

The EU and the southern Mediterranean

A two-panel workshop

Panel 1: 'Disposable People' - The Crisis in the Mediterranean

Panel 2: EU Cultural Policies and the Southern Mediterranean

Co-hosted by the ISS21 Migration and Integration Cluster
and Department of French, UCC

Supported by Irish Research Council New Foundations Scheme and UCC Strategic Research
Fund

UCC, 3rd and 4th July 2015

Panel 1: 'Disposable People' - The Crisis in the Mediterranean

Friday, 3rd July 2015, CACSSS Seminar Room, O'Rahilly Building, UCC

11.00am Welcome and Opening Address

Session 1 11.15am – 1.15pm

Liam Thornton, School of Law, University College Dublin

Europe's Reception Regime for Asylum Seekers: Limiting Rights and Expanding Control

Claire Dorrity, School of Applied Social Studies and ISS21 Migration and Integration
Research Cluster, UCC

The Bordering of Asylum: Problematic Representations

Alessandro Dal Lago, Department of Anthropological Sciences, Faculty of Education,
University of Genoa

War and Migrations in the Mediterranean Sea: The Case of Italy

1.15-2.15pm Lunch (light lunch will be provided in Mary Ryan Meeting Room)

1.30-2.10pm Parallel Brown-Bag Lunchtime Paper, linked to Panel 2 (Day 2), in CACSSS
Seminar Room – all welcome

Irene Fernandez Ramos (Centre for Cultural, Literary and Postcolonial Studies. SOAS,
University of London)

**Theatre and EU-based Funding: Narratives of Resistance within Contemporary Palestinian
Theatre**

Session 2 2.15pm – 3.45pm

Sue Conlan, CEO Irish Refugee Council
People Smuggling and Human Rights

Natalia Ribas Mateos, Centre d'Estudis i Recerca sobre Asia Oriental, CERAO,
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

On the Verge of Collapse: The Border, the Sea and the Politics of the Disposability

3.45 – 4pm Coffee Break

4 - 5pm Roundtable Discussion/Book Launch

Book Launch – *Border Shifts: New Mobilities in Europe and Beyond* – Natalia Ribas Mateos

Panel 2: EU Cultural Policies and the Southern Mediterranean

Saturday, July 4, O'Rahilly Building, Mary Ryan Meeting Room, Ground Floor

10.00

Dr. Patrick Crowley (Department of French, UCC)

EU Funding of Cultural Projects in North Africa: to what end?

10.30

Dr. Jessica Ayesha Northey, Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University

EU Cross Mediterranean Cultural Policies: The implementation of EU cultural policy in Algeria

11.00

Dr. Gérald Arboit, Centre français de recherche sur le renseignement (CF2R), Paris

La Diplomatie Culturelle comme élément du Soft-power Européen (Cultural Diplomacy as a feature of EU soft-power)

11.30 Tea Coffee and Round Table Discussion.

Abstracts

Gérald Arboit, Centre français de recherche sur le renseignement (CF2R), Paris

'La diplomatie culturelle comme élément du soft-power européen'

Aborder la diplomatie culturelle en Méditerranée sous l'angle européen revient d'abord à s'interroger sur le *soft power* dans se réclame l'Union européenne. Dépourvu de son pendant naturel qu'est le *hard power*, il semble qu'il ne faille retenir de la définition de Joseph Nye que le « pouvoir de cooptation », c'est-à-dire « la capacité d'orienter ce que les autres veulent ». Autrement dit, l'Union européenne exerce-t-elle un attrait

« sur les autres peuples une culture et une idéologie, ou encore de la capacité à manipuler le calendrier des choix politiques de manière à ce que les acteurs ne puissent exprimer certains de leurs désirs uniquement parce qu'ils apparaissent irréalistes »^[1] ?

Il convient d'abord de replacer cette problématique dans son contexte géopolitique. La Méditerranée devient un sujet d'intérêt pour l'Europe après la chute du mur de Berlin. Résultat de la nouvelle étape de la construction européenne (Maastricht, 1992), elle se concrétise par le Processus de Barcelone (1995), dans le contexte de la gestion de l'incompréhension grandissante entre les deux rives de la Méditerranée au lendemain de la guerre des Nations-unies de libération de la souveraineté koweïtienne violée par l'Irak (1990-1991). Des actions dans les domaines politique, économique et culturel étaient prévues. Dix ans plus tard, aux lendemains des attentats du 11 septembre 2001, seuls les deux premiers avaient donné lieu à des coopérations. Il s'agissait alors de mettre en œuvre un dialogue inter-méditerranéen.

Cette ambition de l'Union européenne arrivait dans domaine où ne manquaient pas les acteurs. D'abord en son sein, dans la mesure où le principe de subsidiarité laissait la culture aux Etats membres. Historiquement, France et Grande-Bretagne disposaient des relais culturels dans la région depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle au moins. Depuis la fin de la Guerre froide, l'Italie et l'Espagne ambitionnaient d'intervenir à leur tour dans ce domaine. Ensuite, d'autres acteurs concurrençaient l'influence de l'Union. Depuis 1994, l'OTAN développe un « dialogue méditerranée », véritable diplomatie publique à dimension militaire. Mais, surtout, le véritable acteur européen en matière culturelle est depuis le milieu des années 1950 le Conseil de l'Europe. En 1990, il lance à Lisbonne un Centre Nord/Sud à vocation mondiale, mais bien proche des rives de la Méditerranée. Il fait attendre 2005 pour que l'Union européenne décide d'intervenir dans ce domaine au travers de la Fondation Anna Lindh, installée à Alexandrie. Cette décision se comprenait mieux dans la suite des Objectifs du Millénaire pour le développement de l'Organisation des Nations-unies (2000), c'est-à-dire un acteur extérieur aux espaces européen et méditerranéen.

En fait, la culture s'affirma comme une priorité en Méditerranée à partir de 2005. La France propose de prendre en charge le pilier du processus de Barcelone. S'ensuivent alors les Ateliers culturels (2005-2008) et les Etats-généraux culturels méditerranéens (2008-2010). Les organisations intergouvernementales entamèrent des négociations politiques avec leurs homologues arabes (ALECSO) et musulmanes (IRCICA et ISISCO), tout en orientant leurs programmes de travail vers des sujets méditerranéens. Chaque initiative fait appel à des organisations non-gouvernementales (Euroclio) et des représentants de la société civile. Mais prennent également part à ces travaux des organisations gouvernementales non-gouvernementales, comme les institutions culturelles nationales (Alliance française, British Council, Società Dante Alighieri, Istituto Cervantes...), et des institutions spécialisées (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research).

^[1] Joseph Nye Jr., *Le Leadership américain : quand les règles du jeu changent*, Nancy, Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1992, p. 241.

Toutes et tous sont promoteurs d'initiatives, mais font également face à la même double contrainte : le financement des projets et les vicissitudes des tensions internationales en Méditerranée. Chacune dépend de la bonne volonté des Etats, renvoyant ainsi le travail intergouvernemental culturel à sa seule dimension politique, quelle soit nationale ou simplement économique. Ce n'est pas pour rien que les principales réalisations de l'Union européenne soient en relation avec les médias (Audiovisuel) et le tourisme. La dimension proprement éducative reste entre les seules mains de chaque Etat.

Jessica Ayesha Northey, Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University

EU Cross Mediterranean cultural policies: The implementation of EU cultural policy in Algeria

This presentation will explore some of the EU programmes in Algeria which have explicitly, or implicitly, targeted the cultural sector over the last decade. It will discuss reasons for the previously limited role of the EU in culture and explore the role of cultural associations in implementing EU programmes. Despite ambitious EU policy statements, a successful annual cultural festival, and receptive actors within Algerian civil society and the state, the EU's engagement in Algeria has been limited. Institutional, bureaucratic, linguistic, economic and historical factors all weigh heavily upon relations between Algeria and the EU in the cultural domain. Algeria has historically resented the hub and spoke approach of the EU, with standardised programmes applied across the ENPI region, whatever the sector. Yet, all these difficulties have, it is argued, potentially led to a more promising environment in which the EU could intervene in Algeria in the cultural sector. And recent culturally oriented EU programmes have been identified, in external evaluations, as successes. It is argued that a less normative approach, lower funding levels and more open scope for project proposals, has enabled the EU to slowly build up a stronger relationship in Algeria, and to work more effectively with ministries and associations in a challenging context. With the commitment of €21.5 million to support heritage and culture in 2011, and Algerian actors signing up to regional programmes such as the €17 million "Media and Culture programme," EU is placing itself, with the approval of the Algerian government, as a major actor in Algeria in the cultural domain.

Sue Conlan, Irish Refugee Council

People Smuggling and Human Rights

This paper looks at the impact on people forced to use 'people smugglers' to enter the EU and the effect this has on their claims for international protection. It also looks behind the rhetoric of the EU in its proposal to disrupt the 'business model' of people smugglers and the measures put in place which force people to put their lives at risk to reach Europe. Finally, beyond the search and rescue mission of LE Eithne, it asks where Ireland is going in responding to people seeking asylum.

Patrick Crowley, Department of French and ISS21 Migration and Integration Research Cluster, University College Cork

EU Funding of Cultural Projects in North Africa: to what end?

It is clear that the EU has identified the cultural field as an aspect of its strategic engagement with the southern Mediterranean. It specifically targets cultural production and dissemination. This paper begins with an outline of EU agencies and their policies in relation to supporting cultural production in the Southern Mediterranean and asks how we can understand, assess or analyse these agencies and policies. It argues that we can think of the field of cultural production in terms of Jurgen Habermas's notion, or category, of the public sphere and examine agency within this field in terms of the distinction Michel de Certeau makes between strategy and tactics. How this approach plays out when we examine the case contemporary Algeria forms the final part of this presentation.

Alessandra Dal Lago, University of Genoa

War on migrants?

The image of people laying on the cliffs of Ventimiglia, near the Italian-French border, is a perfect representation of the fate of contemporary irregular migrants (or 'aliens' or 'clandestines' or 'invaders' according to the different labels attached to them by the Italian and European media). Like birds or fish they are, in fact, outside the human community; their shape is obviously human, but this seems to be only a surface perception, because they are treated uniquely like things that cause disturbance and problems both at a national and an international level. Rejection, expulsion, confinement and technologies of control from a distance are the usual practices directed towards these beings, human in nature, but non-human in the eyes of the public - as if they were viruses or animals carrying horrible diseases, as implied by the title of the article 'The smell of pestilence at Ventimiglia', which was published on the Italian right wing newspaper "*Il foglio*" on June 21st 2014. How can we explain the fact that some thousands of these migrants, escaping from war or famine and seeking asylum in Europe, are depicted in this way?

The paper traces back this de-humanization of migrants not only to xenophobia and the rebirth of nationalism in contemporary Europe, but also to the institutionalization of war in the Western world after the end of the so-called Cold War and bipolarity. Because wars of various kinds ("humanitarian", "preventive", "on terror" and so on) are nowadays 'normal', i.e. metabolized by our societies, the consequence is a culture of alarmism and anesthetization. If any supposed change in our social and cultural landscape is a mortal threat, it has to be fought accordingly. This can explain at same time the practices of 'defense' of European borders and the indifference of European public opinion when the non-life of others (or 'aliens') is concerned.

Claire Dorriy, School of Applied Social Studies and ISS21 Migration and Integration Cluster, UCC

The Bordering of Asylum: Problematic Representations

This paper examines how addressing asylum issues has come to represent a particular position in political processes relating to refugee representation. It questions the discursive contexts that have emphasised particular neoliberal constructions of representation in relation to 'voluntary' or 'forced' migration. In particular, it highlights how political dialogue has to a large extent negatively positioned asylum seekers, through particular representations, which function to maintain hostile attitudes towards asylum seekers but fails to consider the relationships of power through which asylum issues are constructed. In representative terms, the paper draws attention to the way 'illegality' is produced and represented through state sanctioned policies of exclusion and an ever increasing ascendancy in deportation trends and expulsions across European states. At the same time spaces for dialogue and deliberations relating to group rights and protections and a focus on human rights law is all too frequently eroded through the triumphs of liberalist ideology in the favouring of individual rights over a collective rights-based approach, often allowing for undemocratic cases of representation.

Irene Fernandez Ramos, Centre for Cultural, Literary and Postcolonial Studies. SOAS, University of London

Theatre and EU-based Funding: Narratives of Resistance within Contemporary Palestinian Theatre'

After the Oslo Accords (1993-1995), there has been a proliferation of foreign-funded theatre and performance production in Palestine. This "NGO-ization" of cultural production increases the possibilities of access to funding for the troupes and therefore, the possibility of a more dynamic and globally integrated production.

However, another side of the coin is that theatre groups remain largely dependent on foreign funding and the support of Western embassies and cultural institutes. This dependence may influence the troupes' agency in terms of what plays are produced, what is their content, what are

the techniques that are used, who are the ones who have access to the artistic training and production.

At the same time, the Accords led to an increasing political disaffection and social fragmentation within Palestinian society. Culture provides an alternative space for expression and agency amid this fragmented context. Theatre is a medium through which society mirrors itself and creates its own narratives by challenging official narratives. Especially among the youth, who have to face the lack of social and political voice, cultural resistance through theatre becomes a tool to exorcise their demons and address social issues, calling for change by using theatrical forms which engage the audience in the theatre-making process, creating a new space for social dialogue.

Through different case studies from West Bank's productions, this paper seeks to explore the intersection between that social dialogue and the international funding –specifically EU-based donors. I will question whether international donors' guidelines may lead to self-censorship and ideological dependence. The question is if and how resistant narratives can find their way through institutional and economical restrictions in this context of global capitalism in which the current aid system is inscribed.

Natalia Ribas Mateos, Centre d'Estudis i Recerca sobre Asia Oriental, CERAO, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

On the Verge of Collapse: The Border, the Sea and the Politics of the Disposability

First, the border. In border studies the analysis of the global context repeatedly recalls metaphors of opening and crossing – mainly of flows of capital, and closing of people – but they rarely consider how the effects of mobility and closing occur as a result of an unequal puzzle of practices driven by state control, which could provide us with crucial key points in interpreting the 'making and remaking' of economic globalization and its dehumanizing practices.

Second, the sea. In my work I put together different fragments of research destined to find their true sense within a completed work of the transformation of borders in the light of the relationship between mobility and global borders, especially through Mediterranean places and particularly since the late nineties. Such places are at the front-line and the first to suffer from the closure of Fortress Europe in the Mediterranean.

Third, the politics of disposability, which underlies the contradictory nature of global capitalism, where presently and in the medium term, such politics seem to play an expanding role. Migrants in the Mediterranean are to be thought as key actors of such disposability, in terms of deportability, workers flexibility, mobilities etc, which makes them live on the verge of human collapse. Death is a continuing representation of such disposability, in the line of Magaña (in the US-Mexico border region), as long as bodies are made disposable, uncouned, unidentified, practices of contemporary dehumanization will remain as is witnessed in the Mediterranean collapse.

Liam Thornton, School of Law, University College Dublin

Europe's Reception Regime for Asylum Seekers: Limiting Rights and Expanding Control

With the increasing numbers of persons seeking protection in the European Union, this paper considers the legal regimes applicable to the reception conditions for asylum seekers. Rather than reception regimes for asylum seekers being inherently rights based, significant controls and limitations are placed on core socio-economic rights for asylum seekers. Many member states of the EU, in contributions to drafting of reception conditions legislation, emphasised the need to limit rights and expand control within asylum reception regimes. Initial attempts by some EU institutions to provide for a greater level protection for the socio-economic rights of asylum seekers, this ultimately failed.

This paper seeks to explore the socio-legal and political restrictions to the socio-economic rights for asylum seekers in the EU. The paper evaluates the extent to which Europe's reception regime for asylum seekers is compliant with international human rights obligations. In doing so, this

paper seeks to question whether limitations on the socio-economic rights of asylum seekers can be justified.

Biographies

Sue Conlan

Sue Conlon has been the CEO of the Irish Refugee Council since February 2010. She has specialised in immigration and asylum since 1987. Before taking up the post of CEO she spent 17 years in legal practice in the UK and was recognised in the UK as a leading lawyer in immigration and asylum (Chambers Guide to the UK Legal Profession). In addition to legal practice, she has also worked in NGOs in both the fields of anti-racism and immigration and as a trainer and consultant, including for Oxford University's Centre on Migration, Policy and Society and the Open University. Sue has both a BA (Hons.) Degree in Law and a Masters' Degree in Social Welfare Law and is a PhD candidate in the Politics Department at Sheffield University, England.

Patrick Crowley

Patrick Crowley is Senior Lecturer in French at the School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures, University College Cork. He was awarded a Government of Ireland Senior Research Fellowship for the project 'Algeria: Nation and transnationalism 1988–2010'. His publications include *Mediterranean Travels* (Legenda, 2011) and *Postcolonial Poetics: Genre and Form* (Liverpool University Press, 2011). He has a number of ongoing projects relating to cultural production in North Africa, specifically Algeria.

Alessandro Dal Lago

Alessandro Dal Lago is a professor of Sociology of Culture at the Department of Anthropological Studies, School of Education, University of Genoa. His background is embedded in Classical Sociological Thought, Contemporary Philosophy, and Migrations and Multiculturalism. His research areas also include Sociology of Deviance and Social Control, Sociology of Leisure and Sport and Sociology of Arts and Literature. He has published extensively on in the field of social theory, ethnography and political philosophy.

He is the author of "Non-Persons: The Exclusion of Migrants in a Global Society" (2009). This work examines the broadcasting of the deaths of "illegal immigrants" who have drowned at sea, through the narrative of panic and invasion where migrants, he argues, have been transformed into public enemies with political dialogue giving limited attention to the civil rights of new incoming migrants.

His current research relates to cultures of war in a global society. His work raises important questions regarding the nature and legitimacy of democracy in global politics and places a focus the use of military intervention as an instrument of global policing and its consequences in securing freedom for migrants. In this context, he examines the role of the European Union in what he refers to as a 'violent' drawing of global boundaries, borders and limitations and critically analyses the impact of such draconian measures of border control and securitisation.

Claire Dorrity

Claire Dorrity is a lecturer in the School of Applied Social Studies in UCC. Her teaching and research interests include the marginalisation of asylum seekers; the social and cultural exclusion of minorities; institutional racism and discrimination; migration, displacement and translocation; and boundary formation and ethnocentric and hegemonic constructions of identity. She is currently completing her PhD in the School of Applied Social Studies, UCC. Her research examines the representation of asylum seekers through an examination of the conflicts, challenges and contradictions embedded in state sanctioned policies of exclusion, exploring how discourses of

representation legitimate the dehumanisation of asylum seekers. She is one of three editors of the recent publication "Migration: Global processes caught in national answers" (2014). The contributions in the book examine the various models of reception for migrants within states, emphasising that effective humanitarian legislation can only be implemented together with a deep understanding of the problems faced by refugees/asylum seekers and the social relations that determine their position in society.

Natalia Ribas Mateos

Natalia Ribas Mateos is an associated researcher at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Centre d'Estudis i Recerca sobre Asia Oriental, CERAO, East Asian Studies and Research Centre) and was a visiting scholar of the research network "Re-Configurations" (August to December 2014), Centre for Near and Middle East Studies (CNMS). During 2014 she has been invited as an expert to the expert group meeting co-organized by the International Organization for Migration and the OECD Development Centre.

She has published extensively in a number of different languages, including Spanish, French and Arabic. Her scholarly work includes the book "The Mediterranean in the Age of Globalisation: Migration, Welfare and Borders" which was published in 2005. She has six singled-authored books. More recently, she has published various collections of works related to age, gender and mobilities. Her geographic focus includes: North Africa, the Middle East, Southern Europe, the US-Mexico Border, and the Philippines with a particular emphasis on the Mediterranean region.

Her latest Publication "Border Shift: New Mobilities in Europe and Beyond" offers a more complex and multifaceted approach to new mobilities and sheds light on the changing nature of national and regional boundaries in Europe and beyond. Through identifying and examining the contradictory functions of boundaries in the EU she demonstrates the contradictory nature of open and closed borders. Her work brings a new perspective to international social sciences, linking grounded empirical engagement at multiple levels through her close dialogue with activists. Within this context she highlights the new theoretical challenges that emerge from grassroots engagement.

Liam Thornton

Liam Thornton is a lecturer in law and director of clinical legal education in the School of Law, UCD. Liam has a strong interest in social justice and law, and researches in areas relating to immigration law, social security law, European law and human rights law. Liam is expert in the area of direct provision and asylum seekers in Ireland. Liam has published on issues relating to human rights, social security law, children's rights and immigration law in a number of journals & edited collections. Liam has carried out tendered human rights research for the Law Society of Ireland, the Irish Human Rights Commission, the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission and the Odysseus Network/European Commission.