaves through the air, but also created a space-time coordinate for the flow - which is also a blur - of migrants. This is not the place to go back over the preludes to an undertaking that was carried out in part thanks to the impetus of the 3 October Committee. The Archaeological Museum, which had lain dormant for several decades and remained a project, opened in 2016 with an exhibition entitled *Verso il Museo della Fiducia e del Dialogo per il Mediterraneo*³⁹³. Although short-lived, the exhibition (3 June-3 October 2016) ultimately served as the matrix for a museum expression that is now housed in the Archaeological Museum. On display was a work by Caravaggio on loan from the Uffizi Gallery (Florence), a *mise en abyme* of the images of the little boy Eylan who died on a Turkish beach in 2015, a symbol of human injustice and powerlessness. The exhibition featured a small Christian altar next to a Muslim quibla and, in the "memory section", the debris from the shipwreck on 3 October. The choice of separating out an immediate history, linked exclusively to the Lampedusa migrations, and betting on their insertion into the much larger conglomerate of the past of migrations in the Mediterranean, restores the aporias of a fresh memory which, included in the overflow of current events, fails to "glaze over" and solidify. There is therefore a paradox in this museum: while it welcomes within its walls the snippets of recent history, it has difficulty in being the vehicle of a Lampedusian memory of migration, since the latter, in its plurality and in the political invocations to which it can give rise, is more akin to a place of discord

³⁹³ A catalogue has been produced: *Verso il museo della fiducia e del dialogo per il Mediterraneo. Lampedusa*, Bologna, Pendragon, 2017.

than to a place of unification by the past. The difficulty of integrating a fresh, living memory of migration had already been highlighted by restorer and art history specialist Giuseppe Basile. In 2012, a year before his death, he was considering the advisability of creating a museum and documentation centre on migration in Lampedusa. His idea was to "develop a valid and meaningful criterion for the transmission of memory in order to construct a narrative of the present, and to bring to the attention of the scientific community a "phenomenon that is anything but finished, on the contrary it is increasingly developed on the planet, such as the often chaotic and lethal displacement of entire populations under the pressure of unacceptable and inhuman situations"³⁹⁴ . Supported by Basile, a number of associations (Askavusa, Isole, AMM) and the municipalities of Lampedusa and Linosa, a group was set up in 2012. It began by recovering and classifying the evidence found on the island, with the aim of "giving back to the community a cultural and historical heritage, but also to protect the objects and their image from the risk of being fetishised and reduced to a grotesque simulacrum of death"³⁹⁵ ". With Basile's death, the project came to a halt. In March 2017, an exhibition entitled *Oggetti migranti. Dalla traccia alla voce paid* tribute to him at the Museo Laboratorio di Arte Contemporanea at La Sapienza University in Rome. The tribute paid to him highlighted the beginnings of the collection. The unfinished episodes of the project led by Basile and his companions interest me all the more because they are like a mirror of the setbacks that the current museum has been going through since its beginnings: a very great difficulty in existing in a lasting way. Proof of this lies in the fact that the museum's economic equilibrium is always fragile, and exhibitions dedicated to migration are ephemeral. There is no permanent exhibition space to give this complex and tragic history a long-term perspective. What's more, the website is full of surprises: due to a lack of resources, but probably not only that, the space

³⁹⁴ (English translation of the interview in the body of the text: G. B.), "Elaborare un criterio di trasmissione della memoria valido e significativo per la costruzione di una narrazione del presente portando all'attenzione della comunità scientifica e civile un "fenomeno tutt'altro che esaurito, anzi in sempre maggiore sviluppo nell'intero pianeta, qual è appunto lo spostamento spesso caotico e a rischio di morte di intere popolazioni sotto l'incalzare di inaccettabili o inumane condizioni di vita". "Daniele Salerno and Patrizia Violi, *Stranieri nel ricordo. Verso una memoria pubblica delle migrazioni*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2020, p. 63-64.

³⁹⁵ (English translation of the interview in the body of the text: G. B.), "Da un lato, avvertiamo l'importanza di consegnare alla collettività un patrimonio culturale e storico, dall'altro anche l'esigenza di sottrarre gli oggetti e la loro immagine al rischio della fertilizzazione, e della loro riduzione a grottesco simulacro di morte", Daniele Salerno and Patrizia Violi, *ibid*, p. 66.

given over to the "migratory/migrant part" of the programme remains, to say the least, congruous, if not invisible.

Such observations lead us to ask what are, would be, should be, could be the statuses and functions of materials linked more or less to the memory of current migrations. Firstly, like the curators of the La Sapienza exhibition, we will be looking at the existence and value of a "migrant heritage"³⁹⁶, as Barbara D'Ambrosio and Giovanna Costanza Meli describe it. The "migrant heritage" covers objects (notebooks, crockery, bags of soil from the abandoned country, postcards, clothes, etc.) collected on the coast, in rubbish dumps and along the island's roads. Their selection is based on a very arbitrary choice: it depends on the judgement of those who collect (in view of their sensitivity and the need to make choices between the heaps of things left behind) and not on an initiative backed up by *ad hoc* engineering, the legislation that goes with it and the specialists who take it over, as is the case in most conservation operations. These traces do not fall into one of the nine categories of *beni culturali*³⁹⁷. They do not qualify for this label, which distinguishes between heritage that is recognised - and supported by the public authorities - and heritage that is not. Secondly, in order for "migrant heritage" to become a stamped heritage, it lacks a community that recognises and supports it. It should be remembered that behind the category of "migrant people" lie a great many experiences that do not define the contours of a migrant "community". Shared experience does not create a collective; it produces a group, an ephemeral version of a community that exists only for a limited period of time and is not written about by those who are the primary stakeholders. For a heritage to exist, the community dimension must not be forgotten and the structure of the group must be sufficiently solid for the memory to be brought to its highest level of existence. One of the best specialists in memory, the anthropologist Roger Bastide, was well aware of this when he studied African religions in Brazil: "Halbwachs insisted far too much on this point, on the impossibility for individuals to remember without relying on the thinking of a group and on the explanation of forgetting by the disappearance of old social frameworks, for it to be useful to insist on it here, at greater length. But Halbwachs

³⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 63.

³⁹⁷ https://temi.camera.it/leg18/post/pl18_la_nozione_di_bene_culturale.html#:~:text=In%20base%20all'art, testimonianze%20aventi%20valore%20di%20civilt%C3%A0.

initially remained too attached to the Durkheimian dilemma of the individual and the group, the group which becomes aware of its identity through time, and the individual who remembers only through his participation with the group. As with the theory of collective consciousness, which leads him to distinguish as many types of memory as there are groups in society. He has forgotten that every group is structured, in a state of destructuring or restructuring. (...) To understand the reasons why African religious traditions have survived or been forgotten, however, we need to focus on the structure of groups, much more than on the group as a whole³⁹⁸ ".

In Lampedusa, as in other situations where the instability of individuals and the misfortunes of time combine to crush any attempt at the emergence of a group memory, as Pierre Sintès and his co-authors have pointed out³⁹⁹ , the plural collectivity of migrants is not capable of producing heritage⁴⁰⁰ . Because its ethnic plurality is not elided by the ontology of migration, because heritage is obviously a matter for rich people who have time, money and leisure, and because the relationship with what heritage is, despite its efflorescence within global institutions (whether we think of UNESCO's World Heritage List or the defence of "intangible cultural heritage" agreed by the same body in 2003) does not have the same meaning in the North as in the South, a heritage of migration is not conceivable. That's not to say that there aren't heritage activists among the ranks of exiles, and that they don't feel the desire to make some kind of "identity" claim (the identity of the migrant "community", as they see it). This means that the field of possibilities for "migrant heritage" is still in its infancy, because -

³⁹⁸ Roger Bastide, *Les Religions africaines au Brésil. Contribution à une sociologie des interpénétrations de civilisation*, Paris, Puf, 1995 [1960], p. 340; see also by the same author: "Mémoire collective et sociologie du bricolage", *L'Année sociologique*, vol. 21, 1970, p. 65-108.

³⁹⁹ Maryline Crivello, Cyril Isnart, Norig Neveu, Pierre Sintès and Manoël Pénicaud, "Imaginaires, conflits et mémoires en Méditerranée. De l'État-nation aux communautés?", *Revue Tiers Monde*, no. 2, 2016, p. 175-198, p. 194-195.

⁴⁰⁰ A case in point is the new Athens, which was built from the 1830s onwards following the country's independence. In his excellent study, which meticulously traces the phases of the controlled urbanisation of the new capital, Yannis Tsiomis notes: "In 1838, Athens was still no more than 'a more or less confused collection of small German-style houses, low, narrow and roofed with tiles'. Why was it taking so long to build the new city? There are many reasons (...), but apart from the obvious lack of money, there are two in particular to bear in mind: firstly, the resistance encountered when trying to abolish the memory of the stones from the Ottoman period; Maurice Halbwachs' analysis is confirmed here: through the stones, it is the social groups that resist, "and in them, it is the very resistance, if not of the stones, at least of their old arrangement, that you will come up against". With the stones, it is ways of life that fade away", *Athènes à soi-même étrangère. Naissance d'une capitale néoclassique*, Marseille, Parenthèses, 2017, p. 199.

and this is, in my view, the most essential aspect of the analysis - the time for heritage has not yet arrived. With a history in the process of being forged to the rhythm of arrivals, political rantings (when I write this part of my thesis, Giorgia Meloni's government has just been appointed) and international issues, it is not yet possible for sedimentation to take place. Today's time is working against the shaping of the past that will be written tomorrow, once, if at all possible, the page of Lampedusa's migrations, as experienced and imagined, has been turned once and for all. The two curators at La Sapienza had not shirked the issue. Questioning the meaning of their approach and their exhibition, they did not fail to point out that "today the aim is no longer to pass on heritage as the repository of an identity, but to enable the construction of plural entities, through the sharing of the values of the collective heritage⁴⁰¹". The collection presented in 2017 therefore had, if we are to believe them, a "scientific value" because the documentation amassed made it possible to document what had happened: notebooks, papers and letters were intended to provide a closer look and a better grasp of what migrating in the 2010s could mean. In this "age of the witness", to borrow a title from Annette Wieviorka⁴⁰², where victims are increasingly called to the bar of history, these objects are neither more nor less astonishing. These objects also have a "communicative value", as they not only resonate with each other but also with the life stories - and sensibilities - of the visitors who view them.

Officialising a museum of memory in Lampedusa is therefore, as you will have noticed, a profoundly complex act. The multiplicity of attempts, the failures and semi-failures that have surrounded them, and the lack of support capable of sustaining the project over the long term by providing it with human and financial resources all bear witness to this. Migrant heritage" is not yet on the agenda because, among other reasons, there is no established memory to support it. Despite all the goodwill and attention, a museum alone cannot become the interpretive lever for a history of the present time that would generate, by the mere fact of its existence, memory or even heritage dividends. By remaining no more than a showcase for a mi-

⁴⁰¹ (English translation of the interview in the body of the text: G. B.), "L'obiettivo oggi non è trasmettere il patrimonio come depositario di un'identità, ma consentire la costruzione di identità plurali, attraverso la condivisione dei valori del patrimonio collettivo", Daniele Salerno and Patrizia Violi, *Stranieri nel ricordo. Verso una memoria pubblica delle migrazioni*, op. cit, p. 79.

⁴⁰² Annette Wieviorka, *L'Ère du témoin*, Paris, Plon, 1998.

gratory phenomenon that is so commonplace that it only occasionally makes the headlines, the museum is effectively drawn into the whirlwind of an ongoing phenomenon in which, in the final analysis, it is no more than a receptacle for the materials carried along by an uninterrupted process. Clearly, there is a risk that it will be transformed into a warehouse, even though it was conceived as a parenthesis to mark out the time of an experience.

If we start from the observation that every museum tries to retain a memory in a specific space-time, the Lampedusa museum, as we have tried to show, has failed in this task. This does not mean, however, that its action of archiving the materials left behind by migrants or recovered after them cannot have this result in the future. If we add that, alongside this work of gathering materials, there are other actions of the same type which, emanating from associations or research groups, produce a resource on which a 'memory' can one day be built, then we will admit that the decoupling of archiving, memorialisation and heritage is a common phenomenon. The archives of the kings of France contributed long after their birth to the royal legend⁴⁰³ and we must be wary, in the heat of the moment, of thinking that a desire to memorialise leads mechanically to the ability of human groups to seize it and make it their own. Time is a fundamental factor in a process that can be long, but which can also, in some cases, fail to achieve what the "precursors" and initiators had envisaged because of a lack of players. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that not every archive is a latent heritage "container". In our case, archives meet other requirements: by making it possible to retrace the journeys of individuals, they offer proof of death to relatives who had lost track of them. This documentary dimension is an integral part of the investigations that take place when a shipwreck occurs. Little by little, a "paper memorial" is being created that can be used to build a heritage if necessary. The work of forensic scientists, for example, contributes to the production of these "poor archives", which lack the aura of the relics (notebooks, clothing, letters, etc.) that have been found. Cristina Cattaneo, professor of forensic medicine and director of the Laboratorio di Antropologia e Odontologia Forense, is involved in identifying the remains of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean⁴⁰⁴. In addition to the fact that archiving and cata-

⁴⁰³ Krzysztof Pomian, "Les archives. Du Trésor des chartes au CARAN", in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vol. 3: *Les France*, t. 3: *De l'archive à l'emblème*, Paris, Gallimard, 1992, p. 163-233.

⁴⁰⁴ Cristina Cattaneo, *Naufragés sans visage. Donner un nom aux victimes de la Méditerranée*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2019.

logging objects found on corpses is essential for families to be able to recognise their own and for the death of their loved one(s) to be made official, it is also important at another level because it helps to represent the migrant condition and can be used subsequently, for heritage purposes or otherwise.

While these objects are evidence of these crossings, which in this case ended badly, they do not form the basis of a memory. There is something of a paradox here: on the one hand, a heap of traces, of 'relics' documenting a phenomenon in the present and future (nothing will stop these flows); on the other hand, an "impossible memory", not because it cannot be thought or thought through (that's what we've tried to show), but because the fluidity of time at the heart of the experiences⁴⁰⁵, their multiplicity, the fact that Lampedusa is one of the entry points (but not the only one, even if it is mediatised) prevent what remains at the heart of the memory dynamic from happening: a unification in one place that can be achieved once it is no longer in the grip of the scansion, in this case swirling, of the phenomenon that sustains it. The Lampedusa museum does not mark the end of a history full of tragedies. Nor can it be a sanctuary, a place removed from the grip of a history in the making, an observatory that allows us to stand back from a phenomenon because, even if that is its aim, every visitor knows that it remains the extension of situations that are unfolding just a few hundred metres from its walls. A place of remembrance with a forced march: this is perhaps where the problem lies and where the cement of remembrance does not take. But how can we do otherwise, knowing that memory needs history to cool down in order to take root and harden, at the risk of producing an update of current events, which is the last straw when you think of this museum?

⁴⁰⁵ Enzo Traverso is right to point out: "Where does this obsession with memory come from? There are many reasons, but first and foremost it has to do with a crisis of *transmission within* contemporary societies. In this respect, we could evoke the distinction suggested by Walter Benjamin between "transmitted experience" (*Erfahrung*) and "lived experience" (*Erlebnis*). The former is perpetuated almost from one generation to the next, forging the identities of groups and societies over the long term; the latter is individual experience, fragile, volatile and ephemeral. In his *Passagen-Werk*, Benjamin considers this 'lived experience' to be a defining feature of modernity, along with the rhythm and metamorphoses of urban life, the electric shocks of mass society and the kaleidoscopic chaos of the commercial universe", *Le Passé, modes d'emploi*, *op. cit.* p. 12.



Burnt-out Russian military equipment is displayed as a symbol of the Ukrainian people's victory over the Russian army in Kiev on 5 July 2022. Samuel Gratacap, *Le Monde*.

4.3- *Coda*. The Binario 21

The name of this part is perhaps not the most appropriate. I did not conceive this *coda* as a third case study to complete a tripartition. It exists more as what we might call a perspective, a widening of the field of visibility. I chose to talk about Binario 21 (Milan) because I wanted to look at a place that carries a "strong memory"⁴⁰⁶ " and which, in the space of a few years, has become a place of memory that is trying to take root. Enzo Traverso points out that there are two types of memory: a "strong memory" whose solidity, which is the product of sedimentation that has been subjected to the test of possible erasure by history (a history that is quick to devour events), is beyond doubt - the memory of the Shoah "whose status is now so universal that it acts as the *civil religion* of the Western world⁴⁰⁷ " is the quintessence of this - ; a "weak memory", in the process of becoming a reality, which, in certain contexts, is unable to be elevated to the level of a form of *doxa* (memories of the Armenian genocide, the Spanish Civil War up until the turn of the millennium, etc.).

In Lampedusa, the Museo della Fiducia e del Dialogo per il Mediterraneo is, as we have tried to show, a place of fragile memory because it is the bearer of a "weak memory". In Milan, Binario 21 has become a place of memory because of its existential link with a "strong memory". Located in Milan's main railway station, Binario 21 takes the form of a 7,000 square metre memorial. Designed by Ulisse Stacchini, the Lombardy capital's central station was inaugurated on 1^{er} July 1931. What makes it special is that the platforms are doubled: below the level of the tracks now used for passenger transport (n + 1), there is another railway junction that until 1991 was used for loading and unloading postal wagons. This level zero, if you like, leads directly into the city. Thanks to an engineering system, the postal wagons were hoisted to the upper level using a freight lift, where they could be attached to trains bound for other towns in the country, as well as abroad. Between December 1943 and January 1945, Binario 21 was used to deport thousands of Jews and political opponents to the Fossoli, Bolzano, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Mathausen camps, among others. Of all the places in Europe where deportations took place, Binario 21 is the only one to have remained intact. In 1991,

⁴⁰⁶ Enzo Traverso, *Le Passé, modes d'emploi. Histoire, mémoire, politique, op. cit.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 55.

the postal system set up in the 1930s came to a halt. In 2004, a preliminary project for a memorial was drawn up after Rette ferroviaria italiana handed over the site to the Fondazione Memoriale della Shoah di Milano (ONLUS). Five years later, work began on the project designed by the Morpurgo agency of Curtis Architetti Associati. Today, visitors stroll through a space organised on two levels: a mezzanine level with the Memorial areas (the Observatory, the deportation quays, the translation pits, the mound, a place of meditation, the testimony rooms, the Wall of Names); a basement level housing the Laboratory of Memory (rooms dedicated to documentation and reading) and a 200-seat auditorium. On the passenger platforms, not a single mention is made of the former Binario 21, which is located above ground between tracks 18 and 19, and which exists in its current form on level 0.

Let's now look at the timeframe of this project. In the years following the war, the postal service resumed its activities. Abandoned in 1991, Binario 21 was given a new purpose when the Memorial opened its doors on 27 January 2013. From 1945 to 1991, life on the railways went on as before, as if it had been a matter of stitching together a space-time rift born of the tragedy of recent history - and of history itself. From 1991 to the early 2000s, the silence was so deafening that we can speak of an erasure of the past. It was because a former employee of the railway post who was a contemporary of the deportation agreed to recount what he had witnessed that the few survivors were able to understand the system that had been put in place and of which, as children, they had been prisoners. This testimony was as if a veil had suddenly been torn open. In his seminal book, *Le Syndrome de Vichy de 1944 à nos jours (The Vichy Syndrome from 1944 to the Present)*, Henry Rousso proposed a three-stage interpretation of the "surrection" of memory: a significant and often traumatic event; a phase of repression broken down, at a given moment, according to particular contexts; an anamnesis that can border on an "obsession with memory"⁴⁰⁸. This interpretive grid, which does not apply in all cases (in Argentina, for example, the memory of the crimes of the military dictatorship manifested itself before the end of the generals' regime), restores the sequenced process of a memory construction that suddenly crystallises a history by transforming it into a living memory.

⁴⁰⁸ Henry Rousso, *Le Syndrome de Vichy de 1944 à nos jours*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1990.

What interests me in the case of Binario 21 is two things: the imprint of memory in places where it remains, in a latent state, before it can shape (or not; this is where we find the predominant role of the actors and their investment in a field of possibilities that differs mentally, intellectually, depending on the era) a place of memory; its spatial inscription in the present time. For decades, who knew that Milan station was home to the 21 convoys that led thousands of deportees to their deaths? If there was ignorance, it cannot be attributed in this case to the State's deliberate concealment, even if the project took a long time to come to fruition. As in the case of Calais, even if the comparison with Binario 21 may seem hasty (on the one hand, a "weak memory", on the other, a "strong memory"), the perimeter therefore circumscribes mnemonic potential. However, the walls of the hidden station are not just the witnesses of a memory; they are also its carriers, capable of bringing it to the surface by anchoring it in the present. Above Binario 21, 600 trains and 320,000 passengers pass through every day. In the same space, that of the station, multiple memories coexist, including that of the Shoah. The technical cross-section of Milan's railway junction is a perfect illustration of this: within a single site, there is a diversity of places and functions, and more intrinsically, the coexistence of rhythm (of the city, reflected in its daily traffic) and memory (of a site of Nazi extermination of Jews and political dissidents). Liliana Segre, a lifelong senator and survivor of Binario 21, argues against the sealing off of spaces and, consequently, the temporalities associated with them, and calls for signage to be installed on tracks 18 and 19 to show that the memory of a trauma cannot be confined to a memorial, even though the station as a whole was a "place of transit" for women and men condemned to death. However, this plea is not self-evident, since despite repeated appeals, the sign still does not exist.

This disturbance of the present by a memory that can appear cumbersome when it is not subordinated to places expressly dedicated to it can be found in other configurations. One of the most significant is the work of Gunter Demnig. His *Stolpersteine* are concrete or metal cube blocks, each ten centimetres square, sunk into the ground. The top of each cube is covered with a brass plaque honouring the memory of a victim deported by the Nazis to a concentration or extermination camp. Embedded in the pavement in front of the victims' last homes, the thousands of *Stolpersteine* scattered across Europe form a constellation of misfortune and its memory. By introducing mini-breaks in the road network, the "stumbling blocks" (accor-

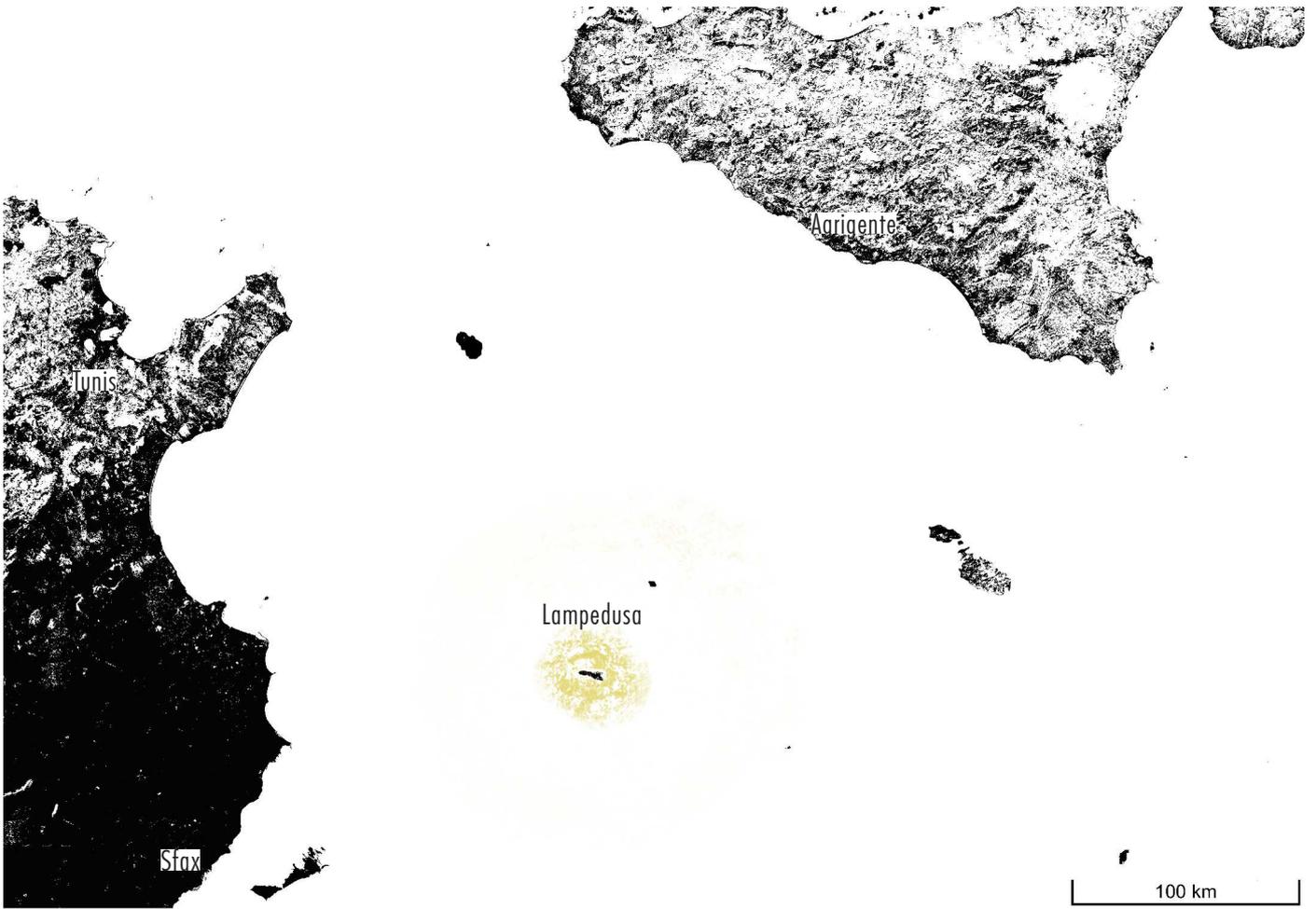
ding to the translation) are so many small stops that interrupt the walk of the passer-by. It may not sound like much. Nevertheless, the *Stolpersteine* echo what I wrote above: memory can be disturbing when it clashes with the evidence of a present in which confrontation with the past most often takes the form of a memory that is topographically, perimetrically and morphologically authorised and controlled.

Calais-Lampedusa-Milan: a 'non-place' of memory (the 'Jungle'); a crumbling place of memory (the museum); a place of memory (the Binario 21). In all three cases, it is a question of whether or not memory is fixed in a place. Bernard Lepetit writes: "The weight of the past becomes all the more extreme when it draws its strength from its oblivion⁴⁰⁹". Yes, provided that the emergence of a memory, supported by the actors, can show and draw the fruits of it. What applies to Milan applies only to a limited extent to Lampedusa and not at all to Calais. Yes, one might add, if the place that bears the memory is not reduced to being its sole agent. This seems self-evident, and yet it always comes back to questioning what I have called the 'place above all'. Can a 'place above all' in itself create this perimeter of memory? It's highly unlikely, or else, as in the case of the old 'Jungle', the detritus would have to rise to the surface for decades and, above all, the people who look at it would have to know its history. This is possible, however, if we are willing to change our focus and admit that certain imprints in space subsume the erasures of the present and potentially activate the stakes of a buried memory when the time comes for men and women to undertake its exhumation. Not only do these places remain sanctuaries of the memory of the vanquished, according to Benjamin's vision of history, they also remain proof that something (horrible) did happen there. Which is no mean feat.

⁴⁰⁹ Bernard Lepetit, "Le présent de l'histoire", art. cité, p. 282.

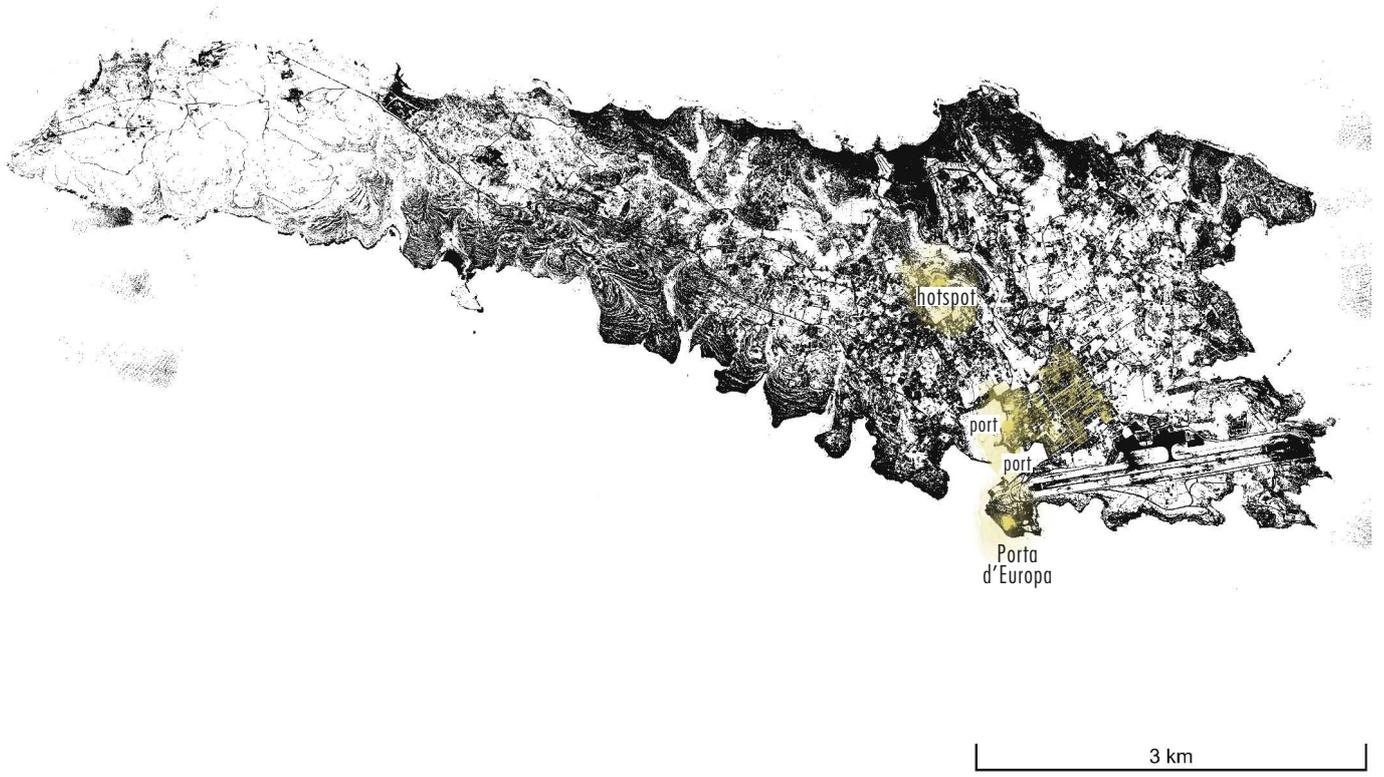
Lampedusa

Illustration notebook



Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Image taken from the documentary *Fuocoammare, par-delà Lampedusa* (2016), Gianfranco Rosi.



Image taken from the documentary *Fuocoammare, par-delà Lampedusa* (2016), Gianfranco Rosi.



Museo della fiducia e del dialogo per il Mediterraneo. Lampedusa, shipwreck room, Porte d'Europa.
https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/08/06/foto/museo_lampedusa-203462576/1/

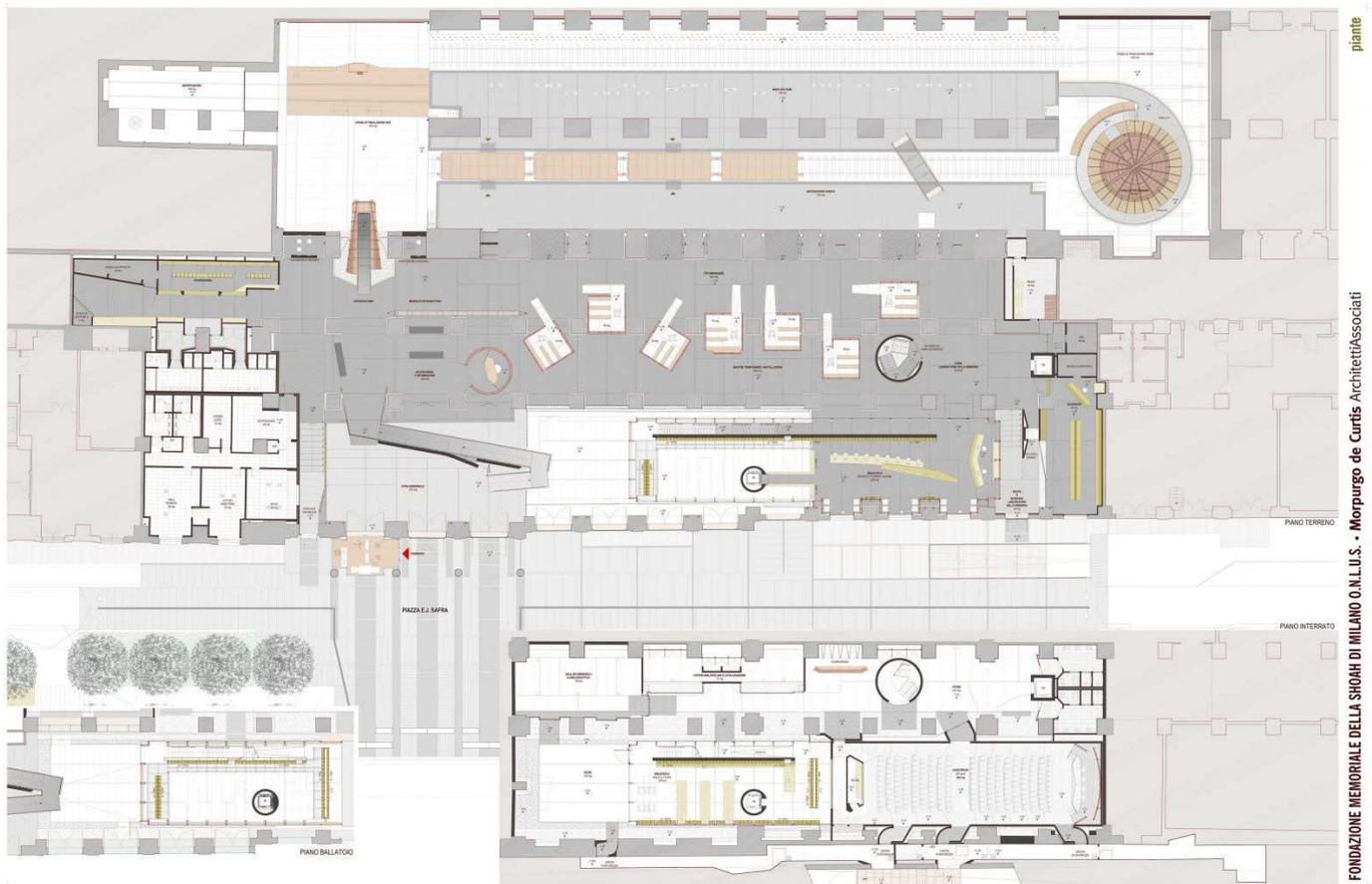
Binario 21, Milan

Illustration notebook



Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Plans of the ground floor and basement of the Memoriale (© Morpurgo de Curtis Architetti Associati). https://www.engramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=2122.



Longitudinal and transverse sections of the Memoriale (© Morpurgo de Curtis Architetti Associati). https://www.egramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=2122.

Chapter 5: Urban continuity (durations)

"What escapes us from this continuity of transition, we then try to recover separately by naming it "time"; and what we have introduced of ruptures that have become necessary in our description of the change that affects it, we house within it, by calling it "events". But why transfer to Time, modelling it once again as an external instance and a great Agent, what we could sufficiently grasp from within the processes themselves? Having reached this point of shattering our conceptions, I cannot avoid this most massive question. Is Time not what we have constructed as an alibi, certainly hypostasised and ennobled, a great Subject and a great Responsible One, and at first so conveniently invocable, to ward off our inability to pay attention - dependent as we are on the authority of language and its fixations - to this 'silence' of transformations?⁴¹⁰ . I have taken this paragraph, which is two-thirds of the way through the book *Les Transformations silencieuses* by the philosopher and sinologist François Jullien, for two reasons. In the middle of this thesis, it is a timely reminder of the extent to which time, according to the construction of the Greek philosophers that still partly governs our ways, can be a companion of intellectual misfortune, so difficult is it to escape from the categories (past, present, future, history, memory, event, etc.) that make up its web of declensions. What's more, for the reader of the book, it implies a decentring of its nomenclature and its power of invocation/evocation. It so happens that Jullien, as a Sinologist and Hellenistic philosopher, invites us to look elsewhere, to the Chinese civilisation where the word 'time' was not translated until the 19th^e century, and where 'silent transformations' form one of the cornerstones of the interpretation of human existence. So what does it mean to endure, if not, in the context of the urban space that concerns me here, to agree to think of it as a space made up of "replacements⁴¹¹ ", of "asynchronous evolutions, so that in turn uses and forms carry the weight of the past for longer⁴¹² "?

⁴¹⁰ François Jullien, *Les Transformations silencieuses. Chantiers, I*, Paris, Le Livre de Poche, 2010 [2009], p. 99-100.

⁴¹¹ Bernard Lepetit, "Le présent de l'histoire", art. cité, p. 289.

⁴¹² *Ibid*, p. 294.

5.1- Calais. Duration and dissemination

Attempts to extend a Calais venue

Capturing urban continuity might seem self-evident. There is an element of contiguity in the expression that associates the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that we would try, piece by piece, to fit together. But spatial continuity can be read in a less unambiguous sense. If we believe that an identical situation unfolds over time in such a way that it forces an ecosystem to undergo continuous reconfiguration at the cost of multiple adaptations, then we can suggest that spatial continuities are also based on temporal diagonals that link them in time rather than in space. The duration of a phenomenon is often perceived in terms of both a chronology, the origin of which is sometimes difficult to date, and a certain number of stages which are supposed to establish its continuity. Duration easily becomes a social and political issue, because depending on how it is approached, the need for solutions depends on it.

The dismantling of the "Jungle" in 2016 was obviously correlated with the idea that "things had gone on too long" and that it was becoming imperative to clear the place out. By focusing attention on this "place of transit", which was a way of alerting the public authorities and taking public opinion to task, NGOs, researchers and the media (the list is not exhaustive) helped to produce a kind of "historical parenthesis" (in the sense of a moment linked to a beginning and an end) that only imperfectly captures what the "migratory space" in Calais is all about: a series of situations whose most visible denominators - the tent, the wanderings around the town, the presence of the forces of law and order - attest to the existence of a state, i.e. a fact that has become so commonplace that it is one with the environment, which has been constantly modified by all the situations. Are we now in a position to imagine Calais before the "crisis"? Yes, in principle. No, as long as the operation presupposes getting rid of all the representations - difficult to value, not to say negative - that have stigmatised - in the full sense of the word ("lasting mark on the skin"⁴¹³) - a maritime and border town that most French and Europeans knew only as the entrance/exit to the Channel Tunnel. Writing about this is a modest attempt to reconstruct how a phenomenon involves dynamics and inertia that

⁴¹³ Definition cnrtl.

go beyond its paroxysm and refer to its sometimes subterranean effects on a social and spatial fabric. Historians know all too well that armistices and peace treaties, while they may signal the end of fighting, do not signal the end of wars, which linger deeply in the minds of human beings and curve the trajectories of societies for a long time to come. Marco Cremaschi's analysis of the timeframes of change that affect city districts underlines the extent to which it is not so much the sudden rupture caused by an event, whatever its scale, that reconfigures the city, but rather the weight of a history, sometimes a long one, the impregnation of which condemns people to at least apparent forms of immobility⁴¹⁴ .

The sole purpose of this excursus is to ask a very simple question: since Calais has long been in the throes of a migratory upheaval, how has the urban space absorbed something that is not - no longer - a contingency or an epiphenomenon, but has instead become part of its structure, its organisation, its relationship with the past and the future? In short, how can change - the change at the heart of Michel Butor's magnificent book: the passenger on a train travelling from Paris to Rome undergoes a mental transformation as the train goes on⁴¹⁵ - be as much a matter of place (rather than location: the scattering of 'camps' in the conurbation should not obscure the fact that they form *a* single place in the sense that they are each linked to the same type of population, that they are subject to the same public policy objectives, etc.) as it is a matter of time?) than a matter of time?

In 2018, Michel Agier and his colleagues published *The Calais Jungle. Migrants, the Border and the Camp*⁴¹⁶ . With its retrospective ambition, the book gives pride of place to the chronology and the successive stages that led to the birth of the "Jungle", which, from spring 2015 to October 2016, occupied a space to the east of the city and many minds. In the introduction, the authors justify their undertaking: "As a first-hand investigative document, this book is aimed at all those who want to know the situation and its context in detail. It is also a history of the present in the making, as it looks at the time before and after the Jungle (...) As precise as possible on the chronology of the twenty or so years of migration policies and po-

⁴¹⁴ Marco Cremaschi, "Narrazioni e cambiamento dei quartieri", in Marco Cremaschi (ed.), *Tracce di quartieri. Il legame sociale nella città che cambia*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 2008, p. 7-29, p. 9.

⁴¹⁵ Michel Butor, *La Modification*, Paris, Minuit, 1957.

⁴¹⁶ Michel Agier, *La Jungle de Calais. Les migrants, la frontière et le camp*, op. cit.

pulation movements that led to the opening and then, eighteen months later, the destruction of the Calais Jungle, we describe in parallel the movements of solidarity... or hostility⁴¹⁷ ". The aim is clear: to chronicle a "migratory space" by linking it to the political decisions that are said to be its fundamental cause, perhaps at the risk of giving in to this "etiological illusion", which Michel Dobry's remarkable pages in his *Sociologie des crises politiques (Sociology of Political Crises)*⁴¹⁸ convince us should not be rejected, but that other ways of thinking about them should be added. As far as I'm concerned, the book's interest lies in the sieve it uses to provide as much material as possible on the mosaic situations that have taken over the conurbation since the 1980s. The chronology I give below⁴¹⁹ owes its existence exclusively to this collective work. Its initial interest lies in showing the spatial and temporal fragmentation of the 'transit sites' over the course of three decades.

1986

- First people turned back at the British border
- Some people end up on ferries (also refused on French soil) and go back and forth.
- Others in the Centres d'Hébergement et de Réinsertion sociale (CHRS) (Accommodation and Social Reintegration Centres)

1990

- With the fall of the Communist regime, citizens of Eastern European countries can travel visa-free within the European Union. Turned away at the British border, stranded in Calais
- Several dozen migrants forced to sleep in the Calais ferry terminal. They have no money for a hotel or to return home.

1994

- Creation of the Channel Tunnel

13 October 1997

- Roma from the Czech and Slovak Republics claim asylum from the UK authorities
- Turned back to France. 40 people in the ferry terminal at the port of Calais

November 1997

⁴¹⁷ Michel Agier, *La Jungle de Calais. Les migrants, la frontière et le camp*, op. cit., p. 20-21.

⁴¹⁸ Michel Dobry, *Sociologie des crises politiques. La dynamique des mobilisations multisectorielles*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2009.

⁴¹⁹ The chronology is made up of notes I took while reading the book: Michel Agier, *La Jungle de Calais. Les migrants, la frontière et le camp*, op. cit.; the notes focus in particular on the different places that served as shelter or housing for migrants between 1986 and 2017.

- The prefecture agrees to requisition a building near the port to house them

1998-1999

- The number of migrants increases with the war
- Hundreds of people sleeping at the ferry terminal (difficulty in finding a place in a CHRS or hotel)

23 April 1999

- Ban on sheltering in the ferry at the request of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry
- People end up sleeping in parks and on the streets, particularly in Parc Saint Pierre.

24 April 1999

- Hangar open from 6pm to 9am. Between 120 and 200 people (designed for 80 people)

1st June 1999

- The hangar closes
- Migrants gather in parks, Parc Saint Pierre becomes a "shanty town"

During the summer of 1999

Ministry of the Interior opens in the department :

- A building attached to the hospital (for families)
- The holiday centre (for whom to evict)
- A hangar used to build the Channel Tunnel (Sangatte)

31 August 1999

- Closure of Sangatte
- People back in the parks

24 September 1999

- Opening of the Sangatte hangar

(In 2000 the port of Calais was surrounded by a 2.8 m high fence)

(Dieppe and Cherbourg are being equipped with control systems, as are ports in Belgium and the Netherlands).

July 2002

- Closure of Sangatte (1,268 people)
- Occupation of religious sites, homeless people can enter Sangatte

December 2002

- on 31 December the Sangatte camp was closed for good

2 January 2003

- Coquelles detention centre

4 February 2003

- Closure of the Sangatte Red Cross camp
- Migrants ended up in the blockhouses and abandoned buildings at Sangatte, then in the Dunes industrial estate where there was the Tioxide factory, Dubrulle Wood or Garennes Wood.
- Migrants also go to other towns (Norrent-Fontes, Angres, Steenvoorde) and to the Alban-Satrage, Vuillemin and La Chapelle squares in Paris...

(War in Afghanistan, large influx of Afghan refugees since 2005)

March 2008

- In Norrent-Fontes: the mayor agrees to migrants settling in a ditch along a municipal road between two agricultural plots
- Grande-Synthe: an informal camp is tolerated
- In Calais: a squat on rue Victor Hugo, the State hands it over to an association to manage

July 2009

- Number of people in the department rises to 1,200-1,400

Autumn 2009

- Destruction of the Calaisian camps
- (Evacuation of Parisian camps)
- (Destruction of a shanty town in Patras)

From 22 September to 7 October 2009

- Closure of the Calais "Jungle" (900 people in July 2009, 600 in September)

2 October 2009

- Sudanese camp evacuated and Eritrean squat demolished (600 people)
- People in camps in Cherbourg, Norrent-Fontes, Steen-voorde, Angres....

21 May 2014

- Expulsion of several camps
- Gathering in a plot of land near the port and made available for the distribution of goods

24 June 2014

- Site explosion: 500 people

12 July 2014

- Demonstration and opening of a squat in a disused factory belonging to the Galoo company (from summer 2013, a series of encampments in the ports of Brittany and Belgium).

November 2014

- Tétéghem town council sets up a container camp (80 places)

Spring 2015

- The migrants are taken to the wasteland (a former rubble dump, a sandy expanse covered with bushes: the "Jungle").
- The Centre Jules Ferrry is not far away and is managed by La Vie Active (400 places).

Late March and early April 2015

- 1,500 people move in. Addition of an earth mound and barbed wire

November 2015

- Construction of containers by the State (Acted) (1,500 places)
- Camps also in Dunkirk, Lion-Plage, Grande-Synthe and Tétéghem

18 November

- Container camp destroyed in Tétéghem
- The Grand-Synthe camp grows from 80 occupants in the summer to 2,500 in November
- Médecins Sans Frontières and the Grande-Synthe town council open a 2,500-place camp to international standards

September 2016

- Around 10,000 people in the "Jungle"

October 2016

- Destruction of the "Jungle".
- 3,000 people at Grande-Synthe

April 2017

- Fire in Grande-Synthe

This chronology is interesting for several reasons. It makes it possible to date the age of a phenomenon (the mid-1980s) that bears no resemblance to contemporary migratory dynamics (the first people turned back in 1986 did not come from Syria, for example; work on the Channel Tunnel had only just begun; Schengen is the name of a commune in Luxembourg where agreements signed in 1985 between European states had not yet led to the creation, ten years later, of the eponymous area). It offers a reading of repetition as the basis of an accordion-like scansion made up of continuous adjustments. Spatial adjustments: the constant search for 'landing spots' and 'places of protection' and/or 'exclusion' (depending on where you stand and the value you place on them) has always been the order of the day. Social adjustments: dealing with these "emergency situations" has given rise to countless initiatives, both

by associations and politicians, aimed at dealing with the most pressing problems and/or reducing what increasingly appeared to be the fracturing of migratory flows. Political adjustments: how many ministers who travelled to Calais, claimed to find solutions and then quickly reneged - remember the images of the destruction of the first "Jungle", on 22 September 2009, by journalists dispatched to the scene after the Minister for Immigration, Integration and National Identity, Éric Besson, had been ordered to go to Calais following Nicolas Sarkozy's decision to put an end to the "occupation". The chronology also allows us to look back at the matrix aspect of the first refoulements. They were matrix in nature because, as early as 1986, the blocking of dozens of people between two borders was accompanied by their temporary residence in an accommodation centre that was not intended for them and the birth of the first association dedicated to helping migrants in emergency situations.

Chronology is one way, among many others, of describing a dynamic. There are, of course, other means available to researchers to assess the sustainability of these trends. In 2017, as part of Migreurop, Olivier Clochard and Olivier Pissoat published a synthetic map locating and dating "jungles, informal settlements, squats in Calais, Grande-Synthe, Steenvoorde, Norrents-Fontes, etc." for the years 1997-2017⁴²⁰. The legend could not be more interesting: it tells of the difficulty of an appropriate taxonomy, of which "etc." is the most vivid expression. Above all, it shows that the desire to vitrify the "migratory space" into so many more or less temporary points is the result of a cartographic logic that aims to fix a phenomenon even though this phenomenon is both moving and based on movements within the said space. This long-term photograph (twenty years) captures points of fixation from which is evacuated what also makes them their identity: the movements from one to another, their duration and the networks they have constantly produced over the course of this history. 3 February 2023: *Le Monde* in turn publishes a summary map to accompany a long investigation entitled "À Calais, la frontière bunker avec l'Angleterre repousse les migrants vers la mer"⁴²¹ ("In Calais, the bunker border with England pushes migrants back towards the sea"). It is a useful addition to previous attempts. By listing the security works that have profoundly chan-

⁴²⁰ Map by Olivier Pissoat and Olivier Clochard, Migreurop, 2017.

⁴²¹ https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2023/02/03/a-calais-la-frontiere-bunker-avec-l-angleterre-repousse-les-migrants-vers-la-mer_6160450_3210.html, consulted on 3.02.2023

ged the face of the town, it reveals a tumultuous history made up of ephemeral moments and new permanent constructions.

The accounts gathered by associations, researchers and journalists - in short, by those who have decided that this situation should be described, recounted, denounced, imagined, archived and sometimes theorised - are obviously material for a history of the present day. But they are much more than that: they are parts of a narrative whose repetitiveness underlines the fact that, whatever the place or the person, the phenomenon is less a question of the present tense than of an imperfect tense that can be updated according to the situation. Despite the places and personal trajectories of the witnesses, the stories, as they pile up, create a lexicon whose plurality of voices and transience cannot mask what gives it structure: a repetitiveness that standardises a 'state' and, in so doing, contributes to its durability. While each story is unique, the fact remains that it is part of a universe of similar experiences that mean that, wherever we find ourselves in the same ecosystem, the spoken word serves less to individualise than to accentuate the extremity of a condition whose places are obviously settings but also become backdrops.

In the Pashtun jungle of Calais, Abdul, 32, from Afghanistan, told Michel Agier and Sara Prestianni on 2 August 2009: "I left Afghanistan in December 2007 because I was threatened by the Taliban, as I was working as an interpreter for an Italian NGO. (...) Once in the Kurdish zone of Iran, we crossed the border on foot at night to reach the town of Van, in the south of Turkey. (...) Once in Istanbul, I stayed in a house for a few days, waiting for passage to Greece. (...) We arrived on the island of Lesbos, in Greece. Our boat was intercepted by the Greek coastguard, who took us to the Mitilini detention camp. (...) When I arrived in Athens, I had no money and was sleeping in parks. So I decided to go to Patras to try and cross over to Italy. (...) They then took me to the detention camp next to the town of Komotini, the Venna detention centre, more than a day's bus journey from Athens. (...) With fifteen other people (one Pakistani, three Arabs and twelve Afghans), the police transferred us to a military camp, towards Alexandropolis. (...) After an hour and twenty minutes on the road, they took us to the side of the river Evros. [follows a description of a forced return to Turkey, a stage before Abdul was deported to Kabul] After a few weeks, I resumed my journey to Europe. I crossed the border between Afghanistan and Iran, the one that separates Iran from Turkey. From Istanbul I

crossed the border into Bulgaria (...) From Bulgaria I returned to Greece and went straight to Patras (...) There were three of us. We bought a map and crossed the border between Greece and Macedonia, as well as that with Serbia, walking along the tracks at night. By the time we reached Belgrade, we were exhausted. So we decided to rest in a park. The police soon arrived. They checked our papers and took us to a prison in Belgrade. (...) After forty days in detention, I was able to escape. So I set off for Hungary, crossing the border on foot at night. Once across the border, I took a train to Budapest. From there, a train to Ciprun on the border with Austria. I crossed the border on foot, towards Innsbruck. The police stopped me on the train. They locked me up in a camp for 26 days. (...) So I was released and was able to continue my journey to Italy and then on to Calais. I arrived in Calais yesterday, and I'm trying to get to England, knowing that I risk being sent back to Greece, where my fingerprints are...⁴²² ". The testimony is much longer. The extracts I have chosen bear witness to a wandering punctuated by places, not locations - in the sense of personalising a space. These places, though profuse, serve to sequence "the journey itself, which is the 'place'⁴²³ ", as Michel Agier so aptly describes it.

The press (and the media by extension) is not to be outdone in terms of the ways in which the spatial and temporal dynamics of the "places of transit" in Calais can be described. As of 8 August 2022, the term "migrants" on the *Voix du Nord website* refers to 1,469 articles over the past year (i.e. 10% of the articles produced annually by the daily). In other words, the "migratory space" finds an outlet in a "media space" which, despite editorial choices, reflects the current dynamics. In this respect, it should be noted that this dynamic is more difficult to understand for a researcher who sets out to retrace its chronology since the end of the "Jungle" in 2016. The fragmentation of the places where people pass through and settle, a policy of maintaining order based on dispersing attempts to bring migrants together within the urban area at all costs, a habituation to a crisis situation which, because it is a vector of weariness, turns into a banal situation: there are many explanations for this configuration as it is

⁴²² Michel Agier, Sara Prestianni, *"Je me suis réfugié là! Bords de routes en exil*, Paris, Donner lieu, 2011, p. 51-55.

⁴²³ Michel Agier, *Campement urbain. Du refuge naît le ghetto*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2013, p. 111.

visible and legible in Calais. They underline, if proof were needed, that the end of the "Jungle" has not broken the dynamic; it has changed its face and contours.

The dismantling of camps is currently commonplace in the conurbation. In their reports for 2020⁴²⁴ and 2021⁴²⁵, the NGO Human Right Observers lists 1,058 and 1,287 operations respectively in Calais and Grande-Synthe. As well as demonstrating the importance of police cordoning off in order to make the presence of migrants invisible, this policy reflects what is at the heart of the public authorities' expectations: to prevent the presence of migrants from becoming fixed in space, which means, among other things, voluntarily eliminating a form of spatiality. Here we turn to Henri Lefebvre's reflections. The sociologist asks: "Does the body, with its capacity for action and its energies, make space? Undoubtedly, but not in the sense that occupation 'manufactures' spatiality - in the sense of an immediate relationship between the body and its space, between deployment in space and occupation of space. Before *producing* (effects, in matter, tools and objects), before *producing* itself (by nourishing itself) and *reproducing* itself (by generating another body), every living body *is* a space and *has* its space: it produces itself there and produces it⁴²⁶. In our case, we would say that attempts to elide a place (an essentially ephemeral camp) do not erase it, since the bodies that make it up remain bodies that, in their spatiality, are deployed in the city. Except that this re-deployment changes the game: their scattering in the streets, which paradoxically gives them greater visibility, produces a latent spatiality that is just waiting to take shape through the effect of their assembly and what this can potentially provoke: a fixation in one place. So it is with these "presence-absences", spectral figures of a migrant condition that the State seeks either to circumscribe within fixed limits, or to blur. In vain.

⁴²⁴ <https://humanrightsobservers.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/HRO-Annual-Report-2020.pdf> consulted on 01.01.2022

⁴²⁵ <https://humanrightsobservers.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Rapport-annuel-2021-VF.pdf> consulted on 01.01.2022

⁴²⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *La Production de l'espace*, *op. cit.* p. 199.

The chain of "migratory spaces"

If spatial demarcation is an attempt doomed to failure, it will be suggested that these attempts are all the more so because they stumble over the issue of time. Dismantling the encampments is not simply an operation to remove an area considered to be non-native from an area that meets a certain number of criteria and standards. It's also a way of reminding us that control over time (in this case, the duration) belongs to those who decide and orchestrate the destruction. At least, that's how the policy that governs it is conceived. But the repetitive nature of these actions (on average, 25 a week) creates a duration that contrasts sharply with what they are supposed to be: one-off moments designed to put urban time back into "proper order". In fact, when the tents and makeshift shelters scattered here and there are removed from the fabric of the city, they should be accompanied by a rapid healing of the temporal order that they disrupt. But this is not the case. While controlling and managing the life expectancy of "transit sites" is indeed *a matter of duration*, the fact remains that this duration, born of the recurrence of the installation/dismantling duo, escapes in part those who think they are the main principals⁴²⁷.

In *Timewatch*, Barbara Adam returns to what lies at the heart of the human condition, "our extension in time and space": "We extend ourselves beyond the limits of our location, be it current but also historical, geographical and socio-cultural⁴²⁸". He continues: "Even the most private moment of consciousness, a moment of 'my' time, is never really private. It is inseparable from 'our' times, those of the environment and the social community⁴²⁹". Migrants are obviously not interchangeable. The fact remains that their physical, psychological and material living conditions, and their objectives, which are the same, "condemn" them to become nothing more than archetypal presences, bearing not only the same spatial character, but also the same temporal character. From then on, their journeys and/or their installations in the city fuel the perpetuation of a movement of which they are the unconscious carriers and

⁴²⁷ On this point, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Méditations pascaliennes*, *op. cit.*, p. 270: "Absolute power is the power to render unpredictable and to forbid others any reasonable anticipation, to install them in absolute uncertainty by giving them no hold on their ability to foresee".

⁴²⁸ Barbara Adam, *Timewatch. Per un'analisi sociale del tempo*, Milan, Dalai Editore, 2005, p. 41-42.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 49.

vectors. These movements/settlements metaphorically resemble the countless streams of water that combine to form a river whose bed only occasionally dries up. Donatella Di Cesare puts it best: "Living is a migration reminiscent of the flow of a river. Water and land. Not, however, the vast expanse of ocean; rather, the current that channels itself through a river bed, digging it up, shaping it and yet following it, tracing paths, opening trails, clearing places from which the open space catches the light, clearing the bush, allowing clearings to emerge in the forest, if not even summits. The current means that dwelling cannot be conceived as a being-there, but must rather be understood as a being-there and beyond, where the river flows. The a-static dwelling finds its habitat in the flow, where paradoxically being to oneself is already always being outside oneself, according to the eccentric dynamic of existence"⁴³⁰ .

In Calais, the shape of the river is not defined once and for all. Its banks vary not only permanently but also according to the temporal filter used to observe them: a map of the urban space at the height of the "Jungle" would show a block to the north-east of the town; the same exercise in the early 2020s would show the existence of hundreds of points that are born as quickly as they fade away. It's only a short step from there to saying that Calais has become nothing more than a vast camp that ignores itself and/or that the authorities are doing everything they can to ensure that it is ignored, but I won't go over that hurdle just yet, because if you look at the situation from the point of view of its inhabitants, for example, that's not how the situation is experienced and thought of. However, it is very similar: A "migratory space" that is creeping into urban space and forcing it to redefine itself is all the more tricky because this "migratory space" is eminently ductile and is now part of a timeframe with which the timeframe of the city must come to terms - the timeframe of the city being understood as that dynamic which, over and above the decisions taken by players at a given moment, subsumes them in a secular movement of embodiment of the urban fact - so there is something to be wondered about here.

⁴³⁰ (English translation in the body of the text: G. B.) "Abitare è un migrare che richiama lo scorrere di un fiume. Abitare è un migrare che richiama lo scorrere di un fiume. Acqua e non terra. Non, però, la vasta distesa oceanica; piuttosto la corrente che s'incanala in un alveolo, che lo scava, lo plasma, e tuttavia lo segue, mentre disegna tracciati, apre vie, dischiude luoghi da cui prende luce lo spazio aperto, sfoltisce la boscaglia, lasciando sorgere radure nella selva, se non addirittura contrade. Corrente vuol dire che l'abitare non può essere concepito come un essere-qui, ma va inteso come un essere lì e oltre, dove si dirige il fiume. L'abitare e-statico trova il suo habitat nel fluire, dove paradossalmente essere presso di sé è già sempre essere fuori di sé, secondo la dinamica eccentrica dell'esistenza", Donatella Di Cesare, *Stranieri residenti. Una filosofia della migrazione*, op. cit, p. 167-168, p. 162.

Because the containment of this shifting space is not producing the expected results (the number of interventions continues to rise), it is coupled with another type of containment: the rigidification of a significant portion of undeveloped urban space. More than a century old, the barbed wire invented by the American Joseph Glidden in 1874 to fence off the properties of farmers on the Great Plains quickly became a major political tool. Olivier Razac retraced its uses in a book published in 2000⁴³¹. In it, he showed how, despite its rudimentary appearance, wire had become a powerful tool for drawing demarcation lines. Barbed wire, metal fences, wire netting, etc. are all material elements which, under the guise of *providing* protection, divide up space and reduce it, in some places, to nothing more than a pile of confetti. Their interest is twofold: on the one hand, they represent a temporary partition, since unlike walls - symbolically at least - they do not seem to guarantee "eternity", since they hardly bear any traces⁴³²; on the other, they suggest that it is always possible to change the lines as the balance of power changes. Barbed wire thus has two components: a static component that signals the presence of spatial limits; and a dynamic component that serves to push back, to repress and which, by making it difficult if not impossible to occupy space, sets in motion rather than stopping it. There are no technical or economic limits to security engineering in this area. In Calais, in September 2020, 65 kilometres of high-security fencing (26,000 welded rigid panels) will outline the labyrinth of communication routes. For first-time visitors, this is a city that, seen from the air, looks like a Swiss cheese made up of multiple cells. This impression of an over-compartmentalised urban space is the result of a systematic metal framing project that was stepped up from 2015 onwards, and even more so once the "Jungle" had been dismantled... as if the end of a heterotopic place had found its outlet in the subjection of Calais to the idea that the camp could emerge from nowhere and therefore be everywhere. This work of immunisation, which is constantly being refined to improve observation capabilities (deforestation, "public" lighting made up of blue lights under bridges, etc.) and obstruction capabilities (riprap in certain areas, installation of bicycle hoops, etc.), corresponds to this logic of "protection".), corresponds to this logic of self-enclosure which suggests

⁴³¹ Olivier Razac, *Histoire politique du barbelé*, Paris, Flammarion, 2009.

⁴³² *Ibid*, p. 50.

that, from an "epiphenomenon" twenty years ago, we have entered another phase, that of a "body" that is one and the same with the other bodies of the city⁴³³ .

To sum up. In Calais, the attempts to extinguish a "place of transit" (a being understood as a metonymy) have failed. They failed because *the* "place of transit" was not and is not the one we think it is. If we situate the 'Jungle' in the history of the last four decades, and if we disregard a historical linearisation that would lead us to think that the 'Jungle' had to come about in the name of the experiments that had been carried out up to that point, then we can analyse the "migratory space" of Calais as a succession of places which, each with its own history, have led to the production of a past that is all the more common in that it has become not just the past of migrants, but also the past of a town and that of its inhabitants. The fractures within the urban space are merely the result of this extremely complex interweaving, which time, used as a tool for analysing the spatial assemblage, invites us to look at differently. From this perspective, one nail does not replace another. Migratory space" is not a litany of places. Rather, it is the psalmody of a single space that can be broken down, but whose persistence restores what makes it resilient: its capacity to metamorphose and, therefore, to endure over time. *Ultimately*, there is no post-Sangatte world. Sangatte is just as much a part of the "Jungle" as it is of the barbed wire encircling the road to Gravelines, just as the Grande-Synthe camp ricochets and reverberates through the Turquerie camp (350 migrants had settled there for a few weeks before being evicted on 13 May 2022).

Once again, it is not a question of saying that all places are alike and that those who have been forced to live there have the same faces. The point is to emphasise the extent to which the depth of a phenomenon is irreducible to the mere mapping of space, the planitude of which only too sparingly accounts for the twofold dimension that affects the experiences and meanings it takes on: its presence *in situ* and its existence in and through time. It is also important to remember that, on another scale, the situation in Calais is like the red thread in a long ball of yarn that links, through and beyond the journeys of migrants, places that are far apart in space and time. This shifting 'migratory space' that affects an urban area over time is a space that duplicates itself wherever precarious lives on the move pass through and take up

⁴³³ Camille Guenebeaud's geography thesis, *Dans la frontière. Migrants et luttes des places dans la ville de Calais* (Patrick Picouet, ed., Université Lille 1, 2017), looks back at the staging of the Calais border based on a survey of the actors involved in the process (migrants, police, associations, etc.).

temporary residence. I will therefore hypothesise that if we apply what is happening in Calais to the scale of France or Europe, we will gain by reading the global 'migratory space' as a juxtaposition of places that resemble each other, but also as a cylinder whose rings (the localised 'migratory spaces'), born at different times, fit together to shape it over a period that far exceeds the duration of the localised 'migratory spaces'. By extension, I would say that any global 'migratory space' can be defined by its presence *in situ* and its existence in and through time.

For the past thirty years, Calais has been a "transit town". Does this make it a "camp town" - in the same way as a seaside town, a tourist town or an industrial town? No, *strictly speaking*. The conurbation cannot be reduced to a single identification. In fact, the mobilisation of elected representatives in favour of urban policies designed to erase the "stigma" and, at the same time, promote an ambitious project to make part of the city a spa town is the best proof of this (see *above*). Yes, but with caveats, if we consider that its recent history is intimately linked to the emergence and, above all, the perpetuation of "places of transit", which, whatever their limits and length of existence, have considerably changed the way in which the city is made into a city, the way in which the city is lived and experienced, and the way in which the city represents itself and is represented. Yes, if we accept that indicators can be used to typify conurbations. The money that, in one way or another, is injected in the name of policing, border surveillance, "reception" assistance (associations employ staff and receive subsidies, need I remind you), accommodation for volunteers (at the height of the "migratory crisis", when journalists flocked to the Pas-de-Calais town, how many hotels filled up⁴³⁴ ?), the erection of fences and barbed wire, and the Front de Mer housing project (which aims to cauterise the "wounds"), is one of them, of course. It would be interesting to analyse in great detail the economic spin-offs in terms of capital gains and/or losses that have affected the urban dynamic over the last thirty years. Since we have not been able to do so (that would be another thesis), a few figures⁴³⁵ indicate that the conurbation has been at the centre of finan-

⁴³⁴ Emmanuel Carrère, *Calais, op. cit.*

⁴³⁵ Claire Rodier, *Xénophobie business. À quoi servent les contrôles migratoires*, Paris, La Découverte, 2012; "Chapter 13. Fermer les frontières pour conjurer la peur: la réponse de l'Europe à la "crise migratoire" de 2015", in Pascal Blanchard (ed.), *Vers la guerre des identités? De la fracture coloniale à la révolution ultranationale*, Paris, La Découverte, 2016, p. 179-186.

cial flows linked to European, state and local sources (signed in 2003, the Le Touquet Agreements allow France, since its revision in 2016, to receive €55 million annually from the British government). Commissioned by Cimade, the *Rapport d'enquête sur 30 ans de fabrique politique de la dissuasion* (2022) (*Report of enquiry into 30 years of the political fabric of deterrence*) provides some specific leads. Despite changes in public policy as a result of changes in government majorities - with, however, a turn for the worse in terms of security (and therefore budget) under the Sarkozy mandate (Ministry of the Interior, 2005-2007; Presidency of the Republic, 2007-2012) - Calais has benefited from multiple interventions that have fuelled a sort of "cornucopia". Between 2012 and 2017, almost €300 million was spent on securing the border and running the security machinery. Between 2017 and 2021, the border cost €425 million⁴³⁶. This raises the question of whether the Front de Mer project would have seen the light of day if Calais had not become a fortress whose life is partly linked to the outsourcing of the British border on its soil. Other indicators also suggest that the Calais urban area should be described as a "camp town": media attention and what it brings in terms of nationally shared representations; an associative fabric polarised around the migrant phenomenon that divides people into those who operate according to a logic of welcome and those who want to "re-establish order"⁴³⁷; police marking (again, a non-exhaustive list).

These social 'emulsions' are one thing. Another thing, and the main one in my view, is that the urban space, in its current configuration, as I have tried to show, now appears (it seems a truism) to be the quintessence of what can effectively be described as a "camp city". Marked and speckled by social episodes that are refracted *throughout the territory*, the urban space of Calais is not - has never been? - a face-off between "them" and a homogenising "us". It has never ceased to make adjustments on a daily basis (because the "migratory space" has become a horizon), to accommodate a camp whose virtual existence goes beyond its mere material emanations. The life expectancy of "transit sites" may be short. However, by their very presence, they initiate multiform reactions that far exceed their lifespan. One example: in the city centre, squares are still fenced off and double locked to prevent migrants from pit-

⁴³⁶ <https://www.lacimade.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/02-01a-PSM-Rapport-30ans-V3.pdf>, p. 174 and p. 249, consulted on 01.05.2022.

⁴³⁷ Matthijs Gardenier, "Sauvons Calais, un groupe anti-migrants. A perspective: 'restoring order'", *European Journal of International Migration*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2018, accessed 01.01.2021.

ching their tents there. This extrapolation of a situation to a given moment, based on the idea of warding off antecedents by preparing a future free of the dross of the past, plays a full part in the contribution of an urban dynamic of which it is one of the temporalities. More than the duration of an encampment, it is what it represents, the duration of a multi-decadal situation of which it is in a way the recipient and referent, that produces spatial forms and contributes at its level to the creation of urbanity.

5.2- Lavrio. A permanent camp

Durations that endure

"The history of the future no longer produces ruins. It doesn't have the time⁴³⁸ ": are Marc Augé's words just a formula? They are too beautiful not to be challenged. The current war in Ukraine continues to produce ruins, as do climatic disasters. The fact remains that these ruins are destined to be filled in, forgotten and erased as quickly as possible. Gone are the days when British tourists were brought to Paris to discover a capital battered by the fighting between the Communards and the Versaillais⁴³⁹ . The ruin, a symbol of European Romanticism that provided food for thought on the precariousness of the human condition and man's claim to control his own destiny, has disappeared from our societies. In Greece, the Lavrio camp is a very good seismograph of this: the first place to receive refugees (this was in 1949), it has subsequently become *the* place par excellence of transit, where stories of migration have been linked together in a variety of ways, to say the least. When you open the gate to the courtyard, you're unknowingly entering the pages of a past that all have exile, passage and welcome in common. This is perfectly normal: every building carries within it the echo of the destinies that have found their way there⁴⁴⁰ . Except that, in this case, the situation has never been the same. The Lavrio camp, despite its durability, was and remains conceived as a camp, in other words a place stamped with the seal of the ephemeral, the transitory, the fixed-term

⁴³⁸ Marc Augé, *Le Temps en ruines*, *op. cit.*

⁴³⁹ Éric Fournier, *Paris en ruines. Du Paris haussmannien au Paris communard*, Paris, Imago, 2008.

⁴⁴⁰ The beautifully illustrated book *La Maison* by Roberto Innocenti and J. Patrick Lewis captures this dimension perfectly.

contract. More than seven decades after its construction, it is still there, on the shores of the Mediterranean, 70 kilometres from Athens. The people who pass by it on their ferries or come here on holiday are often completely unaware of its existence and its history. So there's something of a paradox: is a camp that lasts still a camp, or is it something else? By extension, is the concrete used to construct a building that was extended in 2015 the source of its durability, both concretely and metaphorically⁴⁴¹ ? In short, what does this "place of transit", perhaps misnamed or, on the contrary, so aptly named, tell us about the relationship that such a "reception" space can have with the duration of urban space?

In 2022, the Lavrio camp has no name. Nor is it much in the news, except in Turkey. And for good reason: "Lavrio" remains a rock in the diplomatic relations between the two countries, to the extent that the Turkish press seizes on it from time to time to denounce what it is in the eyes of Ankara, one of the rear bases of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party). Although its function as a training camp has never been proven, the fact remains that the Greek state, which is in favour of welcoming the Kurds, "considered as 'friends' insofar as they are 'enemies' of their Turkish enemies⁴⁴² ", leaves them free to organise it as they see fit. Nor did he make a name for himself in the scientific sphere. The work devoted to it at⁴⁴³ is exceptional. Agathe Bedard is one of the few people to have taken an interest. In July 2019, it was in her company that I discovered the camp where I spent a few days. Agathe had written a Master 2 dissertation after having spent several periods in the small town during 2017-2018. Her knowledge of the place and the people opened the doors for me to a place that you can't get to without an effective intermediary. When I think of "Lavrio", I remember an innocuous gateway and a building that is just as innocuous, were it not for the very large inscription "APO

⁴⁴¹ We know how much concrete has become a figure of modernity in what it also is, a belief in man's ability to defy time; on this point, see Philippe Genestier and Pierre Gras (eds.), *Sacré béton. Fabrique et légende d'un matériau du futur*, Lyon, Libel, 2015.

⁴⁴² Agathe Bedard, Master 2 thesis in geography under the supervision of Cyril Roussel, *Le Camp de Lavrio au sein des trajectoires migratoires kurdes en Grèce. Historical perspectives and ethnography of a political camp*, University of Poitiers, Migrinter, 1 vol, 2017-2018, p. 36.

⁴⁴³ On the Cairn platform, the qualifier "Lavrio camp" shows two results, only one of which refers briefly to the Kurdish refugee camp: Xavier Fiszbin, "Une mosaïque de résistances", *Les Temps Modernes*, vol. 673, no. 2, 2013, p. 195-217.

In her dissertation, Agathe Bedard drew on a variety of sources: "oral (two historical interviews and four qualitative interviews), historical (keyword search in the Bulletin of the Kurdish Institute of Paris, cf. corpus of articles), journalistic, institutional (documents and an interview with a former Red Cross employee) and informal", p. 12 of her dissertation.

PKK" on the entrance wall, which, for those who know the acronym, indicates that this place is different from the others. Although it has all the hallmarks of a school, with two two-storey rough-cast concrete buildings along a courtyard, as soon as you enter the camp you quickly realise that it has very little to do with a school.

Lavrio is a small town belonging to the municipality of Lavreotiki. A centre of mining production, it has been the site of countless trade exchanges and the passage of people, including refugees from Asia Minor who settled there following the Helleno-Turkish war of 1919-1922. After a slow period of de-industrialisation, the town, which has a population of around 10,000⁴⁴⁴, now lives mainly from its tourist and port activities. Lavrio is also a camp whose apparent anonymity masks a long, complex and poorly documented history. Opened in 1949 by the High Commission for Refugees in Greece to accommodate exiles fleeing the Communist regimes of neighbouring countries after the Greek Communists had been defeated in the civil war, the camp was the only one to be financed by the Greek state, whose reception policy remained one of the most restrictive⁴⁴⁵. From 1981 onwards, refugees from the People's Democracies were joined by Turkish refugees, some of whom were fleeing poverty, while others, PKK militants, were hoping to find refuge here in order to coordinate their external actions. The presence of Kurdish exiles from Turkey who were sympathisers or members of the PKK inevitably changed the situation. As it gradually became a political platform, the camp became an issue in diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey. In order to neutralise the problem in the face of relentless Turkish pressure, the Immigration Ministry decided on 31 July 2017 to withdraw from the camp, prompting the departure of the Red Cross, which had been working there and distributing food. This is for the sake of chronology, but it's worth pointing out. When I visited it, Lavrio was divided into two parts: on the one hand, in the town centre, the solid building described as "historic", which I will use as a guideline because it concentrates the questions relating to what makes a camp exist in the long term (it accommodates an average of 250 people); on the other, a 25-minute walk away, its extension, crea-

⁴⁴⁴ <https://lavrioguide.gr/english/>

⁴⁴⁵ Jérôme Valluy, *Rejet des exilés, le grand retournement du droit d'asile*, Vulaines-sur-Seine, Éditions du Croquant, 2009, p. 220.

ted in 2015 and made up of around twenty containers to accommodate the "surplus" of refugees (it accommodates an average of 120 people).

One thing never ceases to intrigue me: while all over the world, camps - which have not been wiped off the map - have metamorphosed into places of remembrance that are cultivated by those who lived there, their descendants or associations that play a part in the phenomenon of making living memory sacrosanct, "Lavrio" has not been subject to such a dynamic. In the words of Marc Augé⁴⁴⁶, it has not had the time to "benefit" from this transformation, as it has been at the heart of successive reconversions. While the building itself has not changed (the two small buildings have never been renovated), it has been the echo chamber of stories that have given it a particular face: that of a past recomposed at the crossroads of multiple and varied durations that endure. *Durations that endure*: the expression is obviously redundant. It is intended to underline the fact that this building, whatever its occupants, has always been a place of waiting. Expectation is the most powerful common denominator that imposes its mark and creates this duration that can be described as primordial. But this is not the only duration. The intrinsic duration of the camp is another. By this I mean that the camp, which from the outset was conceived and designed as a place of reception and transit, has never seen its function change. More than seventy years after its birth, the building is like an institution, if we remember that the hallmark of the⁴⁴⁷ institution is to produce the future by drawing on the legitimacy of the past. "Lavrio" exists all the more because "Lavrio" has never ceased to exist and, in so doing, has never ceased to be part, however quietly, of a topography that goes beyond that of the city. For an exile, a refugee or an asylum seeker, "Lavrio" is a fixed point on a map, a place whose existence is known because there is nothing - if anything - ephemeral or transitory about its existence. What's more, certain elements in the camp mark out the phases that marked its life. Traces that are more or less visible, more or less tangible, reconstruct the past of a habitat described as the "non-ordinary habitat"⁴⁴⁸ of exile. Borrowed from the work by Marc Bernardot, Arnaud Le Marchand and Catalina Santana Bucio, the ex-

⁴⁴⁶ Marc Augé, *Le Temps en ruines*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴⁷ Jacques Lagroye and Michel Offerlé (eds.), *Sociologie de l'institution*, Paris, Belin, 2011.

⁴⁴⁸ Marc Bernardot, Arnaud Le Marchand and Catalina Santana Bucio (eds.), *Habitats non ordinaires et espace-temps de la mobilité*, Vulaines-sur-Seine, Éditions du Croquant, 2014.

pression refers to "several groups of common characteristics⁴⁴⁹ " specific to the different forms that the habitat of "places of transit" can take, depending on the status of the occupation, the inhabitant and the type of accommodation (technical, technological, logistical and architectural issues⁴⁵⁰). Because it is universal/universal and repetitive, this form of "non-ordinariness" of places of exile paradoxically constitutes a form of "ordinariness". At Lavrio, life in this "non-ordinary" place remains very ordinary in many respects: as in most "places of transit", it is reflected in a "dilation of time (which) is linked to a retraction of space⁴⁵¹ " as well as in certain qualities of the way of life that its occupants share with their most immediate contemporaries (mobility, "legal" status of certain residents, social trajectory, etc.).

Carolina Kobelinsky highlights the contrast between the theory of the compression of space-time promoted by David Harvey and the experience of her interviewees in CADAs (reception centres for asylum seekers) in France. According to her, their situation "seems, on the contrary, to reflect a reality that stretches out and imprints waiting at the heart of their experience of exile⁴⁵² ". At Lavrio, since 1949, thousands of men and women have *waited* within the walls of the two buildings. If you think about it, the length of their wait, however short it may have been, has never ceased to fuel a much more global expectation that has materialised, over the past seventy years, in various spatial and organisational elements. Bedrooms are the most striking example. A living space housing between six and ten people in the left wing and families in the right wing, each room is an independent collective unit, so that its rhythm is linked to those who occupy it and not to a general rule that would order it. The rooms "are [in fact] the object of appropriation and negotiation between the people who live there in or-

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁴⁵¹ Carolina Kobelinsky, "Des corps en attente. Le Quotidien des demandeurs d'asile", *Corps*, vol. 10, n° 1, 2012, p. 183-192.

⁴⁵² Carolina Kobelinsky, *L'Accueil des demandeurs d'asile. Une ethnographie de l'attente*, Paris, Éditions du Cygne, 2010, p. 137.

der to adapt collective life to a restricted space⁴⁵³ ". To "exist in boredom⁴⁵⁴ ", as Henri Courau writes, to "kill the waiting", as is often said, is to break it up and organise it.

This is done in several ways. Each cell, with its autonomy in terms of time and organisation, tries to set its own pace. Living in the Lavrio camp for the purposes of her fieldwork, Agathe Bedard recounts that the room she shared with two Syrian women had the following rhythm: people woke up late and went to bed late. In another room where eight men lived, the rhythm of the room was set by two people who woke up at dawn to go fishing. Household activities and meals also set the pace for each unit, which has a kitchenette. Luce Giard notes: "Eating serves not only to maintain the body's biological machinery, but also to embody one of the modes of relationship between the person and the world, thus drawing one of the fundamental markers in space-time". She continues: "When the political or economic situation forces people into exile, the reference to the culture of origin is replaced for the longest time by food, if not for daily meals, then at least for festive occasions, a way of inscribing in the withdrawal of the self the sense of belonging to the former homeland⁴⁵⁵ ". Finally, waiting is shared in a common room and cafeteria on the ground floor of one of the buildings. While daily life is part of the camp, residents can still go out and come in quite freely (in 2019, the gate closed in the evening, although they were allowed to go out once they had been approved by camp officials). The freedom given to residents means that some occasionally take the opportunity to visit the nearest tourist sites (the temple of Poseidon on Cape Sounion, ten kilometres from Lavrio) or go to the beach. Athens remains a less popular destination, both because the cost of the bus remains high (€15 return) and because the journey takes around two hours. So people go there for administrative reasons. Inevitably, knowledge of the region and the town is limited, to say the least. While the camp is by no means an entrenched citadel, for all the reasons mentioned above, living there is part and parcel of a life inside the camp, punc-

⁴⁵³ Agathe Bedard, *Le Camp de Lavrio au sein des trajectoires migratoires kurdes en Grèce. Perspectives historiques et ethnographie d'un camp politique*, op. cit., p. 77.

⁴⁵⁴ Henri Courau, *Ethnologie de la forme-camp de Sangatte. De l'exception à la régulation*, Paris, Éditions des Archives contemporaines, 2007, p. 230. The author points out: "But boredom is not just an internal state of the individual at a given moment. It is an integral part of the test of reality and permeates all social practices, the sanction that the experience of *homo faber* must undergo", p. 231.

⁴⁵⁵ Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard and Pierre Mayol, *L'Invention du quotidien*, t. II: *Habiter, cuisiner*, Paris, Gallimard, 1994, p. 259.

tuated from time to time by a visit to the same café located a hundred metres away, in the main avenue of the small town. This is not to say that there is some kind of camp habitus that operates like a routine. It's just a reminder that it's difficult for human beings immersed in waiting to get out and "explore" their immediate environment, even if it's criss-crossed by tourist exchanges. Waiting means mainly organising your departure for the rest of Europe: "The discussions revolve around two things: finding a good ferryman to leave Greece; and talking together about Kurdistan, the villages of origin, the food, the great fighters, listening to Kurdish music. So they are either focused on a very uncertain future, or on the lost country of origin⁴⁵⁶".

Waiting is not the only component of duration. The intrinsic duration of the camp is another. The walls of the buildings have been standing for seventy years. The fact that they have been standing for so long is a reminder of the extent to which the camp was conceived from the outset as a place that, despite the functions it would be given, was made to last. Part of its originality lies in the concrete used to build it, since "transit sites" are either the repurposing of existing buildings (former schools, offices, warehouses, hospitals, airports) or a collection of buildings created in a hurry and with no foundations. "Lavrio" was designed from the outset as a place to manage the transit of people. Its architecture is by no means insignificant. Facing each other, the two buildings overlooking a tarmac courtyard offer a form of control, all the more so because in the lower right wing, the committee's office and the camp manager's bedroom make it easy to observe (it's 2019) what's going on in the courtyard - especially the entrances and exits. The layout of the buildings also reveals a symmetrical structure: a central staircase divides each floor into two parts; on either side of the staircase, five bedrooms (25 square metres in the left wing; a more modest area in the right wing) and two bathrooms and toilets organise a space that is circulated by long corridors and sloping balconies. Everything is done to orchestrate a communal life where the domestic cannot be confused with the intimate and where individuals are and feel reduced to categories: a Kurdish woman from Syria arriving in the camp is likely to be placed in the room (the "hut") of women identified as such passage after passage. It so happens that each individual is "under

⁴⁵⁶ Agathe Bedard, *Le Camp de Lavrio au sein des trajectoires migratoires kurdes en Grèce. Perspectives historiques et ethnographie d'un camp politique*, op. cit. p. 82.

control" here, a control which, although comparison is not necessarily reason, can be likened to that of the panopticon, which Michel Foucault used as a key to reading the disciplinary society of modernity.

The fact that the camp has endured is not only linked to its infrastructure. The camp takes root over time because the way it is thought about, identified and managed depends on the almost anthropological inertia that means that every "place of transit" takes on the forms and formulas that make up this "archipelago"⁴⁵⁷ that spans the decades. In *La France des camps*, Denis Peschanski dedicates a chapter to the "impossible architecture"⁴⁵⁸ of "reception" facilities. While in France, the detention camps (between 1938 and 1946) formed a "polynesia" dictated by the urgency and improvisation of authorities incapable of anticipating the duration of events (Spanish refugees, foreign Jews, etc.), in France, the camps were a "polynesia" dictated by the urgency and improvisation of authorities incapable of anticipating the duration of events (Spanish refugees, foreign Jews, etc.), victims of the debacle in the spring of 1940), across the Rhine, "the architecture of the German camps borrowed from an old European tradition, linked to the military or hospital architecture of the EIGHTEENTH century^e and taken over by the panoptic prisons of the NINETEENTH CENTURY^e"⁴⁵⁹. The shape of the camps followed "a classic, uniform plan, which was intended to be functional, but whose very functionality was severely limited by the lack of time and resources. The architect or town planner had no place in a creation that did not follow a real project"⁴⁶⁰. "Lavrion" is exceptional in that it is a concentrate of a history of confinement that uses methods tried and tested in the past and that the players reproduce on the grounds that it is a matter of dealing with an emergency - an emergency that has lasted in this case since the end of the 19^e century, when the camp took on a quasi-definitive form"⁴⁶¹. As I have already written, the camp was initially designed for exiles fleeing the communist regimes in Europe before becoming, until the with-

⁴⁵⁷ Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps. L'internement, 1938-1946*, Paris, Gallimard, 2002.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴⁶¹ Annette Becker, "La genèse des camps de concentration : Cuba, la guerre des Boers, la grande guerre de 1896 aux années vingt", *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 2008/2, no. 189, p. 101-129.

drawal of the public authorities in 2017, *The Lavrio Centre for the Temporary Residence of Foreign Asylum Seekers*, according to the terminology used by the Greek state⁴⁶². By setting the pace of life in the camp over all these decades, the phases have contributed to the stratification of the camp's history, even though traces of the early periods can only be found in a residual state (a few graffiti on the walls at best). Linked to the presence of the UNHCR and the Red Cross since the 1980s, two containers, for example, bear witness to a bygone era when the site was not self-managed. One houses communal showers, while the other is inhabited. Other signs of the presence of humanitarian organisations can still be seen in the rooms: the grey blankets bear the UNHCR logo and the bunk beds the Red Cross.

Duration policy

As you can see, "Lavrio" is a very special camp. What's more, since 2017 it has been the only collective housing centre managed by the Kurdish Association able to accommodate such a large number of people from Kurdistan alone. Its residents receive no economic support from the Greek state since the latter closed the "transit centre" after withdrawing from the project. Many Kurds do not wish to become part of an official "reception" system that would oblige them to lodge an asylum application in Greece and not in the countries they are aiming for (the "Dublin procedure" (2013) obliges all asylum seekers to have their case examined in

⁴⁶² *Lavrio a Tour of the Town*, "Service for refugees, foreigners and immigrants in Lavrio", Municipality of Lavrio Development Corporation, Marilena Marmari and Fotini Marmari, 2007 (document in Agathe Bedard's dissertation, p. 108).

the country of arrival and, therefore, subjects them to the rights and duties of that country⁴⁶³). Moreover, if Kurds are still living there today, it is because the official closure by the State has not interrupted the life of the camp. Tolerated by Greek governments, this now unofficial camp is managed by the Kurdish Association of Athens and its inhabitants organised into communes. To speak of a "political camp" is no euphemism, since "Lavrio" is currently the "hub of a network", although we must be careful not to caricature the situation, otherwise we risk playing into the hands of Turkish propaganda, which constantly refers to it in this way. Agathe Bedard rightly highlights the extreme complexity between Kurdishness, political affiliation and migration; she points out that the "dichotomy between political and non-politicised refugees [there] is structuring⁴⁶⁴ ". Thus, for almost all of its residents, it seems that "the network forged by the party organisation or at least the political network played an important role in their arrival in Lavrio⁴⁶⁵ ".

The camp in no way resembles a loose arrangement. An elaborate organisational system runs the lives of the residents before, during and after their move to "Lavrio". By way of explanation and justification for the system in place, the Kurds I met refer to the model of "democratic confederalism" theorised by Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party. Autonomy, feminism and ecology are seen as cardinal values. The camp therefore acts as their guarantor and spokesperson over time. It embodies them all the more because the

⁴⁶³ In response to the crisis, national governments agreed in September 2015 to allocate asylum applications by quota, in order to relieve the burden on countries in the front line. Criticised by a number of central European countries, it has in fact been applied very little. At the end of the two-year programme to relocate 120,000 asylum seekers, 31,000 had actually been taken into care, barely more than a quarter of the total. As for their distribution, the report published by the Commission shows that the central European countries that were opposed to the programme, led by Hungary and Poland, have not taken in any migrants from Greece or Italy. A proposal for reform, known as "Dublin IV", was put forward by the European Commission in April 2016. Among other things, it envisaged changing the criteria for distributing the processing of asylum applications, so that they would no longer be based on the countries of entry. The Commission also wanted to integrate new identification tools into the Eurodac database. However, the project has remained a dead letter, as the positions of the Member States remain very divergent on the issue. Initially scheduled for February 2020 and then April, the "Asylum and Migration Package" was finally unveiled by the Commission on 23 September. The challenge is to build a political consensus around the principle of solidarity between Member States. The reform provides for a relocation mechanism for willing Member States, accompanied by financial compensation and/or increased surveillance of external borders for those who refuse to accept asylum seekers.

[https://www.touteurope.eu/l-ue-dans-le-monde/asile-et-migrations-en-europe-qu-est-ce-que-le-reglement-de-dublin/#:~:text=Le%20r%C3%A8glement%20de%20Dublin%20fait,la%20migration%20and%20asylum,consulted on 15.02.23](https://www.touteurope.eu/l-ue-dans-le-monde/asile-et-migrations-en-europe-qu-est-ce-que-le-reglement-de-dublin/#:~:text=Le%20r%C3%A8glement%20de%20Dublin%20fait,la%20migration%20and%20asylum,consulted%20on%2015.02.23)

⁴⁶⁴ Agathe Bedard, *Le Camp de Lavrio au sein des trajectoires migratoires kurdes en Grèce. Perspectives historiques et ethnographie d'un camp politique*, op. cit, p. 40.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 45.

inhabitants are in transit - it should be remembered that while the Kurds living in Greece are not very numerous given their situation in France and Germany, they do make up a significant proportion of the migrants passing through Greece⁴⁶⁶ . Most of the Kurds in "Lavrio" stay there for a few weeks or even a few months. Very few live there for years.

Self-management in no way rhymes with improvisation, and all the more so because the system put in place in Greece reproduces what lies at the heart of Kurdish social space: autonomous cells that do not participate in the production of a nation-state but guide the existence of a community of destiny based on a mosaic of small communities cemented by shared values. For this community of destiny to exist, it needs "common threads". "Lavrio lies at the intersection of two "red threads". The first is woven by the very existence of the camp, which attests to a long-term presence in Greece - so it's easy to understand why the Kurds did everything they could to keep the place after 2017. The second is that which links communities together across national borders, despite the extremely varied situations in which they are "immersed". Committees, assemblies, rituals and festivals (Newroz, Öcalan's birthday, etc.) are undoubtedly part of what keeps these red threads together. There is no doubt that these elements are politically coloured. It is surprising, as Agathe Bedard points out, that the political backbone of the Lavrio camp is never mentioned in the institutional sources that the place has generated, even though, in its high visibility, the spatial anchoring of politics has been and remains one of the conditions for the survival of this place. Agathe Bedard tells us - and I'm quoting her at length because there are few testimonies as precise as hers - "The anchoring of politics is not only observable in the discourse of the camp's inhabitants. Perhaps we need to go back to the astonishment of the first visit to the camp to remember the extent to which the entire visual space of the camp is impregnated with traces and marks of politics, whether in the outside spaces (...), the communal spaces (...), or even the intimate spaces of the bedrooms (...). This presence is dominated above all by the symbols of the PKK, its affiliated parties and their armed branches, displayed throughout the camp. From outside the camp, even from the street, this symbolism dominates: witness the *Freedom for Öcalan* flags, the PKK flag and that of the KCK erected in the middle of the courtyard (...); but also the low wall at the en-

⁴⁶⁶ Gilles Bertrand, "Interférences des conflits périphériques dans la confrontation bilatérale", in *Le Conflit hel-léno-turc. La confrontation des deux nationalismes à l'aube du XXe siècle*, Istanbul, Institut français d'études anatoliennes, 2003.

trance to the camp inscribed with APO PKK, Apo meaning uncle in Kurmancî and referring to Öcalan (...). The figure of the leader Öcalan is the subject of a cult of personality and is present everywhere, whether in the form of portraits (...) or phrases from his speeches, displayed as slogans (...). It is also central to Kurdish celebrations (...). PKK symbolism is present throughout the party, with portraits of its founders (...), well-known activists (...) the acronyms of its armed branches (...) and affiliated parties in other regions. The Syrian PYD is represented above all by the image of the martyrs of the male and female armed forces (...). However, there are traces of other political parties (...), particularly in the chambers that were supposed to belong to these parties (TKP-ML and Tikko; MKP). The MLKP and MKP are largely represented, with some sympathisers also present in the camp. A few more discreet traces of the Iranian PJAK party can also be seen in the common room (...). The common room, which serves as a social area within the camp, has a television constantly switched on to Kurdish channels (...). If we look at the library (...), it is mainly made up of political books in Turkish and Kurdish and has hardly been renewed for years. It seems to reflect the camp's historical presence rather than its current function as a place of political education⁴⁶⁷ ". The singularity of "Lavrio" cannot hide what is inherent in the migrant condition: the migrant is constantly torn between a "here" and a "there"⁴⁶⁸ ". In the case we are interested in, this red thread is hypertrophied insofar as it is embodied in the concrete of the buildings that consecrate a "here and now" linking "a precise point" to a "space-time of the world"⁴⁶⁹ ". The Kurds in the Lavrio camp find themselves part of a "there" that is not so much their country of origin as a part of a community scattered across the world, whose unity is continuously forged on signs of identification that help to (re)assemble its members.

Let's move on for a moment. Henri Courau carried out a lengthy investigation (2002-2004) of the Sangatte camp. As an anthropologist and under the banner of the Red Cross volunteer he had become, he set about studying the daily life of the centre. When his

⁴⁶⁷ Agathe Bedard, *Le Camp de Lavrio au sein des trajectoires migratoires kurdes en Grèce. Perspectives historiques et ethnographie d'un camp politique*, op. cit, p. 74.

⁴⁶⁸ Alain Tarrus, "Beyond nation-states: migrant societies", *European Journal of International Migration*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2001, p. 37-61.

⁴⁶⁹ Sandra Bonfiglioli and Marco Mareggi, *Il Tempo e la città fra natura e storia. Atlante di progetti sui tempi della città*, op. cit, p. 91.

book was published at the end of 2007, Courau said: "The description I have given is still the only one to offer an inside view⁴⁷⁰". A passage from his book seems to me to be highly relevant here in addressing what lies at the heart of the "Lavrio" experience and which he calls the "spatio-temporal cameo⁴⁷¹" - in other words, a place where "residents find themselves 'unable to do', but also obliged to 'do with'⁴⁷²". Time was managed at Sangatte according to the rhythm set by the Red Cross: "In order to keep the residents occupied," Courau documents, "the French Red Cross leaves the television sets on all day, lends out balloons, and reduces the time between the end of one meal and the start of the next⁴⁷³". "Enmeshed in a regular timetable punctuated by meals, sleeping time, waiting in queues, distributions and attempts to cross over to Great Britain⁴⁷⁴", the behaviour of the 2,000 or so people (over a hundred nationalities) was governed by an institution that set out a daily routine to which all arrivals were subject. The image of the monochrome is apt, because it highlights the extent to which, in any migratory experience, time occupies a central place insofar as it is the source of twofold management: that of each individual and that of the institutions that deal with it. The duration of the Lavrio camp depends both on migratory flows and on the capacity of the system put in place over the years, within a national political framework that also dictates its conduct, to manage the time of what always turns out to be a stage.

"Lavrio" has lasted without changing its form, or at least very little. An ecosystem in which the *turnover of* people is inversely proportional to the continuity of their presence, it cannot be likened to the Palestinian camps, despite the spatial anchorage and political arena it

⁴⁷⁰ Henri Courau, *Ethnologie de la forme-camp de Sangatte. De l'exception à la régulation*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ In her book *Rimbaud, la Commune de Paris et l'invention de l'histoire spatiale (Rimbaud, the Paris Commune and the invention of spatial history)*, Kristin Ross points out: "The collapse of spatial hierarchies under the Commune, which involved the creation of places for political deliberation and decision-making that were no longer secret but open and accessible, also brought about a collapse in the division of time. The public nature of political life, with the immediate publication of all the decisions and proclamations of the Commune, mainly in the form of *posters*, gave rise to a "spontaneous" temporality thanks to which citizens were no longer informed of their history after the event, but actually experienced the moment of its realisation. The Communards reappropriated the city and its streets, and at the same time reinvented urban rhythms: the 'sleepless nights' and 'revolutionary days' do not simply correspond to certain days on a calendar, but to an introduction to (and immersion in) a new temporal movement.", Paris, Les Prairies ordinaires, 2013 [1988], p. 68-69.

has become. In many respects, the Palestinian camps are the emblem of the camp-that-happens-while-it-transforms. The figure of metamorphosis is the one that best characterises them, provided we see in them what the philosopher Emanuele Coccia sees in them: "Metamorphosis is not simply the succession of two differences, it is the impossibility of replacing the other, the paradoxical coexistence of the most distant possibilities in one and the same life⁴⁷⁵". "Lavrio" endures because the solid walls are not the mirror of a given that would be given once and for all. Walls do not impose an order on the world, even if that world is the labile world of migration. They frame portions of existence (Paul Ricœur speaks of architecture as a "configuring operation⁴⁷⁶ ") and conform them to the present, which is the present of those who stop there. They are in no way definitive tracks that would be duplicated in the course of a long history involving singular destinies and cohorts of displaced people. Paul Ricœur said it best: "It seems to me that it is the glory of architecture to make present not what is no longer, but what was through what is no longer⁴⁷⁷". If "Lavrio" tells us of a dissociation between the duration of a place and the duration of its inhabitants' settlement, the Palestinian camps tell us the opposite story: the camps follow the lives of their residents, so that their spatial transformations record the social pulsations that take place within them.

⁴⁷⁵ Emanuele Coccia, *Métamorphoses*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2020, p. 56.

⁴⁷⁶ Paul Ricœur, *Architecture et narrativité*, the text is a reprise of a contribution by P.R. entitled "De la mémoire", to the Groupe de réflexion des architectes, organised by the Direction de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, in Paris in 1996. It was published in 1998 in *Urbanisme*, no. 303, p. 44-51.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

5.3- Palestinian camps. Time par excellence

In Jordan

Let's start with a figure: there are more than seven million Palestinian refugees in the world⁴⁷⁸, including one and a half million living in the official camps run by UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East). Built between 1948 and 1968, the 59 camps are spread across the Gaza Strip (8), Jordan (10), Syria (10), Lebanon (12) and the West Bank (19). UNRWA defines Palestinian refugees as "persons whose principal residence was Palestine during the period from 1^{er} June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost their homes and means of subsistence as a result of the 1948 conflict⁴⁷⁹". 5.2 million Palestinians are registered under this heading. Of these, 42% (around two million people) live in Jordan, mainly in the country's three major cities (Zarqa, Amman and Irbid), and together they make up 35% of the Jordanian population⁴⁸⁰. The camps, which exist only in these cities (6 in Amman and the other 4 between Zarqa and Irbid), do not house all the Palestinians, quite the contrary. It is estimated that they house 370,000 Palestinians, i.e. almost 20% of the total number recorded by the United Nations agency.

I will focus solely on the Palestinian camps in Jordan. I made this choice because these camps seem to me to be a good observatory: as they preceded the rapid development of Amman, they found themselves intrinsically involved in an urban dynamic of which they were both spectators and, once incorporated into the fabric of the city, particular players. "Urbanisation marked by the Palestinian presence" is the title given to one of the paragraphs in Marc Lavergne's article, "Aménagement du territoire et croissance urbaine en Jordanie. Amman and

⁴⁷⁸ Sylviane Wangen, "Le droit au retour des réfugiés", *Confluences Méditerranée*, vol. 65, no. 2, 2008, p. 145-158.

⁴⁷⁹ (Persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict", <https://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees>.

⁴⁸⁰ In the article "Regional planning and urban growth in Jordan" they put forward figures of 70% in Amman, 90% in Zarqa and 70% in Irbid, stressing that "official Jordanian statistics do not distinguish between the population of Transjordanian origin and the Palestinians, in an obvious concern for national cohesion, and also so as not to acknowledge a fact from which Israel draws threatening conclusions, namely that Jordan represents in the eyes of Zionist leaders a "replacement homeland" for the Palestinians (estimates of the share of the Palestinian population vary from 53% to 66% of the total)".

the 'Jordanian desert'⁴⁸¹ ", underlines the extent to which the refugees, because they did not have access to land, made the towns prosper. This participation in urban development is also a result of social dispositions: "Thanks to their know-how, dynamism and capital, brought from a Palestine whose economic and social development was more advanced than that of their host country⁴⁸² ", men and women have encouraged the rapid urbanisation of an area that until then had remained profoundly rural. In Amman, two camps managed by UNRWA are located in the municipal area of the city, while the other four are located in the rest of the city. To the north, the Jabal al-Hussein camp, built in 1952, is home to 39,000 registered people (2019 figure). To the south, the al-Wihdat camp (or Amman New Camp), opened in 1955, has 57,000 registered refugees (2018 figure). In the space of sixty years, the municipal area of the Jordanian capital has increased from 2.05 square kilometres in 1947 to 226.6 square kilometres in 2005, at the cost of continuous growth (28.6 square kilometres in 1961; 144.6 square kilometres in 1994). This urban sprawl is the result of endogenous growth, but not the only one. The influx of Palestinian refugees, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, resulted in two phenomena: an increase in the population of Amman and an expansion of the city, which acted as an accelerator of the migration dynamic. It was because the city appeared potentially welcoming that people from outside the region kept wanting to settle there too. From the Palestinians' point of view, the result was twofold: on the one hand, the two camps were absorbed into an urban fabric that was becoming denser and wider; on the other, they embodied and symbolised - in the strictest sense of the term - a substitute Eldorado, not so much a second homeland as a temporary port of call pending their return.

The two camps are managed by two authorities: the Department of Palestinian Affairs (DPA), which reports to the Jordanian government, and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which reports to the UN. The government has the right to use the sites where the camps are located. However, the land belongs to Jordanian families who have been renting it out for forty years without being able to

⁴⁸¹ Marc Lavergne, "Aménagement du territoire et croissance urbaine en Jordanie. Amman et le " désert jordanien "" , *Maghreb - Machrek*, vol. 140, no. 2, 1993, p. 35-58.

⁴⁸² *Ibid*, p. 37.

benefit from the added value⁴⁸³. In the 1950s, the land was located in "undeveloped, unserved and unequipped areas, on land unsuitable for agriculture and not included in development plans", whereas today, "by the standards of the surrounding land, the unit value of the land would have increased by a factor of 100 to 400⁴⁸⁴". While no land transactions are possible, the property market inside the camps is flourishing. Even if transactions within this market are not officially recognised by the land registry or the courts, "they are sanctioned by an 'informal' title deed, established between the parties, often in the presence of a 'respectable' witness: a notable, *mukhtâr* or other. UNRWA itself keeps no record of these transactions and has only the list of the first beneficiaries of the housing units distributed when the camps were set up, and that of the occupants in 1973. The people themselves contrast the "camp" with the *milk* or "property" zones⁴⁸⁵. So there's a paradox: while land is not transferable, the "shelters"⁴⁸⁶ that are in the camps can be modified: they are not built on, but renovated or extended. Until the early 2000s, it was impossible to build more than one level of accommodation. For the managers of these sites, the idea was to prohibit any form of perpetuation of the buildings, in line with the logic that, decades after their creation, the camps were still temporary.

Nowadays, violations of these standards are commonplace: it is not uncommon for homes to have a single storey, while shops can be up to six metres high. This vertical thrust, which is relative in the grand scheme of things, is far less trivial than it might seem: while floors suggest that a neighbourhood is in the making, the fact remains that the ground beneath the buildings is always a "ground that slips away". By this I mean that, because it is not legally possible to appropriate it, it is a prerequisite for the existence of a "suspended city". I have coined this notion from the work of Luigi Achilli, Lucas Oesch, Jalal Al-Husseini and Blandine Destremau. The first two define these places as "spaces of ambiguity⁴⁸⁷": exceptional in their sta-

⁴⁸³ Blandine Destremau, "Palestinian refugee camps and the city: between enclave and neighbourhood", art. cit.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, "Official names of residential buildings in the camps".

⁴⁸⁷ Luigi Achilli and Lucas Oesch, "Des espaces d'ambiguïté: les camps de réfugiés palestiniens en Jordanie", art. cit.

tus, they are ordinary in their relationship to urban space. By emphasising the position of these camps between enclaves and neighbourhoods integrated into the city, the other two emphasise the extent to which, behind the apparent contiguity of urban morphology, there are original discontinuities that shape the conurbation. Reversing the classic view of Palestinian camps as enclosures of a temporary nature that lasts, Alessandro Petti and Sandi Hilal defend the idea that camps are "*permanent temporariness*⁴⁸⁸": it is not so much their duration that defines them, but rather the relationship that the inhabitants and institutions have with their duration.

In all camps for displaced persons, the relationship that these people have with their places of origin and destination partly determines the temporal complexion of these camps. There are three cases to consider: either the camps are conceived and perceived as places on the road back to square one; or the camps are a "stepping stone", for want of a better word, pending integration in a "host country" that is confused with a country of destination; or the camps appear as an obligatory stage in trajectories that are in no way subordinate to the objective of *nostos*. In my nomenclature, Calais comes under the third type: migrants there are "in suspension", waiting for the horizon of their ultimate quest (a place to settle permanently) to open up. The duration of the camp depends on the chances of reaching their destination (Great Britain) as quickly as possible. The Tempelhof Refugee Camp (Berlin) falls into the second category: set up in the buildings of the airport built in the 1930s, in 2016 it housed 1,300 people, most of them born in the Near and Middle East, whose aim was to stay in Germany and make a life for themselves there. In this case, the camp is like an airlock designed to facilitate integration into a new society. How long it lasts depends intrinsically on how quickly the State is able to provide material support for the people temporarily residing there. The Palestinian camps in Jordan epitomise the first type on this list. It is because their residents are always driven by the desire to return home - in other words, to reclaim their land - that these places will never lose what defines them in the first place: being spaces of transition. Alessandro Petti⁴⁸⁹ sees them as spaces that manifest a double extra-territoriality: the "promised land"

⁴⁸⁸ Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti, *Permanent Temporariness, op. cit; Refugee Heritage*, Stockholm, Art and Theory Publishing, 2021.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

is a place of origins that was abolished by the Nakba and which, metaphorically, has been transplanted to the Jordanian elsewhere; despite their long history, the camps remain territories, one of the distinctive features of which is that they remain enclaves governed by their own rules - Michel Agier wonders about the spatio-temporal reference points of the camps over time: "No collective memory of the 'place'," he writes, "can legitimately be formed if you are only supposed to wait to leave; no history of your own is ever written. No "ruins" are preserved and valued⁴⁹⁰ ".

The notion of the "suspended city" says it all: the longer these places (the camps) last, the more they "become a city" in Jordan, the stronger their extra-territoriality becomes. May 2019: I'm in Amman. I'm having a coffee with Mohamad (alias Jocker), whom I met through the NGO I Dare. We're talking about an object born of Palestinian resistance and cherished by many of its inhabitants: the key. A symbol of the right to return, as stipulated in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the key refers to the sentimental and political background of the diaspora. Jocker is almost thirty. He spent his entire childhood in al-Wihdat. His grandparents still live there and wouldn't lose the key to the home they were forced to leave for anything in the world. The same goes for his parents: leaving the camp would inevitably mean "giving up" in Palestine, and there can be no question of that. Jocker admits to me that he's not in the same frame of mind. He lives with friends in a rented flat outside al-Wihdat, but feels Palestinian in a completely different way to his ancestors, to the extent that selling his land in Palestine is not taboo. His life is in Jordan and the question of a possible return to "the homeland of his ancestors" does not arise, or no longer does. He questions his identity more because he sees himself as a Jordanian born of Palestinian parents. In the space of three generations, our perception of the space we live in (both in reality and in our minds) has changed profoundly. It's a fact that many studies have widely documented: the integration of the children and grandchildren of immigrants can involve losing, abolishing or obscuring the landmarks that marked out the lives of their parents, so that assimilation leads to behaviour that goes as far as national outbidding for the host country⁴⁹¹ . I'm interested in several aspects of Jocker's story. Firstly, his relationship with Palestine differs from that of his parents in that,

⁴⁹⁰ Michel Agier, "Temps, espace et politique. Eléments d'anthropologie des camps de réfugiés", art. cité, p. 36.

⁴⁹¹ Pierre Birnbaum, Gérard Noiriel...

for my interviewee, it is no longer the camp that is the anchor point, but the city of Amman as a whole. The camp is a magnifying glass that allows us to examine the distance or, on the contrary, the rootedness of a history that has taken shape territorially. Secondly, if we start from the premise that the camp and the place of origin in Palestine are like communicating vessels, then the longer the former 'drags on' and in so doing produces an accumulation of layers of memory (the Palestinian-centric memory of Jocker's grandparents has little to do with his own), the more the latter swells with an extra-territorial dimension that feeds the metaphor of a suspended if not lost El Dorado.

The nature of communicating vessels is to establish reciprocity. The more extraterritoriality gains ground, the more the question of the right to return is posed differently. The right to return is enshrined in numerous texts of international law (the Fourth Geneva Convention in 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1966, etc.) and is often invoked by refugee representatives, who point out the extent to which refugees have been forced to leave their country against their will. This right has become a major issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict because PLO spokespersons have made it a decisive factor in resolving the conflict, to the point where Israel can only see it as a latent threat to its territorial "integrity". The politicisation of the right of return on both sides of the borders has repercussions on what each side can, must, cannot or must not become. There is therefore nothing trivial about building even one floor. Given this situation, every act of building something is caught in the net of political considerations. It is as if every new element leads to a relaxation of the power of evocation of the right of return, which is *ultimately* at the heart of the discourse of the Palestinian authorities. But there's more: the area of the camps does not appear on any development plan, or any Land and Survey Ministry land register; instead, a blank space appears. Not an unfortunate oversight, of course. There are two main reasons for this deliberate oversight. As the inhabitants of the camps do not pay any taxes (on land or property) and do not apply to the municipality for planning permission, they continue to feed a form of "Palestinianness"⁴⁹² which claims *in petto* its right to live somewhere with autonomy, the guarantee of a future that is lived both here (Jordan) and there (Palestine, between geopolitical scissions and existential

⁴⁹² Luigi Achilli and Lucas Oesch, "Des espaces d'ambiguïté: les camps de réfugiés palestiniens en Jordanie", art. cit.

myth). By extension, "Palestinianness" is in line with Traverso's observation that the Nakba is "an eternal present"⁴⁹³ : "We are confronted here with what Dan Diner has called a "compressed time" (*gestaute Zeit*) that refuses to see itself as the past"⁴⁹⁴ ". On the part of the Jordanian regime, the interest in preserving an original ambiguity plays in favour of this cartographic concealment. Above all, Jordan does not wish to become a substitute homeland, as the international aid for Palestinian refugees that falls into its coffers is not insignificant - some of the funds used to maintain the camps are therefore used to manage certain districts that make up the city. What's more, the Hashemite monarchy does not have the luxury of getting into trouble with Transjordanian nationalist groups who take a dim view of the total integration of these "foreigners who are so close".

As "suspended spaces", these camps are obviously not suspended in the city. By this I mean that while their extra-territoriality is almost inherent (these camps are symbols used deliberately by different players who benefit from them), they are nonetheless integral and integrating districts of the conurbation - let's not forget that in many respects they are among the oldest districts. The network of public facilities (water, electricity, sewers, telephone) does not stop at the gates of the camps, and confirms that the phenomenon of insularisation has never taken place. Blandine Destremau's research is timely⁴⁹⁵ . As regards commercial space, it turns out that, in the absence of an official plan, the distribution of establishments in the camps is based on an informal agreement between the municipality and the DAP. The fact remains that licences can only be obtained from the municipal services, which play the role of supervisors. The UNRWA and the municipality work in partnership to collect rubbish and transport it to the designated depots. As for roads, they come under this mixed system involving the DAP and the Jordanian state when the roads are more than four metres wide; below that width, the local residents do the work using materials supplied by UNRWA. As we can see, the urban structuring of the camps takes place at the crossroads of the official Jordanian and the official Palestinian, but also in a "grey zone" where the unofficial and the two official

⁴⁹³ Enzo Traverso, *Le Passé, modes d'emploi. Histoire, mémoire, politique*, Paris, La Fabrique éditions, 2005, p. 53.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 52.

⁴⁹⁵ Blandine Destremau, "Palestinian refugee camps and the city: between enclave and neighbourhood", art. cit.

combine to give them that dynamic which organises the lives of the inhabitants over the long term.

The duration of the "transit point" exceeds the flow

In my case, duration is not just a matter of the fact that these camps have existed for over sixty years. This does not mean that the Palestinians' relationship with the long period of the camp is not also linked to this permanence. What it does mean is that duration cannot be indexed to this single sedimentation. If the camps immediately suggest an informality that rhymes with a nebulosity in the way they are managed, we need to get away from this initial image. On the opposite, what the examples I worked on taught me, contrary to popular belief, was the complexity of a system whose control, particularly over time, is a necessary condition for the structuring of these places. At al-Wihdat and Jabal al-Hussein, what counts is not so much their date of birth and the long period of time that has elapsed since then; it is the way in which the many players play with and on that time. Here, the duration of the camp exceeds the flow of refugees, since the very idea of transit is as much a state of affairs as it is a political use of what transit is and should be. For the Jordanian state, lasting means securing an income and retaining control over the possibility of putting an end to a shared history of reception. For the Israeli state, lasting means, under cover of a challenge considered essential by its authorities, keeping as far away as possible a danger that would threaten the territorial, land and therefore political balance that Israel has martially tried to forge and maintain. For the Palestinians, lasting means keeping a "floating signifier" - in this case, the lost land - within enclosures, the camps, which materialise its existence. It's like a space translated on the model of the new Mazagão (see 2.1 *above*⁴⁹⁶), except that Mazagão was not only a fortress, but also a pocket of time out of sync with the surrounding ecosystem.

Here too, the camps are all the more interesting in terms of analysis because they allow us to bypass social interactions and focus on purely spatial interactions. To say this is not, of course, to undermine the fact that these places are inhabited by people who in return

⁴⁹⁶ Laurent Vidal, *Mazagão, la ville qui traversa l'Atlantique, du Maroc à l'Amazonie (1769-1783)*, *op. cit.*

credit them with being what they are, neighbourhoods integrated into the city of Amman; it is to point out, once again, that spatial dynamics do not necessarily overlap with social dynamics. al-Wihdat and Jabal al-Hussein are not, at least in appearance, enclaves, islands, within a capital city. There are several proofs of this: firstly, that the "Arabs of Palestine", as defined by the Hashemite State, were made full Jordanian citizens in 1949 (although this citizenship goes hand in hand with social relegation, given that the Palestinians have a lower standard of living than their contemporaries and that they work in the least favoured sectors)⁴⁹⁷ ; secondly, the camps are home to less than 20% of the refugees registered by UNRWA⁴⁹⁸ , with most of the population living in the working-class districts of eastern Amman. Despite this, from a spatial point of view, the camps remain areas whose identity is nourished by what they are responsible for: being reservoirs of meaning for Palestinians who, even when assimilated into Jordanian society, can refer to them if need be. However, to treat them merely as metaphorical perimeters would be to fail to take account of their capacity to be tangible. To write these lines is also to immerse myself in a memory that, in the process of writing this thesis, becomes present again. It's 26 May 2019. Jocker asks me to go with him to the al-Wihdat market. I don't know where he is in the camp. But I have the feeling that it serves as a threshold, a thick threshold sifting the passages from one world to another, when my friend invites me to join his people who continue to live there. One thing is certain: the feeling I get is of entering a collective space that has nothing to do with the collective *and* public space of the market I've just left.

At this point, I think it's important to invoke the notion of "place-above-all" that I introduced when talking about the Calais "Jungle"⁴⁹⁹ . Given the change in the functions assigned to this space (from a "place of transit" to an area that has been renaturalised and is seen as recreational by the authorities), I thought it would be appropriate to reflect on what makes a perimeter "resilient". I suggested considering it as a place that exists in its own right. Writing this is not to deny its historicity, quite the contrary. It is to emphasise the extent to which

⁴⁹⁷ Myriam Ababsa, "Cartographie des disparités sociales au sein des camps de réfugiés palestiniens et des quartiers informels d'Amman", *A contrario*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2016, p. 97-121.

⁴⁹⁸ 2013 figures: 18%; <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan>.

⁴⁹⁹ See 4.1.

certain places, for reasons that we will try to define, exist even if they are subject to strategies of erasure, whether this erasure is the result of destruction, that is to say voluntary invisibilisation, or the absorption of its perimeter. In this case, the perimeter is a cardinal element. It is the perimeter that definitively inscribes the place in space, whatever the layers of the past that have endowed it with different functions and values over the course of history. A "place above all" cannot be defined simply by the continuity of an area given over to similar functions. Take the case of the Panthéon (Paris). Decided by Louis XV to honour a wish for healing, the building, designed by Soufflot, went from being a church to a civic temple during the French Revolution. Its tumultuous history, before it definitively became in 1885 this high place of national memory dedicated to "great men", followed the pulsations of the regimes that allocated a different place to it. Beyond the successive reversals, the perimeter of the Pantheon clearly marks out a sacred space that increments a perimeter devoted to the representation of a transcendent (whether Christ or the Fatherland)⁵⁰⁰. Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is struck by the same evidence, and we won't dwell on the extension of the sacred that is expressed there. We could go on and on with examples of this continuity, which in many respects orchestrate what Simon Schama showed when he looked at a completely different register, the register of nature⁵⁰¹.

⁵⁰⁰ Jean-Claude Bonnet, *Naissance du Panthéon. Essai sur le culte des grands hommes*, Paris, Fayard, 1998.

⁵⁰¹ Following in the footsteps of the great art historian Aby Warburg, who was interested in 'social memory', Simon Schama writes: "In the survival of specific gestures and conventions in painting, he [Warburg] saw only clues, drawing attention to something more profoundly surprising, even disturbing, in the evolution of Western society. Behind its claims to have been founded on reason, there was a considerable mythical residue diametrically opposed to it. Just as Clio, the muse of history, owed her birth to Mnemosymius, a more ancestral and instinctive figure, the reasoned culture of the West, with its graceful representations of nature, had not been deaf to its black demiurges, the myths of death, sacrifice and fertility. "He adds: "What I'm trying to show in *Landscape and Memory* is that humanity's cultural habits have always given pride of place to the sacred aspect of nature. All our landscapes, from urban parks to mountain hikes, are imbued with this tenacious, omnipresent obsession", *Le Paysage et la Mémoire*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1999 [1995], p. 25.

Back to the "place above all"

The "place-above-all" is a perimeter that closes off a succession of places whose functions were different but which share the same delimitation. This, it seems to me, is a kind of quasi-anthropological enigma, the resolution of which would probably enable us to better understand what places can do to people, and people to places, rather than the other way round. Let's continue. The 'place-above-all' is not a place of memory either, because it exists outside the actors who seize it, construct it and (re)define it. Tempelhofer Feld is a good example of this. A walk there today is like a stroll through an urban park, combined with the sensation of standing on the runway of an airport that remained in operation until 2008. Following a conflict between the City of Berlin and associations, which was resolved by a referendum (2014) won by opponents anxious to counter the gentrification of the German capital, the 300 hectares of what was, in the 19^e century, a recreational area, escaped the hands of property developers. Tempelhofer Feld is now an area that has been protected in the name of a rationale for tying up land for non-commercial purposes. However, this perimeter, which has lasted, and which has seen a succession of places (place refers to what gives it its primary function), should not be confused with a "place-above-all". As it happens, this succession is taking place without a hitch: as the end of airport activity is definitive, it neither threatens nor is threatened by the existence of the park. As a result, the traces of the uses to which the airport was put remain sufficiently vivid and are constantly being revived, as they are a vector of interest and memory for this square. If you don't come here just to see the 'ruins' of a past that isn't all that long ago, you can't escape their imprint, or even, as a matter of taste, the charm of their exceptionality. At the heart of the notion of "place-above-all", then, is the idea of a perimeter that accommodates a plurality of places, in the knowledge that these places are experienced in relation to each other in terms of confrontation. In Calais, it is not so much the fact that the Observatory is replacing the "Jungle" that makes it a "place-above-all"; it is the enduring tension between the desire to erase a place and its capacity to resist, which breaks with the ideal of spatial harmony and continuity that presides over such a project: the permanent outcropping of rubbish, despite the clean-up strategy, plus the police patrols that confirm the

existence of the old boundaries, produce this friction between the old and the new, without which our notion would not be fully validated.

But the 'place-above-all' is not necessarily just a concretion of places operating along a system of fault lines. It can also be a place of transfer, like tombs which, materially, prolong an earthly absence and project a heavenly presence⁵⁰². Palestinian camps fall into this category. They exist in Amman by and for Palestine, which remains a horizon of expectation, even if the relationship between Palestinians and the "former land" is much more plural today. The perimeter of the camps is not just an area where people live; it is also, by translation, the implicit guardian of a land to which it holds the keys (which the residents would not give up for anything in the world). What's more, this perimeter is all the more rigid for having shown lasting resistance: In Jordan, since the risk of urban absorption condemns it to becoming no more than a part of the conurbation, it seems necessary for the actors in charge of it to play the "normal exception" card (i.e. a tacit agreement between all the parties to ensure that the camps retain their identity without appearing as potentially splintering parts); for Israel, this perimeter symbolises the inability of the State to overcome the concealment of history.

Let's summarise. In its duration, Tempelhofer Feld is an example of those places where one activity succeeds another (which has come to an end) and where the traces of one are embedded in the life of the other without this cohabitation being problematic. If the perimeter is the same, the "place-above-all" cannot be defined in this way for the reasons of this cohabitation between past and present. In its (short) duration, the "Jungle", which is outcropping under the Observatory, suggests that a few shovelfuls are not enough to erase a perimeter. The "place-above-all" is about the resistance of a spatial framework that imposes itself unexpectedly because the "Jungle" cannot be extinguished (the migrants who roam the city at the end of 2022 are the "branches" of this engulfed space). In its (longer) duration, the Palestinian camps are also "places-especially" because their perimeter, a symbol of "Palestinian-ness", resists any attempt at elision. Here, it seems to me, lies what resembles a 'nucleus' of space, an indelible 'trace' that cannot be erased despite attempts to make it disappear forever. Gérard Chouquer has coined the term 'transformission' to cover both ends of the chain, i.e. space and time: "Transformission" refers to the paradoxical process of forming an inherited

⁵⁰² Michel Vovelle, *Death and the West*, Paris, Gallimard, 2000.

form by decimating the initial disparity, and its role in reinventing diversity. The history of forms responds, fundamentally, to a long-term process summed up in this hybrid word, composed of transmission and transformation. We say that the construction of forms over time is self-organising. This means that it is because there are incessant transformations of forms that there are (variable) transmissions and that the product, obtained by voluntary and conscious transformations corresponding to social facts, is not initially thought of as such. The modalities of these transmissions are quite disconcerting. The effects of recomposition on objects are also new⁵⁰³. He adds: "Forms undergo a twofold process that is permanent and most often discontinuous, combining transmission and transformation. The link between the two notions is this: it is the process of transformation that generates transmission⁵⁰⁴. In Rome, Piazza Navona cannot be considered solely from the angle of the remains of Domitian's old theatre, which was built in 86 and destroyed in the fifth century. While morphologically the square retains traces of a very ancient perimeter, the reallocation of plots and building transformations over the course of history have taken their toll on its original form and the meaning that was given to it (from circus to square). Nevertheless, "we are obliged to recognise the principle of the transmission of forms through their permanent transformation. This principle [of "transmission"] (...) is not an option but the *sine qua non* by which things endure over time⁵⁰⁵". As I have tried to explain, the 'place-especially' is a manifestation of a duration that is 'duration in essence'. While the randomness of activities and functions causes reconfiguration within the perimeter over a more or less long period of time, the fact remains that the "place-above-all" is *structurally* a place that resists the grip of a segmented chronology. Our ability to objectify them may well determine our ability to gain a finer understanding of the granularity of the spaces within which societies move and organise themselves.

⁵⁰³ Gérard Chouquer, *Quels scénarios pour l'histoire du paysage? Orientations de recherche pour l'archéogéographie*, op. cit. p. 179.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 255.

⁵⁰⁵ Hélène Noizet and Anne-Sophie Cléménçon, *Faire ville. Entre planifié et impensé, la fabrique ordinaire des formes urbaines*, op. cit. p. 61.

If there's one thing I've tried to show in this second part, it's how time, because it produces something other than the identical, even (especially) when it comes to rhythm, duration or memory, is an indispensable tool for taking better account of the fact that space is as much a matter of morphology as of sedimentation, both of which are deeply embedded in a historical development that leads to intersecting reconfigurations. Gilles Deleuze wrote it perfectly with regard to rhythm and, by extension, time: "Repetition-measure is a regular division of time, an isochronous return of identical elements. But a duration only exists when it is determined by a tonic accent, controlled by intensities. We would be mistaken about the function of accents if we said that they recur at equal intervals. On the contrary, tonic and intensive values act by creating inequalities, incommensurabilities, in metrically equal durations or spaces. They create remarkable points, privileged moments that always mark a polyrhythm. Here again, the unequal is the most positive. The measure is merely the envelope of a rhythm, and of a relationship between rhythms. The repetition of points of inequality, of points of bending, of rhythmic events, is more profound than the reproduction of ordinary homogeneous elements⁵⁰⁶ .

Let's apply the passage to architecture and urban space. In her book, *L'Architettura del tempo*, Sandra Bonfiglioli reminds us that time is a plural entity made up of layers that need to be deciphered. She writes: "Exploring the constitution of the layers provides an initial analytical framework for time: collective, individual; quantitative, qualitative; absolute, relational; physical, transcendental. *The* very term *architecture* affirms that the components of time: a) are not reducible to a single time, and b) although they are formed diachronically, they are not cancelled out, supplanted or incorporated into a more general time, but coexist to form an architecture⁵⁰⁷ ". Looking at the coexistence of these components, she finds the city to be "the place par excellence of the multiple, which becomes an organisation and a hybrid landscape

⁵⁰⁶ Gilles Deleuze, *Différence et répétition*, Paris, Puf, 1968, p. 287.

⁵⁰⁷ (L'esplorazione del costituirsi degli strati fornisce un primo quadro analitico del tempo: collettivo, individuale; quantitativo, qualitativo; assoluto, relazionale; fisico, trascendentale. Il termine stesso *architettura* afferma che le componenti del tempo: a) non sono riducibili a unico tempo, e b) pur essendosi formate diacronicamente, esse non vengono annullate, o superate, o incorporate in un tempo più generale, bensì esse coesistono formando appunto un'architettura", Sandra Bonfiglioli, *L'Architettura del tempo. La città multimediale*, op. cit. p. 331.

between nature and culture⁵⁰⁸ ". And she adds: "The city is the very place of the plurality of time⁵⁰⁹ ". From Calais to Lampedusa, via Lesbos and the other places I have visited, it is this background that has served as my quest, even if it means bringing together spaces with different histories and morphologies under three temporalities. That time has served to assemble configurations that sometimes have little to do with each other is obvious. That it has twisted specificities is also self-evident. That it has offered a slightly different reading of the "urban fabric" is the challenge I have set myself.

⁵⁰⁸ (Luogo per eccellenza del molteplice che si fa organizzazione e paesaggio ibrido di natura e cultura", "La città è il luogo stesso della pluralità del tempo", *Ibid*, p. 358.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid*.

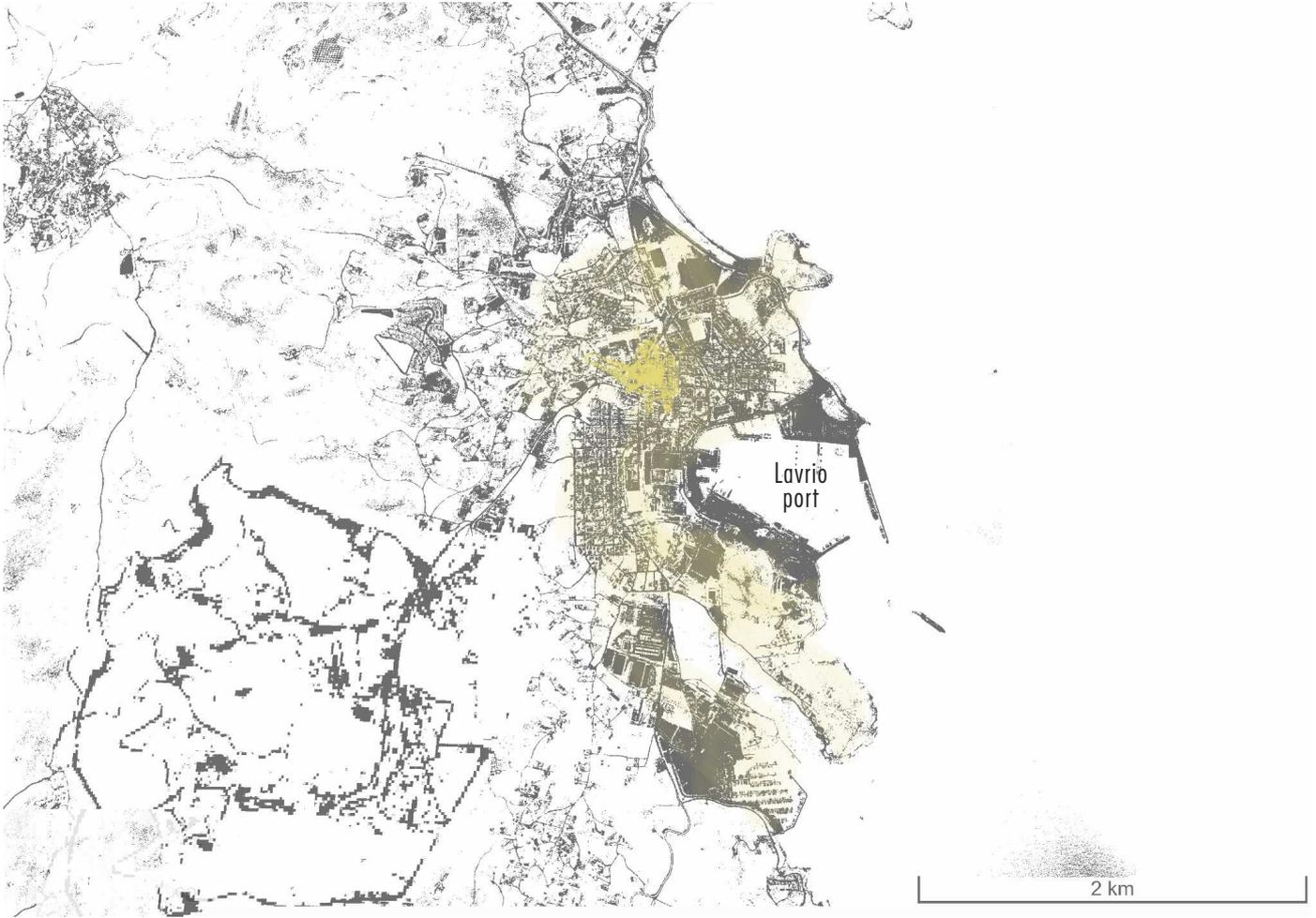
Lavrio

Illustration notebook



Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Reworked Google Earth satellite image.





Image inside the camp, Giulia Buffoli, July 2019.

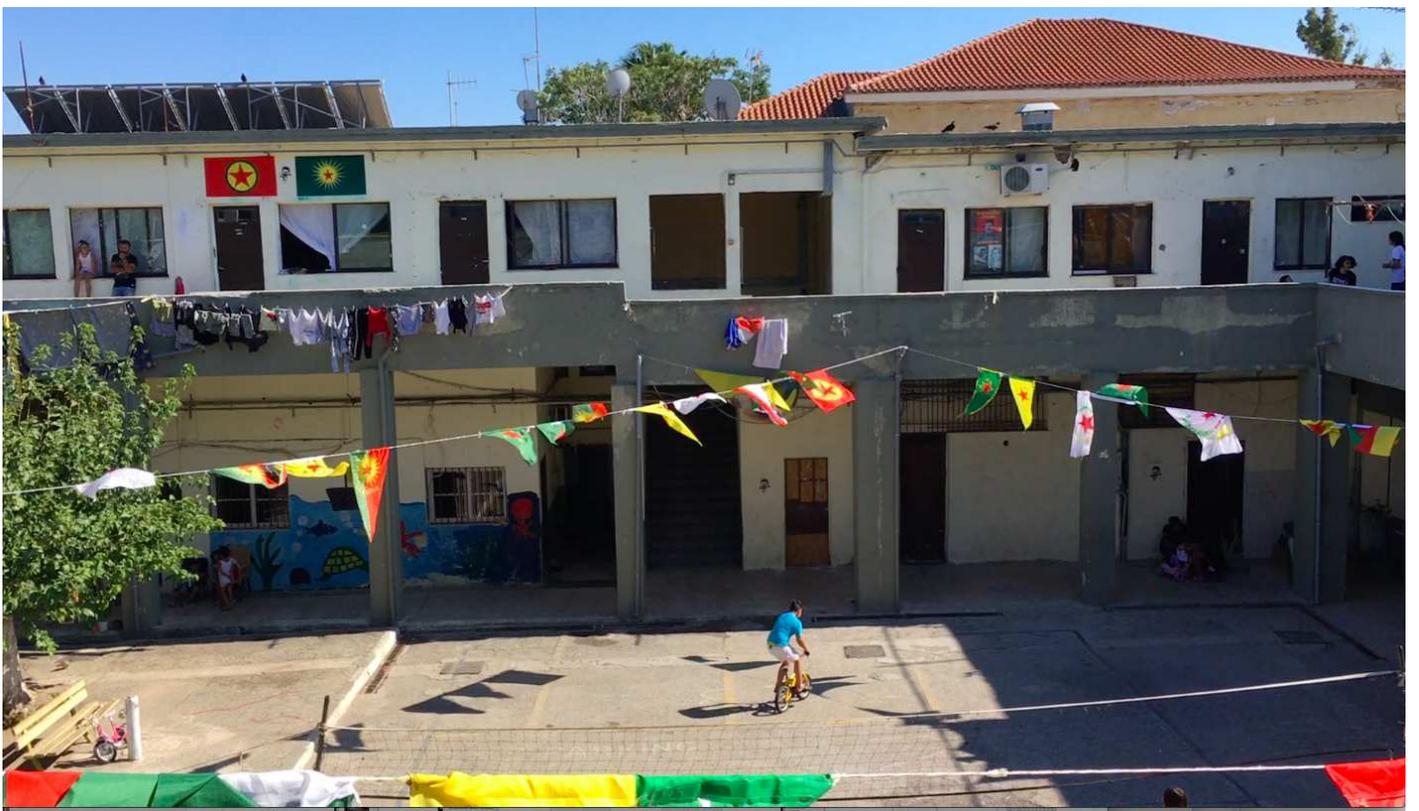
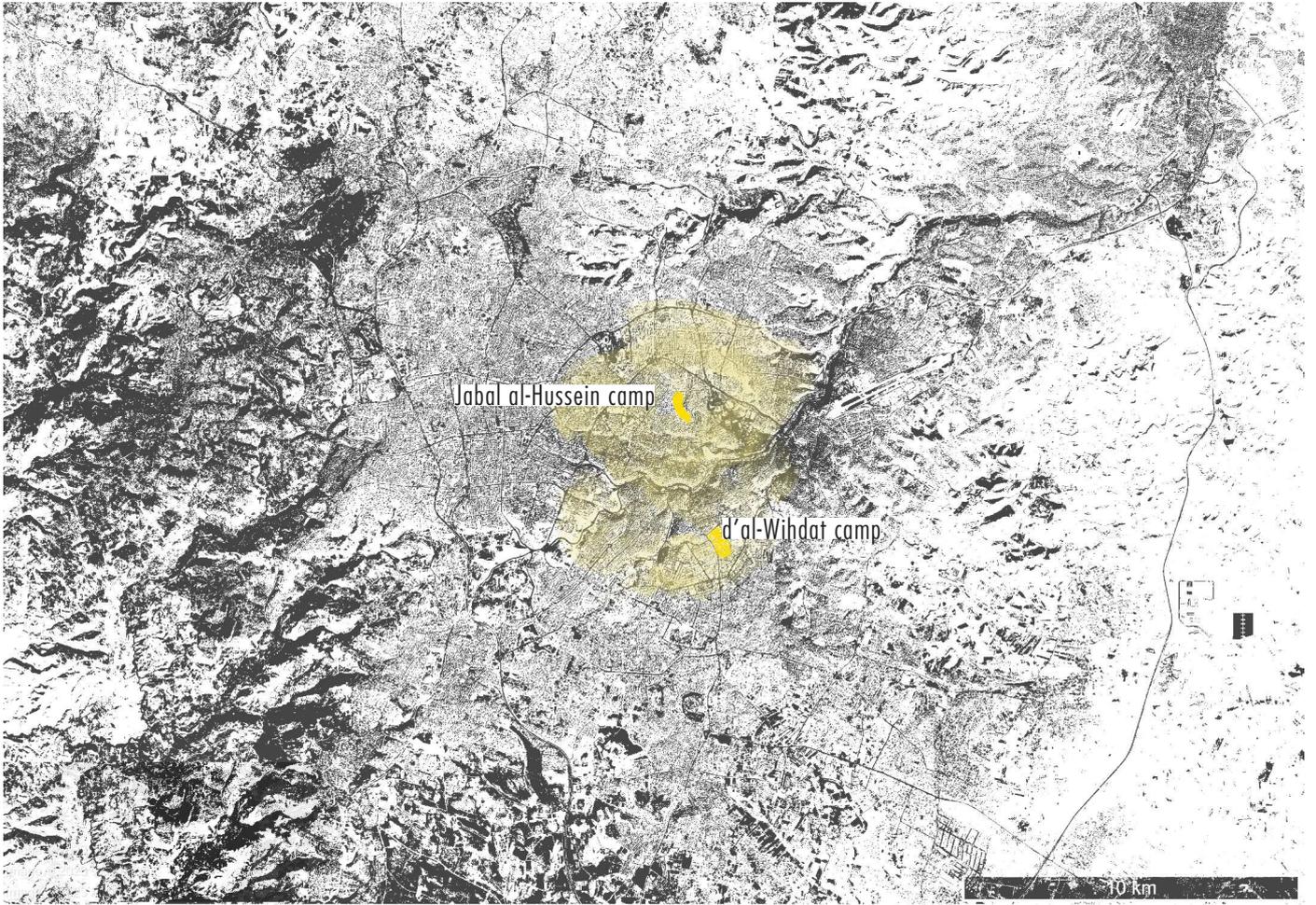


Image inside the camp, Giulia Buffoli, July 2019.

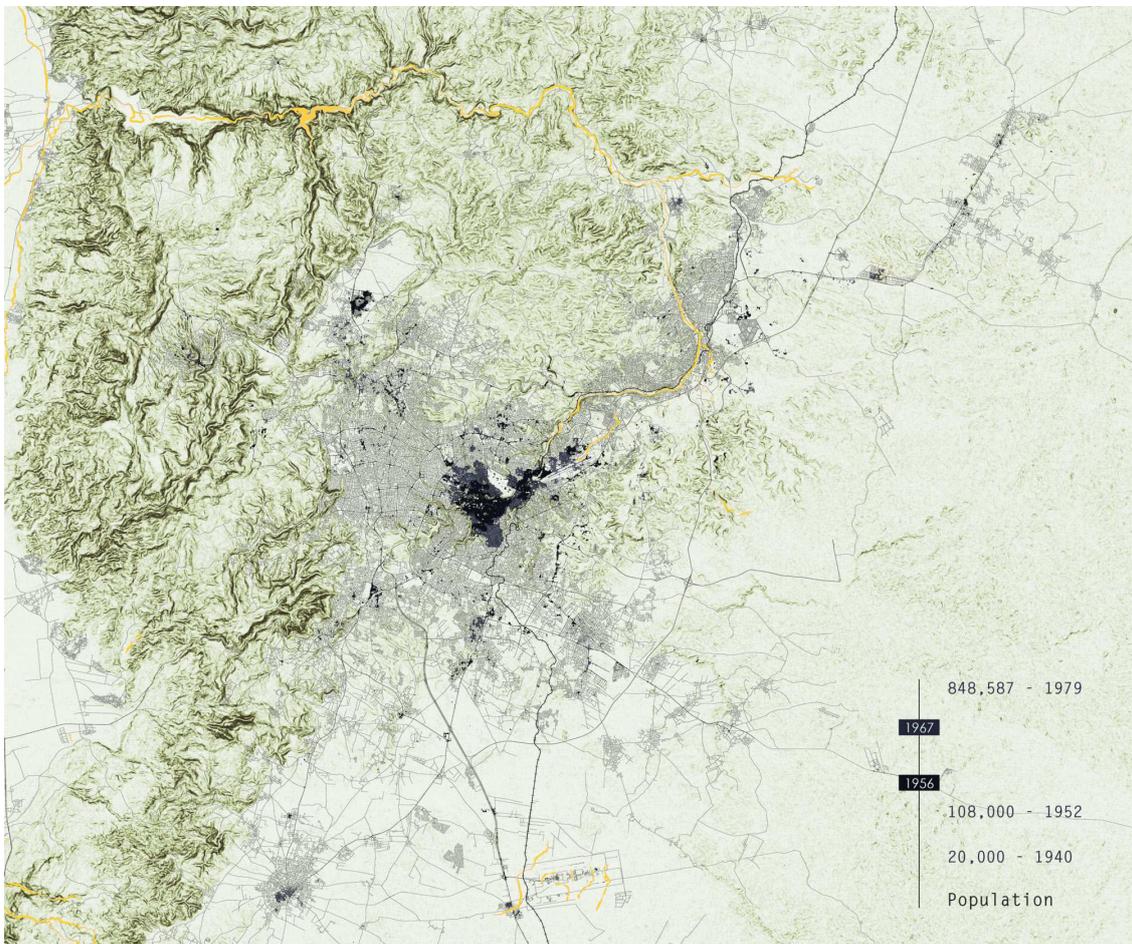
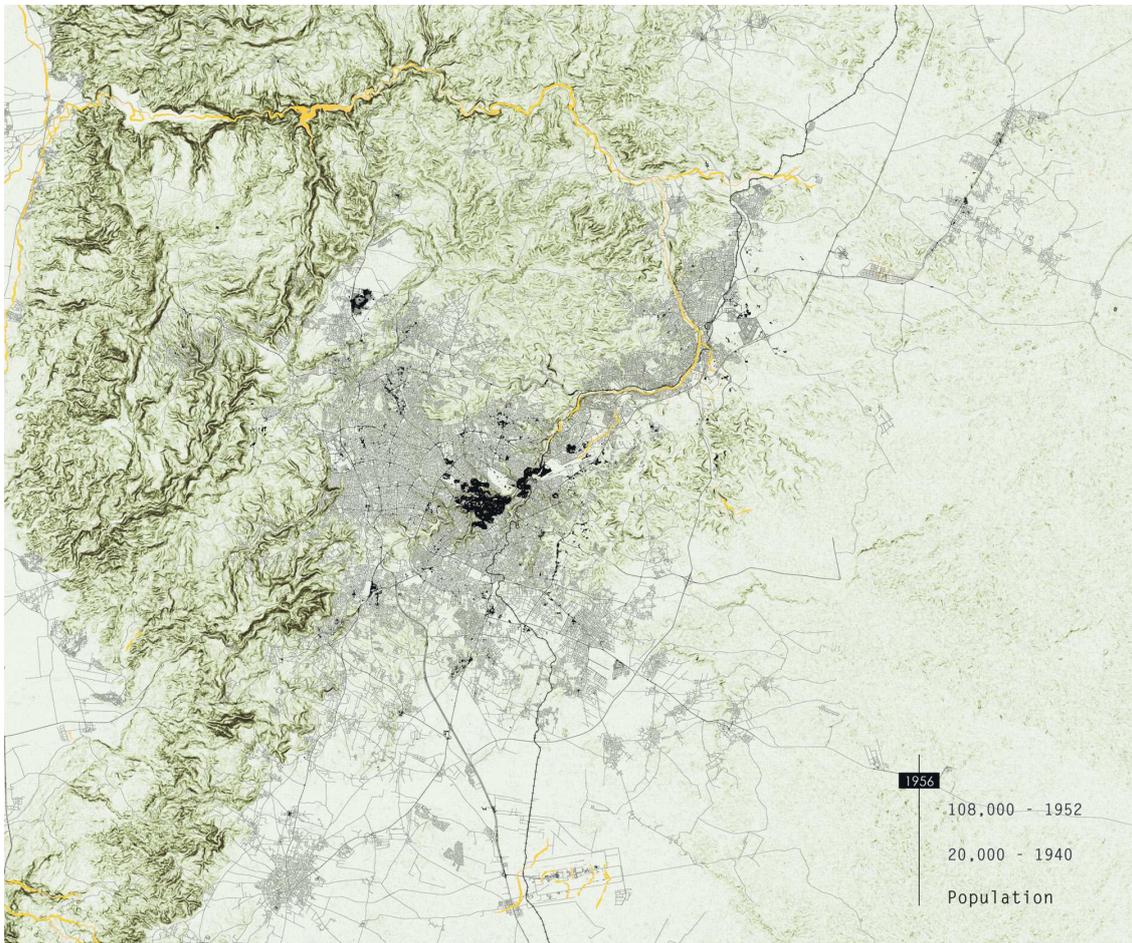
Amman

Illustration notebook

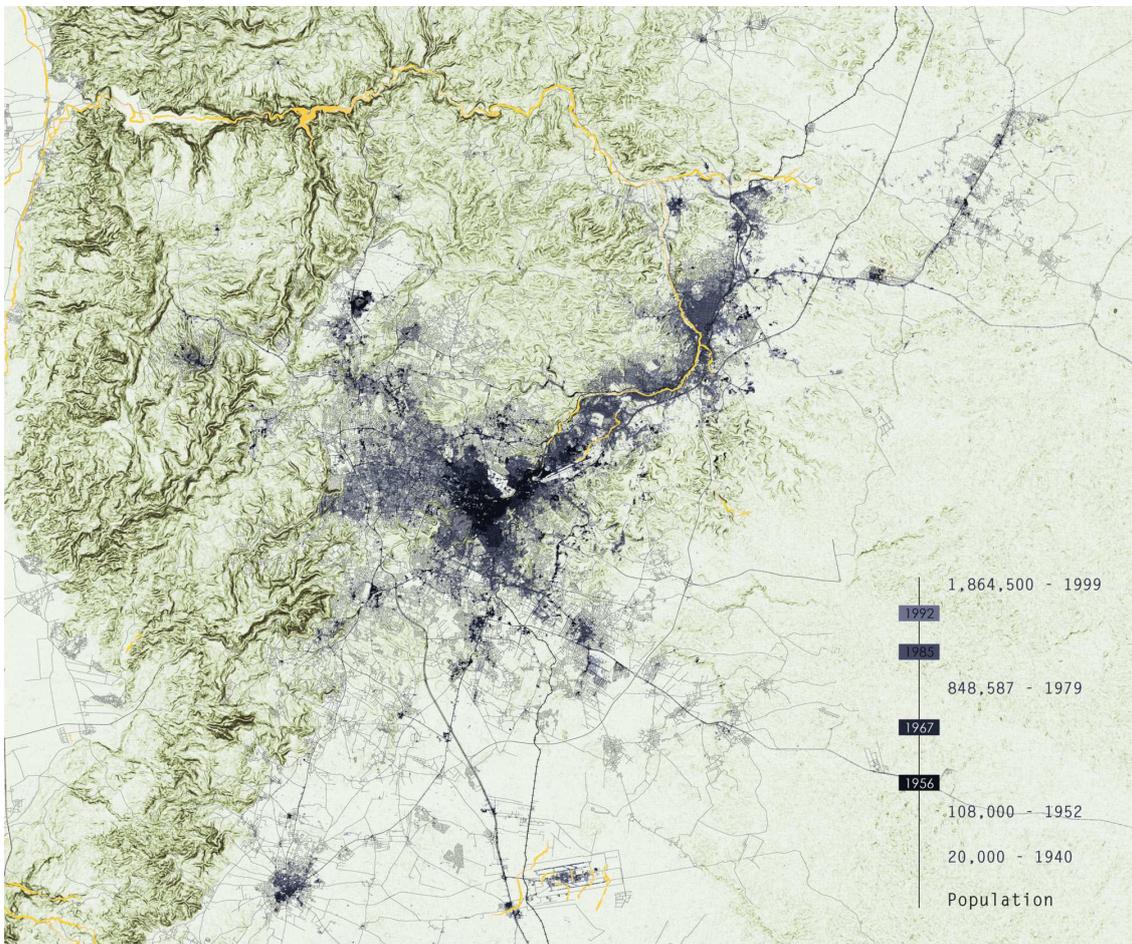
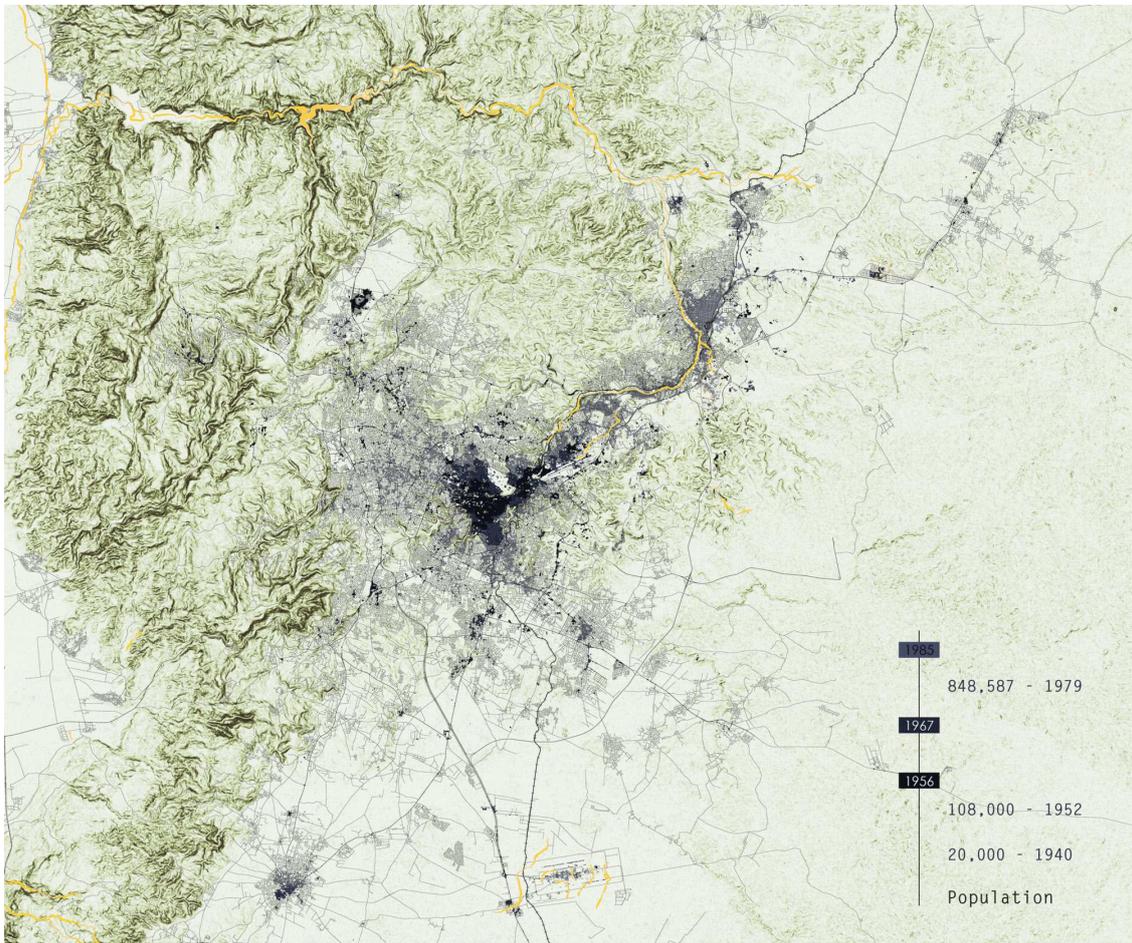


Reworked Google Earth satellite image.

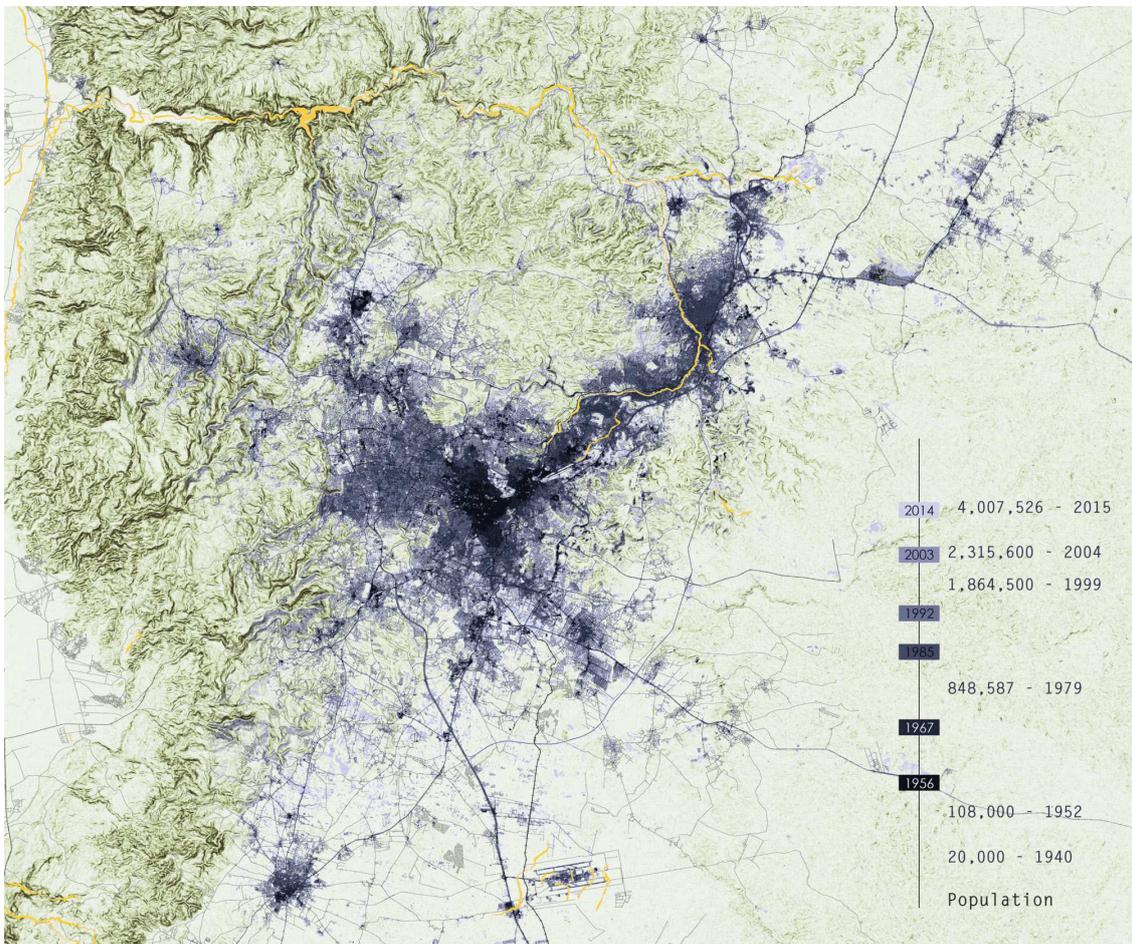
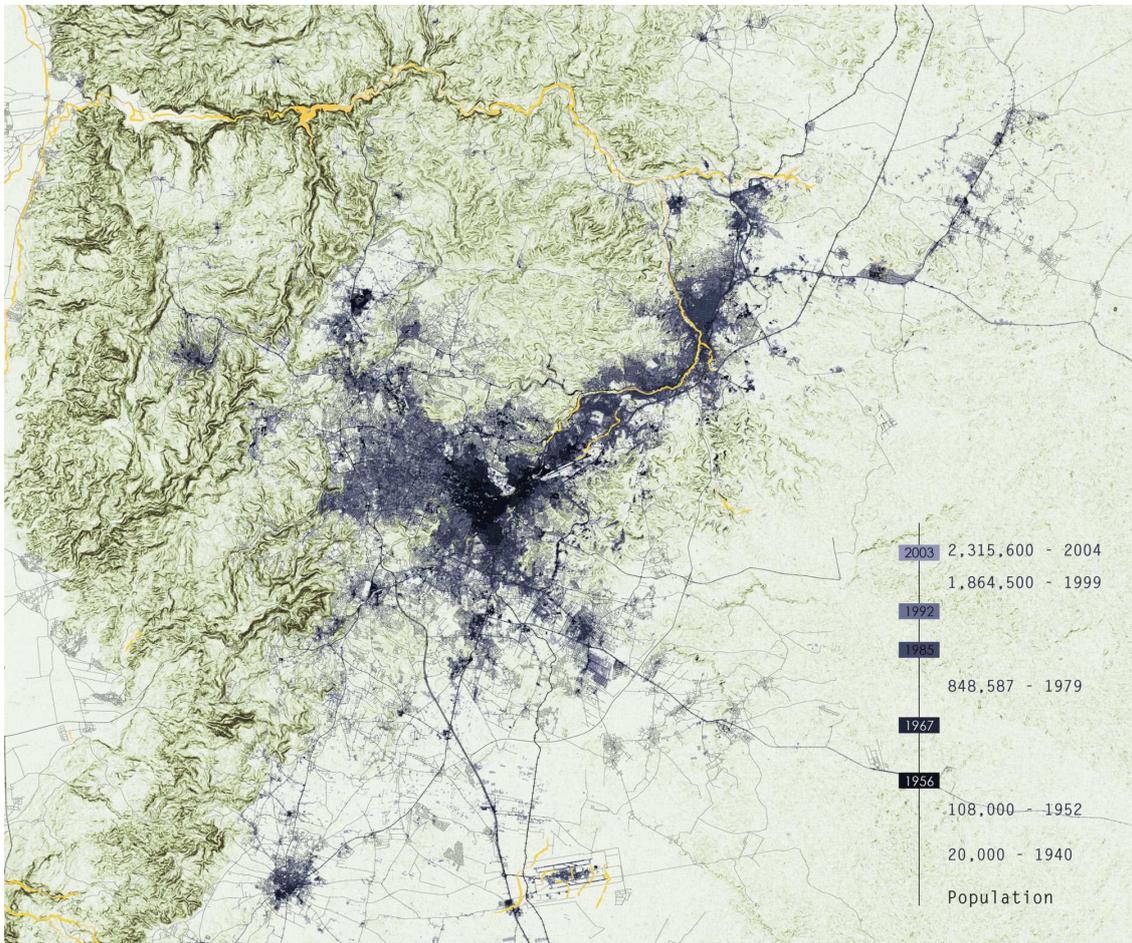




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Shuman Wu, « Amman 1956-2014 », in *Water urbanism*, Columbia University, 2017. <https://www.arch.columbia.edu/books/reader/194-water-urbanism-amman>.



Shuman Wu, « Amman 1956-2014 », in *Water urbanism*, Columbia University, 2017. <https://www.arch.columbia.edu/books/reader/194-water-urbanism-amman>.

Conclusions

"The result is always, for a time, this "holding together" of fragments of cities that are both from another age and our own, and which find their unifying principle in the social practices of the moment⁵¹⁰ " (Bernard Lepetit, 1995).

25 October 2022. For the past few days, I've been living in a flat in the Capuche-Alliés district of Grenoble. Several blocks of flats form a semi-circle overlooking the Parc de l'Alliance. From the living room windows, I can see an encampment of around 70 people, many of them children. Tents "customised" with wood and plastic (to protect them from the cold and rain) are scattered around a public garden where a few strollers go about their business and sometimes visit the library. The public space is in no way privatised, even if you can sense that the camp's inhabitants have their own habits here. In fact, this is quite normal: the camp was tolerated before being dismantled and then reconstituted. Each time, a cycle of life lasting a few months took place in the open air, while the residents of the buildings were the spectators. I was in the home stretch of writing my thesis when I witnessed the (provisional?) death of this camp. At 6.30am on 25 October, the municipal police intervened. Within three hours, all the people had been "evacuated". When I got home in the evening, there was nothing left. Everything had been cleared away.

It's not the violence of the eradication by diggers that strikes me most. I've been used to much worse (although you don't really get used to it), especially in Paris (Porte de la Chapelle, Stalingrad) and Calais. What I remember about that time is how, for a few days, I lived in parallel with a "precarious, collective dwelling" that bore no morphological resemblance whatsoever to the "solid, collective dwelling" where I was. When I say "lived in", I mean several things: the "downstairs people" (I occupied a third floor) had become, without me realising it, my neighbours. Neighbours, not family. By that I mean that our lifestyles were obviously very different, as were our rhythms. However, what I was able to observe, because I was high up and therefore able to have a panoramic view of part of the neighbourhood, was how the camp was this 'temporal unit', this 'pocket of time' that I have mentioned several times in my work. All of a sudden, it seemed obvious to me, because it was suddenly concrete, that the reading

⁵¹⁰ Bernard Lepetit, "Le présent de l'histoire", art. cité, p. 293.

of urban space could not do without a reflection on the modes of temporal organisation of the necessarily heterogeneous assemblage that makes up the city. It's only a detail, but it seems to me to have meaning: at nightfall, it was just as obvious to light a fire in the camp as to switch on the light in my flat. These common, everyday gestures go beyond gestures. They organise a constellation of lights that, *at a given moment, form* an urban space. The glimmers, reflections and flashes of light create a geography that reshapes our understanding and interpretation of the city as day. Even if this idea may seem too metaphorical, this recomposition of the urban fabric puts the finger on two things: Above all, the city never ceases to be this organism of metamorphosis (not all urban nights are the same, because the lights are never switched on at the same time and in the same places), which questions its capacity to be something else by being more or less the same, because time, in all its variations (rhythm, duration, memory), is (once again) a concrete part of it.

At a given moment: every place exists for a lapse of time, which is both a truth and an intellectual question. Because some places exist only very temporarily (or, at least, are called upon to exist ephemerally), they would be no more than "time capsules" destined to disappear as quickly as they appeared and to leave no trace, particularly in cartographic representations. However, because the city is an aggregate of 'given moments' which, through different places, are more or less difficult to set in stone, which overlap or exclude each other, the city is indeed a *given moment which never ceases to endure*, because it resembles a funnel where durations intersect and juxtapose, associating precisely to give it permanence.

Mathis Stock's words come back to me when I write about the camp: "Inhabiting is no longer a concept that serves only to describe appropriation, identification or positive affective and emotional investment, but a concept that makes it possible to describe the multiple ways of *dealing with* space in multiple situations, whether or not mobility is an issue⁵¹¹". Every human being works *with* space. *In doing so*, they establish their own way of inhabiting the world according to their own situation. Places of transit" emphasise this need for spatial adaptability to the city, not only in terms of space, but also in terms of time. As you will have gathered, this thesis has attempted to highlight the different forms of spatio-temporal adaptability-

⁵¹¹ Mathis Stock, "Habiter comme "faire avec l'espace". Reflections from theories of practice", *Annales de géographie*, vol. 704, no. 4, 2015, p. 424-441. Emphasis added.

ty of certain 'places of transit', considering them less in terms of their singularity/uniqueness than as samples that allow us to tell the story of contemporary urban space. In other words, every city has *to deal with* two things. If it is the sum of different ways of *dealing with it*, it also finds itself *dealing with* these ways of *dealing with it*. In other words, the difficulty that arises when we try this type of approach is to forget that the city is an object (a delimited form) or a subject (urban policy in its planned form) and, beyond this dichotomy, to consider it in the way that it never ceases to be, over time, both one and the other. To quote Tim Ingold: "The world we inhabit is not composed of subjects and objects, or even of quasi-subjects or quasi-objects. The problem is not so much the *su-* or the *ob-*, or even the dichotomy between one and the other, but rather the *-jet*. For the constituent elements of this world are not thrown or launched before they can act or undergo actions; they *are* in the throwing, in the launching⁵¹². Ingold takes the example of the kite. The kite exists as an object until the wind turns it into something else: a subject which, if it exists as a function of the act that produced it, becomes that something else whose "choséité" (...) is therefore linked to the way in which it collects the wind in its web and describes a dynamic "line of flight" as it swoops down⁵¹³. The city, at least as I understand it, can be seen as "an interweaving of moving materials⁵¹⁴" that steer it in directions that are not necessarily predictable - hence the urgency of urban policies based on the justification of giving the city the "right direction" by discriminating not only between "materials", but also between movements.

At this point, I think it's important to take a diversion into the story⁵¹⁵. Louis Marin has written some classic pages on this aspect. As a remarkable semiotician, Marin highlighted two features from his reading of Thomas More's *Utopia* that helped me in my thinking: "The 'content' of utopia is the organisation of space as a text; the utopian text, its formal structuring and its operational processes, is the constitution of discourse as a space. In other words, utopia achieves an interesting equivalence between its referent - what it is talking about, its specific

⁵¹² Tim Ingold, *Walking with Dragons*, Paris, Le Seuil, coll. Essais, 2018 [2013], p. 307.

⁵¹³ *Ibid*, p. 309. Ingold draws in particular on the work of Deleuze and Guattari in *Mille Plateaux*.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 308-309.

⁵¹⁵ I spoke a little about this *above* (3.1).

project - and its codes of emission, reception and transmission⁵¹⁶. From then on, because the city is, par excellence, the place where the world and therefore utopia are put into textual form, it is also an actor in a discourse about the world: "The object of discourse, the city, appears in this movement at the end of which the city is the subject of discourse. But this movement is reversible: it is because the city is first and foremost a subject *of* discourse (...) that we can forget that it is the object of discourse (the city is the capital, the decision-making centre)⁵¹⁷". In this case, talking about the city means talking about the city that talks about us. What an uncomfortable position to be in! How can we get away from what the city wants to show us, a clear line of urbanity that, since the "dawn of time", has made it possible to reconcile in a necessarily harmonious history, of which the map would be a perfect reflection⁵¹⁸ the places that shape it? It would be interesting to consider the sum total of the narratives that, on the part of those who wish to control an unambiguous discursive order on what urban space is - and above all must be - converges towards a semantic *optimum* - by which I mean a point of crystallisation of the discourses that forge the image and, hence, the shape of a city. Analysis of the semantic *optimum* would probably help us to understand how, through an arrow of time that links the past (the glorified memory of the city) to the future (the major planning undertakings), the present is an unthought. And therein lies the rub. The present is never what it should be. Criss-crossed by flows and tensions (like a kite), inhabited by all kinds of hazards, it is partly uncontrollable. There are therefore two options open to those who intend to implement urban policies: *deal with it*; or act as if nothing had happened. Of course, this is not just a question for 'urban planners' (patent or otherwise). It's obviously on the mind of every researcher. Either they subscribe, often without realising it, to the fiction of the city as a place-in-itself, i.e. an object modelled by players other than themselves (who often have different aims from them), or they try to extricate themselves from it in order to listen to those who, because they do not have a voice in the narrative, construct one - without realising it - in a

⁵¹⁶ Louis Marin, *Utopiques : jeux d'espaces*, Paris, Minuit, 1973, p. 24.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 159. I emphasise this to remind you that the city is not confined to objectification alone, since it is itself an actor in a discursive order ('subject of discourse' here).

⁵¹⁸ Louis Marin writes in "La ville dans sa carte et son portrait": "The city map used to be called the city portrait. The portrait of an individual and that of a city pose similar problems, all of which touch on the question of the city as an individual (...) The portrait, the map of the city, would thus be simultaneously the trace of a persistent past and the structure of a future to be made", *De la représentation*, Paris, Gallimard/Le Seuil, 1994, p. 206.

low-key, low-intensity way. These "equal parts" stories⁵¹⁹ help us to understand that not everything is played out in what urban ideology promotes, the future through the past⁵²⁰. Like the convolutions of a kite in the sky, they make it possible to reconstruct what makes the city, *in the present*, a configuration where directions pull in different directions, where "temporal units" are juxtaposed and/or intersect, where the assembly is never given once and for all.

"Temporal units", "pockets of time": these categories come up several times in the course of the pages. They form the hard core of a process of reflection that has brought together rhythm, memory and duration with one aim in mind: to provide grist for the mill of an attempt to explain the city in terms of time. Since the aim is to come back 'in conclusion' to what has already been written, we might as well do so concisely so as to avoid the repetition that is bound to follow. My main hypothesis is that time allows us to tell a different story about the city. In a very recent anthropological work that I couldn't have been unaware of before writing the end of this work (it was published in January 2023), François Laplantine states: "Time can only really be said when it is told⁵²¹". We can only agree with him when, in his introductory remarks, he adds: "Every narrative recounts a transformation in the way time is told. The experience of time is not only the most human of experiences, it is also the most *specifically* human⁵²²". Further on, he writes: "If description is no less temporal than spatial, it is also because the very activity of making visible presupposes the work of language, which does not stand still and has an eminently rhythmic character. We cannot therefore oppose (...) narrative, which would be successiveness, to description, which would be pure simultaneity. There is a descriptive temporality. The time of description is that of a journey through the long duration of the gaze. It is indeed space that is apprehended, but patiently, through observation and in

⁵¹⁹ To quote Romain Bertrand, *L'Histoire à parts égales. Récits d'une rencontre, Orient-Occident (XVI -XVII^{ee} siècle)*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2011.

⁵²⁰ Christos Chryssopoulos' novel *The Destruction of the Parthenon*, Arles, Actes Sud, 2012 [2010], which describes the monumental weight of memory (the Parthenon) to the point where a point of no return is reached when the monument is sabotaged and destroyed, is well worth reading.

⁵²¹ François Laplantine, *Chronotopie. Réflexions d'un anthropologue sur le temps et l'espace*, La Roche-sur-Yon, Dépaysage, 2023, p. 18.

⁵²² *Ibid*, p. 19.

the deferment of writing⁵²³ . The passage metaphorically concentrates the three categories I used to explore my initial hypothesis. To sum up: time allows us to explore the hidden scripts of urban assembly; because they are particular places of our late modernity, 'places of transit' are an excellent revelation of these scripts. In this narrative, rhythm, by identifying the instantaneity of the connections between elements, enables us to grasp the maturation of the spatial puzzle *in the making*, in the knowledge that its morphology is based on permanent and irregular recompositions linked to all sorts of interactions. In this sense, the constellations and galaxies that I objectified in the case of Lesbos seem to me to be manifestations of these recompositions and, therefore, elements of validation of my initial hypothesis. Memory, for its part, comes under the heading of what I have called spatial resistance. I see it above all as a means of apprehending the forms of persistence that invite us to decontemporise the city as it is immediately seen and read. Memory makes it possible to tell a story, because, as I have tried to show and as François Laplantine has written, without memory there is no story available for a variety of uses. In this sense, the 'place-above-all' that I have objectified in the case of the former Calais 'Jungle' lends credence to those - as in my case - who see the city in terms of the friction between 'temporal units' whose lifespan leaves traces, residues and imprints, however minute they may be. Finally, if we stick to the narrative, duration allows us to dwell at greater length on the processes that link spatial recompositions over time, without our being able to see them on a day-to-day basis. In the same way that geological sections give a depth of time to a given point, duration determines everything that goes beyond mere presence at a given moment. In this sense, the 'duration par excellence' that I objectified in the case of the Palestinian camps in Jordan sheds light on what any narrative requires: work on continuity.

It's not a question of making a *pro domo* plea at the end of the day. The fact remains that one thing has been clear to me throughout this work: 'places of transit' seem to me to be the places 'par excellence' for this urban laboratory. Because they are discursive issues (they are obviously first and foremost human issues), because they concentrate the attention of a multitude of players who intend to make and unmake the city project, because they are the *genius loci* of our modernity, which never ceases to grapple with the question of time (the final cataclysm is the most commonly accepted metaphor for this), 'places of transit' offer those

⁵²³ *Ibid*, p. 30.

who take an interest in them surfaces of predilection - thinking about the 'crisis', thinking about the 'world to come', thinking about the 'common', thinking about the 'margins'. There is then a great risk of failing to inscribe them in and for what they are: 'pockets of time', among other 'pockets of time', in a 'time of the city' that is never the time that urban fiction suggests. That was the crux of this thesis. After years of work, the "places of transit" have not turned out to be interstices. Or rather, they are not. Rather, it seems to me, they are 'in-betweens' that allow us to reconstruct the 'time of the city' by interlocking them. I borrow the notion of 'in-between time' from the sociologist Jean-François Laé, whose work on the biographical trajectories of ordinary people caught in the net of social difficulties and vulnerability (unemployment, illness, old age) endeavours to articulate what and who produces their agenda⁵²⁴. For Laé, the 'in-between time' is the moment necessary for the sedimentation of lived experiences, without which it is impossible to access the work of remembering. The 'in-between time' presupposes a distancing from the event, without which the event cannot be 'digested' and would be of the order of an 'always present' in the process of being updated. Lampedusa is a case in point. The 'in-between' cannot be applied solely to memory - in this case of the city. It is also one of the manifestations of other times in urban space. In Lesbos, for example, the 'counter-time' to the rhythm of the island formed by the immigration sites is a variation on this. As I have tried to show, the new polyrhythmic figures they induce reconfigure spatial relations within the island world. In Zaatari, the fountains are so many syncopations that interfere, interact and interpose themselves in the tempo of the camp. Objectivised in terms of duration, the 'in-between time' also manifests itself in the form of extension links that create new connections or new frontiers. In Calais, the "transit sites" that have followed one another over the last thirty years have spatially shaped the conurbation; more than that, they have orchestrated a sequence whose (long) duration is nothing other than the product of temporarily fixed "temporal units".

⁵²⁴ Jean-François Laé, *Lettres perdues. Écriture, amour et solitude (XIX -XX^{ee} siècles)*, Paris, Hachette, 2003; this notion of "in-between time" has not yet been the subject of analytical reflection; although it runs through his work, it was at the heart of a discussion I had with him as part of the Festival Longueur d'ondes (Brest) on 4 February 2023. Alain Guez also uses the notion of "in-between time"; applying it to architecture, he writes: "An architecture is between the things of the world and between men, but also between the times of the things of the world and between the times of men", "Pour une poétique de l'entre-temps en architecture", in Augustin Berque, Philippe Bonnin and Alessia de Biase (eds.), *L'Habiter dans sa poétique première. Colloque international de Cerisy-la-Salle*, Paris, Donner lieu, 2008, p. 3-17, p. 16.

Giving voice to the 'in-between' or, at the very least, making it visible if not legible: what characterises 'places of transit', in my view, cannot be reduced to the latter. This thesis will be rewarded (modestly) if the reading that is proposed does not lead us into a single internalist reading of these places, and offers other perspectives on cases that are in no way comparable to them. Every dissertation project carries with it an aspiration to become more general. The 'in-between time' and, by extension, the benefits that we can hope to gain from reading the city through time, is not a 'remarkable identity' of camps, ghettos, peripheralized and downgraded spaces, even if the 'in-between time' is more acute in these places. Because the frictions of time are more obvious, more conspicuous, more odious (humanly first, urbanistically for some), these places focus attention in such a way that those in power can only *deal with them* by aspiring to find the quickest and least costly solution to obscure, dissolve or occlude them. In the treatment of the Vele di Scampia (Naples), for example, we see the inability of the public authorities to get to grips with the "in-between". In a nutshell, the Vele di Scampia were built between 1962 and 1975 on the outskirts of the city to house thousands of residents. A symbol of the concentration of social problems in a mafia context, this "housing machine", made up of seven "sails", became an abscess at the turn of the century. While some architects have deplored the loss of an architectural heritage and the absence of a replacement project, others have hailed the attempt to rewrite a district in the light of contemporary urban issues. The fact remains that these Vele also tell us about the complexity of making these "in-between times" into something other than a memorial mound or an "Atlantis" that has disappeared. It turns out that by helping to produce "a form of common good specified under the term city⁵²⁵", these Vele have every reason to be actors in the present rather than distorting mirrors of nostalgia for the past and/or pretensions to the future. The frictions may of course be less obvious (a housing development that clashes with the sensitivities and ecosystem of a neighbourhood⁵²⁶). Nevertheless, the "in-between" remains the moment when the metamorphosis of the city is played out. Even if the parties involved are not the same (a local residents' association is not an NGO, the town hall is generally the only interlocutor when it is the State in its various forms (prefect, police, municipality, etc.) that 'manages' the issue of urban pollu-

⁵²⁵ Emanuele Coccia, *Métamorphoses*, *op. cit.* p. 198.

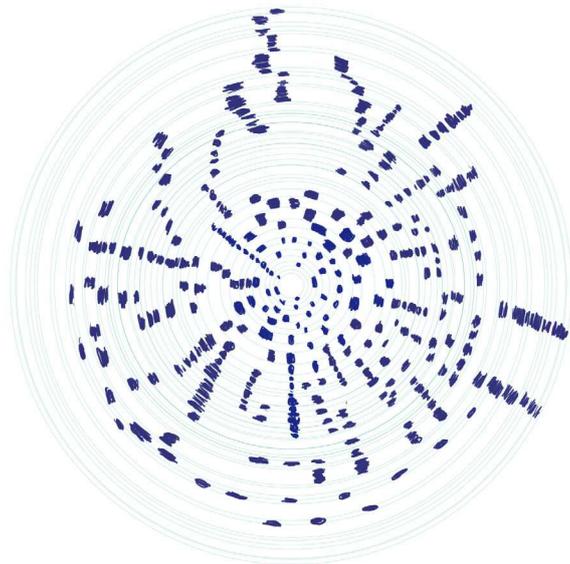
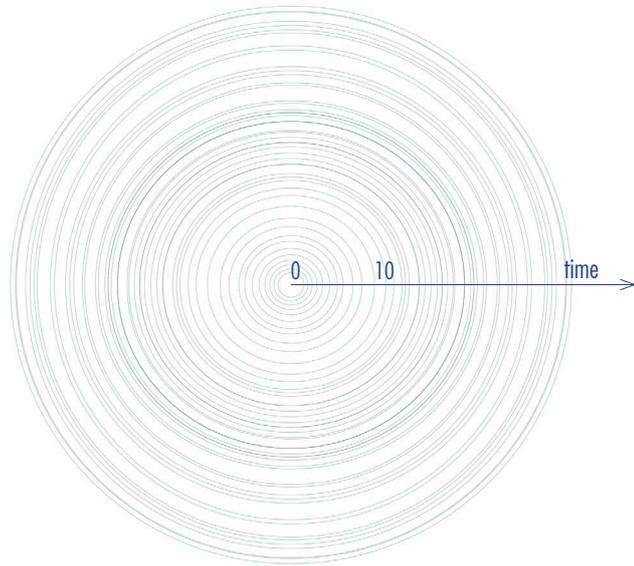
⁵²⁶ There are plenty of examples.

tion.) who "manage" the issue of migrants), even if the stakes differ considerably, the "in-between" serves, when battles are lost, to deploy and impose, whatever the cost and, more often than not, through the famous logic of consultation, the idea that the city's duration - in the sense given to it by its commanding officers - far exceeds certain "concerns" of the moment.

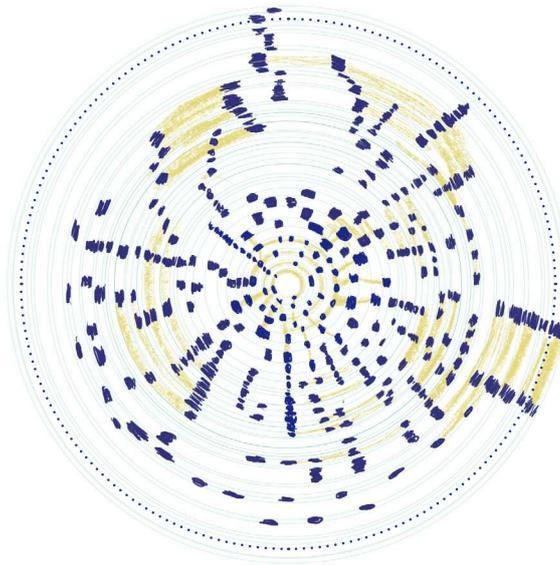
The fact that the 'in-between' serves to identify and distinguish between the logics and counter-logics of power that are exerted on places seems to me to be an honourable way out of justifying the approach that led me to move from 'places of transit' as spatial ruptures to 'places of transit' as aporetic, and therefore exemplary, places of urban de-/synchronisation.

Represent to write.

Temporal articulations

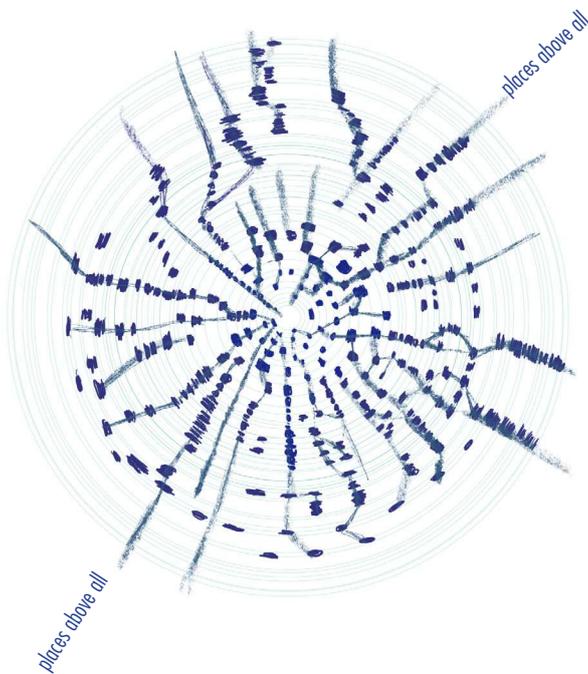


places, temporal units

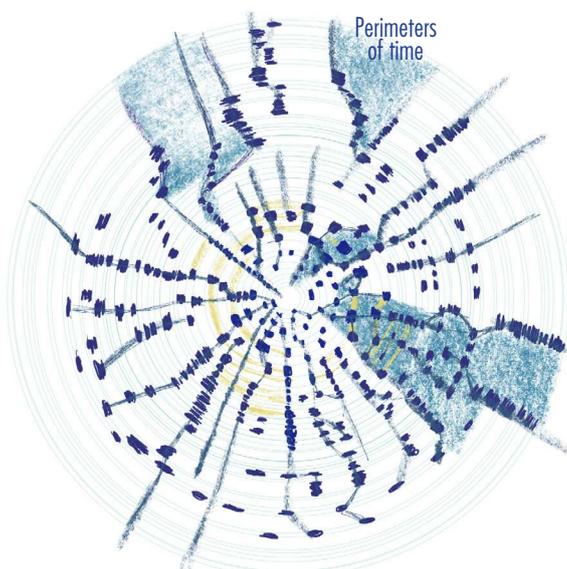


CHRONOTOPES

constellations:
assemblies of units, assemblies of rhythms
galaxies: assemblies of constellations



DURATION AND MEMORY



SYNTHESIS MAP
chronotopes, durations and memories

The « Jungle » : a perimeter between barriers and renaturation (2013-2021)





2013



2016



2018

2019



2020

2021

XXXX

The « Jungle » : a perimeter between barriers and renaturation (2013-2021)





2020
2021

2016

2018
2019

2008
2013

The « Jungle » : a perimeter between barriers and renaturation (2013-2021)





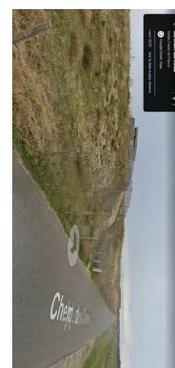
2013



2016



2018
2019



2020
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2023

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