A matter of Identity? State legitimacy between space control and adhocratic governance
Rosita Di Peri, Chiara Maritato

The spread of identity politicisation has revitalised the debate over the nature and transformations of the State and its role in the international arena. This shift has also underscored the importance of identity assumed in international relations (IR) as it offers an alternative to the traditional realist-rationalist vocabulary. Grounded on a counter-substantialist approach to identity the Special Issue moves the gaze from identity to identification processes. Identity as an essential object that explains actions fails to capture the constitutive relationship between actor's identities and the social contexts in which they emerge. Consequently, the notion of individual or state identity as a foundation for actions is replaced by a process involving multiple acts of identification that occur in specific contexts and periods. How do identities, both as identities in practice and as given and abstract objects, influence state's domestic and foreign governance?
To answer this overarching question, the Special Issue draws on two interrelated notions of identity: as bundles of actions of identification that acquire temporarily privileged status in specific discourses and as a causal variable in IR that explains why states act in certain ways. This dual analytical lens allows to examine (1) the centrality of space and time in debates on how identity has contributed to redefining the role of the State domestically and its relationships in the international arena and (2) the extent and ways in which ad hoc measures at the micro-scale of identification processes infl implementation.

Regimes of fear in Lebanon: perspectives from the borderlands
Daniel Meier

What are the current dominant threats and fears in Lebanon? How do the borderland communities perceive these threats, and how are they impacting their identity construction? This paper explores the interplay among identity, borders, and fear by examining three regimes of fear that are dominant narratives provided by state institutions and Hezbollah: the threat posed by Israel, Salafi-jihadists, and Syrian refugees. These regimes resonate differently in the Northern, Eastern, and Southern borderlands. Interviews with local residents reveal a shared but unnamed fear of marginalization while also highlighting an alternative identity construction in each of the borderland regions.

Contesting Europeanness at the Aegean border: a contrapuntal reading
Daniela Huber

While the EU has evolved over decades with a civilian/normative liberal identity, recently this identity appears to be undergoing a rupture. The von der Leyen European Commission has proclaimed a geopolitical EU, which seems difficult to reconcile with its previous identity. This raises the question: How is the process of identity formation currently unfolding in the European Union? To address this question, the article focuses on migration policy, which has become a central political discourse and practice in the constitution, production and maintenance of European identity. Using the broader Aegean borderland and the 2020 migration crisis as case studies, it contrapuntally examines: 1) how policymakers, civil society and refugees have provided contesting identifications with Europe; 2) how such identifications are bundled and stabilised in – and experienced through – policies; and 3) which alternatives might destabilise them. The study finds that the *EU as deterrence* emerges as a dominant articulation by EU policymakers, although it is audibly contested by European civil society organisationsí articulation of the EU as liberal and rules-based. The notions of EU as deterrence and the *EU as liberal and rules-based* are intertwined with the EU as humanitarian compassion by policymakers and civil society. Nonetheless, EU as deterrence dominates the experience of refugees. Humanitarian compassion is somewhat experienced by refugees, but the EU as liberal and rules-based is scarcely evident. Refugees also articulate an alternative, namely the EU as part of shared humanity, which acknowledges their agency, potential and contributions.

Keywords: European Union, Liberal Order, Identity, Crisis, Migration

Ethnic or political cleansing? Demographic engineering and identification bundles in the Turkish-occupied territories of northern Syria
Davide Grasso

The paper analyses the military invasions and demographic engineering perpetrated by the Republic of Turkey in the Syrian Arab Republic from 2016 to 2024. In particular, it focuses on the lasting effects of the 2018 and 2019 invasions to address the following question: Which identification process is more relevant to understanding the Turkish operations and the related demographic change? To support this analysis, the study utilises documentary and ethnographic qualitative resources. After outlining the sources and their limitations, the paper sets forth the methodological, theoretical and terminological tools used, later clarifying the historical context of the ongoing conflict between the Syrian national army, supported by Turkey, and the Syrian democratic forces that Turkey aims to neutralise. Grounded in processual-relational thinking (p-rt), this study seeks to provide a new and original categorisation of the relevant identification bundles. It proposes moving beyond the categories of "culture" and "ethnicity", which are often vague and reductionist, and instead distinguishes between "ancestral" and "hermeneutic" identification bundles. The former is defined by normative horizons tied to inherited commonalities that relate to language, customs and religious denominations, while the latter encompasses unique interpretations of these legacies through political programs and legal commitments. Based on the gathered evidence, the research assesses which of these bundles is more relevant to defining the conflict between the SNA and the SDF and the ensuing demographic engineering process. While both bundles prove relevant, the hermeneutic bundle emerges as preponderant.

Keywords: Demographic Engineering, Identification bundles, Ethnicity, Rojava, Turkey

Transnational identities in practice: Lebanese Turkmens between Turkey's adhocratic governance and Lebanese disinvestment
Rosita Di Peri, Chiara Maritato

The article explores the transnational dimension of adhocratic governance through the case study of the Turkmen community in Lebanon, a marginal and seemingly insignificant group, especially from a demographic point of view. It investigates how Turkey's and Lebanon's governance of Turkmen communities has evolved over the past few decades and what this reveals about how the Turkmen's transnational identities operate in practice. Drawing on extensive fieldwork conducted by the authors in both Lebanon and Turkey, the paper contends that in recent years, Turkey has implemented ad hoc strategies towards Turkmen communities, influencing their transnational identification practices. While Lebanon has disengaged from the management of a population living in marginal yet strategically relevant areas, Turkey has framed its foreign policy in terms of cultural-religious kinship and pragmatism. Both political processes are continually characterised by competing bundles of identifications, which temporarily and incompletely acquire a privileged status in (especially foreign policy) decision-making.

Keywords: Lebanon, Turkey, Transnational Identities, Adhocracy, Transnational Governance, Kinship

L'édifice juridico-politique du plurilinguisme européen – théorie et pratique
Faut-il réformer le règlement N°1 ?
Christian Tremblay

Les langues en Europe pourraient n'être qu'un enjeu culturel, mais elles sont un enjeu pleinement géopolitique et l'objet de luttes sourdes et bien réelles au sein même des institutions qui tournent autour du caractère hégémonique de l'anglais. Deux paires de points de vue s'opposent selon deux axes. Le premier axe est fonctionnel et repose sur la notion de langue et de langage. Sur cet axe, le point de vue technocratique ne voit dans les langues qu'un outil, et le fait de n'utiliser qu'une langue permet de gagner beaucoup de temps, d'argent et d'efficacité. À l'opposé, le point de vue culturel fait des langues et de leur diversité, la base même des identités, et surtout de la richesse intellectuelle et culturelle des pays européens et de l'Europe tout entière. L'autre axe est géostratégique. Une partie des pays européens s'identifie à l'Occident, ou une certaine idée de l'Occident, conduite par les États-Unis, et pour eux l'anglais devraient être plus qu'une langue commune, c'est-à-dire, la langue officielle de l'Union européenne. D'autres pays européens, ou d'autres tendances politiques au sein des pays européens ne voient pas l'Occident ni ses relations avec le reste du monde de la même manière et souhaitent que l'Europe et les nations qui la constituent s'affirment en tant que telle. Tel est le cadre général dans lequel se situe le régime linguistique de l'Union européenne dont la fixité contraste avec l'intensité des luttes dont il est l'enjeu. Nous voulons dans cet article donner les fondements juridiques du régime linguistique de l'Union européenne, mais aussi leurs limites sur fond d'enjeux stratégiques.
En partant du texte fondateur que constitue le règlement N°1 du 15 avril 1958, ses forces et ses faiblesses, nous mettrons en perspective les différents textes postérieurs qui élargissent le fondements juridiques du plurilinguisme européen, pour terminer par une réflexion sur les voies et moyens de contenir les tendances hégémoniques de l'anglais dans les pratiques institutionnelles.

Mots-clés: Langues, Régimes, Scénario, Lutte, Identité, Anglais, Position

European languages could be considered not as a mere cultural issue but as a real geopolitical issue, and be the subject of secret and absolutely real struggles within the very institutions concerning the hegemonic position of English. Two points of view are opposed on two sides. The first is functional and is based on the concepts of Langue and Language. On this axis, the technocratic point of view considers language as a tool, and using only one language saves a lot of time, money and efficiency. On the contrary, the cultural point of view considers idioms and their diversity as the actual basis of identities and also, above all, of the intellectual and cultural richness of European countries and Europe as a whole. The other axis is geostrategic. Some European countries self-identify with the Occident, or a particular idea of it, headed by the USA, and for them English should be more than a common language, i.e. the official language of the EU. Other European countries or other political trends in these countries do not see the Occident or its relations with the rest of the world in the same way, and hope that European Union and its member states will assert themselves as such. In this general scenario lies the EU's language regime, whose static nature contrasts with the intensity of its struggles. This article aims to give the legal foundations of the EU's language system, but also their limits on the basis of strategic issues.

Keywords: Languages, Regimes, Scenario, Struggle, Identity, English, Position

Le dimensioni culturali e politiche del principio di solidarietà nell'Unione Europea e in Italia durante l'emergenza sanitaria
Francesca Cubeddu

Il lavoro analizza il principio di solidarietà espresso dalle misure dell'Unione Europea e dell'Italia durante l'emergenza sanitaria, per comprendere se siano congruenti alla definizione di solidarietà e se rispondano al soddisfacimento dei bisogni degli individui, secondo la piramide di Maslow.

Parole chiave: Solidarietà, Bisogni, Piramide di Maslow, Emergenza Sanitaria;,Unione Europea

The paper proposes an analysis of the measures enacted by the state for the Covid-19 health emergency in order to understand whether they are congruent with the definition of the principle of solidarity and whether they meet the needs of individuals, as articulated in Maslow's pyramid.

Keywords: Solidarity, Needs, Maslow's Pyramid, Health Emergency, Self-realisation

Quando le carte aiutano a perdersi. Una sistemazione interpretativa e alcune precisazioni storico-cartografiche sulla questione del confine sul Monte Bianco
Lorenzo Vai

Il contributo prende in esame la definizione del confine tra l'Italia e la Francia nei pressi del massiccio del Monte Bianco. La questione è di particolare interesse e rilievo politico poichè la frontiera presenta diverse aree contese, a partire dalla vetta della montagna più alta díEuropa, che líItalia considera condivisa con la Francia. Uníinterpretazione mai pienamente accettata da parte francese. Nella prima parte dell'articolo sono ricostruite le principali vicende storiche che hanno riguardato la definizione del confine, dall'età napoleonica (1796) agli anni più recenti. La seconda parte esamina gli elementi che hanno contribuito alle origini e allo sviluppo della questione. Nello specifico: I) una divergente produzione e diffusione di carte ufficiali; II) il disinteresse italiano per il Monte Bianco durante i primi decenni post-unitari e la costruzione della narrazione francese; III) i limiti e le imprecisioni delle fonti cartografiche antiche; IV) gli effetti delle dispute tra i comuni francesi di Chamonix e Saint-Gervais. La complicazione e la confusione di cui si è nutrito il problema nel tempo sono da attribuire ad una eccessiva attenzione alla cartografia antica, e ad uno sguardo analitico talvolta carente nel considerare tutti gli elementi menzionati, mettendoli in dialogo. Il contributo non propone tesi alternative alla comprensione della controversia, nÈ intende proporre delle possibili soluzioni. Esso intende offrire una sistematizzazione delle fonti e delle ipotesi che hanno contraddistinto la lunga storia della controversia, basandosi sulla ricerca e lettura di tutte le fonti disponibili, alcune delle quali originali. I risultati dello studio sostengono la correttezza dellíinterpretazione italiana.

Parole chiave: Monte Bianco, Colle del Gigante, Dume du Guuter, Confine Italo-francese, Italia-Francia, Controversia territoriale

The article examines the definition of the Franco-Italian border over the Mont Blanc. The issue is of particular interest and political relevance due to several territorial disputes, which include the peak of Europe's highest mountain. According to Italy, this is shared with France, which has never accepted this interpretation and claims full sovereignty over the mountaintop. The first part of the article retraces the main historical events concerning the definition of the border, from the Napoleonic era (1796) to more recent years. The second part examines the elements that have contributed to the origins and development of the dispute. Namely: i) a divergent production and dissemination of official maps; ii) the Italian disinterest in the Mont Blanc during the first post-unification decades and the construction of the French narrative; iii) the limitations and inaccuracies of ancient cartographic; iv) the effects of disputes between the French municipalities of Chamonix and Saint-Gervais. The complication and confusion with which the problem has been nurtured over time can be attributed to an excessive focus on ancient cartography, and to an analytical look sometimes deficient in considering and linking all the elements involved. The article does not propose alternative theses to understanding the controversy, nor does it intend to propose possible solutions. It aims to systematise the sources and assumptions that have marked the long life of the dispute, relying on all currently available and some new sources. The results of the study support the correctness of the Italian interpretation.

Keywords: Mont Blanc, Col du Geant, Dome du Gouter, Italy-France border, Italy-France, Italy, France, Territorial dispute

Alle origini dellíidea di Parlamento europeo. Il Progetto di William Penn
Tommaso Visone, Daniele Archibugi

A pochi mesi dalle elezioni europee è interessante ricordare una riflessione poco menzionata nel dibattito italiano e internazionale 2 : quella a cui si fa risalire la prima idea di un parlamento europeo. Per farlo occorrerà tornare nell'eccezionale contesto di quella che Grayling ha chiamato "the age of genious", ovvero il XVII secolo, e al percorso di una figura geniale ma troppo spesso dimenticata: William Penn.

Parole chiave: Parlamento Europeo, Pace, Sovranità Interna e Sovranità Esterna, Anti-dispotismo

The English quaker William Penn was the first thinker to believe it possible that Europe could equip itself with institutions of its own and autonomous from those of individual states, of a permanent and not just transitory nature, which had as their main task that of resolving international disputes and which, in prospect, could also been dedicated to the civil government of the entire continent. His An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe: By the Establishment of an European Diet, Parliament, Or Estates (1693), can be considered as the first precursor of what, after three centuries, the European Union has become. The article shows the historical and intellectual context in which Penn operated. Although the current European Parliament is much more advanced than Penn could have imagined more than three centuries ago, some of his suggestions are still vital today.

Keywords: European Parliament, Peace, External and Internal Sovereignty, Anti-despotism