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Spatial Collisions and Discordant Temporalities: Everyday Life between Camp and Checkpoint

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Abstract

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

Crossing barriers is perhaps the single most definitive experience in contemporary Palestinian life. The barrier — be it the checkpoint, 'the wall', the dug trench, the roving patrol or indeed the knowledge of the humiliation that potentially awaits at passage points — modulates and defines Palestinian mobility and speed of movement, and in the process becomes constitutive of people's experiences of space and time.

In this modulation and disciplining of subjects, barriers (especially checkpoints) emerge not only as spaces of suspended and occasionally spectacular violence, but also as spaces of collision both between subject and colonial sovereign and between Palestinians themselves. In one sense, checkpoints can be thought of as a kind of built microcosm of wider reality: the physical-architectural mark of the lived political trauma. Subaltern behavior at the checkpoint reflects the mixture of generalized passivity and the occasional transgression and subversion that characterize people's daily relationality to the occupation regime. Often fraught and full of mutual reproach, the interaction between subjects reflects the fragmentation and fractures in Palestinian sociality. At the checkpoint, social norms blur: gestures can be wildly misinterpreted, body movements can seem erratic and unpredictable, civility often hangs by a thread.

At the same time, checkpoints often spawn something beyond the logic of a sovereign-disciplinary device. In many cases they are also meeting points, spaces of exchange and differentiated interaction for subaltern society. What is referred to as Qalandia checkpoint, the main point of crossing between the cities of Jerusalem and Ramallah (essentially an urban continuum cut in half) and probably the busiest checkpoint in the West Bank, is a case in point. It is the archetypal incarnation of what is increasingly surreal colonial architecture: concrete watchtowers, separate vehicle and pedestrian lanes, a series of turnstiles, x-ray machines, biometric checks, metal detectors and so on, which must be negotiated to gain access to the other side.

What marks this space as different, however, is the area around the checkpoint.[1] Sandwiched between Qalandia refugee camp and 'the wall', this stretch of road — one of the most congested in the region as it services virtually all traffic between the two cities — has become a space, an entire 'ecology', of frenetic and heterogeneous activity: a micro-economy with differentiated outputs (that range from hawking to gleaming supermarkets), a transport hub, a site of civic action (as traffic and chaos are mediated and organized), a site of confrontation (as a visible presence of the occupation), a representational device (as advertising of all kinds attempts to capitalize on the mass volumes of movement) and a place to just loiter and observe.[2] It is above all a space of constant transformation and flux, nowhere more clearly evident than in the spatial contest between daily life and colonial regimentation, as obstacles and mini-barriers intended to regulate traffic and movement are erected and disappear again almost overnight, in a tug of war between taxi drivers, commuters and camp residents on the one hand, and army engineers on the other. But as is also clear from the near-constant fluctuations and oscillations, such disturbances, surprises and unforeseen events do not always necessarily amount to chaos and disorder (Mbembe, 2001: 16), but are part of a constant movement between civility and incivility, stasis and dynamism, breakdown and self-management, solidarity and mutual suspicion, familiarity and the strange. It is present in the incongruence in affective feeling and cognitive experience that this place engenders, as bodies transit between the structures of control and surveillance and the flurry of hectic organic activity that surrounds them. In the end, far from the cities it (dis)connects, this seems like a place that belongs to a different temporal order altogether.

I would like to take this place, this 'collision' between camp and checkpoint — its built and interactional ecology, its 'appropriability', its muddled symbolic orders, its non-commensurability with normative frameworks — as a starting point for discussion: on the one hand, to use it as a metaphoric device for much wider liminalities — between nation and sovereign, city and camp, war and peace — that refugees in the West Bank traverse and negotiate; and on the other, to suggest that there are entire assemblages of contemporary action, practice, subjective dissonance, productive ambiguities and contingent vitalities that the current literature and paradigms on Palestine do not (perhaps cannot) capture.

My argument is that at this particular disjuncture refugees in and around Qalandia have begun to use the spatial arrangements of their camp — its suspended temporality, its meeting with the checkpoint, as well as its extra-municipal (non)status (in other words, its 'abandonment') — as resources to forge out 'room for maneuver' and experiment with new modalities of use, interaction and association that are not easily captured by dominant representational frameworks. Deeply fragmented in space and inhabiting sometimes jarringly different temporal orders, people (particularly refugees) in Palestine have begun to find new and subtle ways of not only making sense but also

1 As Tamar Berger (2006: 253) has commented elsewhere, checkpoints in Israel/Palestine rarely have clearly defined boundaries: 'Diffuse and dynamic, they overlap with their surroundings in myriad ways', producing 'dissonance in a place where discipline and order are the core concerns'.

2 Reema Hammami (2006) has pointed out how checkpoints during the Second Intifada between 2000 and 2005 ironically became *the* public spaces of the uprising, supporting not only profitable activity but ad hoc civic organization and increasingly inventive ways of resisting immobility (spaces at least partially open to appropriation and reclamation).

making use of the status quo, often to radically discordant ends. In other words, people are using the different constitutive nodes of the present — even the checkpoint — to reproduce their lives in ways that do not correspond to anything we might recognize as resistance or anything we can reduce to survivalism. How do we interpret the colonial subject that is neither in revolt nor in open crisis? What kind of languages of signification do we read, if any, in her/his quotidian practices? How to avoid reading and ascribing intent? Such questions seemingly need to be premised on a more fundamental query: what kind of time is this curious present? And whose temporality are we talking about?

Estranged temporalities

Cities are retainers of multiple temporalities. They are places where people — even as they meet, connect, exchange, collide with and exploit each other in unprecedented proximities and intensities — can inhabit radically different temporal orders; they can be of different times, 'out of synch', not 'in tune' with each other. In one sense, urban complexification is marked by the capacity of space to support and constitute paradoxical temporal trajectories. Every age, writes Achille Mbembe (2001: 15), has contradictory significations to different actors, pulling subjects into contexts of coeval displacement and entanglement. Every age, in other words, can produce semiotic landscapes that are not only read/deciphered but also experienced/lived in different ways, through different if overlapping registers. At the same time, Mbembe (*ibid.*: 17) goes on to suggest that, at one level, a common affective sense characterizes the experience of present, or what he calls 'emergent time': a feeling of absence. What distinguishes the contemporary African experience, he goes on, is that emergent time — the time of existence and experience, the time of entanglement — manifests itself in a context — today — in which the future horizon is apparently closed, while the horizon of the past has apparently receded. There is an interesting conjugation here. Even as social orders and formations, as newness, are emerging in the postcolony, both past reference and future horizon are fading.

In Palestine, the emergence of a new political order amidst the ongoing dissolution of past configurations and bonds, in a society unmoored by the collapse of the national project and disoriented by the ongoing violence of the colonial encounter, has resulted in precisely such a temporal disjuncture. The grafting of statist structures over a truncated fiefdom of fragmented bantustans has instantiated a process of 'statification' in which all elements of (cooptable) political and civic life are recalibrated to streamline with the proclaimed end of statehood (Jayyusi, 2004: 6). Centered on the seemingly thriving city of Ramallah, this project has engendered its own political culture, characterized in part by new material and semiotic practices of subject (re)formation, new apparatuses of governmentality, a radical neoliberal restructuring of an aid-dependent political economy, polarized class formations, a new calculus of (state) violence (symbolic and otherwise), relentless securitization and the open embrace of the will to power.

The point I wish to make here is that all of this amounts to an acute break in the representational landscape; so much so that the gulf between official discourse and quotidian life, or between the structuring fantasy and reality, becomes a 'fatal gap' (Jayyusi, 2010) as institutions, associations, organizations and political culture itself can no longer produce spaces, beyond the local, capable of supporting mutuality, solidarity and productive intersubjectivity. The issue is not simply that the multiplicity and unevenness of various senses of social time becomes more apparent — it is that these timespaces are increasingly isolated, cut off, estranged from one another in a present that seems to have come to a halt. Can anyone say that Gaza, besieged and on the constant threshold of catastrophe, and Ramallah, where a building boom marks the city's integration into international circuits of aid and exchange, share a temporal order? Or, for that matter, the latter with its refugee camps? Or that these timespaces have not been radically sundered from one another? The endless (and Sisyphean) state-building project has produced a perpetual, suspended present marked by a paradoxical mixture of transience and stasis in the midst of the most profound institutional and urban expansion

the country has ever witnessed. It is, as Walter Benjamin (1940: 5) described the temporality of the oppressed, 'a present which is not a transition, but in which time stands still and has come to a stop'.

It is within this disjuncture that I would like to frame this conversation. How do people reproduce their lives, fashion routines, etch out some meaning when the political is evacuated, when time is on hold? Does this post-emergency twilight with its disruption of stable collective narratives offer new possibilities for individuation, advancement or the reimagining of self and collective? Perhaps the most common rhetorical refrain one hears in Palestine today is: *'Shoo nisawee . . . ma fee hal'* ('What can we do? . . . There is no solution'). You hear this on buses, at checkpoints, in markets and offices — wherever and whenever a conversation is struck up about the state of society and politics. There is something of a generalized feeling of political impotence. But people are and people do. Some are busy forging reputations and amassing wealth that will outlive this emergent era, others (many more others) are searching for modes of being that can help mediate what they feel are the chronic injustices and hardships structuring their daily lives. Some do this with no small measure of ingenuity.

Suspended frames

The space between Qalandia camp and checkpoint is itself a suspended, liminal, somewhat undefined space: within the municipal borders of Jerusalem but beyond the wall; out of bounds to Palestinian Authority (PA) police but largely unregulated by Israelis. Akin to the camp itself, it is largely a space unplanned by power. The intrusion of lethal violence is ever present but there are no regeneration plans here, no risk of gentrification. Central authority either has no inclination (the Israelis) or no capacity (the Palestinian Authority) to formalize its diverse commercial and transactional activities or tie them into fiscal and regulatory frameworks. What results is a much more elastic or malleable space in which a multiplicity of fractalized inputs and interests compete and vie with each other, often synergistically collaborating but sometimes visibly clashing.

Abdel-Basset Hamad sits on a plastic chair under a parasol, flanked by two concrete blocks. Cars pass by on both sides, weaving around traffic islands in all directions. The previous night's work by the Israeli army — the digging and paving of a new lane into the checkpoint — is still unfinished; it will probably remain so for some time. As the cars become gridlocked and tempers fray, Hamad is up in a flash. A few waves of his hand, some careful gestures and the worst has passed. He sits down again. Dressed in a fluorescent jacket, there is a vague air of officialdom about him, but he is in fact a taxi driver and resident of the camp. 'A few of us taxi drivers from Qalandia', he explains, 'decided that we had to do something about this and pitched in money so that I would always be here to organize the traffic'. As he is talking, an orange minibus pulls up alongside him and hands over some change; he takes out a small notebook, jots down the driver's name and amount given. The system, he tells me, is informal but well respected.

When we talk about official politics in Ramallah, he waves his hand in the direction of the city in a gesture that suggests this is something that is quite distant. There is grievance here. Taxi drivers, he claims, are the PA's biggest source of income: 'licensing fees, fines — they squeeze us every opportunity they can get. You have seen how much the police pull over taxis'. Is it because many of the drivers are also camp residents? He doesn't answer the question. When he looks back up it is to survey the area around him: 'This place is no one's responsibility', he declares. There is a sense that this is both a source of despair for him but also a relief, an opportunity. On the one hand, he is clearly more confined than he ever was: 'For 15 years I drove a taxi, and used to go daily from Ramallah to the heart of Jerusalem, without a single soul asking me who I am'. On the other hand, there is an affinity and duty to this place which gives him a sense of purpose as well as social capital: 'I can't just leave this place to break down completely . . . It is not the first time we [the camp] do something like this, during Ramadan we pass out cold water and dates to the drivers stuck in traffic'. So is this a taxi driver- or camp-inspired

initiative? 'Both, most of the taxi drivers involved are from the camp, we cooperate with each other in many different ways . . . but, who knows how long it will last, in this place nothing is certain . . . I talked to an army officer here once, and I suggested some changes to the traffic, you know what he told me? "It's all for nothing!" This place can change at any moment, even they [the Israelis] don't know what they are going to do next'. The shrug of the shoulders as he turned away spoke directly of the temporal suspension in which this place exists, of the radical contingency at the heart of daily life here.

Further down, another individual is sitting under his own parasol much closer to the checkpoint entrance, towards the middle of the roundabout that acts as junction before the barrier and parallel to the front of the queue of cars waiting to pass through. In fact he sits almost directly in front of the fortified structure from which a soldier shouts orders signaling to drivers when they can approach for inspection. No fluorescent jacket this time, but curiously a metal chain hangs just in front of him; from time to time a car drives right across the roundabout and to this man's ad hoc barrier, money is exchanged and the metal chain is unlocked and goes down. The driver has just jumped the entire queue. This profitable manipulation of the checkpoint structure is indicative of a willingness to make the most of ephemeral opportunities, to capture some of the money that momentarily passes through, in the knowledge that today this image will not be as symbolically unsettling as it might have once been; that the strict social taboos associated with seeming to benefit from the occupation belong to a different era altogether. It is nonetheless, as Reema Hammami (2006: 263) has noted of similar activities elsewhere, also a daily navigation of distinctly liminal space: existence somewhere between oppressed and oppressor, between the waning obligations of a national collective and its dissolution by disaggregated interests.

Around the stationary queue of cars swarms a group of children and teenagers, some selling pirated CDs, others offering window-cleaning services. Their actions are coordinated and collaborative, but not without conflict. Roles and turfs have been previously agreed, but infringements are inevitable. Fights can quickly erupt. Although all are from the camp, these young boys are thrown into new relations of mutuality — provisional but affective — as they collaborate and compete with each other. This place, it is clear, offers them a way of escaping from what some describe as the suffocation of family and domesticity that they can find overbearing in the camp and the chance to find not only potentially profitable activity but also new (non-chaperoned) camaraderie, or sometimes just a place to hang out. This patch is being steadily marked as their own proto-urban space, after it became clear to them that the emergent urbanism of Ramallah has no place for the youth of the refugee camp. Why don't you sell your goods in Ramallah, I asked one of them, 'Too many police, they don't want us there. If they catch us the municipality will confiscate our goods every time, but there is no municipality here, there is nothing'. This dialectical sense of absence — as both loss and gain — is apparent whenever they talk about the city itself; there is always a feeling of uneasiness, of wounded pride — the tones become a little more hushed — but always lurking in tandem is an experiential or cognitive apprehension of the illusory pretensions at the heart of the emergent city and order. Do you ever go? 'Once a year at most'. The city is changing I insist, are you not curious to see what is going on? '*Kulo al fadee*' ('None of it means anything'), he replies.

In all of these conversations, despite its actual proximity (about 7 minutes' drive away), the city seems to not only 'belong' to other people but to a different time and place altogether: somewhere 'that is very far away' or an event 'that is happening over there'. The material practices, semiotic languages and social sensibilities of the temporal order of the city are not only different and incongruent but also inaccessible. 'For us it's the same, we have not gained anything from the changes, on the contrary . . . at best we are in the same position'. They are stuck, in other words, even as the world changes around them, but that does not mean they are static: 'In any case, we have livelihoods to think about here', the young teenager reminds me.

Their proximity to the checkpoint, they explain, makes them vulnerable. 'The soldiers often grab us and try to force us into giving them names of boys from the camp who throw stones . . . but we never give names', he declares, and it is clear that this is part of the daily negotiation of life between what are experienced as twin nodes of disenfranchisement and risk. Perseverance in etching something out for themselves between the two is a small triumph. Do you throw stones yourselves? 'Not always, it affects our work', but tomorrow, they explain, there will be no selling; they will be back — but to confront the army. The political temperature in Jerusalem is rising — the municipality has just announced 600 new settlement units and clashes have been erupting at the al-Aqsa Mosque; Friday, the people's day off when the checkpoint often closes for long periods, is a good time to make the most of the quiet. The stakes at this time are high and override most other concerns; the lines of association will fluidly switch, as some will stay at home while the rest will group with other youths from the camp; on this kind of occasion, they emphatically feel part of something larger as their actions synchronize with demonstrations in Jerusalem and beyond. 'Tomorrow, everybody throws stones'. For a short hiatus, this place will also help to support a brief reaffirmation of the national collective. As they leave, they point to a bunch of tires heaped atop of each other (presumably to be burned the next day); the space tomorrow will be almost seamlessly transformed into a site of demonstration and disruption.

All manner of stalls hawk everything from tamarind juice to locally manufactured socks. Adjacent to the road, the houses at the forefront of the camp have long been commercial sites. Some now support huge advertising placards touting everything from electoral candidates to mobile phone networks. All kinds of car-related services are on offer, including petrol pumps and a mechanic. In a conversation I struck up with some local shopkeepers, the first exchanges were a customary assessment of what is referred to in shorthand as 'the situation' — the enclosure is tightening, they complain, this wall (directly opposite) is getting closer every day. But, I ask, what about all this activity here, all these people passing through. Yes, they smile, 'the whole city passes through here. It's a very funny mixture', they laugh to each other, 'on Thursday afternoons [the busiest time for commuting] the whole city stops and is exhibited here, but what do we get from that?'. There is a reference here also to the fact that most people who pass through belong to other class and social formations with access to opportunities of enrichment in the new era that they, as refugees, have not benefited from. 'They just pass through', he reiterates. Haven't your shops benefited, I probe? What about that carwash or the structures being constructed over there [pointing to a series of concrete rooms being built almost directly under 'the wall']? 'Those are warehouses, of course people are making money from this, but we spend most of our time just trying to live with this chaos'.

The subject 'out of place' and emergent modalities of association

Chaos it might be, but this nexus supports a variety of social, cultural and economic operations for people excluded from the city at large, cut off from sources of livelihood beyond 'the wall' and out of synch with the popular dominant drift of time. These people have begun to opportunize the moment in its full dissonance — to use the vicissitudes, the very mess and disruption produced by the collision between anxious colonial control and restless expanding urbanism, to their advantage. The various modalities of action — hawking, loitering, ferrying, organizing, demonstrating, buying and selling, creating barriers within the barrier, extracting payment from those passing, are ways of using the space around them that, although often mutually exploitative, demand fluid and provisional groupings and collaboration, buttressed by a common connection to the camp, but outside formal association and institution. This is the collaborative basis of the capacity to take skillful advantage of the constantly shifting rules and allowances of the checkpoint.

It is not something that we can reduce to mere survivalism; people are not just reproducing their daily lives (noteworthy as that might be in this context), they are also investing them with advantage, resourcefulness, humor and vitality, civility and decency as well as trickery and brusque self-interest. Moreover, these quotidian, contingent, often banal and sometimes unsavory actions are part of efforts to mediate exclusions and injustices — by turning them into sources of profit or subverting their control of movement — and negotiate seemingly endless liminalities. I highlight these practices in part because I would like to argue that in many ways the unlikely story of Qalandia camp and checkpoint illustrates a wider trend in refugee subjective stance: a flexibility, a readiness to take risks, an ability to maneuver through different temporal orders and instrumentalize the spatial fragmentation. This is what supports the quick capacity to create ad hoc formations and groupings along different but intersecting lines that build on but also depart from the affective commonalities of refugeehood and camp life. One can see this at work elsewhere in urban refugee camps in the West Bank, where people have been steadily using their very disembeddedness and critical distance from official structures and trajectories, their 'out of placeness', as resources for collaboration aimed at different, and at times transgressive, productions of space. Take the refugees in Deheishe camp in the city of Bethlehem, now experts at presenting their organizations in ways that mimic the more formal NGO sector, thereby allowing them to capture some of the floating aid money. Or, in the same camp, residents' ability (despite their general rejection of municipal processes) to band together to create their own municipality on land outside the camp that many families had 'spilled-over' onto and were effectively squatting on, thereby institutionalizing and protecting their presence there (see Abourahme and Hilal, forthcoming). Other examples include the previously thriving and lucrative stolen car market in the West Bank (an illicit trade virtually monopolized by refugees from Amari camp in Ramallah that required a myriad different — visible and clandestine — relations between them and the criminal underworld in Israel), and the camp-based networks of smugglers that ferry workers in and out of Israel proper. On another register but in a similar vein, the turn to beautification and improvement of houses in many camps displays an awareness of the importance of interiority and nearness, as means of mediating both the uneasy senses of belonging and 'home' as well as the continuing existential threat; this is borne out in Shu'fat camp where the most ornate and decorated houses are also those that stand closest to 'the wall' (Bulle, 2009: 29).

These are modes of living and being that confound neat categorization. They are neither heroic nor tragic; they are the rhythms, patterns and cadences of people reproducing their daily lives between the city and the camp under the sharpest of arbitrary and precarious conditions. Most readings of Palestine, too keen to see direct political intent or ascribe agential valence, have missed much of the quotidian practices that carry social and political claims not necessarily framed in accessible languages of rights and justice, but nonetheless intelligible in the various lived and bodied affirmations of presence and visibility. It is no wonder that academic analysis and media coverage at this conjuncture choose to focus on institutional development and state-building or are otherwise ensconced in the domination-resistance binary, a product, Bulle (2009) argues, of the lopsided strength of geopolitical perspectives. Invariably, ongoing civil (and crucially non-violent) unrest in seam-line villages like Bil'in and Ni'lin receives much attention — the tropes and motifs are clear and accessible, even comfortable, a world away from the makeshift and disorientating geography of Qalandia with its muddled, fuzzy and sometimes disconcerting collapsing of various semiotic layers. When fragmentation appears not only as an affliction and a hindrance to political mobilization (which it is), but also as an opportunity 'for livelihoods that don't easily correspond to normative frameworks' (Simone, 2004: 10) — be they the malfeasant land and building deals shaping Ramallah's urban fabric or the aggressive hawking of Chinese chewing gum at Qalandia checkpoint — then most of the literature has little to say. Yet given the closure of conventional political horizons and the suddenly anachronistic quality of much of the political vernacular, it is precisely these actors and their practices, in all their

irreducible paradoxes, that signal the latent potential for new forms of associational action in what already exists beyond the certainties and truisms of official narrative. To recognize and address them is not to ignore questions of transformation; rather it is to take the present and the possibility of its eventual transition seriously.

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Résumé

Quelle lecture donner du sujet d'une colonie qui n'est ni en révolte ni en crise ouverte? Comment les gens font-ils pour reproduire leur vie, fabriquer des routines, détacher une signification une fois le politique évacué et le temps en suspens? Ces questions planent sur une rupture contemporaine de la Palestine, marquée en partie par la scission et les débuts d'un domaine consacré aux associations, attachements et liens subjectifs avec de nouvelles modalités de production, celles-ci étant moins contraintes par les anciens paramètres normatifs, mais suscitant une masse de complexités et d'ambivalences dans les dimensions relationnelles politico-sociales. Pourtant, la plupart des recherches sur la Palestine restent prisonnières d'une bipolarité réductrice violence-résistance, tout en dépendant énormément de catégories rigides et globales, lesquelles sont généralement incapables de capter les ensembles complets d'action, de dissonance subjective, d'ambiguïtés productives et de vitalités aléatoires qui modulent tant la vie quotidienne contemporaine. Le réfugié est apparu notamment comme un personnage déstabilisant, capable d'utiliser de façon subversive la spatio-temporalité du camp comme la ressource clé susceptible de désorganiser les catégories attribuées. Déchiffrer la multitude paradoxale d'actions que les réfugiés (femmes, enfants et personnes âgées) réalisent dans l'espace situé entre le camp de Qalandia et son checkpoint éclaire en partie ce qui

définit les subjectivités contemporaines d'un réfugié : flexibilité, disposition à prendre des risques, aptitude à manœuvrer au milieu de plusieurs ordres temporels et capacité à instrumentaliser la fragmentation spatiale. En transcendant et résolvant la liminalité dans leur quotidien, ces sujets apportent des affirmations vécues et incarnées d'une présence et d'une visibilité qu'on ne peut appréhender par les cadres analytiques de la reconnaissance et des droits.