

BORDERLANDS: CHANGES FOR PERIPHERIES

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The first known concept of land goes back to the time of the Egyptians, who believed it to be flat and floating on water. Later on, other civilisations raised similar concepts. In Babylon the priests described the universe as an oyster with water above and below, the whole sustained by a solid sky like a closed and round room. The Mesopotamian concept foresaw an ocean that surrounded flat land; it was forbidden for navigation and punishment for those who ignored this was to fall into the abyss. Later still, around the 8th century B.C. the Greeks imagined land as a flat and round disk held up by columns. Anaximander of Miletus saw the world in the form of a cylindrical column surrounded by air that floated at the core of the universe without support and couldn't fall because it was right in the centre.

What is clear is the absence of fear of early civilisations to raise some abysmal edges – very difficult to justify – but with a persuasive and frightening force, highlighting the predominance of specific interests over rationality.

IMPORTANCE OF FLOWS

- > Today, the definition of border has acquired different conditions. In relation to the argument developed in this paper border means barrier against migratory flows and the entry of foreign goods and, conversely, a colander for the export of national products. The absence of any element built by man can be more powerful than the presence of these barriers, which leads to our reflections on the role of architecture in these mediated spaces. I am interested in investigating the use of the spaces in these borderlands and how they relate to the concepts of location and density, their connections and their differences. Exclusion is an experience indissolubly related to such spaces – the object of my analysis – as well as to the belonging to a place as part of intrinsic values of urban spaces. My question is whether architecture gave, or is giving an answer to the problems generated by migratory flows.

The characteristics of the places built by man are concentration and fencing. We have to think about places from a phenomenological point of view, or rather think of the emotions which their character or atmosphere are eliciting in the end-user of space: man. I want to introduce the concept of existential space, borrowed from Norberg-Schulz (1979), to refer to the relations between man and the environment. The environment affects human beings and thus the purpose of architecture is to order our place. Liquid life and fluid society, concepts defined just a few years ago by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2005, 2006) are not able to maintain their own form; everything is dissolved and returns to be built everyday. The various modifications we are enduring throughout our life require a flexible and adaptable attitude, which leads back to the concepts of fluidity and rapidity as the basis of our concerns. Referring to Jacques Derrida (1982), we have to inquire constantly about the relevance of the limit, balancing the pressure between 'inside' and 'outside', as in the case of a permeable membrane.

My research focuses on how dividing elements affect the occupation of space by citizens and how they evolve. After a general discussion of growth strategies, I concentrate on the revitalisation of these border areas as a tool to balance the development of the place as a whole, and aim to understand how the most common flows in each location interact with the barriers which control them. I study space according to Heidegger's (1951) definition for whom space is not where things end, but something from which the presence of things starts. The starting point of my research is directly related to the movements toward the interior, in accordance with the thinking of the German philosopher elaborated in *Build, Lifestyle, Think*, where he reflects on lifestyle and its relationship not only with the activity of construction, but also with the space it occupies, a wider dimension we need to consider.

As we have seen from the examples above, Heidegger's reflection is the opposite to the

concept of the past in which the anonymous is related to the unknown. From these considerations follows the relevance of flows in shaping and delimitating physical space.

> According to the Dictionary of the Spanish Language (as this work is developed mainly in Spanish) **flow** comes from the Latin *fluxus*, with the following meanings:

1. action and effect of flow,
2. movement of ascent of the tide,
3. chemical: flux (substance which facilitates the merger),

and

to flow, from the Latin *fluere*

1. intransitive, in a liquid or gas,
2. intransitive, in an idea or a word: sprout with ease of mind or mouth.

> Considering these definitions too restrictive we sought other sources. In addition to the previous definitions the Dictionary of the Spanish Language Espasa-Calpa (2005 edition) includes movement of persons or things from a place to another, which is a better description of what we are examining. Another definition defines the actors which are involved in the configuration of the spaces: the persons or things that move on one hand, which render the typologies of flows more significant, and the places of origin and destination of these movements, on the other hand, and what can be found, or not, in the middle, an aspect which lays at the centre of our interest.

> The border is perceived as an area in which actions converge related to processes of location, mobility, division, hierarchy and spatial performances, and

where actors seek to influence the territory by organising it consistently according to their general objectives which I am analysing for each specific site. In a first attempt to classify the case studies of borders by type, I realised that various problems are superimposed in each of them. Overlap and possible sedimentation of issues increase the complexity of analysis, while sharing related cases is enriching complexity even more. In a significant number of cases the borders between nation states have been created in conditions of war and maintained by a credible response to a possible invasion. However, once established these limits, pressures and differences between the States facing each tend to incorporate other emergent problems which I was trying to isolate. The borders I have identified and in which I am interested can be categorised as follows: **political boundaries, military borders, economic borders (flows), migratory flows, frontiers of tourism (flows), religious barriers, borders as artistic works** (in the arts and culture), **legal boundaries, cultural boundaries**.

In the description of my research I am going to consider primarily economic flows and migration, relegating tourist flow to a secondary level, which are relevant but not directly linked with the fields of study. We must take into account that although the research is confined to particular places and periods of time, the relevance of these flows is amplified as their impacts are difficult to isolate from globalisation, which arguably started its journey with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

	MÉXICO U.S.A.	CEUTA MOROCCO	GIBRALTAR SPAIN	GREECE/ TURKISH CYPRE	PALESTINE ISRAEL	SOUTH/ NORTH COREAS	EAST/WEST BERLÍN
Political boundaries		X	X	X	X	X	X
Military borders				X	X	X	X
Economic flows	X		X				X
Migratory flows	X		X				X
Frontier of Tourism							
Religious borders		X		X	X		
Legal boundaries			X				
Artistic boundaries	X						

I. Classification of flows according to their relevance to the case studies

ECONOMIC FLOWS AND THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALISATION

- > In recent years the fall of the socialist system as an alternative to capitalism lead to the growing importance of the phenomenon of globalisation which is used and applied to very different aspects of the economy, politics and culture, and thus losing rigour. Among the countless attempts to describe it, I want to emphasise those directly linked with the approach I am following:
 - trend of markets and businesses to spread, reaching a global dimension that exceeds the national borders;
 - globalisation, a revolution of communication between human beings which has made them more interdependent;
 - globalisation as growing economic interdependence of all the countries of the world, caused by the increase in volume and variety of cross-border transactions of goods and services, as well as the international flows of capital, with accelerated diffusion and widespread use of technology.
- > From the 1980s certain supranational institutions started to take on greater importance in establishing the rules of the flows that directly influence the daily lives of citizens on five continents and controlling the permeability of frontiers for goods and flows of workers, aspects of key interest to us. In addition, at a supranational level, they defend multinational companies that are located in third countries and often exploit the resources of the latter while reverting only rarely the benefits to the affected populations.
- > Instead of a fall of barriers, increased mobility and greater freedoms, which were expected to emerge with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the resulting liberalisation of the markets and the network of strong countries connected by heavily militarised trade corridors has not been paralleled with the same facilities for workers. The rejection of globalisation experienced over the last years manifests itself mainly in the departure of politics from the real needs of citizens, with the quest

that what is good for the economy is good for citizens. While defences of public interests are being abolished, the freedom of citizens is heavily curtailed, due to macro-economic politics and growing fears of possible terrorist attacks. According to the description of Joaquín Estefanía (2008), globalisation which actually exists, the one introduced worldwide, is partial and deformed, due to the different speeds of the flows involved: absolute freedom of movement of capital, growing but not complete freedom of movements of goods and services, and very relative freedom of movements of people. Globalisation is economic, with a global speech and decisions taken at global level, far from the directly affected citizens.

MIGRATORY FLOWS AND THE RIGHT TO AN OPPORTUNE FUTURE

Regarding migratory flows, one fact suffices to understand the scale of this phenomenon: 3% of the world's population (175 million people) are migrants. Migration is a phenomenon closely linked to the economy, as it has been in the last century, when probably the largest ever number of movements of people has taken place, due to several events of the first order, such as the effects of two World Wars, or the great economic crash, among others.

Without a doubt there is a gap between trade policies and migration policies, the latter being defined unilaterally by each country, according to national politics. Several analysts contend that growing globalisation of markets and their greater openness require competitiveness which will privilege increasing specialisation of migration, as opposed to current low specialisation. However demographic variations of the various labour forces bring about constant change which make these flows difficult to predict and control. If this type of people flow is closely related to the global economy, there exists another more dramatic but no less real flow of human beings who lost their lives in the attempt to leave behind conditions of extreme poverty in the hope to achieve more

favourable living conditions. These flows clash with barriers erected by the more industrialised countries to preserve the privileges of their citizens. The proliferation of initiatives to consolidate, expand or improve border controls, with the existing dividing elements, often supported by military techniques (barbed wire, spikes, or the use of sophisticated technological device, the External Monitoring Integrated System known as SIVE in Spain, or the experience of the Texas Border Watch on the Mexican border) are the more meaningful and costly initiatives launched by different states, notwithstanding the European policies which created the Frontex Office, a think-tank in charge of risk analysis of issues related to border flows, and the launching of pilot projects for their control and stabilisation, now entrusted in a dedicated task force.

- > Conversely, the same European Constitution has introduced a neighbourhood policy which offers economic support to neighbouring regions, compliant with the goal of the 2003 European Security Strategy, which aims to constitute a ring of well-governed countries, stable enough to ensure security at their own external borders. This policy has been seen as an attempt to move existing migratory pressures toward the borders of peripheral countries, in exchange of substantial economic aid. The emergence of marginal areas and informal camps near the borders of Ceuta and Melilla and in other parts of Morocco, in which thousands of people await to cross the sea toward Europe, is another phenomenon caused by the exacerbation of border controls. It is clear that the informality and lack of interest of authorities responsible for these controls have led to the existence of separation fences between countries.

TOURIST FLOWS AND THE LOSS OF IDENTITY AND LOCAL CULTURE

- > Tourist flows do not affect 'borderlands' directly, as they are directed toward different kinds of countries or regions, can change over time and follow criteria that are outside the interest of this

work. Nevertheless, some aspects inherent in these practices of cross border tourism, such as the loss of cultural identity or de-territorialisation are relevant to the study of 'borderlands'.

The cultural identity of place is increasingly vulnerable, because the global economy resorts to an export system based on ubiquitous brand image and/or franchise, which aim at maximum profits in any place at any time, and gradually lead to the simplification of territorial and historic richness present in such tourist destinations. Although these considerations may be rather generic, their consequences are related to the feeling of belonging of the inhabitants to such places which become increasingly less responsive to the needs of their residents. These changes arouse a sense of surprise toward the place of residence, but they also facilitate the settlement of migrants and foreigners, since cultural differences are declining, while helplessness before the unknown or routines are also slowing down. As both residents and foreigners are experiencing alienation, this may enhance the feeling of belonging to a place in some way, or rather the possibility to adapt to such changing places.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the global phenomenon of tourism is its ability to move heterogeneous masses of tourists from one destination to another without apparent efforts, regardless of the distance from their place of origin, language, culture and politics, besides many other aspects. Displacement in itself, a phenomenon common to tourism and migration can be an important key in the understanding of the evolution of urban space, where different flows directly affect their development.

CASE STUDIES

Any site within the walls is profitable, any site outside them is in danger of becoming a ruin. This reflection of Berger (2005) makes us perceive these barriers as a limitation of partial universes, compared to the prevailing advance of globalisation and its contradictions. Referring

to the analysis of some of the more significant enclaves identified above, the meaning of inside and outside has to be raised, together with the possibility of assessing whether these concepts are fixed or can be exchanged arbitrarily.

MEXICO – USA

- > I do not intend to reconstruct the history of the relations between Mexico and the United States, but recognise the historic facts that have shaped the border between the two countries as we know it today, as well as the causes that have led to the configuration of the existing relations between the two countries.
 - **1848:** Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo – Mexico ceded the States of California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and part Colorado, New Mexico and Wyoming to U.S. in exchange for \$15 million.
 - **1853:** Gadsden Purchase – U.S. buy the rest of New Mexico and Arizona (76.845 square kilometres), reinforcing the communications by rail, improving economic flows between the southern states and the West coast. At the end of this process U.S. had incorporated more than half of the territory of Mexico, 2 million square kilometres in total.
 - **1920s,** with the promulgation of the Dry Law which prohibits the production, sale, transport, import and export of spirits to be used as beverages throughout the territory of the United States, there was the first boom in the cities on the Mexican side, where such a ban did not exist.
 - **1942:** 1st Mexican Work Program – 200.000 Mexican workers (*braceros*) replace American workers employed in agriculture and industry and enlisted in the Army.
 - **1965:** The Programme of Border Industrialisation started one year after the unilateral decision of the government of the U.S. to end the Bracero Programme, followed at the beginning of the year 1970 by the *Maquiladora* Programme.

The most noticeable aspect of these events, very difficult to quantify, is related to the humiliation and feelings of hatred that overcame the Mexican population which considered itself betrayed by the interests of the southern Government, headed by Antonio López de Santa Anna, and which are still alive after many generations (Smith, 1992). More than 100.000 Mexican citizens who were living in the territory sold to the United States lost their properties and started several rebel movements seeking to regain their land. Control of the flows in the late 1800s went the opposite way of today. Moreover, there were complaints by Mexico as the American Government didn't ensure sufficient border controls to control American cow thief raids. It is interesting to note that the migratory exchange between the two countries is sensitive to industrial growth and development. Traditionally, the policy of American immigration has been based on the fact that the work of immigrants has been necessary for the American economy since 1.800 until the end of the twentieth century, and will still be necessary throughout the next centuries. The origin of the barriers as we know them today goes back to the early 1990s, when Bush launched *Gatekeeper Operation*, to recover the integrity and security of U.S. national borders. He started to build the first phase of the fence between the Pacific Ocean in San Diego and the border post at San Ysidro over a total of about eight kilometres. The fence consists of a simple metal plate set on posts, but by building it in a consolidated location it had the effect of pushing migratory flows toward the East, into an more arid area easily controllable by border patrols. Over time monitoring increased, with the development and implementation of new technologies to support patrols. *Night Vision* infrared viewfinders, motion detectors and helicopter patrols along with other media have gradually militarised this work of control. On 26 October 2006 George Bush signed the resolution 6061, Secure Fence Act, to strengthen the border line between the two countries. It was expected to strengthen 1.100 km which were subjected to

illegal immigration and to drug dealers with a double or triple fence, in addition to using last generation military tools for the control of the border. At the beginning of 2010, this project was completed. It consists of a fence from the Pacific Ocean (San Diego) until Yuma (Arizona) of 6.4 meters in height embedded 1.8 meters in the ground with reinforced concrete. The implementation of this fence, whose price per linear meter was not revealed, was substituted in desert and mountain areas with alternative control measures already mentioned, which trigger the intervention of the border police. Here the risks of crossing the border are multiplied exponentially.

- > The surveys showed that American citizens agreed with increased border control, although they did not approve the construction of a protector wall. Despite the outcome of this poll, three years ago the Department of Homeland Security commissioned to Boeing Co. to build a series of towers along the borderline with integrated cameras and radar connected to presence sensors to allow real-time control of 3.200 kilometres. Militarised virtual control seems to be the direction chosen for future control of the line that divides Mexico from the United States of America.
- > The explanation of current development of Mexico must be sought in the *Maquiladoras*, a phenomenon that is at present the second source of income for the country after oil. The Mexican Government expected to attract foreign capital when it increased opportunities for its citizens in the 1960s, by creating the programmes intended to promote installations of this nature. Although highly bureaucratised, the government showed great flexibility during these years in modifying the programme when it was adapting it to new requirements, expanding for example, the area designated originally to the programme to the whole country, even allowing the full use of land (which could not be sold to foreigners) over long periods of time, or permitting certain Mexican companies to produce for the domestic market.
- > From the point of view of the detractors of the

Maquiladoras programme, the conclusions of Jorge Bustamante are interesting as they summarise a key question: *'(it is possible) that the Maquiladoras programme acted as a magnet for migration to the cities on the border. The fact is that the people attracted there are not absorbed by the Maquiladora sector and are employed by the service sector or not employed at all. What is really interesting in this context is the ability of this programme to generate a stable environment with some opportunities for its inhabitants'*. Nevertheless, the Mexican Government has not invested the same amount in the development of primary services, infrastructure and above all education as in the *Maquiladora* programme, thus relegating current and future generations to the only option offered in these places which is linked to some kind of illegal traffic. What we found from examining the issues that are recurrent on these border areas by focusing on movements and places of transition is that they are hybrid spaces undergoing strong direct contamination. They are generated by the complex relationships between production and consumption, between local reality and globalised processes, and between confined physical spaces albeit continuously in contact with each other. It is easier to look separately at countries which share a border but have different autonomous legislation. In general regions located along borders are not experiencing significant development compared with other inland areas (examples are US-Canada, or Europe before Maastricht). However, the case we are analysing is different, mainly due to the development gap of the border areas within the two countries. In general the American side is depressed when compared with the rest of the country, and the border is therefore an economic problem. The border cities in Mexico are different. Compared with the rest of the country, they are places of wealth and opportunity, although their per capita income remains well below the American one. This boom however is not fortuitous but derives from the various government policies to promote the border region.



- > In parallel with the implementation of PRONAF, the Central Government established another major project for the development of the whole border region. The Industrial Border Programme (PIF) brings economic flows and migration toward the border region and from there to North America. It requires a new stage of urban planning, as it triggers a large demand for industrial land which requires infrastructure, essentially roads and connections with border ports, and amounts to redrawing the urban structure of the cities. The reality found on the border between the United States and Mexico, analysed in the case study of El Paso – Ciudad Juárez, reflects some pressures due to the economic gap between the two countries. What in other contexts would be economically depressed areas have generated buoyant urban centres, especially on the Mexican side, primarily because of the economic support from the Central State, through various programmes which promoted the kind of activities like the PRONAF and PIF from the 1960s. These programmes have changed the structure of the border cities, with growth of services targeted to tourism and favourable conditions for the introduction of numerous industries known as *Maquiladoras*.

CEUTA (SPAIN) – MOROCCO

- > Returning for a moment to the ancient mythology, I cannot begin to speak of the second case study without recalling the myth of Hercules and his visit to the 'far west' world to capture Gerion's oxen. His trip was full of adventures and struggles, and to commemorate his courage two columns were erected bearing his name which separate Europe from Africa. According to some commentators these were located respectively in Gibraltar and on Mt. Hacho in Ceuta.
- > We can divide the urban history of the city of Ceuta into a first period that begins with the creation of the city in the seventh century B.C. by the Phoenicians and terminates in 1860 with the end of the African war and the definition of a new territorial delimitation. Romans, Vandals, Visigoths,

Byzantines and several dynasties of Arab origin succeeded each other until 1415, until Portugal took over and the crown of Spain established a protectorate of the land since 1640. We need to know the particular geographical situation to explain the city's limited development. Ceuta is located in an isthmus ending in a relief, Mt Hacho. It is joined to solid ground only by a stretch of 500 meters in width which provided an efficiently defence since its foundation. Due to its very reduced area the city and its population could not grow without an extension of its territory, displacing the defence system to a wider area called the outside field that required a greater effort to be defended effectively.

From 1860 with the definition of a new border and the peace agreement with Morocco the city began a new development with the construction of a new port, whose need became evident during the military campaign of 1859-60, the construction of the railway line Ceuta-Tangiers in 1908, and the abolition of the prison in 1910. With the disappearance of latent uncertainty in the city, a major transformation took place from an mainly military settlement to a city subject to normal civic pressures. The last period of the city starts in 1956 with the independence of Morocco. New insecurity arose from the disappearance of trade related to the military troops which were displaced to the European continent. This resulted in the withdrawal of private sector investment and chronic lack of demand generated by the city. Moreover, development was also hampered by the failure of national plans, urban planning and urban transformation strategies established in 1959. Their exclusive concern with the downtown area and omission of relocations resulting from the demolitions undertaken to open new avenues for road traffic, together with the informal settlements on the peripheries brought years of stagnation to the city.

The main activities carried out in Ceuta, apart from those linked to the harbour in general and fishing in particular, are related to minority trade, taking

advantage of the administrative benefits granted to the city. Naturally, this attracted a broad sector of people to settle in the town related to these activities and coming from the area of influence of the city.

- > In 1985 the adoption of the first Immigration Act in Spain had a sudden and strong effect on both Ceuta and Melilla, since this Act put a broad sector of the population established in the city into an illegal situation which was difficult to regularise. This probably brought about the first significant conflict between the African Spanish cities and their neighbouring country, related to the migratory flows, and affecting a population which was previously recorded legally albeit only informally in the country. The border was reinforced and militarised with the primary purpose to control migratory and trade flows, a situation that persists to the present days (Planet Contreras, 1998).
- > The existing border of 8 kilometres in length is the product of the contemporary military industry. Originally consisting of a three meters high, double metal fence, it was increased to six meters, crowned with barbed wire and equipped with a track for vehicle patrols in between. Watch towers are supplementing control all along the frontier which are linked to a control centre where all the signals of movement, cameras and infra-red sensors placed along the path are converging. All these sophisticated tools are eye-catching when compared with the tools used by migrants during assaults in summer 2005 which consisted of rudimentary stairs, gloves and multiple layers of clothing for protection from the barbed wire.
- > These developments are exploited by Morocco with the clear intention to improve its position in claiming Ceuta and Melilla as Moroccan territories. Morocco is also drastically expelling illegal migrants in the desert at the border with Algeria when forced by European pressures and media. The current border of Ceuta aims to control the migratory flows from the African continent toward Europe, as well as the flow of goods that occurs in general in the opposite direction, to

supply the less developed economy of Morocco. The migratory flows that affect the borders of Ceuta and Melilla have to be considered at a wider scale to include the migratory effects from the African continent toward the European continent, triggered by dictatorships, ethnic strife, hunger and poverty. Migrants to arrive at the borders of these Spanish enclaves, because their geographic location offers one of the few very favourable opportunities to enter Schengen territory, compared to the alternative of crossing the Mediterranean Sea which is riddled with many dangers, high levels of risk of failure or interception by the maritime units patrolling the Spanish coast, supported by the monitoring system SIVE, notwithstanding the dangers arising from the mafias who control this traffic.

The border is transformed into a dense and unbridgeable object for migratory flows. This can be compared to a vector which signifies migratory flows, whose value is the volume of migrants which increases with their approach to the northern coast of Africa and bounces back when migrants are attempting to cross over. These flows resemble the turbulence of any physical experiment, with the consequence that migrants are generating informal settlements in the proximity of the fence in the hope to attempt new crossings as soon as possible.

With regard to economic flows, although Ceuta enjoys a special regime, its control is governed primarily by European politics. The uniqueness of this situation is the existence of trade flows from Ceuta toward Morocco which follow established rules of international commerce, taking advantage of the permissiveness existing on the border to let the people cross on foot with all the goods that they are capable to carry. Conversely, Morocco refuses to grant the status of customs duties to the border crossing of Tarajal, where an Industrial Area of the same name is developing. The effect of this action is to prevent legally the passage of goods, for the sole reason not to jeopardise the arguments supporting Moroccan demands

to annex the disputed territories. However, this measure generates an informal although consented traffic, with a huge impact on the number of crossings on the border, as well as on the weak economy of the Spanish enclave. Resulting clandestine trade is estimated at 85 percent of the total economic activity in Ceuta which imports most of these products legally with tax advantages from China. We believe that the attempt to attribute this development to the shortage of urban land is a wrong simplification. Since the times of Portuguese sovereignty the main function of Ceuta was a prison for long-term convicts, a function that required a reduced space, sharply demarcated and controlled, to prevent contact with the local population as much as possible.

- > It is alarming that these same spaces next to the border are used for illegal trade under the watchful eyes of conciliatory border authorities. Conversely, immigration control is repulsing attempts of crossings by immigrant flows with vigorous actions. They thus are creating a duality of interpretation of legality depending on the kind of flow that has to be controlled.
- > Focusing on the current border, considering it as the direct result of the unique history analysed above, my first considerations are related to the multiple meanings of the role of the border. Politics stand in the forefront, as they serve to reaffirm the Spanish sovereignty over the enclave, while remaining subject to a multitude of claims for its annexation by the Kingdom of Morocco. This political dimension has to be placed in the context of the denial of Morocco to recognise existing border crossings (as a result of not recognising the border), thus preventing a regular trade flow between the two territories. This contradictory situation generates the phenomenon of irregular carriers becoming the basis of the livelihood of the local economy while creating a social problem that is not under control. For the carriers Ceuta's border does not act as a barrier, but as a permeable element.

Throughout the same scarce highly militarised 8 kilometres the border has been transforming itself into a strong barrier against the flows of immigrants who are attempting to enter Europe. These same flows generated a unique phenomenon, namely the occupation of the space next to the barrier in informal settlements and in the forests nearby.

CONCLUSIONS

The decisions that affect the overall development of border areas are often carried out without the intervention of the citizens who inhabit these regions. In general the agreed guidelines are entrusted to military forces, which leads to increasingly high militarisation of these spaces. The first conclusion on the sites analysed is the obvious disconnection between the governmental or political level and the citizens who inhabit these landscapes. The former take the decisions on handling border relations and the control of the flows that are generated there, while the latter occupy the landscape and reinvent new forms to relate to the barriers and their purpose. Countries with greater resources are facing up to their neighbours by protecting their territory with a repressive attitude. They generate an inside and an outside, a delimitation of space a priori, a marginality not only on the more depressed side, but on both sides, expanding the boundaries from simple vertical elements to strips in which the negative connotation of space becomes clear. The lack of participation of architects and urban planners in the development of these spaces is also evident, although such technicians could provide proposals to improve its use. The involvement of a maximum of specialists is essential to propose new forms of occupation and transformation of the landscape, and to interpret and adapt them to the needs and functions to develop there. It is therefore urgent and of great interest to initiate an analysis of the spatial evolution of border regions as a basis to vindicate the participation of architects and urban planners in decisions related to their development.

- > Transferring data from observations of different types of flows into a geographic representation of the world reveal the existing pressures in the border areas between developed and undeveloped worlds. This would include borders where turbulences occur related to these movements due to shutting them down, suspending controls, or restricting flows.
- > The first substantial difference between the analysed cases is related to density. Various cities have been developed on the American border, which have grown steadily thanks to the recognition of the strengths and weaknesses of the corresponding counterpart. Mexico has chosen strong investment to attract foreign capital through programmes such as the PRONAF or PIF, by installing an industrial sector that might reduce the unemployment rate of a border area generally which is more depressed than other areas remote from the borders.
- > On the other side of the border, El Paso has become a residential and commercial area. The fence is not seen as a dividing element, but as something that is integrated into the urban space, which simply filters flows necessary for growth and welfare of the two cities. It is true that this reality can be reduced to urban contexts, and differs from the rest of the border line, where attempts of clandestine immigration to enter the northern country are due to lack of continuous monitoring. We can assert that the same urban density curbs attempts of immigration, as fences are located in an easier area to monitor.
- > I consider that density is also one of the more relevant parameters to understand the development of the city of Ceuta. The arrièrre pays or hinterland that feeds its development relates back to the beginning of this century in the Spanish protectorate over Morocco. Ceuta was conceived as a logical starting point for distribution to the interior of the neighbouring country, despite the fact that supplies arriving from the continent served more to supply the colonial army and the Spanish civilian population than being exported to Morocco and its basically rural population. The current frontier, with only two border passes in the

vicinity of the coast, has generated great social alarm because of the attempts by immigrants coming from Africa to enter Europe. Conversely, it has become the cause of a vital commercial sector essential for the economic wellbeing of the city.

CHANGE OF SCALE

These borders are not the only ones in our world, although the most visible ones and those which attract the interest of the media and therefore of the public. At the scale of the city, we as architects, urban designers and planners are involved in its definition and transformation, thereby dealing with the same problems of immigration and economic distribution at a different scale. Here we can find other kinds of barriers, more or less visible, but as strong as the former ones in their impact on the territory and on people. At the urban scale we can find various barriers that mark the growth of cities, and are in many cases the cause of exclusion and marginalisation of certain urban areas. The research presented here can be useful not only at a broader level, but also at a smaller scale, where urban highways, railways, derelict industrial areas, etc. act as borders for the relations between different areas of the city. Even if city sprawl has grown to incorporate these diverse elements within an unpredictable expansion, attempts to resolve such problems of intra-city borders are very few. In this context we find ourselves thinking about the possibilities of the future organisation of these spaces. We have the option to consider the regions on both sides of the border jointly and to reflect on the need of these spaces to have a definition or characterisation that could distinguish them from other sites. The risk of working with broad regions consists of potential assimilation between different locations over and above homogenisation which globalisation is already contributing. Urban growth according to this pattern is taking advantage of the existing strengths on both sides, while the weaknesses of the particularities and exceptions are harnessed as opportunities on the opposite side. The alternative (or a complement of the previous solution) is to consider these borderlands as independent of both nations, some autonomous entities nurtured by the existing culture on both sides, resulting in an autonomous and unique context. Such borderlands would become a space which can accommodate the particularities of each culture to generate and enrich each other, places where every day life is redefined according to the pressures and flows which are contributing to the functioning and transformation of the border. Such an approach would be a transformation of the meaning of border which currently defines the difference between inside and outside. It becomes a border area (eventually delimited in its perimeter) which would encompass all these differences and assets. The interest in the deconstruction theories of Derrida has much to do with the concept of exclusion inherent in any border area. Only by recognising this finding is it possible to approach a project of inclusion, which would reduce these differences through some cultural policies based on diversity and integration. Fear and insecurity would thereby be expelled from the feelings arising in the inhabitants of these regions.