

BorderScaping

An explorative study on the North Moroccan/Spanish border landscapes

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Thesis abstract

Throughout the 2000s, post-9/11 securitisation discourses and the resulting re-affirmation of political divisions into a renewed global geography of in/exclusion (Cruz, 2004, p.1) have deeply influenced the study of borders and border landscapes in their mutual social, economic and spatial interweaving.

There has been a growing interest in cultural productions around borders (Donnan and Wilson, 2012) in different academic fields, along with an intensification and multiplication of international migrations fluxes, transnational and transbordering processes (Irazábal, 2013, 2014) and of political boundaries themselves (Donnan and Wilson, *op.cit.*).

As a consequence, a multiplicity of critical understandings of and approaches to borders and border landscapes have emerged in academic, artistic and professional arenas, ranging from political geography to social sciences, passing by visual arts, to design disciplines (urban studies, spatial planning, landscape studies, architecture, etc.). Among these trans-disciplinary conceptual and methodological perspectives, the borderscapes notion has recently emerged as a potential 'boundary concept' (Balducci and Bozzuto, 2015) able to put different fields of knowledge¹ into dialogue and address the ongoing processes of 'shaping' between shifting political boundaries, new geographies and structures of power, local/transnational communities

and their everyday border experiences. Indeed, by revealing the simultaneous coexistence of dominant landscapes of power and counter-hegemonic relational spaces of encounters, 'negotiations, claims, and counterclaims' (Rajaram & Grundy Warr, *op.cit.*, p. xxx.), the borderscapes concept allows borders to be read in light of the overlapping of socio-spatial and political practices, beyond the borderline itself (Brambilla, 2014a) into a multiplicity of different and cross-scalar 'fields'.

As a verb, in its present continuous form (Brambilla, 2014a; Eker and Van Houtum, *op.cit.*; Van Houtum and Eker, *op.cit.*), borderscapes suggests productive interactions between 'border thinking' (Mignolo, 2000) and 'design thinking' (Viganò, 2010) towards alternative forms of imagination and multidimensional images for contemporary border landscapes, beyond geopolitical and conceptual polarisations. This cross-disciplinary methodological approach is addressed starting from a series of design practices, representations and research patterns on / across borderlands proposed by different scholars, designers and artists. These hands-on experiences give evidence to an understanding of borders as 'new centres' (Donnan and Wilson, *op.cit.*; Eker and van Houtum, *op.cit.*), as 'thick spatial fields' and 'longing scenarios' (Eker and van Houtum, *op.cit.*; Buoli, *op.cit.*) in which to research and negotiate other forms of belonging and becoming.

In light of these considerations, this PhD dissertation is devoted to understanding to what extent the integration between the borderscape perspective and a 'project-based' approach can open new spaces of debate and produce alternative discourses about territorial design and planning in borderlands.

The main contributions of the thesis draw on the circular interplay between the conceptual and methodological dimensions and the interpretative / design explorations. By operationalising the borderscape perspective at the cross-roads between design thinking and border thinking, a threefold conceptual movement emerges:

- . From borderlines to borders as thick and blurred spatial fields, at the interface between design practices and border policies.
- . From border genealogy to simultaneous borderscape constellar narratives.
- . From contrasting geopolitical scenarios to lateral images of change.

The Moroccan / Spanish border has been assumed as a meaningful scenario for these research operations, as one relevant observatory of the past and ongoing re-bordering processes outside EUrope's borders in the Mediterranean and in North Africa, at the intersection between different political regimes and planning systems / cultures.

Moreover this field has been selected due to its peculiar conditions as: a marginal region turned into a 'new centre' (Donnan and Wilson, 2012; Eker and van Houtum, 2013); a 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991) of both shrinking and developmental processes across a trans-continental border; an exemplar case of ambivalent spatial policies (European Union, regional, and national levels); and a place of encounter between different planning systems / development strategies.

These suggest the need to reconsider the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes as the sedimentations of political decisions in space

and time and as the outcomes of different social and 'human designs' (Soja, 2005; Eker and Van Houtum, *op.cit.*).

By addressing a set of emerging borderscapes' constellations, seen both as diachronical narratives and transcalar socio-spatial fields, the thesis intends to unfold the current trends and explore alternative images of change for the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes. The focus is on the north-eastern section of the Tanger's Peninsula bordering the Strait of Gibraltar and the Spanish enclave of the Ceuta. This explorative study gives evidence of the 'gaps' between official planning discourses, strategies and visions and the current ways in which those landscapes have been 'designed' by everyday bordering dynamics and cross-border relational spaces. Inside these 'cracks' (cfr. Castan-Pinos, 2008), lateral trajectories of change can be identified, suggesting new 'horizons of meaning' (Vettoreto, 2000) and opening new opportunities for cross-border dialogues / interactions outside current (geo)political settings and territorial containers.

1. Cfr. Harbers, 2003; Rajaram and Grundy Warr, 2007; Brambilla and Van Houtum 2012; Eker and Van Houtum, 2013; Brambilla, 2014a,b; Van Houtum and Eker, 2015.

Abstract

Starting from the experience of *Transacciones/ Fadaiat* event (which occurred in June 2004 at the Spanish-Moroccan border – Fadaiat, 2006), the essay introduces the main contemporary cultural background on which the thesis is drawn: the increasing (re) production of cross-scalar geographies of in/exclusion, the emergence of transnational social spaces, mobilities and networks, and places of resistance and negotiation across (political) borders (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013), in light of the growing relevance of bordering processes and dynamics ‘at all levels and all scales of our experience’ (Boddington, 1999, p.4), ‘from the body to the national and transnational arena’ (Irazábal, 2013, p.1). This first section of the essay presents the PhD thesis’s ‘rationale’ and its location in the main ongoing debates in border and urban studies, in order to highlight the outcomes of a borderscape theories / borderlands design dialogue and draft the main research hypothesis and original contributions of the dissertation.

More than ten years after the social imagination experiment performed on the Strait of Gibraltar during *Fadaiat* by a collective of political activists and artists, the essay argues that ‘spatial disciplines’ and urban studies still lack a common language able to address these critical issues (Irazábal, *op. cit.*).

The second part introduces the main fields of empiric and design exploration, the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes, placing the case into the main framework of the EUro-Mediterranean space(s). This section is intended to present the case study selection criteria, introduce the main issues at play on the Moroccan / Spanish border and provide a first reference to the methodological apparatus.

The third part presents the different operations that have been developed during the research and PhD trajectory: among others the importance of dialoguing and networking, the places from which the research has been designed and operatively carried out.

Finally the thesis’s structure is outlined, in order to clarify and explain the coherence of the thesis organisation and the logical passages between the different chapters and across the dissertation.

key words:

cultural framework
case study
conceptual background
research design
methodology

Introductory Essay

After Fadaiat



Fig. 01 / Javier Tellez, *One flew over the Void (bala perdida)*.
Performance at InSite 2005. San Diego - Tijuana.
(Retrieved from: www.artbook.com/on-curating-carolyn-christov-bakargiev.html)

0.1. After Fadaiat

The expanding cultural relevance of (political) borders

0.1.1 Across the Strait of Gibraltar / Madiaq

On June 22-23 2004, during the *Transacciones/Fadaiat*¹ artistic event, a transcontinental wi-fi connection was established between the Castle of Guzman el Bueno in Tarifa (Spain) and the Café Hafa in Tanger (Morocco), across the 32km separating the two shores of the Strait of Gibraltar. This is a context of high symbolic meaning and geopolitical complexity at the Euro-Mediterranean borders (Fadaiat, 2006; De Lama, 2004). A space conceived as ‘a multiple territory, both geographic and infographic, social and technological, that extends infinitely in four directions’ (Fadaiat, *op. cit.*, p.169).

During the two days of the meeting, the wi-fi connection was made possible through basic technological equipment and thanks to the ‘self-managed collaboration between multiple collectives and individuals from both sides (...) converging in the desire to question the differences and disobey the separation imposed by borders’ (De Lama, *op. cit.*, p.4, my translation). The network allowed the creation of ‘a rhizomatic constellation of places, temporalities, spatialities and modalities of presence’ (Fadaiat, *op. cit.*, p.220). Fadaiat can be considered, then, as a process of manifestation and support for the relational and transnational social spaces (Faist, 2000) emerging in *Madiaq* territory (the Strait in Arabic). They emerged through the combined use of digital, analogical and techno-ideological devices, supported by a dense fabric of social and cultural bonds across the border. The outcome was a powerful symbolic experience of expert/non-expert knowledge production, an exercise of collective imagination (Fadaiat,

op. cit., p.85). The experience of *Fadaiat*² across the Spanish-Moroccan borders can be read in relation to a fruitful international season of artistic and cultural production on borderlands, in different geographical contexts, at the turn of the new millennium (cfr. Atlas I).

Among many others, the bi-national contemporary art project *inSite*³, (1992-2005) and the cross-border mobile conference *Political Equator*⁴ (2006, 2007, 2011), in the context of the US-Mexico border, and the activities/events organised by the Centre of Contemporary Culture (CCCB) in Barcelona⁵.

InSite, the last edition of which was launched this year (2015) after a long period of silence, is a continental project in the field of public art initiated in 1992. It began as a bi-national public art project, commissioning works created for the specific transnational context between Tijuana, Baja California, and San Diego, California. The earlier editions of *InSite* showed a critical understanding of the US-Mexico borderland, by performing practices of crossing and disobedience. In this sense, the festival could be seen as a pioneer in this field, anticipating the border artistic production wave at the turn of the millennium.

An example of the kind of artwork produced during the festival is the 1997 project *Horse*, by Mexican artist Marcos Ramírez Erre, who ‘rolled an enormous Janus-headed Trojan Horse into the midst of traffic waiting to cross the border on both sides. (...) Erre inserted his Horse into the de-centred, de-territorialized, and multi-directional flows that constitute the border’ (Cruz, 2004). The horse represented a kind of anti-monument, revealing the possibility of transgressing the pre-given order of the border and its system of surveillance (*ibid.*). A similar performance was given in the 2005 edition, by Spanish artist Javier Tellez, *One flew over the Void (bala perdida)*, during which he fired and filmed a human cannonball over the border of Tijuana. These art projects reveal the critical and

imaginative potential of borders as triggers for acts of resistance and disobedience, as well as artistic expressions of such struggles. With a different perspective, the *Political Equator* cross-border mobile conference, curated by architect and urban planner Teddy Cruz (Chapter 1, 2), began in 2006. The conferences function as 'a series of public works, performances and walks traversing (...) conflicting territories and serving as an evidentiary platform to re-contextualize debates and conversations about local and global conflicts across environmental, socio-economic and political domains' (Cruz, 2011)⁶.

F.02

Cruz defines the experience of *Political Equator* as 'nomadic urban actions and dialogues involving the public and communities, oscillating across diverse sites and stations between San Diego and Tijuana. (...) producing new models of urban pedagogy towards citizen action. The meetings seek to amplify the cultural imagination of marginal communities, and the impact of their generative socio-economic and political knowledge in the rethinking existing exclusionary urban policy' (*ibid.*).

Between 2004 and 2007 the CCCB organised *Fronteras* (Borders), a series of conferences and public talks, and an exhibition⁷ (with a related catalogue) curated by Michel Foucher and Henri Dorion, and a publication which collected the contributions of prominent figures in the international debate, such as Zygmunt Bauman, Eyal Weizmann, Tzvetan Todorov and Philippe Rekacewicz among many others. The exhibition focused on a broad and interdisciplinary reflection on the concept of the border and its physical and cultural outcomes in different geographical contexts (Europe, US-Mexico, Israel-Palestine, North Korea-South Korea, Kashmir, Miami-Havana, the case of Melilla) through different media (photography, mapping, videos, etc.) and political perspectives. In light of these and many other experiences⁸, over the last decades

Barcelona has become one of the main nodes of the cultural networks and debates about borders in the European context, due to the presence of a community of scholars and artists concerned with such issues. The curatorial projects developed by the CCCB since the early 2000s⁹ have been among the first experiences of cultural production and dissemination reflecting on the new geographies of power emerging from the new global bordering dynamics at the turn of the millennium (cfr. Ramoneda, 2004). More than ten years after *Fadaiat*, after *Fronteras* and the first edition of *InSite*, this prolific season of artistic and conceptual experimentations seems to have produced a fertile background on which territorial disciplines and urban studies can draw from a conceptual, methodological and ontological perspective to address bordering processes from a proactive and imaginative viewpoint. These cultural and artistic initiatives contributed to renovating the international debate on the role of (political) borders, bordering processes and border representations in the production and reproduction of places, topographies and geographies of in/exclusion at different territorial scales. They reveal 'the need to re-imagine the border through the logic of natural and social systems' (Cruz, 2011).

0.1.2. Borders as new centres across border and design studies

Throughout the 2000s, post-9/11 securitisation discourses and the resulting re-affirmation of political borders at a global scale (Cruz, 2004, p.1) have greatly influenced the study of borders and borderlands in their mutual social, economic and spatial interweaving.

The intensification and multiplication of international mobilities and transnational processes (Irazábal, 2013, 2014) have produced a series of new transcalar topographies of knowledge with different outcomes, both in academic urban studies

EQUATOR 3

Ala Plastica
ARTSpace
Cohabitation Strategies
Dana Cuff
Sergio Fajardo
Suzanne Lacy
Rick Lowe
M7Red
Anudhartha Mathur
Helge Mooshammer
William Morrish
Peter Mörtenböck
Sergio Palleroni
Alessandro Petti
Damon Rich
Lorenzo Romito
Francisco Sanin
Diana Taylor
Ignacio Valero
Jeanne Van Heeswijk
Eyal Weizman
Ines Weizman

June 3–4, 2011

CONVERSATIONS ON CO-EXISTENCE:

BORDER NEIGHBORHOODS AS SITES OF PRODUCTION

A 2-DAY CROSS-BORDER EVENT
 SAN DIEGO / TIJUANA

Political Equator 3 is a 2-day cross-border mobile conference held on the 3rd and 4th of June 2011. This event is co-organized by the Center for Urban Ecologies in the Visual Arts Department at UCSD, and two community-based, non-profit organizations on both sides of the border, Casa Familiar in San Ysidro California and Alter-Terra in Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico.

The third program is a series of bi-cultural conferences, PE3 continues to engage pressing regional socio-economic, urban and environmental conditions across the San Diego–Tijuana border. These meetings have been focusing on a critical analysis of local conflicts in order to re-evaluate the meaning of shifting global dynamics, across geo-political boundaries, natural resources and emergent communities.

Following the format of previous Political Equator meetings, PE3 is a nomadic event, an itinerant conversation traversing the border landscape that brings participants to the actual sites of conflict. This time, the audience will oscillate between two marginal neighborhoods on both sides of the border known as creative urban laboratories for re-imagining this border region. PE3 will unfold through a series of performances and public works that will traverse these conflicting territories enabling debates and conversations at different scales, including an unprecedented border crossing-performance through a large pipe under Home Land security that will allow the participants to cross the border from a protected Embassy on the US side into a Tijuana Slum that collides with the border wall on the Mexican side.

Attracting an international roster of artists, architects, environmentalists, scholars, community activists and politicians, PE3 will focus on The Border Neighborhood as a Site of Production, investigating practices in the arts, architecture, science and the humanities that work with peripheral neighborhoods worldwide where conditions of social and economic emergency are inspiring new ways of thinking and doing across institutions of urban development and public culture.

This event is receiving major support from the FORO Foundation in addition. This project has been supported in part by The Visual Arts Department and Calit2 at University of California, San Diego.

for more information go to:
www.PoliticalEquator.org

POLITICAL

Fig. 02 / Political Equator 2011.

(Source: Political Equator / Estudio Teddy Cruz. Retrieved from: <http://politicalequator.blogspot.it>)

and in professional design¹⁰ practices. In a recent publication, *A Companion to Border Studies*, Wilson and Donnan (2012) stressed the ‘increasing prominence of borders in the lives of many people in all parts of the world’ and that ‘there are more international borders in the world today than ever there were before’ (Wilson and Donnan, *op. cit.*, pp.1-2; cfr. Boddington, 1999, p.4; Irazábal, 2014, p.1). From the late 1980s – early 1990s, border studies, a cross-disciplinary and multi-field research area, has been focusing on the ‘geopolitical realisation of international state and other borders of polity, power, territory and sovereignty’ and ‘the intersections between borders, places, power, identity and the state’ (Donnan and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p.2), becoming a prominent and recognised academic field. The main academic areas which have fuelled border studies over the last 25 years are geography, history, politics, sociology and anthropology (*ivi*, p.5) as well as post-colonial, globalisation(s) and development studies, with more recent intersections with aesthetics, literature and visual arts. In this context, the relationship between border studies and design / spatial disciplines still appears to be little studied and constitutes a possible terrain of further research, the potential for which this thesis aims to explore.

The conceptual shift or the bordering perspective (Brambilla, 2014a) which occurred in border studies during the 1990s, moved attention from a conception of borders as geographical and political peripheries and national ‘edge-lands’ to one recognising them as ‘new centres’, ‘new beginning(s)’ (Wilson and Donnan, 2012, pp.3,13; Eker and Van Houtum, 2013) and ‘spatial points of origin’ (Schoonderbeek, 2015).

This approach led to a reconsideration of borders as ‘social constructs and processes rather than stable entities’ (Paasi, 2005, p.19) that are ‘socially produced and reproduced, and thus are always susceptible to be modified, transformed, erased, recreated,

reimagined, transgressed’ (Soja, 2005, p.34). At the same time, since the early-mid 1990s spatial disciplines have been producing some interesting empirical and theoretical works on borders, from a transnational (Smith, 2001) to a transbordering (Irazábal, 2014, pp.2–6) perspective, while Europe has been experimenting with cross-border planning for the last two decades (Van Houtum and Eker, 2015). Nevertheless, spatial disciplines (architecture, urban design, spatial planning and urban studies, in particular) still lack a common conceptual background and a shared border language (Irazábal, 2014) able to address the issue of how to intervene in borderlands (Chapters 1 and 2).

The growing international and cross-disciplinary interest in new conceptualisations of and approaches to borders, such as the borderscapes notion (Strüver, 2005; Rajaram and Grundy-War, 2007; Perera, 2007; Brambilla and van Houtum, 2012; Brambilla, 2014a), have opened up innovative understandings of the mutual shaping processes between political borders, (supra)national power relations and structures, transnational socio-spatial practices and networks and everyday ‘border struggles’ (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013).

In this light, the borderscape and borderscapes perspective, in its imaginative, counterhegemonic dimensions can provide meaningful mediation or a ‘boundary concept’¹¹ and a common perspective for border and design disciplines to move towards innovative ‘borderlands architecture’ (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013) practices and methodologies.

This potential dialogue is explored in the thesis by looking both at such practices and patterns at the international level, and at the specific case of the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands.

0.2. Morocco + Spain

0.2.1. Case study introduction and selection criteria

Since pre-modern times, the Strait of Gibraltar and its shores have been the focus of attention for a multiplicity of political and economic agents, as well as of cultural, relational and social actors.

Today the Strait, as demonstrated by recent journalistic research by the Spanish newspaper *El País* (2015), is a key location both in EUro-Mediterranean bordering, neighbouring and migration dynamics and in global economic flows and international geopolitical interplays. Half of world trade and a third of gas and oil fluxes, along with the 80% of goods consumed by the European Union transit the Strait (*El País*, 2015).

As a border between a European Union member state (Spain), a so-called third country (Morocco) and an overseas territory (Gibraltar – UK), the Strait represents a ‘direct link between international geopolitics and local response’ (Ribas-Mateos, 2005, p.2) to such bordering dynamics. It is a dense point of concentration of the socio-spatial transformations of the European project, where European Union external border policies have evident and peculiar social and spatial outcomes at different scales.

One dramatic effect has reached its peak over the last two years: the increase in migration tragedies, which these days (April / May 2015) attract international media and civil society’s (powerless) attention. It has been estimated that between 3,000 and 3,500 migrants died in the attempt to cross the Mediterranean between January and December 2014¹², with an average of 200,000 maritime crossings in the entire Mediterranean basin in the same year (Bernardie-Tahir and Schmoll, 2015).

According to the IOM (International Organization for Migration), in 2015

these numbers are going to be even more alarming, based on trends in the early months of the year¹³. International analysts agree that these are the first effects of, from one side, the escalation in the complex and chaotic conditions in the Middle East North African (MENA) region and, from the other, the financial cuts to European Union maritime rescue programmes: the total budget for the Frontex¹⁴ operation *Triton* (established in 2014), is one third of that of the previous programme, *Mare Nostrum*, which was financed by the Italian government. Moreover this operation covers only the 30 nautical miles from national coasts. This limits the reach and extent of rescue operations, directly leading to the tragedies, which have recently received so much public attention.

The Frontex programme’s responsibility for the tragedies has been recently highlighted by the German media *Ard*¹⁵.

In this context, though the main hot spot is currently the Sicily channel (with an increase of 288% of the arrivals in 2014 – Frontex, 2014, p.33), the Spanish-Moroccan border at the Strait of Gibraltar has seen an increase of 7% in the number of crossings (*ibid.*) with around 6,838 migrants landing on the Spanish coast in 2014, despite the massive maritime surveillance apparatus, which Spain has been implementing all along its southern coasts since the early 2000s (Chapter 4 and 5).

This picture is made even more complex if we look not only at the maritime section of the border, but at its land section, the two Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in North Morocco.

According to Frontex (2014, p.8), ‘in the Western Mediterranean, nearly two-thirds of the detections were reported at the land border in Ceuta and Melilla’.

Along with this dramatic picture, both the land and maritime sections of the Moroccan / Spanish border have, since the late 1980s, been prominent focuses of very different bordering and cooperative dynamics (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2010) between the two

have been little explored and considered by design disciplines and from a planning perspective¹⁶.

But why and how can such an approach be relevant to addressing the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands?

While Spain and Morocco are separately responding to international economic and political turmoil, implementing and projecting different visions on the same body of water and land (with very diverse outcomes, as discussed in Chapter 5), very little research has focused on reading these border landscapes from an imaginative viewpoint, beyond the overworked rhetoric of bridges and tunnels (Chapter 4).

The few brilliant attempts at this have been developed by collectives of professionals, activists, researchers and artists directly involved in the process of unveiling and re-imagining the border as a relational space, such as *Fadaiat*. These experiences have shown how the border can be a site for imaginative ‘border thinking’ (Mignolo, 2000) and social knowledge production (Buoli and De Soto, 2015) towards emancipation from current geopolitical imaginaries (Brambilla et. al, forthcoming) and a space for creating new projects (Soja, 2005). Shifting attention from the sea towards the land, from the borderline towards the border landscape, this PhD thesis has been developed around a twofold aim. From one side, the thesis aims to explore the border landscapes by looking at the mutual processes of scaping between a (political) border, local and transnational responses (border economy, informal and *de facto* transborder relations, transnational social spaces), at social / material landscapes, and at the transcalar interplays between different socio-spatial articulations of power (in its dominant and counter hegemonic expressions) in the North Moroccan context. From the other it is meant to highlight the potential of a research-by-design approach in this context, in order to unveil potential lateral trajectories to re-orient current territorial trends.

The need to shift attention from the borderline to broader social and material landscapes (cfr. Brambilla, 2014a), has been pursued by looking at the Strait of Gibraltar and at the Northern region of Morocco, through a borderscape lens.

This perspective allows the highlighting of a series of constellations of borderscapes, as fuzzy, cross-scalar, open and boundless fields of post-colonial border ruins, networks of transnational / trans-local relational spaces, dominant political coagulations and cross-border natural reserves. These fields constitute the resources and potential triggers of change towards new multidimensional images (Bozzuto, 2011).

0.3. Research operations: the processual construction of the thesis themes, questions and perspectives

0.3.1. Research questions

As discussed in the following paragraphs, the construction of the thesis’s focuses and questions has been articulated around two dimensions:

- . The methodological, conceptual and cross-disciplinary perspective in relation to the borderscape notion and a borderscaping approach;
- . The place-based and empirical interest in the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes, both in terms of interpretative descriptions and design-oriented explorations.

The resulting research questions, which the thesis aims to address in its different sections, are:

- . How can borderlands be re-designed?
- . With which design practices / tools / approaches?
- . How can a dialogue be built between border studies and design disciplines?

- . Which power interplays and coagulations are shaping the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes at different territorial scales?
- . How can such dynamics be described beyond current linear approaches?
- . Which lateral socio-spatial trajectories, through a design-oriented approach, could re-orient current dynamics of in/exclusion across the Spanish-Moroccan border?

These research themes, questions and perspectives have been constructed during the three and a half years of the PhD experience (end of 2011–2015), as an explorative process constructed through attempts, constant revisions and re-orientation.

During this period I had the opportunity to present, question and continually review my hypothesis and perspectives, thanks to conversations, revisions and chats with a variety of scholars, professionals, institutional representatives, civil society activists and artists (cfr. Paragraph 0.3). This networking activity has been one of the core methodological approaches developed throughout the research process. In the following paragraphs I build a narrative around some of the main passages, key landmarks and encounters of my PhD, by highlighting how such experiences (seminars, visiting periods, fieldworks, publications) have shaped the overall research design, methodological approaches and key questions.



Fig. 04 / The landscapes between Ceuta and Morocco
(Photo by N. Criado, 2009)

0.3.2. Izmir - Ankara, July 2012

The case and the geopolitical background

In July 2012 I participated in the 25th AESOP International Conference *Planning to Achieve / Planning to Avoid* (Ankara - Turkey) and the related PhD workshop in Izmir, at Izmir Institute of Technology. This was the first occasion on which I presented my initial hypothesis and general ideas.

At that time my working title was *Contemporary urban landscape in the Northern region of Morocco, within the context of EU-Mediterranean borders*.

The thesis was more focused on the specificities of the case study, and in particular on the regional and urban context of North Morocco, due to the background from I which I was coming (my MA thesis was about the specific conditions at the Spanish enclave of Ceuta in North Morocco, at the local scale). The first abstract was about exploring the recent forms and dimensions of the North Moroccan contemporary urban landscape, in the light of past and recent experiences in the field of planning and urban design, and particularly in relation to the broader context of the Euro-Mediterranean borders.

F.04

The Euro-Mediterranean border was seen as a kind of background from which I was addressing the site-specific empiric research design.

F.05

The literature was mainly based on geopolitical studies, cartography, sociology, urban planning, architecture and visual art. There was already a particular emphasis on some key issues and scales:

- . What kind of territories / spaces emerged from the complex relationship between borders, international / local communities and economic, social and cultural processes and practices?
- . Transcality: from the international processes that involve the Euro-Mediterranean Basin, to a regional and local perspective (the landscape of proximity - Navez Bouchanine, 2010);

- . Cartography as a key methodological approach;
- . Borders as testing grounds for innovative forms of spatial planning and urban design, across the border.

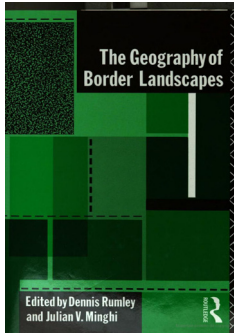
The early research questions were articulated around 'a single reply' approach:

- . What kind of new territories emerge from the interactions between borders, local communities and economic / cultural processes at different scales?
- . Is it possible to consider urban transnational spaces not only as sites of transnational capital production, but also as testing grounds for new forms of cross-border planning cooperation?
- . Can we look at them as places of knowledge production and exchange for innovative tools and models of transnational governance and trans-border planning practices at different scales?
- . What can the role of cultural institutions, research centres and universities be in this process of cooperation?

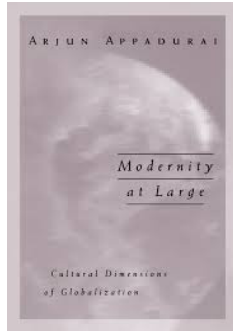
Together with the previous issues, some relevant perspectives, which later I developed in another direction, were emerging *in nuce*, in a very embryonic shape:

- . The focus on local communities and transnational relational spaces;
- . Borders - knowledge production nexus and the role of cultural institutions.
- . The workshop was an opportunity to receive some first feedback from planning scholars from both Turkish and European universities, in particular on the need to deepen the analysis at the community scale and around the migrations-borders nexus, as well as on research design and methodologies.

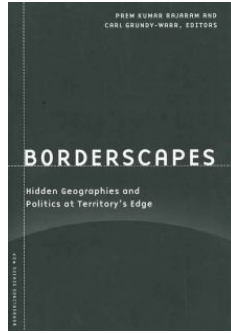
The AESOP conference in Ankara was a fruitful occasion of encounter, in particular with scholars such as Andreas Faloudi, chair of the session in which I participated. On this occasion I later had the opportunity to meet the editors of the *Regional Science Regional Studies* journal, in which I later published a short article on the Ceuta/Morocco case (Buoli, 2014).



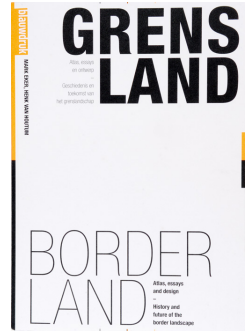
Rumley & Minghi
1991



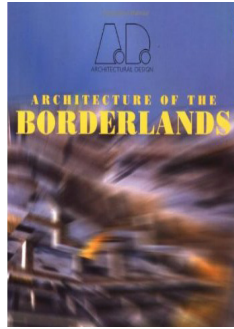
Appadurai
1996



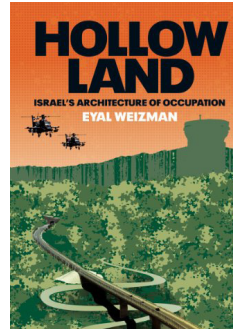
Rajaram & Grundy-Warr
2007



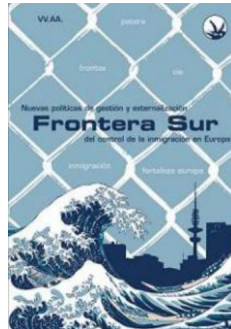
Eker & Van Houtum
2013



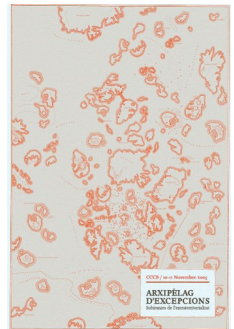
Boddington
1999



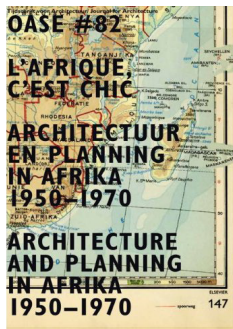
Weizmann
2007



AAVV
2008



Ramoneda et al.
2007



OASE 82
2010



Schoonderbeek
2010

Fig. 05 / Literature review
(Leuven, March – May 2013)

Later that year, thanks to the encounter with scholars involved in European FP7 projects (EUBORDERSCAPES¹⁷ and EUBORDERREGIONS¹⁸ and in particular a series of conversations with Chiara Brambilla, research fellow at the University of Bergamo) and with my tutors at Politecnico, Matteo Bolocan Goldstein and Davide Ponzini, I started to work on a different conceptual perspective: on the possible interactions between border studies and planning disciplines around new approaches towards borders, such as the borderscape perspective.

0.3.3. From Leuven to Nijmegen, March – May 2013

Development planning, cross-border cooperation and research-by-design

A second milestone coincided with a three month study period which I spent at KU Leuven (Belgium) participating in the European Module in Spatial Development Planning (EMSDP)¹⁹.

In this context I had the opportunity to attend the Module study programme and the lectures by the partners in the ESDP network²⁰, which allowed me to further develop the conceptual and theoretical framework around these perspectives:

- . Theories of development / under-development and development planning;
- . Social innovation theories and practices;
- . Power / planning nexus theories;
- . Network studies.

The thesis benefitted both from these in-depth insights and from a series of internal seminars with international discussants, in which I was able to present and develop my hypothesis.

While I had previously broadened the possible case studies (to include not only Morocco/Spain, but also Turkey/Greece and Tunisia/Italy), during this period I went back to my previous propositions and decided to focus only on the North Moroccan context, while broadening the field of attention to the

EUro-Mediterranean spaces.

This was the outcome of a process of narrowing down and tailoring of the research around a more specific geopolitical context. The research started to converge in three main dimensions:

- . The physical dimension of the spatial border configurations;
- . The relational dimension of the networks and relations between different actors and institutions at different scales;
- . The dimension of the representations and narratives of/on/across the border, according to different political and social viewpoints.

Accordingly the questions were re-articulated around a key hypothesis, namely that everyday, fragmented, informal and often hidden practices of cross-border interaction can reveal the needs and priorities around which implementing and rethinking structural and institutional cooperation agendas and agency become possible strategies to move towards a more integrated territorial government. The research questions shifted towards the following re-articulation:

- . What kind of landscapes emerge from the interaction between political borders, international-local communities and networks, transnational process and practices in the EUro-Mediterranean area?
- . How and to what extent can borders be considered as possible test-beds for hybrid and innovative forms of spatial planning through cross-border cooperation?
- . What visions, scenarios and tools are needed for cross-border cooperation?

The focus moved, then, towards cooperation issues and particularly (informal) cross-border interactions as potential triggers for other kinds of (non-)institutional trans-boundary collaboration. In addition, the imaginative potential of borders began to aggregate itself around scenario-building and visioning approaches, considering the existing resources and potentialities.

An initial table of contents was organised into a classical four-part structure: introduction, conceptual framework, case study, discussion.

The work done in these months in Leuven was reflected in a new title, more focused on the three dimensions previously mentioned: *EUro-Mediterranean borderscapes. Interplays of spaces, actors and networks.*

During the period spent in Belgium, I met Marc Schoonderbeek, coordinator of the Border Conditions research group at Delft University of Technology (TU Delft).

I eventually travelled to Nijmegen to visit the Nijmegen Centre for Border Research (NCBR) at the Radboud University of Nijmegen (Netherlands), where I had the opportunity to meet members of the research centre and discuss my research aims and approach.

The conversations with Marc Schoonderbeek, Olivier Kramsch and, in particular, Henk Van Houtum were crucial to the further development of my research trajectory: *was visioning on borders really meaningful?*

Indeed, in this context I could verify the explorative dimension of the thesis and

reconsider a possible research-by-design re-orientation of the overall aims and questions.

More specifically, a project-based approach has emerged as one interesting contribution of this PhD thesis to border studies debate, assuming the role of design as a relevant knowledge production process and a new perspective on borders.

An additional research question then arose: *How and with which tools is it possible to re-design or re-draw a border landscape?*

At the intersection and in the interplay between border and design studies, promising new directions of research and experimentation have been highlighted, which can contribute to border theories and understandings.

Many projects and much research have already been done on the internal borders of the European Union. Thus, assuming such a visioning approach outside the European Union external borders (e.g. in Mediterranean context) could have been a way to test the possibilities and power of border landscape visions, scenarios and design in contexts which are not completely conflict-free and are only partially included

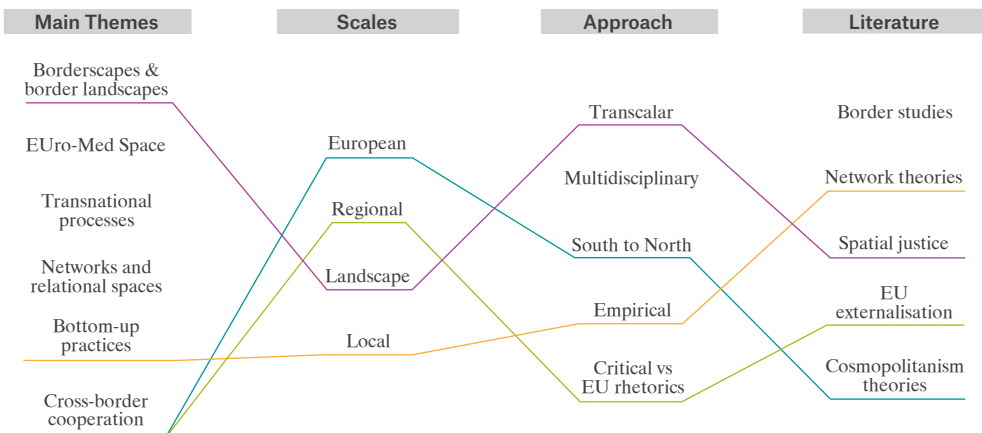


Fig. 06 / First research trails
(Diagram by A. Buoli, March – May 2013.)

in the European Union common normative and institutional framework.

Considering the multiplicity of theories and literature about borderscapes and border landscapes, one interesting approach has been identified in reviewing and mobilising three core publications and looking at how these disciplines evolved through time: starting from the reflections and definitions proposed by Minghi and Rumley (1991), passing through the concept of ‘scape’ and ‘borderscape’ in the work of Appadurai (1996) and, more recently, of Rajaram and Grundy-Warr (2007), and finally reviewing the visioning and scenario building approach applied to border landscapes, proposed by Eker and Van Houtum (2013).

A kind of conceptual, theoretical and methodological trail could have been traced, by looking at the contributions that these

F.06 works have proposed and implemented.

In this sense, the interrelation and coherent integration between theory and empirical work could have benefitted from a more specific and oriented literature review and from the analysis of the evolution in border landscape and borderscape approaches and conceptualisations. A need for more complex and aware ways to describe and represent EUropean borders emerged during the visit to Nijmegen.

Looking at the case of the Moroccan / Spanish borderscape, one further interesting issue has been raised around the differences between the land-borderscape and the sea-borderscape (cfr. Ferrer-Gallardo and Van Houtum, 2012). While the first is maybe easier to identify in its social and spatial configuration, the latter is more complicated to understand and represent. The Strait of Gibraltar has played different political roles and assumed different symbolic meanings throughout history: from a river dividing the two sides of al-Andalus (during the Arab domination in Andalusia) to a complex geo-political device of division (a sea border). In this context I started to plan how to approach the different subjects / institutions / agencies / professionals / ngos identified

as relevant, not only via ‘semi-structured’ or one-directional interviews, but also presenting to and challenging the actors by proposing different visions (and maps, representations) of the borderscapes in which they live and act.

The title of the thesis eventually changed to: *Re-designing the EUro-Mediterranean Borderscapes. Interplays of networks, actors and landscape practices.*

0.3.4. Bergamo, July 2013

Euro-Mediterranean imaginaries and design patterns

The next step through which I was able to further develop these new perspectives was an international conference organised by the EUBORDERSCAPES and EUBORDERREGIONS projects in Bergamo, Italy.

According to the organising committee, the conference, entitled ‘Mapping Conceptual Change in Thinking European Borders’, ‘aimed to make a constructive contribution to debate within border studies by encouraging a processual reading of borders as well as showcasing border research as an interdisciplinary field with its own academic standing. The conference also employed the concept of borderscapes as a way of approaching bordering processes in specific geographical and social contexts, both in borderlands but also wherever a specific border has impacts, is represented, negotiated or displaced’ (EUBORDERSCAPES Newsletter Three, October 2013)²¹.

On this occasion I tried to develop a tentative narrative on the interplay between three notions in the EUro-Mediterranean space: border landscapes, transnational social spaces, borderscapes.

The issue of how to intervene in borderlands began to move towards an understanding of borders as socio-spatial relational fields, as spaces open to different contributions and to the collective agency of a multiplicity of

actors, which could allow the building of different visions and scenarios of physical / social change, on the long-term outcomes of cross-border interactions.

A fruitful dialogue on the kinds of social spaces that these interactions can produce and their transformative potential at different scales was the main outcome of the conference, together with the opportunity to publish a contribution in an edited volume (Brambilla et al, forthcoming).

0.3.5. Barcelona, December 2013 – January 2014

Borderscaping as design method and MA-ES borderscapes' constellations

Later that year I enrolled for a visiting PhD period of four months at the Geography Department of the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

During this intense time I had the chance to work with and meet researchers and professors working on the specific context of the Moroccan / Spanish border. Together with the UAB research group (Xavier Ferrer-Gallardo, Abel Albet-Mas and Keina Espiñeira) I came into contact with Francesc Muñoz, Natalia Ribas-Mateos (UAB) and Juan Nogué (head of the Observatorio del Paisaje de Cataluña).

Their supervision, comments and feedback represented a turning point in the development of the case study, enriching not only the empirical data collection but also the cultural perspective on the Moroccan / Spanish border. This was possible thanks to archival and bibliographic work in different research centres (CCCB archive, the Observatorio del Paisaje de Cataluña documentation centre, UAB library, Universidad de Barcelona library, the library of the Colegio de los arquitectos de Barcelona – CoaC).

During the first half of the visiting period I conducted preliminary fieldwork, as explained later, thanks to the support of UAB Department, and attended two

conferences: the 12th 'European Culture' (UIC) Conference and the International Symposium 'Topografías de lo Invisible' (UB – Faculty of Fine Arts).

Although very different in their premises, contents and structures both conferences were meaningful occasions of encounter and debate with well-known scholars and artists. The latter in particular was an opportunity to get to know the work of Spanish photographer and scholar Xavier Ribas (Chapters 2 and 4), who presented his research project *Traces of Nitrate*, later exhibited at MACBA (Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona) and who is also the author of a photographic series on the Moroccan / Spanish border at the two enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla.

During these first months at UAB and the after the first period of field work, I decided to shift my attention to the North Moroccan territory, in order to focus on transcalar outcomes of the border on a broader field: it is in the Northern region of Morocco, bordering the Strait of Gibraltar, that it is possible to observe the direct and indirect effects of the border on the landscape. In November 2013 I had the opportunity to attend a forum in Malaga (*Cooperación Transfronteriza Andalucía - Norte de Marruecos*), organised by UAB research group as part of the activities of the EUBORDERREGIONS project, during which a round table with experts on North Moroccan - Andalusian cooperation took place. The interventions and discussions offered an interesting picture of past and future perspectives on Moroccan / Spanish relations (cfr. Chapter 5).

At the end of the visiting period I presented my in-progress research to members of the Department, during a round table (*Tertulia de recerca*), at which I was advised to focus more on landscape studies literature, on the local scale dynamic and on the political positioning and discourses of my references. The thesis's title eventually evolved into a longer and more specific one: *BorderScaping as a Design Process. Addressing the Spanish-*

Moroccan Borderlands from a project perspective.

According to the research done up to that time, I proposed a reading of the borderscape notion as a fluid and open field of border imaginaries production, holding the visual / spatial / symbolic / cultural dimension of the border land-landscape and the imaginative / productive nature of a design process, in the shape of borderscaping. A workable and operative concept, which can put different disciplinary approaches and building new inter-disciplinary bridges into tension and dialogue.

These considerations led me to explore a set of design experiences on/across different borders (US-Mexico, Cyprus, Belgium/Netherlands, Palestine / Israel – cfr. Chapter 2), to find some common or shared patterns. This first survey constituted the basis of a proposal for a research dossier, later published in *Territorio* journal (Buoli, 2015). Furthermore a revision of the case within both the conceptual/theoretical framework and the EUro-Mediterranean context, and according to the interpretative image of the constellation (Chapter 5), was the occasion to reconsider the previous research questions.

These evolved towards a more operative aim:

- . How can borderscapes be (re)designed?
- . How can the counter-hegemonic potential of the borderscape concept be integrated within a long-term territorial design and planning perspective?
- . Which tools, practices and project can be implemented from this perspective, in the specific case of the Moroccan and Spanish border?

A more complete comprehension of scenarios was presented, based on the literature review (mainly around the works of Luciano Vettoretto, Bernardo Secchi, Paola Viganò and Paolo Bozzuto). The scenario was introduced as an interpretative lens on the existing planning

documents and strategies at the national, regional and local level in the North Moroccan context, opening further questions on:

- . What kind of implicit / explicit scenarios and future images are these plans promoting/forecasting?
- . Are they presenting a prospective approach?
- . What kind of rhetoric lies at the base of official/institutional planning?
- . What are the frictions, claims, and struggles at work towards these scenarios?
- . How does the presence of the border operate in this context?
- . How are the re-bordering processes (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2011) at stake visible/avoided in these in planning documents?

An early interest in the specific case of Ceuta / Fnideq / M'diq littoral (on the north-easter coast of the Tanger's Peninsula) started to emerge, as the probable final testing-ground for a design exploration.

0.3.6. Tarifa - Tanger – Tetouan – Sevilla, October 2013. Getting in contact with the context

As mentioned earlier, the first fieldwork was an explorative attempt to get into contact with the research context and with a first set of local actors and civil society organisations. The organisation of the fieldwork and the interviews was made possible thanks to Keina Espiñeira, research fellow at UAB, and the other members of the Department. The mission involved a nine day trip between Andalusia and the Northern Region of Morocco, touching the following sites: Tarifa (ES), Tanger (MA), Tetouan (MA), Sevilla (ES).

Along with direct observations, a photographic survey and visits to meaningful sites, some informal meetings and semi-structured interviews were proposed with professionals, institutional representatives and common citizens.

The selection of the interviews was made



Fig. 07-08 / Tarifa, Las Palomas - Jornada contra la valla de Ceuta in Tanger
(Photos by A. Buoli, 2013)

on the basis of the relationships matured by UAB research group.

In that occasion I had the chance to meet:

- . Salimi Brahim, Director of the Musée de la Kasbah, Tanger
- . Mostafa Azouga, Departament des Etudes, Agence Urbaine de Tanger, Tanger
- . Members of the Conseil Régional de l'Ordre des Architectes de Tanger, Tanger
- . Edil Edfouf, President of the Conseil Régional de l'Ordre des Architectes de Tetouan, Tetouan
- . Paco Jiménez Maldona, Centro Lerchundi de Martil, Martil, Tetouan
- . Elmar Loreti, COSPE, Tanger
- . Mercedes Jimenez, Colectivo Al-Jaima, Tanger
- . Mohammed Ettakkal, Direction Régionale del Ministère de la Culture Tanger-Tetouan, Tetouan
- . Prof. Nour Eddine Chikhi, Geography Department, Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi, Tetouan
- . Mohammed Rachid Amerniss, Agence Urbaine de Tetouan, Tetouan
- . Germinal Gil de Gracia, Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo, Sevilla
- . Prof. Florencio Zoido, Centro de Estudios del Paisaje y Territorio (Junta de Andalucía), Sevilla
- . Prof. Juan F. Ojeda, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla.

During the stay in Tanger, I attended a two-day meeting entitled *Jornada contra la valla de Ceuta*.

F.08

Various organisations active in human and migrants' rights (Asociación Pateras de la Vida, Colectivo de Migrantes Subsaharianos en Marruecos - GADEM, Chabaka Network, APDHA) celebrated the 8th anniversary of the death of 11 sub-Saharan migrants at the border between Ceuta and Morocco, which occurred in October 2005.

This experience allowed me to understand the richness and extent of the fabric of relations between different civil society

organisations and networks across the border and sub-Saharan migrants' self-help and self-organised groups (Chapter 5).

The fieldtrip represented a first approach to the places and actors involved in the Moroccan / Spanish context.

Some first transversal and recurring topics emerged thanks to the interviews and informal meetings and on-site explorations. These can be synthesised as follows.

1. Relations and partnerships.

- . The economic crisis is affecting MA-ES relations both in terms of cooperation programmes and the role of the EU.
- . The importance of the Junta de Andalucía as a crucial actor and promoter of important projects, is easily recognisable, mainly in partnership with local institutions.
- . The prevalence of informal and personal relations over formal institutional partnerships.
- . The relevance of cultural and collaborative relations between universities and cultural institutions in terms of education and knowledge transfer (particularly the Abdelmalek Essaâdi University of Tetouan with other institutions), urban heritage protection and rehabilitation (medinas).
- . Opportunities of being part of the Mediterranean context from a cultural perspective

2. Perceptions and visions of the 'other side'.

- . Plurality of visions towards commonalities and differences between Andalucía and North Morocco.
- . Presence of a recognised common culture and/or territorial/spatial approach in terms of: architecture and urban morphology; approach towards planning; shared cultural values and general genius loci; landscape morphology and natural resources.
- . Different territorial government approaches.
- . Lack of a strategic and integrated vision



from the Moroccan side.

- . The role of the state in promoting (from the centre, 'from Rabat') visions and strategies of development.
- . The relevance of the Tanger-Tetouan Region in terms of national development.
- . The prominence of tourism management and sustainable use and planning of the Mediterranean coast.
- . Rural architecture and historical urban heritage protection.
- . Relevance of new Tanger-Med Port as an infrastructure node, commercial hub and industrial area.

3. Migrations as a cultural and social issue.

- . Relevance, from a cultural perspective, and changing images and perceptions of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco.
- . The role of European Union migration regulation in frustrating mobility from Morocco to Europe – need for more flexible regulation.
- . Morocco from country of transit to country of destination.
- . Human rights violations on the border between Morocco and Spain and in Spain, as the Spanish authorities are applying a series of atypical measures to detect and detain migrants (as in the case of Las Palmas in Tarifa – cfr. Chapter 4).
- . Reduction of migration fluxes from Morocco (by Moroccan people) towards Andalusia and growing presence of young Europeans in Morocco.
- . Andalusia from region of transit to region of destination.
- . Emerging return desires: young Moroccans want to come back to Morocco after a period of work or study in Spain / Europe.

0.3.7. Tanger – Tetouan, February 2014

On-site explorations and emerging interpretative images

The second study mission was organised in February 2014, with the supervision of

Prof. Nour Eddine Chikhi, Geography Department, Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi (Tetouan). The mission involved a ten day stay between Tanger and Tetouan and involved a second round of interviews and meetings with some of the people encountered on the previous mission, archive research at the TALIM (Tangier American Legation Museum) in Tanger and the library of the Instituto Cervantes in Tetouan, and an onsite exploration of the Ceuta / Fnideq / M'diq littoral, with the guidance of Prof. Chikhi. Informal conversations involved:

- . Mohammed Rachid Amerniss, Agence Urbaine de Tetouan, Tetouan
- . Mostafa Azouga, Agence Urbaine de Tanger, Tanger
- . Taha Bouhassoun, Atelier Taha Bouhassoun, Tetouan
- . Edil Edfouf, Conseil Régional de l'Ordre des Architectes de Tetouan, Tetouan
- . Aziz Ouahabi, Conseil Régional de l'Ordre des Architectes de Tanger, Tanger
- . Mimoun Hillali, Institut Supérieur International de Tourisme de Tanger
- . M.N. Mekouar, Atelier Mekouar, Tetouan
- . Almudena Quintana, Library of the Instituto Cervantes, Tetouan
- . Sonia Aderghal, Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi, Tetouan
- . Alejandro Muchada, Gamuc, Cadiz – Tetouan - Larache.

The onsite explorations involved three main paths during which I started to observe socio-spatial settings and sedimentations²². These explorations and relatively early interpretative images constitute the terrain on which I further developed my analysis of the context and identification of the relevant fields and elements for my study and the consequent meta-design explorations.

1. Between the sea and the Rif.

This trail touched the town of M'diq, the Barrage of Smir, the mountain villages of Kouf el Fouki and Oued Zarjoune and the Marina Smir new touristic development.



Fig. 09-11/ Fieldworking in Oued Zarjoune and M'diq.
(Photos by A. Buoli, 2014)

Here a first sequence of themes and materials started to emerge:

- . Increasing informal urbanism in the outskirts of M'diq (for instance, Bouzaghla) and along the A5 highway.
- . Medium-size agricultural plots and related villas, as indirect outcomes and a kind of money laundering of activities coming from border economy.
- . The Barrage of Smir, which was built from 1991 on and which is currently the main water reservoir of the Province of Tetouan and the littoral.
- . The mountain villages along the dorsal Rif, where traditional water springs have been exploited to supply increasing needs from the coastal urban development.
- . New forestation areas of governmental initiative.
- . Touristic and residential urbanisation activities along the coast.

2. Along the border.

This path was made starting from Fnideq following the N16 highway, touching the Tanger-Med Port, the wind turbine parks and quarry of Tlat Taghramt village.

Another set of topics and spaces was observed:

- . Informal settlements at the outskirts of Fnideq (such as Condesa neighbourhood).
- . New middle-class residential settlements in the area of Bab Sebta north to Fnideq;
- . Jbel (Mount) Moussa landscape.
- . Tanger-Med Port I and the building site for its expansion.
- . Related infrastructural system: Oued Rmel Barrage, built in order to protect the port from floods, and Taghramt's quarry.
- . The wind turbine park of Al Koudia Al Baida / Abdelkhalek Torrès, close to Tlat Taghramt.
- . Tlat Taghramt village, its weekly market, where many of the goods coming from Ceuta are sold in the area, and the ruins of the Spanish military base.

3. Along the sea.

The third exploration was of the littoral

between M'diq and Fnideq and back, along the N16 littoral route and the A6 highway, which run almost parallel each other.

Along with the themes already mentioned, the main phenomena observed were:

- . A sequence of residential enclaves on both sides of the littoral route, around new or existing urban poles. South-to-north, the main ones are Hotel Golden Beach, Club M'diq, Kabila, Ksar al Rimar, Marina Smir, Al Andalous, Restinga Smir, Club Med, Bakin Smir, Yasmin Negro.
- . Colonial legacies, namely the former stations of the Ceuta-Tetouan railway: Tetouan, Aviación, Malalien, Rincón, Restinga, Negro, Riffien, Castillejos, Miramar, Ceuta (Chapter 5).
- . Forestation works due to the colonial time (*eucalyptus* and *pinus nigra*).
- . The presence of a daily population of border workers (cfr. Chapter 5).

The thesis's structure was eventually re-articulated into three parts (conceptualising, describing, projecting – cfr. Viganò, 2010) and the working title changed again to: *BORDER/SCAPING. Envisioning the Moroccan / Spanish landscapes from a borderlands design perspective.*

0.3.8. Milan, September 2014

Towards which scenarios?

One of the first opportunities to present the early stage of the meta-design explorations on the MA/ES border, was the PhD seminar that I organised in September 2014 at Politecnico di Milano, in the framework of the PhD course in Territorial Design and Government.

The seminar, entitled *Border/scaping. Borderlands and urban studies in dialogue* saw the presence of Paola Pucci (Politecnico di Milano) as guest chair, Henk van Houtum (NCBR, Nijmegen and University of Bergamo) as lecturer, Chiara Brambilla (University of Bergamo) and Davide Ponzini ad chairs and discussants, Isabella Inti, Luca

Gaeta and Gennaro Postiglione (Politecnico di Milano) as discussants.

The seminar intended to contribute to enhancing the dialogue between borderlands and urban studies from a project-oriented viewpoint, by stressing how border thinking and borderscape theories can be relevant from an urban planning perspective.

A fruitful dialogue between border studies and design studies focused on three main points²³, as suggested by Paola Pucci in her introduction:

- . Cross-scalar and cross-disciplinary approaches (from the complex, multi-faceted and comparative research on bordering and from a situated, intersectional and everyday life practices approach to studying geographical and state border work);
- . The ability to deal with conflicting issues by providing another perspective, interpreting the border as spaces with opportunities, in the context of neighbourhood cooperation and intercultural communication processes;
- . The nexus between everyday life-worlds, power relations and constructions of social borders.

The lecture given by Henk van Houtum, *BorderScapes: Redesigning the Dutch-Belgian borderlands* drew on the outcomes of his and Mark Eker's recent publication *Borderlands* and an early version of their article for *Territorio* (Van Houtum and Eker, 2015), which focused on a research and design exploration on the Dutch-Belgian-German borderlands.

On this occasion I presented some first schematic and diagrammatic outlines for two scenarios: A trend scenario, *An expanding 'linear city' within a constellation of enclaves*, based on the plausible consequences of present tendencies. A second contrasting scenario, *An integrated system of post-colonial ecologies*, drawing on lateral and bottom-up clues and levers of change which could divert and reorient the tendencies at play in the Tanger-Tetouan Region, beyond geopolitical rationalities. In the tension

between these images and in the 'cracks' (Castan-Pinos, 2009) between actual planning discourses and current bordering processes I tried to test other narratives about the past, present and (imagined) futures of the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes.

The main outcomes of the seminar for the thesis's development were around:

- . Clarifying the operative methodological framework as regards the scenario-building approach and around a re-definition of notions such as imaginary, imagination, visibility, performativity.
- . Defining the background around the constellation metaphor (i.e. as regards Walter Benjamin's conceptualisation of the notion/image).
- . Setting the positioning of the design approach, trying to make clear which political and critical perspective guides the PhD.

0.4. Contributions and innovative perspectives

The main contributions of the thesis draw on the above-mentioned circular interplay between the conceptual and methodological dimensions and the interpretative / design explorations, in the specific case of the Moroccan / Spanish border (cfr. Conclusions).

By operationalising the borderscape perspective at the cross-roads between design thinking and border thinking, a threefold explorative movement emerges:

- . From borderlines to borders as thick and blurred spatial fields, at the interface between design practices and border policies.
- . From border genealogy to simultaneous borderscape constellar narratives.
- . From contrasting geopolitical scenarios to lateral images of change.

The first movement expresses the possible interlocking and mutual influence between design practices and border policies (cfr. Eker and van Houtum), as regards the multiplication and opening of other fuzzy fields and social boundaries (cfr. Pucci, 2014; Gaeta, 2014) for local / transnational governance of bordering dynamics, as well as for social agencies and collective performativity across / along borders, beyond linear understandings of borders themselves (cfr. Brambilla, 2014a). The second movement offers an ‘explorative’ approach around borders, not only in terms of chorological and genealogical reconstruction and socio-spatial surveying, but rather as different relational processes and sedimentations of recurring and emerging border conditions (places, practices, networks and events) that can facilitate reading the complexity of the (Moroccan / Spanish) borderlands, beyond unidirectional time-space readings. The third movement unveils and discloses hidden or unexplored meanings and tendencies between the border, the Mediterranean and the Rif (in North Morocco), which could become new guiding images towards alternative border imaginations around some specific elements and processes of the above-mentioned constellations.

0.5. Thesis synopsis and structure

The thesis is structured in three parts (conceptualising, narrating, borderscaping)²⁴, which are meant to be permeable, and interrelated by means of conceptual and descriptive spin-offs or parallel trajectories of research, the Atlas.

This **Introductory Essay**, is intended to place the thesis in the ongoing cultural / scientific debate about borders and borderlands design and stress the original contribution of

the research, both as an academic product and for its possible operative outcomes.

Atlas I reports a conversation with Pablo de Soto, member of Fadaiat.

Part 1 sets out the main conceptual, methodological and geopolitical background of the thesis: a tool-box for addressing the case study, through different cross-disciplinary contributions and design experiences on borderlands.

Chapter 1 presents the main cross-disciplinary and methodological framework on which the PhD thesis draws, explaining the articulation between different research traditions across border and urban studies.

Chapter 2 addresses methods, practices and tools of design and artistic intervention on / across borders, in different geographical contexts and at different territorial scales. A kind of critical anthology of design practices proposed by different scholars, architects, planners, landscape designers and artists living and working in borderlands.

Chapter 3 presents the main geopolitical and cultural background of the thesis: the external borders of Europe in the North African-Mediterranean area, the main political discourses and imaginations built around these spaces, and possible alternative socio-spatial perspectives as borderscaping practices, in the shape of collective research and artistic projects.

Atlas II, Mediterranean collaborative mapping(s) presents two cartographic platforms that work on human rights protection in the Mediterranean context.

Part 2 presents a descriptive and interpretative reading of the Moroccan / Spanish borderscapes, on the basis of a specific literature review and hands-on research, by assuming a borderscaping perspective through the constellation notion.

Chapter 4 outlines a genealogical reading (Brambilla, 2014a,b) of the visual and material culture of the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands, at different territorial scales (from the Strait of Gibraltar, passing by Tarifa, Tanger and Ceuta) and through different diachronic narratives.

Atlas III presents the colonial modern season in Morocco through a series of more or little known urban and architectural design experiences.

Chapter 5 addresses the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes through the image of the constellation and redefines the Tanger Tetouan Region (Morocco) beyond existing administrative decoupage. Five main fields / archipelagos are addressed at various territorial levels as coagulations of dominant and counter-hegemonic power interplays.

Part 3 proposes the outcomes of the borderscapes explorations on the specific case of the north-eastern section of the Tanger-Tetouan Region (renamed as the landscapes between the border, the Mediterranean and the Rif).

Chapter 6 focuses on a set of emerging trend images at the intersection between the borderscapes' constellations: here, and back at Strait scale, two lateral images of change are presented as diverging panoramas from existing trends.

The **concluding section** offers some final remarks and discusses the limits of the dissertation and its critical nodes. At the same time it stresses new perspectives for future research, in terms of theoretical and design-based outcomes on / across borderlands.

A few final points are worth stressing, with regard to the thesis's structure and rationale. Methodology is pervasive throughout the three parts of the text, and has been addressed starting from the research design, through the case study interpretative approach and finally in the project explorations.

Throughout the dissertation there are recurring (cultural and academic) figures and references whose work has been a constant source of inspiration for my personal trajectory (in order of appearance): Henk van Houtum, Chiara Brambilla, Xavier Ferrer-Gallardo, Pablo de Soto, Teddy Cruz, Paola Viganò, Nour Eddine Chikhi, Ursula Biemann and Yto Barrada. These figures are also representative of

the main disciplinary fields which guided the thesis: urban planning, design and architecture, political / human / urban geography, art and political activism. Nevertheless the interlocutors of the thesis have not been solely in the academic community, they are also local Moroccan and Spanish actors, thanks to whom most of the thesis has been developed. As a prospect trail of research, the thesis could be intended as a first framework and starting point for a further dialogue with different transcalar territorial fields, represented by such communities.

Notes

1. Source: www.mcs.hackitectura.net/tiki-index.php?page=FADAIAT%3A%20Cronica (accessed 31/12/2014)
2. The experience of Fadaiat has been extensively narrated by Pablo de Soto (Atlas I - cfr. Buoli and De Soto, 2015).
3. Source: www.insite05.org/ (last accessed June 2009) / www.insite.org.mx/wp/insite
4. Source: www.politicaequator.org (last accessed December 2014).
5. Such as the exhibition, cycle of seminar and publication *Fronteres* (2007). Source: www.cccb.org/en/exposicio-borders-11323.
6. Source: www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2011/06/24/political-equator-3-reimagining-the-border.html
7. Source: www.cccb.org/en/exposicio-fronteres-11323
8. Such as the presence of international research centres, like the IEMed (www.iemed.org) and the CIDOB (www.cidob.org).
9. Among many the publications of the collection *Urbanitats: Fronteres Debat de Barcelona VII* (Ramoneda, 2004); *Arxipèlag d'excepcions / Archipelago of Exceptions* (Ramoneda et al., 2005); *Breaking the Wall* (Ramoneda, 2005).
10. 'Design studies' is here considered in its broad meaning in reference to the disciplines and fields of research concerned with the production of knowledge around a project-oriented perspective, including fields such as architecture, landscape and urban design,

- spatial planning. The Italian translation is more correct in this regards as 'discipline del progetto'.
11. Cfr. Balducci, A., Bozzuto, P., 2014, *Questioning City Performances. Il ruolo strategico del benchmarking nella pianificazione internazionale: opportunità e limiti*, paper presented at the 17° SIU Conference, 15 -16 May, 2014, Milan (Italy).
 12. Source: El País – www.internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/12/10/actualidad/1418197531_661987.html and Slate France www.m.slate.fr/story/100551/immigration-mediterranee-cartes-tableaux.
 13. Source: www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/news-and-views/press-briefing-notes/pbn-2015/pbn-listing/migrant-deaths-soar-in-mediterra.html
 14. The *European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union*, established in 2005 with the EC (Council Regulation) n.2004/2007 with the aim of 'assisting Member States with implementing the operational aspects of external border management, including return of third-country nationals illegally present in the Member States'. Source: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/;ELX_SESSIONID=TvWGJFdS7N3X7trtyxdwLfDhv8zxGvMkhrVmznSR2kmy8kFBShjy!1478700859?uri=CELEX:32004R2007 (Last accessed on March 2015).
 15. Source: <http://www.internazionale.it/notizie/2015/02/21/frontex-indagine-immigrazione>
 16. Recently Project Hercules, launched by Domus, has tried to propose alternative imaginations for the Strait of Gibraltar. <http://www.domusweb.it/en/search.html?type=tag&key=Project+Heracles> (Chapter 4).
 17. Source: www.euborderscapes.eu/
 18. Source: www.euborderregions.eu/
 19. The exchange has made possible thanks to the collaboration between members of the Department of Architecture and Urban Studies of Politecnico di Milano (in particular Davide Ponzini and Costanzo Ranci) and ASRO Department at KU Leuven (Frank Moulaert and Loris Servillo).
 20. Source: www.esdp-network.eu/partners-2/
 21. Source: www.euborderscapes.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/newsletters/newsletter_euborderscapes_3_1.pdf
 22. All the explorative trails were done by car during, thanks to Nour Eddine Chikhi. Point of origin of each path was Tetouan.
 23. Introducing remarks by Paola Pucci at the PhD seminar 'Border/scaping. Borderlands and urban studies in dialogue', Politecnico di Milano, 10 September 2014.
 24. The articulation between concepts / descriptions / projections is inspired by the work of Paola Viganò (2010).

(All websites last accessed in April 2015, except where stated differently)

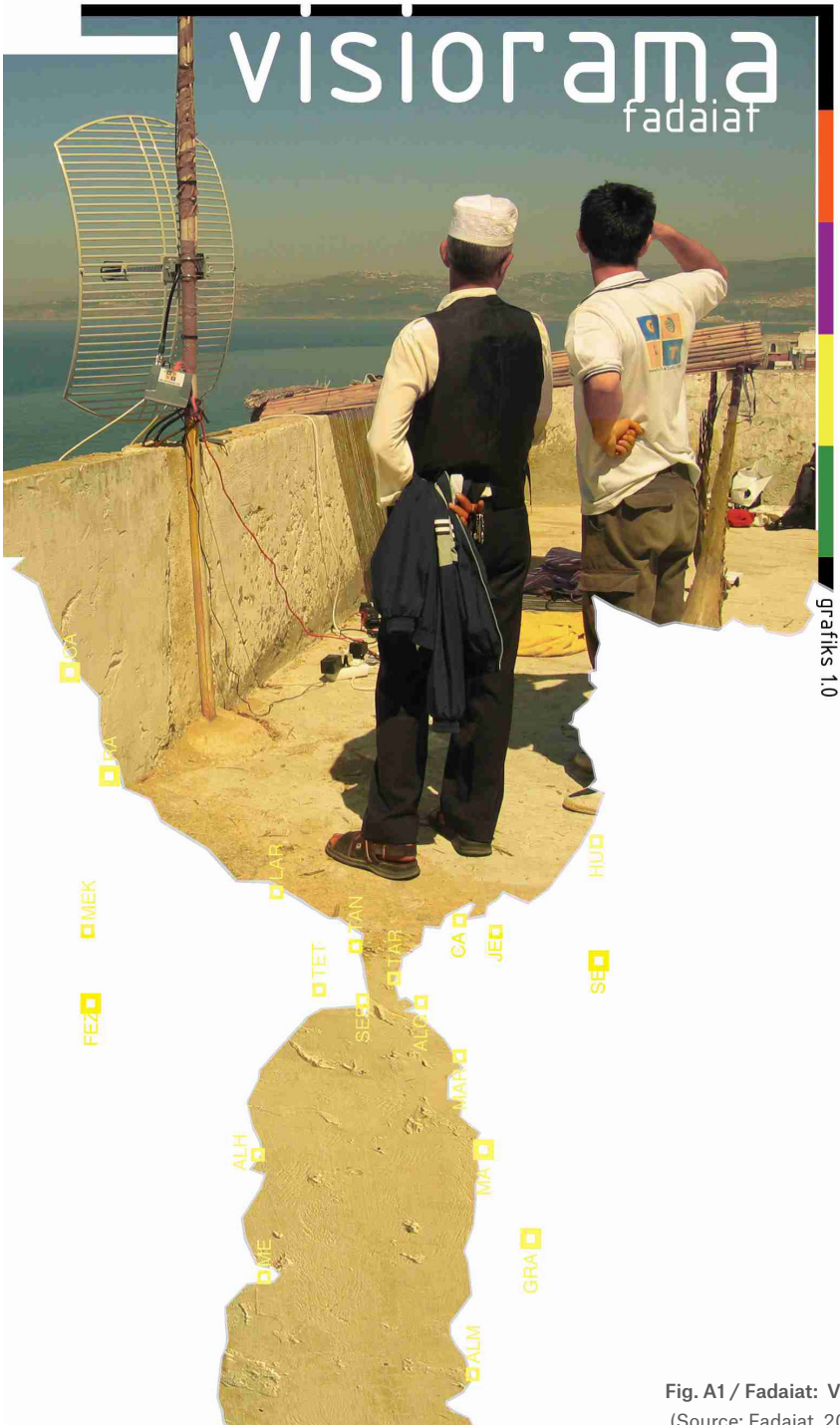


Fig. A1 / Fadaiat: Visiorama
(Source: Fadaiat, 2006, p. 4)

Atlas I

Madiaq: a gaze to the future

A conversation with Pablo de Soto¹

Ten years after *Transacciones / Fadaiat*, Pablo de Soto, one of the protagonists and founding members of *hackitectura.net* and the *Observatorio Tecnológico del Estrecho*, retraces the main passages and legacies of this social and cultural imaginative experimentation on the Spanish-Moroccan border, at the Strait of Gibraltar, in relation to the rich and powerful season of social, artistic and cultural production on the Moroccan-Spanish border, at the turn of the millennium.

AB

Can you explain, from your own perspective, the experience of Fadaiat, in the context of the early 2000s debate about European borders and the season of cultural / political production on the Spanish-Moroccan border?

PdS

Fadaiat was the product of the encounter and creation of a peculiar network across the Strait of Gibraltar. The genealogy of the project is related to a particular moment at the end of the 1990s/early 2000s, where there was a convergence between, from one side, movements for the autonomy of information, and from the other, movements concerned with issues related to human mobility. The innovative dimension of the project is linked to its capacity to gather these two movements and generate a series of actions both in the 'digital territory' and in the 'physical territory' of the border. I think that this is the first radical original feature of the project. *Fadaiat* consisted of different stages. The first step was the founding of a node of Indymedia network on at the

Strait of Gibraltar. This was in the context of the rise, in those years, of independent information media, converging in the main idea of Indymedia, rooted in anti-neoliberal globalization movements from Seattle and the Zapatista experience. In this context merging Indymedia with the theme of the Strait was an attempt to dislocate the issue of the territorial fields of the nation-states to a geopolitical territory, such as of the Strait, which has to deal with an understanding of borders as new centres. This was in the context of post-9/11 and post-11M, the terrorist attacks in Madrid: many of the executors of these attacks were actually coming from the Strait. The geopolitical context of the Strait regards different systems of incomes and political jurisdictions converging and collapsing:

a space that we considered as centric. We were a special convergence between people with very different backgrounds and practices, but that were linked together by an interest for the issues at the centre of the hacker movements (hacktivism) and of movements concerned with international migrations issues. To this purpose we created this local Indymedia network, to allow freedom of knowledge in the context of internet and the 'code', but the immediate goal of the this network was to give coverage and assistance to the people that were directly assisting migrants and produce independent information about this border. This is what Indymedia Estrecho network was activated for. We started, from the beginning, to have nodes in the two continents. The most active nodes were in the Northern area of the Strait, in Andalusia, while smaller but interconnected nodes were placed in Morocco. Starting from the implementation of Indymedia Estrecho, which began in a very 'lively' to capture the imaginations of different people with very special proposals, a community started to work together, digital and physical, between theory and active practices. This community started to work as a network of different cities, in relation to the activities of 'social centres' (such as of Malaga

and Sevilla) and hacktivist spaces. We as *hackitectura*² collective worked a lot on the production of cartographies, influenced by the work of Deleuze & Guattari on the role of cartography as a machine for producing reality.

We proposed Fadaiat as a second step from Indymedia Estrecho, which consisted in the organization of an event between the two sides of the Strait, a 'festival' functioning as a bridge between the two shores with the slogan 'Freedom of movement. Freedom of knowledge', which synthesized these two practices and issues, already mentioned: hacktivism, namely autonomy movements for a free software, independent information and the movements for the auto-determination of mobility, against the barriers imposed by borders and the construction of 'Fortress Europe'. We were fighting against the juridical and physical devices produced by European borders, mainly at the level of ideas and imaginary, but also with actions in the physical territory, for example direct actions against the centres for temporary detention of migrants, as part of the low-intensity 'war' fought against migrants - mainly sub-Saharan Africans - (by the EU).

This manifests itself into a system of surveillance, the SIVE (Sistema Integral de Vigilancia Exterior),

which has been the first technological system to produce an electronic 'wall' to intercept migrants and their small boats before landing on the Spanish coasts, to avoid migrants to ask for the refugee status. This was the new territory, which was under implantation with a series of technological equipment. Fadaiat wanted to operate there as a kind of 'reflecting mirror' for those devices. Not only in shape of an encounter for debating, as a classical 'device' for gathering organizations working on the Strait, but also to create a situation that could be experimental in the use of technology across the Strait. In a symbolic way as well as in a practical way: during the first Fadaiat we organized a wireless connection, a videoconference through wi-fi connecting two computers on the two sides of the Strait (actually 32km distance in between Tarifa and Tanger). This convergence between the experimentation in the field of hacktivism brought to the territory, with issues related to migrants activism, trade unionism (bio-sindicalismo), labour rights was the opportunity to create a space of imaginative experimentation on the border, almost as a kind of 'science fiction' experiment... in 2004, the wi-fi was not like today.

The experimental experience of Fadaiat was a self-evolving event thanks to

participants, a living metaphor, as a challenge, launching proposals between activists with lot of skills. For this reason the event was organized with very few resources (just some support by UNIA - Universidad Internacional de Andalucía) and it was perceived by many of us as a 'life-changing' experience. A very strong line of thought, that still is in action, was connected, from one side, to an idea of freedom of movement across the border, in the context of a highly codified boundary,

where touristic systems, the dislocation of production of European companies, human rights issues were converging, and from the other, the idea of freedom of knowledge. Ten years after these issues that Fadaiat anticipated are still relevant. European projects assuming the borderscapes notion, the issue of the public governance of European space and its border with Africa, are assuming positions that we already formulated with a prototype directly on site, on the border, in 2004.

The concern that we had at that time was to produce a document about this experience, not to loose all these energies. At that time we were expecting to converge into an Observatory (Observatorio Tecnológico del Estrecho), an institution, but it was a very ambitious idea, that was not possible to fulfil. The book Fadaiat³ had this role, to produce a document, to save the memory to inspire others. I think it was very successful: a lot of people participate in its production.

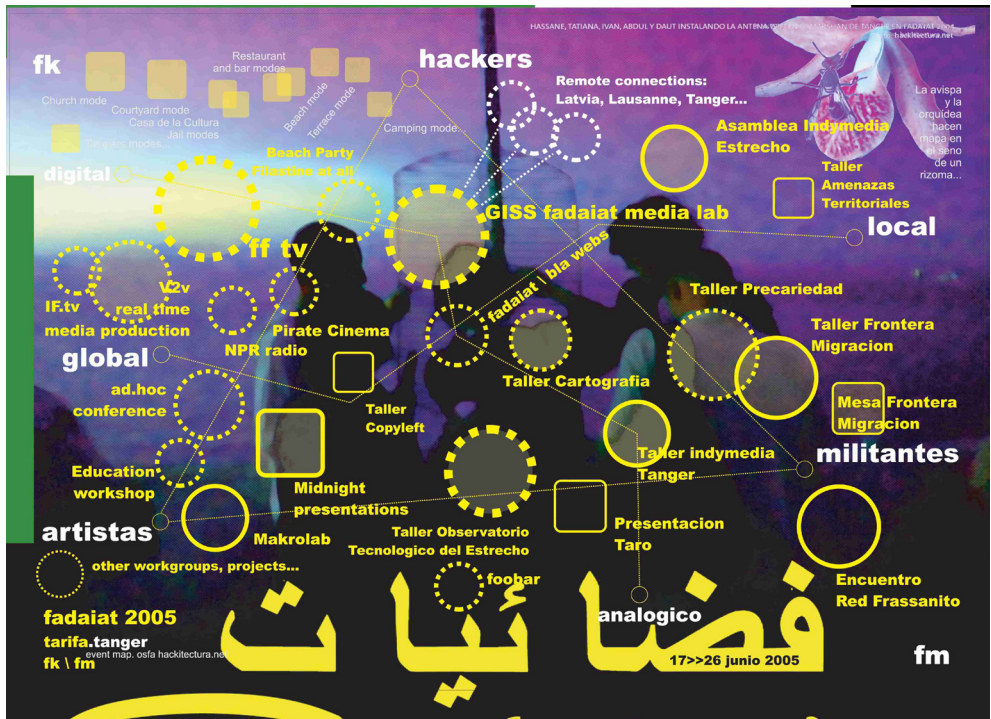


Fig. A2 / Fadaiat: 'Human groups'
(Source: Fadaiat, 2006, pp. 66-67)

We really wanted the book to capture all the proactive and imaginative energies that Fadaiat produced. The book condensed a series of materials, conversations between people across continents, etc...I think this is the main legacy of Fadaiat. We were able to 'save' this social border imagination, to ensure it to the future, into a document that could be communicated. We failed to create a permanent Observatory, but we succeed in producing this document, with the experience we all made together in this process.

This explains many projects that came later. Many people that wrote for the book, such as Helena Maleno, a border citizen that got menaced for her work, keep on working with migrants. Pilar Monsell worked with me at the editorial design of the book keeps on producing documentaries on migrants as political subjects. I made other mapping projects on the border between Egypt and Gaza.

Our work on the border, on the border of 'possibility', eventually produced a kind of knowledge that it is difficult to assess, as at that time we had not many relationships with the academic context, for our own decision, more with the activist and artistic scene, but it was more a project made for our own historical responsibility, at that time, when the border was being 'prototyped'

with those control devices. We were intervening there with another project, which was more an experiment, that gathered together the fields of architecture with technology, free software, trade unionism, journalism, art, etc...

Our methodology was so combining and complex that made our project difficult to be classified.

Fadaiat itself is a very enigmatic name, but at the same time it holds a great powerfulness of imagining what could be done into an unsuspected territory. When I was working on the border between Gaza and Egypt we were thinking about doing a Fadaiat there. Opening this field of 'the possible' or 'the impossible', of this kind of imagination of another world at the border, is the main legacy of Fadaiat, where all these energies of people produce a very peculiar moment that was really difficult to repeat and reproduce again and elsewhere. And there were a lot of people; there was a kind of 'chemistry' between us. The main core group was of around ten to forty people collaborating with other organizations at other levels. These relationships keep on going with other people working on the Strait and elsewhere: this is the legacy of the social and cultural imagination of Fadaiat. I feel satisfied, a decade after, with our efforts. We needed to record these efforts,

otherwise it would have been really frustrating not to have such documentation saved and published.

AB

How did you develop the process of mapping / drawing of the cartographies for the book? Did you follow a kind of 'collaborative approach'? What were the stages of this process?

PdS

It took more than one year, with different meetings and using the addresses list of Indymedia and the wiki of hackitectura. We took around one month to merge all this information and produce the visual and material part of the cartography. The field-work was already conducted in the previous months, coordinated by José Perez de Lama with many contributions, publishing different versions and commenting with the people that were working on the territory and that had more knowledge about both parts of the Strait.

The maps reproduced the network: the most challenging part of the side 'B' of the map⁴ was to represent this rebel / counter-hegemonic multitude in this geopolitical territory, the 'Imperium' of XXI century, in the context of the devices of control. The strategy / tactic of the map was to represent the closest past, the present and the future.

F.A2
F.A3

We were already mapping emerging connections, which were starting to be in place, but also the map helped to produce or strengthen those connections. The map was published in 2003, but it represents the situation in 2004 and 2005, the future. This was more like a political agenda for the next years. This is the great contribution of the map: we mapped the future that was going to be constructed. This was not a normal map, but a map for action, a performative device, to enhance those connections among the

actors that could visualise those linkages. Maps are representations of reality to produce reality itself. Maps are not only interpretations, but also formats that have a lot of potential of thought-production, according to Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualizations about the rhizoma. We experienced it in concrete: if you map from the inside those human networked relations, and you project such inclusive and rich rhizomatic image which include the past, present and future, people will feel the harmony with this image.

For instance, between Moroccan and Spanish collectives and between collectives coming from different cities in Andalusia which before the production of the map, didn't have so many connections between them and one year later were organizing together events between one city and the other. We mapped these connections between Andalusian cities and then some of them 'happened in the future'. For this reason the map of the Strait was drawn with this kind of attention

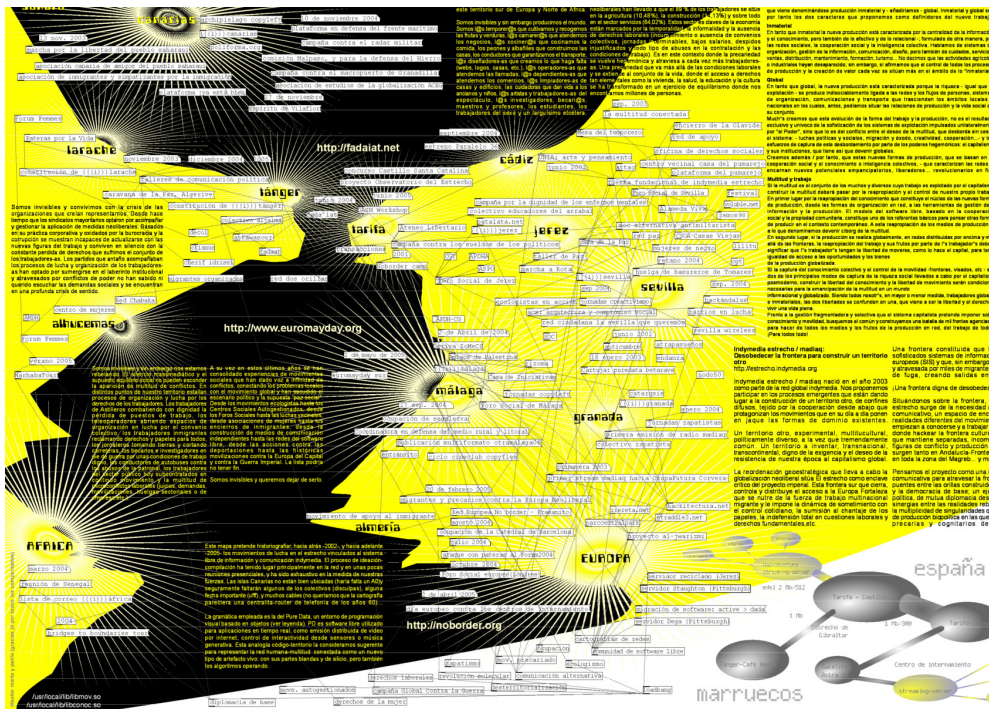


Fig. A3 / Fadaiat social algorithm
(Source: Fadaiat, 2006, pp.14-15)

to the artistic and visual & communicative side. We sought to produce a 'magnetic' and 'rebel' visual appearance, counter-hegemonic, but also powerful from the artistic side: representing a 'dangerous' place (for the migrants), the Strait, but as well a 'contested' place where is possible to act. And this was working because it was not only a representation, but a 'piece of a machine', a map which totally connected with lively processes. These representations emerged from everyday 'face-to-face' encounters with other subjects, and not from an external perspective. We, as hackitectura, were responsible for these maps, we followed the process step by step. We met a lot of harmony with the people we worked with, also from a philosophical perspective: the intellectual background was referred to international authors (ie: the Zapatistas, Negri & Hardt, Naomi Klein, Hakim Bey, Sandro Mezzadra) concerned with neoliberalism and border thinking. The mapping process drew on this kind of rich conceptual background and a specific historical context, which we agreed to consider as adequate and shared: the centrality of borders, the need for a change in governing (borders) and need to re-think activism beyond the issue of the nation-state.

This was the main innovative point in terms of social imagination: the dislocation the European territory into the territory of the border, as a way of becoming in 'poetical' and political terms. Also in terms of identity, which has deeply changed during the 21th century: from European, national identities towards trans-border identities, in unsuspected places such as the Strait. The issue of mapping is crucial, because it allows solidarity, beyond economic and cultural walls.

AB

What kind of relationships, networks and collaborations has Fadaiat developed with other international collectives, groups, research or artistic experiences in those years, in other borderlands?

PdS

As regards the Mexico-USA border, an experience that was a direct reference for Fadaiat was the Borderhack Festival in Tijuana (2000-2001), linked to youth movements and ciber/net culture. They did two editions of the festival by building a temporary 'camp' along the border and making Internet connections between the two sides. This was a direct influence for Fadaiat, as a kind of 'anonymous' collective, with no connections with institutions, which was linked to Zapatista movements,

from which also Indymedia was emerging. And this is related to the rise of independent information media movements, which started with a first declaration in Chiapas in 1994 and following the protests in Seattle and London in 1999.

We had relationships with groups working in Palestine, and groups of solidarity linked with Indymedia.

Indymedia was our common background which allowed us to have contacts through the network, to other networks, such as 'No one is illegal'⁵, which as well were organizing 'camps' against borders, such as the 'No border camp'⁶, which was a direct reference for us.

With them we organized the second edition of Fadaiat, in collaboration with 'No border network', which was a German organization in the beginning.

We had many connections with projects on the eastern and north-eastern European border, coming from the Baltic Republics (such Latvia), projects which were really innovative from a geopolitical perspective, and from the former Yugoslavian countries.

So one of the aims of the Observatorio Tecnológico del Estrecho was to activate a larger network between three different European borderlands: the border in the Balkans, with Russia and with Morocco, involving (art)

residency projects, about technological and social issues.

This network that we developed was the one with which we worked more, together with Indymedia, at that time and later on. One interesting project in Latvia was related to the idea of recovering the ‘ruins of Cold War military facilities’, to transform spaces of surveillance into cultural centres. One of these was to transform a big satellite antenna⁷ into an experimental acoustic workshop.

In Karosta (Latvia), a former Soviet marine base, which was abandoned after Latvia’s independence and used to be a secret place and unknown by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, there was an amazing new cultural centre. This was the kind of projects that we were interested in, as fields of geopolitical experimentation in such ‘novel’ border, as the post-soviet one, between the Baltic Republics and Russia. In these places of surveillance and military devices, abandoned after the end of the USSR, artists and activists started to experiment.

Fadaiat also got connected to other powerful artistic projects, such as the Slovenian MakroLab⁸.

Though not definable as an artistic project, Fadaiat was able to dialogue with these artistic and activist

experiences because of its ability to work at different levels, involving many different collectives and people.

Notes

1. Architect, researcher and hacktivist in many fields related to digital culture and innovative forms and narratives for knowledge production and transmission – Full profile on: www.hackitectura.net/blog/pablo/ <http://pablodesoto.net>.
2. Source: www.hackitectura.net/blog/ - Original members of the collective are: Sergio Moreno, José Pérez de Lama, Pablo de Soto. Also participated Marta Paz, Pilar Monsell and many others.
3. Fadaiat, 2006.
4. Source: www.hackitectura.net/blog/en/2004/cartografia-del-estrecho.
5. Source: www.kmii-koeln.de/?language=de.
6. Source: www.noborder.org.
7. Source: www.virac.venta.lv/en.
8. Source: www.teknedia.net/archivi/2003/6/13/mostra/3093.html.

(All websites last accessed in March 2015)

For this Atlas, excerpts from Buoli and De Soto, 2015.



Part 1
Conceptualising

**Borderscaping
as a (design) method**

Desert Trails
X. Ribas, 2014

Abstract

This chapter presents the main cross-disciplinary and methodological framework on which the PhD thesis draws, explaining the different research traditions across border studies and urban studies.

The first section introduces the approach taken to the state of the art, the literature sources and theories, and their cultural and conceptual nexuses, adopting a diagrammatic and comparative perspective.

This section explains the reasons for exploring the relationship between borderlands and urban studies, presenting some of the ongoing debates and traditions within the two fields (transnational urbanism, border urbanism, 'transnational social spaces' transbordering planning, postcolonial studies and network theories) and placing the work of urban scholars in these fields in dialogue with different branches of border studies (political and urban geography, sociology, international studies, etc.).

The section moves then into a 'genealogical' (Brambilla, 2014a) analysis of the main spatial conceptualisations about borders, based around three main concepts – borderland, border landscape, borderscape – and referring to a set of border-related socio-spatial metaphors (Basso, 2010) and processes. The borderscape notion is further explored through the interactions between design thinking and border thinking, in relation to three main issues: spatial agency, social imagination and knowledge-production.

The second section clarifies the overall methodological approach and explains the reasons for adopting a cross-scalar perspective focusing on the landscapes scale.

Methodology is a key component of the thesis's architecture as:

a) The main research question regarding which design and policy tools, methods and approaches are needed to address borderlands design;

b) A part of the research process through which specific empirical analysis apparatuses are established and implemented in relation to the conceptual background.

Borderscaping is presented as an imaginative (design) method (cfr. Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) and a 'research-by-design' approach (Viganò, 2010; Eker and van Houtum, 2013): the project is seen as the practice of knowledge production towards possible future configurations, by studying past intentions and present conditions (*ibid.*).

A set of operative concepts (scenario, vision, image, imagination and imaginary) are defined and developed through their meanings and uses in design studies.

key words:

borderlands studies

design studies

border spatial conceptualisations

borderscape / borderscaping

border thinking and design thinking

Chapter 1

Borderlands and design studies in dialogue

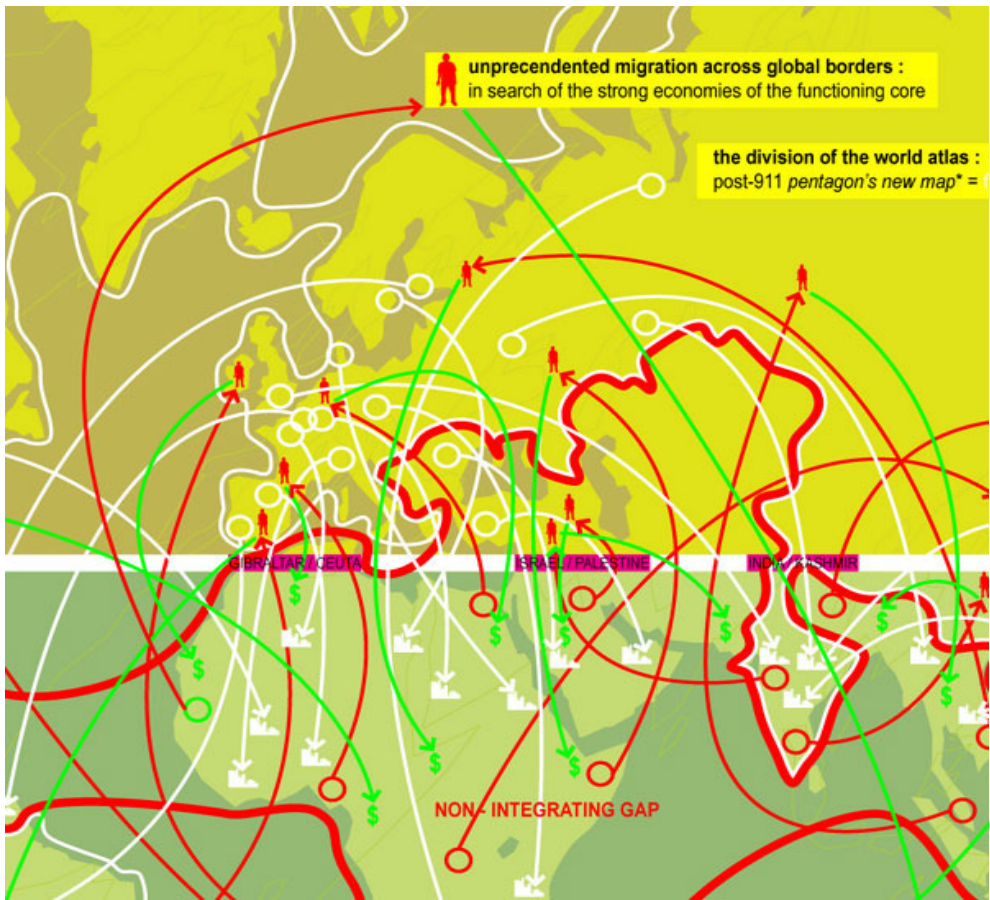


Fig. 01 / Teddy Cruz, Political Equator.

(Source: Estudio Teddy Cruz. Retrieved from: www.cargocollective.com/harare/T-Cruz-Border-Lessons)

1.1. Evolving border conceptualisations and discourses across design disciplines and borderlands studies

The purpose of this first chapter is to clarify how border studies and design disciplines can be mutually relevant by suggesting new spaces of debate and discourses about landscape design and planning, from a methodological perspective.

To this aim borders are here addressed beyond their bi-dimensional existence as materialised division lines (e.g. barriers, walls, fences), by looking at them as transcalar socio-spatial fields, as suggested by interdisciplinary literature from the late 1990s to early 2000s onwards.

In the 1990s new approaches in border studies moved attention away ‘from borders as territorial dividing lines and political institutions to borders regarded as socio-cultural and discursive processes and practices’ (Brambilla, 2014a, p.2). More recent contributions on the imaginative and polysemic character of the borderscape notion (as discussed by, among others, Harbers, 2003; Rajaram and Grundy Warr, 2007; Brambilla and Van Houtum, 2012; Eker and Van Houtum, 2013; Brambilla, 2014a,b; Ferrer-Gallardo et al., 2014), rooted in the bordering perspective¹ (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002; Scott, 2011, 2012) and in critical border studies (Brambilla, 2014a, pp.3-4), have provided a new conceptual and methodological lens (*ibid.*) from which to address contemporary border spaces. At the same time, in the late 1980s and early–mid 1990s, the international debate within spatial disciplines on the fading-out of urban limits and the growing interest in new de-territorialised spatial configurations and forms of socio-economic interaction, detached from traditional territorial containers (such as the nation-

state), paved the way for new readings and understandings around territorial and urban boundaries at different scales (Basso, 2010, p.15-16). These simultaneous territorial, cultural, epistemological and semantic shifts supported a reconsideration of the role and extent of (political, territorial, urban) borders into renovated (and unstable) geographies and structures of powers (Bolocan Goldstein 2014, p.147; Soja, 2005, p.37) emerging in new spatial and relational metaphors (Bolocan Goldstein, *op.cit.*, p.168).

Soja, among others, contributed to locating the convergence between the spheres of debate of border and urban studies by placing the erosive processes of ‘the once fairly fixed and clear borders and boundaries between city and suburb’ (Soja, *op.cit.*, p.41) into the current global restructuring and ‘re-patterning of nation-states in the New International Division of Labor’ (*ivi*, p.43) and into new transcalar scenarios (such as the city-region or the post-metropolis) in which the city limits have ‘exploded’, at a transnational level (*ibid.*).

The relevance of transnational / translocal interplays in such debate has been addressed by Clara Irazábal (2013), who focuses on transnationalism as a dimension that:

‘captures the horizontal and relational nature of contemporary economic, social, and cultural processes that stream across spaces (...). It also expresses these processes’ embeddedness in differently configured and reconfigured scales and regimes of power’ (*ivi*, p.3).

According to M. Peter Smith (2001, 2005, 2006) the study of transnationalism in urban studies, through the transnational urbanism notion, highlights the ways in which long-distance human trans-border and trans-local connections (here and there) are relevant for understanding urban and local scale dynamics into a more complex framework. Smith defines transnational urbanism as a ‘highly politicized terrain where

F.01

the representational politics of place is constructed and contested' (2006, p.125), as the result of 'diverse readings and (...) different symbolic significance by differently situated social groups and their corresponding discursive networks'. Thanks to trans local connections, made possible by the implementation of technologies, emerging means of communication and mobilities, transnational social actors are able to (materially) connect themselves to a transnational communication circuit, through which they can get access to 'sources of (...) employment, the means to deploy remittances, the acquisition of cultural and physical capital, consumption practices, political organizing networks, or life style images' (Smith, 2005, p.6). Thomas Faist defines such interconnections and networks as 'transnational social spaces', as the 'sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders of multiple nation-states, ranging from weakly to strongly institutionalized forms' (Faist, 2000, p.2).

Irazábal (2013) has stressed the need to move attention from transnational urbanism towards transbordering urbanism, overcoming the conceptual interlocking between transnationalism and the nation-state, in order to capture 'the on-going transversal (...) at times transgressive aspects of contemporary behaviours and imaginaries' (*ivi*, p.4) linked to human mobility practices across political boundaries.

Eventually 'in urban discourse, transborderism/transnationalism provides a framework with which to address a societal and professional shift in the construction of place, whereby traditional geographic understandings are problematised and reworked so as to play new roles in the development of socially constructed spaces' (*ivi*, p.3). Irazábal has explored this perspective by looking at the context of Latin America(s) as a set of sociocultural and spatial conditions shaped by pluri-local

societal relations 'existing within, between, and above the traditional container spaces of national and continental societies' (*ivi*, p.1), as well as by global capitalism / globalisation interconnections. These conditions and relations are explored in peculiar spontaneous urban phenomena and top-down urban projects, which have been shaped by a (mis)reading and re-interpretation of local migrants' cultures and visual identity. This is the case with Los Angeles' Plaza Mexico shopping mall, which has been conceived and designed to speak to US citizens of Mexican/Latino descent, through a process of mirroring between supposedly Mexican architectural features and their memories / imaginaries of the homeland. 'Plaza Mexico taps into these imaginaries to produce a space of diasporic, bounded tourism, whereby venture capitalists opportunistically reinvent tradition within a structural context of constrained immigrant mobility' (Irazábal, *op.cit.*, p. 9).

The work of architect and urban planner Teddy Cruz (Chapter 2), founder of the homonymous office, working at the US-Mexico border since the late 1990s, provides another insight into this.

In a lecture given more than ten years ago at the Canadian Centre for Architecture of Montreal², meaningfully entitled *Border Postcards: Chronicles from the Edge*, the author addressed the borderland or the 'border zone' of Tijuana-San Diego by identifying peculiar two-way (border) urbanisms. These are related to the migration of urban living practices, land use and massive urbanisation models that have crossed the border, both north-to-south and south-to-north, and hybridised on the other side, producing unprecedented effects on the urban landscapes of both cities. This is the case in the gated community model, as explained by Cruz. 'As Tijuana grows eastward and is also seduced by the style and glamour of the master-planned, gated communities of San Diego, it is building its own version: miniaturized

replicas of typical suburban tract homes, paradoxically imported into Tijuana to provide ‘social housing’. Thousands of tiny tract homes are now scattered around the periphery of the city, creating a vast landscape of homogeneity and division that is at odds with the prevailing heterogeneous and organic metropolitan condition. These diminutive dwellings come equipped with all the clichés and conventions: manicured landscaping, gate houses, model units, banners and flags, mini-set backs, front and back yards’ (Cruz, 2004, p.10). Within this broad framework, the project has emerged as a powerful way to address the progressive fragmentation of the urban space and its re-scaling into larger geographies of power, to re-think the urban landscape and to negotiate new identities and forms of belonging (Basso, 2010). As Pucci stresses, ‘the issue of defining relevant boundaries to deal with the variability of relationships, with rich social networks and the multi-scalar dimension of urban practices that institutional boundaries fail to deal with, is at the core of Spatial Planning debates’ (Pucci, 2014, p. 28). This issue has been framed by the author in terms of interpretive tools able to recognise borders ‘as part of the changing institutional landscape of spatial planning’ (Haughton and Allmendinger, 2008 – quoted in Pucci, *op. cit.*).

‘Borders as dynamic social processes could become design tools, useful to deal with the governance process, to interpret and regulate the transformation processes in times, places, social life and work programs in contemporary city’ (*ivi*, p. 28).

Therefore ‘informal boundaries’ and the rescaling of transbordering practices at the urban level ‘may become part of an ‘institutional landscape’, generating new models of public involvement and actions capable of intercepting and responding more effectively to the emerging social demands that can be read from these practices’ (*ibid.*).

Following these ideas from the literature, it is now worth mentioning the questions posed in the introduction to this dialogue: *how can borders and borderlands be re-designed? Which conceptualisations, methods and practices are needed? How can the counter-hegemonic and imaginative potential of the borderscapes notion be integrated within a long-term perspective on ‘new borderlands design’ practices* (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013, p.180)?

The following section presents a series of spatial and multidimensional understandings of borders from across design and border studies, with the aim of framing these questions within current debates and consolidated research traditions.

Some of these notions have crossed different stages and seasons of both urban and border studies, and some of them, such as the borderscape, can be read from a genealogical perspective (Brambilla, 2014a). Nevertheless these border spatial understandings are not meant to be interchangeable nor chronologically ordered. Rather, they could be considered as different dimensions and perspectives on borders, which have emerged from different disciplinary fields over the last three decades (according to the reading proposed by Donnan and Wilson, 2012). In the following pages, some of these conceptualisations are addressed through the interpretative angles adopted by design and border scholars.

1.1.1. Borders as human designs³

In an article entitled *Complexity and Simultaneity. The Border as Spatial Condition* (2015), Marc Schoonderbeek discusses the various possible border conceptualisations in architectural discourses, by exploring the basic traits of borders in spatial terms and analysing a full range of contemporary border conditions. These issues have been at the centre of the work of the Border Conditions research unit and architectural studio⁴ at Delft University of Technology

(Department of Architecture), from the early 2000s. Schoonderbeek explains how the work of his research group originated from three spatial understandings of the contemporary condition of the border: border as limit, territory or political place. The conditions have been investigated through a set of case studies addressing the border in its 'shape and materiality (...) from an architectural point of view' (*ivi*, p. 96.), through a series of cases: 'contested borders in Belfast, Nicosia and Ceuta, for instance, proved to be very sophisticated systems of control, although none of these were completely successful in that respect' (*ibid.*) The border as a limit, as a barrier and as a materialised system of distinction and surveillance (as well as its crossings and questioning) has been at the centre of prominent works in different academic fields (cfr. Foucher, 1991). Borders as limits and outlines can be read as complementary to an interpretation of borders as the outcomes of (political) decisions and the products of a human design (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013). As suggested by Boddington, 'Borders can be manifested as cartographic, legislative, lines upon a map and as physical devices of separation' (1999, p. 2 – cfr. Lévy et al., 2014; Gaeta, 2014). Perhaps no arbitrary delimitation and designed border was more expressive of this condition than the *Raya de Tordesillas*, a line traced throughout the Atlantic Ocean from north to south at the end of the 15th century to define the spheres of influence and domination of Portugal and Spain. Starting from an incomplete map, where the undiscovered territories were part of the geography of the contending empires, the line drawn according to the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) ran along the north-south meridian, 1,770 km west of the Cape Verde Islands (off the coast of Senegal, West Africa), corresponding to a latitude of approximately 46° 37' W. The lands to the east of this line would have belonged to Portugal, while all the territories west to the *Raya* would have been part of the Spanish

Empire⁵. The *Raya de Tordesillas* represents a milestone in the process of territorial control and power outsourcing carried out by European countries over other territories, starting from an arbitrary delimitation on maps (Cella, 2008, pp.43-45, Foucher, 2007, p.178–9)⁶.

From this perspective, if a 'political project is the result of (a) cartographic prophecy, of its achievement' (Farinelli, 2009, p.72), borders are the final outcomes of a process of (human and political) design which involves different boundary-makers (among which the nation-state has been and still is the primary actor), and which eventually represents an act of belief, a form of ideology and, in the end, a 'prefabricated truth' (Van Houtum, 2012, p.52). The borders-maps and power-cartographic knowledge nexus have been broadly explored in literature through the work of geographers and historians such as Harley (1988), Farinelli (2009), Cosgrove (2008) and De Diego (2008).

The recognition of maps as 'socially constructed products' (Harley, 1988) and the identification of cartography and cartographers' role in the construction of the contemporary (Lévy, 2012), modern and colonial geographies of power have been internationally recognised (Farinelli, 2009; De Diego, 2008). More recent contributions coming from border studies (Van Houtum, 2012; Van Houtum and Bueno Lacey, forthcoming) have focused on the role of cartography in the construction of (bounded) identities and socio-cultural imaginaries regarding the European Union in relation to its neighbours (cfr. Chapter 3). In this sense, the arbitrary lines drawn on maps, defining the limit between states, have become complex spatial objects, combining reticular forms of control and surveillance management (Walters, 2004; Petti, 2007 Lévy et al., 2014).

1.1.2 Borders as spatial conditions and sites for explorative (design) thinking

As Schoonderbeek stresses, ‘the border as limit turned out to have specific states of exception incorporated into its vary fabric (...). [Borders have] an extent rather than being a form of finality, and this extent is flexible, multi-dimensional and layered’ (2015, p.96 - cfr. Schoonderbeek, 2010). The author and the Border Conditions research group explored a comprehension of borders as ‘spatial zones’ and ‘fields’ ‘that can turn out to be of territorial proportions. This type of border is no longer a fixed boundary, but a space of differentiation that consists of a multiplicity of various limits: the border also constitutes a territorial space’ (Schoonderbeek, 2015, p. 96). From this perspective, according to James Corner (1999, p.54):

‘borders (...) constitute the very sites for both contest and emergent unity(s) of time. (...) Rather than separating boundaries, borders are dynamic membranes through which interactions and diverse transformations occur’.

‘In ecological terms, the edge is always the most lively and rich place because it is where the occupants and forces of one system meet and interact with those from another. Here, there is contest and competition to be sure, but also hybridity, multiplicity and productive exchange. As affiliative, synthesising agents, field operations provide ways in which border (and differences) may be respected and sustained, while potentially productive forces on either side may be brought together into newly created relationships. Thus, we shift from a world of stable geometric boundaries and distinction to one of multidimensional transference and network effects’ (*ibid.*)

A series of spatial notions appear to be worth exploring and explaining, in this regard: borderlands, border region, border landscape, borderscape.

Borderlands

The extensive use of the term borderland may be located, according to Wilson and Donnan (2012), in the traditions of American historical studies, starting in the 1920s with the seminal work by Frederick Jackson Turner, *The significance of the frontier in American history* (1977 - 2008). The study of the US-Mexico border as a kind of ‘template’ (Wilson and Donnan, 2012, p.7) for the analysis of any other borders, is reflected in the production of notions and perspectives from which to study the border and its functioning. In light of the narratives developed around the ‘frontier’, ‘its explorers, economic development, missionary activity, armies and fortifications, administrative structures and role in international relations’ (*ibid.*), 1990s scholars started to search for other perspectives from which to look at the common functional features of borders at the global scale. Some researchers (mainly from historical studies) started to use the borderland concept, intended as ‘the region bisected by the boundary line between states, which (...) is presumed to encapsulate a variety of identities, social networks and formal and informal, legal and illegal relationships which tie together people in the areas contiguous to the borderline on both its sides’ (*ibid.*).

Overcoming a situated or spatial perspective, Gloria Anzaldúa⁷ (1987) has proposed the definition of borderlands in terms of culture and identity. ‘Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy’ (*ivi*, preface). Therefore the borderland is ‘a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary where the prohibited, the forbidden and *los atravesados* reside in a place of discomfort as they negotiate between the conflicting forces in such margins’ (*ivi*, p.3).

This understanding of borderlands appears to be close to Pratt's definition of contact zones as 'social spaces where culture meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today' (Pratt, 1992, p.6). According to Soja's reading of Alzandua's thinking (2005) the borderlands notion 'combine and move beyond both metaphorical and material spaces to become a space of radical openness and admixture, a place for creating new projects' (Soja, 2005, p. 39).

This twofold reading of the borderland has been explored more recently by Eker and Van Houtum (2013) in their edited volume, *Borderland*. In this case, the Dutch borderland is intended both as a spatial field, with a selected dimension and extent (20+20 km each side), and a complex layering of political beliefs, symbolic meanings, historical leftovers / ruins, personal trajectories, etc. Here the borderland becomes a landscape, which can be re-thought and re-designed from a transnational perspective (*ibid.* - Chapter 2).

Border regions

In the 1970s, border studies started to focus on the notion of the 'border region' in the shape of case studies on cross-border and sectorial policies, such as immigration, border control, regional development, etc. (Donnan and Wilson, 2012, p.10). Paasi (2001) defines regions as the product of 'various concepts of space' (*ivi*, p.16) which are always social constructs created 'in political, economic, cultural and administrative practices and discourses. (...) in these practices and discourses regions may become crucial instruments of power that manifest themselves in shaping the spaces of governance, economy and culture' (*ibid.*) (cfr. Chapter 3).

In this regard, the last decade has seen a shift in the perception of border regions, from traditional marginal and

underdeveloped areas of a country, according to a centre-periphery paradigm, to new sites and testing grounds for the development of interregional and cross-border policies around key economic topics (Van Houtum, 2000). Furthermore regions of different countries have become part of transnational economic networks, where borders are no longer seen as buffer zones, or passive spaces, but as active and key areas for cross-border policy development (Van Houtum, 2000, p.64).

This is the case with the EU and the EUro-Mediterranean: here border regions have turned out to be the prominent focus of EU cooperation policies and funding and are seen as the most appropriate scale, field and arena for developing such cooperative interactions. Since the late 1980s, cross-border policies and regional policies have been the most funded EU initiatives, with a progressive multiplication of regions and related actors (Chapter 3).

Border landscapes

In the 1990s, the international debate inside border disciplines shifted towards the study of the 'ways in which the territory and the physical environment interrelate with the social, economic, political and cultural conditions of nations and states' (Wilson and Donnan, 2012, p.8), enhancing a reconsideration of 'border landscapes as the products of cultural, economic and political interactions and processes occurring in space' (Rumley and Minghi, 1991, p.4 – cfr. Paasi, 2005).

The introduction of this notion, above all in geographical fields (Prescott 1987; Minghi and Rumley, 1991), has been read as an attempt to 'move beyond simple description and categorization of borders to grapple with the complex relations between boundaries and the physical and human environments which shape them and which in turn are shaped by them' (Wilson and Donnan, 2012, p.8).

The edited volume by Rumley and Minghi represented, according to Dell'Agnese

(2014, p.56), a first step towards emancipation from core-peripheral articulations in border studies, by challenging the idea of peripherality itself (*ibid.*) and shifting the focus from conflictual settings to potential pacification (*ibid.*) The so-called ‘processual shift’ (Brambilla, 2014a) in border studies, which occurred during the 1990s, involved the recognition of a multiplication of borders and their reconsideration ‘as dynamic social processes and practices of spatial differentiation’ (*ivi*, p.2). The meaning of (border) landscapes emerged from this paradigm shift, as the sites of social interactions occurring in space (Rajaram and Grundy Warr, 2007, p. xxix), collective narratives and representations. The authors have discussed landscapes in relation to power and political hegemony, stressing how landscapes are ‘essential to the analysis of power and politics (...) landscapes are powerful because of the role they play in structuring everyday lives. (...) We refer to landscapes that work in this way as landscapes of power’ (*ivi*, p. xxvi – cfr. Chapter 5).

Brambilla (2014a) recalls the etymology of the term ‘land-scape’ by focusing on the -scape suffix, which is related to the verb ‘to scape’, meaning ‘to give shape’. Therefore, ‘the landscape is ‘the land ‘scaped’, ‘shaped’ or created as place and polity by people through their practices of dwelling – their ‘doing’, ‘undoing’, and ‘redoing’ of landscape’ (*ivi*, p.10).

Likewise, Van Houtum and Eker observe that ‘scapes comes from the Dutch term ‘Scheppen’ (to create) and the past tense of ‘Scheppen’ which is ‘geschapen’ (was created), and the Dutch term ‘Landschap’, which means something like a created land’ (2015, p.101).

More recently some border scholars have challenged the meaning of ‘landscape’ (Dell’Agnese, 2014), by highlighting the ‘misperception’ of this term in relation to other spatial notions (such as ‘region’ and ‘territory’). Following Cosgrove (1984), Dell’Agnese discusses the meaning of

landscape as ‘a way of seeing’, which is produced and reproduced in the relationship between the observing subject and the observed object (Dell’Agnese, *op.cit.*, p.60). Such an approach means trying to see how the presence of a border is perceived and represented (cfr. Strüver, 2007) and how these representations modify the relational practices among those who live the border (*ivi*, p.64).

According to this perspective, the border landscape does not correspond to the (physical) borderland, but to a way of looking at and representing the border. Nevertheless this ‘experiential’ perspective seems to bypass the ethical, political and performative character of borders, which has been recognised in the notion of landscape within spatial and design disciplines.

If from one side it is true that the term ‘landscape’ has proliferated across disciplines as a kind of fuzzy container for a wide range of approaches and definitions, from the other, the ethical and multidimensional character of landscape (as the cross-scalar and trans-temporal projection in space of a certain society, in its physical, perceptive and symbolical settings (Nogué i Font, 2013)) has become a consolidated mantra within landscape studies.

In this light, I assume the border landscape to be a transcalar spatial and symbolic field where the presence of a border materialises itself into a multiplicity of material, social, cultural and political settings, which shape / scape the borderland and vice versa.

Borderscapes

Rooted in border landscape conceptualisations and developed by academics and activists concerned with international migration issues, ‘border struggles’ and post-colonial studies (Dell’Agnese, 2014⁸; Rajaram and Grundy Warr, 2007; Perera, 2007; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) and critical border studies (Brambilla and van Houtum, 2012; Brambilla, 2014), the borderscapes

concept finds an element of resonance in Appadurai's '-scapes' conceptualisation (1996). These (ethno-, techno-, finance-, media- and ideo-) scapes represent different cultural dimensions through which to examine and describe the fluid and fleeting nature of globalisation processes, as 'building blocks of the new transnational possibilities in modern society' (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013, p.407). The imaginative character of the '-scape' suffix (Brambilla, 2014, p.10; also stressed by Van Houtum and Eker, 2015 and Grichting 2015, with the boundaryscape notion), defines borderscapes as a potentially operative concept, which can be used in tension and in dialogue with different disciplinary arenas and geographical contexts (Minghi and Rumley, 1991), overcoming spatial and ontological dualisms and bypassing consolidated polarised visions. By revealing the border in its dynamic and shifting nature in space and time (Corner, 1999), the borderscape can be considered as the site of simultaneous practices, 'where an infinite array of understandings, interpretations and readings converge into one gaze' (Schoonderbeek, 2015, p.100). Drawing on Heidegger and Borges's thinking, Schoonderbeek observes that 'the border is no longer the dividing space that separates and differentiates, nor a space that gathers the territory around it (making it a space of encounter), but an Aleph space that incorporates spatial as well as temporal differences and similarities. (...) a threshold space where spatial practices simultaneously confirm and resist social networks, juridical practices and political ideologies' (*ibid.*). More recently, the borderscape perspective has been at the centre of a series of cross-disciplinary and international research projects, challenging the shifting role and meaning of borders as 'tools for framing social and political action (...) in order to more genuinely reflect their impacts at various spatial levels of socio-cultural, political and economic interaction'⁹. A variety of different conceptualisations

thus defines the borderscape as a multi-sited, manifold and kaleidoscopic notion (Brambilla, 2014a,b), whose main understandings are related to its:

a) *Spatial and normative dimension* as a sedimentation of political ideas in spaces that can result both from natural or human delimitation, as well as from differences in planning systems between two or more countries (Harbers, 2003, p.143); as 'landscape patterns' (borders as 'fault lines') or as 'statistical irregularities' (*ibid.*); as 'a border area that is created, constructed, and can therefore also be recreated and redesigned in a transnational context' (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013, p.407).

b) *Counter-hegemonic discourse* as a 'fluid field of a multitude of political negotiations, claims, and counterclaims (...) of varied and differentiated encounters' (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, 2007, p. xxx); a concept that 'allows us to highlight the conflictual determination of the border, the tensions and struggles that play a decisive role in its construction' (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p.13) and a 'shifting and conflictual zone in which 'different temporalities and overlapping emplacements as well as emergent spatial organizations' take place' (Perera, 2007, pp.206-7 quoted in Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p.12).

c) *Critical and imaginative potential* as an 'epistemological, ontological and methodological approach' (Brambilla, 2014a) from which to address the ways in which the border landscape is produced and represented (*ivi*, p.8; cfr. Dell'Agnese, 2014) fostering 'a new multisided organization of border knowledge, able to overcome binary oppositions' (Brambilla, 2014a, p.11).

In this regard, it is worth noting that this multiplicity of uses and disciplinary perspectives appears to be problematic when the term borderscape is used in relation to the border landscape concept.

Indeed, these two notions have often been used interchangeably, particularly in planning and urban/landscape studies. For instance, Harbers (2003) considers free trade zones, international ports, logistic centres, nuclear plants and big infrastructure projects as constitutive elements of the borderscape, while other scholars refer to them as markers of a ‘transnational landscape’ (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002, p.131). According to this conceptualisation, the borderscape almost coincides with the border landscape.

The ambiguity and kinship between the two terms has also been observed by Strüver (2005) who, from the other side, has given a specific connotation to the borderscape notion as a performative verb/process/practice: ‘The borderscape – shaped through representations of all kinds - implies border-scaping as practices through which the imagined border is established and experienced as real’ (*ivi*, p.170).

Nevertheless, it is my contention that borderscaping could express not only the processes of writing and over-writing, production and re-production of borders in space, time and people’s minds (Strüver, 2005), but also a kind of ‘design thinking’, a means of conceptualising, describing and projecting (Viganò, 2010) other multidimensional images on contemporary border landscapes (Bozzuto, 2011).

Therefore, in this dissertation the borderscape perspective is assumed to be an open field of opportunities for re-thinking and re-designing the borderland (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013), including both the visual, spatial, symbolic and cultural dimension of the border landscape and the imaginative, productive (and political) nature of a design approach.

But how can a borderscape notion and a borderscaping perspective translate themselves into a design/planning methodology and practice?

1.2. A methodological dialogue: from borderscape to borderscaping through design thinking and border thinking

Some recent research projects on different borderlands have explored a design-based and research-by-design approach towards borders, opening new perspectives on the study of border regions and border landscapes.

As discussed earlier, Mark Eker and Henk van Houtum (2013) have recently proposed an original comprehension of borders, seen as the outcomes of a ‘human design’, which can therefore be re-thought and re-designed from a transnational perspective (*ivi*, p. 407). With a similar approach, Anna Grichting (2014, 2015) assumes the construction of future scenarios to envision the Cyprus Green Line as a new landscape for reconciliation and peacekeeping across the buffer zone (cfr. Chapter 2).

The border is regarded by these authors as a ‘field’, a thick buffer space that can turn itself into a landscape, a ‘third space’ (Soja, 1996), the site of a potentially transformative (spatial) imagination, which offers a different way of thinking and a space of social struggle and potential ‘emancipation’ (*ivi*, p.68). This emancipatory dimension has been explored by Walter Mignolo by focusing on ‘border thinking’, which can be seen as ‘as a critique of modernity towards a pluriversal (Mignolo, 2000) trans-modern world of multiple and diverse ethico-political projects in which a real horizontal dialogue and communication could exist between all peoples of the world’ (*ivi*, p. 18). Border thinking is ‘the moments in which the imaginary of the modern world system cracks’ (Mignolo, 2000, p.23) allowing a new space for multiple agencies, resistances and imaginations in its ‘fractures’.

Thus, the borderscape, intended as a site of resistance (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013

– cfr. Chapter 2), conflict and encounter and a ‘space of negotiating actors, practices, and discourses’ (Brambilla, 2014b, p.221), becomes the potential terrain of interaction between border thinking and design thinking, in the shape of borderscaping. This becomes an imaginative process able to unveil, emancipate and re-orient current gazes and meanings around contemporary (and future) border landscapes, towards new and un-common socio-spatial configurations (cfr. Eker and Van Houtum, 2013; Van Houtum and Eker, 2015). These images could be the result of the interactions between different ‘border works’ (Rumford, 2009) of a plurality of agents and boundary-makers, who inhabit or operate on / across the border. Design as a knowledge building process is able to unfold and highlight these (hidden or explicit) multiform border imaginations,

desires and interests from a transformative and explorative viewpoint, and re-orient them towards a reconsideration of those hidden potentialities.

By operationalizing the borderscape notion through its progressive tense form, borderscaping, I mean to address a twofold process. From one side a socially based (dominant or counter-hegemonic) process of border-writing on landscapes and in collective imaginaries, at different spatial scales and levels of society. From the other, a design activity on / across borderlands, performed by different subjects and networks (of professional, artists, activists, local communities, etc.), assuming the border as a resource and as a thick, open and fuzzy field in which to address specific dynamics of socio-spatial in/exclusion. The following section aims to frame these issues in the main debates about border

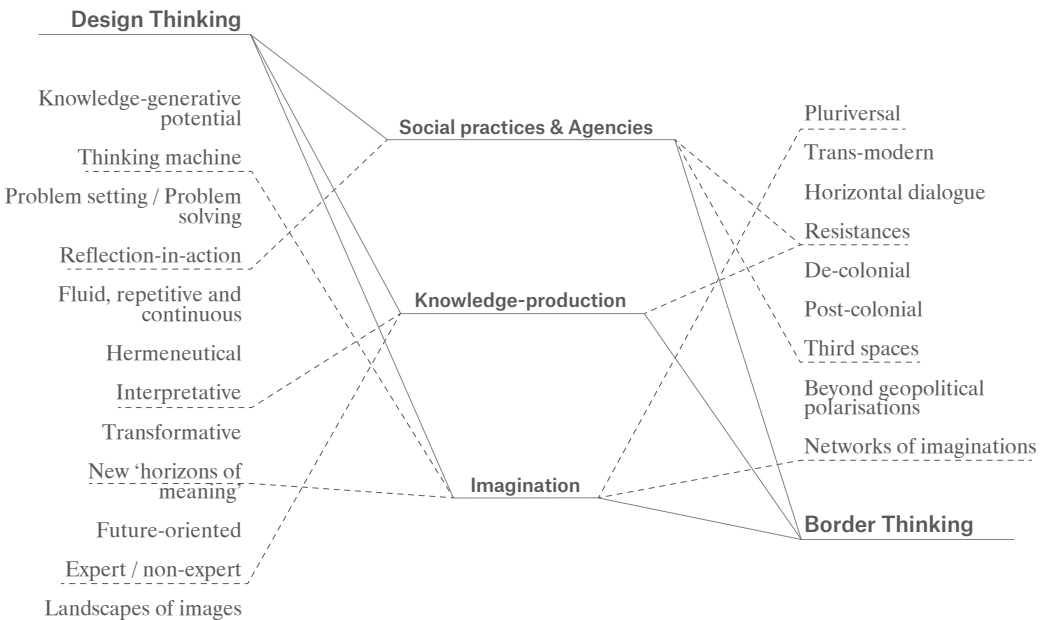


Fig. 02 / Across border thinking and design thinking
(Diagram by A. Buoli, 2015. Source: author's research)

thinking and design thinking, in order to highlight the possible interferences and fruitful hybridisations between these two fields.

Three interconnected dimensions can be used to address the potential contribution of a project-based perspective to the debate within border studies: knowledge-production, imagination, social agency.

F.02

1.2.1. The research-by-design perspective in spatial disciplines

A recent publication entitled *The Routledge Handbook of Planning Research Methods* by Silva et al. (2015), meaningfully describes research in design and spatial disciplines as ‘both an interactive process – with an emphasis on that knowledge being ‘shared’ – and a very practical one’ (ivi, p. xxv). With particular regard to planning disciplines, the authors emphasise the importance of the application of knowledge and its ‘experiential, practical and ‘local’ dimensions (ibi.).

In the same volume, Palermo and Ponzini (2015) more specifically explore the main research paradigms in spatial disciplines and planning (positivist, interactive and project-oriented), highlighting their potential interactions and mutual legitimisation as catalysts for new perspectives in planning disciplines, beyond the current crisis in these fields (ibi.).

In particular the third paradigm addressed by the authors, the project-oriented paradigm, appears to be a ‘significant variant of the first two’ (which should not be considered as historically subsequent or alternative – ivi, p.129) assuming that ‘the core mission of planning is to generate good projects that are appropriate to various scales and themes’ (ivi, p.123). From this perspective, design is not the final step of a process, but is itself an explorative process (ibi.), always selective and oriented by the research questions which ‘are surfacing from a critical dialogue with both the local society

and the physical environment’ (ibi.).

The knowledge-generative potential of design, as a peculiar form of imaginative thinking and the knowledge production approach (ivi, p.127), has been explored internationally by design scholars and professionals for the last 50 years and more recently has been at the centre of attention for various design schools¹⁰.

In the European and Italian context, the role of design as ‘cognitive device, as a producer of new knowledge, a tool for investigating a context and adding new materials to the existing knowledges’ (Viganò, 2010, p.10 – my translation) draws on a long tradition of outstanding urban and architectural design experiences which began in the 1960s. Among the first Italian architects and urban planners who developed an idea of design as a form of exploration for improving knowledge and ‘envisioning the potential of change’ of design (Palermo and Ponzini, 2015, pp.127–8) were Ludovico Quaroni and Giancarlo de Carlo.

Their perspective has been described as an ‘abductive and recursive process, where a project-oriented vision is required in order to select the investigations that will modify and strengthen it’ (ivi, p.127).

This approach has been developed in integration with a form of interactive design, for example, De Carlo, who was among the first designers to introduce a collaborative and participatory dimension in urban planning (first with the plan for Urbino beginning in 1964, and later with the project for Villaggio Matteotti in Terni in the 1970s, among many others). The physical dimension of the project is therefore interdependent with the social responsibility of the planners themselves.

A similar approach can be observed in the research and design activity of Bernardo Secchi and Paola Viganò, who promote a different role for planners in the interaction and understanding of local societies ‘inquiring into and visioning the emerging social and physical forms of contemporary cities, keeping environmental, morpho-

typological, mobility and social equality issues at centre stage' (Palermo and Ponzini, 2015, p.127).

Peter G. Rowe (1991, quoted in Viganò, 2010), considers design thinking not as a unidirectional and step-by-step technique, but rather as multiple decision-making and imaginative processes, a 'thinking machine' (*ivi*, p.10) made of different components (*ivi*, p.13), aiming to define/set the correct design problems and identify solutions to conditions considered problematic.

Snodgrass and Coyne (1997), following Schön (1983), consider design thinking, from a *hermeneutical* perspective, as 'reflection-in-action' (Snodgrass and Coyne, 1997, p.22), a process of 'mutual influencing and interaction of past, present and future understandings', an interpretative activity of disclosure and projection which 'furnishes a kaleidoscope of ever-changing reflections, revisions, false starts and back-tracking, leading eventually to a clarification of the projection' (*ivi*, p.25). Design is, from this perspective, a form of incremental thinking, which is 'fluid, repetitive and continuous' (*ibid.*).

Donald Schön was among the first, after Herbert Simon, to introduce a new approach to cognitive design theory (Visser, 2010), by formulating a perspective on design as a reflective activity and then derivative notions, such as 'reflective practice', 'reflection-in-action' and 'knowing-in-action' (*ivi*, p.21).

Thought and practice, design and knowledge, appear to be parallel dimensions of the same cognitive process.

Indeed, according to Schön:

'doing and thinking are complementary. Doing extends thinking in the tests, moves, and probes of experimental action, and reflection feeds on doing and its results. Each feeds the other, and each sets boundaries for the other' (Schön, 1983, p.280).

1.2.2. Social Agency and Scenario Building

As a peculiar kind of imaginative thinking, design can be conceived, following Appadurai (1996), as 'an organized field of social practices, a form of work [...] and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility. [...] central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact' (*ivi*, p.31). As a kind of social practice, design involves a variety of relational spaces and 'networks' (Peran, 2011, p.155) made of different actors, groups, agencies, languages, systems of representation and ways of communicating the outcomes of these practices.

These 'networks of imaginations' (*ibid.*) give shape to new social realities (Powell, 2011) and imaginaries, namely 'constructed landscape[s] of collective aspirations' (Appadurai, 1996, p.31) and 'all the ways a culture has of perceiving and conceiving the world' (Mignolo, 2000, p.23). Questioning Appadurai's positions, Peran (2011) argues that, instead of inspiring and reordering 'cultural differences as opposed to the process of homogenization' (*ivi*, p.175), globalisation has enhanced 'the new geopolitics of knowledge' (*ibid.*) inside which the 'networks of imagination' are trapped. There is a need, then, to free those networks from the space of modern / hegemonic / colonial / Western / Eurocentric imaginaries and systems of information (*ivi*, p.176). Thinking along the same lines, according to Rowe (cfr. Viganò, 2010), the fields of agency of designers are defined not only in relation to internal disciplinary conditions and traditions (architecture, design, planning), but also (and in particular) in relation to the 'external world' (*ivi*, p.14). The author recognises 'the need to find a social meaning inside the design activity and the possibility to broaden the comprehension of its mechanisms of conception and construction outside the [limited] circle of experts' (*ibid.* – my translation).

Simon (1996, quoted in Kimbell, 2009) describes design as a crucial human activity, which is not solely the prerogative of professionals: 'everyone designs who devises courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones' (Kimbell, 2009, p.3).

Design thinking is then an interpretative, transformative and emancipative form of social action (Kimbell, 2009, p.4) and interaction, as a problem setting / problem solving process linking different expertise at different levels of society and enabling new 'landscapes of images' (Appadurai, 1996). As a peculiar form of design thinking, scenarios have been addressed as a projective form of thinking aiming at the production of multidimensional images of change: an operation of hypothetical pre-figuration of the possible variations in the relations between places, people (and power).

According to Vettoretto (2000) a scenario is a story about the future, the identification of a dominant future and its possible 'deformations', a game coherent with the hypothesis, a description of one or more situations that can be developed from the present time, a relevant form of organised learning, a hypothetical sequence of events that aims to mobilise actors.

Consistence with Bozzuto (2011), 'scenario building allows exploring compatibilities and synergies within an often-contradictory field of factors, identifying and assessing the consequences of alternative processes of transformation. By considering the 'project' as a research tool, scenario building pursues the aim to identify hypothesis between different phenomena, translating them into multidimensional images of a possible future' (*ivi*, p.219 – my translation). Scenarios are qualitative, normative, non-predictive and argumentative forms of reasoning about the future (Vettoretto, 2000, p.1). In reference to Secchi (2000, p.37), a scenario can be defined as a reflection about the possible (and maybe probable) trends of some phenomena and

their consequences. Scenarios are selective and partial dimensions of problematic processes in their long-term consequences that should be investigated in their 'factuality', 'probability', and 'possibility' (Vettoretto, *op.cit.*, p.23).

What emerges is a peculiar socially oriented perspective, which takes into consideration the role of interaction and conflict in building future images in complex contexts (*ibid.*).

By distinguishing between scenarios as processes and as texts, Vettoretto defines their own methodological perspective: 'A scenario is a narrative, referred to strategies, projects, expectations and frames of values of actors, and therefore normative, of a possible future that is developed from a double hypothetical conjecture (if-then) about the potential and plausible consequences of possible actions, with the aim to identify a desirable future as a guiding-line for action. A scenario is effective when it succeeds in building new horizons of meaning' (*ivi*, p.13).

As a consequence, scenario-building as a methodology results in a series of stages: 1) definition of a hypothetical action; 2) construction of a background; 3) identification of tendencies; 4) recognition of key-actors; 5) construction of plausible and possible futures; 6) formulation of pertinent actions (p.15).

As forms of 'strategic thinking' (Secchi, 2000, p.37), scenarios can provide a reframing of the critical and a re-consideration of conflictual and dialectic contexts, their potentialities and resources, towards new 'horizons of meaning' (Vettoretto, *op.cit.*). As Secchi proposes: 'Finally others are true scenarios attempts at inquiring into 'what would happen if...' If, in an overly determined field of phenomena, such as urban transformations, some aspects are isolated and we ask what would happen if these phenomena reached their extreme or probable consequences, we obtain images of the future scenarios that are partially incompatible. And it is just their partial

antagonism that makes them interesting’ (Secchi, 2003a; cfr. Secchi, 2003b). Furthermore, the author assumes scenarios can be observed from three different perspectives: politics, geography and architecture. ‘The first refers to the set of relationships, alliances and conflicts between populations, economies, cultures and institutions. The second refers to the spatial aspects of these same relationships, to their intersections and the production of specific constellations of materials endowed with their own different inertias. The third refers to the concrete nature of all the materials that these same relationships utilize and construct’ (*ibid.*).

The argumentative, dialectical nature of a scenario-building approach allows the re-thinking of borderlands in their simultaneous past and present conditions and with the immediate or long-term consequences of a series of opposite actions and multiplication of bordering practices. The interactions of design and border thinking will be addressed in more depth in the following chapter, by looking at a series of design patterns on and across borderlands, at different spatial scales and in quite diverse cultural and socio-political environments. The projects and research explored in Chapter 2 appear to be relevant attempts at de-linking (Mignolo, 2000) and re-framing borders away from current geopolitical imaginaries, and activating new meanings around them, through the construction of pluriverse images.

Notes

1. As stressed by Scott (2011), the ‘bordering’ perspective ‘is about the everyday construction of borders between communities and groups through ideology, discourses, political institutions, attitudes and agency’ (p.4).
2. *James Stirling Memorial Lectures On The City*, 28 October 2004. Source: <http://www.cca.qc.ca/en/education-events/259-teddy-cruz-border-postcards-chronicles-from-the-edge>.
3. Cfr. Eker and Van Houtum, 2013.
4. Source: www.borderconditions.org
5. After the voyages of Magellan, the line was moved in 1529 with the Treaty of Zaragoza (allowing Portugal to extend its control over a larger area).
6. The role of cartography, as a scientific discipline but also as a form of art, is strongly related to the rise and dominance of the modern nation-state, in the European context (Raffestin, 2001). This specific form of political power represents and recognises itself through the use of maps and, by the means of cartography, produces its territory, defines its borders and activates mechanisms of spatial control and surveillance. The state has been - and has remained for a long time - the principal patron of cartographic activity in many countries. Maps acted at different scales, as instruments in the hand of the political elites, not only at the symbolical level or at the geographical scale, but also as powerful tools for defining, from an economic perspective, the territory and the means by which to define the value of land property, through the use of the geometric measurement (Farinelli 2009, p.26). The history of art, and of painting in particular, gives us some clear examples of the strong linkages between political power and cartography. This is quite evident if we look at some famous historical portraits, such as (among a vast repertoire) the picture of Queen Elizabeth the first of England, portrayed by Marcus Gheeraerts standing on top of a map of the British possessions, and the business card of British explorer Sir Joseph Banks, representing Iceland (his latest geographical discovery). As Harley has said, ‘these paintings proclaimed the divine right of political control, the emblem of the globe indicating the world-wide scale on which it could be exercised and for which it was desired’ (Harley, 1988, p.295).
7. She has been among the main experts

- in Chicana cultural theories, gender and feminist theory, queer culture.
8. As Brambilla says (2014a, p.7) Elena dell’Agnese was among the first scholars to use and exploit the borderscape notion, partly through the organisation of three international conferences entitled *Borderscapes*, in 2006 and 2012 (cfr. http://dandurand.uqam.ca/uploads/files/evenements/programme_borderscapes.pdf - last accessed December 2014).
 9. EUBORDERSCAPES FP 7 Project - <http://www.euborderscapes.eu/index.php?id=objectives>.
 10. The recent conference ‘Designing knowledge results and methods of research by design in landscape architecture’ (22nd June 2012, Technische Universität Berlin) specifically addressed the production of knowledge by design.

(All websites last accessed in March 2015, except where stated differently).

Abstract

Chapter 2 addresses methods, practices and tools of design and artistic intervention on / across borders, in different geographical contexts and at different territorial scales.

The first section contains a critical anthology of design practices proposed by different scholars, architects, planners and landscape designers living and working in border contexts. The aim is to explore the borderscape notion in their research and design practises.

Three design patterns are addressed (borders as thick spatial fields, resistant places / places of resistance and longing scenarios), by considering and interpreting the following works and approaches:

- . Border urbanism(s) - US-Mexico border (Teddy Cruz).
- . Borders as ecological reserves for landscape design - Cyprus & Korea (Anna Grichting).
- . Borderscapes as the coagulation of political ideas in space (Arjun Harbers).
- . Borderlands design at national edge lands - Belgium – Netherlands – Germany (Mark Eker & Henk van Houtum).
- . De-colonising Architecture - Israel – Palestine (Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petti and Eyal Weizman);
- . Transbordering planning (Clara Irazábal).

The second section presents some meaningful works by artists and photographers concerned with border representations at a landscape scale (Xavier Ribas, Antonio Ottomanelli and Ursula Biemann).

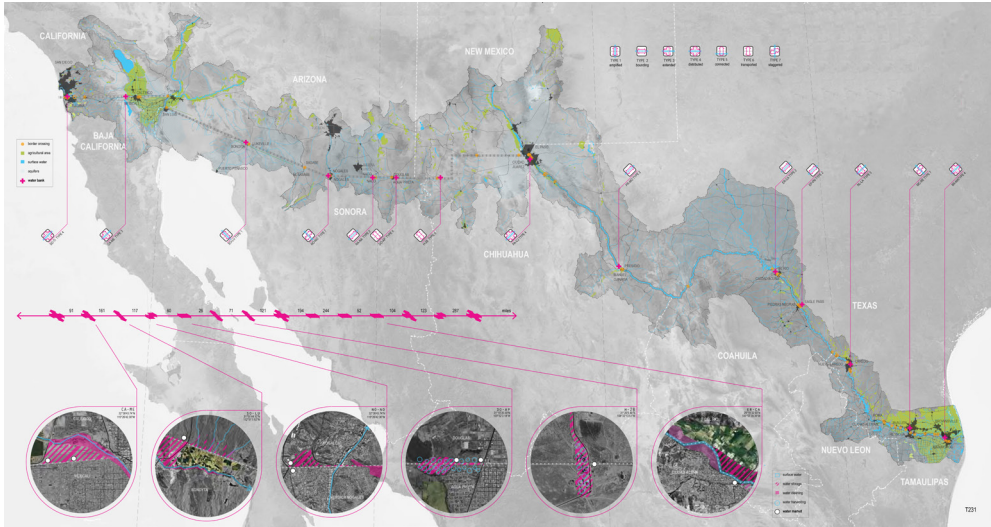
The third section sums up the main outcomes of the previous sections. This interpretative overview is intended to address the main research and methodological questions on which the thesis draws: how can borderlands be (re)-designed? Which tools / methods are needed? Though they come from different perspectives, scales and geographical contexts, this collection of design patterns facilitates the drafting of a possible tool-box to answer these questions and develop a common language to address borders from a project-oriented viewpoint.

key words:

borderlands design patterns
border representations
borderscaping
border polyptychs
methodology

Chapter 2

Design and artistic practices on borderlands



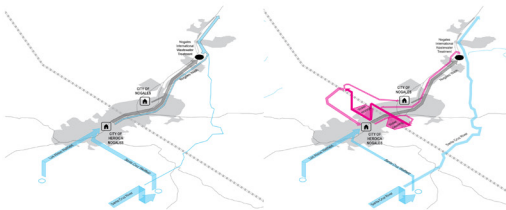
C A - M E
Calexico - Mexicali

Diversion and cleaning of the New River



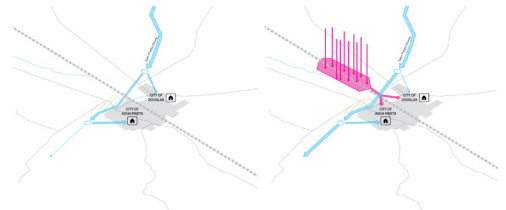
N O - N O
Nogales - Nogales

Collection and treatment and storage of rain water



D O - A P
Douglas-Agua Prieta

Harvesting of high altitude atmospheric moisture



Lateral Office. Banking on the border, 2012.

Fig. 01 / Site Map showing a sample of the 14 possible intervention sites for shared water border points in the central region.

Fig. 02 / Existing and proposed water diversion, storage and remediation systems.

(All images © Lateral Office)

2.1. Emerging patterns of design¹

By exploring the borderscapes notion as a guiding concept in its different meanings, imaginative, performative² (Brambilla, 2014a, p.15), counter-hegemonic potential and spatial / normative dimension, through the work of scholars, architects and planners practising on / across borderlands, this chapter intends to identify a series of recurring approaches, or patterns, moving towards the development of a shared border language³ in spatial disciplines (Chapter 1). This set of approaches is meant to draft a possible methodological and operative framework in which to address how design can contribute to fostering new understandings of borders and borderlands. In light of renowned research in this area (such as Multiplicity, 2003), three common design patterns have been identified: thick spatial fields; resistant places / places of resistance; longing scenarios (cfr. Eker and Van Houtum, 2013). These interpretative readings aim to overcome consolidated polarised spatial metaphors by assuming a multiplicity of perspectives on borders, which could contribute to other disciplinary debates on the need to overcome linear border understandings (Brambilla, 2014a).

2.1.2. Thick spatial fields

The first pattern envisions borderscapes as comprehensive and exceptional spatial fields (cfr. Bourdieu, 1992; Bolocan Goldstein, 1997; Infussi, 2011) where the project finds its main definitions and socio-spatial outcomes: a transcalar support for imagining future configurations of cooperative trans-border interactions on the basis of, and beyond, current regulations. A buffer, a liminal landscape, a ribbon, a palimpsest, a spatial zone are some of the expressions used by authors to address their

objects of research and design, in terms of both symbolic and spatial meanings. Overcoming any geometrical symbolism, the margins or limits of the borderscape as the 'project's field'⁴ are as arbitrary as the act of drawing national borders itself (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013, p.17).

The border appears, thus, as a multi-dimensional and performative device, which can be explored (and re-designed) in its different cross-scalar dimensions, beyond the borderline itself (Brambilla, 2014a). Anna Grichting (2011, 2014) envisions boundaries and buffer zones in contested and conflictual areas as unique reserves of biodiversity, due to their actual condition of 'vacancy' and as a consequence of territorial and sovereignty disputes. The buffer is seen as a liminal landscape that can act as 'a space for the incubation of new hybrid cultures; a landscape of unexpected natures and biodiversity; and a locus for the emergence of new strategies of environmental planning and reconciliation' (Grichting, 2015, p. 110). A similar approach has been proposed by Korean architect Dongsei Kim on the Korean Demilitarised Zone (Kim, 2011). In his research project, he addresses 'border as urbanism' 'in which borders are viewed as a dynamic set of complex spatial conditions layered over time'⁵. He has focused on the idea of a 'peace park' within the Korean demilitarised area, underlining how 'peace parks and transfrontier protected areas have become widespread in Africa, North & South America and Europe, a body of knowledge has emerged about management approaches and reasons for success in the formation and management of transfrontier protected areas'⁶.

The field of the project is a 'flexible, multidimensional and layered' spatial zone (Schoonderbeek, 2015), the extent of which goes far beyond the border itself.

From another geographical and territorial perspective, the Toronto-based Lateral Office has recently proposed a similar approach for the US-Mexico border. Their project, *Banking on the Border*, unfolds

the border as a territorial support for building a transcalar water infrastructure made of a series of macro and micro-facilities along the ‘necklace’ of US-Mexican

- F.01** twin cities. The border becomes a device for enhancing a series of shared water supplies and services, from the regional to the urban and local scales, allowing a shift ‘from border control to border exchange and cooperation (...)’⁷. By making water public across the border, the project’s aim is to produce ‘new landscapes, new public realms, and new sites of economic exchange’ (*ibid.*). These are the elements the project assumes as part of its field of interest along and across the border at different levels. Overcoming the idea of borderlands as ‘the end of a country’, a ‘national periphery’ and in contrast envisioning them as the ‘departure points’ for a ‘new border landscape architecture’, Mark Eker and Henk van Houtum (2013, p.19) identify their object of research in the 20+20km thick ‘ribbon’ between the Netherlands, Belgium
- F.02** and Germany. Their recent publication *Border Land* presents the outcomes of multidisciplinary and design-oriented research on the Dutch border landscapes. The main research questions (*ivi*, p.15) proposed by the authors regard the possibility of recognising these peculiar and ambivalent landscapes, the ribbon, as test-beds for building new and un-ordinary visions for European borderlands through a design-based and scenario-building approach.
- F.03** Working in this in-between space, the border’s thickness, the authors propose an innovative approach to borders envisioned as the outcomes of a ‘human design’ that can therefore be re-thought and re-designed from a transnational perspective. This buffer space represents an opportunity for the border to become a landscape (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013).

2.1.2. Resistant places / places of resistance

A second pattern regards planning and urban / architectural design experiences dealing with borders as ‘resistant places and places of resistance’ (Boddington, 1999, p.4), sites of border practices that ‘activate the border as a local space of encounter (...) and negotiation’ (Schoonderbeek, 2015). These experiences are also close to the kind of ‘transbordering practices’ Irazábal (2013) talks about when referring to ‘the agency of both individuals and groups that negotiate and disrupt hegemonic power relations to improve their life chances’ (*ivi*, p.4). Furthermore, the author states that ‘as bordering formations are always mobilized in social fields, aiming to identify transbordering dynamics in particular places helps us recognize the restructuring of boundaries, restrictions, margins, edges, verges, controls, and regulations and their subsequent destabilizing and restablising of subjectivities and life opportunities’ (*ibid.*). By attempting to integrate bottom-up forms of border disobedience into planning regulation systems and standards, in order to overcome and bypass institutional planning rigidities, the practices presented here are often involved in forms of civil and political activism and participatory planning, bridging macro and micro border experiences and different forms of socio-spatial performativity (Brambilla, 2014a). In this context, the work of the San Diego-based Estudio Teddy Cruz appears paradigmatic. On the basis of an architectural and planning practice drawn on the daily experience of the USA-Mexico border and on the study of what Cruz defines as a ‘two-way urbanism’ (Cruz, 2004) between San Diego and Tijuana, he developed a design approach that deals, at different scales, with forms of ‘border resistance’ and ‘tactics of transgression’ (*ibid.*) as ways to overcome inadequate planning standards. One significant experience here is the

Affordable Housing Overlay Zone (AHOZ) project (Cruz, 2004, p.18), a micro-policy programme carried out by Estudio Teddy Cruz in collaboration with a local non-profit organisation, Casa Familiar, in the border neighbourhood of San Ysidro, California. The project proposed new housing and funding / rental models by addressing border urbanism as a matter of: a) architectural design, by experimenting with small, ready-made housing units that can be combined into different scenarios and assembled by San Ysidro's residents; and b) land-use and loans regulation, re-negotiated between the community, San Diego municipality and land owners, through the agency of Casa

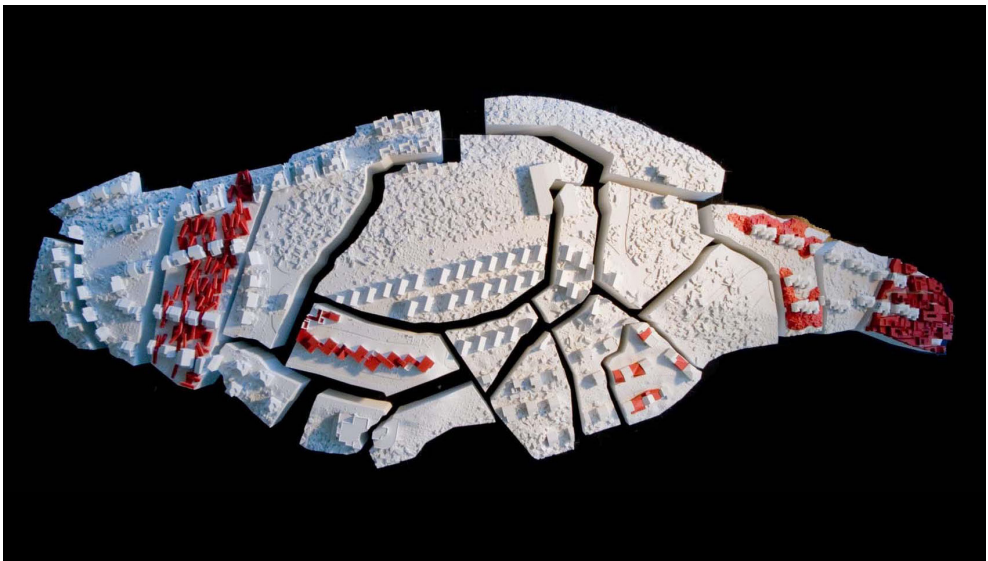
Familiar. The programme can be understood as a combination of flexible housing solutions and unconventional legal tools to amend the rigid zoning regulations.

In 2005 the *AHOZ* was adopted by the city of San Diego's Mayor and City Council to build two pilot housing projects as an example of integrating urban design and policy making.

A similar pattern of design can be seen in the activities of Decolonising Architecture Art Residency (DAAR – co-directed by Alessandro Petti and Sandi Hilal, and founded by them and Eyal Weizman) working on the Palestine / Israel diffuse borderlands.



Fig. 03 / The border landscape of the Netherlands-Belgium-Germany
(Source: Van Houtum and Eker, 2015, p.103)



DAAR - De-Colonising Architecture.

Fig. 04 / Return to Nature. The Transformation of the Military Base of Oush Grab (The Crow's Nest)

(Photomontage by Sara Pellegrini)

Fig. 05 / Psagot colony project.

(All images © DAAR. Retrieved from: www.decolonizing.ps)

Through a series of art and design residencies beginning in 2007, DAAR has developed a methodological approach to subvert, reuse, profane and recycle the existing infrastructure⁸ of Israeli colonies and military camps in Palestinian occupied territories.

In the background of their activities, lies a hypothesis and a possible future scenario in which those colonies/camps will be ‘unplugged from the military / political power that charges [them]’ (Decolonizing Architecture, 2008).

F.04

The case study of the colony of Psagot (north of Jerusalem) appears to be an exemplar of the design methodology proposed by the *Manual of Decolonization* (Salottobuono, 2010): a process that, by ungrounding / deparceling / unhoming / unroofing⁹ the existing settlements, could ‘re-orient the logic of occupation’ and ‘neutralize the hierarchies and divisions’ (Decolonizing Architecture, *op.cit.*, 2008) imposed by it.

The first step is the deactivation of the existing surface of the colony by dismantling and eroding the first 15 cm of the ground (roads, gardens, pathways), in order to outline ‘a new figure-ground relation’ (*ibid.*).

The second stage aims to re-shape land property rights, recovering the previous land ownership map (thanks to dialogue with local communities): ‘the result is a superimposition of two land systems. One cutting into the other’ (*ibid.*). The deparceling process produces a different zoning system and a new geography of ownership in the settlement, paving the way for the next steps.

Finally, unhoming and unroofing provide a new layer of housing that can be re-inhabited by Palestinian people.

F.05

The project proposes then a design methodology not to substitute one spatial regime with another, but to allow one to ‘des-activate’ the other (*ibid.*), enhancing other forms of belonging and becoming. DAAR challenges the (architectural and urban) project as a way of making visible the

existing power and spatial relations, turning the gaze upside-down, and involving a design practice which is also political and civil engagement.

2.1.3. ‘Longing scenarios’

A third and final pattern envisions borderscapes both as dense deposits of historical layers and as sites for experimenting with alternative and future scenarios for borderlands.

In the words of Eker and Van Houtum (2013), borderlands design can be assumed to be an imaginative approach to making existing power interplays visible and challenging the performative nature (Brambilla, 2014a) of bordering practices and border representations. By looking at alternative future configurations of border landscapes through a series of ‘motors of change’ (Eker and Van Houtum, *op.cit.*, p.297) the borderscape as a ‘longing machine’ deals with multiple and contrasting interests, desires and fears. By making a connection between thinking and drawing, Eker and Van Houtum travel through an unconventional narrative about the past, present and imagined future conditions for the Dutch border landscape, by stressing the tension between two extreme future horizons. From one side, by assuming the radical disappearance of the border and the decay of its socio-spatial relevance; from the other, by stressing the border as a theatrical design for enhancing a complex landscape of differences and contrasts.

For Grichting the (border) landscape is a palimpsest (Corboz, 1983, quoted in Grichting, 2012, p.34) where ‘each layer is scraped and rewritten, traces of former writing interact with new words’: the agency of the project is identified in the ability to open the land to other designs and other layers. The author envisions borders moving ‘from deep wounds to beautiful scars’ (*ivi*, pp.9-48), reading them as traces of a complex and conflictual past, which can be



seen as resources and opportunities to build an alternative landscape of reconciliation. The Cyprus Digital and Dynamic Atlas represents ‘a foundation for design and future visions’ (Grichting, 2015), ‘a subversive document which is transformative, a counter-mapping, a *détournement*’, thanks to its capacity to overcome traditional cartographic processes and open mapping and data collection activity to collective agency.

Schoonderbeek refers to the Borgesian image of the Aleph, and describes the ability of the border to be the site for ‘an infinite amount of possibilities and potentialities’ which happen simultaneously in space and time.

The experiences presented above seem to look at borderlands design practices as possible ways to deal with and give spatial expression to multiple desires (Van Houtum and Eker, 2015). Desires of otherness, of the other side (there beyond here), of transgressing the separation imposed by the border itself (De Lama, 2004), but also of addressing differences as forms of mutual knowledge production and the border as an ‘apparatus of differentiation that has been given physical, material, spatial and territorial form’ (Schoonderbeek, 2015, p.96). Desires are the ‘building blocks’ of a visioning approach towards the border itself as a ‘transition space’ (Van Houtum and Eker, 2015) and a space in an ongoing state of *becoming* (Brambilla, 2014a, p.4).

In these projects, the borderscape becomes a kind of prospective (Viganò, 2010, p.309-310, quoting Gaston Berger) intended as a conceptualisation of time, a phenomenology of future, unfolding the primary origins, aims and consequences of a specific phenomenon (e.g. the border itself) into a general and synthetic picture (*ibid.*).

Ursula Biemann.

Fig. 07 / video still from *Performin the Border*, 1999

Fig. 06 / video still from *Europlex*, 2003

(All images © Ursula Biemann)

2.2. The politics of border polyptychs

2.2.1. Ursula Biemann: the performative dimension of borders

In a 2008 video interview, later published on the Italian review *Inside* (Nufrio and Biemann, 2008), I had the opportunity to participate in a conversation with Swiss artist Ursula Biemann¹⁰. On this occasion she recounted her own artistic practice in different borderlands and marginal / conflictual landscapes, explaining her own concerns and methodology.

In her late 1990s to early 2000s work, such as *Performing the Border* (1999) on the US-Mexico border, *Europlex* (2003) on the Moroccan-Spanish border and *Contained Mobility* (2004), her interest in borderlands focused on two key issues: ‘One is a spatial concern, i.e. how does a border materialize; and the other is an economic issue, how does a border economy constitute itself? Usually it is a place of migration. People create economies by crossing through or they actually move to the border to work in the industries and thus participate in creating an economic place under special conditions. Every border has its very own character. Ceuta is radically different from the US-Mexican border’ (Nufrio and Biemann, *op.cit.*, p. 66-67).

In her first video, *Performing the Border*, she ‘started to engage with theories of performativity and the possibility of applying concepts of the social construction of gender to a reading of the border. It turned into an analysis of how the border is constituted through the movement of people, rather than taking it as an absolute geographic entity such as a static borderline separating two spaces. (...) it is only in the later video *Europlex* that these ideas materialized in images like the smuggler’s hill’. This image refers to the smuggling activities that shape

F.06

F.07

the surroundings of the Spanish enclave of Ceuta (cfr. Chapter 4 and 5).

The border is therefore a real place 'where real people live, those people have already negotiated their own border identity and have come to live in this kind of dialogical way. A border culture usually inhabits an extended zone. And, then, there is the border as a site for the projection of national identity. The whole anxiety about national identity is projected onto the border which then turns into a site that needs extra surveillance because it starts to have this super-imposed meaning. We have to distinguish between the discursive border and the material border' (*ivi*, p.68).

According to Biemann, as she explored it in *Contained Mobility*, 'migration has entered a new phase, it is no longer the kind of movement that we knew, where people would move from one country to another, settle down, find work, build communities and then have all the identity problems that we have much spoken about in the 1990s. This is not the way it works anymore. We now have an image of continuously moving on, never really arriving at a destination, migration has become a much more undefined, flexible and more precarious project' (*ivi*, p.70).

From border economy and gender issues

she later developed her work on migration and looked at new aspects of migration as they started to emerge in the last decade, in relation to the displacement / projection / sprawling of the border itself into broader geographies. In fact, in the video *Sahara Chronicle* (2006-2009), 'It became clear that with the fortification of the European border, the border control is transferred down to the Maghreb countries. Our border has been displaced to the south. You have to look for it in the Sahel

zone now if you want to document the activities because they directly relate to the Schengen space. The border is moving, migration concepts are transforming and theoretical concepts are changing: we have to look at the border very differently' (*ibid.*).

2.2.2. antiAtlas de fronteras: borders across science and art

The key issues of Biemann's practice could be read as a starting point for a new generation of young European artists, who work with multimedia videos and photography on a border politics / poetics nexus. Among many others, the work of the artists collaborating on the ongoing research project '*antiAtlas de fronteras*'¹¹, merges



Xavier Ribas.
Traces of Nitrate.

Fig. 08 / An image from the conference 'Fotografía, capital financiero y movimiento obrero' - Museo Universidad de Navarra (Pamplona, ES), 10 October, 2013.

Fig. 09 / Desert Trails
(All images © Xavier Ribas)



academic work and artistic projects. By challenging routine border experiences and common understandings of borders, this interdisciplinary project has been working on ‘a complex set of reflections on the reticular structure of borders and on the conditions for a renewed aesthetic relation to borders’, aiming to ‘make people aware that they are a constitutive part of the production of contemporary borders’ (Parizot et. al., 2014, p. 6). Along with academic work in the fields of social sciences, anthropology, geography and art, the collective has been producing a set of hybrid artistic works (videos and films, interactive open-source mappings) at the boundary between different disciplines and skills. This is also the case in the research production of the Catalan media artist Joana Moll, on the border between Mexico and US: the artist focuses on the relations between border surveillance, digital technologies and social networks. Her audio-visual online installations, *The Texas Border*¹²

and *AZ: move and get shot*¹³, make evident how border control has been exported and expanded far beyond the border itself, not only in the digital arena, but also to new communities of users / patrols, sharing a new set of values based on the rhetoric of inclusion / exclusion, which bypass national identities and local interests.

2.2.3. Xavier Ribas: the landscape perspective

From a different perspective, and closer to Biemann’s work, Spanish photographer, artist and scholar Xavier Ribas¹⁴ works on the visible – invisible socio-political relations in space, time and human landscapes (cfr. Chapter 4). The need for visibility appears to be at the core of many of his research projects (for example in *Concrete Geographies*, but also, and perhaps more explicitly, in *Invisible Structures*).

The interplay between (in)visibility / accessibility (in spatial, cultural, social and historical terms) and belonging often helps to highlight the unequal processes of in / exclusion which lie behind and in front of the processes and phenomena that are observed (from the outcomes of capitalism and new divisions of labour to public infrastructural works).

This is a kind of a lateral, indirect and oblique way of looking at political landscapes, beyond and outside their boundaries, in a variety of other fields: forms of political thinking and positioning reflected by the landscapes themselves. This is particularly evident in his recently published and exhibited collective and multi-disciplinary research project entitled *Traces*

F.08 *of Nitrate. Mining history and photography*
F.09 *between Britain and Chile*¹⁵, in which Ribas builds a narrative around the histories of exploitation of the Chilean nitrate mines in the desert of Atacama by British companies, at the turn of the 20th century (1879–1914).

By combining historical and archive research with visual culture documentations and photographic surveys, Ribas and his research colleagues (Louise Purbrick and Ignacio Accosta) define and represent the Atacama nitrate mining system as a 'border landscape'¹⁶, a physical, social and human landscape where Chilean workers' and trade unions' fights and bloody repressions overlap with parallel stories of scientific and astronomic research and capitalistic territorial expansion (Ribas, 2014).

An analogous approach/gaze can be found in the work of Antonio Ottomanelli¹⁷, a young Italian photographer working in marginal and conflictual urban contexts and 'collateral landscapes'¹⁸.

From Gaza (Palestine) to l'Aquila (Italy), passing by Baghdad (Iraq) and the port of Gioia Tauro (Italy), Ottomanelli assumes

F.10 a kind of landscape gaze to narrate and
F.11 'visibilize' (Brambilla, 2014a) the effects of the separations / conflictual dynamics on the urban and human environments at the centre of his visual research. Indeed, the lack

of an explicit explanation of the contexts and the use of texts and captions written by local people allows him to build an intimate and committed narrative through hidden, lateral, ephemeral or untold relations between places, conflicts and people.

'The Third Island Ag '64 '94 '14' research project¹⁹, recently exhibited at the 14th Venice Biennale in 2014, assumed a similar perspective in relation to the construction of 'an interdisciplinary, historical reflection on large-scale infrastructures in Italy'²⁰. Images depicting large construction sites on the never-ending Salerno-Reggio Calabria highway are combined with views of the social and urban landscapes visually and physically crossed and shaped by this complex infrastructural system. The aim of the project is to 'investigate the relationship between the presence of technology, infrastructures and the condition of today's landscape - seen, above all, as a cultural and anthropological structure'²¹.

The works of Biemann, antiAtlas, Ribas and Ottomanelli, though coming from quite different backgrounds and with various artistic and political gazes / aims, could be read in light of a series of common themes or patterns of research focused on the production of knowledge and representations on / around borderlands and marginal / conflictual landscapes.

A first theme regards, from a methodological and conceptual perspective, the use of visual and conceptual juxtapositions to narrate and develop critical and committed gazes: by using analogies, contrasts, overlappings of political and symbolic meanings, languages and narratives.

These gazes are not concentrated on crude materialisations of border conflictual conditions themselves, nor direct physical representations of violence or drama related to these conditions. It is rather a lateral, indirect and oblique way of setting the scene: allusive forms of political thinking and positioning, through visual apparatuses focused on unspectacular, common and everyday life details.



Antonio Ottomanelli

Fig. 10 / Re-reading Gaza (Yasser Arafat International Airport), 2012.

Fig. 11 / The Third Island, 2014.

(All photos © Antonio Ottomanelli)

This could be considered as a kind of 'border polyptych'. With this term I mean multidimensional and 'kaleidoscopic' (Brambilla, 2014a) artistic practices (in terms of thinking and action), through which the explorations of border landscapes relate to cultural, visual and historical apparatuses and political perspectives, making a meaningful connection between border politics and border aesthetics (Brambilla, 2014a).

A 'border polyptych' is here intended not as a hierarchical composition or combination of images, iconographic and textual materials (which is, of course, a very common and diffuse method in contemporary artistic projects), but rather as a horizontal, rhizomatic and open artistic practice.

F.12

A second theme regards the use of a landscape perspective on borders and conflictual / marginal contexts as a kind

of conceptual distance and as a means of expressing a peculiar cultural, artistic and political positioning. The eye of the observer is not fixed on crude, dramatic images (i.e. the tragedy of irregular migrations, etc.), but rather on the mirroring of such conditions in landscape elements.

As suggested by Giovanna Silva (cfr. Chapter 3), this approach could be referred to as landscape photography (by artists and photographers such as Grabele Basilio, Mario Giacomelli and more recently Armin Linke, Giovanna Silva and Francesco Jodice, as well as Antonio Ottomanelli and Xavier Ribas, who are mentioned above) where the human dimension and presence is always indirect and mirrored in landscapes, material conditions or symbolisms. This is the way in which anthropic activities are re-measured and re-considered in relation to the landscape scale.



Fig. 12 / Joana Moll, *The Texas Border*. Online audiovisual installation, 2011.

(Image © J. Moll. Retrieved from: http://www.janavirgin.com/the_texas_border/finalSWF.html)

2.3. Critical summing up: working, living and resisting on the border

This chapter intended to place the thesis within the main discourses on borders conceptualisations across borderlands and design studies, and to unfold the borderscape notion as the main methodological angle and guiding principle. From this perspective the chapter aimed to explore the relations between the socio-spatial dynamics of inclusion / exclusion, counter-claims / coping practices and possible design and planning responses. By linking the main understandings and meanings in the international debate on borders and borderscapes to a series of design / research patterns on borderlands, the chapter contributes to building conceptual frameworks able to support fruitful encounters between borderland studies and design disciplines. Some themes appear to be particularly relevant and worth stressing. A first issue regards borders as spaces of cross-disciplinary encounters, as points of origin and testing grounds for experimenting with different visions and images. Grichting makes this explicit by exploring the role of the Cyprus Green Line as a laboratory for developing new tools and approaches for both mapping and designing border landscapes. Eker and Van Houtum (2013) propose considering the projects on the Dutch border landscapes as a possible prototype for developing a *European Atlas of Transnational Landscapes* (ivi, p.405). On a similar basis, the *AHOZ* project by Estudio Teddy Cruz worked as a pilot project for a new kind of hybrid housing strategy, interweaving policymaking and participatory urban / architectural design. A second, related, theme is about the possible interlocking and mutual influence

between design practices and cross-border policies.

As stated by Van Houtum and Eker (2015), 'If we accept that policies for the border have landscape implications, we can then reason backwards: reshaping the landscape will in turn have implications for thinking about national policy' (ivi, p.102). The border could also be re-thought, then, from a regulatory perspective, allowing different and exceptional land-use strategies, urbanisation standards and different time / use regulations.

A third theme regards the creation of spaces for cooperative and collective agency, due to the social and performative dimension of the borderscape perspective.

This issue emerges clearly in the work of Cruz, but also in the project for the Cyprus *Digital and Dynamic Atlas*, where a collaborative planning approach has been adopted to put the divided communities into dialogue with each other.

This last theme regards the relational dimension both of borderscape conceptualisations and of borderlands design approaches.

All the experiences offered in this chapter focused on the need for broad networking activity and the relevance of the encounters between different actors and institutions living and working in borderlands.

This is clear, again, in the cooperation between Estudio Teddy Cruz, Casa Familiar, San Ysidro inhabitants and local administrations, but also in the preparatory background for the Cyprus GreenLineScapes Laboratory with different civil society organisations, local communities and international experts and institutions.

The 2000s' artistic and cultural era mentioned in the introduction not only referenced but also produced social and relational spaces across borders (Faist and Özveren, 2004; Irazábal, 2013), which can be considered as factual strategies for working, living and resisting on borderlands.

In conclusion, this chapter testifies and argues for the imaginative potential of

borders (and of the borderscape notion) as powerful devices for envisioning alternative socio-spatial scenarios, not only in contested borderlands across national political boundaries, but also in any other liminal and conflictual spaces marked by inclusive / exclusive dynamics.

Notes

1. Excerpts from this chapter have been published in: Buoli, A., 2015. Borderscaping: design patterns and practices on/across borderlands. *Territorio* n.72/2015. pp. 85–94.
2. *Performativity* is intended by Brambilla (2014) as ‘the ability of the borderscape to bring together experiences and representations’ (p.15).
3. As also stressed by Irazábal in the pages of *Territorio* (2014).
4. In the meaning proposed by Infussi (2009, p.144), as the ‘territory in which the project acquires its urban meaning and has its effects. It is a physical space (broader than the project’s area) in which: the project recognises its origins and references; the resources have been identified (...) in order to address the problem and to define the project’s themes; the project enriches the context with its agency’ (translated from Italian).
5. Source: www.gsd.harvard.edu/#/projects/border-as-urbanism-redrawing-the-demilitarized-zone-dmz-between.html
6. Source: www.axustudio.allyou.net/476492/design-competition-for-a-korean-dmz-peace-park.
7. Source : www.lateraloffice.com/filter/Water/BANKING-ON-THE-BORDER-2012.
8. Source: www.decolonizing.ps/site/about/
9. Source: www.decolonizing.ps/site/introduction/
10. Ursula Biemann’s artistic practice is strongly research oriented and involves fieldwork in remote locations. Biemann’s practice spans a range of media including experimental video, interview, text, photography, cartography and materials, which converge in highly formalised spatial installations. The main issues in her research are related to gender and politics, borders, geographies and landscapes of conflict, counter-hegemonic and dominant power interplays. Source: www.geobodies.org/.
11. Project website: www.antiatlas.net.
12. Source: www.antiatlas.net/en/2013/09/20/the-texas-border/
13. Source: www.janavirgin.com/AZ/
14. Xavier Ribas is a photographer and lecturer at the University of Brighton, and visiting lecturer at the Universidad Politécnica de Valencia. He studied Social Anthropology at the University of Barcelona (1990) and Documentary Photography at the Newport School of Art and Design (1993). He currently lives and works in Brighton and Barcelona. Source: www.xavierribas.com
15. Source: www.arts.brighton.ac.uk/projects/traces-of-nitrate.
16. In his lecture *Traces of Nitrate*, at the International Symposium ‘Topografías de lo Invisible’ – 28-29 November, 2013 – Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona –Spain. Source: <http://www.topografiasinvisibles.com/>.
17. Architect and photographer, founder of *Planar* non-profit organisation and *IRA-C* research group. Source: www.ao-ph.com/index.php?/info/bio/ (last accessed on November 2014).
18. Source: www.collaterallandscape.net.
19. Source: www.thethirdisland.com/project.php.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*

(All websites last accessed in November 2014, except where stated differently).

Abstract

The third chapter presents the main geopolitical background for the thesis: the external borders of EUrope in the North African-Mediterranean area, the main political discourses and imaginations built around these spaces, and possible alternative socio-spatial perspectives as borderscaping practices, in the shape of collective research and artistic projects.

The second part offers a general overview around the topic 'Europe outside Europe', namely the projection of the European political, cultural and border control prerogatives beyond its external boundaries: a process marked by the different stages of the European Enlargement, the EU's neighbouring and cross-border cooperation discourses, projects and policies.

A third section presents the current geopolitical imaginaries about the EUro-Mediterranean spaces, addressing some consolidated and more recent lines of thinking.

An alternative perspective on the Mediterranean is offered, drawing on a 'post-colonial' and borderscape approach and opening other possible readings and understandings of this crucial geopolitical area.

Some insights into the on-going non-governmental debates on migration issues,

human rights and 'border struggles' in the Mediterranean are presented.

A fourth paragraph addresses a multi-dimensional reading of different collective forms of imagination about the Mediterranean. Two research projects, carried out as forms of multi-disciplinary knowledge-production, starting from different backgrounds, are reviewed. These projects resulted into new 'landscapes of images' (Appadurai, 1996), which can open and enable new forms of imaginative 'border thinking'.

Atlas II further explores the theme of collective and crowd mapping in the Mediterranean, through two open-content cartographic platforms and research projects.

key words:

EUrope outside Europe
Mediterranean geopolitical imaginaries
neighbouring
bordering perspective
cross-border cooperation
borderscapes
border imaginations
mapping

Chapter 3

The EUro African-Mediterranean borderscapes

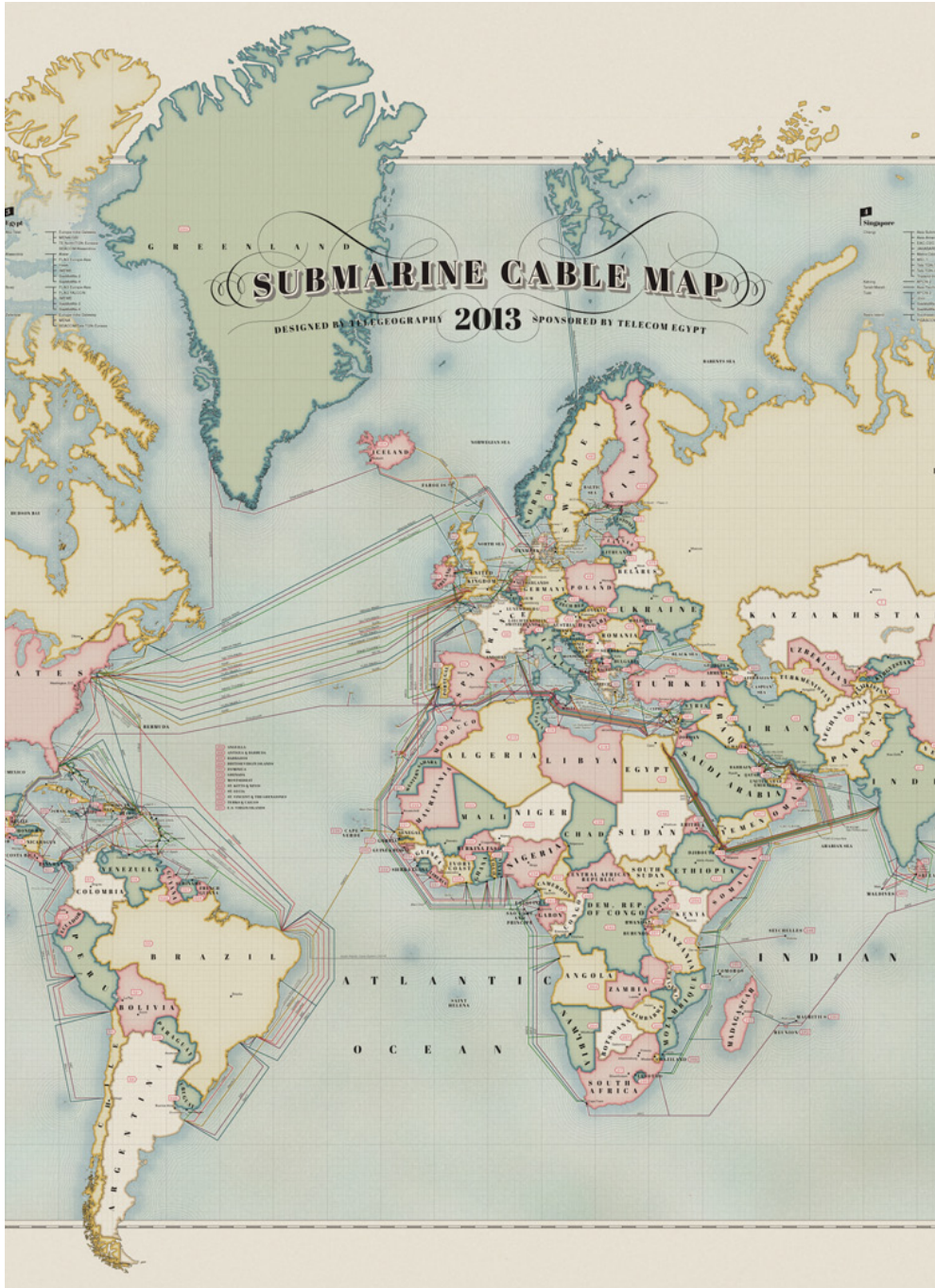


Fig. 01 / Submarine cables network map.

(Source: Telegeography. Retrieved from: <https://www.telegeography.com>)

3.0. Background Geo-political and relational layering in the Mediterranean¹

F.01 A map of the existing and planned international networks of fibre optic submarine cables opens the exhibition entitled *Big Bang Data*, recently organized by the Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB) on the expanding role of mass information². By literally ‘wrapping up’ the Earth’s undersea surfaces, this physical infrastructure (which first layouts date back to 1850s and 1910s³) provides the substratum on which global interconnectivity flows, beyond human and natural delimitations⁴. A first glance at the Mediterranean section of this network reveals a rather traditional image of the basin, with a stronger eastward orientation of the cables, through the Canal of Suez, and a clear cut of the connections at the Strait of Gibraltar. A more accurate look at the map unfolds a complex geography of ‘nodes and pipes’ connecting different submarine lines: Marseille (France), Mazzara del Vallo and Catania (Italy), Chania (Greece), Pentaskinos (Cyprus), Alexandria and Abu Talat (Egypt). These are the main hinge-points of a composite layout, made of different technological equipment and devices, owned and managed by a plurality of transnational companies. At another level, above the sea, these nodes appear to be key-places in the context of ongoing EUro-Mediterranean geopolitical dynamics, where different interplays between mobile borders, shifting economic and power and socio-cultural relations are at play. Seen as a ‘cultural construct’, namely ‘the product of modern geographical, political, cultural and historical classification’ (Giaccaria and Minca, 2010, p. 350) and as a ‘geographical object’ (Cattedra et al. 2012, p. 39), in recent decades the Mediterranean has been at the very centre

of ‘Europe’s extended ‘zone of influence’, a space to different degrees penetrated and transformed by the European project’ (Bialasiewicz, 2008, p. 76).

At the same time, growing awareness (among civil society organisations of activists, artists and scholars, migrant/non-migrant communities, associations of professionals and traders) of dominant European imaginaries has resulted in complex relational landscapes and transnational social spaces (Faist, 2000)⁵ across EUro-Mediterranean borders. Within these overlying relational spaces, individuals and collectives perform practices⁶ of contestation and transgression of the divisions imposed by the European Union in relation to its exterior borders and its closest neighbours.

The mineral submarine cables network represents, thus, the technological support on which these communities and citizens’ relational ‘borderwork practices’ (Rumford, 2009), and European space-making activities (Bialasiewicz et al. 2013, p. 60), depend. The socio-spatial imaginations emerging between these inter-dependent and overlapping geographies (the technological, the geopolitical and the relational) advocate the need for considering the EUro-Mediterranean spaces beyond its current ambivalent and polarised representations (Bialasiewicz et al. 2013; Celata and Coletti, 2012), and from other conceptual angles, as suggested by a set of research and artistic projects presented in the second section of this chapter.

These are the outcomes of the mutual and multi-disciplinary work of collectives and networks of designers, artists, activists and individuals working on / across the Mediterranean landscapes.

Before looking at the outcomes and contributions of those socio-imaginative experiments, the first part of this chapter is devoted to reconstruct the main geo-political settings and debates on the current and long-lasting processes of projection and space making, as part of the European Project.

3.1. Europe outside Europe The shifting architecture of the European project

As a manifold and multidimensional ‘social process and discourse’ (Paasi, 2001), EUrope⁷ has been shaped during the last decades by different geo-political, cultural and economic visions⁸: different ‘Europes’ (ivi, p. 9) and ways of reading the European project and its borders emerged, intersected and (often) collided inside official political discourses, civil society criticisms and expectations, national media narratives, as well as in the academic production, which flourished around them.

Borderless Europe, Europe of the Regions (Celata and Coletti, 2012; Paasi, *op.cit.*), Fortress Europe (Klein, 2003; Walters, 2006), Schengenland (Walters, 2002; Rumford, 2009) are some of the most diffused images / metaphors that emerged within different political and cultural arenas, to represent and narrate the symbolical, socio-spatial and cultural meanings of EUrope in relation to its internal and external official borders. Indeed, as argued by Rumford, ‘the borders of Europe constructed by the Council of

Europe are not the same as those of the European Economic Area which in turn are not the same as those of Schengenland which are different again from those policed by the EU’s border agency, Frontex’ (Rumford, 2009, p. 84). In effect, different international and European institutional bodies, agencies and agreements overlaying each other creating manifold overlapping geographies of power and defining a variety of different formal (or informal) boundaries: the emerging image is a ‘fuzzy’ and boundless picture which makes evident the ‘indeterminacy’ (as questioned by Bialasiewicz, 2008) of EUrope itself and its limits.

3.1.1. From European Enlargement to Projection

The construction of the idea(s) of EUrope through the location of its boundaries is a vast and long-standing cultural and political theme, which has been at the very centre of attention of European elites and civil society, since (and even before) the implementation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957, and later with the Enlargement process. Indeed, starting from the first admissions to the EEC in 1973, passing by post-1989 implementation

F.02

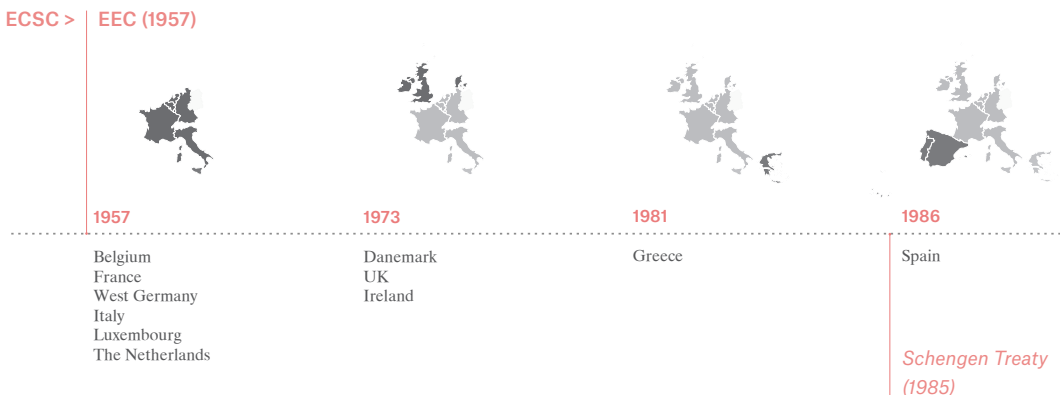


Fig. 02 / European Enlargement: prominent stages.
(Drawing by A. Buoli, 2015. Source: www.europa.eu).

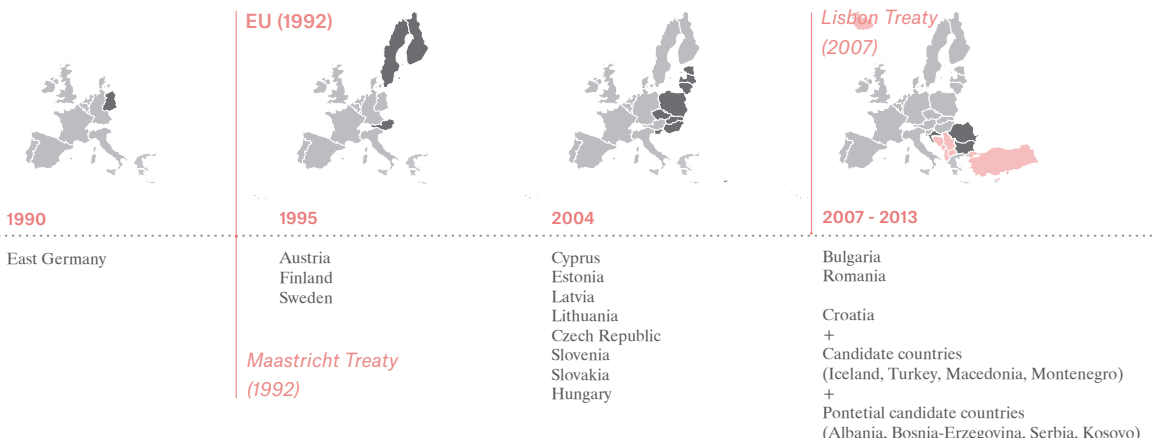
of the European Community (EC), till the last admissions to the European Union (EU, 1993) in 2004, 2007 and 2013, the process of European Enlargement has produced, so far, a space composed by 28 member states, most of which participating in the Schengen Area⁹ and, therefore, part of the same ‘common space’¹⁰.

The implementation of the Schengen project, which emerged in the last thirty years, finds its origins in two specific historical factors: from one side, the progressive de-militarization of Europe’s following the Second World War; from the other, the above mentioned creation of a common economic market (EEC). This junction between economy and security gave rise, as argued by Walters (2002), to a ‘downplay’ of internal European national borders, opening new scenarios for the creation of an area of ‘free movement of persons, goods and services’¹¹. According to this background, during the mid-1980s, a debate on these issues began to take more and more relevance among European political institutions as the consequent possibility to abolish national borders between member states.

It was in this context that in 1985 the representatives of France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands met in small town in Luxembourg, Schengen,

to sign an agreement regarding the terms of the movement of people across their borders and their progressive deletion. The essence of this first agreement resided in the idea that the gradual abolition of the internal borders was to be accompanied by a series of ‘compensatory measures’. These consisted in a series of security measures, including: the surveillance of the common external border; the exchange of information; the development of practices of police cooperation between participating countries and the commitment to move towards a common policy on visa, asylum and migration issues. Furthermore a shared database (the Schengen Information System – SIS) was set up and implemented between the member countries in order to share information about people and goods¹². These measures that were confirmed in 1990 in the *Schengen Agreement Application Convention (CAAS)*, which formally abolished the controls on the movements of people along the internal borders, transferring them to the external common border. The Schengen Agreement, initially born outside of the context of the European Community, was later integrated into the structure of the European Union in 2004 with the Schengen Protocol¹³.

In parallel, since the early 1990s, most EU member states and other countries



outside the union began gradually to sign the agreement. Currently, through the attribution to the European Council of the management role of the Schengen area, all member countries should sign the Protocol (with the exception of the United Kingdom and Ireland). With the further enlargement of the EU, since 2004, every new member is required to conform to the Protocol. Along with debates about the European Enlargement process and the internal effects of the creation of Schengen space, one relevant line of research and discussion has been, in the last decades, the issue of 'Europe outside of Europe' (Balibar, 1998, quoted in Bialasiewicz et al., 2005, p. 335), namely the ongoing process of projection (Bialasiewicz et al., 2009; Scott, 2011) of the European project itself, outside its own cultural and political limits, at different spatial scales. In fact, as argued by Rumford, 'the question of where Europe's borders are to be found has, indeed, become relevant again in the context of Europe projecting its bordering processes beyond its formal limits (...) (2009, p. 84). The political, cultural, economic and social (Scott, 2011, p. 9) projection of EUrope has produced a 'space of influence' (Bialasiewicz 2008, p. 76), which 'does not just stop at its doorstep, in its immediate 'neighbourhood' (...) but also regards 'a space to different degrees penetrated and transformed by the European project (...) a broader zone of almost 400m people who share land and sea borders with the Union in the western Balkans, Central Asia and the southern shores of the Mediterranean (...) (ibid.). Talking about 'Europe outside of Europe' (Balibar, 1998 – quoted in Bialasiewicz et al. 2005, p. 335) implies 'an emphasis of the EU's outer border, both in terms of border policies and symbolism' (Scott, 2011, p. 9), according to two (complementary / contemporary) perspectives. From one side, the recognition of the progressive 'blurring of the 'inside' and the 'outside' of Europe' (Bialasiewicz et al. 2005, p. 335), as one meaningful spatial condition

of Europe's borders, highlights the porosity, mobile and ambiguous nature of EUrope's boundaries themselves.

From the other, some scholars (Walters, 2002) have read this explicit ambiguity as a key-factor in the 'externalization' of EU territorial sovereign power over other political entities (the so-called 'third neighbouring countries', but also candidate countries such as Turkey) towards a networked redefinition of border control (*ibid.*).

For instance, by implementing border surveillance in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic Ocean, through the activities of Frontex Agency¹⁴, or promoting the construction of refugees and migrants' detention camps in North African and Middle East countries or eastern Europe, as the *Migreurop* research project and network of organizations¹⁵ and the related Close the Camps campaign¹⁶ (cfr. Atlas II) has been showing since the early 2000s.

Therefore, according to this perspective, the projection of EUrope outside its 'formal' boundaries implies a bordering process itself (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002; Bialasiewicz, 2008).

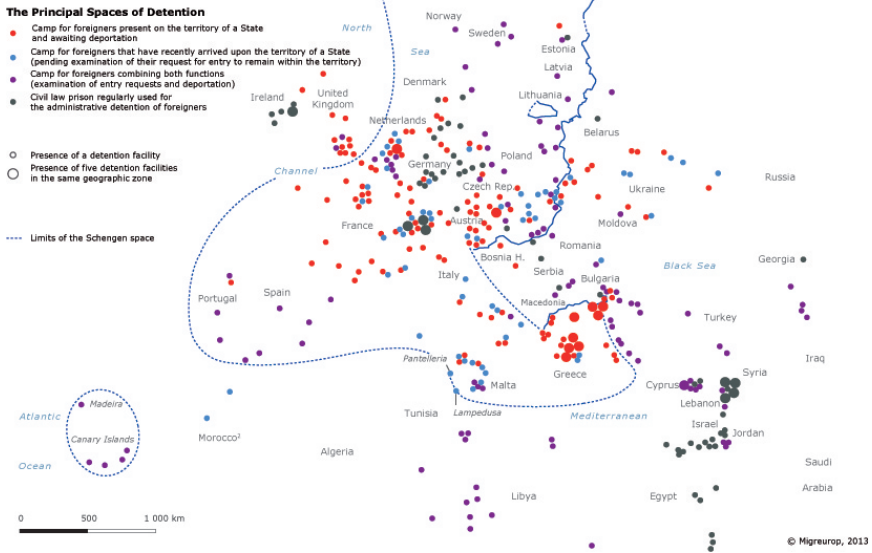
Van Houtum and Van Naerssen define bordering, 'as an ongoing strategic effort to make a difference in space among the movements of people, money or products' (2002, p. 126)

'in which borders are constantly made through ideology, symbols, cultural mediation, discourses, political institutions, attitudes and everyday forms of border transcending and border confirming' (Scott, 2011, p. 6).

Together and interdependently with other 'territorial strategies' (ordering and othering), these authors conceive bordering as a process of production and re-production of borders which 'are erected to erase territorial ambiguity and ambivalent identities (...) but thereby create new or reproduce latently existing differences in

F.03

Where is the border?



 **EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY**

EU cooperation with its neighbours



Fig. 03 / 'Where is the border? Migreurop map of migrants detention camps (2013).

(Source: Close The Camp. Retrieved from: www.closesthecamp.org/2014/03/03/ou-est-la-frontiere)

Fig. 04 / The European Neighbourhood Policy - ENP.

(Source: EU External Action Service. Retrieved from: <http://enpi-info.eu/medportal/publications//682/ENP-Map>)

space and identity' (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002, p. 126). This re-production of differences has a direct effect both on human mobility and rights (*ibid.*) producing new landscapes of in / exclusion across borders.

The process of projection of Europe outside Europe involves, then, processes of de-bordering and re-bordering (Walters, 2009) which implies the re-scaling (Bialasiewicz et al. 2005, p. 335) and diffusion of European countries' powers and prerogatives into broader territorial fields (*ivi*, p. 130).

This re-scaling appears to be not a mere exportation of territorial sovereignty (in terms of production of extra-territorialities), but a novel kind of colonialism (Boedeltje and Van Houtum 2011, p. 131) in cultural and economic terms.

In effect, such projection has been pursued through political decisions and discourses by European institutions, as well as with specific policy tools and programmes, devoted to deal with neighbouring countries on the basis of supposed common interests and proximity factors (territorial proximity, above all).

3.1.2. Bordering and neighbouring.

The critical dimensions of EU cross-border cooperation programmes

The main initiative in this regard, launched by the EU in 2003 following the early-mid. 2000s enlargement phase (Van Houtum and Boedeltje, 2011; Celata and Coletti, 2012, p. 5), is the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which 'was meant to extend the EU zone of stability and prosperity with built-in conflict prevention strategies, trade and investment liberalization, and security cooperation' (Bialasiewicz et al., 2009, p. 80), in order 'to avoid drawing new dividing lines in Europe' (European Commission, 2003. p. 4 – quoted in Bialasiewicz et al., 2009). ENP should to be considered in relation to a long-term policy tradition implemented by the EU starting from the

late 1980s in order to govern the changing dynamics occurring both at its internal and external borders.

With the idea of 'creating a 'wider Europe', based upon a multi-scalar and post-national geography with blurred borders' (Celata and Coletti, 2013, p. 110), the ENP regards 16 countries, 12 of which (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Moldova, Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia, Ukraine) are fully participating through bilateral Action Plans, while Algeria, Belarus, Libya and Syria remained still outside the structure of the programme (also due to their current critical political situations)¹⁷.

In 2007 the ENP has been implemented with a new funding mechanism, the ENPI (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument), replaced in 2014 by the ENI (European Neighbourhood Instrument)¹⁸. The ENP has been broadly and critically analysed for its ambiguous nature and the different understandings of EU borders that lie at the basis of this initiative.

A first criticism regards, as stressed by Celata and Coletti (2012), the Euro-centric, self-referred and self-concerned nature of the ENP, being 'not developed with the neighbours in mind', (*ivi*, p. 5-6). Enlargement is conceived, then, as a kind of 'model for the design' of the ENP itself (*ibid.*).

In this regard, ENP has been read as a 'toolbox, of bordering, ordering and othering' (Boedeltje and Van Houtum, 2011, p. 143): by assuming the 'neighbours' as something distinct from itself, as 'others', the EU reinforces 'its own external borders and [reify] the legitimation of its self-defined 'European values' (*ibid.*).

In this regard, Van Houtum (2012) has addressed this self-determination by considering the construction of EU 'visual identity', also through cartographic tools and devices. For instance, the map of the ENP is exemplary of the use of certain media and representations in order to build a specific image of the EU itself and its neighbours

(e.g. the use of colours, such as blue, identifying the Union members in relation to non-EU countries).

Along with this first and main distinction (EU members and neighbours), a hierarchical principle seems to affect 'places, rights, and access' (Bialasiewicz, 2008, p. 80) within 'concentric rings' that, starting from the core (the EU), extend towards the 'exterior world' (*ibid.*).

A second related criticism regards, thus, the neo-colonial character of ENP (Van Houtum, 2010, p. 960-961; Boedeltje and Van Houtum, 2011, p. 131), promoting 'the process of 'Europeanisation'' (*ivi*, p. 130), intended as 'a normative process of sharing European values made concrete through policies of conditionality and socialisation of neighbouring states' (*ibid.*).

The ambiguity of ENP has been further addressed by Dimitrova (2009, p. 53) as 'an attempt to reconcile two potentially contradictory bordering processes': 'border confirming' and 'border transcending'. These two processes are further related to two different approaches towards to EU external borders (as well as explained by Celata and Coletti, 2013): borders as 'boundary lines, frontier zones, or barriers that protect the Union and its citizens' (Dimitrova, *op.cit.*, p. 53) and borders as 'zones of interactions, opportunities, and exchanges, where the emphasis is on transcendence of boundaries' (*ibid.*).

The same ambivalence has been observed as regards cross-border cooperation policy (CBC), one of the first policy tools implemented during the late 1980s, in order to deal with the changing post-Soviet scenario in Europe.

By enhancing existing relations between internal border areas, later extended to 'pre-accession countries and since 1996 to Eastern European and Mediterranean neighbouring countries' (Celata and Coletti, 2012, p. 7) the programme is today 'firmly established in many border regions within the EU and in numerous neighbouring countries' (Scott, 2011, p. 5).

Within the CBC framework, the INTERREG structural initiative, funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), has been since 1989 one of the main EU territorial cooperation initiatives (also in financial terms - cfr. Scott, 2011, p. 142) around three fields or strands of intervention: cross-border cooperation, transnational cooperation and interregional cooperation. The main territorial scale / focus of this initiative has been the regional level (namely cross-border regions) for its potential to implement local development (Paasi, 2001, p. 14) inside a 'borderless Europe of regions' (Celata and Coletti, 2012, p. 7), 'allowing sub-national authorities to improve their international projection' (*ivi*, p. 3).

CBC and its crucial regional component have been embedded into the ENP since the beginning of the programme 'through (selective) Europeanisation and through the promotion of the same imaginary of 'soft' cooperation, multi-level governance and regionalism by which the EU is rescaling and rebordering its internal political space' (*ivi*, p. 12).

The emphasis inside CBC (and ENP) programmes on regional development and regionalism could be further considered in relation to 'the post-national perspective within the post-1990 geopolitical context' (Scott, 2011, p. 24) in the European scenario, when regional (cross-border) spaces became 'major sites of economic development' (Paasi, 2001, p. 14) and the possible hinges between new forms of multi-level governance (*ivi*, p. 16).

In particular, Bialasiewicz et al. (2013) notice the increasing role that has been given to regional and macro-regional policies as 'threshold in between internal territorial cooperation and external cross-border cooperation' (*ivi*, p. 64), across CBC and ENP programmes.

This is particularly evident when one shifts the attention to the EUro-African-Mediterranean area, which has become a prominent focus of EU external border

concerns and policies, during the last decades. Indeed, the EUro-Mediterranean appears to be a meaningful case as regard both neighbouring and bordering discourses and policy programmes, as argued by Bialasiewicz et al (2009, p. 83-84; 2013), as a form of projection of EUrope southward and eastward, and as the production of a space, a region, in which the EU can reflect its own political projects (*ibid.*).

The following paragraph is devoted to reconstruct the manifold (and often divergent) imaginaries build around the EUro-African-Mediterranean spaces, in relation both to mainstream cultural and political discourses and the counter-hegemonic imaginaries emerged, since the late 1990s, in the context of the civil society mobilisation around human mobility and refugees / migrants protection.

3.2. The modern construction of the EUro-Mediterranean space

3.2.1. Modern and dominant geopolitical imaginaries

The symbolic, territorial, cultural and institutional construction (Bialasiewicz et al., 2009, p. 83) of the Mediterranean as 'a concept and an historical and cultural formation (...) a 'reality' that is imaginatively constructed' (Chambers, 2008, p. 10), 'the product of modern (...) classifications' (*ivi*, p. 12) and as a 'geographical object' (Cattedra et al. 2012, p. 39) draws on a variety of popular narratives and academic / scientific literature (Giaccaria and Minca, 2010, p. 346), as well as on different imaginaries¹⁹ and geographical metaphors (Boria and Dell'Agnesa 2012), reflected both by current institutional and non-official discourses. As argued by Iain Chambers (2008, p. 39) in reference

to Fernand Braudel's thinking (1996), the spatial definition the Mediterranean as an entity / object appears to be rather problematic, due to complex processes of expansion, erasure and projection of its boundaries. This consideration enlarges the location of the Mediterranean outside the physical limits of the sea, to include other geographies and spatialities. That's why within this dissertation, 'Mediterranean' is often associated with other terms (EUrope, African, etc...), enlarging or specifying each time different fields / contexts or reference. On the mobile / shifting nature of the EUro-Mediterranean border, Leontidou (2004) develops a 'cartographic' reflection through different historical thresholds, marked by a sequence of 'ruptures'.

Despite the linear and 'EUro-centric' perspective on the formation of the Mediterranean space, Leontidou proposes an historical and critical reading, as sequential narratives, of the formation of the idea of Europe and its Mediterranean borders.

Along with the work of Chambers, the Mediterranean as a (North European / Western) modern ('colonial') construction has been unfolded, among many others, by Cassano and Zolo (2007), and Giaccaria and Minca (*op. cit.*), both in cultural and political terms. In particular, Giaccaria and Minca (*op. cit.*) recognise a kind of tradition of 'Militant Mediterraneanism', whose afferent authors 'argue that no critical discourse on and of the Mediterranean is possible without engaging the colonial and Orientalist imaginaries within which the modern Mediterranean was born and popularised' (*ivi*, p. 356). A post-colonial and border thinking approach (Mignolo, 2000) developed by these authors have been undertaken by some academic and civil society debates. This second section, starting from current geopolitical imaginaries, addresses the most recent contributions on a post-colonial and borderscaping perspective on the EUro-Mediterranean.

F.05



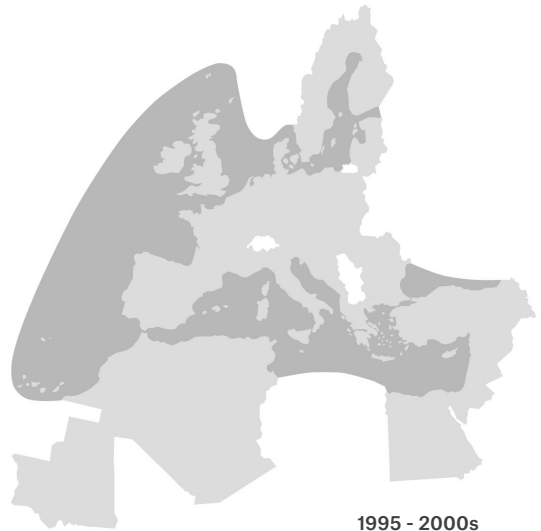
1000 B.C.
Greek Classical Period



1^o Century A.C.
Roman Empire



1000 A.C.
The Spanish Reconquista



1995 - 2000s
The Euro-Med. Partnership

Fig. 05 / The boundaries of Europe and the Mediterranean.
(Map by A. Buoli, 2015. Source: Leontidou, 2004 and author's research).

Region / liquid continent

A first imaginary, built on a manifold cultural and academic tradition, mainly influenced by late 20th and 21st century French and British geographers and thinkers, such as Paul Vidal de la Blache and later Fernand Braudel (Giaccaria and Minca, *op.cit.*, p. 349), draws on a conception of the Mediterranean as a 'liquid continent' (Boria and Dell'Agnese, 2012, p. 89), a 'compact cultural region' (*ibid.*) and 'a physically and culturally unified, homogeneous space' (Giaccaria and Minca, *op.cit.*, p. 349).

Regionalism, homogeneity, isotropy, continuity, permanence, enclosure, universalism, cosmopolitanism (Cattedra et al., 2012, p. 41) are the main concepts and *clichés* on which this broad and long-standing discourse is founded.

This representation reflects a north-to-south and a European perspective (Giaccaria and Minca, *op.cit.*) based on classical travel narratives and colonial discourses, as well as on idealised, poetical and estheticized visions of the 'closed sea' (*ibid.*).

Again Bialasiewicz et al. (2009) stress the criticisms against the process of Europeanisation of the Mediterranean, which has been highly 'contested and involv[ed] the construction of increasingly complex relations between political actors, scales, sites, and institutions' (*ibid.*).

The *Mediterranean as region* has been assumed, starting from the early 1990s, by European political elites, as a 'guiding image' in order to enhance peculiar partnerships with the other Mediterranean countries. Indeed, starting from the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (also known as the Barcelona Process) in 1995, passing by the CBC and more recently ENP policy instruments (with the Mediterranean Sea Basin Program²⁰) and the Union for the Mediterranean²¹, the EU has emphasised the need to create a space for an 'integrated and harmonious regional development across the EU border' (European Parliament 2007, quoted in Celata and Coletti, 2013, p. 113).

Frontier / fracture

From the opposite viewpoint, a second cultural and political imaginary draws on a conflictual idea of the Mediterranean as a fragmented space, a 'fracture' (Giaccaria and Minca, *op.cit.*, p. 353) and a 'political frontier' (Boria and Dell'Agnese, *op.cit.*, p. 89) dividing different political and cultural entities.

These images started to have broader diffusion and influence after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, when a series of 'debates on the relationship between Islam and Europe have, in many ways, revitalized (and legitimized) an image of the Mediterranean as the theatre of real and imagined clashes of civilization' (Boria and Dell'Agnese, *ibid.*). According to this paradigm, the Mediterranean 'represents the symbol itself of the political, economical and cultural cleavage separating (...) two geographical realities' (*ivi*, p. 93) namely the northern (Christian) shore and the South-Eastern (Muslim) coast.

The 'Mediterranean as a frontier' perspective envisions EU external borders as 'protective devices' against possible threads coming from outside, 'keeping Europe secure and protected' (Celata and Coletti, 2013, p. 112, quoting Walters, 2006).

This understanding of borders implies a focus on the way in which the EU has been securing itself, the devices and systems of control, which have been put in place to ensure the (selective) sealing off of its common borders (Castan Pinos, 2009).

Among these initiatives, it should be considered the implementation of border surveillance and the *militarisation* of the Mediterranean by Frontex through a series of operations, as well as the recent activation of the European Border Surveillance System - EUROSUR (European Commission, 2013²²), established with the explicit purpose of 'protecting the Schengen external borders (...) and migrants' lives' (*ibid.*).

The EUROSUR has been implemented starting from the experience of the Spanish *Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior*

(SIVE) in the early 2000s (cfr. Part 2). Indeed, as reported by the research group Watch the Med, 'remote sensing is central to 'securitisation' of the EU's maritime borders. This practice is led by border control agencies as well as other actors who attempt to monitor maritime traffic to insure the flow of 'wanted' mobility' (Watch the Med²³). These technological equipments act 'as kind of 'pre-frontier detection' (...) attempt[ing] to detect migrants before they enter EU waters so that the EU's neighbouring countries are responsible to intercept or 'rescue' them' (*ibid.*).

The implementation of such policies and devices has reinforced and contributed to put forwards an interpretation of EUrope as a 'gated community' and as a 'fortress' (Walters, 2006; Rumford, 2009; Van Houtum and Pijpers, 2007; Castan Pinos, 2009; Van Houtum, 2010).

In effect, starting from the late 1990s debates about the social outcomes of Schengen and the later 2000s discussions about the EU border surveillance implementation, a series of non-governmental and civil society movements began to question the implementation of the new geographies of power and the increasing delimitations / barriers to human mobility in the EUropean context (cfr. Chapter 1).

As forms of contestation and resistance to the emergence of a 'Fortress Europe', different collectives of people, professionals, political activists or independent groups started to work in networks and activate actions, campaigns and projects to make evident and visible the dramatic effects of the sealing off of the Mediterranean border.

In this context, *Migreurop. Observatoire de frontières*, a research collective and network of 45 European organizations, has been developing since 2003 a series of reports and cartographic documentations, which collected, represented and disseminated the main data about migrations in the EU and in the Mediterranean²⁴.

By linking different independent and official sources of information, through the

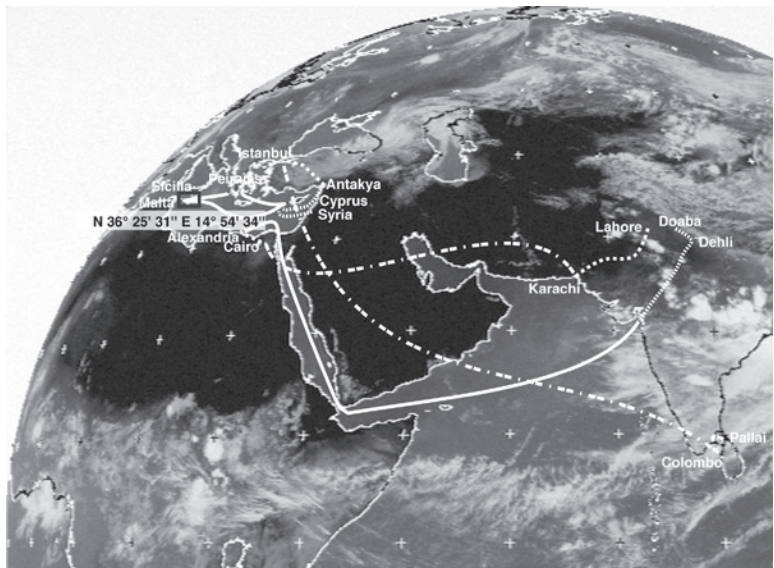
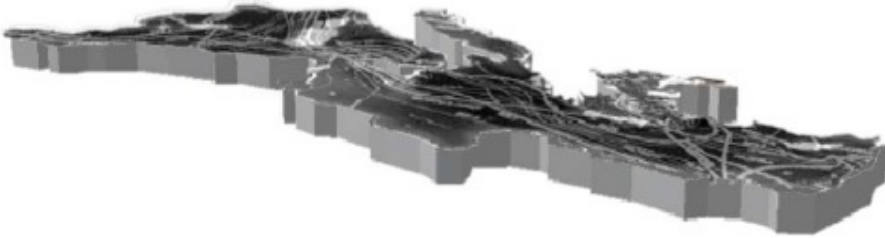
contribution of its members, *Migreurop* has contributed to the on-going critical debate on the EUro-Mediterranean bordering dynamics, beyond official institutional arenas (cfr. Atlas II). At the same time, far from the rhetoric of 'antagonism', *Migreurop* network allowed the creation of 'agonistic public spaces' (Mouffe, 2013, p. 106) in reply / response to the above mentioned dominant and hegemonic imaginaries.

3.2.2 A 'third way' across post-colonial readings and 'border thinking'

Along with the ambiguity of both modern construction of the Mediterranean and of the deriving political approaches towards EU borders policies, Giaccaria and Minca (2010, again following the work of Chambers) identify a possible 'third way' (Mignolo, 2000) of conceiving the Mediterranean as a 'post-colonial sea' (Giaccaria and Minca, *op.cit.*, p. 353), where different 'crossings, routes, encounters and contaminations occur' (*ivi*, p. 359): a pluriverse cultural space based on differences and 'a key locus in the production of alternative modernities' (*ivi*, p. 346).

Chambers underlines the imaginative and critical potential of the post-colonial re-framing of the Mediterranean as 'a critical space, a system of interrogation and unsuspected maps of meaning' (2008, p. 34). This 'third perspective' on the Mediterranean spaces mirrors the work of Walter Mignolo (2000) on 'border thinking' (Chapter 1).

These new spaces have been discussed by Natalia Ribas-Mateos (2001), by using the 'caravanserai' image (meant as a 'common space') for the role of south-eastern European countries, 'as a new reception space for 'caravans' or groups of migrants coming from the other side of the Mediterranean' (*ivi*, p. 24). Transit and sheltering places exist at the intersection between different human trajectories



and desires: new spaces for longing (Van Houtum and Eker, 2013) and opportunities of belonging (Brambilla, 2014a).

This same image has been enriched with the geographical metaphor of the ‘contact zone’ (Pratt, 1992) as a ‘social space where culture melt, clash and grapple with each other, often in context of highly asymmetrical relations of power’ (p. 4.).

This reading leads considering the Mediterranean as a space of flows and relations, a ‘borderscape’ and a ‘seascape’, ‘a discourse that relies on the representation of the sea as an open space of networking and connecting, of trading and understanding, of meeting and prospering’ (Bialasiewicz et al., 2013, p. 65).

Reading the Mediterranean from a post-colonial and borderscape perspective means, then, to explore possible ways to re-orient and emancipate (Van Houtum²⁵; Soja, 1996) these spaces from the current EUrocentric and neo-colonial gazes (Kramsch, 2011) in the forms and practices of border control and neighbouring policies implemented by the EU.

To this aim a series of projects and research explorations are hereby presented in the attempt to give evidence to a borderscape approach towards the EUro-African-Mediterranean borders, as a way of ‘de-link’ (Mignolo, 2000) and re-frame them from current geopolitical imaginaries and activate new meanings around these spaces, through the construction of pluriverse images (Brambilla, 2014a).

Multiplicity

Fig. 06 / Solid Sea Project.

Fig. 07 / Solid Sea #1. Ghost Ship.

(Retrieved from: www.minube.com/ / www.darrehla.com)

3.3. Other ‘landscapes of images’.

Within this broad geopolitical debate, this paragraph aims to discuss the innovative outcomes of a series of ‘networks of imagination’ (Peran, 2008) which adopted cross-scalar and multi-level interpretative methods to focus on the ‘cracks’ / ‘voids’ / ‘anomalies’ along or inside the European external border, over and above traditional political containers.

Different Mediterranean relational ‘patterns’ are at the centre of these research projects: from migrants’ bodies to micro-archipelagos of small abandoned islands; from international mobility patterns and maritime routes, till transnational digital networks and devices for political agency. Indeed, though based on quite different ‘starting’ and ‘landing’ points, methodologies and media, these projects, are the outcomes of the constant interactions and encounters between different observing subjectivities and collectives: *kaleidoscopes* (Brambilla, 2014a, p. 12) of gazes and insights merged into composite socio-spatial images.

3.3.1. Solid Sea. A three-dimensional atlas

Today the Mediterranean is a Solid Sea where, with incredible growing density and often at various depths, the planned trajectories of exacerbated identities graze one another’ (Boeri, n.d.). By challenging the idea of a liquid continent of encounters and hybrid space connecting different cultures, the Solid Sea project, launched in 2002 by the international research collective Multiplicity²⁶, explored a conceptualisation of the Mediterranean as a solid space.

The Mediterranean is no longer conceived by Multiplicity as a generic space of networks and relations, but rather as ‘a hard, solid space, ploughed by precise routes

that move from equally defined points: from Valona to Brindisi, from Malta to Portopalo, from Algeri to Marseilles, from Suez to Gibraltar', where identity appears as the only stable condition (Boeri, n.d.). Within that multi-dimensional and multi-layered space, Solid Sea explores and maps different unintentional encounters occurring among diverse populations and identities (migrants, fishermen, militaries, tourists) and geopolitical layers. 'Bombs dropped by NATO fighter planes and recovered by oil derrick workers on the floor of the Adriatic Sea; Asiatic mussels attached to the hulls of container ships; clandestine immigrants' corpses found in the nets of Sicilian fishermen...' (ibid.).

The Solid Sea project consists of four different narratives, developed by various research groups over a period of four years: Ghost Ship, Odessa/the World, Road Map, (M)RE-Tourism. In the context of this essay, the first two case studies appear to be of particular interest.

Solid Sea 01: Ghost Ship reconstructs the story of the Yiohan, a Greek vessel sunk in Italian waters in 1996, while carrying 450 Indian and Pakistani migrants (283 of whom died in the accident).

F.07

Though various clues about the shipwreck were identified by local authorities and fishermen in the weeks and even years following the sinking, the tragedy (and the human stories behind it) has never been officially admitted by the Italian government and remained unknown until 2000, when unquestionable proof was diffused by a journalistic investigation, which made a series of images of the wreck public and visible. Multiplicity reconstructed the story of the ghost vessel by collecting a series of documents, interviews and pieces of underwater video footage. It exposed them as a whole narrative through multiple channels: videos, seminars, public encounters and art exhibitions (e.g.: Documenta 11, 2002, Kassel).

Solid Sea 02: Odessa/the World is a 2003 project by the video artist and photographer

Armin Linke, which looks at the tensions between two contrasting narratives about Mediterranean shipping patterns and their populations, through a video essay. From one side, the story of the Odessa, a Ukrainian vessel detained with its crew in the port of Naples for seven years (from 1995 to 2002), due to the bankruptcy of the ship owner. From the other, a luxury cruise ship, the World, travelling all over the basin with its load of millionaires. By combining these two visual accounts, the artist focused on the simultaneous coexistence of diverse communities, imaginaries and densities in the 'solid matter' of the Mediterranean. At the intersection between the four narratives of Solid Sea, another 'map' of EUro-Mediterranean spaces emerged: a 3d multi-layered atlas, cut through by different simultaneous pre-determined trajectories, but also unpredictable encounters beyond traditional and dominant geopolitical containers.

Combining artistic research, cultural commitment, new media and social sciences approaches, more than ten years later, the images proposed by Solid Sea appear to still be effective in addressing and representing the dynamics occurring in the Mediterranean.

3.3.2. DESERTMED

A constellation of anomalies

Beyond current and consolidated imaginaries, the research project DESERTMED (2008 – ongoing) is curated by the homonymous independent collective of artists, architects, writers and theoreticians²⁷. It assumes as objects of study a constellation of 'voids' made up of about 300 abandoned or uninhabited islands in the Mediterranean (DESERTMED, n.d., p. 31). These are 'zones overlooked by navigation routes, half-forgotten by geopolitics, lacking in interest for history, considered voids in the middle of the sea that require no coverage, no reporting' (ibid.).

Bypassing common cultural stereotypes ('the deserted island as a place of retreat (...) and vacation dream and myth for those seeking refuge from society' - *ivi*, p. 2), the project encourages the production of 'scientific-based' documentation on the complex geographies and land-use conditions of Mediterranean desert islands, in the light of changing societal, geopolitical and economic conditions.

Though many of those islands are private property or devoted to natural resource conservation, many of them have been (or are still) used for marginal, unwanted or security purposes: military bases, prisons, quarries and industrial production. This is the case for Gorgona, a prison island 37km off the shores of Italy and Zembretta, a military island in the gulf of Tunis, among many others.

Observed from a 'borderscape' perspective, this plural, fragmented and discontinuous geography of 'anomalies' (*ivi*, p. 31) represents a powerful scenario for activating other forms of imagination and longing around and about EUro-Mediterranean border landscapes, due to their lack of taken-for-granted relations with existing geopolitical imaginaries and settings. Giovanna Silva, in particular, underlines the un-ordinary condition of these un-colonized and un-occupied spaces, as natural resources into the dense and solid space of the Mediterranean.

The composite narratives produced so far by DESERTMED stimulate the consideration of alternative Euro-Mediterranean landscapes by unfolding an unexplored and (left) invisible 'archipelago of exceptions' (Ramoneda et al., 2005) as resources for other forms of territoriality outside dominant landscapes of power.

The project also appears relevant due to the visual approaches and research methodologies and forms of representation (DESERTMED, n.d., pp. 42-43).

In particular, the combined and experimental use of video, field-recordings and sound-scaping, photography, 3D and

GPS real-time mapping (in collaboration with the MIT SENSEable City Lab), which draw on different disciplinary gazes. By exploring new technologies, often used for sea security or border control purposes (by, for instance, *European Maritime Security Services* – *ivi*, p. 43) the authors reveal and reconsider the ambivalent and non-neutral character of those technologies, as both instruments at the service of dominant powers and counter-hegemonic forms of knowledge-production (cfr. Atlas II). The horizontal structure of the project's online database reflects its multidisciplinary and collective authorship, and composes a narrative which refers to a conceptual background drawn on Deleuze and Guattari's thinking, a common ground which meaningfully relates DESERTMED to the other projects discussed here.

F.08

3.3.3. Legacies

Solid Sea and DESERTMED, which were developed during the years 2000s across the EUro-Mediterranean borders, should be understood in relation to the coeval fruitful international season of artistic and cultural production on borderlands, in different geographical contexts (cfr. Introductory Essay).

The research projects presented in this chapter, explored uncommon and hidden EUro-Mediterranean geographies, unveiling dominant and counter-hegemonic landscapes and projecting alternative layers of meaning onto them.

Indeed the powerful link between *arts* and *politics*, and in particular the critical role of art in questioning dominant hegemony have been broadly debated by Mouffe (2013) through the agonistic approach: 'critical art is art that foments dissensus, that makes visible what the dominant consensus tends to obscure and obliterate. It is constituted by a manifold of artistic practices aiming at giving a voice to all those who are silenced within the framework of the existing hegemony' (p.106).

DESERTMED

Zembra
Tunisia

Military island
37.125835,10.805054

Visited 15.07.2009

About





- 
- 
- Soth...
 - Isola del Cavoli IT
 - Isola delle Bisce IT
 - Siragnia FR
 - Sardinia IT
 - Corceill IT
 - Iles Cerbicales FR
 - Budelifi IT
 - Razzoli IT
 - Spargi IT
 - Spargiocto IT
 - Ileslavezzi FR
 - La Galite TN
 - Galipona TN
 - Archipel des Sanguinaires FR
 - Asinara IT
 - Isola di Mal di Ventre IT
 - Saint Honorat FR
 - Port Cros FR
 - Ile Riou FR
 - Ile d'If FR
 - Ile du Planer FR
 - Fort de Bresecou FR
 - Iles Medes ES
 - na Conilleja ES
 - Cabrera ES
 - Ile Plane DZ
 - Habibas DZ
 - Rechgoun DZ
 - Chafarinas ES
 - Alboran ES

Fig. 08 / DESERTMED - Zembra, Tunisia

The island online database (edited screenshot)

(All images © DESERTMED. Retrieved from: www.desertmed.org)



- Otocici Grebeni HR
- Veli Dolfin HR

- Veli Lagani HR
- Orudari HR
- Trstenik HR
- Lutrosnik HR
- Grujice HR
- Vele Crkvice HR
- Plavnik HR
- Marit Srednja HR
- Zeca HR
- Vele Srednja HR
- Santo Stefano IT
- Zandona IT
- Palmi Isola IT
- Lampedusa IT
- Gremdi, Kerkennah TN
- Zembretta TN
- Zembra TN
- Ile Plante TN
- Montecristo IT
- Ile Pilau TN
- Ile Cani TN
- Pianosa IT
- Gorgona IT
- Molara IT
- Tavolara IT
- Isola dell'Ustica IT
- Serpentina IT
- Morfio IT
- Isola di Capo Ferro IT

While the spatial metaphors of the solid sea and the constellation of anomalies suggest other conceptualisations in reply to consolidated geopolitical images, the crowd-mapping projects addressed in Atlas II underline the potential of digital and cross-scalar relational interactions for building alternative socio-spatial scenarios for political action(s).

The research projects presented in this chapter explored forms of representation and visibility (Brambilla, 2014a) in a series of EUro-Mediterranean hidden geographies (Rajaran and Grundy-Warr, 2007) and border contesting processes and practices. The outcomes are challenging images (a three-dimensional atlas, a constellation of anomalies) providing further interpretative insights, methods and media about the border politics-aesthetics nexus. Borderscapes have been conceived as sites for experimenting with new and multidimensional images of Euro-Mediterranean spaces, as suggested by the artistic and cultural research projects discussed, which are based on existing relational resources and on everyday border negotiations.

The imaginative potential of the borderscapes notion intended as a 'verb' (van Houtum and Eker, 2013, p. 173), as borderscaping, as a process of 'narration, visualization, and imagination' (Strüver, 2005, p. 170, quoted in Brambilla, 2014a, p. 15) has emerged in these multi-layered practices of knowledge-building and image-production within the EUro-African-Mediterranean context.

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning the long-term 'relevance' and legacies of those projects.

As already mentioned, *Solid Sea* project gained international resonance in the early and mid 2000s, while in the last few year the activities of *Multiplicity* have shifted towards other topics and geographies. However it still represents one of the more remarkable artistic and research experiences on the EUro-Mediterranean landscapes, providing

the background for further research, such as in case of DESERTMED.

DESERTMED has so far explored 40 islands out of 300, presenting them different international exhibitions and publications²⁸.

The documentation produced during the past five years allows considering this project as a fruitful and potentially long-lasting research in the context of Euro-Mediterranean borderscapes.

The chapter eventually contributes to the develop the arguments of the dissertation by addressing and questioning current official imaginaries and discourses about the EUro-Mediterranean spaces and bordering processes and presenting alternative imaginations around those spaces.

The questions prompted by this suggest the need to explore other directions of research, around two critical considerations. The first issue regards the operational potential of the socio-spatial imaginations addressed in this chapter, beyond and in addition to their capacity to trigger and enhance cultural and societal debate.

This implies asking how to shift, on the ground, from border imaginations to borderscaping agencies, by-passing current geopolitical metaphors and discourses (cfr. Paragraph 2).

A second interdependent issue regards a long-term perspective: the capacity of cultural and relational transnational spaces and networks to give continuity to their imaginative potential in the long-term, beyond ephemeral and temporary (though powerful) socio-cultural and artistic explorations. This question suggests a reconsideration of the role of mediation / negotiation that cultural, research and academic institutions can have between civil society organizations and political bodies. Either more or less explicitly critical against cultural and political hegemonies, the project-oriented approaches that have been discussed in this chapter could, in their social, action-oriented and transformative potential, offer a thick substratum of methods, tools and practices that could serve

as levers to open other spaces of belonging and becoming (Brambilla, 2014a, p. 16) in the cracks inside modern hegemonic EUro-Mediterranean imaginaries.

Notes

1. Some passages of this paragraph are going to be published in: Buoli, A., Addressing Euro-Mediterranean border imaginations from a project-based perspective. In: Brambilla et al., forthcoming.
2. *Big Bang Data*, 9 May 2014 - 26 October 2014, Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB), Barcelona (Spain). Source: www.cccb.org/en/exposicio-big_bang_data-45167.
3. The British Eastern Telegraph Company, as shown in a 1901 map, implanted the first networks. Source: www.atlantic-cable.com//Maps/index.htm (Last accessed March 2015).
4. *The submarine cable map* is a project by Markus Krisetya, Larry Lairson, Alan Mauldin, 2014.
5. Source: www.submarinemap.com. Defined as 'combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states' (Faist, 2000, p. 3).
6. The term 'practices' is intended, following Reckwitz (2002), as 'routinized type[s] of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge' (p. 249).
7. The use of the expression EUrope is referred to the work of Bialasiewicz et al 2009, 2013. This term is meant to highlight the 'overlapping' between the European Union (EU), as an institutional and political subject, and *Europe* as a more complex and 'uncertain' entity (Multiplicity, 2003): a process in the making, which is not only a political or economical project, but also a cultural one.
8. *Vision* is here intended as a form of projection of a peculiar idea or bundle of expectations of what something could be potentially become (see also Chapter 2).
9. For a more comprehensive reconstruction of the European Project: www.europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm.
10. Some scholars assume more specifically the term 'territory' to imply the relevance of sovereignty-related 'hard' issues, from one side, and identity ideals and cohesion expectations, from the other (Bialasiewicz et al. 2005, p. 335).
11. The Schengen Acquis - Agreement between the Governments of the States of the Benelux Economic Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and the French Republic on the gradual abolition of checks at their common borders. Source: [www.eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:42000A0922\(01\)](http://www.eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:42000A0922(01)) (Last accessed on March 2015).
12. Source: www.europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/133020_en.htm.
13. Source: www.eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2004:310:0348:0350:EN:PDF.
14. The *European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union*, established in 2005 with the EC (Council Regulation) n.2004/2007 with the aim of 'assisting Member States with implementing the operational aspects of external border management, including return of third-country nationals illegally present in the Member States' - Source: www.eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL;/ELX_SESSIONID=TvWGJFdS7N3X7trtyxdwLfDhv8zxGvMkhrVmznSR2kmy8kFBSHjy!1478700859?uri=CELEX:32004R2007). Cfr. Introductory Essay.
15. Source: www.migreurop.org/?lang=fr.
16. Source: www.closethecamps.org.
17. Source: www.eeas.europa.eu/enp/index_en.htm.
18. Source: www.enpi-info.eu/ENI.
19. In this context I mean 'imaginary' as a 'constructed landscape of collective

aspirations' (Appadurai, *ivi*, p. 31) and 'all the ways a culture has of perceiving and conceiving the world' (Mignolo, 2000, p. 23).

20. ENPI CBC Med. Source: www.enpicbmed.eu
21. Source: www.ufmsecretariat.org/ .
22. Source: www.europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-1070_en.htm
23. Source: www.watchthemed.net/index.php/page/index/1.
24. Source: www.migreurop.org/article2271.html?lang=fr
25. As proposed during the lecture *BorderScapes: Redesigning the Dutch-Belgian borderlands*, given by Henk Van Houtum at Politecnico di Milano - 10 September 2014 in the context of the PhD seminar *Border/scaping. Borderlands and urban studies in dialogue*.
26. *Multiplicity* is a research collective and agency, based in Milan, concerned with social issues linked to human environments, working as an international network of architects, geographers, artists, urban planners, photographers, sociologists, economists and filmmakers. *Solid Sea* has been curated by Stefano Boeri, Maddalena Bregani, Francisca Insulza, Francesco Jodice, Giovanni La Varra, John Palmesino, Paolo Vari + Giovanni Maria Bellu, Maki Gherzi + Giuliano Bora, Maddalena D'alfonso.
27. Some of these considerations are the outcomes of a recent conversation with Giovanna Silva, photographer, editor and founding member of the collective, together with Giulia Di Lenarda, Giuseppe Ielasi and Armin Linke (in collaboration with Amedeo Artigiani e Renato Rinaldi).
28. NGBK, Berlin 2012. Museo d'Arte Contemporanea, Genova Museo di Arte Contemporanea di Villa Croce, Genova. 12 December – 2 February 2014.

(All websites last accessed in March 2015, except where stated differently).

Atlas II

Mediterranean collaborative mapping(s)¹

Along with the research experiences presented in this chapter, Atlas II focuses on two different projects, two *peer-production* mapping platforms which have assumed the Mediterranean as terrain of study on human mobilities with the aim to, from on side, report mobility trajectories and migrants rights violation at the sea, and, from the other, disseminate knowledge on the location and conditions of migrants detention camps in different Mediterranean countries.

These two experiences can be read in the contest of the emergence of the so-called participatory-GIS, community-based mapping or peer-production mapping², which have allowed new forms of shared spatial knowledge production, based on user-friendly and open content mapping platforms. Indeed, according to Farinelli (2009) technology has produced and enhanced new spaces for social practices and interactions, restructuring the public discourse in a way that allows individuals to interact with knowledge and power in a completely different and unprecedented way, thanks to ICT communication means.

This happens because Internet, as the first modern form of mass-communication, has expanded its own radius of action, decentralizing its structure of information and culture production and sharing. In this sense, the accessibility to the cartographic information, due to opening of new social spaces operated by technology and networks, leads to the possibility to produce and share cartographic images which are no longer an exclusive and ‘private’ property of political entities and powers, but which are open and free to public and collective use. Thus, it is possible to notice that maps could turn to be from tools of hegemonic power to means of social and political ‘empowerment’ for those who participate to this process of knowledge-sharing.

The progressive spreading of new cartographic forms, tools and practices performed by ‘non-experts’ map-makers, is producing a change in the way we look at power and (cartographic) knowledge. Contemporary (peer-based) cartography, as a powerful iconic language and as a flexible interpretative tool, seems to open a search for new languages more

comprehensible for a larger ‘community’ of map-makers. Platforms like Locast³ and Open-street-map⁴ seem to have open a new field of opportunity for the emergence and enhancement of what Foucault, in a 1976 lecture, called ‘subjugated knowledges’: ‘a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. (...) which involve what I could call popular knowledge’ (Foucault 1980, p. 82). According to this perspective a kind of ‘paradigm shift’ seems to be at play in the cartographic field, not only in technical and technological terms, but also from a social and symbolical perspective. The shift regards from one side the accessibility to the cartographic information, and, from the other, the possibility and capacity to produce, own and share it. The later work of scholars and thinkers such as, among others, Harley and Farinelli, draws on the exploration of the power-knowledge nexus from a cartographical perspective, particularly in the recognition of maps

CLOSETHECAMPS
CARTOGRAPHIE DES CAMPS D'ÉTRANGERS

A propos Cartes Méthodologie

Carte des pays Contribuez !

EN ES FR

Cartographie des camps d'étrangers

Une cartographie dynamique et participative de l'enfermement des étrangers en Europe et au delà pour :

- Documenter les lieux, formes et conditions de l'enfermement des étrangers et leurs conséquences humaines dramatiques
- Faciliter l'accès aux informations concernant les lieux de détention d'étrangers et le contact avec les personnes détenues
- Mobiliser toutes celles et ceux qui s'opposent aux mécanismes d'enfermement et d'éloignement des migrants pour défendre leurs droits fondamentaux.

UN PROJET DE

migreurop

DANS LE CADRE DE

OPENACCESSNOW

Tarifa, Centro de Las Palomas

Consulter la fiche de ce camp >

Fig. A1 / Close the camps homepage - Open-source map
(Retrieved from: www.closethecamps.org)

as 'socially constructed products' (Harley, 1988) and in the identification of cartography's (and cartographers') role in the construction of the modern and colonial geographies of power (Farinelli, 2009; De Diego, 2008). This field of thought conceives maps as 'images', which are never neutral, but

always partial and value-oriented (Harley 1988, pp. 278-279): 'mobile containers' (Farinelli 2009, p. 138) of particular approaches and visions of the world due to the uses and reasons why they have been drawn. The following Mediterranean mapping platforms give evidence to the emerging role of digital and shared

cartography allowing new spaces and counter-hegemonic forms of networked and knowledge-based resistance, as well as ways to disseminate and share information about otherwise 'invisible' dynamics.

Migreurop.**Close the camps project**

Among their many initiatives, *Migreurop* collective has been recently (since 2013) the main promoter of the Close the Camps campaign and mapping platform. In the words of the collective ‘The project Closethecamps.org aims, on the basis of an interactive mapping tool, to identify, describe and locate detention sites and to make practical information available to detainees and those who want to contact and/or support them. Closethecamps.org enables all users to contribute to improving knowledge about migrant detention camps, which are often kept from public view’⁵.

F.A1

Following the work of mapping that *Migreurop* has been promoting since 2003, with the yearly-based publication of the *Atlas of migrations in Europe*, the platform and database allows not only to report the location of the camps, but also to build a chart / fact-sheet on each camp. The information are collected according to a meticulous methodology and to different sources, coming both from official international bodies (such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – UNHCR and European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

- CPT)⁶ and from civil society, direct fieldworks and international press. Along with quantitative data and statics, the platform gives space to quantitative and descriptive materials (such as report, images, notes) in order to broaden and complete the framework of study. This project reflects both the research-oriented approach of *Migreurop* and the activism-based perspective that triggers the implementation of the network’s field of interest and commitment.

WatchTheMed Undermined surveillance at sea

Drawn on the activities of Forensic Architecture research project at the Goldsmith University in London, WatchTheMed has been initiated in 2012 as an open content on-line platform, built to monitor, assist and support, in real-time, migrants travelling in the Mediterranean, and report human rights violations. At the basis of the project lies an idea of the Mediterranean as a border and related to ‘Fortress Europe’ conceptualisations and to political / civil engagement for border struggles and activism. The platform allows everyone connected with a pc, a mobile device or a simple

phone can submit a ‘report’ about a violation of migrants rights, which could be done by localising the event on a map or by GPS coordinates and describing the conditions observed.

At the same time the research team is responsible for reviewing and verifying the reports for accuracy. In this regard, the platform has been used as well to monitor the operations of surveillance or, on the other hand, to witness possible responsibilities of denied support by international and national maritime authorities and them ‘into respecting their obligations and save the lives of migrants at sea’ (WatchTheMed⁷).

F.A2
F.A3

This was the case narrated in the video ‘Liquid traces. Left-to-die boat’⁸, directed by two members of the Watch the Med team, Charles Heller and Lorenzo Pezzani⁹. The video and the related reports reconstruct the story of a Libyan vessel on its route towards Lampedusa Island with 72 people on board, but never arrived on the Italian coasts. Through field work missions, interviews, satellite images and GPS signals detection, the research team reconstructed the trajectory of the vessel during its trip and then 13 days-long drift in international waters, during which only 9 people survived and several violations of human rights and rescue omissions have been documented. This case study exemplifies

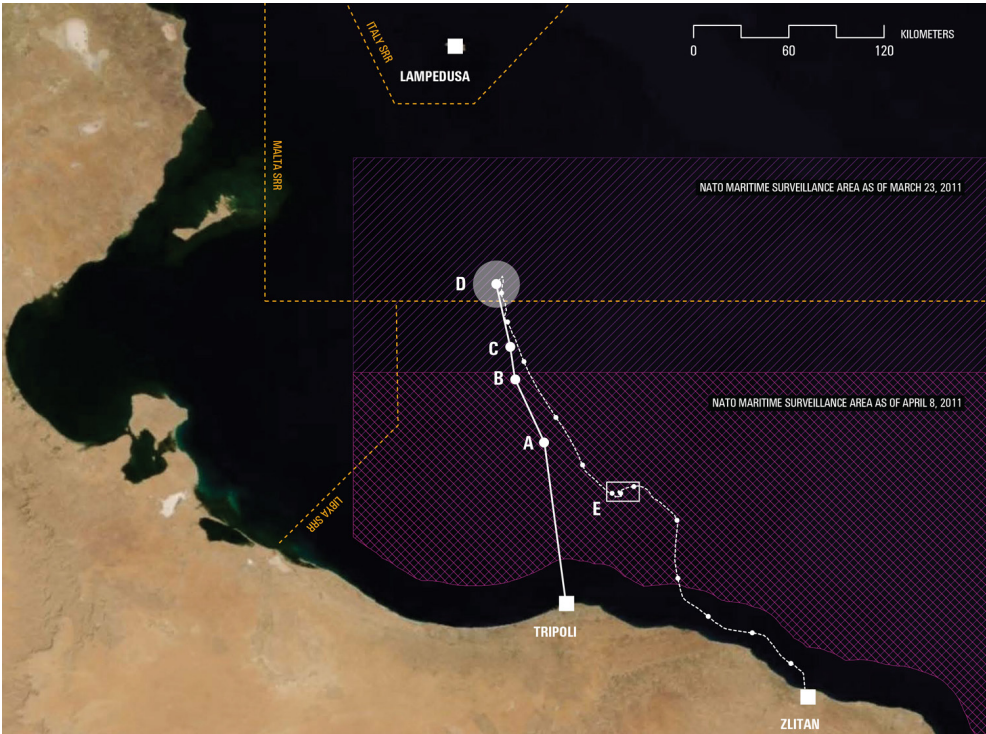


Fig. A2-A3 / Watch the Med. Reconstruction of the left-to-die boat case.
(Retrieved from: www.forensic-architecture.org/case/left-die-boat)

the potentialities of the platform itself to assist and disseminate the effects of EU migratory and border policies at the sea, providing as well legal and technical support to migrants.

Moreover, from a methodological and political perspective, as already observed about *DESERTMED*, WatchTheMed aims to subvert the ‘militarised’ nature of surveillance technologies, such as ‘remote sensing’ devices and GPS mapping as tools for agency: ‘while all these technologies of surveillance are geared at blocking ‘unwanted’ movements of people, they can also be used against the grain to document violations at sea, which is what WatchTheMed seeks to do’ (WatchTheMed¹⁰).

The tools and methodologies implemented so far by WatchTheMed and its ‘open’ and flexible structure allow imagining further developments of the project in the years to come, with the contributions of other collectives of researchers.

Limits and prospects

Both the experiences of Close the Camps and WatchTheMed make evident the growing awareness, within certain cultural and academic arenas as well as civil society organisations, as regards topic on which European institutions

hadn’t find so far a common and shared terrain of debate and action (beyond the implementation of a surveillance framework). In the void left inside the official political layer, these collectives of researchers and scholars have experimented new ways of give assistance, visibility and information to transnational communities and individuals crossing the Mediterranean border. Beside these outstanding efforts, the ‘limits’ of these projects could be found in the lack of a ‘prospective’ and transformative approach, able to de-link migration issues from current polarised imaginaries and ‘queering’ these narratives of denounce with other contrasting or diverging future images. In this sense, both Close the Camps and WatchTheMed could be read as resistances / replies current Euro-African-Mediterranean polarised imaginaries, without overcoming them. Nevertheless the methodologies and tools developed inside both the projects reveal the potential of digital and cross-scalar relational interactions: these new relational spaces could be the ‘breeding ground’ on which building alternative socio-spatial scenarios for the Mediterranean. In fact, by hybridizing these experiences with a future oriented and design-based approach, as well expressed by the other projects presented in this

chapter, could push further the actual mechanisms of dissent, towards practices of transformative thinking.

Notes

1. For this Atlas excerpts from Buoli, 2014a.
2. Commons-based peer production is a term coined by Harvard Law School professor Yochai Benkler to describe a new model of socio-economic production in which the creative energy of large numbers of people is coordinated into large, meaningful projects mostly without traditional hierarchical organization. (Source: Wikipedia)
3. Source: www.locast.mit.edu/
4. Source: www.openstreetmap.org.
5. Source: www.closesthecamp.org/about.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Source: www.watchthemed.net/index.php/page/index/1.
8. Source: www.forensic-architecture.org/case/left-die-boat.
9. PhD students at the Centre for Research Architecture, Goldsmiths, University of London.
10. Source: <http://watchthemed.net/index.php/page/index/1>

(All websites last accessed in March 2015)



Part 2
Narrating

**Borderscapes'
constellations across and
beyond the Moroccan /
Spanish border**

Tectonic Plate
Y. Barrada, 2010

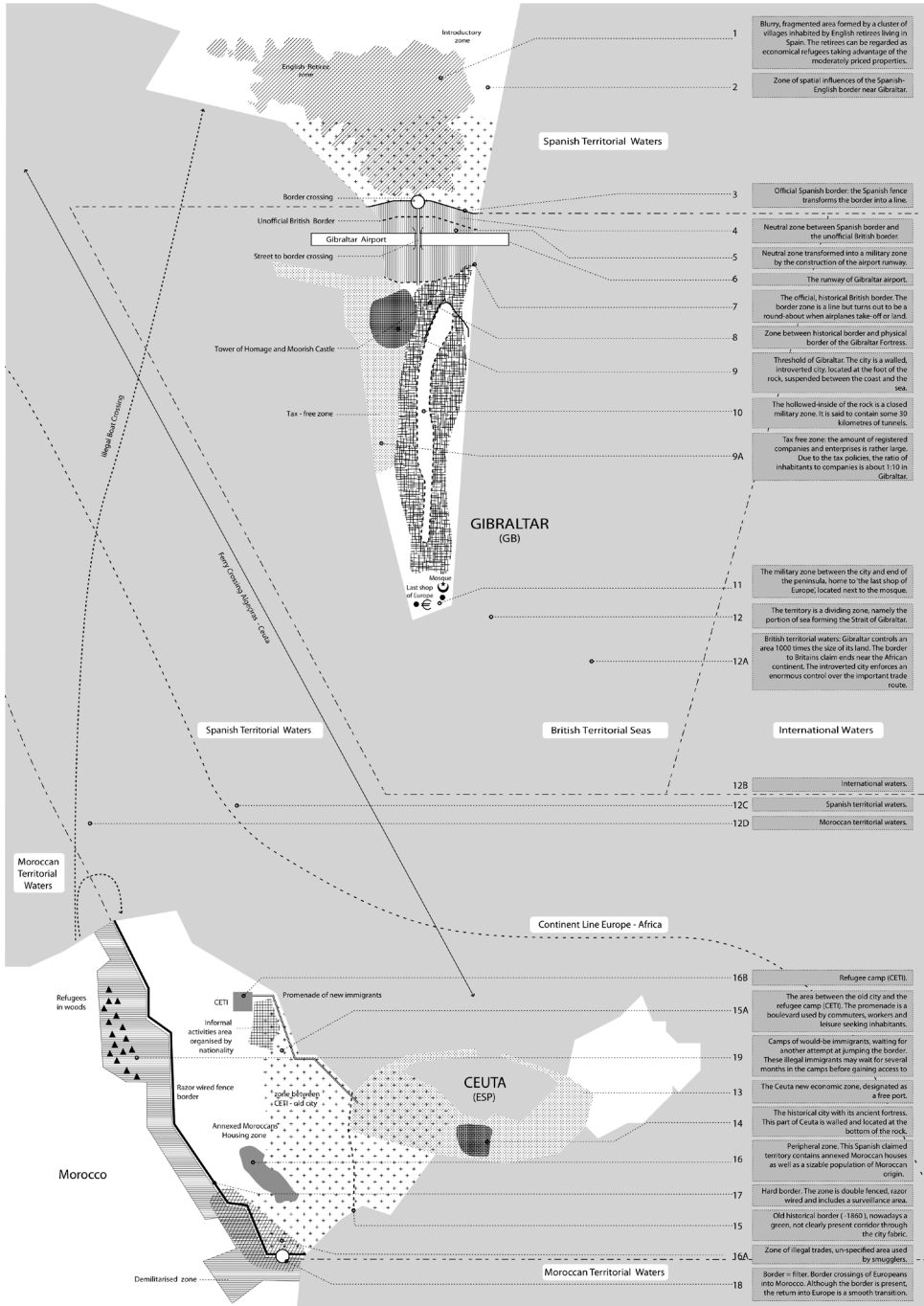


Fig. 00 / Gibraltar - Ceuta border conditions.
 (Map by S. Veldhuisen and O. Rommens in Schoonderbeek, 2010, p. 73)

Foreword to Part 2

The Moroccan / Spanish borderscapes as constellations

Interpretative framework and definitions

The Spanish-Moroccan borderlands represent a multiform territorial complex made of a sea border at the Strait of Gibraltar and the Canary Islands, and a land border along the perimeters of the Spanish autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla and the *plazas de soberanía* (cfr. Chapter 4-5). These are the last leftovers of Spanish rule in North Africa following Moroccan independence (1956) and the end of the Spanish Protectorate (1912-1956). Considered by Spain as part of its national territory for historical, political and legal reasons, Ceuta, Melilla and the *plazas* have never been officially recognised by the Moroccan Government, with consequent territorial disputes (Andalucía Libre, 2002). Beyond a geopolitical reading of the border conditions of these landscapes, and according to the manifold and pluri-semantic potential provided by the borderscapes notion (Cfr. Part 1), the metaphor of the constellation has been assumed as a possible interpretative image, able to address and describe the North Moroccan-Spanish borderlands.

By 'North Moroccan-Spanish border landscapes' I mean a boundless territorial field, at the Tanger's Peninsula, the north-western section of North Morocco overlooking the Strait of Gibraltar and the Atlantic Ocean and bordering the Spanish enclave of Ceuta. This is a manifold territorial complex, where the presence of the border has been producing differentiated and cross-scalar effects on both local / transnational landscapes and communities. Following some recent interpretative readings of Walter Benjamin's thinking (Rollason, 2002; Gilloch, 2013), the idea of

the constellation constitutes one his most relevant contributions, overcoming linear readings of time and history: 'If 'progress' can be likened to a straight line, that straight line may have to be replaced by a different image. Here Benjamin devises the arresting image of the *constellation*. (...) The constellation links past events among themselves, or else links past to present; its formation stimulates a flash of recognition, a quantum leap in historical understanding' (Rollason, 2002, p.285).

Indeed the notion of the constellation :

'captures both the potential deceptiveness of any scheme - points which seem nearest to one another may prove to be those furthest apart - and their contingency. Each constellation must be recognized as only one permutation among an infinite number of possible configurations, conjunctions and correspondences' (Gilloch, 2013, p.25).

Therefore, as the product of an interpretative selective process, the constellation facilitates the definition of a series of common features and relations. Each element of the constellation can be described as such only in relation to the other elements of the constellation itself. By adopting this guiding principle and image¹ in the specific case of the North Moroccan / Spanish borderlands, I mean to select and represent different relational processes and sedimentations of recurring and emerging border conditions (places, practices, networks and events) to help read the complexity of the borderlands, beyond linear or unidirectional time-space readings. The historical genealogy of the border is, therefore, seen not as a chronological timeline, but rather as a juxtaposition of narratives, as a constellation of stories, scenes, relational landscapes, ties, and events. Among many, I have decided to present those that I experienced and documented during my field work missions, as both the outcomes on planned and

unplanned encounters with the context (cfr. Introductory Essay).

In recent years, Veldhuisen and Rommens (2010) have done something similar, in the context of the Ceuta-Gibraltar area (understood here as bi-polar urban cross-border 'system'), defining a series of borders as a north-to-south spatial sequence of:

- F.00**
- . clusters of villages / settlements / shelters around the enclaves;
 - . zones of spatial influences of the borders;
 - . official national borders;
 - . border crossings;
 - . historical walls and fences;
 - . neutral, military and buffer zones;
 - . tax-free zones;
 - . territorial (contested) waters;
 - . migrants detention camps, etc.

Rather than adopting a linear / sequential approach, these socio-spatial conditions may instead be considered as elements of a larger set of borderscapes (a constellation) due to the relational and mutual nature of their socio-spatial and symbolic conditions: each element finds its meaning and genealogy only in relation to the others.

The reciprocal interplay between these different conditions has been clearly interpreted and represented by Multiplicity (2003) with the construction of a 'Border matrix': an interpretative and diagrammatic device addressing 24 borderlands through six devices (funnel, tube, fold, sponge, ghost limbo, fence) and deconstructed into a series of objects, flows and identities (refugee camps, DMZ, buffers, walls, etc.).

From another perspective, the Observatorio Tecnológico del Estrecho (Technological Observatory of the Strait (cfr. Chapter 7) builds a different image of the Strait of Gibraltar and the Moroccan-Spanish borderscapes: the Madaq territory (Strait in Arabic), a space conceived as

'a rhizomatic constellation of places, temporalities, spatialities and modalities of presence' (Fadaiat, 2006, p.169).

Constellations as genealogical narratives and socio-spatial 'sedimentations'

In the attempt to turn the borderscape perspective into an operative framework for addressing borderlands, in this section the constellation is defined according to two different conceptualisations and meanings:

- . a genealogical and transcalar narrative used to reconstruct the Moroccan-Spanish border genesis through a selected series of stories (cfr. De Certeau, 1998-2011);
- . a borderscapes field, intended as a set of socio-political-economic-cultural dynamics giving shape to (scaping) the borderlands, which have been coagulated in space and time.

In line with this distinction, Part 2 is divided into two chapters.

Chapter 4 focuses on a series of genealogical narratives from different historical periods, involving the construction of the borderlands and focusing on a series of places and traces along and across the Strait, seen as a geographical and symbolical region of conflictual bordering dynamics, as well as cooperative interactions.

Meanwhile, **Chapter 5** focuses on five overlapping constellations of borderscapes, which have been assumed to be the complex intertwinement between:

- . dominant landscapes of power;
- . (relational) spaces of resistance.

Emerging from the manifold and varied definitions of the borderscapes notion (relating to conflicts, encounters and desires), these border thicknesses constitute the terrain and background for interpretative and analytical description and discussion for the scenario-building explorations which follow.

As a selective and arbitrary definition, the location of these constellations is space and time, intended to recognise that the ongoing border dynamics and processes exist on the basis of past conditions, which can be assumed as relevant landscape elements or

hinges around which to activate alternative images for the North Moroccan-Spanish borderlands.

Transcalar fields of study

This second section explores the descriptive potential of the constellation image, by considering different territorial scales and fields and by adopting a mobile gaze.

This section of the thesis, as well as the dissertation generally, addresses the core topics / issues by shifting between different and appropriate scales. That's why Chapter 4 zooms in from the scale of the Strait to the specific case of Ceuta and Melilla border conditions, while Chapter 5 steps back again to the regional and national scale to set the borderscapes' constellations into larger and more complex socio-spatial dynamics, to further concentrate on the North Moroccan – Spanish border landscapes.

The use of the constellation metaphor allows the reading of the borderlands through a set of trajectories that cross time and space, around some hinge places, scenes and figures.

From a methodological perspective (cfr. Chapter 1) these constellations are the product of the integration between an empiric and fieldwork approach (starting from a direct relation with places, people, stories) with a variety of different sources (journalistic materials, institutional documents, academic works).

Note

1. Other scholars (Brambilla 2014b; Ferrer-Gallardo and Albet-Mas 2013) have recently used this image in reference to EU/non-EU borders.

Abstract

This fourth chapter is intended to outline a genealogical reading (Brambilla, 2014a,b) of the visual and material culture of the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands, at different territorial scales (from the Strait of Gibraltar, passing through the Tarifa, Tanger and Ceuta).

The **border genealogy** is presented through a set of synthetic / diagrammatic narratives linking 'pre-modern' times, the Arabic domination of Andalucía, modern Spanish colonial rule in North Morocco until post-independence political turmoil and the contemporary construction of the border as a symbolic and material apparatus of control. This part of the chapter aims to articulate different spatial metaphors that have crossed the Strait and the border (river, seascape, space of fluxes, contact zone, borderscape) and to analyse the historical and socio-political reasons for the presence of the border itself and the different cultural layers stratified on the land (and the sea) as different constellations.

The second section outlines border representations through the work of two artists, photographers and video-makers and their different means of expression and media. An insight into the work of Yto Barrada and Xavier Ribas is presented.

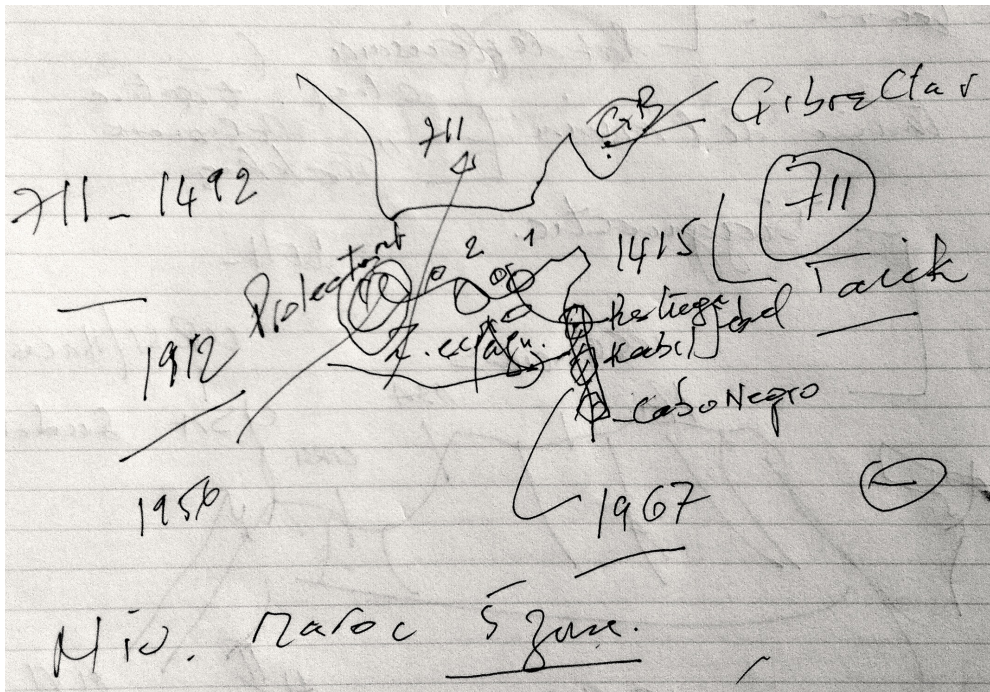
ATLAS III briefly presents an insight into the legacies of colonial architecture and urbanism in French and Spanish Morocco.

key words:

Strait of Gibraltar
Tanger
Ceuta
border genealogy
colonial modern
constellations

Chapter 4

Madiaq / Estrecho Border genealogical narratives



Moroccan / Spanish border genealogy

Fig. 00 / A conversation with prof. M. Hillali
(Tanger, February 2014)

Fig. 01 / Conceptual map

(Drawing by A. Buoli, 2015. Source: author's research)

4.1. Stories from the border, stories from the sea

The Spanish-Moroccan border represents a multiform territorial complex comprised of a sea border at the Strait of Gibraltar and the Canary Islands, and a land border along the perimeters of the Spanish autonomous cities and enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla and the *plazas de soberanía*. These consist of a series of small archipelagos (Islas Chafarinas Islands, Islas Alhucemas) and peninsulas (Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, Peñón de Alhucemas) located on the Northern Moroccan coast. The *plazas* and the enclaves are the final remainders of Spanish rule in North Africa after Moroccan independence (1956) and the end of the Spanish Protectorate (1912-1956).

Considered by Spain as part of its national territory for historical, political and legal reasons, Ceuta, Melilla and the *plazas* have never been officially recognised by the Moroccan Government, with consequent territorial disagreements (Andalucía Libre, 2002). Indeed, the disputed character of Ceuta and Melilla, their special territorial status, the concurrent absence of formal institutional cooperation and the presence of de facto informal cooperative interactions at a local scale (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2010), are catalysts for a series of cross-border, atypical, trade activities (Castan Pinos, 2009).

In this context the ‘Janus-faced’ nature of the EU border (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen, 2002; Van Houtum, 2010), which is concerned with both ‘development aid and humanitarian assistance and (...) security-obsessed economic and cultural comfort zone’ (ivi, p.961), is clearly expressed at the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands along the Strait of Gibraltar and in the Northern region of Morocco. In a recent edited volume, Natalia Ribas-Mateos (2011) has proposed a reading

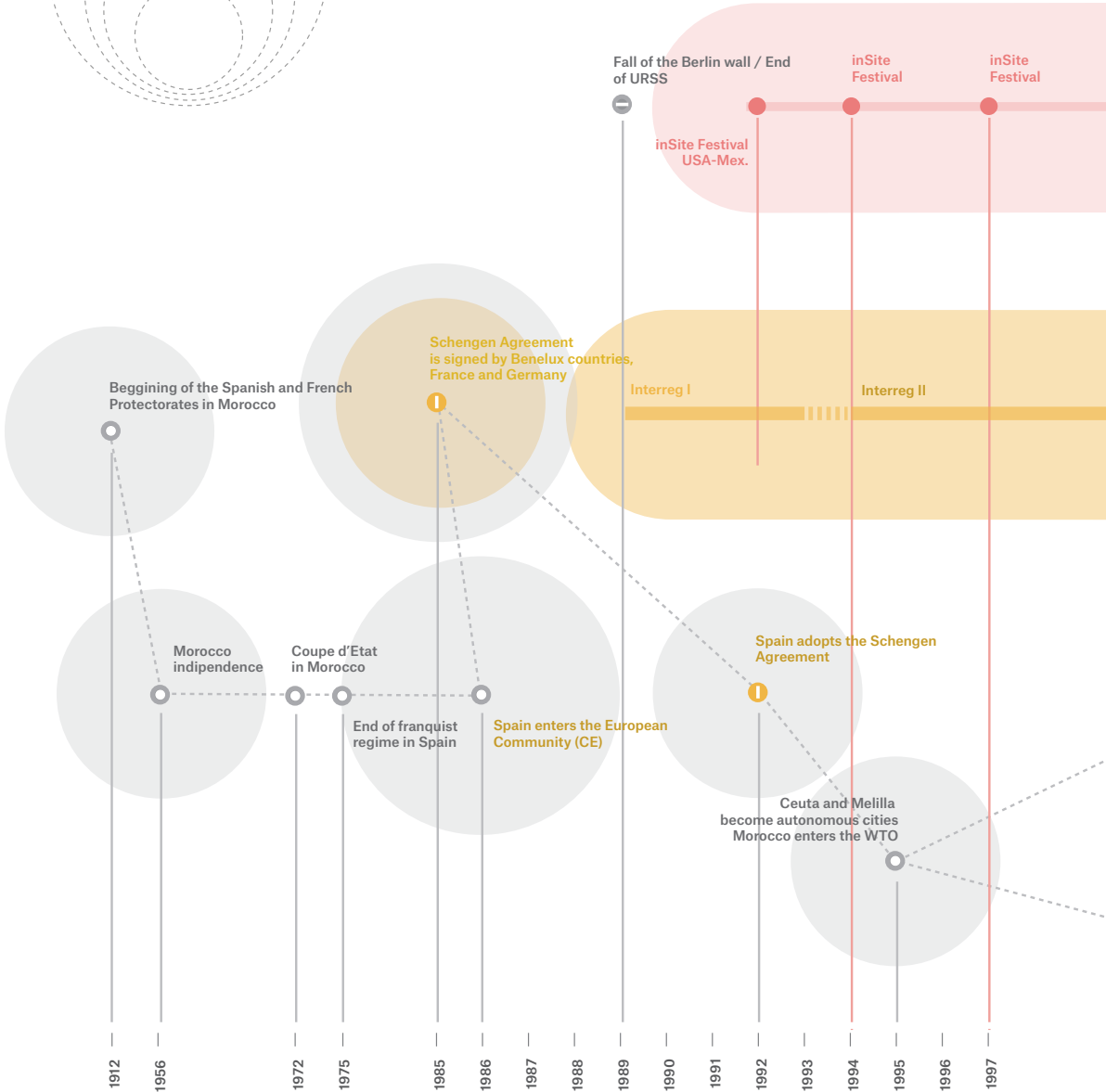
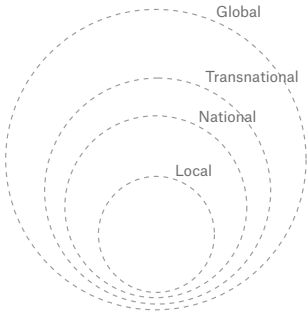
of this area, in the larger context of Mediterranean bordering processes, as comparable to the practices of ‘border reinforcing’ (ivi, pp. 29-40) along the US-Mexico border.

In particular the author stresses the ‘hardening’ of the Spanish border surveillance implemented over the last two decades, showing similarities with the US approach towards migration and security issues.







However, in line with the conceptual and methodological framework that has been presented and discussed so far (see also the opening to Part 2), this chapter intends to shift attention from this powerful double-sided reading of borders (which has been explored in depth by many scholars and artists), to broadening the narrative towards a kaleidoscopic (Appadurai, 1996, p.37; Brambilla, 2014a – cfr. Part 1) and non-linear reconstruction of the constellar configurations of the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands. In order to do so, it is necessary to move the focus from the borderlines to the border landscapes, and therefore to larger territorial and socio-spatial fields, where a multiplicity of stories, experiences and human and political trajectories have crossed and shaped the borderlands.

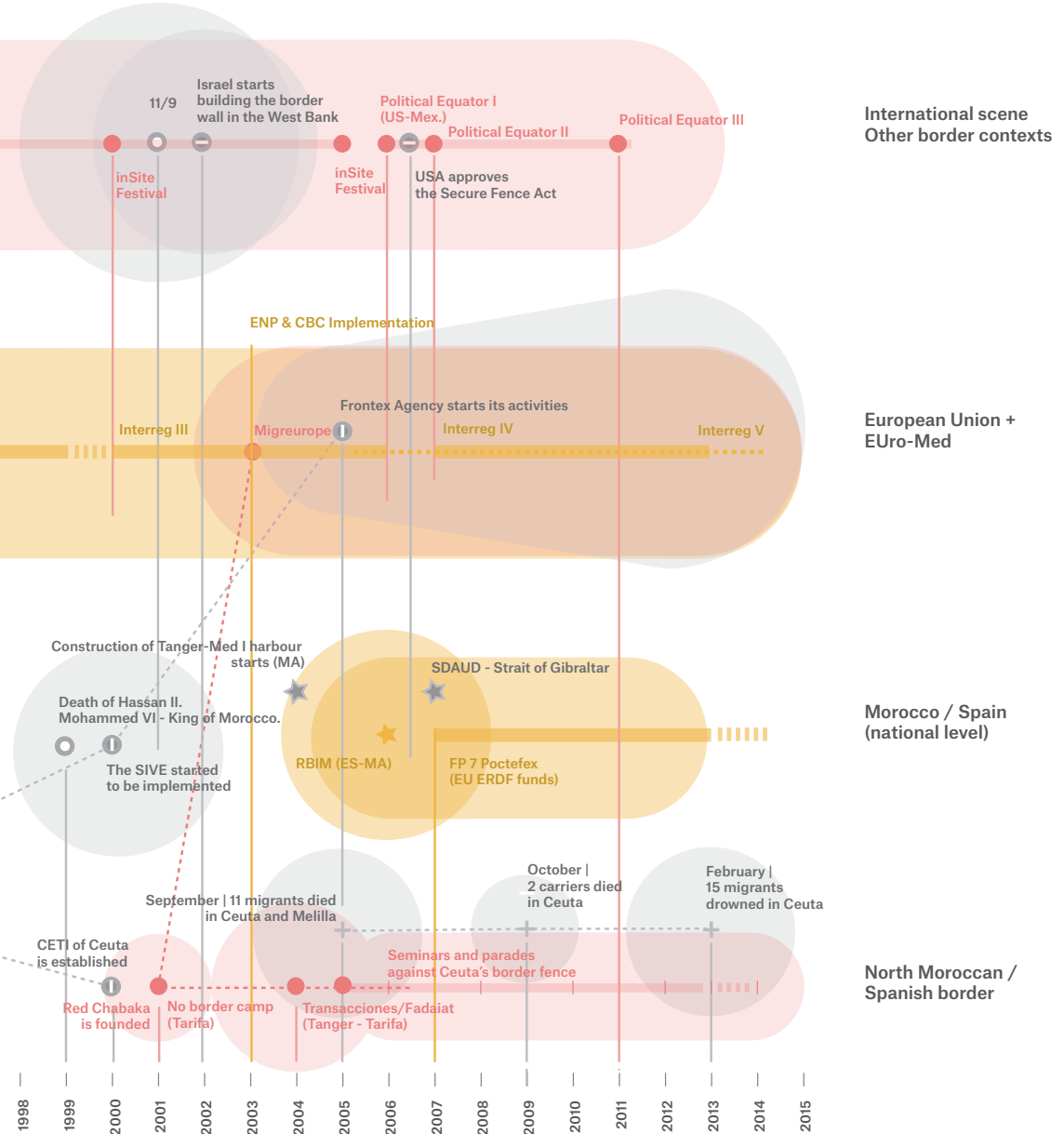
In effect, as proposed by the Observatorio Tecnológico del Estrecho (Technological Observatory of the Strait – cfr. Introductory Essay), Madiaq (the Strait in Arabic) represents a space conceived as ‘a multiple territory, both geographic and infographic, social and technological, that extends infinitely in four directions: to the South and to the North’ (Fadaiat, 2006, p.169). Through their collective artistic practices of radical cartography and construction of places of online/on-site encounter, Madiaq has emerged as ‘a rhizomatic constellation of places, temporalities, spatialities and modalities of presence’ (ibi – cfr. Atlas I). Such a spatial-genealogical approach, then, can ‘highlight the multiple sites and heterogeneity of knowledge, space and politics’ (McFarlane, 2006, p.40), bypassing

Extent / resonance



Key:

-  Bordering and de-bordering processes
-  Geo-political thresholds
-  Dramatic events involving migrants/local communities
-  Main plans and projects
-  Institutional programs involving cooperation across borders
-  Border 'struggles': artistic events / festivals / protests



linear and bipolar readings.

Figure 00 reports a conversation that I had the opportunity to share in Tanger in February 2014, with Prof. Mimoun Hillali, who teaches at the Institut Supérieur International de Tourisme de Tanger.

In order to introduce the main issues at stake in the Spanish-Moroccan borderlands, Prof. Hillali synthetically reconstructed the main turning points, historical thresholds and geopolitical constellations across the Strait, in the context of Moroccan political and societal changes. Following a **F.00** borderscaping and genealogical perspective, **F.01** in line with Prof. Hillali's arguments, as well as on the basis of direct observations, experiences and encounters, this Chapter discusses a series of cross-scalar, trans-local and cross-temporal narratives around some peculiar hinge places and trails, as interconnected scenes between different time horizons.

These synthetic narratives aim to select and highlight some relevant fields (constellations) of the complex dynamics occurring in the Strait of Gibraltar and far beyond the borderline itself (Brambilla, 2014a).

4.1.1. Al-Idrissi at Tanger's Musee de la Kasbah: maps and (mobile) borders

On the top of Tanger's *kasbah* hill, overlooking the bay and the Strait of Gibraltar and placed inside the Dar-al-Makhzen (the Sultan's Palace), the Musee de la Kasbah (the Kasbah Museum) is one of the city's main cultural institutions, in terms of conservation, production and dissemination.

Together with a remarkable selection of archaeological artefacts, the museum's collection includes a series of rooms dedicated to the role of Tanger in the

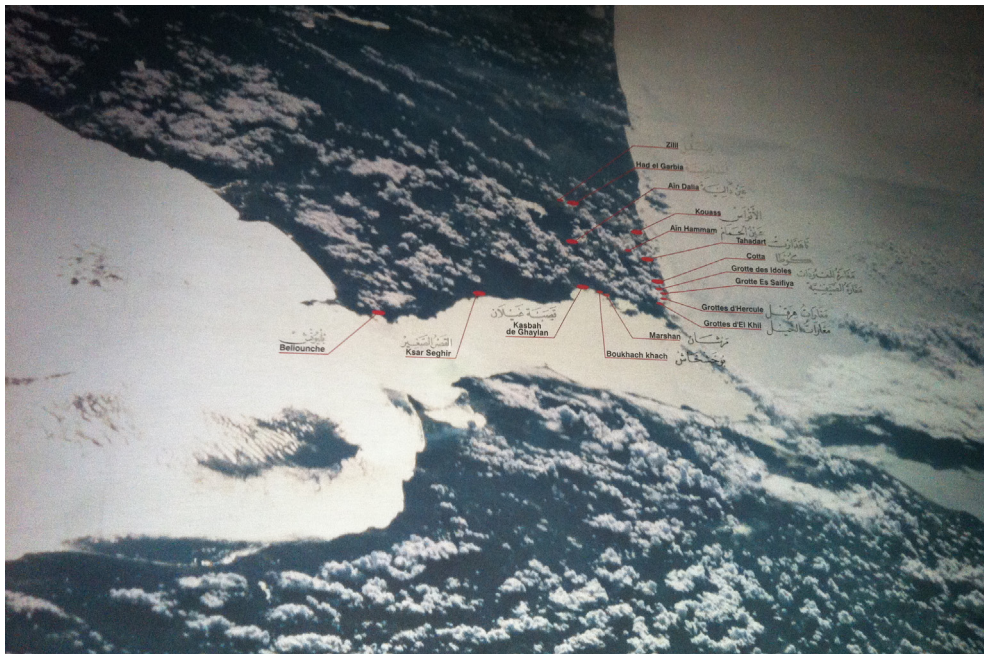


Fig. 02 / The Strait of Gibraltar in a map inside the Musee de la Kasbah.

(Photo by A. Buoli - Tanger, October 2013)

region and in the Mediterranean, from a historical and cultural perspective. This part of the museum also hosts a floor-to-ceiling reproduction of a montage of the maps designed by the Moroccan traveller and cartographer al-Idrissi in the 12th century. The map, later known as the *Tabula*

F.03 Rogeriana is part of a broader work entitled *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi-khtirāq al-afāq*, which depicts the world as it was known at that time, according to al-Idrissi's explorations and research.

As with many Arab maps from this period¹, the drawing is oriented north to south, showing the northern coasts of Africa on the top and the northern regions of Europe on the bottom side (the orientation of the map is given by the alignment of the Arabic writing).

According to the *Qantara Med* project's scholars² the book and its maps appear to be innovative, both as regards the sources used by al-Idrissi, namely 'previous works with authority, autopsies, but also surveys of travellers and merchants passing through the court of Sicily which were in the royal archives' and for the richness of the data reproduced on the maps. Each named place of the 5000 reproduced on the map 'has its own 'texts', which are all relatively homogenous: location, natural resources, facilities (market, baths, etc.) (...)'³.

Interestingly the Strait of Gibraltar, the Peninsula Tingitana (the northern region of North Morocco) and al-Andalus (Andalusia) are placed at the right extreme of the map, highlighting the limit of the world, a natural and cultural border towards the Atlantic Ocean.

The Moroccan geographer also reported fables from popular folklore and ancient sources (for example Greek historians and philosophers, like Strabo) among which was a story of the supposed artificial nature of the Strait of Gibraltar itself. As reported by Gies (1977) 'according to Roger's Book, [the Strait] did not exist when Alexander the Great—as medieval legend had it—invaded Spain. Because the inhabitants of Africa and

Europe waged continual warfare, Alexander decided to separate them by a canal, which he cut between Tangier and al-Andalus (southern Spain). The Atlantic rushed in, inundating the land and raising the level of the Mediterranean' (*ibid.*).

Beyond these legends and related imaginaries, it has been presumed that during the Arab domination of al-Andalus (711–1492), and therefore the period in which al-Idrissi wrote his main work, the Strait was considered nothing more than an 'inner river', the so-called 'Andalusian canal' (Tazi, 2007), 'not a border but simply a passage between one land' (*ivi*, p.91).

Al-Idrissi's biography supports this reading, within the peculiar geopolitical conditions and the cultural context in which his work was conceived. Born in Ceuta in 1099, he received his main education in Cordoba, travelling later all around the Mediterranean, North Africa and Europe. He eventually moved to Sicily at the court of Roger II, where he spent 18 years working on the *Nuzhat*.

From its beginnings in 711 AD, when the Berber General Tariq ibn Ziyad landed on Gibraltar (later named as *Jbel Tariq* - Ferrer-Gallardo and Van Houtum, 2013), Arab control over the Iberian peninsula reached its maximum during the 12th century, when more than 80% of the current territories of Spain and Portugal were part of al-Andalus.

The following Spanish Reconquista (reconquering) of al-Andalus, starting in the 15th century, produced a sudden interruption between the two shores of the Strait. In this context a crucial turning point coincided with the Portuguese takeover of Ceuta (Sebta) in 1415. The loss of the city reflected on the whole system of Moroccan trade circuits of which Ceuta constituted one of the most important hubs, the point where the trans-Saharan trade routes met the Mediterranean commercial system.

Again in the *Musee de la Kasbah*, a map reconstructs the role of the region in the trade mechanism across the African and the



Fig. 03 / Modern copy of al-Idrissi Tabula Rogeriana
(Retrieved from: www.commonswiki.org)



Mediterranean systems and gives evidence of the ruptures and passages from one trade scenario to the next.

The Portuguese conquering of Ceuta (later given up to the Spanish kingdom in 1668) and the Spanish taking of Melilla (1497) marked the beginning of a new period in the relations between the two shores of the Strait.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, with the relocation of European (and Spanish) interest from the Mediterranean towards the Atlantic and globally⁴, the Strait lived a rift in north-to-south relations, while the Moroccan sultanate, under the rule of different dynasties after the end of the Marinid regime (1248–1465), experienced a period of political and economic crisis and alternative phases of territorial shrinkage and decline. It was therefore only from the 16th century (Ribas-Mateos, 2005, p.180) that the Strait turned into ‘a border’ between two different political, economic and religious systems: in this context Ceuta and Melilla became two military outposts in the framework of a defensive strategy towards the Arab world.

The urban landscapes of the two cities, in their current conditions, still express this military attitude not only by means of archaeological and historical defensive artefacts and infrastructures (walls, fortifications, camps, etc.) but also the socio-spatial effects of being crucial sections of the EU external border.

In Ceuta, for instance, it is possible to read the city as a sequence of interrelated *bordering* spaces and devices. From 1500, after the Portuguese seizure, thanks to its geographical location (isolated from national territory) and its physical formation (as a kind of island), Ceuta was used as a penal colony. This function remained until the period of the Franco dictatorship: political opponents to the regime were moved to the enclave to be executed or imprisoned in concentration camps. Ruins of these camps are still visible in the area of the Hacho Mountain.

After the beginning of Spanish rule (following the integration of the kingdom of Portugal into the Spanish crown), the city’s defence system was developed, with the construction of the Royal Walls (17th century) in order to protect the peninsular part of the city (*Amina*). Until 1860, the year of the Tetouan (or Was-Ras) Treaty which ratified an enlargement of Ceuta (and Melilla) territories, the walls remained the main limit of the city and the effective border with Morocco. The current perimeters of the two enclaves follow the same blueprints that were established in the 19th century.

4.1.2. From Tarifa to Tanger-Med: limbos⁵ and transnational (im)mobilities

In a recent document⁶, the APDHA (Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía) reported the activities carried out within the CIE (Centro Internamiento Extranjeros – Foreign Detention Centre) of Las Palomas in Tarifa (Spain):

‘It is a camp for illegal immigrants located in the former military base of Tarifa, an abandoned and vacant building, where the migrants experience appalling living conditions (facilities were repainted for the visit of UN representatives in 2003). This centre depends on the *Guardia Civil* and the identification / expulsion management is under the responsibility of the *Policía Nacional*. The use of this space was a provisional measure taken in 2002 by Aznar government in reply to a major influx of migrants to the coast of Cádiz: from temporary solution has now become, in practice, an extension of the CIE of Algeciras. (...) The centre does not meet any of the requirements of such facilities. Migrants sleep in two rooms with mattresses on the floor. There are only a container with 200 litres of hot water for about 120 people, and when the pump breaks, migrants are left without running water⁷.

This space is only one of the many foreigner

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Fig. 04-05 / Las Palomas CIE, Tarifa.
(Photos by A. Buoli - Tarifa, October 2013)

detention camps which have spread out all over Europe and along the Mediterranean coasts (Chapter 3). Ferrer-Gallardo, Albet-Mas and Espiñeira (2014) have recently placed the CIE of Las Palomas in the context of what the authors have called *limboscapas*, ‘a growing archipelago of centres that have been mushrooming across the EU and beyond over recent years’ (Ferrer-Gallardo, Albet-Mas and Espiñeira, 2014, p.7), namely:

‘transitional spaces where (some) migrants must face the uncertain process of waiting on the EU law. (...) the grey zones where an essential part of the EU project is socio-spatially constructed’ (Ferrer-Gallardo and Albet-Mas, 2013, p.4).

Las Palomas could be considered, then, as one piece of the bordering and surveillance system which have characterised the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands since the late 1980s, along with European project in the Mediterranean, through border control policies and migration management apparatuses (Chapter 3).

Interestingly the CIE of Las Palomas is inside a 17th century military base, which is located right beside the famous surfer beaches of Tarifa, in the most extreme piece of the Iberic Peninsula, cutting / connecting the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean. The CIE is not mentioned in the tourist signs around the site (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2013)⁸.

On the other side of the Strait, the CETI (Centro de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes – Temporary Migrants Detention Centres)⁹ of Ceuta has been become a kind of ‘magnifying glass’ on the conditions of the enclave itself. Indeed, as reported by Ferrer-Gallardo and Albet-Mas (*op.cit.* p.3), the CETI is not a closed centre: migrants can leave it and circulate in the city, which essentially ‘function as the CETI backyards’ (*ibid.*), but they cannot leave Ceuta. Together with the presence of these and other *limboscapas* that will be addressed

in the following chapter as part of the ‘border landscapes of power’, data available about migration show that, despite the implementation of surveillance and remote sensing technologies (the SIVE), the Strait is still the site of constant migratory routes. Indeed, between the 1st of January and the 16th of September 2013, Spain’s maritime rescue services ‘have picked up 1,396 migrants from boats off the coast of Spain’¹⁰, most of which landed in Tarifa, while in summer 2014 2,601 people arrived on the Andalusian coasts in 189 small boats (*pateras* in Spanish)¹¹. This quantitative picture only describes one side of the migratory phenomenon: it has been estimated that between 1988 and 2012, more than 20,000 people have died attempting to cross the Spanish-Moroccan border, both in the Strait and in the Canary Islands¹².

Along with this dramatic situation, the Strait of Gibraltar is the site of maritime traffic consisting of around 110,000 ships a year (El País, 2015), 35,000 of which connect the two sides of the Strait. Each day around 28 ferries connect the touristic harbour of Tarifa to the city port of Tanger. In addition to this route, the Strait is crossed North-to-South by three more routes: Algeciras - Ceuta (around 40 crossings a day), Algeciras – Tanger-Med (around 34 crossings a day) and Gibraltar – Tanger-Med (2 ferries a week). In 2011, the Sociedad de Salvamento y Seguridad Marítima (Sasemar – Maritime Security and Safeguard Company), based in Tarifa, identified 73,469 ships exiting the Mediterranean, while the harbour authority in Tanger (Tánger Tráfico) controlled 43,221 ships coming from the Atlantic Ocean. In 2006 around half of the annual traffic in the Strait was passenger ships and ferries¹³. Since 2007, after the opening of the Tanger Med Harbour, the Strait of Gibraltar has been divided into two areas of control, under a common surveillance system called Dispositivo de Separación de Tráfico en el Estrecho de Gibraltar (Strait Traffic Separation Device), which identifies two different zones of coastal navigation: one

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Fig. 06-07 / The Strait of Gibraltar - The Port of Algeciras.

(Photos by Alfredo Cáliz for El País, 2015. Retrieved from: www.elpais.com/especiales/2015/desafio-estrecho)

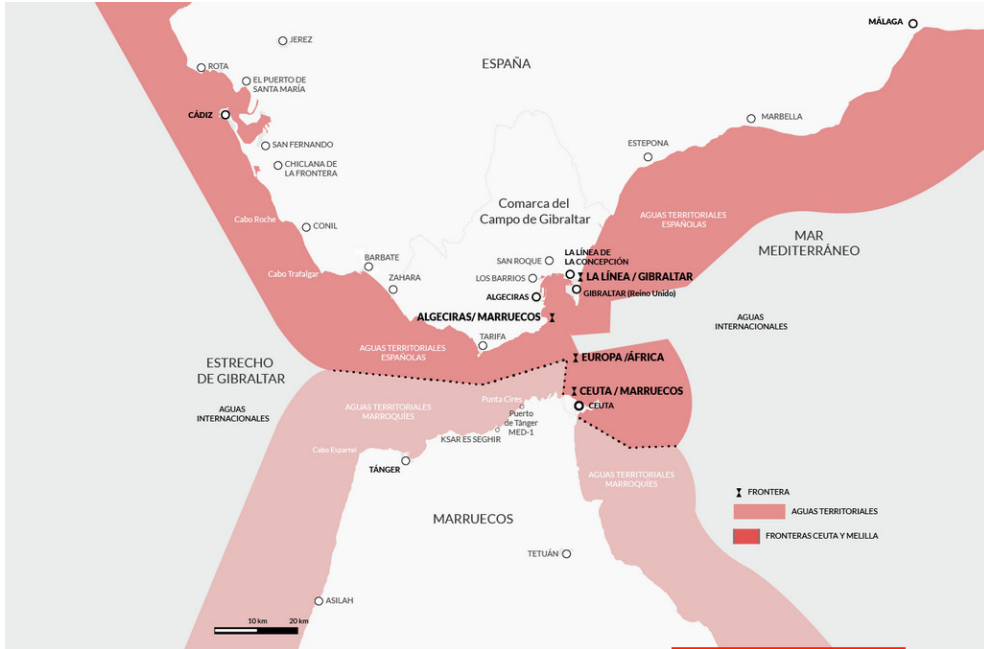
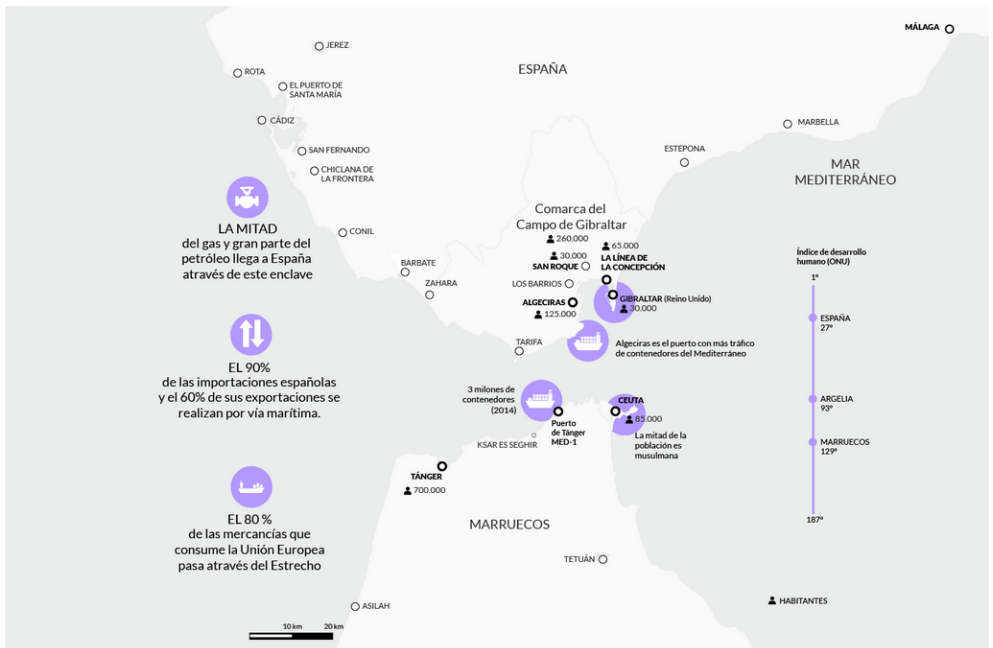
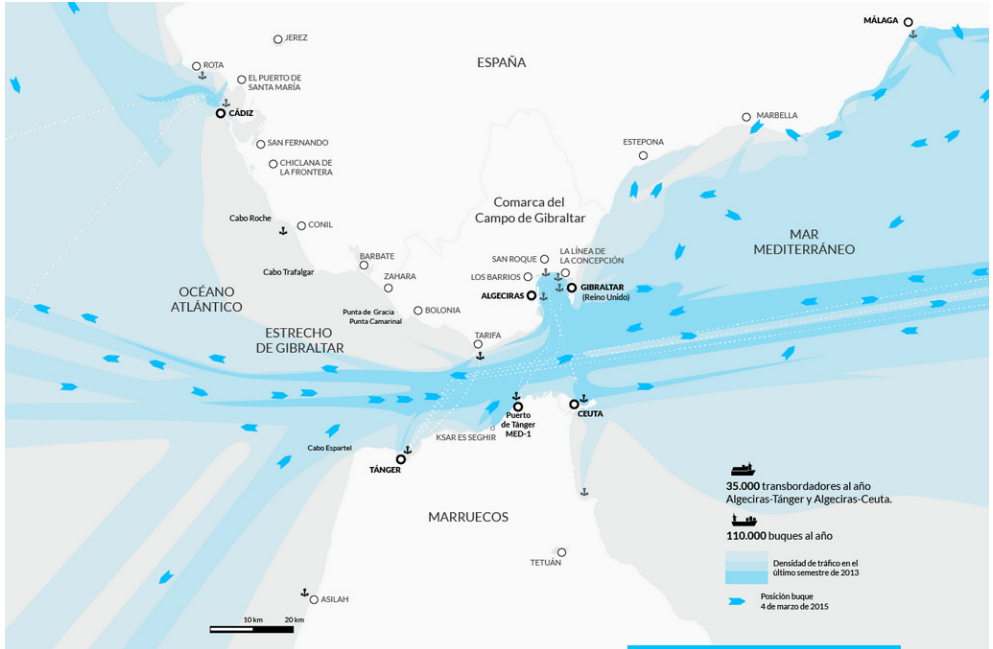


Fig. 08-11 / The Challenge of The Strait: keys. From top to bottom: borders; the SIVE; traffic; economy. (Maps by R. Höhr for El País, 2015. Retrieved from: www.elpais.com/especiales/2015/desafio-estrecho)



under the control of Tarifa Tráfico and the other under the Tánger Tráfico outpost¹⁴. By observing the real-time map available on the online platform *Maritime Traffic*¹⁵ it is possible to go into further detail on the specific entity of the seascape of the Strait. For example, together with the data available from port authorities, the maps subvert the projected overtaking of Tanger-Med over Algeciras harbour¹⁶. Traffic density visualisation offers an image of the quantitative presence of vessels in the Strait and around the two ports, showing a higher density around Algeciras and Gibraltar Bay. In 2013 the number of containers transported in the port of Algeciras was almost the double the number in Tanger-Med.

A recent research and multimedia project carried out by the Spanish newspaper *El País*, entitled *El desafío del Estrecho* (The challenge of the Strait)¹⁷ has explored and represented the Strait by addressing different dimensions, called ‘keys’¹⁸: *security*, *borders*, *maritime traffic*, *economy* and *trade*. These dimensions are discussed through maps and data, as well as photographic surveys (by the Spanish photographer Alfredo Cáliz) of Tanger, Algeciras, La Línea and Gibraltar, in addition to security and port authorities in Spain. Beyond the journalistic language and, from a certain perspective, rhetoric, *El desafío del Estrecho* platform is one of the most recent and wide-ranging surveys released on the Strait of Gibraltar, building multimedia and kaleidoscopic narratives on the region and its peculiar geopolitical and socio-economic conditions. In the following pages, some of this material is discussed as relevant documentation to help understand the main framework in which the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes are placed.

4.1.3. Bridges, tunnels and ‘air balloons’

A design contest launched in 2011 by Italian journal *Domus* and entitled ‘The Heracles

Project’ invited people from all around the world to propose ‘imaginative solutions’ to bridge Africa and Europe across the Strait of Gibraltar¹⁹.

The contest was inspired by an epistolary conversation between the Belgian philosophers Lieven De Caeter and Dieter Lesage, who reflected on the possibility of designing a bridge between the two shores of the Strait as, above all, ‘a beautiful artistic-political project’ and a ‘concrete utopia’²⁰. The conversation about the opportunity to connect Europe and Africa becomes an occasion to talk about otherness, identity, new forms of cultural ‘domination’ and neo-colonialism (‘Isn’t it again indicative of Eurocentrism to think of the physical connection between Europe and Africa in terms of a European typology?’ asks Dieter Lesage) and power interplays across the Mediterranean.

The contest produced a large number of proposals spanning from complex mega structures (floating bridges and cities, tunnels) to minimalistic and poetic projects. Despite the imaginative outcomes of the contest, the design solutions (many of which could be discussed not only from a disciplinary perspective, but also for their socio-political message) appear to be the less interesting products of this operation. Rather it is in the most critical proposals that bypass place-based or figurative representations and settings that one can find the most relevant meanings and cues emerging from the competition.

This is the case with the proposal made by Asif Khan and Pernilla Ohrstedt, *The Fnideq branch extension*.

The project assumes the expansion of the Northern Line of the London underground network with a branch line to Fnideq. According to the authors the project intends to be an experiment on the concepts of topology and familiarity. ‘The premise is to play on the suspension of the distrust of the commuter so as to make familiar a possible connection with Africa through the underground. By tube, the markets of

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Project Heracles

Fig. 12 / Asif Khan + Pernilla Ohrstedt - Fig. 13 / Bjarke Ingels (BIG).

(Retrieved from: www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2011/08/30/project-heracles-5.html)

Fnideq are no more difficult to imagine than Highway Cockfoster, since there is a line that takes you there. After all Fnideq is only a few stops away from Balham, and vice versa' (my translation)²¹.

F.13 Another thought provoking project is the one proposed by Bjarke Ingels / BIG: the design of commemorative banknotes (of 1,000 AFRO and 1,000 EURO) celebrating the construction of the bridge which connects Europe and Africa.

In this context, it is worth mentioning how many of projects presented and available on the DOMUS website reproduce and adopt some of the ideas and proposals that have already, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, been designed as possible connections between the two shores of the Strait.

F.14 Ferrer-Gallardo, Albet-Mas and Espiñeira (2014) mention one of the most famous, *Atlantiotropa*, by the German architect Herman Sörgel in the 1920s. The project, linked to a bigger vision of the Mediterranean, proposed the construction of a hydroelectric dam across the Strait, which would have connected Spain and Morocco and created a reduction in the level of the Mediterranean Sea and produced new drained lands. Ferrer-Gallardo, Albet-Mas and Espiñeira underline the colonial and dominant perspective of the project, namely how 'a tangible Euro-African linkage connection would have implied turning Africa into a huge physical but also colonial peninsula of Europe' (*ivi.*, p.3).

The Spanish colonial government in Morocco made similar efforts, starting from the early 1910s, with a series of projects for the construction of a tunnel (or a bridge or both) connecting the two shores (Albet-Mas,

F.15 1999a, p.410).

A technical commission (the CETSEG) was established in 1927, to prepare a preliminary project for the underwater infrastructure and to suggest possible locations for the tunnel, for which various solutions were proposed. Meanwhile the commission conducted various surveys of the Strait's

backdrop in order to assess the conditions of the sea-bed. Some of the geological drills used for testing are still on site and were photographed by Yto Barrada²² in 2002.

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The plan was developed and disseminated to the public until 1935, when, due to political instability (the Spanish Civil War) and technical problems, the project was frozen²³. Ferrer-Gallardo, Albet-Mas and Espiñeira (*op.cit.*) highlight how the project of the tunnel keeps recurring, despite the economic and technical complexity (due to the hardness of the submarine rocks). In 2003 'a joint Spanish–Moroccan technical commission – supported by both governments – proposed a tunnel as the best option to physically connect Europe and Africa across the Strait of Gibraltar'. Despite alternating periods of revival and dismissal, the project is still on the political agenda of both countries and different studies / projects have been tested. The most recent sea-bed test campaign, funded by Spain and Morocco through Secegsa and SNED, the two companies in charge of the development of the study, took place in 2010²⁴.

4.1.4. Tanger: the city, the border and the cinéma(thèque)

From 1912 (and formally from 1923) until 1956, Tanger was an International Zone, 'a city without a nation, divided and governed by France, Spain, Great Britain and representatives of the Moroccan Sultan, and various other plenipotentiaries. While each was eager to control the Strait, none of them was much interested in governing the city. The so called 'Interzone Decades' invited the decadent 'West' to Tanger, where the pleasures forbidden by post-war austerity flowed freely' (Barrada and Berrada, 2011). This peculiar political and administrative condition was the outcome of an agreement between European countries and the US, intended to solve disputes around the control and influence of the city, due to

its strategic positioning and in light of the presence of the two colonial protectorates in Morocco (the French and Spanish).

The product of this agreement was a forty-year period of mixed government, a dual currency and a 'dupli-city' (Barrada and Barrada, 2011, p.23), where two (or more) parallel urban realities and populations lived side by side (Ribas-Mateos, 2005, p.226). As El Younssi says, (2012²⁵, quoting Mullins, 2002²⁶) the city was 'suspended between nations, cultures, and languages. (...) the interzone is a place of intermediacy and ambiguity, a place that remains outside standard narratives of nationhood and identity' (*ibid.*).

In this context, from the end of the Second World War Tanger became the scenario in which many Western intellectuals, writers and artists from European countries and the US (William Burroughs, Paul Bowles, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Jean Genet, among many others) moved and set their masterpieces. In his collection of short stories *Interzone* and his seminal novel *Naked Lunch*, both written while living in Morocco in the mid 1950s, Burroughs describes Tanger as 'the composite City where all human potentials are spread out in a vast silent market'²⁷. In this light, the city appears as a place where everything was allowed and every human relation was linked to (economic, sexual, drugs) exchange. Unquestionably, the work of such writers and artists (like Bowles, who spent almost all his active life living and working in Tanger) contributed to projecting an ambiguous and outlandish imaginary of the city in Western culture. In one of Bowles' 1950s novels, *Let It Come Down* (1952-2006) the city becomes a metaphor and a mirror of the fragmentation and decay of the protagonist's mind and identity, losing himself in an unknown culture in which expats move and live according to their own set of values, rules and spaces.

In this regard some contemporary Moroccan intellectuals have pointed out how the work of these artists contributed to the

construction of a precise imaginary around the city and about Morocco in general.

As described by Omar Barrada (Barrada and Barrada, *op. cit.* p.23) and also by Yto Barrada on different occasions, this image was 'characterized by exoticism, as a myth of fairy-tale like architecture, drugs, homosexuality, and the epitome of permissive Oriental culture' (cfr. Hütte, 2011, p.10).

At the same time this imaginary produced what El Younssi (*op.cit.*) has identified as a kind of literary hybridity: 'Such transnational, transcultural encounters within Tangier played a key role in transforming the city from a locale of physical hybridity into a space of *literary hybridity*. This process of literary hybridisation, I would add, does not exclude the city's physical hybridity.

'In a way, one could say that Tangier became a supra-hybrid space of physical hybridity and literary hybridity. As a meeting point of writers of diverse backgrounds, Tangier inspired both foreign and Moroccan writers to produce literary works with visible marks of cultural and linguistic hybridity' (*ivi*).

This hybridity is exemplified by the work of one of the most famous Tangerine (and Moroccan) writers, Mohamed Choukri. Indeed, his literary production is closely related to the life and work of Paul Bowles (and in a certain way, vice versa) who first translated and disseminated his works. In his most renowned novel (*For Bread Alone*) Choukri reconstructs his own autobiographic experiences of poverty, violence and struggle for life as a child and adolescent in pre-independence North Morocco. Here his early encounters with the expats (either the Spanish or Europeans in general) were related to 'surviving', from one side, and 'abuse', from the other. Indeed, Choukri (born in the Rif in 1935) spent part of his childhood in Tanger, Tetouan and later in the Algerian Rif,

working for a French family who owned a farm. He eventually came back to Tanger to make a living, while experiencing robbery and prostitution.

According to Walonen (2011), the work of Choukri ‘testifies to the segregate spatialities of Tanger that was a result of the administrative zoning of Morocco’. Indeed, the spaces in which young Choukri grew up and lived can be seen as the fragmented, residual and marginal spaces left by colonial spatial divisions.

Ribas-Mateos (2005), quoting the work of Janet Abu-Lughod (1980), argues that the colonial time has produced ‘substantial ruptures in the structure of Moroccan cities, which have led to a number of divisions according to social class’ (*ivi*, p.225). The separations imposed during the Interzone, between Moroccans and Europeans and between Muslims, Jews and Christians have had direct and long-lasting effects on Moroccan urban environments and societies. In the case of Tanger these divisions intersect with the peculiar conditions of the city, always considered the most ‘European’ city in Morocco due to the role of Spanish (and to a lesser extent, French) influence in the construction of its architecture and urban-scape (*ibid.*; Bravo-Nieto, 2000, p.121).

By looking at the city through a post-colonial and globalisation studies lens, Natalia Ribas-Mateos addresses Tanger as a ‘border city’. Border cities in the context of the European southern boundary in the Mediterranean, are considered ‘borderzones’, namely the sites where ‘social, cultural, economic and political systems (...) interact in specific ways’ (*ivi*, p.180).

The use of the ‘border city’ as a key notion to address Tanger means considering it not only in terms of external passive influence (due to European and international colonial government and current cultural influence), but also in terms of mutual interferences. In effect, Tanger could be considered a border city for a multiplicity of reasons, which Ribas-Mateos debates (*op. cit.*,

p.228) around three main points: the city as a port, and therefore a boundary itself in geographical and physical terms; a funnel between different cultures; and a gateway to Europe. Regarding the second and third points, Ribas-Mateos notes how the traditional cosmopolitanism of the city itself ‘prepares people for mobility’ (*ibid.*). This is even truer with regard to sub-Saharan migrants. Due to the presence of Ceuta (which is only 46 km away), Tanger has become the place ‘where migrants structure their long-term and short-term project of transition’, waiting for their chance to cross the Strait. The same force of attraction between Tanger and Spain (due to the visual and physical proximity between the North Moroccan and Andalusian coasts) has been a key feature in the lives of young Moroccans since the late 1980s, with the sealing off of the EU border. Yto Barrada refers to the violent desire for crossing, by reporting that ‘to cross’ in local dialect is called ‘to burn’ ‘because you burn your past, your identity, your papers, because if you’re caught on the other side if you’re from Algeria you may get permission to stay, because of the political situation; if you’re from Morocco you’re sent back right away. So there’s this obsession to get on the other side where the grass is greener that animates the streets of the city of Tangier, that governs everything you do from the morning to the night’ (Collins, 2006).

In this context, together with the Musee de la Kasbah one of the main cultural points of reference for the city of Tanger for both Tangerines and Europeans, is the Cinémathèque de Tanger, the former Cinema Rex / Rif, the renovation of which began in 2006 under the initiative of a group of Moroccan intellectuals and artists²⁸. The Cinémathèque represents a key (public) urban space in the definition of Tanger as a border city, with its capacity for attracting and concentrating a multi-layered community. Indeed, the Cinémathèque works as a transnational social space with many different meanings. It first represents

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Cinémathèque de Tanger

Fig. 16 / The project & the city

(Photo: *Album: Cinematheque Tangier - A project by Yto Barrada*, an exhibition at Walker Art Center, Minneapolis - November 21, 2013–May 18, 2014. Retrieved from: www.walkerart.org/calendar/2013/album-cinematheque-tangier-a-project-by-yto-b).

Fig. 17 / Programs (Photo by A. Buoli, Tangier - October 2013).

Fig. 18 / The cinema as a public space (Photo by Sarah Keller, © Cinémathèque de Tanger)

a service for local inhabitants, thanks to its facilities and functions: the Cinémathèque is a cinema, one of the few left in the city centre. Its cafeteria is a place of meeting for many young Tangerines, partly due to the presence of a free wifi connection and the comfortable environment.

A second level is represented by the organisation of local workshops and events related to music and cinema, devoted to a local public (children, adolescents, amateurs).

A third level is related to its role as a cultural international and regional archive, preserving original Maghrebi and Arabic films as well as publications and other documents related to Arab cinema.

A fourth and final level regards the organisation of international festivals and events which bring national and international authors, filmmakers, actors, critics, etc. to Tanger (for example the Mediterranean Short Film Festival in October and the National Film Festival in January / February).

From a socio-cultural-spatial perspective, the Cinémathèque represents then a polarity and a hinge, not only at the urban level (being located in the main square of Tanger, the Grand Socco), but also at a different cross-scalar level, bridging the city with other cultural and artistic networks²⁹.

The renovation of the Cinema Rif (which originally opened in 1938 as Cinema Rex – cfr. Barrada and Berrada, 2011, p.34) and the conception of the Cinémathèque should be considered in relation to the decay and closing of the other Tangerine cinemas which had opened since the early 1900s: Alcazar, Capitol, Ciné-Americano, Dawliz, Flandria, Goya, Ciné Lux, Mabrouk, Mauritania, Paris, Rif (ancien Rex), Roxy, Tarik and Vox³⁰. Among these only three have survived (Roxy, Paris and the Rif), while the others remain vacant or have been converted to other functions.

The relationship between the city, its cinemas and the border constitutes a kind of thematic cluster which has crossed the story of Tanger and the northern region



Fig. 19 / The Medina of Tanger
(Source: Google Earth, 2013).

of Morocco during the last century and constitutes a fertile terrain of reflection and study crossing disciplinary boundaries (art, urbanism, architecture, cultural and post-colonial studies and so forth).

4.2. Moroccan / Spanish border polyptychs

In this context and in relation to the constellar narratives developed so far, it is worth devoting some space to some of the most recent artistic productions on the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands, by looking at the work of artists, video makers and photographers who have assumed what has been explained in Chapter 2, as 'border polyptychs', namely a multidimensional set of artistic practices (in terms of thinking and agency), through which the explorations of border landscapes relate to cultural, visual and historical apparatuses and political perspectives, marking a meaningful connection between border politics and border aesthetics (Brambilla, 2014a). In this context, the broad and complex artistic production of Yto Barrada on the city of Tanger and the Strait of Gibraltar aims to 'expose the metonymic character of the Strait through a series of images that reveal the tension (...) between its allegorical nature and immediate harsh reality' (Hütte, 2011, p.9). Her work is drawn on a meaningful intertwinement and mirroring between the author's family biography and the political and historical border genealogy and conditions of the Tanger-Tetouan region. A series of themes or fields of research appear to be pervasive in her work. A first recurrent bundle of themes, in the words of the artist, is the 'violence of departure', inscribed in the (im)mobility conditions of Tanger's population due to the presence of the political border and reflected in her own personal story: 'I, too,

left Tangier for more than ten years; by moving back I have placed myself amidst the violence of homecoming. There are no *flâneurs* here, and no innocent bystanders' (Hütte, *op.cit.*).

This is the case in the *The Strait Project. A life of Holes*, a photographic work developed between 1993 and 2003, in which the Strait, as a border landscape, is addressed through the construction of visual iconographic, photographic and textual apparatuses, which Barrada defines through different associations and combinations of materials: archive documents and images, texts, photographic series, sculptures and films (Barrada, 2005).

'Barrada approaches the city and its residents and shows them caught in the permanent state of waiting. The artist developed a kind of photography that deals with the ephemeral and the peripheral. She doesn't render dramatic events, desperate people, or acts of violence, but rather little noticed, unspectacular aspects of city life' (Hütte, *op.cit.*, p. 9).

The themes of her artistic research are constructed through a process of metaphoric and physical 'juxtaposition' that she defines as 'photomontage' (Barrada and Collins, 2006).

A second field of themes is related to the visibilisation of a 'new grammar of power'³¹ in north Moroccan natural and urban landscapes: in the *Iris Tingitana* series (2007) and in the *Beau geste* film (2009) there is a sarcastic and harsh, subtle critique of the way in which the cultural and natural landscapes of Morocco have been progressively eroded, marketed and homogenised (Powers, 2011, p.134) by the political and economic development strategies of Moroccan political powers and international financial elites.

'Barrada addresses the exploitation and loss of wild and spontaneous natural species in the 'radically changing landscapes of Tanger' (Powers, *op.cit.*, p.136).

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Yto Barrada

Fig. 20 / Le Détroit, Boulevard Playa, Tanger, 2000.

Fig. 21 / The Strait of Gibraltar, reproduction of an aerial photograph, Tanger, 2003.

Fig. 22 / Arbre généalogique (Family Tree), 2005.

Fig. 23 / Camp de Calamocarro, Sebta, 1999/2011.

Fig. 24 / Field of Irises, Tangier, 2007.

Fig. 25 / Tunnel - Disused Survey Site for a Morocco-Spain Connection, 2002.

Fig. 26 / Vacant Lot, 2001.

Fig. 27 / Marché aux moutons - jour, Val Fleuri - Tanger, 2007.

(From left to right)

All photos © Yto Barrada





Xavier Ribas

Fig. 28 / Concrete Geographies. Ceuta Border Fence Series, 2009.

All photos © Xavier Ribas (www.xavierribas.com)



The series is based on the often-disorienting juxtaposition of contrasting images: vacant lots, fields of Iris Tingitana (a native flower of the Peninsula Tingitana), young men in natural contexts. 'Flowers are wrongly considered inherently poetic. Here they have quietly become political. The overnight appearance in Tangier's traffic circles of thousands of pink geraniums, in a seasonal full bloom, or the quick march of imported palm trees from the south along the *corniche* of Tangier speak in botanical code of the new grammar of power'³².

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In the short film '*Beau geste*' we see a group of men trying to save a solitary palm tree in a construction site: their 'good action' can be read as an act of resistance against the reduction of space left to nature and social / political agency in Morocco. The artist commented:

'What interests me is the gesture of disobedience. It contains the perspective for an action. We've occupied this interesting position between poetry and politics' (Hütte, 2011, p.10).

The juxtaposition of images and concepts through analogy or contrast has been observed by art critic and curator Okwui Enwezor: 'Barrada has developed terms of spatial inquiry that move in counter-measures, linking abstract principles of progress and development with the sentient burning that links emancipatory desire and agency, destination and destiny, roots and routes, labour and work' (Enwezor, 2011, p.32).

The practical counterpart of Barrada's critical and artistic research can be found in her cultural activism as a founding member and director of the Cinematheque, as discussed previously.

From a common artistic and political angle, in 2009 Spanish photographer and scholar Xavier Ribas³³ (cfr. Chapter 2) published two photographic surveys as a result of his research in Ceuta and Melilla, in the context of his '*Concrete geographies*' series, later

presented in different European exhibitions as two 'polyptych'.

In the text accompanying the two photographic series, Ribas addressed Ceuta and Melilla's border perimeters as 'the contemporary public works that can best define, like monuments to inequality, the European landscape of the 21st century'³⁴. By placing the two border fences in relation to his research on 19th century European and Spanish public works, Ribas highlights the role of photography (and of photographic expeditions) in the production of a new kind of visual knowledge and representation on / about early colonial capitalistic territorial expansion.

Indeed, he explains how 'it is possible to trace parallels between this making of a new landscape and the development of photographic representation of the land' (Ribas, 2009³⁵).

In reference to this photographic tradition, Ribas defines his work on Ceuta and Melilla's border landscapes, shaped by the fences, as a way to build a statement and a response to the 'lack of visibility' (*ibid.*) of those landscapes. For this reason Ribas builds a distance between his camera and the fences, by photographing them only from public access points, 'without mediation or intimacy with the institutions that regulate them' (*ibid.*). By adopting a landscape perspective and a kind of distant angle from the objects of his attention, Ribas is able to produce a southward silent narrative on the re-production of landscapes of inequality along the border, bypassing existing rhetoric of division and any victimisation / stigmatisation of border communities, by contemporarily assuming a critical and committed gaze.

F.28

4.3. The border as an ambivalent and selective system of control³⁶

Since the mid-1990s, following Spain's admission to the EU (1986) and to the Schengen Agreement (1991), the border between Morocco and Spain, along Ceuta and Melilla's border perimeters, began to be sealed off (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008) in compliance with EU migration policies and the implementation of the Schengen common borders.

A shared surveillance apparatus and security measures drew on new visa requirements and a novel networked system of control, which occasionally materialised itself into physical barriers to unwanted mobilities. This is the case with the border between the two enclaves and Morocco, which between 1993 and 1998 began to be enclosed by two militarised barriers (*vallas*), further enhanced in 1999 (Ceuta) and 2007 (Melilla) with new technological equipment along the border fences to prevent irregular crossings and cross-border 'smuggling' activities. At a regional scale, along with the *vallas*, and in line with EU border policy and surveillance framework, in 1999 a high-tech Integrated Exterior Surveillance System (the SIVE - Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior) was set up on the Andalusian coast and, later, in the Canary Islands.

From 1999, the Popular Party (PP)-led Spanish government approved a plan for the surveillance of the southern borders to track the arrival of *pateras* from Moroccan and North African coasts: the estimated cost was 150 million Euros for a period of five years (Fernández Bessa, 2008, p.144).

The plan involved the implementation of an operative remote sensing system for the Guardia Civil, the SIVE: a system of sensors, cameras and radars capable of transmitting information in real time to a central command and control headquarters

which coordinates the operation to intercept any boat approaching the coast of Spain (*ivi*, p.145). All this was in order to identify and intercept small boats at a great distance.

The installation of the SIVE occurred in different stages: from 2004 it was deployed in Algeciras, Fuerteventura, Cadiz, Malaga, Ceuta and Granada; in 2005 it was established in Almería, Huelva, Lanzarote and Gran Canaria. It was later implemented in Alicante and Murcia, while projects for its installation in Tenerife, La Gomera, El Hierro, Valencia and Ibiza are in progress. With the incorporation of this last phase, the surveillance system will cover 981 kilometres of coast, from Portugal to Castellón (*ivi*, p.146): in 2008 the average budget for the project was Euro 232.16 million (*ibid.*).

Furthermore it has been observed that, despite its networked dimension, border control at the southern border and in the Strait is actually a centralised system. Indeed a recent report published by El País (2015) goes into detail about the ongoing and prospective Spanish surveillance apparatus. In the waters between Cabo de Gata in Almería and the Bay of Cádiz, a navy vessel meaningfully called *Vigía* constantly patrols the area and transmits data 'in real time to COVAM, the Maritime Action Surveillance Operations Centre, based in the Mediterranean port city of Cartagena. The centre monitors all activity not just in the Strait of Gibraltar, but anywhere Spanish naval vessels are active (...)

Around 600 kilometres north of Gibraltar, the Civil Guard's National Centre for the Coordination of Maritime Surveillance of Coasts and Borders, located in a huge bunker in Madrid, receives information 24 hours a day. This is the Interior Ministry's eyes and ears on the Strait of Gibraltar. On the huge screen that dominates the room each meter of the border fences around Spain's North African enclaves in Ceuta and Melilla can be seen, along with the rest of Morocco's Mediterranean coastline, and every palm tree all the way from France to Portugal. It also monitors each patrol area,

whether on land, sea, or air, along with the Civil Guard's own vessels off the west coast of Africa' (*ibid.*).

Due to the SIVE and the resulting blockage of migratory routes through the Mediterranean, the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla and the Canary Islands have become prominent migration routes. This led to the events of September 2005, when eleven migrants died and many others were injured attempting to cross the enclave fences (Ferrer-Gallardo and Albet-Mas, 2013). More recently, in February 2014, fifteen sub-Saharan migrants drowned in Spanish-Moroccan waters, while trying to circumnavigate Ceuta's barrier under circumstances yet to be explained.

Despite the presence of these huge physical / digital and remote sensing systems of control, there is a widely held view that the Moroccan / Spanish border represents a permeable and selective 'apparatus' (Castan Pinos, 2009; Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008, 2010) of control, which permits or hinders different kinds of mobilities and exchanges across the border.

Along with transnational mobilities, the lack of 'official' collaboration between local authorities (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2010), due to the persistence of sovereignty disputes, has allowed a multiplicity of de-facto trans-boundary trade practices. According to a 2002 report by the American Chamber of Commerce of Casablanca (quoted in APDHA et al. 2012), around 45,000 people in Ceuta and Melilla depend directly on informal trade and 400,000 are indirectly involved in it. In 2005, a journalistic investigation estimated that up to 80% of the goods imported into Ceuta and Melilla from Spain pass directly to Morocco through the cities' perimeters, in large part irregularly (Barbulo, 2005).

In this context the coexistence of dominant landscapes of power (Rajaram and Grundy Warr, 2007) and resulting strategies of border resistance (Brambilla, 2014a,b) becomes evident. These interplays between cooperation and conflict, hegemonic and

counterhegemonic tactics will be explored more in depth in Chapter 5.

Notes

1. Source: www.arauco.org/SAPEREAUDE/cartografia/mapasac/tabularogeriana.html
2. A part of Euomed Heritage Programme. www.qantara-med.org.
3. Source: www.qantara-med.org/qantara4/public/show_document.php?do_id=1162&lang=en#
4. As discussed in Chapter 1 - par. 1.1.1 (cfr. Cella 2008, 43-45).
5. The first scholars proposing this term as regards the Moroccan / Spanish border were Ferrer-Gallardo and Albet-Mas, 2013.
6. Source: www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/docs/AdvanceDocs/APDHA2Spain94_sp.pdf.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Source: www.elfarodigital.es/ceuta/sociedad/114104-un-cie-en-el-fin-de-europa.html
9. The centre, which is located in a suburban area of the city and occupies an area of 12,815 m², can accommodate up to 512 people (men and women). It was built in 2000, following the closure of the Calamocarro camp, which, for five years, had housed migrants who tried to enter Ceuta. The EU funded 30% of the work with an investment of approximately 900,000 Euros. Source: www.empleo.gob.es/es/Guia/texto/guia_15/contenidos/guia_15_37_3.htm. As reported again by Ferrer-Gallardo, Albet-Mas and Espiñeira (2014, p. 8) 'In Spain, provisional detention camps for immigrants have been identified in the military quarters of Las Raíces in Tenerife, La Isleta in Gran Canaria and Las Palomas in Tarifa. Also, transit areas and dependencies for rejected people in ports (Algeciras) and airports (Madrid-Barajas, Barcelona-El Prat and Fuerteventura). The eight operative Migrant Detention Centres (CIE) are located in Algeciras, Barcelona, Fuerteventura, Las Palmas, Madrid, Murcia, Santa Cruz de

- Tenerife and Valencia. Moreover, there are two Centres of Temporary Stay for Immigrants (CETI) situated exclusively in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, characterised by their semi-open regime (...).
10. Source: www.timeslive.co.za/africa/2013/10/06/despite-risks-african-migrants-still-try-to-reach-spain
 11. Source: www.ccaa.elpais.com/cca/2014/09/25/andalucia/1411654878_739097.html
 12. Source: www.ccaa.elpais.com/cca/2012/04/13/paisvasco/1334337921_199841.html
 13. Source: www.europasur.es/articulo/maritimas/1168714/tanger/controla/la/navegacion/buques/estrecho.html
 14. Source: www.salvamentomaritimo.es/sm/que-hacemos/controlamos-el-trafico-maritimo/modificacion-del-dispositivo-de-separacion-de-trafico-del-estrecho-de-gibraltar
 15. Source: www.marinetraffic.com
 16. Source: www.internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2014/09/12/actualidad/1410529771_169560.html
 17. Source: www.elpais.com/especiales/2015/desafio-estrecho/
 18. Source: www.elpais.com/especiales/2015/desafio-estrecho/claves.html
 19. Source: www.domusweb.it/it/search.html?typ e=tag&key=Project+Heracles
 20. Source: www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2011/05/03/project-heracles-a-aurfrican-bridge.html
 21. Source: www.domusweb.it/it/architettura/2011/08/29/project-heracles-5.html
 22. Moroccan artist based in Tanger and New York. Biography of the artist available at www.ytobarrada.com/index.php/bio/bio/.
 23. Source: www.enlacefijodelestrechodegibraltar.blogspot.it/2008/07/articulo-publicado-revista-aljaranda.html
 24. Source: www.enlacefijodelestrechodegibraltar.blogspot.it/
 25. Source: www.moroccoworldnews.com/2012/07/46745/tangier-as-an-international-city-a-hybrid-space-giving-birth-to-a-hybrid-literature-3/
 26. Mullins, G., 2002, *Colonial Affairs: Bowles, Burroughs, and Chester Write Tangier*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
 27. Burroughs, W. 1959, *Naked Lunch*, Grove Press, New York, p.106 quoted in Sante, 2011, p.58.
 28. Among many: Yto Barrada, Bouchra Khalili, Hakim Belabbes, Khalil Benkirane, Abdelouahed El Alami, Rasha Salti, Menem Richa, Rehda Moali, Omar Balafrej. Source: <http://www.cinemathequedetanger.com/texte-91-3-2.html>.
 29. Such as the Network of Arab Arthouse Screens (Berrada and Barrada, 2011, p.39).
 30. Source: www.tanger-experience.com/?p=3903
 31. Author's description of '*Iris Tingitana*' series. Source: www.sfeir-semmler.com/gallery-artists/yto-barrada/view-work/.
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. Xavier Ribas is a photographer and lecturer at the University of Brighton, and visiting lecturer at the Universidad Politécnica de Valencia. He studied Social Anthropology at the University of Barcelona (1990) and Documentary Photography at the Newport School of Art and Design (1993). Currently lives and works in Brighton and Barcelona. Source: www.xavierribas.com.
 34. Source: www.xavierribas.com/Contents/Ceuta/Xavier_Ribas_CG_En.pdf.
 35. *Ibid.*
 36. his idea was first proposed by Castan Pinos (2009) and Ferrer-Gallardo (2008, 2010).

(All websites last accessed in March 2015, except where stated differently).

Atlas III

The 'colonial modern' experience in Morocco: legacies and perspectives

Starting from the beginning of the 19th century, European countries and the USA began to show a strong attention towards Morocco as a potential context where to expand their economic and political interests. As reported by Berramdane (1987, pp.18-30) during the period between 1800 and 1912 became an 'international issue' addressed by means of diplomatic activities and military actions, mainly by France and Spain, which started to operate as main actors in this context, together with the USA. While the latter were interested in opening new trade circuits and securing freedom of trade and movement (in the context of its *Open Door Policy* – *ibidem*), France and Spain had more territorial-based interests. In a convention dated 27 June 1900, France and Spain agreed to recognize separate zones of influence in Morocco, but did not specify their boundaries. France officially established

a protectorate over Morocco with the Treaty of Fez (March 30, 1912), ending what remained of the country's de facto independence. The same year, the Spanish protectorate in Morocco was established on November 27 by a treaty between France and Spain that converted the Spanish sphere of influence into a formal protectorate¹. The Spanish area included two different territories: a) the Northern Region of Morocco, corresponding to the Rif mountains, the Mediterranean coast and a short portion the Atlantic coast south of Tanger; b) the region of Villa Bens (Tarfaya) at in the southern area of Morocco, bounded on the north by the Draa River and south from the colony of Spanish Sahara, already under the official rule of Spain starting from 1884. The French protectorate included the rest of the country, with the exception of Tanger that became international zone (cfr. paragraph 1).

Colonial modern and bottom-up urban spatial practices in the French Protectorate

During the first half of the 20th century the French colonial Government in Morocco financed a series of studies and projects in order to address the emerging housing needs of a growing rural-to-urban population and, at the same time, to control, through a rational and systematic urban development model, the colonized territories and inhabitants.

The studies for the urban plan of Casablanca, in particular, conducted since the early '50s by the *Service de l'Urbanisme* directed by Michel Ecochard, and later developed by the research and planning group *ATBAT Afrique*², had as main focus the recognition of a new kind of 'habitat', an urban and architectural model for the inhabitants of the *bidonvilles*. Following / adopting housing principles from local architectural culture and a new concept of dwelling,



Fig. A1 / The Carrière centrale development in Casablanca. Cité Horizontale/Verticale (1952)
(Source: von Osten, 2008)

related both to urbanization and densification processes and to the recognition of ‘neighbourhood units’, as self-contained and self-sufficient urban entity³. The Ecochard’s plan drew on a strategy of intervention ranging from the reorganisation of the shanty towns (*restructuration*), temporary accommodations (*relogement*), till the creation of new residential developments (*habitations à loyer modéré*) in the outskirts of the main urban centres and outside the perimeter of the *villes nouvelles*. This last model was based on a structural modular grid of 8x8 meter, inspired by the

traditional patio-house of the Moroccan *medinas*. In this direction two pilot projects were developed and carried out in Casablanca: the *Cité Horizontale/Verticale* (1952) a complex of two differential density building typologies (low and high-rise) designed by Candilis and Woods placed alongside the informal Muslim quarter of *Carrières Central* and the district of *Sidi Othman* (1953 - 1955) designed by the Swiss architects Jean Studer and André Hentsch, further expressionist interpretation of the Moroccan *kasbah* (An Architektur, 2008). Elements and styles of local architecture were assumed

as compositional elements employed to suggest continuity with the traditional forms of local architecture (*ibidem*). These projects were among the first attempts to study pre-modern forms of dwelling, beyond the modernist approaches emerged during the first half of the century, inside the CIAM. It is in this context that the novel approach to architecture and urbanism proposed by Team 10 started to be disseminated and find empirical applications, first outside Europe. Indeed Karakayalı and von Osten (2008) suggest that the ‘*Cité Verticale* and the



Fig. A2 / Sidi Othman Housing Casablanca today.

(Source: von Osten, 2008)

insights gained in Casablanca played a very important role in the international discourse' (*ibid.*) on modern architecture and urbanism and in particular in the work of the young architects of the Team 10. The authors make reference to a text by Alison and Peter Smithson: 'We regard these buildings in Morocco as the greatest achievement since Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles. Whereas the unité was the summation of a technique of thinking about 'habitat' which started forty years ago, the importance of the Moroccan buildings is that they are presented as ideas;

but it is their realization in built form that convinces us that here is a new universal (Smithson, 1955)' (*ibid.*) Nevertheless, von Osten (2009) observes how the reference to place-based and local architectural cultures, was at the same time the product of 'existing definitions of cultural and racial difference. (...) While the new housing complexes of Carrière centrale, El Hank, Sidi Othman, and others were divided both racially and religiously into developments for Muslims, Jews, and Europeans, the estates for 'Muslims' were built farther away from the colonial

European city centre, on the edge of an empty intermediate zone known as the 'Zone Sanitaire'. This striking spatial segregation was a legacy of the colonial apartheid regime in which Moroccans were forbidden to enter the protectorate city unless they were employed as domestic servants in European households, and likewise constituted a strategic measure, facilitating military operations against possible resistance struggles' (*ibid.*). Moreover according to the authors these experiences functioned as 'as a laboratory for European modernisation projects and projections. The city

of Casablanca was not only the locus of Europe's first underground car park and the largest American scale swimming pool, but also became the testing ground for several modernisation strategies during and after the Second World War' (*ibidem*). At the same time the project is one of the first interesting examples of how transnational experts in the field of architecture and planning were recruited to give shape to the *colonial project* (Avermaete et al., 2010b).

The outcomes of these experiences appear to have had a strong political content, but towards different 'directions': from one side they can be seen as the coagulation on the territory of 'colonial dominant power' and 'spatial sedimentation of hegemony' (aimed at rationally organize and control the social fabric of the colonised territories); on the other hand, some scholars have observed that many of the resistances, demonstrations and strikes that lead to the independence of Morocco (1956) started in these settlements.

After more than half a century, the experience of colonial Modernism seems to have 'failed' in its main objectives. As witnessed by a recent study (Avermaete et al., *op.cit.*), the current conditions of the buildings designed by the architects of ATBAT Afrique are far

from their original ideas. Both the lodgings and facades of the *Cité Vertical* and *Sidi Othman* have been broadly changed by their inhabitants: closing the suspended patios, adding closure elements and gardens, opening windows and doors. These are some of transformations that users have made over the years, adapting the houses to their needs. The same 'fate' occurred to the buildings made on the basis of the *Ecohard grid*, where the original structures have substantially disappeared. These transformations allow to identify a particular character of the experience of Colonial modern in developing countries⁴ (among which Morocco represents a particular case) and that concerns the way in which modern architectures, originally designed and built to be part of a process of change and 'modernisation' of local societies (from a colonial perspective), have been deeply transformed by the inhabitants, according to traditional forms of 'occupation of space', referred to the historic city, the *medinas*.

The seasons of Spanish colonial urban planning

If Casablanca represents one of the main testing grounds for French urban planning, architectural and mass housing experiments, Ceuta and Melilla, together

with Tetouan as the capital of the Spanish Protectorate after 1912 (Albet-Mas, 1999a, p.408) became the main urban poles of the region, around which the Spanish colonial government organized its administrative structure and territorial occupation.

Indeed, at the beginning of the 20th century this part of North Morocco was almost an 'untouched' territory in which the lack of other urban centres enhanced the role of Ceuta and Melilla, as main points of connection with the Peninsula and Europe (*ivi*, p.409). It's around the two enclaves that the Spanish colonial government started to plan its 'civilisation mission' into an explored and supposed underdeveloped area. This paternalistic rhetoric of 'progress' has been read as a way to cover the 'evident exploitative and colonizing incapacity' (*ivi*, p.414 – my translation) of Spain in relation to other European countries, and in particular France.

Indeed it has been observed how the Spanish intervention in North Morocco (mainly led by the army, at its very begging) was lacking of 'a political vision in the process of occupation, intervention and transformation of the Moroccan territory', if compared with the French example (*ivi*, p.416 – my translation).

The absence of such political vision is reflected into the emergence of a specific

aesthetic in terms of urban and architectural design (*ivi*, p.417), which persists until the end of the Rif War (1921-1926) and of the Spanish Civil War (1936 – 1939). In this context the so called *Estilo rifeño* (Rif's style) started to be developed and used as a distinctive feature of public, military as well private buildings: one of the main protagonists of this approach was the Spanish officer and self-taught architect Emilio Blanco Izaga (Bravo-Nieto, 2000, p.243), whose works are mainly concentrated in the area of Al-Hoceima. As an interpretation of local architecture done through the study of berber traditional materials and typologies, together with other Arab architecture patterns, the Rif's style could be read as an attempt to contribute to the hegemonic colonizing process by means of spatial translations / transliterations (*ivi*, p.417) (cfr. Chapter 5).

It is only starting from the 1940s, after the Civil War, that the colonial government began to systematically propose a specific territorial management policy.

The main outcome of such policy was the *Acción de España en Marruecos. La obra material*, published in 1948 by the colonial government in Morocco (Alto Comisariado de España en Marruecos), as a collection of the main sectorial plans design

between 1942 and 1946 (Albet-Mas et al., 1996, p.26). It has been considered among the first planning documents in Spanish context of such kind: in this regard could be considered as an innovative attempt towards an integration of sectorial planning. Again, as discussed in the case of Casablanca, colonised territories became the testing grounds for developing models and prototypes in the field of architecture and urbanism (to be further applied in Europe) in terms of territorial and social control. At the same time, *Acción de España en Marruecos* represents a direct expression and an instrument of propaganda for the Franco regime to exit from international political isolation (Albet-Mas et al., *op. cit.*, p.24; Albet-Mas, *op. cit.*, p. 420; Bravo Nieto, *op. cit.*, p. 146), in the context of a renewed imperialistic dream at the basis of the dictatorship.

Moreover this initiative has been considered as a reply to the French examples of the same period, from which the Spanish government wanted to take a distance (*ivi*, p. 421) and mark a cultural difference (as more 'respectful' of the local context – Albet-Mas, *op.cit.*, p. 421; Bravo Nieto, 2000, p. 243).

In this context it is worth mentioning that in the early years of the Spanish rule in North Africa, the architect

and urban planner Arturo Soria y Mata, published in one of his most famous writings, *La Ciudad Lineal* (1913), a plan for *La Primera Ciudad Lineal Africana entre Ceuta y Tetuán*, the first African linear city between Ceuta and Tetouan (Príncipe, 2008). Hilarión González de Castillo later implemented the plan (starting from 1928) in relation to the territorial occupation patterns proposed by the colonial government (in terms of 'civilisation' work – *ibid.*).

The Spanish territorial policy in Morocco eventually failed in its objectives as regards both the material implementation of the plans and in political and economic terms.

Nevertheless, along the propagandistic use of planning and architecture, some local experiences of urban design related to social housing have been recently studied in their innovative social and design value.

It is the case of the work of Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa in Tetouan, to whom Spanish architect Alejandro Muchada and his research group (Gamuc⁶) have dedicated a recent publication and exhibition entitled *Tetouan Modern Challenge 1912-2012. Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa and the Matter of Housing⁶*, in the broader framework of a research project on the modern architecture experience in Tetouan⁷. The idea of the challenge is linked to the work

F.A3

F.A4



PROYECCIÓN AUDIOVISUAL

TETUÁN DESAFÍO MODERNO 1912 - 2012
ALFONSO DE SIERRA OCHOA Y LA GESTIÓN DE LA VIVIENDA

بطران التحدى الحديث 1330-1433
ألفونسو دي سييرا أوشوا ومسألة السكن

العرض السمعي البصري

PROYECCIÓN AUDIOVISUAL

El Barrio Málaga.

Una identidad al margen de la historia.

العرض السمعي البصري

حي مالقة

هوية على هامش القصة

Ciudades y año de producción: Tetuán / Cádiz, 2011

Duración: 10 min.

Dirección y producción: Alejandro Muchada Suárez y Patricio Musalem Nasser

Post-producción: Patricio Musalem Nasser

Música original: Francisco Ramírez Calderón

Participación especial: Ahmed Allal, Mohammed Anakar y Francisco Mena

Síntesis: El Barrio Málaga cobra vida a través de las historias y recuerdos de sus primeros habitantes. Las entrevistas muestran la cara más humana y popular de una época y una ciudad.

تلوان- قádiz (2011)

البياترو موشادا سواريث و باتريكو مسالم ناصر

باتريكو مسالم ناصر

فرانسيسكو راميريز كالدرون

أحمد علال ، محمد أنكار و فرانسيسكو مينا

يترجم حي مالقة نشاطه عبر القصص و ذكريات سكانه الأرائل.

تظهر المقابلات الوجه الأكثر إنسانية و شعبية في فترة و في مدينة.

10 دقائق:

الإدارة و الإنتاج:

مساعدة الإنتاج:

الموسيقى الأصلية:

مشاركة استثنائية:

ملخص:

122 123

Fig. A3-A4 / Extracts from the catalogue of the exhibition *Tetouan Modern Challenge 1912-2012.*

Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa and the Matter of Housing

(Source: Muchada, 2012, pp.28-29, pp.122-123)

of Moroccan historian, Abdallah Laroui, who addressed the ‘challenge’ that Moroccan society had to face in relation to ‘modernity’⁸. De Sierra has been the director of the urban planning and housing bureau of Tetouan between 1945-1949 and between 1955 and 1959, being therefore the last municipal architect of Spanish origins, before Moroccan independence (Muchada, 2012). According to the curators of the research project and exhibition, De Sierra was a ‘Committed and critic [architect]. It would be difficult or impossible to think of contemporary urbanism and housing of Tetouan without thinking of this architect who showed extraordinary respect for the Moroccan tradition and culture. (...) His publications and writings express the desire to approach the development of a theory of Moroccan housing, which he tried to implement in many projects. (...) Alfonso de Sierra understood very well that the historical review of housing production also meant understanding his way of being inhabited. Its manufacture of and transformation are part of the structure of the cultural history of the city’ (*ivi*, p. 16 – my translation). In this context, as regards the, Muchada and Gamuc have developed an archive of the main projects related to the modern season of social

housing in Tetouan. Among many the *Málaga* and *Mulay Hassan* neighbourhoods have been studied as the two main social housing development areas of the city. These ones represent the first examples of rationalist architecture in Spanish North Morocco. Its history and legacy has been narrated by Gamuc with a video documentary, reconstructing some of the trajectories of its inhabitants in the changing context of the city and of the Moroccan-Spanish relations in the pre-independence time. During the Spanish Protectorate some of these neighbourhoods hosted not only needy Moroccan populations, but also Spanish communities coming from the most deprived regions of the peninsula (*ivi*, p. 118). Such neighbourhoods became the site where common social conditions allowed overcoming cultural distances and creating a kind of common socio-spatial identity in relation to Modernity (*ivi*, p. 119).

Notes

1. Source: www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_protectorate_in_Morocco
2. The African branch of ATBAT, *Atelier des bâtisseurs*, founded in 1947 by Le Corbusier, Vladimir Bodiansky, André Wogensky and Marcel Py. Source: www.team10online.org.

3. Source: www.transculturalmodernism.org/article/14.
4. Features shared by experiences even radically different in different countries, like the case of the Pilot Plan Previ Lima (1972) in which, after more than thirty years from the physical implementation, housing designed by Aldo van Eyck, James Stirling, Candilis with Josic and have been radically changed by the inhabitants.
5. Source: www.gamuc.tumblr.com/
6. November, 7 – December, 20 - 2012, Instituto Cervantes de Tetouan.
7. Sources: www.tetuandesafiomoderno.blogspot.it/ / www.desafiomoderno.wordpress.com
8. Source: <http://periferiesurban.es/org/?cat=431&lang=en>

(All websites last accessed in March 2015, except where stated differently).

Abstract

This fifth chapter addresses the North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes through a second understanding of the constellation notion. The borderscapes constellations presented in this chapter intend to identify and discuss how different expressions of power articulate themselves into cross-scalar spatial and discursive forms on the North Moroccan / Spanish landscapes, at the intersections between dominant political and economic interests as well as civil society and cultural relational connections, initiatives and border resistances.

The first part places the area of study in relation to the Moroccan political, territorial, and administrative system and power structures. A focus on the institutional discourses, imaginaries and language adopted to address North Morocco as a priority area for development is presented by looking in more depth at the different sectorial programmes and projects that have been designed for the region.

The second section challenges the existing official understandings of the Tanger-Tetouan Region, by adopting a borderscapes angle and presenting five borderscapes' constellations:

These are presented as the outcomes of different, overlapping, phenomena: border economy, transnational mobilities and global

production processes; strategic sectorial programmes and top-down mega-projects; colonial legacies and border ruins; cross-border protected areas; 'transnational social spaces' between local civil society organisations and networks of activists, professionals, cultural institutions and citizens as opportunities and chances for encounter and debate in their everyday experiences of the border.

At the intersection between the North-Moroccan Spanish borderscapes' constellations, a new vague and boundless field, defined by geographical, natural and geopolitical elements of reference, emerges: *the landscapes between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif*.

This is a vague and boundless field, an open and boundless terrain in which to debate and experiment with alternative configurations / new horizons of meaning for the North Moroccan / Spanish border.

key words:

borderscapes' constellations
Tanger - Tetouan
territorial decoupage
planning discourses
hegemony
resistances

Chapter 5

Borderscapes' fields A constellar (re)definition

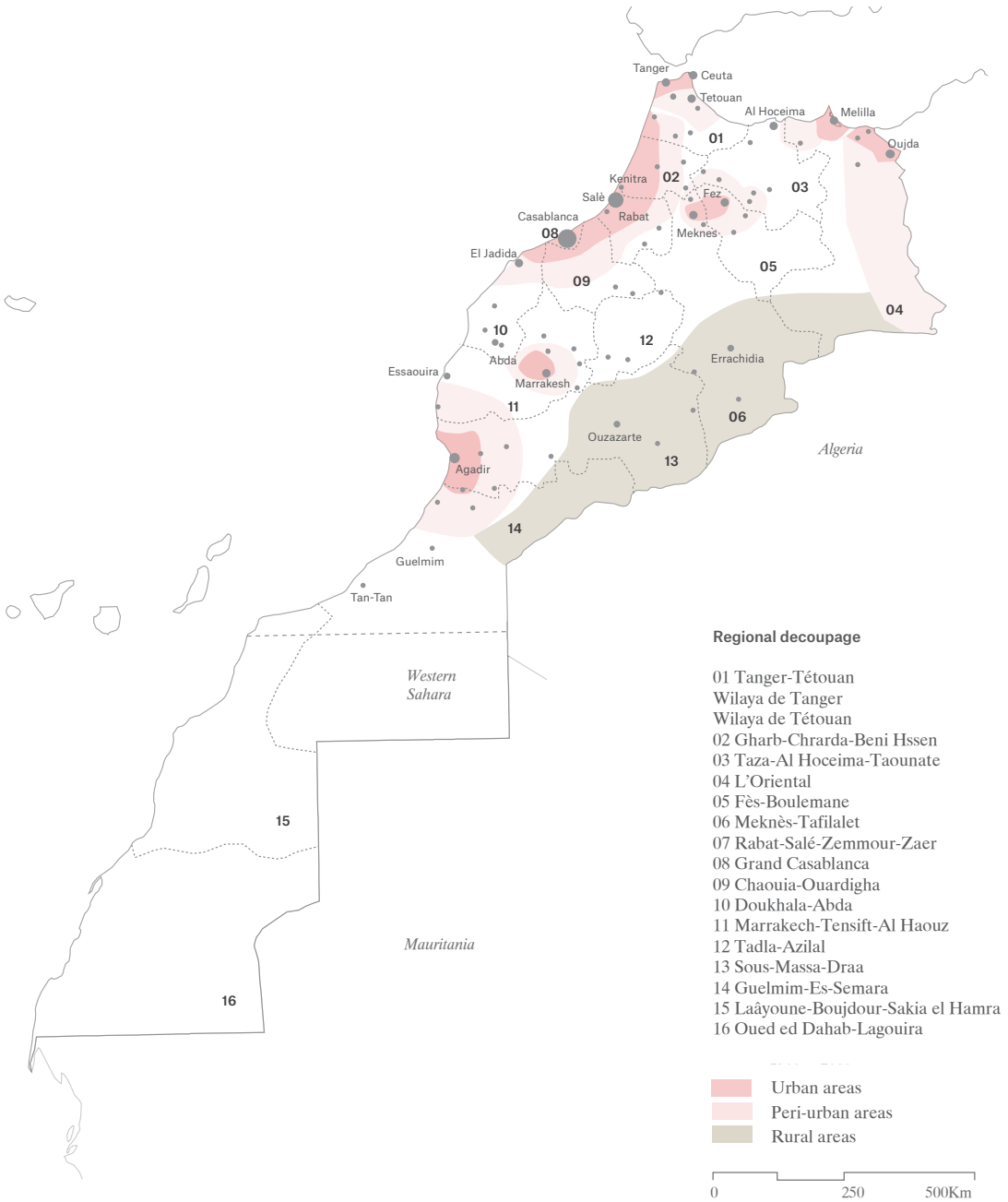


Fig. 01 / Territorial decoupage and main urban areas - Morocco.

(Source: Studio Basel, 2008. Retrieved from: http://www.studio-basel.com/assets/files/files/031_CASA08_ATLAS_04_migration.pdf and Panel, 2009, p. 12)

5.0. Introduction

North Morocco as a field of overlapping boundaries

The North Moroccan / Spanish borderlands at the Tanger's Peninsula (partially corresponding to the Tanger-Tetouan Region, the north-western section of North Morocco overlooking the Strait of Gibraltar and the Atlantic Ocean), could be considered a manifold territorial complex, where the presence of the border and the peculiar conditions at the Strait have been producing differentiated and cross-scalar effects on both local / transnational landscapes and communities (Buoli, 2014b – cfr. Chapter 4).

This is an area of complex definition, due to the simultaneous presence and agency of a multiplicity of boundaries and boundary-makers:

- **political** (between the Spanish enclave of Ceuta and Morocco);
- **administrative** (between the different prefectures, provinces and municipalities of the Tanger-Tetouan Region);
- **normative** (between different planning documents and competences, such as between public-private development agencies and local urban agencies);
- **physical** (the Rif as a natural and landscape limit);
- **cultural and identity** (e.g.: Tetouan strong self-definition in relation to Tanger, or Ceuta-Fnideq cooperative / conflictual interplays).

The Tanger-Tetouan Region¹ covers around 12,425 km² and has an estimated population of 2,668,000 in 2009 (excluding the Province of Ouezzane) (ADPN, 2011).

The average population density in the region is 213 inhabitants/km² (*ivi*, p.19 - the national rate was 42 inh./km² in 2004), while in Spanish Ceuta it is 4,294 inh./km². The majority of the population are

concentrated in the two main urban areas (Tanger and Tetouan): 46% and 32% according to the *Direction de l'urbanisme* (2004, p.3). The medium urbanisation rate (55.9%) is higher than the national (51.4%), while in Tanger and Tetouan it is 89% and 69% respectively (*ibid.*).

Beyond this complex overlapping of boundaries, competences and fields, the chapter aims to propose a reading of the North Moroccan / Spanish borderlands beyond given administrative and political delimitations, by challenging the idea of the border region as an appropriate field and scale to be addressed in this context.

Such a process of re-definition has been attempted by applying a borderscaping approach and by assuming the constellation notion² as the main interpretative image. As mentioned in the Foreword to Part 2, by adopting the guiding principle and image of the constellation in the specific case of the North Moroccan / Spanish border, I mean to select and represent different relational processes and sedimentations of recurring and emerging border conditions (places, practices and networks) that can allow the reading of the complexity of these borderlands beyond linear or unidirectional time-space readings and existing administrative division, denominations and dominant imaginaries.

The notion of 'scale' appears to be a key dimension, as Planel stresses (2012): the scale as the interface between space and politics and as a process that structures and produces space (*ivi*, p.4) could facilitate a dialogue between different spatial levels and a reconsideration of their mutual relations.

Emerging from the manifold and varied definition of the borderscapes notion (relating to conflicts, encounters and desires), these constellations result from the overlapping of different border thicknesses that constitute the terrain(s) and background for analytical description and discussion.

The constellations addressed can be further intended as fields in the meaning given

to them by Bourdieu (1992) and Bolocan Goldstein (1997). For Bourdieu ‘a field is a setting in which there are no parts or components logically and hierarchically interconnected (sub-systems) and every field constitutes a playground potentially open which has dynamic borders, resulting from a combination of struggles within the field itself’ (Bourdieu, *op.cit.*, p.74, quoted in Bolocan Goldstein, *op.cit.*, p.106 – my translation).

Therefore, a field is a place of constant change, which materialises itself into power interplays between a set of agents (Bolocan Goldstein, *op.cit.*, p.107).

Power and struggle are two key elements in the selection and identification of the borderscapes’ constellations.

These can be defined at the intersection between dominant landscapes of power and (relational) spaces of resistance.

As selective and arbitrary fields, these are meant to represent the ongoing border conditions, processes and resources, which can be assumed to activate other alternative images for the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands.

The borderscapes’ constellations presented in this chapter intend to identify and highlight how different expressions of power articulate themselves into spatial and discursive forms on the North Moroccan / Spanish landscapes, as the manifestations not only of dominant political or financial / economical and transnational powers, but also civil society and cultural-relational connections, initiatives and border resistances.

To this purpose, it is first necessary to understand the broader political, territorial and cultural background in which the North Moroccan / Spanish borderlands are placed, by looking at the more general territorial, administrative and planning system in Morocco.

5.1. The territorial administrative system in Morocco and its power structures

5.1.1. The administrative *découpage* and planning regulation

Morocco is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy, whose multiple administrative levels directly depend on the central government, in the shape of the *Ministère de l’intérieur* (Ministry of Interior Affairs). The 16 regions into which the country is organised are subdivided into 13 prefectures and 62 provinces. Each prefecture and province is divided into: districts (*cercles*), urban municipalities (*communes urbaines*), and *arrondissements* in metropolitan areas. The districts are subdivided into rural municipalities (*communes rurales*). At an intermediate level between the regional and the prefecture / provincial scale, are the *Wilaya* which have been slowly introduced de facto since the early 1980s, with a coordination function for urban security and public order, and as direct ‘emanation’ of the Ministry of the Interior Affairs (Catusse, et al. 2007, p.125). The legal institutionalisation of the role of the *Walis* (the heads of the *Wilaya*) occurred in the early 2000s, when they became prominent figures in the Moroccan administrative system, particularly for local and regional development investment, with the emergence of the so-called ‘Techno-*Walis*’: ‘graduates of the best French schools, engineers and often heads of important public or private offices in the Kingdom, some of whom having participated in the privatisation program’ (*ivi*, p.126). Moroccan territorial administrative reorganisation has been implemented since 2002, with a reform of the Communal Charter (*Chart Communal*). The reform marked a further step

F.01

Local communities	Executive Branch
Regions (16)	The Wali, governor of the Province or Prefecture of the administrative centre of the region appointed by dahir ¹ .
Provinces (45) or Prefectures (26)	Governor of the Prefecture or of the Province, appointed by the King.
Urban Communities (14)	The Wali, who is also in charge of overseeing its budget.
Local Councils (249 Municipalities and 1298 rural local councils)	President of the local council, elected by the City Councils

Table 01. The administrative system before the reform of the Communal Charter.

(Source: Catusse et al. 2007).

Local communities	Executive Branch
Regions (16)	The Wali, governor of the Region. The Wali coordinates the governors of the provinces and prefectures.
Provinces (62) or Prefectures (13)	Governor of the Prefecture or of the Province, appointed by the King.
Districts / <i>cercles</i>	<i>Chef de cercle</i> (coordination between the mayors of the municipalities)
Local Councils of the urban municipalities / <i>pachalik</i> (221) and rural municipalities / <i>caïdats</i>	President of the local council / Mayor (<i>Caid</i> in rural areas and <i>Pacha</i> in urban ones).

Table 02. The administrative system after the reform of the Communal Charter.

(Source: Catusse et al. 2007; Cugusi, 2004).

towards the decentralisation process for urban governance, by eliminating Urban Community Councils, which were an administrative level between the province and the urban municipality. The Charter deleted the division of the city into municipalities and introduced a system of unified administration by merging urban agglomerations into larger urban entities. Tables 1 and 2 show the changes in the administrative regime at the national level,

T.01 before and after the introduction of the 2002
T.02 Communal Charter.

Territorial and urban development in Morocco is the result of a multiplication of sectorial and showcase plans, projects and initiatives developed by a variety of different public-private actors. These actors are entitled by law to intervene / interact at different stages of the territorial and urban planning procedures, with primary guidance by the State. The current national planning legislation (*Loi n° 12-90 - 17 juin 1992, relative à l'Urbanisme et son Décret d'application* - influenced by the French system) regulates the main planning

documents, in particular the Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain (SDAU), the Plan de Zonage (PZ) and the Plan d'aménagement (PA).

The SDAU appears to be the most important instrument in the current practice of spatial planning in Morocco. It envisions the main and macro-scale strategic development guidelines for a specific area (which could be a group of municipalities, a prefecture / province, a group of prefectures / provinces or a development area, independent from the administrative organisation) and represents the guiding document, with which other plans should comply, at various scales for a period of 25 years. The Schéma usually range from a 50,000 to a 20,000 scale.

The urban plans or projects are usually developed by the *agences urbaines* (urban agencies), which exist at the level of the Wilaya, in cooperation with other political and economic subjects or external technical counsellors (BET – Bureau d'Etude Technique).

The role of the urban agencies is actually more mediation and technical support, as emerged during an interview at the Agence Urbaine de Tetouan.

Despite the territorial governance reforms introduced in recent years (the above mentioned Communal Charter) and the emergence of such a variety of subjects, the level of central power exercised by the King and the Ministry of Interior Affairs has not been altered in practice (Catusse, et. al 2007), particularly in light of the long history of political relations between the centre and the governance of the city (*ibid.*; cfr. Catusse et al., 2010).

5.1.2. The role of the State in development programmes and plans⁴

According to Boujrouf (2005), 'territoriality in Morocco, and mainly public territoriality, crosses various sources of reference and legacies from Islam, Arabism, the Amazigh⁵,

African identity, Western [culture]. In other words, it integrates different components of tradition and modernity' (*ivi*, p.135 – my translation).

It is in the interplay between these two dimensions that it is possible to read the role and legitimacy of central government in current development strategies and plans. Again, Boujrouf explains that 'modernity provides the means, techniques, forms, rules and principles of public territoriality, but the fundamental legitimacy is the tradition' (*ibid.*).

This could be read, for example, in the way in which public good is perceived by citizens:

'a good which belongs to the State (the Makhzen or the governing elite) rather than to the collective. (...) The dominant perception remains of a responsible authority viewed by inhabitants as largely external to themselves' (Navez-Bouchanine 2010, p.219).

As a consequence, a paternalistic approach towards territorial development has been fostered by the state itself, reinforced by a traditional approach towards the *res publica* by Moroccan society.

In this light, the head of the state (the King) is viewed as an indispensable actor in growth, whose role can be observed from an ambivalent perspective: from one side, he is entitled to formal control over urban development projects (through the exercise of hierarchical power structures); from the other, he acts as a guarantee for the growing presence of international investors (Barthel, 2008, p.5).

This exercise of power is observable in the political reforms (such as the new Constitution of 2011⁶), in the many initiatives launched by the King in person (through his official speeches), and in the territorial policies, strategies and plans that have been implemented by the central government since the early 2000s, after the accession of the current monarch, Mohammed VI (1999).

Since his accession, the theme of the presidential or state project, the so-called *'urbanisme du prince'* (Barthel, 2008, p.5), has emerged in the Maghreb region, and Morocco represents an exemplary case of this (also in consideration of the current political conditions in North African countries).

Along with the mushrooming of mega-projects all over the main urban areas, a series of interventions in public and collective spaces are witnessing the will to define these as important windows for the country on the international scene

and as gateways in relation to the Euro-Mediterranean context, the Arab world and the US (Choplin and Gatin, 2010), with the aim of giving Morocco, and particularly its major urban areas, a new image. This process entailed the implementation of national / regional public-private holdings and agencies involved in different phases of the planning, implementation and management of the projects. This is the case for the Al Omrane Holding (HAAO), a real estate company owned by the state, or the Agency for the Promotion and Development of the Prefectures and Provinces of the

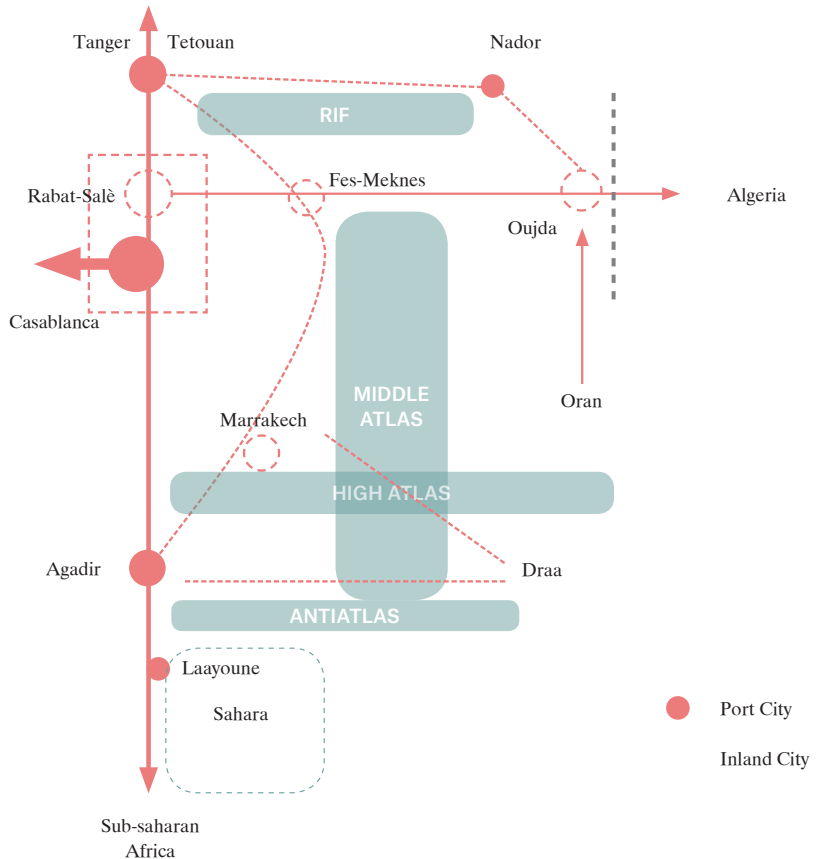


Fig. 02 / Territorial organization in Morocco (according to central government).

(Source: Royame du Maroc et al., 2001)

Northern part of the Kingdom (APDN), an independent public institution created in 1996 in order to coordinate plans and projects for this area of the country. The mission of the APDN is to support local development and improve the living conditions of local populations 'through the implementation of integrated economic and social development programs' and by strengthening 'the competitiveness of the North by supporting investment and the productive sectors' (APDN⁷).

5.1.3. The 'language of development' in official (planning) discourses

The partnerships between the central government and public-private agencies are evident in the over-production of programmatic documents, research initiatives and programmes with the idea of the future of Morocco at their centre. This began in the late 1990s and early 2000s, around some strategic economic issues (tourism, energy, industrial production). This future planning is evident in the language that has been developed through such initiatives, which use terms such as vision, prospective, strategy and scenario as key conceptual and semantic poles. This terminology of development has been at the centre of sectorial national strategies (*Plan Azur*⁸, *Plan Maroc vert*⁹, *Vision 2010*, *Vision 2020 du tourisme*¹⁰), which have focused on tourism regionalisation and sustainable agriculture as the main motors of economic and territorial growth, focusing on some key time horizons (2010, 2020, 2025, 2030, etc.). Among the most recent initiatives, the *Prospective Maroc 2030* research programme appears to be an exemplar of this. Launched in 2004 by the Haut-Commissariat au Plan (HCP, the main authority charged with economic planning in Morocco), it has been implemented around three main sectors: tourism, agriculture and energy. In relation to the first dimension, it is worth mentioning

that from the mid-1960s Morocco has adopted tourism as a key strategic theme for national and regional development. This happened due to pressure from international economic and geopolitical factors and in compliance with the economic guidelines set by the World Bank (WB) in the post-independence years (Hillali, 2007). The diagnostic and strategic documents produced by *Prospective Maroc 2030* offer interesting examples of governmental top-down discourses revealing a linear approach towards development in its various steps, possible directions and new territorialities. For instance the document entitled '*Tourisme 2030. Quelles ambitions pour le Maroc?*'¹¹, starts from a reading of the diagrammatic relations between trends and factors of change and later identifies three possible trajectories for tourism development, whose titles are self-explanatory and self-evident: *La route de l'expérience*, *Vers le développement durable*, *Intégration méditerranéenne*, *vers un tourisme de la connaissance* (Haut Commissariat au Plan, 2006, p.39).

The emergence of such visions and approaches could be read in the context of north-to-south knowledge transfer of ideas and planning tools and technologies. The definition of national visions, programmes and plans by governmental agencies (the HCP or the Direction de l'Aménagement du Territoire - DAT) and economic / political partners, has been accompanied by a process of definition and production of precise territories defined by the boundaries of such development initiatives, and addressed by Courlet (et al., 2013) according to the *territoires de projets* (the territories of the projects) notion. These boundaries are often delinked from the official administrative *découpage*, but informed by other kinds of boundary-making activities and interests, crossing regional or municipal delimitations (such as the plans developed around strategic projects of international interest – cfr. paragraph 5.3). In fact, the presence of international actors,

agencies and investors (mainly coming from other Arab countries and the Gulf) has deeply affected the central government's territorial development policies.

For instance, in Casablanca, the signing of investment agreements with the United Arab Emirates coincided with the evolution of a metropolitan strategy for the city. The convergence of international economical actors and political subjects led to different actions and partnerships in different areas of the country: roads, logistics platforms, specialised industrial parks and a new towns policy (Barthel, 2008, p.5).

This strategy seems to have been particularly effective in the case of north Morocco (namely, the Tanger-Tetouan Region), where the total amount of foreign investment in the industrial sector grew from 307,467,000 to 1,053,466,000 Moroccan dirhams between 1994 and 2006 (Kutz, 2010, p.20).

5.1.4. The boundaries of Moroccan / Spanish cooperation

Despite persisting territorial disputes between Morocco and Spain as regards Ceuta, Melilla and the *plazas de soberanía* (cfr. Introduction to Part 2), maintaining good partnerships on migratory issues and economic cooperation has been a strategic priority for both Morocco and Spain, as demonstrated by the signature of bilateral agreements within the framework of EU programmes, beginning in the early 1990s. Among many others, these include the Euro-Med Partnership, INTERREG (e.g.: IIA Spain-Morocco 1994-1999; IIIA Spain-Morocco 2000-2006) and the European Fund for Regional Development (*Programa Operativo España Fronteras Exteriores 2008-2013* - POCTEFEX). These initiatives have defined a series of geographies and boundaries of cooperation.

As mentioned earlier, the regional scale has been the main focus of European Union cooperation and neighbouring policies

towards the so-called third countries (Chapter 3). This has been also the focus of interregional and cross-border programmes between Spain and Morocco, where the fields / areas included in the programmes were the ones delimited by the Spanish and Moroccan regional administrative system (NUTS 2): Andalusia, the Tanger-Tetouan, Gharb-Chrarda-Béni Hssen and Taza-Al Hoceïma-Taounate regions.

The map of Spanish-Moroccan cross-border cooperation has been revised within the framework of the POCTEFEX programme, which introduced another principle of eligibility, in addition to previous administrative eligibility criteria (NUTS 2, 3): the eligible territories should overlook the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean. Two distinct areas have been identified. The first is the area of the Strait, including the provinces of Almería, Granada, Málaga, Cádiz, Huelva, Sevilla, Córdoba and Jaén, Melilla and Ceuta on the Spanish side, and on the Moroccan side the provinces / prefectures of Chefchaouen, Larache, Tetouan, Tanger-Assilah, Fahs-Bni Makada, the Taza-Al Hoceïma-Taounate Region and the provinces / prefectures of Outjda-Angad, Jerada, Figuig, Taourit, Berkane and Nador. The second area corresponds to the Atlantic coasts of both countries: the Canary Islands (Las Palmas, Santa Cruz and Tenerife) and the Guelmin-Es-Smara Region, the Souss Massa Drâa Region, the Lâyoune-Boujdour-Sakia El Hamra Region.

The projects developed in this context have involved actors and local institutions from the two countries cooperating around a series of key issues and aims:

- . Enhancing mutual socio-economic development across the border;
- . Fostering mobility and accessibility between the eligible territories;
- . Improving sustainable and integrated use of energy and environmental resources;
- . Promoting cooperation between cross-border ventures;
- . Activating socio-economic and educational exchanges between cross-

border populations;

- . Strengthening the capacities of local and regional institutions contributing to a common governance.

Despite the positive outcomes of this initiative (in terms of implementation of networks between different actors and new opportunities for the funded subjects / communities), there have been a series of criticisms from various sources (for instance by the *Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterraneo* and the *Association de Développement Local Méditerranéen - ADELMA*). The main one regarded the fact that only the 10% of the budget went to Moroccan partners, and even this was not in the design process of the projects, but only in the implementation phase. Moreover no Moroccan institution has led any project. This was not the case with the former *Programa de Desarrollo Transfronterizo (PDT)*¹², a decentred cooperation programme, for which the Junta de Andalucía and the Moroccan Government equally funded the projects at 50%, meaning it was a bilateral programme neither linked to nor limited by the European Union financing system. The PDT was eventually replaced by POCTEFEX due to a reduction in funding capacity from the Spanish side. The limits of the programme could be read in its unilateral model of funding, as an external cooperation programme for Spain / Europe with its neighbours¹³. Here is a tangible example of the Euro-centric, self-refereed and self-concerned nature of the European neighbouring and cooperation policies, as mentioned in Chapter 3. By assuming its neighbours to be something distinct from itself, to be 'others', the EU reinforces 'its own external borders and [reify] the legitimation of its self-defined 'European values'' (Boedeltje and Van Houtum, 2011, p.143). A new kind of colonial dominant imaginary emerges from the geography of Moroccan / Spanish cooperation.

5.2. Borderscapes' constellations. Dominant landscapes of power and relational spaces of resistance

I took the meaning of 'landscapes of power' and 'places of resistance' from the work of Boddington (1999), Rajaram and Grundy Warr (2007, p.xxvi-xxviii), Eker and van Houtum (2013, p.120) and Brambilla (2014a, p.7). By referring to scholars concerned with power-space relations (such as Foucault¹⁴; Jones, Jones and Woods¹⁵; Keith and Pile¹⁶), Rajaram and Grundy Warr (2007) consider space as a key factor 'in any exercise of power' and landscape as the product of 'social, political, and economic struggle (*ivi*, p.xxvi).

Theories of power in social sciences, as well as in planning and urban studies, have stressed the presence of different spatial / relational forms of power and ways of exercising it, as well as different forms of struggle and resistance against it. These theories have their main point of reference in Foucault's power and power / knowledge theorisation, according to which power is not a thing, but a productive force and the result of social interactions, exercised and re-produced at different levels of the social body. Indeed 'power is exercised in a network and on the network, not only individuals circulate, but they are always in a position to undergo and also to exercise that power. They are never inert or consenting targets of power, they are always the representatives [of such power]. In other words, the power passes through individuals, it does not apply to them' (Foucault, 1997, quoted in Planel, 2012, p.6 – my translation). Of particular interest, as regards the construction of this nexus, is the concept of 'subjugated knowledges', defined by Foucault in a 1976 lecture as: 'a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently

elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. (...) which involve what I could call popular knowledge' (Foucault, 1980, p.82).

Following these assumptions, Healey (2003) argues that: 'power relations are expressed in the dynamics of interaction between specific actors, in the deliberative processes through which some actors seek to dominate the way others work' (*ivi*, p.113).

The borderscapes' constellations addressed in the following pages are, then, intended as open, fuzzy and cross-scalar fields in which different forms of power, resistance and knowledge are (socially) produced and re-produced and coagulated into material spatial organisations, political and cultural discourses, as well as into relational spaces, across, along and far beyond the border.

Therefore dominant landscapes of power are here intended as political devices enhancing forms of political and cultural hegemony.

Rajaram and Grundy Warr (2007) recall Gramsci's notion of hegemony¹⁷ as 'a process by which domination and rule is achieved involving hegemonic controls or sets of ideas and values which the majority are persuaded to adopt as their own' (*ivi*, p.xxvi).

Landscapes of power are, from the authors' perspective, the ways in which dominant political discourses are made 'tangible, natural, familiar, acceptable, meaningful' (*ibid.*) due to their inscription into physical aspects of the landscape itself and into (political and cultural) texts, discourses and documents. Brambilla, following this line of thinking (2014a), assumes 'hegemonic borderscapes' are 'the exercise of power in space, being a political tool for ordering reality' (p.10-11). Dominant landscapes of power are understood as one dimension of the borderscape conceptualisation, and therefore could be intended as 'spaces that, far from being fixed in space and time, are constantly evolving' (*ibid.*).

At the same time, as socially-based and relational products, borderscapes can also be intended as potential sites of knowledge

production, resistance and *uprising* (Bey, 1985). Places of resistance (Boddington, 1999, p.5) can be conceived as physical and relational spaces in which 'border struggles' (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) are activated and made evident by practices and tactics (De Certeau, 1998 - 2011) of spatial and symbolical border transgressions and political/cultural disagreements against hegemonic discourses and dominant landscapes of power, related to both national and international border control apparatuses. Places of negotiation and clashes between different conflicting forces and interests (Anzaldúa, 1987, p.3) emerging at different scales in local/transnational contexts and in different territorial sets of relations and far beyond political divisions themselves.

From this dual perspective, borderscapes are understood as twofold interdependent coagulations (as spaces and as discourses) of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic powers. As spaces they can be understood as spatial sedimentations of power interplays into territorial (or landscape) materialities, which could be stable and long-lasting in time and space according to the ruling power regime, or temporary, ephemeral (Bey, *op.cit.*) and networked. For instance, everyday practices and devices of cross-border mobility for Moroccan and migrants' communities living in borderlands (employed in cross-border economic activities such as smuggling and housekeeping), have shaped the immediate territories around and along the border between Morocco and Ceuta, as well as more complex and broader territorial fields. At the same time, in the North Moroccan / Spanish borderlands, places of resistance and 'border struggles' (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) and 'counter-hegemonic borderscapes' (Brambilla, 2014a, p.7) emerged as relational spaces in which local civil society organisations and networks, activists, professionals, cultural institutions and citizens have found opportunities and chances of encounter and debate in their living practices.

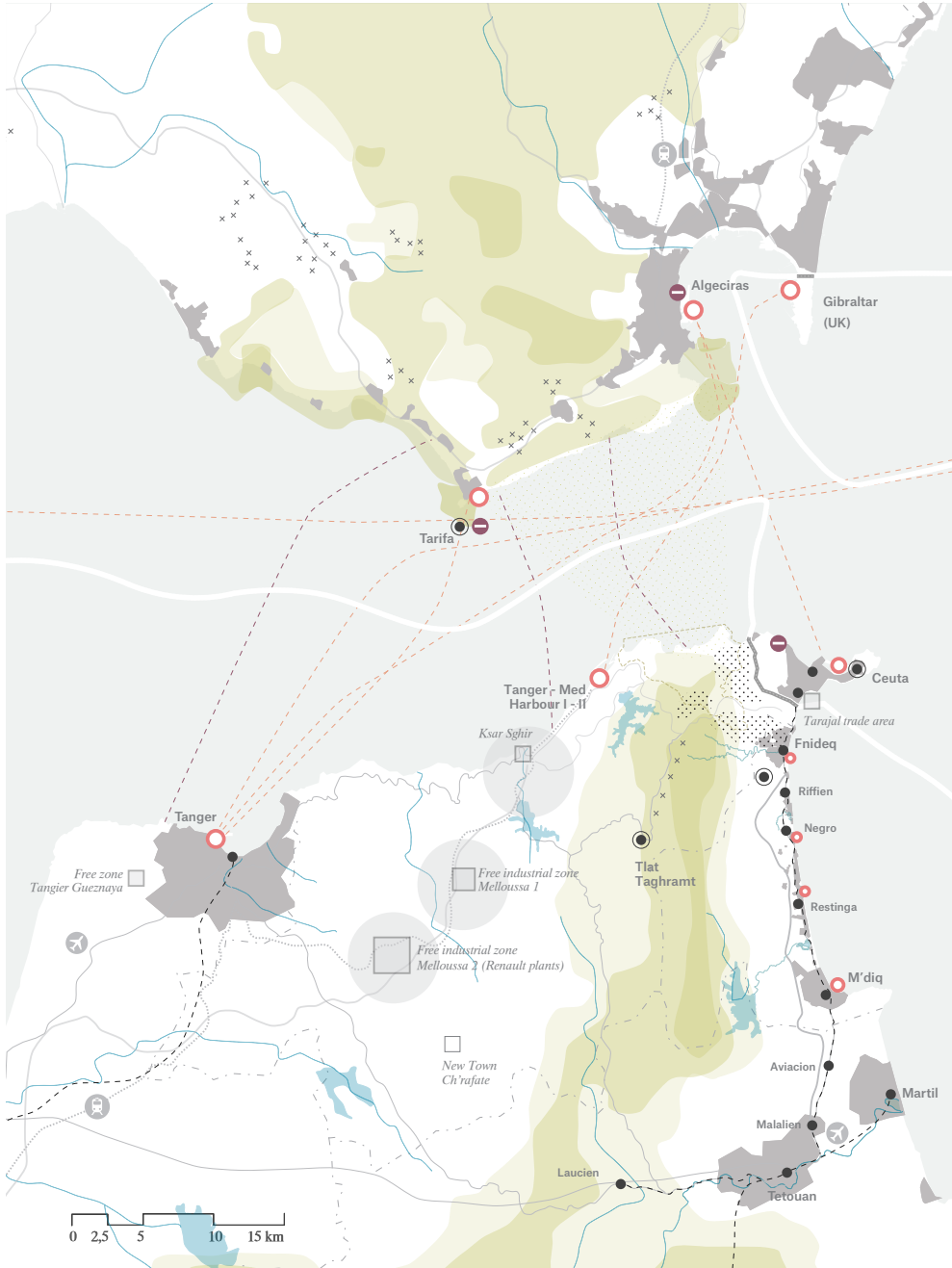





Fig. 03 / Borderscapes' constellations across the Strait of Gibraltar.
 (Map by A. Buoli, 2015. Source: author's research).

As (political) discourses socially produced and re-produced (changing and mobile), borderscapes are vehicles of dominant or counter-hegemonic political imaginaries and interests, becoming part of the everyday language of civil society, professionals and individuals. These include, for instance, planning apparatuses (as combinations of technical tools and discourses), which are at the service of (central) political powers and allow the production of specific imaginaries (of development).






According to this perspective, five possible fields or borderscapes' constellations, have been selected to describe the peculiar cross-scalar border conditions at the Moroccan /

F.03 Spanish border:




a. Border economy, transnational migration spaces and practices

-  Migration routes across the Strait
-  Temporary / informal camps for migrants
-  CIE / CETI




b. Strategic development sites and infrastructures

-  Touristic and commercial maritime hubs
-  Dams
-  Wind turbines parks
-  Touristic routes
-  Free industrial and commercial zones

a. Colonial legacies and border ruins

-  Train Stations of the Ceuta - Tetouan line (Spanish Protectorate)
-  Railway line 1912-1956
-  Military buildings

d. Cross border protected areas / RBIM

-  Core areas
-  Buffer areas
-  Transition zones

e. Transnational social spaces (Fig. 19)

5.2.1. Border economy, transnational migration spaces and practices¹⁸

Bialasiewicz has recently addressed the changing economic and political conditions in North Morocco, by looking at Tanger as 'a European laboratory, at once a gateway to 'EU'rope, and its wall. (...) a space enacted through a selective game of openness and a play of selective mobilities that sorts materialities, ideas and, above all, bodies' (Bialasiewicz, 2013, p.76)¹⁹.

In fact, the socio-economic conditions of the region are, to a large extent, due to the unique geographical and geopolitical position of the area and to the socio-spatial dynamics related to the border between Morocco and the Spanish enclave of Ceuta. To explore these conditions in more depth, it is necessary to first understand the peculiar situation of the enclave and its surroundings by zooming-in on peculiar bordering and cooperative interplays at the Ceuta – Morocco border, a point of high concentration of a series of cross-scalar border dynamics, the origins and outcomes of which are related to broader territorial and political fields, beyond the enclave and the border itself.

Ceuta is located on the south-eastern peninsula of the Strait of Gibraltar, 65km east of Tanger, bordering the Prefecture of Fahs-Anjra and the Prefecture of M'diq-Fnideq. It occupies an area of 19.6km² (Ciudad de Ceuta, 2008), with a population of 84,180 inhabitants (INE, 2013²⁰) and a density of 4,294 inh./km².

A 1987 census estimated that around 21% of the residents of the city were Muslim (Planet, 1996). However, the demographic composition of the enclave appears to be far more complex now, due to the presence of a mobile population of around 25,000 Moroccan citizens (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013) entering Ceuta on a daily basis for work purposes. In fact, the Protocol of Accession of Spain attached to the Schengen Agreement 'stated that the citizens from

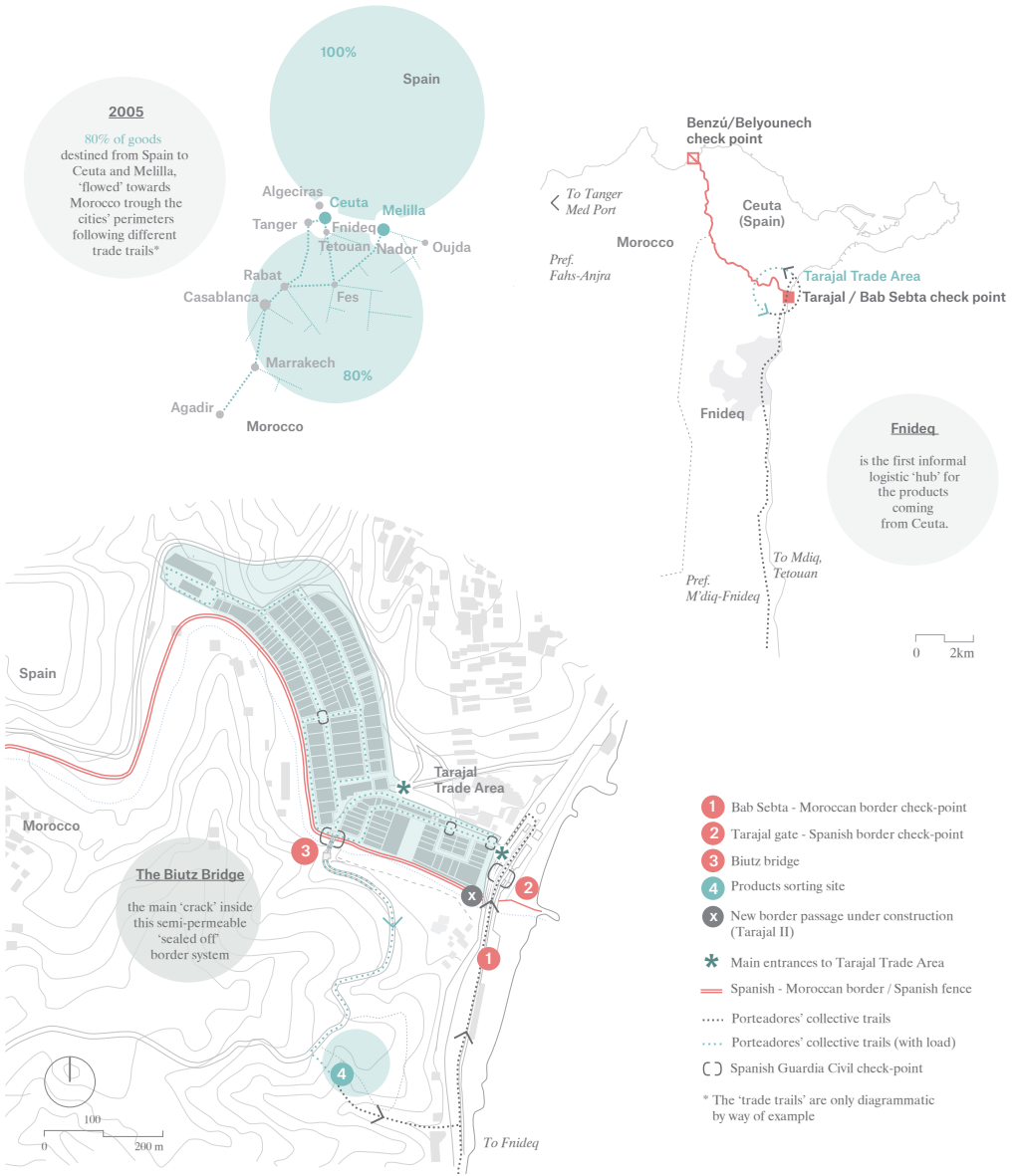


Fig. 04 / Informal trade dynamics at the Spanish–Moroccan borderscapes.

(Sources: Barbulo, 2005 and author's research and drawing. Image published in Buoli, 2014)

the Moroccan provinces adjacent to Ceuta (Tetouan) and Melilla (Nador) are exempted from visa requirements' (Castan Pinos, 2009, p.15). These everyday practices of border crossing are made possible as a result of the 'selective permeability' of the border (Castan Pinos, *op.cit.*) and the historical and ongoing inter-dependencies between the enclave and its Moroccan hinterland (*ibid.*).

In 1993, the border between Ceuta and Morocco began to be enclosed by an 8km long militarised barrier, which was further enhanced in 1999 with a technologically equipped 2.1m high double fence (*valla*), in order to prevent irregular crossings and cross-border smuggling activities (cfr. Chapter 4).

The main official border checkpoints used to be located at the two extremes of the fence: the Tarajal / Bab Sebta gate and the Benzú / Belyounech passage, which was closed in 2004. In 2005 another border passage, the Biutz bridge, was opened in the

F.05 > fence, in order to decrease the pressure on
F.07 the existing crossing. The bridge is placed

directly inside the Tarajal trade area, a large commercial site, contiguous to the Tarajal / Bab Sebta border checkpoint. This area opened in 1995, in the broader framework of the political and economic international challenges taken up by Spain in light of the increasing role of Morocco in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the acquired autonomous status of Ceuta and Melilla (1995). In this context, the Biutz bridge represents the main 'crack' inside this semi-permeable 'sealed off' (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2008) border system.

As a consequence of the exemption from visa requirements, from Monday to Thursday from 8.00 am to 1.00 pm²¹, the *porteadores* (literally 'carriers' and mainly women of all ages) can enter the Tarajal trade area, through the Tarajal/Bab Sebta

F.04 frontier post. Inside they buy a variable amount of daily use, food and technological goods and transport them to Morocco on their shoulders, exiting directly through the

Biutz, and restarting their circular trail from Bab Sebta. The products are eventually sold outside the city's perimeter and introduced into Moroccan trade circuits.

Moreover, due to the absence of an official customs checkpoint, goods are not subject to any taxation: the carriers can pass the products through the Biutz bridge as personal belongings and sell them in Morocco at a cheaper price. Due to local and regional economic inter-dependences (Castan Pinos, 2009) and the lack of a formal framework, a kind of unwritten trade-off between local traders and border patrols, at a local scale, allows an estimated flow of goods worth around €6m each day (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013).

The circular daily migrations of the *porteadores* produce direct and indirect cross-scalar effects on the economy and the urban development of the enclave, the bordering municipalities (Fnideq and Taghramt) and the villages (Belyounech) of the Prefectures of Fnideq-M'diq and Fahs-Anjra as well as the city of Tanger and the entire Tanger-Tetouan Region.

For instance, more than one-third of the active population of the small town of Fnideq (only 7km away from Ceuta) is employed in cross-border commercial activities, while in the prefecture of Fnideq-M'diq, the number of employees in the trade field has been estimated at around 20% of the population: between 30,000 and 40,000 (Nachite, et al. 2009, p.39) people live directly on cross-border trade.

The main markets of Fnideq, its hinterlands and the settlements along the littoral are devoted to products coming from Ceuta (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013, p.88).

Al Masira Al Jadra, Al Masira Bab Sebta, Municipal mall, Ben Omar mall, Kisaria Rif, Suk Al Had are weekly and daily outdoor markets in which it is possible to find everyday products for personal or family uses (food, clothing, domestic utensils) and technological equipment.

Most of these markets are located on the littoral N13 route, which represents the main



Fig. 05-06 / The area around the Tarajal with the border fence - Bab Sebta-Tarajal border check point.
Photos by Noel Cridado and Alice Buoli (2009)



Fig. 07-08 / Belyounech village (2008) - The entrance to Fnideq coming from Ceuta (2007)
Photo by K. Kerkich Mohamed (2008) and El Abdellaoui & Chikhi (2013, p. 36)

axis of movement for the *porteadores* and the products. These movements are largely by public transport (buses) or private means, mainly shared *petit taxi*.

Along with the border economy dynamics, a series of spaces related to transnational mobilities ranges from the very personal sphere of the human bodies experiencing the border, to the objects, devices, means and trajectories used by migrants to cross the border.

In this context, a series of temporary settlements where migrants wait for the chance to cross or circumnavigate the *valla* are located in the woods surrounding Fnideq, Ceuta, the border village of Belyounech and the Jbel Moussa. Here the migrant communities, grouped by nationality, build temporary shelters and prepare themselves for 'the jump' (*el salto*), waiting weeks or even months for a better moment. In 2014 around 1,300 people tried to jump the fence²², so it is likely that the number of migrants waiting in woods is even higher. The majority of these people are of sub-Saharan, Algerian and Asiatic origins, but as the civil war in Syria has worsened in recent years many Syrian refugees are using the land trail to try to reach Europe.

A variety of documentaries have been produced over the last 10 years on the personal stories and living conditions of these people, both in their everyday life and after the raids by Moroccan police. The recent film by David Fedele, *The Land Between* (2013) 'documents the everyday life of these migrants trapped in limbo, as well as the extreme violence and constant mistreatment they face from both the Moroccan and Spanish authorities. It also explores many universal questions, including how and why people are prepared to risk everything, including their life, to leave their country, their family and friends, in search of a new and better life'²³.

These spaces can be also considered as 'failed' forms of TAZ (Temporary Autonomous Zones), a concept identified and explored by Akhim Bey (1985).

TAZ are defined by the author as 'an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to reform elsewhere / elsewhere, before the State can crush it'.

In this sense, migrants' temporary camps can be seen more as forms of 'circular revolutions' (Bey, *ibid.*) which fall continuously in the circle of destruction / reconstruction due to the intervention of dominant power. This is the case for the settlements around Ceuta (and Melilla), which are continuously dismantled and evacuated by Moroccan police²⁴ and rebuilt elsewhere by those who resist.

5.2.2. Strategic development sites and international mobility infrastructures

The elements of this second constellation are related to global production processes, national and transnational infrastructures of mobility and energy, commercial, industrial and financial logistics, which are directly and indirectly linked to the presence of the border. Such landscapes of power can be read as both spaces and discourses. As discourses they are associated with the visions and scenarios which governmental projects / plans / planning documents have developed for the region (as mentioned earlier).

These could be assumed to be the vehicles / projections of dominant powers on both landscapes and people's minds (cfr. Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, 2007; Strüver, 2007).

The 'mega-projects' season in North Morocco

Given its peculiar geographical and geopolitical position, North Morocco, and in particular its Mediterranean littoral areas, has been at the very centre of a growing interest from both the central Moroccan government and international investors. Considering the development plans and

programmes launched by the Moroccan Government from the post-independence phase and on into recent decades, it is possible to observe that the whole region has been subject to an intense urbanisation process involving free-trade, financial and industrial poles, new residential areas, international services and infrastructures. Among the different development projects carried out in the region, the largest that have emerged in recent years include: the Tanger-Med Port (I and II), the Tanger Free Zone project, the Ibn Battuta international airport, the industrial areas of Renault - Melloussa and the Tanger Automotive City²⁵, on the outskirts of Tanger and the new international port; and new towns developed beyond the edges of older built-up areas (eg: Charafate).

These initiatives can be read in the context of the prospective studies promoted by the Direction de l'Aménagement du Territoire (DAT), the operative branch of the Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire, de l'Environnement, de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat, together with other private / public partners. An example is the report entitled *Etude aire métropolitaine du bipôle Tanger – Tétouan* published in 2001 by the DAT (Royame du Maroc – DAT, et al., 2001), which focuses on the definition of a Charte de Développement et d'Aménagement de la Région métropolitaine Tanger-Tétouan assuming the bi-polar metropolitan system between Tanger and Tetouan as its main field of reference and trajectory of development.

The potential relationship between the two cities was identified by the report as the main motor of change at the regional level, which also recognised the weakness of the existing linkages between the two urban poles.

The metropolitan *bipôle* was, therefore, recognised as a desirable future scenario, a guiding image rather than an existing condition or trend in the context of North Moroccan (Mediterranean) development. This bi-polar territorial vision was also

at the centre of an earlier programme, the Programme d'Action Intégré pour le Développement et l'Aménagement de la Région Méditerranéenne Marocaine (PAIDAR Med), published by the DAT in 1998 in cooperation with the Spanish Ministry of International Affairs, through its Cooperation Agency. The programme had a larger territorial extent (the Mediterranean region of Morocco) including the prefectures and provinces between the Tanger's peninsula and the border with Algeria.

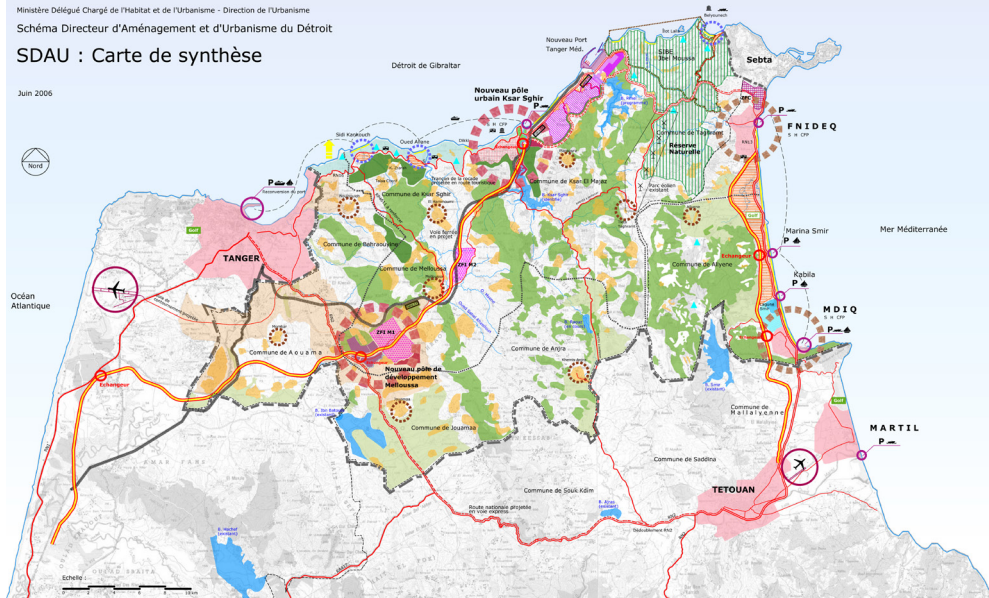
The programme's final document (Royame du Maroc – DAT, 1998, pp. 255-266) proposed a bi-polar urban development for North Morocco in terms of industrial, touristic, transportation and services as a priority development area for the country, with 2025 as the time horizon.

In continuity with this perspective, in 2004 the independent public agency Tanger Med Special Agency (TMSA), was appointed to develop a plan for the northern area of the region, the *Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain du Déroit* (SDAUD), later officially published in 2007 (Royame du Maroc, 2004).

According to the planners (M.N. Mekouar and F. Debbi) who signed the plan, 'the SDAU is a planning document that defines the strategic lines at the territorial scale which aims to ensure consistency in the medium and long-term projects. It does not constitute a development plan or a functional programme. It draws on a diagnosis made on the basis of investigations carried out in the field and on the available data. (...). Its development proposals based on the diagnosis and development scenarios developed on the basis of economic projections and their impacts on population growth and social demand resulting in different fields (...). The SDAUD relies on ambitious development prospects (...). The economic scenario that will result, will necessarily break with past development trends' (Royame du Maroc, 2004, p.1 – my translation).

Ministère Délégué Chargé de l'Habitat et de l'Urbanisme - Direction de l'Urbanisme
 Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme du Détroit
 SDAU : Carte de synthèse

Jun 2006



Légende :

- Limites Provinces
- Limite TMSA
- ▬ Périmètre d'aménagement
- Zone couverte de documents d'aménagement, en cours

I. Agglomérations et centres urbains

- Agglomérations Urbaines existantes
- Zone d'habitat à créer
- ZONES touristiques
- Centres Urbains à renforcer (Fnideq, Mdiq)
- Nouveau pôle de développement
- Villages satellites d'équipement et d'animation touristique
- Centres ruraux de service (un centre par commune)
- Douars importants

II. Zones d'activités

- Zones d'activités portuaires
- Zone d'extension du port
- Zone franche industrielle
- Zone franche commerciale
- Zone de réserve stratégique
- Zone d'activité hors ZF

III. Espaces naturels

- Littoral à caractère naturel dominant (dont 20% destiné au Tourisme de standing)
- Forêts existantes
- Zones de reboisement
- Projet de Réserve Naturelle
- Zone à potentiel agricole
- Espace rural

- Zone inondable
- Limites du SIBE Jbel Moussa
- Plage
- ▲ Sites panoramiques

IV. Infrastructures

- Autoroute
- Voie expresse existante
- Voie expresse à créer
- RN ou RR à renforcer
- Voie ferrée existante et programmée
- ⊗ Parc éolien
- ⊗ Port de plaisance
- ⊗ Port de pêche ou PDA
- ⊗ Reconversion du Port de Tanger
- Barrages
- Gare de chemin de fer en projet
- Liaison fixe Maroc-Espagne
- ⊗ Aéroport existant

V. Equipements collectifs structurants

- Golf existant
- Golf projeté
- H Hôpital
- CFP Centre de formation professionnelle
- S Zone de sport
- Sites archéologiques
- Campings

Fig. 09 / Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain du Détroit (SDAUD).

(Source: Royaume du Maroc, Direction de l'Urbanisme, Mekouar, M.N., Debbi, F., 2004)

The plan covers a wide rural area, weakly equipped and subject to strong growth due to the proximity of the enclave of Ceuta and its informal trade dynamics. The plan entirely covers the territory of competence of the TMSA, extending over four rural municipalities (Ksar Sghir, Ksar El Majaz, Taghramt and Melloussa) and an urban municipality (Fnideq) but also involving sensitive territories, such as the Site d'Intérêt Biologique et Ecologique (SIBE) of Jbel Moussa (*ibid.*).

The plan identified the main poles of urban, industrial and commercial development, among which the most prominent is the new Tanger-Med Port.

The implementation of the strategic lines proposed by the plan (environmental protection; control of industrial development corridors; development of touristic functions – *ibid.*) is still in progress and its outcomes are yet to be officially assessed. Nevertheless, the socio-spatial effects of the SDAUD are already observable in the region, almost ten years after its publication. These include, above all, the direct and indirect outcomes of the construction Tanger-Med Port and the related infrastructure and industrial areas. These examples give evidence of the genealogy and time extent of specific territorial visions, showing how they have travelled through different documents over the years, becoming sorts of common development imaginaries shared between the central government, regional / local administrations, private agents and professionals.

F.09

Tanger-Med: transcalar power re-configurations

The project for Tanger-Med is a new cargo harbour, 24km away from the centre of Tanger, overlooking the Strait of Gibraltar. With this new hub Morocco is aiming to become the new bridge between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The area of intervention covers a broad portion of land (about 4 km of coastline), housing the

functions of loading and unloading of goods carried in large containers.

Since 2002 'the project was implemented under the strategic choice to turn the region into an area conducive for investment, in an integrated regional development approach' (TMSA²⁶). In fact, the first location of the port was on the Atlantic coast of the region (close to Tanger's airport), but it was later shifted to the more strategic position of the Strait.

Inside the harbour there is a large logistic free zone, Medhub²⁷, established in 2008 with a surface of 250 hectares, where around 50 companies are able to store, pack and label their goods, using the internal industrial area and taking advantage of the transnational economy of the region.

Investment for the construction of the port comes mostly from Abu Dhabi, with an investment of 300 million dollars in the first phase (Tanger-Med I)²⁸.

A second phase of expansion, Tanger-Med II, is currently under construction: the project will double the size of the hub and bring its capacity to eight million containers and six million passengers each year (El País, 2014b).

The construction of the port is having important consequences not only on the socio-economic and financial landscape of the region, but also on its administrative organisation and power interplays at the local, regional and international levels. At the local level, Planel (2012) underlines how the implementation of the new hub (since the early 2000s) has been accompanied by a re-scaling process, which is linked to three different phenomena: the establishment of a territorial zone of exception, a ZDS (Zone Spéciale de Développement); the redistribution of powers which triggered a change in the hierarchical setting of pre-existent regulatory powers; and the establishment of new authorities, namely the TMSA (*ivi*, p.7) and the Fahs Anjra Prefecture, which was established in 2003 in parallel with the construction of the hub.

F.10



PRINCIPALES PUERTOS DE MERCANCÍAS DEL MEDITERRÁNEO

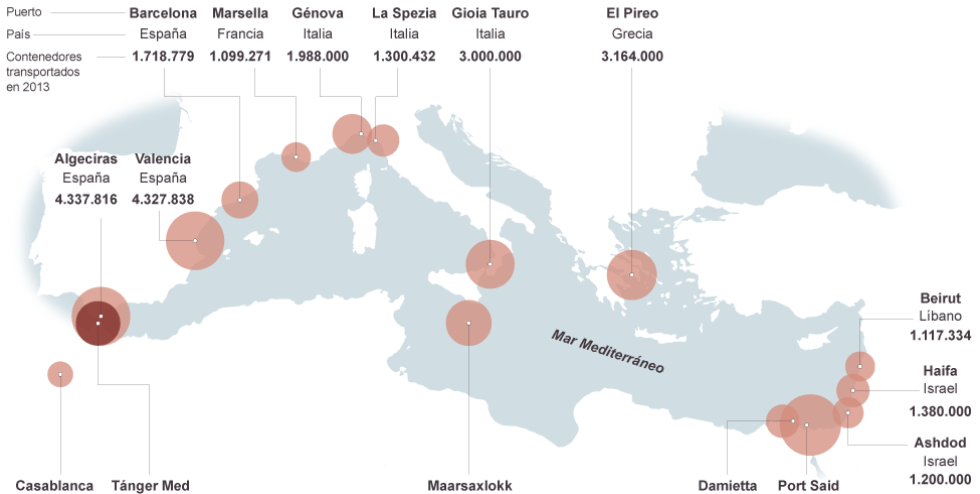


Fig. 10 / Tanger Med I during the construction processes.

Fig. 11 / Tanger Med in the Mediterranean context.

(Sources: APDN; El Pais, 2014b)

Along with the introduction of a new territorial government system (which has partially substituted the existing local authorities' competences), Tanger-Med has been the direct projection of central government's initiative. The growing role of the state and the King as the main actor in development at the national level (Barthel, 2008) has already been observed. In the specific case of Tanger-Med, the royal intervention has functioned as the origin of and justification for the project, in order legitimise it and avoid any form of contestation, triggering a double process of de-responsibilisation (of local institutional actors) and hyper-responsibilisation (of the King) (Planel, 2012, p.10).

This twofold process has deeply altered and de-constructed the power structure at the regional and local level, introducing new rules in local governance (*ivi*, p.11).

The Tanger-Med and its free trade zones have also been defined as spaces of exception by Heller (2006, p.113), as outlaw spaces, which are not subject to common (financial) regulations and jurisdiction (*ibid.*).

At the international scale, Tanger-Med has been read in relation to the general picture of existing maritime hubs in the EUro-Mediterranean and global context (El País, 2014b). With its current dimensions and traffic it is the seventh

F.11 larger commercial harbour in the basin, but its full implementation, including the second stage of the project, will probably change this general picture. Furthermore, in light of the Spanish-Moroccan relations, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the supposed growth of Tanger-Med constitutes just one possible scenario among many. The current traffic of Tanger-Med is half that attracted by the Spanish hub, while current traffic management cooperation between the two maritime authorities gives some evidence to the presence of more complex political and economical interests that cross the Strait and go beyond simplified 'competitive' settings (El País, 2014b).

In this context Ferrer-Gallardo (2011) has highlighted the different reactions from Ceuta, located close to the area of the hub. Catastrophist and optimistic opinions co-exist in the enclave due to fears of the negative impact of the project on the economy of the city, while others expect / foresee more positive economic synergies (*ivi*, p.375). Despite the diffusion of such contrasting opinion, there is no doubt that Tanger-Med has become a crucial issue for Ceuta (*ibid.*) and for Moroccan/Spanish relations.

Broadening the gaze from the coast towards the inland, the last decade's complex infrastructure works related to the implementation of Tanger-Med I and II in North Morocco have included the dam of Rmel, the quarries of Taghramt and Abdelkhalek Torres, together with the existing wind turbine parks in the area of Taghramt (located in the recently established Fahs-Anjar Prefecture).

This infrastructure system, together with those implemented along the Ceuta / Fnideq / M'diq littoral (such as the Barrage of Smir and the littoral highways), has produced a series of clashes between local mountain / coastal communities and local authorities over the use of natural resources and lands. In the case of Tanger-Med, local community lands have been expropriated in order to build both the harbour and the dam of Rmel, built in order to protect the hub from floods.

The direct intervention of the King in the process has reduced the opportunity for protest from local communities. Nevertheless, as observed by Planel (2011), the construction of the port and its never-ending enlargements have triggered forms of 'social mobilisations (...) in the hinterland of the new Tanger-Med as a reaction to the abrupt transformation of the area. Local people are making use of new politically expedient structures provided by the reform of the State [the new constitution of 2011 - nda]. As a consequence of their hybrid nature, these structures are malfunctioning

and hindering social mobilisations. Local voices are weakened because of the strategic interest of the project, but most of all, because of the duality of the new rescaled State, which only functions in a top-down dynamic'. Another example of this is the clashes between local mountain communities in the area of Taghramt involved in the construction of calcareous quarries along the dorsal of the Rif, opened to supply construction sites in the area of the port and along the Ceuta / Fnideq / M'diq littoral. There are similar conditions around the water springs along the calcareous western dorsal of the Rif, where the growing water needs of the littoral have triggered forms of discontent and protest among the mountain communities (cfr. Chapter 6).

Along with the Tanger-Med site, the TMSA together, with other shareholders, is in charge of the management of the main industrial and financial projects in the region (Tanger Free Zone, Medhub, Tetouan Shore, TangerMed Automotive). The Tanger Free Zone (FTZ) was established in 1999, with the aim of attracting international holdings and companies: '475 companies of all sizes boosted by foreign investment from the European Union, United States of America, North Africa and the Middle East have generated more than thirty different activities' (Tanger Free Zone)²⁹. It is located next to the airport of Ibn Battuta, the homonymous new town and the area of Gzenaya, one of the urban growth poles identified by the state in the 1990s. In the Tanger-Tetouan area the new towns are located on the outskirts of the main urban centre, at the confluence of important transportation infrastructures. Charafate is among the new towns that are rapidly growing in the inlands, outside the consolidated city-centres, a currently widespread phenomenon, as part of the governmental programme called Villes Sans Bidonvilles (*PVSB*). In 2004 the Moroccan Government launched a national development plan for slum clearance and the realisation of 15

new cities (*villes nouvelle*) by 2020. The programme should be considered in the light of the previous initiatives promoted by the state (mainly the Programme national d'action pour la résorption de l'habitat insalubre PARHI, 2001) in order to reduce and substitute the informal settlements.

The development of the new towns programme has mainly been by local and foreign real estate companies and financial groups, among them Al Omrane, but also foreign and transnational investors based in Spain, France, Portugal, Malaysia and Qatar.

The direct and indirect outcomes of this complex constellation have been studied since the early 2000s, particularly with regard to the socio-economic consequences on the socio-economic and natural environments of the region.

A recent documentary produced by the non-governmental organisation COSPE³⁰ shows the effects of the acceleration in urban and infrastructural development projects and its collateral effects: the mismatch between the massive influx of national and international investments on mega 'prestige projects' (Barthel and Planel, 2010; Kanai and Kutz, 2010) and new residential neighbourhoods around the main urban centres of Tanger's Peninsula, and the living conditions of local populations settled in suburban and informal areas around the development poles.

Ursula Biemann and Angela Sanders (cfr. Chapter 2) documented such a situation more than 10 years ago in their video-essay *Europlex* (Biemann and Sanders, 2003). The film focused on the peculiar situation of the workers in transnational companies based in the region, addressing the particular conditions of Moroccan female workers. If at first glance this phenomenon can be read as a potentially positive form of emancipation for women, assuming a new economic role inside the traditional family, the presence of such border / transnational economies have also proved to have violent outcomes for local societies, in different geographical zones (such as the US-Mexico border).

According to Kanai and Kutz (2010), the case of North Morocco appears to be ‘paradigmatic’ as regards the emergence of new forms of working poverty and ‘the expansion of a vulnerable low-wage population (...)’ (*ivi*, p.349). While ‘informal settlements have emerged in the outskirts and interstices of the FTZ, precarious shacks for workers are juxtaposed to modern and globally linked factories and facilities’ (*ibid.*). Moreover, the implementation of some of these sites brought about the destruction of many informal and irregular settlements: this was the case for Villa Harris, a historical slum located on the northern-east coast of Tanger, which was destroyed in order to permit the implementation of the touristic settlement of Ghandouri in 2004 (Le Tellier, 2008, p.165). The rapid relocation of the inhabitants appeared to be dramatic: the new settlements turned out to be new slums without any services or connections to the city and its related facilities.

5.2.3. Colonial legacies and border ruins

As mentioned earlier, the Tanger Peninsula has been at the centre of different transcalar power interplays and the multiplication of power and border regimes due to the presence of a plurality of political institutions (the EU, the Spanish Government, the Moroccan Government), international agents and agencies (Frontex, IOM) and regional and local administrations (the Tanger Tetouan Region and TMSA in north Morocco, the Junta de Andalucía in south Spain). Thus, the third constellation includes a layering of different hegemonic discourses in time and space can be identified: from Spanish colonial times (1912–1956), passing through Moroccan pre and post-Independence (1956) turmoil, to post-Cold War and post-9/11 security concerns stratified in physical and cultural landscapes. The Spanish colonial rule in the area, in particular, has dropped a variety of different

structures and buildings on the North Moroccan landscape, which are now in state of abandonment or vacancy, or have been converted to other uses.

Beyond the architectural and urban design leftovers of the first half of the 20th century (cfr. Atlas III), which have been the object of broader and life-long research trajectories (such as by Antonio Bravo Nieto, 2000), it is worth looking at the leftovers of the Spanish colonial experience in the region at a landscape scale.

These are related, to the eleven former railway stations of the Tetouan-Ceuta line (Tetouan, Aviación, Malalien, Rincón, Restinga, Negro, Riffien, Castillejos, Miramar, Ceuta, Benzù) and to the military outpost of Tlat Taghramt and Dar Riffien.

The railway and its stations were inaugurated in 1918, with an overall length of 40 km connecting various small settlements along the coast and above all the two main cities of this section of the Protectorate, Ceuta and Tetouan.

Within the colonial project promoted by the Spanish government in the first years of its rule in North Morocco, the plan for this railway line was inscribed into the process of territorial occupation and the need to support the role of Tetouan as a main urban pole in the inlands of the protectorate and in integration with the economic and urban functions of Ceuta (Albet-Mas, 1999b, p. 481). Furthermore, it was planned that the line would eventually connect to the area of Melilla and the border with Algeria.

Due to a lack of financial resources and political vision, only the Ceuta-Tetouan line was constructed, while the previous rails were dismantled before the end of the Spanish rule. The railway was in operation until 1958, when the tracks were completely dismantled, while the stations have been in part demolished or left abandoned, and only recently recovered for other uses.

This is the case for the renovation of Tetouan train station, which has been converted into a modern art centre (CAM), recently re-opened to the public, thanks to a

F.12
>
F.16



Fnideq



Riffien



Negro



Dar Riffien

collaborative project between the Fundación Tres Culturas (Sevilla), the Junta de Andalucía and the municipality of Tetouan³¹. From a completely different perspective, the former station of Malalien has been converted in recent years into a restaurant and wedding palace, most probably by private owners.

On the Spanish side, the two stations of Ceuta and Miramar were renovated in the mid-2000s, but they are both currently unused.

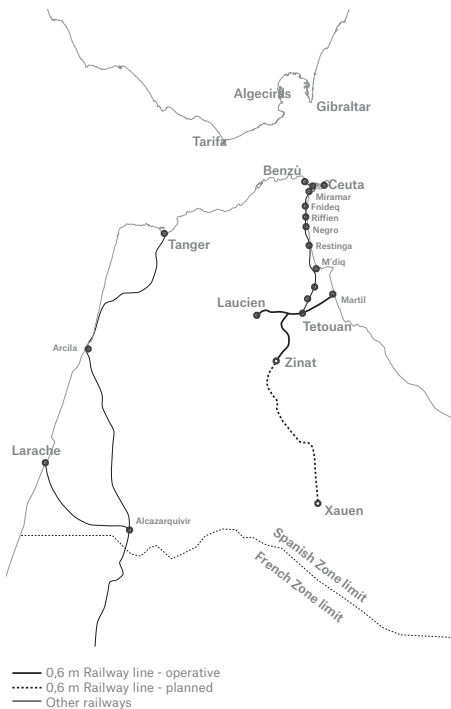


Fig. 12-15 / Border ruins, aerial views.
(Source: Google Earth, 2014).

F. 16 / The Ceuta - Tetouan railway line.
(Map by Pedro Pintado Quintana. Source: Blog de Ceuta. Retrieved from: <http://blogdeceuta.com/2013/11/ferrocarril-de-ceuta-tetuan.html>).

The conditions of these spaces can be summarised as follows:

- . Benzù (Ceuta) Station – demolished;
- . Ceuta Station (Ceuta) – renovated and vacant;
- . Miramar Station (Ceuta) – renovated and vacant;
- . Castillejos / Fnideq Station (Fnideq) renovated and vacant;
- . Dar Riffien military base (Fnideq) – in ruin;
- . Riffien Station (Fnideq) – renovated and vacant;
- . Negro Station (Fnideq) – in ruin;
- . Restinga Station – demolished;
- . Rincòn Station – demolished;
- . Malalien Station (Tetouan) / re-used as restaurant – wedding palace;
- . Aviación Station – demolished;
- . Tetouan Station (Tetouan) / re-used as a modern art centre;
- . Tlat Taghramt military base (Taghramt) - in ruin, partially recovered.

F.18

F.17

At the same time, after 1917 the Spanish colonial government started a forestation campaign along the littoral and around Ceuta with the aim, from one side, of protecting the dune areas from sea erosion and, from the other, of extending their territorial control over the area through the presidium of forestry authorities (Cantarino, 2008). If from one side these initiatives allowed the protection of fragile environments, on the other side they had long-lasting direct and indirect effects on the relationships between Rif communities and their former littoral lands, which later (after the end of the Protectorate) led to forms of disobedience around governmental forestation campaigns, which has been repeated in recent years³².

Indeed, in the pre-colonial time, the littoral lands (the plains, the wetlands and dunes along the sea) were almost completely uninhabited (*ibid.*) and used to be considered as ‘commons’ of collective property (*yemaa*) for the sustenance of local mountain communities (in particular of the poorest families).



Fig. 17-18 / Border ruins: Negro Train Station - Dar Riffien military headquarter
(Photos by Karrouk Kerkich Mohamed, 2008)

With the arrival of the Spanish (and the French in other regions of Morocco) in the early years of the 20th century, the littoral common lands were interpreted as state property (Makhzen) and therefore passed under the control of the colonial forestry authorities (namely the Cuerpos forestales del Estado - Cantarino, 2008, cfr. Goeurly, 2007 as regards the French Protectorate³³). The change in the ownership status of the coastal areas explains the resistances and sabotages of colonial forestation works by local populations, who were reacting to the reduction of their use rights on such lands (*ibid.*). The last leftovers of these forestation works are still visible as small interstitial plantations of *eucalyptus* and *pinus nigra* (*ibid.*) along the littoral, mainly in the areas of Cabo Negro, Martil and Marina Smir. The sabotage of forestation works during the Spanish Protectorate and the destruction of colonial infrastructures after Moroccan independence can be read, from a historical and socio-cultural perspective, as the expression of resistances and disobedience (as well as forms of '*damnatio memoriae*') from local populations and authorities against dominant and hegemonic powers.

5.2.4. Cross-border protected areas.

From the early 2000s, the draft proposal for the Reserva de la Biosfera Intercontinental del Mediterráneo Andalucía (España) - Marruecos (Intercontinental Biosphere Reserve of the Mediterranean RBIM) has been implemented by the Andalusian regional government (Junta de Andalucía) and the Moroccan Haut Commissariat aux Eaux et Forêts et à la Lutte contre la Désertification (HCEFLCD) in the context of the INTERREG III A and later approved in 2006 by the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). As a further step in the RIHLA research project³⁴ about the cross-border landscapes between Andalusia and North Morocco, developed by the

Centro de Estudios Paisaje y Territorio (Junta de Andalucía) in collaboration with Moroccan institutions, the reserve has been more recently become the main focus and field of work for the research initiative *Transhábitat*³⁵, funded within the POCTEFEX programme.

The RBIM covers an area of 907,185 hectares, 470,600 of which is in Moroccan territory, organised into core, buffer and transitions areas (distributed between the provinces of Cádiz, Málaga in Spain and Larache, Tetuán, Chefchauen, Tanger and Ouzane in Morocco). The population of the reserve (around 550,000 inhabitants) mainly live off rural economic activities³⁶ connected to local natural resources.

The Moroccan section of the reserve has an ambiguous perimeter (if compared to the Andalusian side) due to inclusion of areas, which are not considered as protected by the Moroccan national natural protection plan³⁷ and law³⁸.

In North Morocco, the reserve includes the SIBE³⁹ of Jbel Moussa, Jbel Habib, Ben Kerish, Souk Lhad and Brikcha, one regional park (Bouhachem) and national park (Talassemtane). Nevertheless the RBIM doesn't work as a normative device, but rather a general framework in which to develop future forms of cooperation around environmental and landscape protection. Indeed, there are no normative constraints about the supposed maritime 'corridor' across the Strait of Gibraltar, nor about the SIBE, which are often subjected to other development interests, as in the case of the Smir Lagoon, which used to officially be a SIBE but was recently destroyed by a touristic development project⁴⁰ (Chapter 6).

5.2.5. Transnational social spaces⁴¹

A fifth constellation regards the places of resistance and border struggles (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) which emerged not only as spatial coagulations of counter-hegemonic claims against the divisions and differences

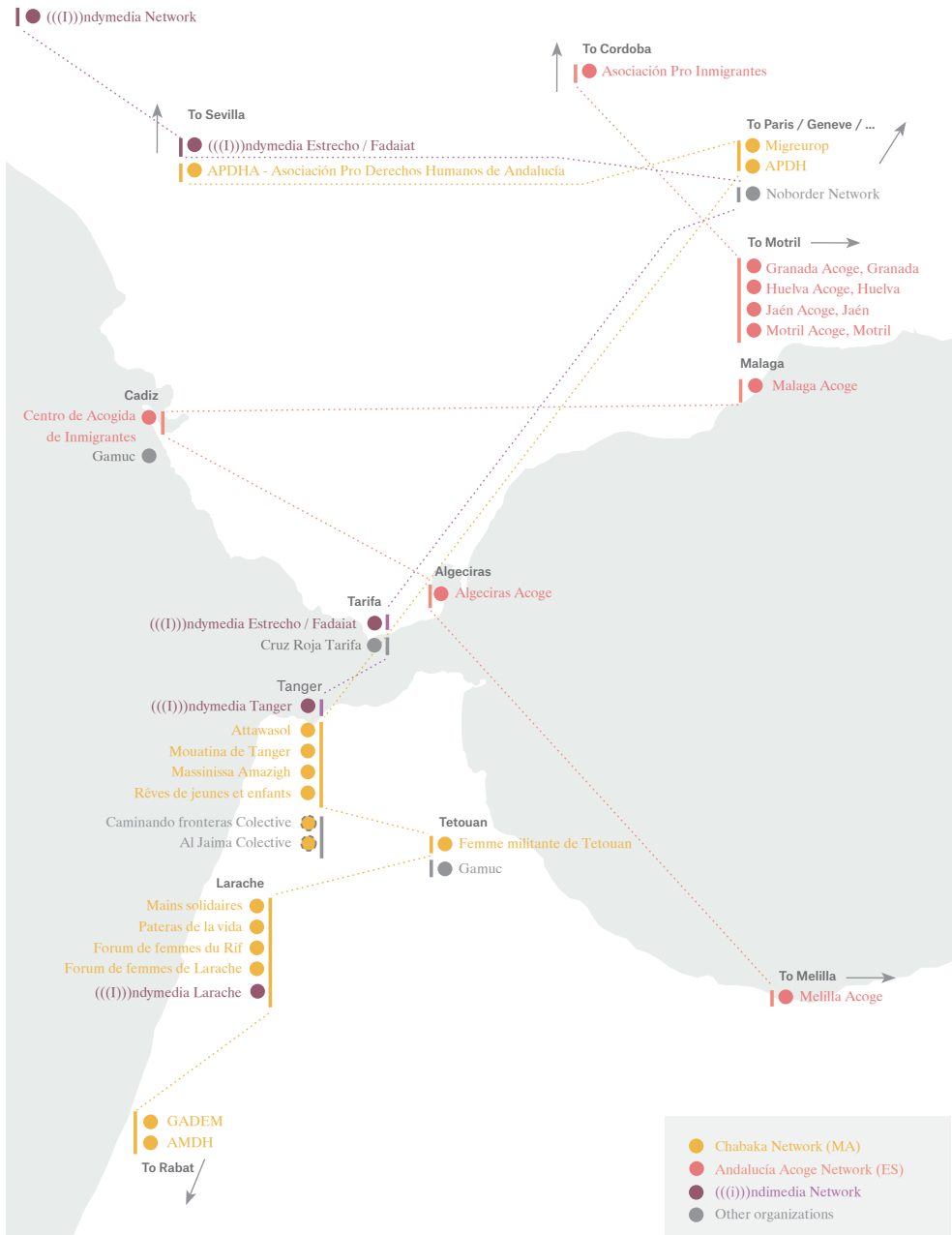


Fig. 19 / Relational places of resistance: transnational human rights networks
 (Sources: Chabaka, Andalucía Acoge and author's research - image published in Buoli, 2014).

imposed by the border (De Lama, 2004) (due to EU and national border policies), but also and especially as relational spaces in which local civil society organisations and networks, activists, professionals, cultural institutions and citizens have found opportunities and chances for encounter and debate. These social and relational borderscapes are made of ties and networks connecting, at different levels, subjects/collectives working on border issues, contesting and challenging the divisions imposed by the border with their political, academic and artistic practices: networks of activists, scholars, artists, cultural institutions and NGOs, involved for instance in human rights protection (as in the case of migrants), operating in partnership with local North Moroccan and Andalucía organisations. Civil society organisations in North Morocco and Andalusia are mainly concerned with migrants' and human rights protection. Group such as the Chabaka Network⁴²; AMDH, Association marocaine des droits humains; GADEM - Groupe antiraciste de défense et d'accompagnement des étrangers et migrants; Migroeuropa; APDH: L'Association pour la Promotion des Droits Humains are active in the organisation of seminars, encounters and protests. In particular, the 2013 edition of the *Marcha contra la valla de Ceuta* – a meeting of study, knowledge dissemination and protest against the Ceuta's fence (5-6 October 2013) has seen the participation of various organisations from various European and African countries.

The event marked the 8th anniversary of the 2005 deaths of sub-Saharan migrants at the border between Ceuta and Morocco, when eleven migrants died in the attempt to jump Ceuta's border fence.

On the first day a series of documentaries were shown, in order to remember the 2005 events and denounce the everyday problems that migrants have to face on the border with Europe, as well as the difficulties / opportunities that migrants living in Morocco are dealing with today. The second

day was dedicated to peaceful protest in Place de les Nations in Tanger.

Along with the organisation of such events, the organisations involved in cultural and human rights protection networks are active in the dissemination of information on the current conditions of migrants on the border, reporting abuses, shipwrecks and crossing attempts. Among many the Twitter and Facebook accounts of *Noborder Morocco* are active in reporting current news about the situation at the border, violence and aggression against migrants by both Spanish and Moroccan police, and successful crossings with the slogan *Boza* (meaning 'success', 'win' in the Peul language). Border activist Helena Maleno reports on a daily basis on the numbers of people (and deaths) at the border and gives support to people trying to cross the Strait, becoming a kind of point of reference for them.

Together with civil society organisations, some Spanish newspapers have assumed a relevant role in this sense, by implementing an ad hoc information platform. This is the case with *Desalambre*⁴³, a section of the Spanish online newspaper *El Diario*, a space dedicated to human rights which reports a lot of information about the conditions at the border. *El País Semanal* is a weekly insert in *El País*, one of the main newspapers in Spain, has recently dedicated two online platforms to the debate: *A las puertas de Europa* (El País, 2014c) a multimedia narrative about some of the main points on the southern Mediterranean borders, and *El desafío del Estrecho* (El País, 2015, cfr. Chapter 4).

These examples give evidence of a direct link between the digital and physical dimensions of cross-border networks, in which technologies have assumed a prominent role (cfr. Faist, 2000; Irazábal, 2013).

This dimension was anticipated in the early 2000s by the Observatorio Tecnológico del Estrecho (Technological Observatory of the Strait), which has been one of most active networks on the North Moroccan / Spanish border (cfr. Introductory Essay).

Another case of this is the partnership between the University of Tetouan and the University of Cadiz, which resulted, in recent times, in cooperative learning and education experiences, such as the Aula Universitaria del Estrecho⁴⁴ in Algeciras as a form of collaboration between the University of Cadiz, the Municipality of Algeciras and the Abdelmalek Essaâdi University in Tetouan. Some of the organisations involved in the production of cross-border relational space, concerned with human rights protection and promotion and border struggle are:

The Chabaka Network

- . Attawasol, Tanger
 - . Association Mains solidaires, Larache
 - . Association Pateras de la vida, Larache
 - . Forum de femmes du Rif
 - . Forum de femmes de Larache, Larache
 - . Mouatina de Tanger, Tanger
 - . Femme militante de Tetouan, Tetouan
 - . Massinissa Amazigh, Tanger
 - . Rêves de jeunes et enfants, Tanger
- +
- . AMDH - Association marocaine des droits humains, Rabat
 - . GADEM - Groupe antiraciste de défense et d'accompagnement des étrangers et migrants, Rabat
 - . Migroeupe, Paris
 - . APDH - L'Association pour la Promotion des Droits Humains, Geneve
 - . APDHA - Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía, Sevilla.

Andalucía Acoge network

- . Algeciras Acoge, Algeciras
- . Asociación Pro Inmigrantes De Córdoba, Cordoba
- . Centro de Acogida de Inmigrantes, Cadiz – Jerez
- . Granada Acoge, Granada
- . Huelva Acoge, Huelva
- . Jaén Acoge, Jaén
- . Malaga Acoge, Malaga
- . Melilla Acoge, Melilla
- . Motril Acoge, Motril

Other (independent) organisations

- . Colectivo Caminando fronteras, Morocco (MA/ES)
- . Colectivo Al Jaima, Tanger
- . Cospe Morocco, Tanger
- . Asociacion Pateras de la Vida
- . Indymedia Estrecho / Fadaiat, Sevilla

At the same time, some of these organisations (a few) work in cooperation with institutions involved in cultural cooperation projects in North Morocco and Andalusia:

- . Instituto Cervantes, Tanger, Tetouan;
- . Musee de la Kasbah, Tanger
- . Tanger American Legation Museum (TALIM), Tanger
- . Cinémathèque de Tanger, Tanger
- . Association de Développement Local Méditerranéen - ADELMA, Tanger
- . Université Abdelmalek Essaadi, Tetouan
- . Aula Universitaria del Estrecho, Algeciras – Cadiz - Tetouan
- . Centro Paco Lerchundi, Martil
- . Association Tres Culturas del Mediterraneo, Sevilla
- . Tetouan Modern Challenge / Gamuc, Cadiz
- . Junta de Andalucía, Observatorio de Cooperación Territorial de Andalucía (OCTA), Cadiz.

Some of these agents have been participating in the development of cooperation projects, in the more general framework of cooperation programmes between Andalusia and North Morocco.

5.3. The North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes beyond existing delimitations

The complex picture emerging from these different constellations allows reconsideration of the current definition of the North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes beyond a territorial administrative perspective and the perimeters drawn by bi-national and EU cooperation policies and programmes. It suggests that in order to grasp the way in which the land is shaped by bordering dynamics (and vice versa), it is necessary to look simultaneously at a series of cross-scalar fields, which are lived in and traced by different agents with their everyday practices of crossing, as well by the projections of their interests, desires and fears. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that in recent years a group of scholars and professionals working at the Université Mohammed V - Agdal and the Institut National d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme in Rabat (Mohammed Aderghal, Mohamed Berriane, Aziz Iraki, Nacer El Kadiri and Abdellah Laouina) together with other colleagues (Claude Courlet and Guillaume Benoit), have introduced and debated, in the Moroccan context, the role of bottom-up dynamics as key factors in development processes, shifting attention from the *territoire de projet* to the *projet de territoire*. In reference to the bottom-up planning experiences which began in the 1980s in France (Courlet et al., 2013, p.2), these scholars began to search for another idea of development, a different relationship between society and territory, seen as a complex system built 'from below' by (economic, political and social) agents (*ivi*, p.1 – *territoire construit*), challenging both current administrative divisions and the state's top-down approaches. From this perspective, the *projet de*

territoire means, for these authors, a new type of action involving local and regional authorities, actors and communities, which don't intervene in a given stock of resources, but in a process of revelation of hidden potentialities (*ibid.*; Aderghal et al., 2013), building new territorialities, new fields of intervention.

Therefore, the *projet de territoire* is guided by a future-oriented attention around a series of interconnected dimensions (Courlet et al., *op.cit.*, p.4 – my translation): a vision of the future shared among the actors; a collective will of organisation; a shared system of values; medium-term strategic priorities validated by local actors and later turned into objectives and action plans. Some key questions, which appear to be relevant in relation to the top-down and centralised development plans / visions / strategies, have emerged from this (international) debate in the Moroccan context, as reported by Aderghal (et al., *op.cit.*), p.23 – my translation):

'Can we make the spaces of the project (informed by top-down governmental actions) the frameworks for the mobilisation of local actors? How to feed the local and encourage them to create synergies and territorial solidarity before the establishment of institutional tools (...)? How to articulate these spaces according to a *projet de territoire* approach?'

Such debate appears to be an interesting starting point from which to try to re-name or re-define the fields of reference for rethinking and re-designing the border landscape in its material, relational and symbolical dimensions.

At the intersection between the North-Moroccan Spanish borderscapes' constellations a new vague and boundless field, defined by geographical, natural and geopolitical elements of reference, emerges: *the landscapes between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif*.

This is a vague and boundless field, in which

to debate and experiment with alternative configurations / new horizons of meaning (Vettoretto, 2000), dealing with multiple (and often conflicting) imaginations: spaces of longing (van Houtum and Eker 2013) and of becoming (Brambilla 2014a).

Notes

1. Data regarding demography, socio-economic development, activity rates are drawn on the following sources: Population projections at 2008 by the APDN; *Etat des lieux territorial* 2011 (APDN 2011); Indirect sources from El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013.
2. Other scholars (Brambilla 2014b; Ferrer-Gallardo and Albet-Mas 2013) have recently used this image in reference to EU/non-EU borders.
3. A *dahir* is a royal act. It can be legislative or administrative. It has the force of law (Source: Catusse et al., 2007).
4. Some passages of this paragraph have been published in: Buoli, A., 2013. The Transnational Dimension of Contemporary Urban Landscape in Morocco, in: Conference Proceedings. Presented at the Cities to be tamed? Standards and alternatives in the transformation of the urban South - Milano, 15-17 November 2012, Planum. The Journal of Urbanism.
5. Berber culture.
6. The new Constitution has been approved after the protests / demonstrations of 2011. The text partially adopts some of the claims emerged during the protests (in terms of gender equity and political participation), but substantially confirms the political status-quo, by strengthening the power of the King and his representatives. The complete text of the constitution is available at: www.amb-maroc.fr/constitution/Nouvelle_Constitution_%20Maroc2011.pdf
7. Source: www.apdn.ma/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=118&Itemid=191&lang=en
8. Source: www.maroc.ma/fr/content/plan-azur
9. Source: www.agriculture.gov.ma/pages/la-strategie
10. Source: www.tourisme.gov.ma/fr/vision-2020/vision-2010
11. Source: <http://194.204.215.40/maroc2030/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=BQwS01WxVHI%3d&tabid=75&mid=404>
12. Source: www.elpais.com/diario/2001/04/23/andalucia/987978125_850215.html
13. The programme has been replaced by the new INTERREG V (2014-2020) programme, which at the moment has no open calls about Moroccan-Spanish cooperation.
14. Foucault, M. 1984. *The Foucault Reader*. Ed. Rainbow, P. Pantheon, New York / Foucault, M. 1984. *Of Other Spaces*. Architecture / Movement / Continuité. Source: www.foucault.info/documents/heterotopia/foucault.heterotopia.en.html
15. Jones, M., Jones, R., Woods, M. 2004. *An Introduction to Political Geography: Space, Place and Politics*. Routledge, London and New York, p.115.
16. Keith, M., Pile S. (Eds.). 1993. *Place and the Politics of Identity*. Routledge, London.
17. Gramsci, A. 1973. *Letters from Prison*. Harper and Row, New York.
18. This paragraph has been published as part of the paper: Buoli, A., 2014. Beyond the border: exploring cross-scalar socio-spatial dynamics of conflict, resistance and encounter at the Ceuta-Morocco borderscapes. *Regional Studies*, *Regional Science*.
19. Source: www.issuu.com/eugeo2013/docs/eugeo_programme_definitivo_npok_con/49.
20. Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) (2013). *Series de población desde 1996*. Cifras oficiales de la Revisión anual del Padrón municipal a 1 de enero de cada año. Source: www.ine.es
21. Ceuta's local government defines Biutz bridge opening hours.
22. Source: www.abc.es/espana/20141117/abci-entradas-inmigrantes-ilegales-201411170927.html.
23. Source: www.thelandbetweenfilm.com
24. Source: www.abc.es/espana/20150209/abci-rabat-ceuta-melilla-201502092101.html
25. Source: www.tac.ma/master.
26. Source: www.tmsa.ma/?lang=en&Id=5 (Last accessed September 2012)
27. Source: www.medhub.ma/
28. Source: www.portfinanceinternational.com/

- categories/finance-deals/item/1911-uae-supports-tangier-med-ii-funding
29. Source: www.tangerfreezone.com/?lang=en&Id=3
 30. Mereghetti E., Mensa, M., 2012. *La sposa del nord (Voci da Tangeri)*. Film, COSPE. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mG7H5m3uUBI> (last accessed on May 2015).
 31. Source: www.comunicacionypatrimonio.com/portfolio/museo-de-arte-moderno-de-tetuan/ (last accessed March 2015).
 32. Data assumed from local interviews.
 33. 'Le Maroc pré-colonial fut souvent présenté, pour légitimer la colonisation, comme un pays non gouverné où l'autorité sultanienne restait faible et sans-cesse menacée. Le territoire est, alors, distingué selon deux catégories, le 'bled el Makhzen', sous l'autorité du sultan et le 'bled es-Siba', dominé par des tribus indépendantes et contestataires. Cette vision politique mérite d'être nuancée en présentant davantage cette situation comme une gestion décentralisée du territoire. Le sultan conservait les pouvoirs régaliens (armée, diplomatie, justice) auxquels s'ajoutait son pouvoir religieux comme commandeur des croyants. Les populations géraient localement les ressources du pays.
La colonisation, en 1912, et la mise en place du protectorat, enclenchent un processus de construction d'un État dit moderne, centralisé et interventionniste dans l'ensemble des domaines de la société. Les administrateurs français, sous l'impulsion du résident général, le maréchal Lyautey, reproduisent les structures institutionnelles françaises, dont la législation sur la protection d'espaces spécifiques. Dès 1917, un dahir définit un statut particulier pour les espaces forestiers en réglementant leur usage et leur exploitation. D'espaces collectifs, ils deviennent des espaces publics gérés par le pouvoir central. Les populations locales ne conservent qu'un simple droit d'usage comme réminiscence de leur droit de propriété. (...). La «nature» devient une affaire d'État et s'inscrit dans une nouvelle logique qui est celle du national et surtout de l'international. En effet, les parcs nationaux sont définis avant tout par des administrateurs français qui y voient ainsi un élément de leur mission civilisatrice passant par un nouveau contrat entre l'humanité et la nature. Le progrès présuppose une protection des espaces dits naturels, pour ne pas seulement les exploiter de manière traditionnelle, mais surtout pour les préparer à recevoir des touristes avides d'exotisme' (Goeury, 2007, p.232).
 34. Source: www.tresculturas.org/noticia/marruecos-en-espana-proyecto-rihla-marruecos-3.
 35. Source: www.transhabitat.org/es/reserva-biosfera
 36. Source: www.transhabitat.org/es/reserva-biosfera
 37. Ministère de l'Agriculture et de la mise en valeur des agricole, Administration des eaux et forêts et de la conservation des Sols, 1996, Plans directeurs des aires protégées du Maroc, 7 vol.
 38. Loi n° 22-07 relative aux aires protégées promulguée par le dahir n° 1-10-123 du 3 chaabane 1431 (16 juillet 2010) (B.O n° 5866 du 19 août 2010).
 39. *Sites d'Intérêt Biologique et Ecologique*. Morocco has identified around 160 SIBE, divided into wetlands, dry lands and littoral areas.
 40. Source: www.libe.ma/Le-tissu-associatif-de-M-diq-monte-au-creneau-La-lagune-Smir-mise-en-danger-par-le-tourisme_a17035.html
 41. This notion is drawn on the work of Thomas Faist (2000), M. Peter Smith (2001, 2005) and Clara Irazábal (2013, 2014).
 42. Founded in Tanger in 2001, the Chabaka Network currently involves 36 organisations from both Morocco and Spain and other European and African countries concerned with human and migrant rights protection. Source: www.andaluciaintegra.eu/inicio/asociacion-red-chabaka/ www.facebook.com/pages/Chabaka/152944868132565?sk=info&tab=page_info
 43. Source: www.eldiario.es/autores/desalambre/
 44. Source: www.auladelestrecho.es/es/el-aula-universitaria-del-estrecho.
- (All websites last accessed in March 2015, except where stated differently).

An aerial, high-angle photograph of a coastal city, likely Tetouan in Morocco, showing a winding road, buildings, and a body of water. The image has a warm, orange-tinted overlay. The text is overlaid on the left side of the image.

Part 3 BorderScaping

Envisioning the North Moroccan/Spanish border landscapes from a project-oriented perspective

Abstract

In line with the methodological and thematic apparatus drawn on planning and design practices on / across borderlands (Chapter 1, 2), this final section of the thesis aims to articulate and explore a borderscaping approach at the intersection between the North-Moroccan Spanish borderscapes' constellations: *the landscapes between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif*.

The **first section** identifies three emerging trends: landscapes of transnational (im) mobility; a growing linear urbanisation along the sea and disputed lands and resources between the Rif and the coast.

These images are addressed beginning from available data, fieldwork missions and conversations with relevant (institutional and non-institutional) actors and by projecting the observed ongoing dynamics towards a (probable) near future, within a close time horizon.

The **second section** presents the outcomes of two borderscaping explorations, through cross-scalar lateral trajectories of transformation.

A first trajectory engages the re-activation of colonial legacies and border ruins in the context of transnational mobility and border economy, towards new places of post-colonial desire.

This operation aims to reconsider colonial legacies with other potential meanings and functions and in relation to cross-border mobilities / activities. The aim is to try de-linking (Mignolo, 2000) these places from

former dominant imaginaries, turning them into a new network of light educational infrastructure for local and transnational populations.

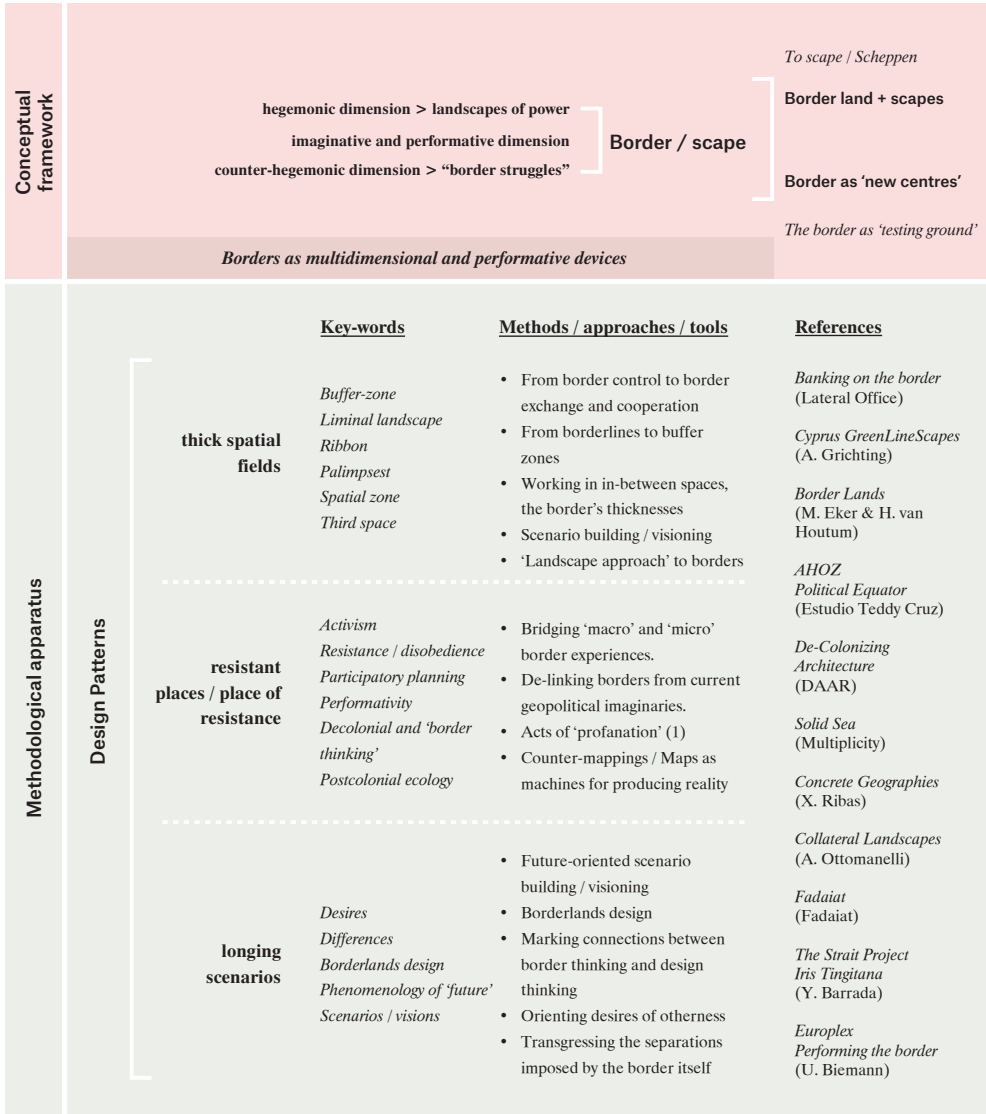
A second trajectory involves re-combining interstitial vacant lands into the framework of cross-border protected areas, through forestation initiatives. This multi-scalar intervention entails opening / thickening / blurring the margins of the RBIM (cfr. Chapter 5) and including current natural reserves, as well as interstitial green areas, into a common trans-border regulation framework, across the Strait of Gibraltar. The projection of these trajectories at different trans-scalar territorial levels could eventually rearrange a broader multidimensional picture of change for the North-Moroccan border landscapes, beyond geopolitical polarised scenarios.

key words:

explorative approach
borderlands design
future prospective
lateral resources
new horizons of meaning

Chapter 6

**Lateral images
of change, between the
Strait, the Mediterranean
and the Rif**



(1) «Profanation [...] deactivates the apparatuses of power and returns to common use the spaces that power has sized» (Agamben, 2006)

Fig. 01 / Border-scaping: a conceptual and methodological matrix.
(Diagram by A. Buoli, 2015. Source: author's research).

6.1. Borderscaping as a design method: a place-based reformulation

Figure 01 shows a synthetic recap of the patterns, methods and references to design and research experiences on/across borderlands studied and debated in Part 1. This intention is to propose a kind of matrix of the borderscaping possibilities opened by the convergences between theories, hands-on surveying and design research patterns, starting from the recognition of common and recurrent dimensions between border thinking and design thinking (imagination, knowledge-production and social agency – Chapter 1). In this regard, borderscaping has been assumed to be an interpretative, transformative and emancipative way of thinking and acting on/across borderlands, as a problem-setting / problem-solving process linking different expertise at various levels of society and enabling the development of new ‘landscapes of images’ (Appadurai, 1996) around borders.

F.01

As a projective form of reflection-in-action, borderscaping implies the production of multidimensional images of change: hypothetical pre-figurations of the potential variations in the relationships between places, people and power, as new horizons of meaning (Vettoretto, 2000, p.13). In this light, a future-based approach and a scenario building perspective have been used as methodological background, from which to try to produce new forms of knowledge around borders. Recalling Vettoretto’s thinking, as discussed in Part 1, scenarios can be conceived as qualitative, normative, non-predictive and argumentative forms of reasoning about the future ‘which uses uncertainty in an elusive way, but consider it as a strategic resource for activating contexts, making hypothesis on the possibility of an *a priori* rationality’ (*ivi*, p. 11, my translation).

On the same line of reasoning, Secchi (2003a) considers scenarios as remarkable tools when they produce alternative and competing prospect images: this partial ‘antagonism’ (*ibid.*) appears to be fruitful in highlighting other possibilities and trajectories (as well as fostering debates and mutual knowledge).

Although recognising the rich dialectical and critical potential of divergent scenarios¹ (Bozzuto et al., 2008), I mean to look at lateral and multidimensional ‘detours’ from current trends (Viganò, 2010), in consideration of the specificities of the geographical, cultural and symbolic context to which the thesis is devoted.

Indeed, as discussed in the previous section, at the North Moroccan / Spanish border ambivalent interplays between competing visions and strategies have so far been produced and re-produced by political and economic leading groups and actors. These visions have been made ‘tangible, natural, familiar, acceptable, meaningful’ (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, 2007, p. xxvi – cfr. Chapter 5) due to their inscription into physical aspects of the landscape itself and into (political and cultural) texts, discourses and documents. At the same time these political sedimentations have triggered forms of resistance and disobedience (Planel, 2011) that have had direct or indirect effects on the socio-spatial configurations of the North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes.

In coherence with the borderscaping approach, it is worth, then, overcoming such binary distinctions, by looking instead at pluriversal, processual and transcalar narratives which could go beyond a linear cause-effect equation of ‘what if? ... if / then’. This approach also represents a kind of political positioning in relation to the current dynamics in the area.

Before moving into the final section of the thesis, the following paragraph presents three possible readings of emerging socio-spatial trends between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif.

6.2. Three emerging trends

This section of the chapter intends to coagulate the previous constellations presented in Part 2 (a. colonial legacies / border ruins; b. transnational migration spaces and practices; c. strategic development sites and international mobility infrastructures; d. cross-border protected areas; e. transnational social spaces) into three emerging images, in the specific context of the north-eastern section of the Tingitana Peninsula.

Such images can be considered not only as representations and interpretative understandings of past and current conditions, but also as short-term projections of ongoing tendencies and potential clues to change in the area.

The attempt, in the previous section, to redefine the Tanger-Tetouan region according to the constellation perspective and beyond the regional scale and its rigid *découpage*, allowed reconsideration of not only the general image of the North Moroccan - Spanish borderlands, but identification of some specific fields in which the presence of the border and the related socio-spatial phenomena materialise themselves into spaces, economic processes, living practices of crossing and waiting, as well as social and relational trans-local interconnections.

This understanding of borders as transcalar spatial zones and 'territorial fields' (Schoonderbeek, 2015; cfr. Chapters 1, 4, 5), appears to be even more evident when attention is narrowed to one specific area of North Moroccan landscapes, comprised of the Strait of Gibraltar, the northern and eastern Mediterranean coasts and the dorsal western Rif mountains.

This area has been assumed as a terrain of observation and design exploration due to its intermediate scale between the Strait's scale(s) and the local, and due to its peculiar conditions, where the border dynamics can

be perceived with different gradients of density and intensity.

As already observed, this area is placed at the intersection between different administrative units (the Province of Fahs-Anjra, the M'diq-Fnideq Prefecture), the Ceuta's peninsula and the littoral between the Spanish enclave, Fnideq and M'diq. Since this complex borderland doesn't exist as a defined territorial or administrative entity and could not be named with a unique term, it is here given a generic and arbitrary description: *the landscapes between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif*. By referring to these three elements, which are both geographical and natural, there is no intention to assume them as limits, but rather as fields of reference.

This process of selection of the empiric field of research is the outcome of a series of operations (cfr. *Introductory Essay*): from one side, the study of the literature regarding this specific context (academic works, official documents, NGO reports, cooperation projects, post-colonial research, national planning documents, etc.); from the other, hands-on experience on-site. Indeed, these border landscapes have been at the centre of both the first and second periods of fieldwork, thanks to the support of scholars from both the UAB and the University of Tetouan (cfr. *Introductory Essay*).

The lateral and landscape-scale explorative perspective has been influenced by the approach adopted by artists like Xavier Ribas, Yto Barrada and Ursula Biemann, among others (Chapters 2, 4), according to which the border fence doesn't need to be emphasised in its material appearance, but rather in its hidden dimensions remaining in the background (or even disappearing).

Such an approach is the outcome of both theoretical and conceptual understandings of borders as diffuse socio-spatial phenomena, and of empiric encounters with the context. This was made possible only thanks to the guidance of local (expert) gatekeepers, who facilitated placing the gaze on less self-evident materials of the

border landscape (practices, discourses and imaginaries).

This is also due to the attempt to adopt a kaleidoscopic looking glass (Brambilla, 2014a,b), understood as ‘a multi-sited approach not only combining different places where borderscapes could be observed and experienced – both in borderlands and wherever specific borderscaping processes have impacts, are represented, negotiated or displaced – but also different socio-cultural, political, economic, legal and historical settings where a space of negotiating actors, practices, and discourses is articulated at the intersection of ‘competing and even contradictory emplacements and temporalities’ (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, 2007, p. xxx)

6.2.1. Landscapes of transnational (im)mobility in the Jbel Moussa area

A first trend emerges at the confluence between the growing impacts of transnational and local infrastructure works (related to energy production and local/international mobility) on local communities’ living conditions, and the spaces and trajectories of international migrations.

Some peculiar physical spaces and mobilities appear more evident here: in particular the Jbel Moussa area, where the socio-economic and infrastructural systems related to the Tanger-Med development and functioning > co-exist with migrants’ spaces of mobility and wait. During my second period of fieldwork (February, 2013), the presence of migrants was evident in this area and along the roads going to the village of Belyounech, where small groups of sub-Saharan migrants were asking for passage to the border. Indeed, in the Jbel Moussa area and the surrounding mountains, there are some diffuse temporary settlements where migrants wait for the chance to jump or circumnavigate the border fence in Ceuta (El País, 2014a). At the same time, the

presence of the Tanger-Med port is changing these dynamics, due to the implementation of surveillance in the surrounding areas of the port, where some of the migrants’ departing sites for Spain once lay.

The image of the landscapes of transnational (im)mobility (cfr. Ernst et al., 2013) is related to these twofold dynamics: from one side, the increasing role assigned to infrastructural works as vectors of international and local interconnectivity (along with the rhetoric of the mega-project as a trigger for development, as discussed in Chapter 5), from the other, the growing difficulties that migrants have to face once they arrive in the surroundings of Ceuta, before trying to reach Europe.

This is also due to the increase in controls and raids by Moroccan police against the temporary shelters in the woods around Jbel Moussa and Belyounech².

On the other hand, despite the recent episodes of racism and violence against migrants³, as well the thousands of illegal evictions from Morocco towards Algeria and from Spain towards Morocco, Morocco’s increasing shift from country of transit to country of destination for sub-Saharan migrants (partly due to the instability of other Maghreb countries) allows the imagining of a rise in the presence of stable sub-Saharan communities in the coming years. According to Human Rights Watch (2014), the number of irregular migrants has been estimated at between 25,000 and 40,000 in 2014, with an increasing presence in North Morocco (especially in Tanger’s suburbs and along the Ceuta / Fnideq / M’diq littoral). Along with irregular mobilities, a growth in the number of non-Moroccan students in the national scholar system has been observed in recent decades, as reported by Berriane (J., 2011): from 1,040 in 1994 to the current 10,000. The Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi in Martil (Tetouan), one of the main universities in North Morocco (with 20,000 students in 2009), includes a community of non-Moroccan students, mainly coming from sub-Saharan countries⁴.

F.05
F.06

This allows envisioning a process of transformation regarding the composition of the social fabric of North Morocco, as well as in this particular area.

At the same time, the presence of young European professionals and workers in the urban areas (Tanger and Tetouan in particular), could be read as a consequence of the critical economic situation in Europe, but also as a signal of a change in the living conditions and working opportunities in North Morocco.

This phenomenon is not related to the traditional presence of expats and entrepreneurs (related to the colonial past of the country), but rather to a new social dynamic, which is represented mainly by highly skilled young workers from Southern Europe.

An inversion in migratory rates between Europe and North Africa is still a distant possibility, but some regions, such as

Andalusia, are experiencing new movements towards Morocco, while young Moroccans who have studied at Spanish universities are returning to their home country to search for better work opportunities, despite the persistent high youth unemployment rates⁵, especially in rural areas.

This twofold process of (slow) change from one side and (growing) social conflicts from the other needs to be observed for its potential effects at different scales.

6.2.2. A growing linear urbanisation along the sea between Ceuta and M'diq

A second emerging trend is related to the specific conditions of the Ceuta / Fnideq / M'diq littoral. Indeed, according to available data and direct on-site observations, an exceptional phenomenon of linear urbanisation in the Moroccan context is



taking place at a fast pace in this area, already defined in 1995, by Berriane (1995) as *'bientôt un mur de béton'* (ivi, p. 21). This phenomenon is related to a twofold urban dynamic: touristic residential enclaves are mushrooming along the coast together with a kind of border urbanism (cfr. Chapter 2) made of informal agglomerations and commercial areas spreading around the main urban poles.

Such littoral growth made of islands and spontaneous settlements is leading to a progressive saturation of the coast, with a series of consequences both inside Moroccan society and from an environmental perspective.

The image of the linear city is, however, not completely appropriate for the ongoing trends along the littoral, since the way in which it has been growing so far could not be defined as urban. A lack of public services can be observed along the littoral: despite

the presence of public transport spaces and private facilities inside the touristic urbanisations, a large part of the littoral appears as a sequence of empty surfaces. The works of renovation on the littoral route in the last few years have introduced public promenades and esplanades (Jiménez, 2011, 2013), which are devoted to summer tourism, anchored to private sea facilities. The littoral lacks, then, the basic features of an urban environment.

Touristic residential development

A first key factor in the urbanisation process is related to the growing residential and touristic development along the coast, which began during the Spanish Protectorate (Jiménez and Guerrero, 2010) and continued after the independence of Morocco, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as a consequence of the national strategies (Berriane, 1995; Bello Gomez et al., 2006),



Fig. 02-04 / Landscapes of infrastructure and energy in the area of Tanger-Med
(Photos by A. Buoli, 2014)



Fig. 05 / Migrant entering the CETI of Ceuta
Fig. 06 / Migrants in the forests of Belyounech
(Photos by A. Caliz for El P Pais, 2015)

In the following pages:

Fig. 07-10 / A growing linear urbanisation along the sea 1969-2004.

(Maps by A. Buoli, 2015. Sources: Bello Gomez et al., 2006, p. 43; Berriane, 2011, pp. 39-40)

and in compliance with the World Bank's recommendation to promote tourism as the main driver for development (Hillali, 2007; Jimenez and Guerrero, 2010).

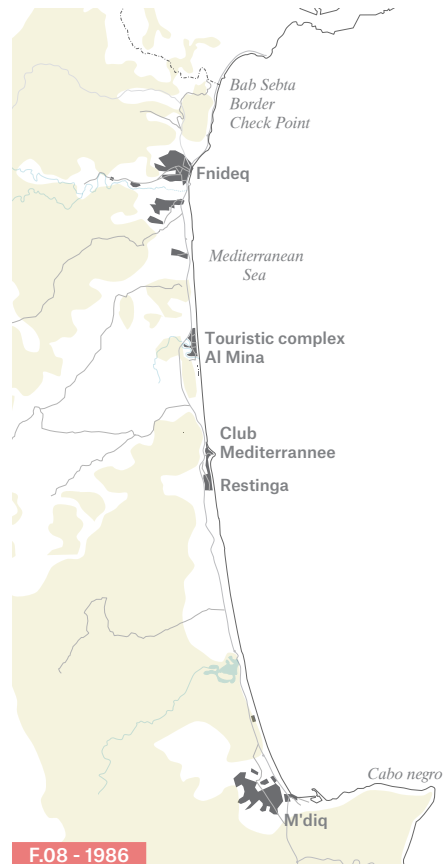
Together with other strategic areas in the southern regions of the country, the Tetouan littoral (including the coastal area between Ceuta and the small town of Martil) was set as a priority site for the development of touristic and leisure activities (Berriane, 1995, 2011).

Hotel Golden Beach, Club M'diq, Kabila, Ksar al Rimar, Marina Smir, Al Andalous, Restinga Smir, Club Med, Bakin Smir, Yasmin Negro are some of the main poles of this linear touristic development, whose trajectory may be seen (El Mrini, 2011) in three main periods.

An early stage, between 1958 and 1986, included the construction of the first hotels along the coast and at the leisure port of M'diq (1963), together with the deviation of some watercourses outlets, such as the Martil river. During this phase different settlements were developed by different semi-public investors, such as the group Maroc Touriste, which was responsible of the construction of Restinga between 1965 and 1969 (El Mrini, 2011, p. 256) and international developers (such as the Club Méditerranée).

This first stage was marked by a series of geopolitical and national events which influenced the development which followed, namely a shrinkage in investments and a reduction in the international vocation of

F.07



the area: the Israeli-Palestinian war in 1967 and the failed *coupe d'état* against Hassan II (1971), former King of Morocco.

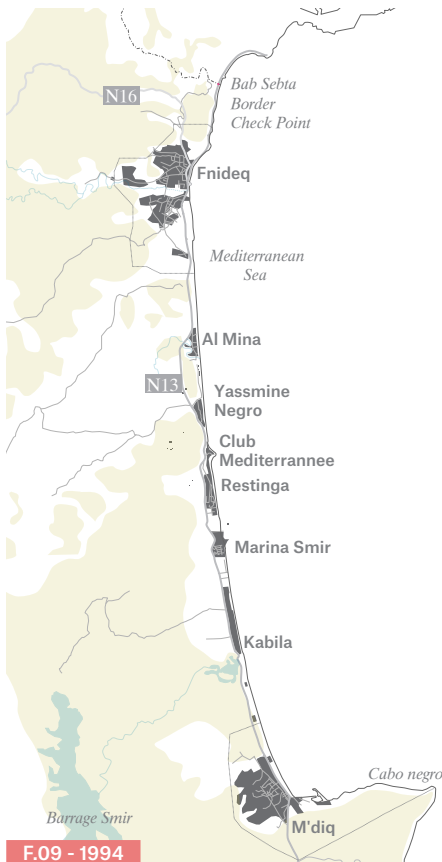
In the 1970s the construction process experienced a slow down, after which the littoral was re-branded as a destination for national tourism (Berriane, 2011). This resulted in the main formal and typological choices of the urbanisations and the shift towards residential and second houses settlements.

A second stage between the early 1980s and 1994 involved the creation of the two touristic ports of Smir and Kabila, as well as the implementation of the dam on the river Smir and its water reservoir (Barrage de Smir - 1991). The construction of the two ports subdivided the littoral into three

portions in which coastal erosion occurred in different ways (El Mrini, 2011, p. 160) due to the interaction between land uses, the sea front closure, water course sedimentation activity and the erosive action of the sea. During this period, major investments were made by private national investors (Berriane, 2011).

Starting from the early-mid 2000s the implementation of the littoral route between M'diq and Fnideq (N13) and the later parallel Fnideq-Tetouan highway (A6) (2007-2008) has strengthened the linear dimension of this sector of the littoral, cutting the relations between the coast, the Rif dorsal and the inlands. Between these two infrastructures, a large band of land appears to be a future area of development.

F.08
F.09



F.10

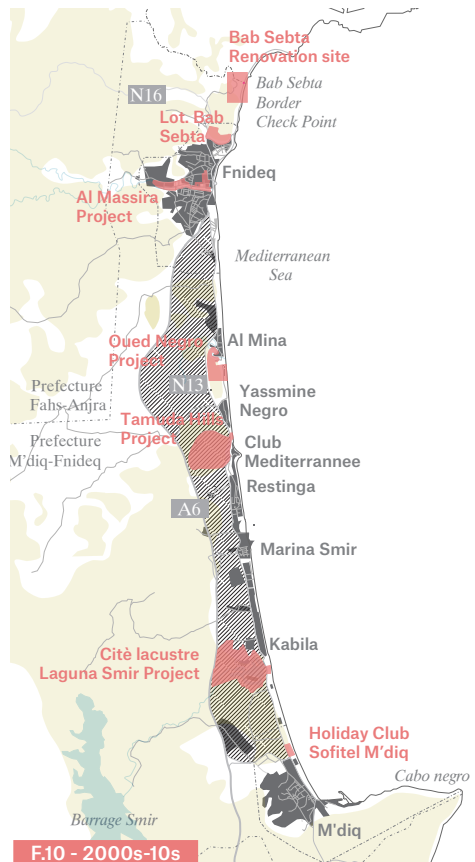




Fig. 11 - 12 / Coriche Riffiene (N13) between Fnideq and M'diq (Fnideq-Negro)
(Photos by M. Karrouk Kerkich, 2008)

In the following pages:

F. 13 / Fnideq aerial view, 2003

(1:20.000 - Source: Aviation Topographie
Photogrammetrie Etudes - A.T.P.E.)

It is worth mentioning, in this context, that the main plans that have been developed (and officially approved⁶) for the littoral started in the early 1990s.

The first one is the *Schéma directeur d'aménagement urbain du littoral touristique Tétouanais* (1998). The Plan aimed to define the broad guidelines for tourism development on the section from Azla to Fnideq, over a width of 5 km. It has been promoted as a development tool, enhancing environmental values, and an instrument for a coherent coastal development (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013, p.120).

A second large-scale plan is the *Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain et Plan de Zonage du Littoral Touristique Méditerranéen de Tanger et de Tétouan* (2004). This plan has been in development since 1994 and was only approved in 2004. It includes a band of 5km along the coast from Tanger to Fnideq (65 km) and from Amsa to Uad Lau (20 km) (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013, p.122). The emphasis on the coastal band of 5 km is a common feature of both plans, where a real integration with the inlands is missing. This gap has contributed to some of the socio-spatial effects that are visible in the area today.

The *Plan de Développement Regional Touristique* (PDTR), launched in 2008, re-labelled the littoral as Tamuda Bay, (Berriane, 2011, p.15), the new Moroccan Costa del Sol (Jiménez, 2013, p.15). This territorial re-branding operation (Tamuda is the name of a roman archaeological site in the area), resulted in a new 'touristic territory' 'a new product', the Jbala – Tamuda Bay (Berriane, 2011, p.61) between the littoral, the city of Tetouan and the mountain town of Chefchaouen. This new field doesn't follow any administrative or natural delimitation, but the interests of specific economic and touristic actors (*ibid.*).

If it is true that the case of Ceuta / Fnideq

- F.11** / M'diq littoral can be inscribed into the so-called economic 'littoralisation' processes in the Mediterranean context (Benoit, 2011, p.30), it is also necessary to consider its

urban growth in relation to the presence of the border and the related dynamics.

Border urbanism

A second factor of urbanisation correlates with the increase in population around the main urban poles of the littoral, benefitting from the proximity with Ceuta and its border economy (Chapter 5).

The small town of Fnideq / Castillejos, located 4km south of Ceuta, is the main example of the outcomes of border dynamics. Its economic, demographic and urban landscapes have been shaped by the trade activities described and by the historical border / power interplay between Spain and Morocco.

The case of Fnideq is an exemplar of the history of this section of the region, due to the implementation of the border itself. In fact, Fnideq's urban growth, as well as that of the entire Ceuta / Fnideq / M'diq littoral, is clearly related to the arrival of the Spanish during the early 1900s. Before this turning point, the city didn't exist: only a small hotel was present in the area (in fact, Fnideq means 'small hotel', *pequeño castillo* or *castillejo* in Spanish).

It was only after the implementation of the customs checkpoint between the Protectorate and Ceuta, during the colonial government, that the small town began to be planned and developed (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013, pp.35-36).

The growth rate of the urban population from 1940 to 2004 reveals an impressive rise: from 1,051 to 53,559 inhabitants in 60 years, with a remarkable increase in population density (from 37 to 1,876 inh./km²) (*ivi*, p.53). It is worth mentioning that the population started to increase more rapidly between the mid-1980 and 1990s: it doubled between 1971 and 1982 and became three times bigger between 1982 and 1994. This could be understood in relation to the sealing of the border (starting from 1986) and the consequent rise of the border-related trade dynamics.

In the prefecture of Fnideq-M'diq, the

F.13



Ras Luta



Bab Sebta

Suk al Massira

Suk al Had

Condesa

Azfa



Fig. 14-17 / Fnideq's urban landscape. Views from Azfa, Ras Luta, Suk al Had, Oued Jdid.

(Photos by K. Kerkich Mohamed, 2008)

number of employees in the trade field (the majority of which is related to border economic activities) has been estimated at around the 20% of the population: between 30,000 and 40,000 people (Nachite, et al. 2009, p.39) live directly on cross-border trade. Moreover 36.35% of Fnideq's active population (out of 53,559 in 2004) is employed in commercial activities (*ivi*, p. 69), while the main markets of the town (Al Masira Al Jadra, Al Masira Bab Sebta, Municipal mall, Ben Omar mall, Kisaria Rif, Suk Al Had (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013, p.88) - cfr. Chapter 5) are devoted to products coming from Ceuta. Most of these markets are located on the littoral N13 route, which represents the

main axis of movement for the *porteadores* and their products. These daily mobilities involve not only border workers, but also people employed in Ceuta in the services sector: 64.36% of Moroccan women living in Fnideq are employed in this field, most of them as housekeepers for Spanish families in Ceuta. Again Biemann and Sanders (2003) documented this phenomenon, underlining how Moroccan women were 'trapped' between two different time zones (Morocco and Spain had, at that time, a differential of 2 hours both in winter and summer), 'losing' four hours a day in their working activities across the border.

In addition to local daily mobilities, a series of broader internal migration processes

from the rural areas and other urban centres towards Ceuta's surroundings and the littoral have also occurred (El Abdellaoui and Chikhi, 2013).

The increase in population had major effects on urban growth, which occurred mostly in the shape of informal housing. Looking at official cartographic documents from between 1970 and 2005 (*Agence Nationale de la Conservation Foncière, du Cadastre et de la Cartographie*), it is possible to observe how Fnideq has exponentially grown between the mid 1990s and the mid-2000s along its river and southwards along the coast. The first section of the town was located in the northern area of the current city perimeter, close to the border with Ceuta.

As observed again by El Abdellaoui and Chikhi (2013, p.101), Fnideq's urban landscape is characterised by a 'broad anarchy. The majority of the neighbourhoods have been mushrooming and developing without any planning or control, in an illegal way, so to say. This kind of condition could be observed in the northern neighbourhoods (Zauia, Merya, F.14 Hay Yadid), in the western ones (Ras > Luta) and in the southern ones (Condesa, F.17 Aghatas, Brarek, Azfa, Haidra). These neighbourhoods represented 70.7% of Fnideq's residential area in 1991 and 74.5% of the whole built parcels' (*ivi*, p.101 – my translation).

Available data shows that in 2001, the surface covered by informal dwellings was around 35% of the entire urbanised surface of Fnideq, 48 hectares (*Plan d'aménagement de Fnideq. Note de présentation*, 2001, p.7). Alongside these dynamics, other opposing signs of change are emerging in the area. Some recent studies have shifted attention to the progressive decay of the relevance of illegal trade due to 'the gradual commercial de-bordering between the EU and Morocco... [and] substantial investment and infrastructural transformations taking place in the north of Morocco' (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2010, p.29), such as the implementation

of the Tanger-Med international harbour (second stage) and free industrial and trade zones (e.g. Renault Tanger-Melloussa plant). Moreover, the ongoing construction of an alternative to the Biutz bridge on the Spanish side, the Tarajal II, and the forthcoming renovation of the Tarajal border and its surroundings (Europa Press, 2014) have been accompanied, on the Moroccan side, by a process of redesign of the Bab Sebta border checkpoint. These public works are signals of *de facto* relations between local administrative governments about small-scale urban interventions. Other emerging signals include the rise of local non-governmental organisations concerned with cross-border economic and social development (El Faro Digital, 2012).

6.2.3 Disputed lands and resources between the Rif and the coast

A third image is related to the emerging disputes between local communities, the municipalities and private developers about the use and exploitation of natural resources and lands between the Rif and the coast. In relation to the urbanisation processes and the touristic activities of the littoral, the increasing need for basic supplies has become a terrain of conflict between different subjects. The exploitation of the water springs along the calcareous dorsal of the Rif, which represents the main water reservoir for the region, supplying the provinces of Tetouan and Chefchaouen, has come to be barely sustainable for the local Rif communities, whose water supply is still supplied by traditional methods (each house is linked to the water spring by plastic tubes, as in the case of Oued Zarjoune) and to gravity. Therefore the villages, which are situated in unfavourable topographic positions, are suffering water shortages, particularly in the summer period when the littoral population increases drastically. According to Bourse (2011) the littoral population doubles in summertime, with

direct effects on the environment ‘via three components: the consumption of water and energy resources and the production and management of solid waste and wastewater; land used for tourism; and the state of biodiversity’ (*ivi*, p.12).

This latter issue can be seen by looking at the specific case of the Smir lagoon. As reported by Jiménez (2013), the presence of the lagoon used to be vital for the migratory birds that cross each year the Strait of Gibraltar. For that reason it was declared by the Moroccan government as a Site of Biological and Ecological Interest (SIBE) and was later include in the RBIM (Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the opening of the Smir Dam (1991) led to a significant reduction in the flooded area (around the 50%), while the later construction of the Marina of Smir, located in the drainage basin of the lagoon, facilitated the entry of sea water into the wetland (*ivi*, p.19). In addition to such critical changes, since 2009 a new touristic development project has been placed directly inside the lagoon, whose existence is now irreparably threatened.

Local authorities have approved the project and provided construction licenses to developers⁷, creating a critical precedent. The destruction of the lagoon has been denounced by local organisations from M’diq, among which are the Association laguna Smir pour l’environnement et le développement, the Association de l’action sociale, Association marocaine de la chasse et de la protection de l’environnement, the Association du quartier Zaouia pour le développement and the Association des Moresques pour le développement. These associations organised a series of protests⁸ against the new development plan, but with few results. Nevertheless such acts of resistance testify to the presence of a rich fabric of relations at the local scale regarding natural and environmental protection (cfr. Planel, 2011). A similar serious condition is affecting the area of Cabo Negro, one of the most renowned touristic destinations in the littoral and at the same time a site of natural interest, where a large part of the pine trees forests planted in the years of the Spanish regime have been destroyed by a series of



fires, most probably acts of arson (Jiménez, 2011). These three different cases show how the development plans and visions proposed as vectors of economic development by the political and economic elites, in compliance with broader dynamics (such as new touristic supply/demand at the national and international level and across the border), is having diffuse effects not only on the natural landscape of this area of the Tanger's peninsula, but also on its social fabric and local economic activities.

6.3. Borderscaping explorations

Looking at these interpretative images of the North Moroccan – Spanish borderlands *between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif*, it is worth asking which socio-spatial dynamics and resources could be assumed to divert or hybridise these current images. These resources could be identified in a series of potential drivers of transformation

as (more or less) hidden opportunities, which are already at work. These 'motors of change' (Eker and Van Houtum, 2013) could be re-considered and re-designed through a series of operations / actions at different territorial levels, opening new ways of looking at the border landscapes, new borderscaping panoramas. These operations could involve a variety of subjects and networks already active across / on the North Moroccan / Spanish border, according to the reconstruction of the transnational social landscape that performs practices of cooperation and resistance across and beyond the border (Chapter 5).

Fig. 18 / Smir Lagoon. The new resort in the context of the existing wetlands.

(Photo by A. Buoli, 2014)

In the following page:

Fig. 19 / Water spring in Oued Zarjoune.

(Photo by A. Buoli, 2014)





An aware movement from description to projection, from (trend / guiding) images to the act of imaging and scaping (Chapter 2) lies at the basis of the following meta-design explorations.

Scenarios have been assumed as operative frameworks in which to open other potential parallel (lateral) perspectives and multidirectional future possibilities. The adjective ‘lateral’, as a synonym of imaginative and horizontal thinking, suggests avoiding a vertical, hierarchical and dominant linear vision of the future; rather it refers to parallel alternative paths, based on a bottom-up and place(s)-based perspective. The following synthetic borderscaping explorations (intended as operative sets of actions) aim to stress potential variations to current tendencies, which could lead to a re-consideration of the role of some relevant spaces / processes in shaping the North Moroccan / Spanish landscapes, including at the transnational and local level, in the peculiar contexts that have been identified as testing grounds for those explorative operations.

Focusing attention on mutations of some elements of those borderscapes could be fruitful in visualising a re-balancing of current dominant hierarchies and dynamics of socio-spatial inclusion / exclusion along and across the border.

These possibilities emerge from an open and un-determined landscape approach (cfr. Consalez, 2014), that widens the potential trajectories of imagined transformations, their reach and extent.

Indeed, rather than looking at isolated, punctual and concentrated conditions, the following borderscaping explorations broaden attention towards larger and multidirectional configurations.

These two explorative images eventually overlap each other, determining a synthetic, open and incremental operative framework, which could serve as a starting point for further research (as discussed in the Conclusions).

6.3.1. A de-colonial and transnational educational infrastructure

Re-activating colonial legacies and border ruins as a multi-sited network of facilities for transnational education and cultural exchange

A first borderscaping exploration regards the potential re-activation and re-use of the colonial legacies and border ruins which have survived post-Independence turmoil in North Morocco (Chapter 5).

These places / buildings / infrastructures have been abandoned for years, and only recently re-converted to new uses (as discussed in Chapter 5). These interventions could be considered as different ways of re-activating colonial legacies, which could be defined as acts of profanation, in the meaning suggested by Giorgio Agamben (2005, p.111, quoted in Pezzani, 2009): namely a process that ‘deactivates the apparatuses of power and returns to common use the spaces that power has seized’ (*ibid.*).

In this process of des-activation, which neutralises the meanings / backgrounds / stories of the objects of profanation themselves (Agamben, *ibid.*), new meanings, uses and living practices are made possible.

The potential of such an approach from an operative and design perspective has been shown, for instance, in the de-colonising approach proposed by DAAR (De-colonising Architecture Art Residency) to subvert, reuse and recycle the existing infrastructure⁹ of Israeli colonies and military camps in Palestinian occupied territories (Chapter 2).

Profanation recalls the border thinking perspective, as ‘a critique of modernity towards a *pluriversal* trans-modern world of multiple and diverse ethico–political projects’ (Mignolo, 2000, p.18).

Border thinking is, as mentioned earlier, ‘the moment in which the imaginary of the modern world system cracks’ (Mignolo, 2000, p.23) creating new spaces for multiple

agencies, resistances and imaginations in its fractures. Considering modern colonial leftovers as potential resources for change means, then, recognising the political, social and symbolical impacts they had on local communities, collective imaginaries and desires.

At the same time, it means identifying the values that a spontaneous and incremental process of profanation / des-activation has built around them in the last 50 years, but also their potential to become new pivotal elements in negotiating different post or de-colonial futures. In this sense, they could be reconsidered as ‘third spaces’ (Soja, 1996), as ‘an-Other way of understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life, a distinct mode of critical spatial awareness that is appropriate to the new scope and significance (...)’ (*ibid.*, p.10). Therefore, re-activating border ruins and colonial legacies through new uses and functions linked to current place-based needs, from a borderscaping perspective, could allow local communities to enhance new forms of awareness of the socio-spatial-symbolic potential of those ruins, turning their colonial, dominant character / appearance upside-down.

This first scenario suggests a set of new uses for those spaces, which could be related to the emerging needs of local and transnational communities inhabiting the borderlands. In particular the emergence of new populations, such as migrants turned into expats and students and professionals coming from sub-Saharan and European countries, suggests reconsidering border ruins in the context of networks made of cultural relations and new spaces of movement and learning.

One meaningful programmatic and conceptual reference in this regard is the *Pottery Thinkbelt* project (1963-1966) by British architect Cedric Price. The project envisions a networked and diffuse system of higher education amongst the coalfields of Staffordshire, an area of around 100 square miles (Martin, 2014), redesigned to shelter a

population of more than 20,000 students. Beyond the technical solutions, the detailed architectural and urban scale designs and specific conditions of the site, the *Pottery Thinkbelt* appears to be meaningful around two main points:

- . *Education as a transcalar mobile experience.* As explained by Martin ‘The Thinkbelt was to be a site of learning premised on patterns of mobility, at individual, collective and even infrastructural scales’ (Martin, 2014).
- . *A future-oriented and imaginative approach towards marginal and residual landscapes.* Though appearing as an ‘uncommon’ proposal, the visionary and yet pragmatic approach (Price, 1966) developed by Price resulted in a new way of reactivating existing / abandoned (infra)structures, able to facilitate ‘human creativity’ (Aureli, 2011). ‘North Staffordshire would no longer produce material goods, but instead science and information in the form of applied research’ (*ibid.*).

The *Pottery Thinkbelt* project shows how, by operating a mutation in the starting conditions (from industrial production to scientific and knowledge production) and by intervening in the layer of meanings and devices to achieve those transformations, it is possible to open a ‘free space’ (*ibid.*) for other trajectories of change.

The existing border ruins that have been addressed in Part 2, namely the former train stations of the Ceuta-Tetouan railway (Tetouan, Malalien, Negro, Riffien, Castillejos, Miramar and Ceuta) and the Spanish military ruins of Dar Riffien could be (re)connected to each other by a network of facilities and services related to transnational and cross-border mobility trajectories and relational spaces / ties. These buildings are today either included in the urban fabric of the littoral, or standing as isolated elements in the middle of the landscape, along the 20 km of the coastal highway N16, which is the main mobility trajectory for both sub-Saharan migrants and local inhabitants working on the border.

As mentioned previously, a mobile of population of between 30,000 and 40,000 Moroccan citizens are involved in cross-border activities along the littoral on a daily basis. Moreover in recent months, different attempts at crossing the Ceuta border fence have involved around 1,500 sub-Saharan migrants¹⁰ who live in the forests around the enclave. At the same time, a growing number of university students coming from other African countries and young professionals coming from southern European countries (mainly Andalusia) are moving to North Morocco. These new (mobile / temporary) populations represent a further relevant resource to be assumed in the context of this borderscapes exploration. Indeed the opportunities related to colonial leftovers and the current transnational mobility dynamics at play can be used to envision another way of living and crossing the borderlands, which could turn itself into a learning and knowledge production / transmission experience, across different populations and expertise.

Along the main routes of international and local mobilities, a light infrastructure and network of cultural and educational services could be re-located inside or in proximity of the border ruins, implemented through a layer of open spaces.

F.21
F.23

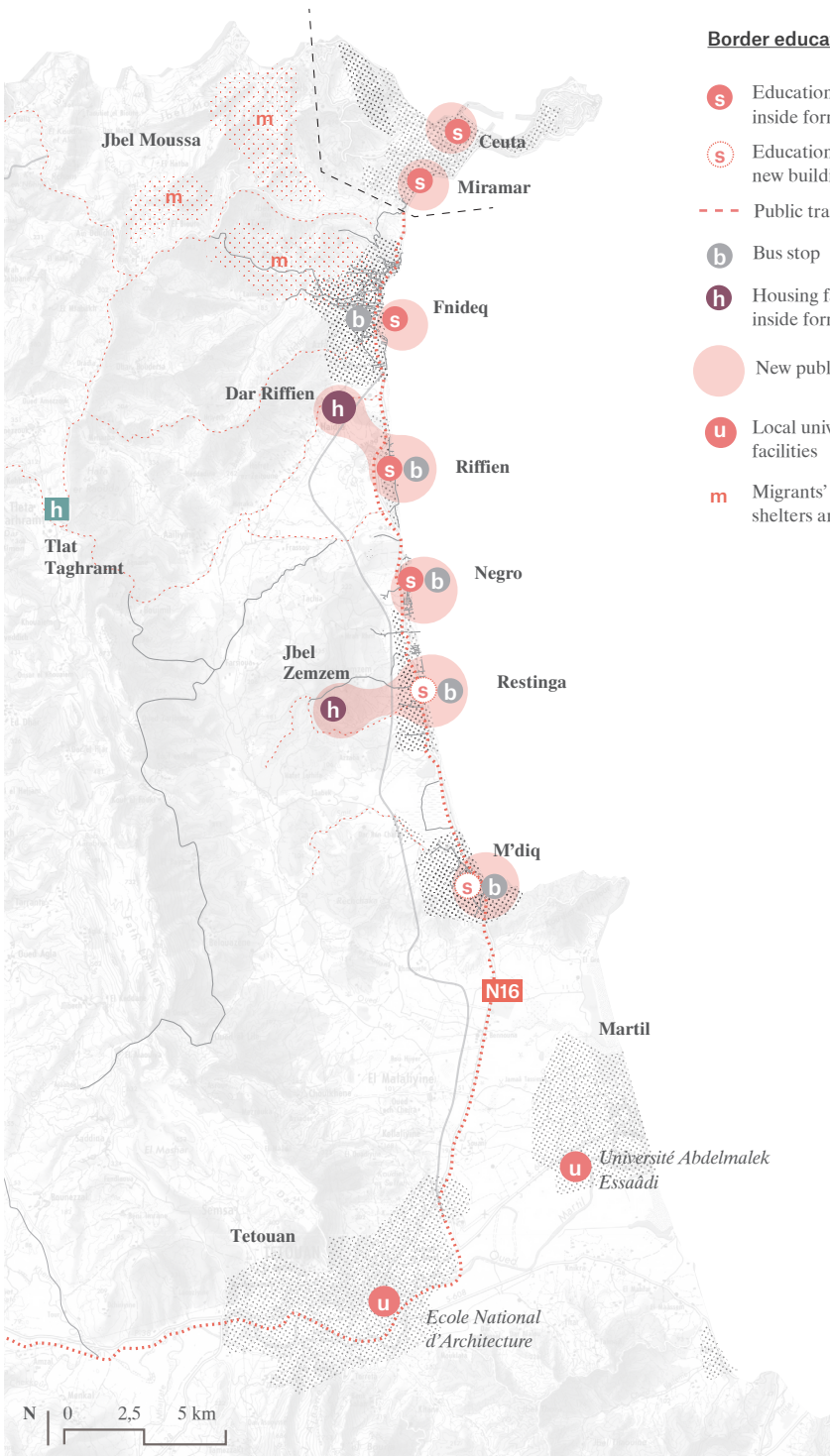
Supported by existing infrastructures and public / private transport system, this educational / cultural network could become a multi-sited border school along the highway N16, in coherence with the fluid and shifting character of the border itself. The reuse of the former stations (Miramar, Fnideq, Riffien, Negro) and the military base of Dar Riffien could be the first stage of this new educational infrastructure, with minimal interventions in the ruined structures and surrounding areas. These spaces span from small buildings of around 150 sqm to larger areas of 5000 sqm. Some of these have recently been renovated (Miramar, Fnideq, Riffien), while others are in ruin or vacant (Negro Station and Dar Riffien).

Around these re-activated networked 'hot-spots', a new layer of public small and medium-size open spaces could be re-thought in reply to the lack of urban qualities and services along the littoral. A second stage could involve the implementation of the first network by linking the littoral to the inlands, on the basis of existing mountain schools and trails. The functioning of the border education infrastructure could be related to the existing networks of cultural institutions, mentioned previously, civil society organisations not only at the local scale but also at the regional and transnational level (as shown by the RIMAR¹¹ project developed by the Junta de Andalucía).

Along with the physical transformation of the existing colonial and border ruins, a multi-level cultural programme could be developed in cooperation with local actors and institutions which are already active in the area and across the border. One example in this context is the existing partnership between the Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi of Tetouan and the Universidad de Cadiz in Andalusia, which has resulted in cooperative learning and education exchanges and projects, such as the Aula Universitaria del Estrecho in Algeciras, as a form of collaboration between the two universities and the Municipality of Algeciras (Chapter 5). Moreover the involvement of the Ecole National d'Architecture de Tetouan in hands-on didactic design activities could become an occasion of mutual learning between design students and other populations.

In this sense, border ruins can be reactivated not only as nodes of a local system of public education, but also as transcalar points of encounter connecting subjects, agencies, organisations, activists and citizens at a local, regional and transnational levels.

The border educational infrastructure could gather Moroccan and non-Moroccan students coming from the universities in the area, European and African expats and daily border workers into a mutual and



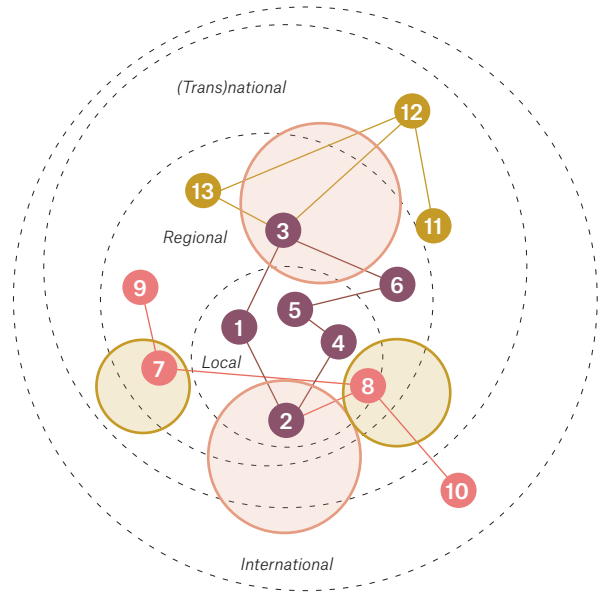
Border educational facilities

- s Educational service area inside former train station
- s Educational services area new building
- Public transport trail
- b Bus stop
- h Housing facilities area inside former military base
- New public spaces system
- u Local university / educational facilities
- Migrants' temporary shelters areas



Role / Activity

- Local management / support
- Medium and long term funding
- Scientific support & Educational planning
- International projects' coordination
- Territorial extent of agency



1. Non-Moroccan students / professionals
2. Chabaka Network (Tanger)
3. Andalucía Acoge Network + APDHA (ES)
4. Cospe (IT)
5. Caminando Fronteras (Tanger)
6. Instituto Cervantes (Tanger and Tetouan)
7. Universidad de Cadiz
8. Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi de Tetouan
9. Ecole National d'Architecture de Tetouan
10. Other educational partners from African and European countries.
11. Regional delegation of the Ministry of Culture (Tetouan)
12. Fundación Tres Culturas
13. Junta de Andalucía (Agencia de Cooperación)



A de-colonial and transnational educational infrastructure

Fig. 21-22 / Territorial framing - Actions, Actors, Spaces.

(Drawings by A Buoli, 2015)

Fig. 23 / Pottery Thinkbelt, Cedric Price - 1963-1966

(Source: Cedric Price Archive at the CCA © / Retrieved from: www.citymovement.wordpress.com)

multidirectional learning process, starting from their everyday border experiences. An open and non-hierarchical system of activities in which the experience of the border is developed through different narratives, media and languages.

Design patterns

- . Turning borders from control devices into exchange and cooperation opportunities, through existing relations and place-based resources.
- . Bridging micro and macro border experiences inside and around existing border ruins / colonial legacies.
- . De-linking borders from current geopolitical scenarios, by looking at local on-site opportunities and lateral trails for knowledge building and socio-economic development.
- . Actions of profanation and des-activation of dominant power legacies through new layers of meaning and use.
- . Re-orienting desires of otherness by promoting cultural and educational programmes on multi-dimensional border experiences.
- . Transgressing the separations imposed by the border itself, not only as physical crossings, but also as cultural trajectories of encounter and exchange.

F.22 Potential activities and actors' roles

Scientific and educational programming:

- . Universidad de Cadiz
- . Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi de Tetouan
- . Ecole National d'Architecture de Tetouan
- . Instituto Cervantes (Tanger and Tetouan) [+ dissemination]
- . Other educational partners from African and European countries

International project coordination / local management of services and facilities:

- . Chabaka Network (Tanger)
- . Andalucía Acoge Network APDHA - Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de

Andalucía (Sevilla)

- . Cospe (Tanger)
- . Caminando Fronteras (Tanger)
- . Centro Cultural Lerchundi (Martil)

Funding and regional management:

- . Regional delegation of the Ministry of Culture (Tetouan)
- . Fundación Tres Culturas (Sevilla)
- . Agencia de Cooperación Andaluza

Threats / limits / criticisms

- . Possible resistances / rigidities by civil society organization in accepting institutional interventions and funding
- . Possible lack of interest and participation by local communities and border workers in their daily movements
- . Potential racism escalation against non-Moroccan sub-Saharan citizens by local inhabitants
- . Project communication and dissemination constraints

6.3.2. Thickening the margins

Re-combining forestation and interstitial open spaces, within the framework of cross-border protected areas

A second borderscaping exploration proposes to reconsider, at different scales, the system of protected and forestation areas across the Strait of Gibraltar, in particular in light of the project for the Reserva de la Biosfera Intercontinental del Mediterraneo (RBIM).

As mentioned in Part 2, the RBIM has been implemented since 2006 by the Junta de Andalucía as a follow on step from a research projects, RIHLA¹².

The project, about the cross-border landscapes between Andalusia and North Morocco, has been developed by the Centro de Estudios Paisaje y Territorio in collaboration with the Moroccan Haut Commissariat aux Eaux et Forêts et à la Lutte contre la Désertification (HCEFLCD) in the context of the interregional

cooperation activities (INTERREG III A). More recently the reserve has become the main field of interest of the research initiative *Transhábitat*, funded and developed within the framework of POCTEFEX (Chapter 5)¹³.

The RBIM covers an area of surface of 907,185 hectares, 470,600 of which is on Moroccan territory, organised into core, buffer and transition areas. Nevertheless the Moroccan section of the reserve has an ambiguous perimeter (in comparison to the Andalusian side) due to the inclusion of areas, which are not considered as protected by the Moroccan national natural protection plan¹⁴ and law¹⁵.

In fact, the Rif calcareous dorsal and the SIBE¹⁶ of the Jbel Moussa are considered core areas of the reserve, while the littoral has been completely left outside it, according to the strategic lines defined by the Schema Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain du Detroit (SDAUD – cfr. Chapter 5). Neither is the Ceuta's peninsula included in the perimeter of the reserve: the presence of the border between Spain and Morocco appears to be indifferent to (or avoided on purpose by) the project. Such indifference could be understood in a twofold way: as a potentiality (political borders could be bypassed in the development of transnational biosphere reserves) and as a criticism (the imaginative potential of borders as generator of difference and desire is minimised or even removed).

As already discussed in Part 2, along the coast around Ceuta, Martil and Cabo Negro, it is still possible to observe the final leftovers of the forestation work (*eucalyptus* and *pinus nigra*) of the Spanish colonial government after 1917 (Cantarino, 2008) which was intended to enhance both coastal protection and territorial control through forestry authorities.

One crucial reference here is the work of landscape architect Michel Desvigne who has recently addressed a possible way to intervene on (urban/rural) boundaries in order to 'knit back together' (Desvigne,

2012, p. 26) territories which have been divided by urbanisation processes and the emergence of socio-spatial divisions and fencing. His approach suggests a conception of borders as thick spatial fields (Chapter 2), in coherence with the borderlands design matrix reported at the beginning of this chapter. Indeed, Desvigne states that: 'the work on borders (...) offers a few clues.

Thickening the border would create open connections, establishing a porosity instead of a belt (...). The interference created would reconcile the two worlds, permitting forms of development and trade between neighbours' (*ibid.*). By assuming such an approach, at another scale and in the context of this study, the already uncertain boundaries of the RBIM on the Moroccan side could be further opened, expanded, sprawled and fragmented, producing a set of novel spatial and landscape conditions along and across the existing boundaries.

Moreover in his practice and design thinking, Desvigne addresses the issue of time and the relationship with future by considering the intervention on landscape as an incremental work of revision and adjustment according to local communities' needs and uses (*ibid.*).

This scenario draws on existing relations between local communities, research groups and local/regional institutions on environmental and landscape protection issues across the border, as mentioned earlier.

Cross-border environmental cooperation and landscape protection (Turco, 2010) together with conflict remediation (Grichting, 2014, 2015) have been at the centre of a variety of research projects coming from different disciplinary angles. Scientific and empirical research initiatives have given evidence about environmental issues on and across political boundaries, not only as sources of conflict and disputes around natural resources, but as tools for reconciliation. Interestingly many of these projects draw on the role of cartographic and digital mapping tools as the main

methodological and operative apparatuses. From a similar perspective, a pilot project for a *Digital and Dynamic Atlas of Ecological Cooperation and Peace*¹⁷ (Grichting, 2015) has recently been initiated in Cyprus, based on the ongoing work of the Cyprus GreenLineScapes Laboratory. By addressing border landscapes as potential ecological reserves and as supports for ‘a socio-ecological and memory infrastructure’ (*ibid.*) and by assuming a visioning and future-oriented approach, the project consists of a platform for collaborative mapping as a possible tool for ecological peace building in areas of conflict.

Consistent with the background and the references mentioned, this borderscapes exploration imagines opening and blurring the perimeter of the RBIM towards and across the border, to the Mediterranean coast and towards the Rif, and thickening small-scale residual colonial woods and vacant lands left free from touristic development. These residual areas, which are currently outside the RBIM perimeter, could be turned into core zones of the reserve, surrounded by new transition areas. This sprawling of the reserve’s boundaries could happen through differentiated forestation interventions of different thicknesses and densities, introducing new gradients of porosity between the coast and the hillside, as new devices for measuring landscape relations. These new buffers could contribute to increasing the presence of autochthonous Rif species, such as evergreen coniferous tree like the *Tetraclinis articulata*¹⁸, and different kinds of oak tree like the *Quercus faginea* and the *Quercus canariensis* in the mountain areas, and Mediterranean species such as the *Quercus suber*, *Eucalyptus* and *Pinus nigra* along the reserve’s margins towards the sea.

F.25 Blurring the boundaries and thickening the RBIM around some new core areas could involve a process of revision of current administrative divisions and land use rights for the exploitation of natural resources. **F.26** As noted by Aderghal (et al. 2013), the

spatial extent of local (mountain and rural) communities as regards the use of natural resources has very little to do with the official administrative *découpage*: ‘Human communities occupy spaces that far exceed the agricultural land they own since they receive use rights on grazing lands and forests. The [land] use right is applied to resources that are owned by the state or tribal communities and represents a form of belonging considered legitimate by those who possess the [same] rights. It shows a spatial division between communities that takes no account of land status of ownership, but such limits are well known by the population that share contiguous areas. Those rights of use should be recognised by the current management bodies, which are the Ministry of Water and Forests and the Ministry of the Interior Affairs. The populations should be considered co-responsible for the management of these resources in a sustainable perspective’ (*ivi*, p.7 – my translation).

De-linking forestation works from their colonial and dominant political imaginaries, by entrusting their management to local mountain communities and re-establishing these lands as commons from a land use rights perspective, could enhance novel forms of care and maintenance of the woods in the medium and long-term, in integration with locally self-financing economic activities (mountain agriculture, forestry, breeding, etc.) and (beyond) informal trade dynamics. The border economy could be further rethought and re-oriented as one source of finance for forestry activities.

The implementation of the forestation activities could be facilitated by mediating figures between local authorities and communities. This role could be assigned to research groups working on and studying the area, such as the Equipe Rif of the Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi de Tetouan in cooperation with the Centro de Estudios Paisaje y Territorio (Junta de Andalucía) and the Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Sevilla).

The regulatory dimension of the current natural protection system in Morocco, which draws useless perimeters around SIBEs and natural parks, appears to have failed, as witnessed by the recent case of Smir lagoon. Here the mutual interlocking between local administrations and national financial interests has prevailed over local flora and fauna protection. Therefore it is worth asking whether a less conservative and more flexible approach towards landscape protection (avoiding ineffective passive perimeters) could be more appropriate for cross-border areas, by promoting a diffuse trans-local and trans-boundary system of forestry-related economy which could hinder other (external) interests.

An incremental agenda of cross-border forestation could be planned by monitoring and mapping the activities and results of a bottom-up approach to forestation, becoming at the same time a potential pilot project for other border landscapes in the Euro-Mediterranean context.

This process could be further integrated into the current revision of planning documents for the littoral (as emerged during an interview at the Agence Urbaine de Tetouan), contributing to a reconsideration of development possibilities and promoting other forms of tourism, with the further aim of reducing soil consumption and slowing the saturation and erosion of the coast.

Furthermore, opening the boundaries of the reserve could enhance new relationships between the Rif and the littoral, Ceuta and its surroundings and across the Strait.

In this sense, the reserve could become a dynamic and changing field for exploring new forms of environmental governance and self-funded forestry management.

Design patterns

- . Enhancing a landscape approach to borders.
- . Building continuities beyond discontinuities.
- . From borderlines to buffer zones as

natural and biodiversity reserves.

- . Working in in-between spaces, the border's thicknesses, opening and blurring its margins.
- . De-linking borders from current geopolitical scenarios, working on environmental and landscape resources.
- . Actions of profanation and des-activation of dominant power legacies through new layers of meanings and uses.

Potential activities and actors' roles

F.24

Local management and (medium and long term) funding:

- . Rif communities as a consortium / union.
- . Local organisations already active in the protection of the environment: Association laguna Smir pour l'environnement et le développement, the Association de l'action sociale, Association marocaine de la chasse et de la protection de l'environnement, the Association du quartier Zaouia pour le développement and the Association des Moresques pour le développement.

Scientific support and negotiation between local communities and institutions (private investors):

- . Equipe Rif, Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi de Tetouan
- . Agence urbain de Tetouan

Scientific support and planning (+ short-term funding):

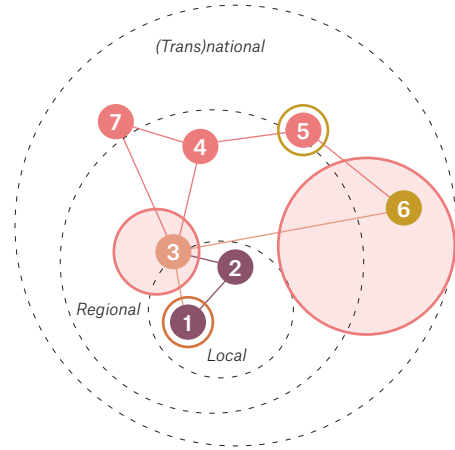
- . Centro de Estudios Paisaje y Territorio (Junta de Andalucía)
- . Transhábitat project (Andalusia)
- . Haut Commissariat et Direction Provinciale des Eaux et Forêts et à la Lutte Contre la Désertification (MA) – start-up funding, scientific support and planning.

In this regard a further policy initiative to integrate a designed-based approach with cross-border landscape governance, could be the activation of an *Observatory for the North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes*.

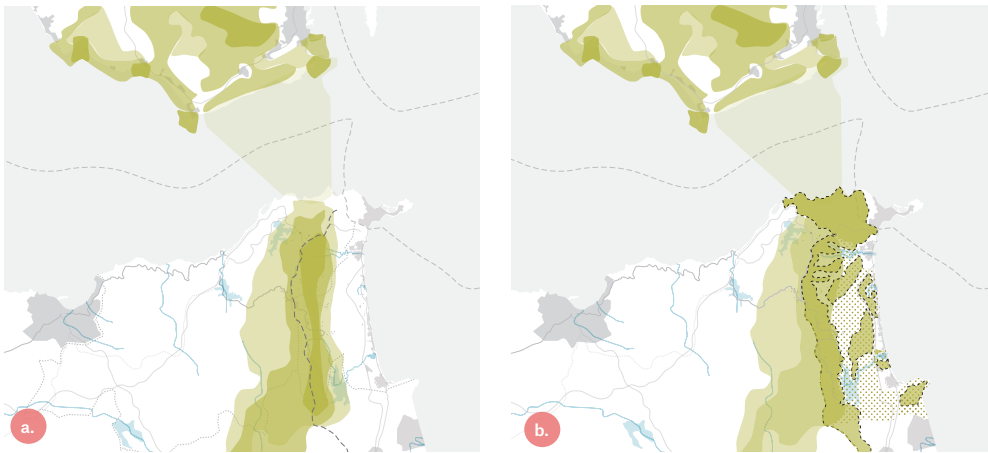
The Observatory could function as:

Role / Activity

- Local management
- Short-term funding
- Medium and long term funding
- Scientific support & Planning
- Negotiation between local communities and institutions
- Territorial extent of agency



1. Rif communities (consortium) (MA)
2. Local organisations concerned with environmental issues (MA)
3. Equipe Rif, Université Abdelmalek Essaâdi de Tetouan (MA)
4. Centro de Estudios Paisaje y Territorio (Junta de Andalucía - ES)
5. Transhábitat project (POCTEFEX - ES/MA)
6. Haut Commissariat et Direction Provinciale des Eaux et Forêts et à la Lutte Contre la Désertification (MA)
7. Observatorio del Paisaje de Catalunya, (CAT-ES)



- Core areas
- Transition areas
- Buffer areas
- New core areas
- New buffer areas

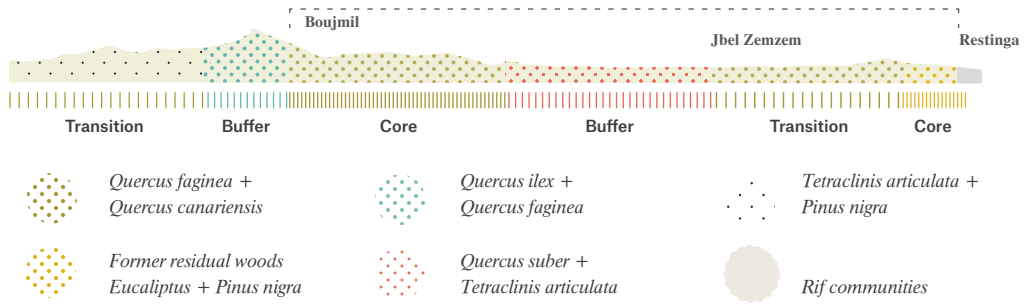
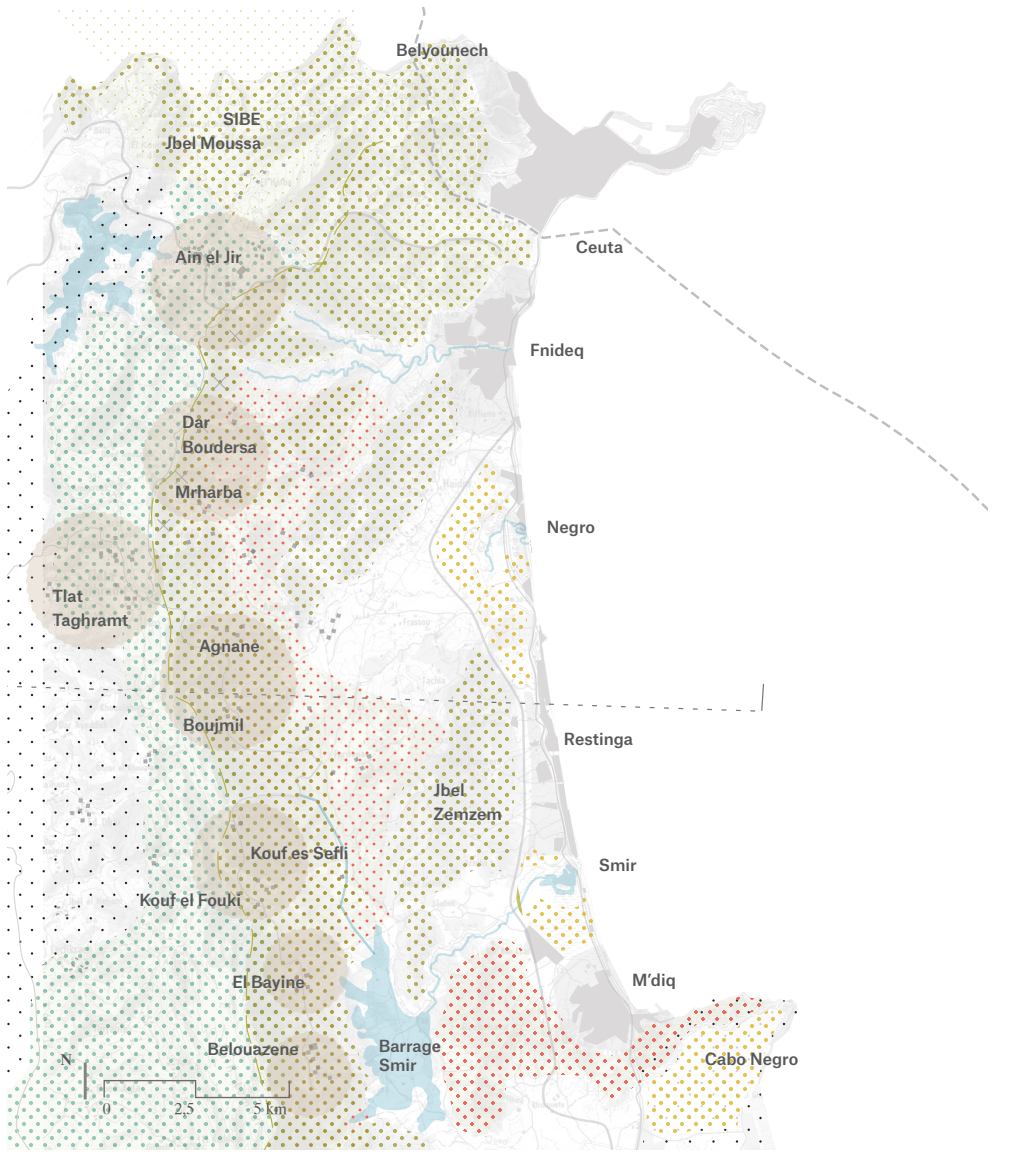
Thickening the margins

Fig. 24 / Actions and Actors

Fig. 25 / a. Current RBIM configuration / b. Thickening and blurring the reserve's margins

Fig. 26 / Rethink the RBIM between the Strait, the Rif and the sea.

(Drawings by A Buoli, 2015)



- . An independent, third and non-governmental research collective, starting from existing actors concerned with North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes in their symbolic, cultural and socio-political relevance, in cooperation with other international research networks (e.g. Gamuc, GreenScapesLab Cyprus, Observatorio del Paisaje de Catalunya).
- . An open content and peer-based database for knowledge production and dissemination about border landscapes, including an incremental digital mapping platform.
- . A nomadic / cross-border educational programme, with different sites and trails (cfr. first exploration).

Along with monitoring activities, the Observatory could be the catalyst for the activation of a series of projects and (social) imaginative exercises (following the example of the Observatorio Tecnológico del Estrecho) working towards an integrated complex of cross-border 'post-colonial ecologies'¹⁹.

Threats / limits / criticisms

- . Potential persisting resistances / rigidities by local mountain communities in accepting forestation as a potential economic activity, beyond current land uses
- . Possible persisting property and land use rights conflicts between the State and the local communities, also as regards development strategies for the littoral
- . Potential new conflicts between private investors interests and RBIM implementation

6.3.3. Re-considering multidimensional and transcalar images of change

At the intersection between these two borderscaping explorations, other layers of meaning and ways of thinking and imagining the potential trajectories of change for

the North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes, in their mutual interferences in space and time, seem to emerge. Colonial legacies and border ruins have been envisioned as the pre-texts on which to build uncommon relational ties between existing networks of human rights activism and cultural exchange, as well as between different emerging populations in their everyday border experiences and learning practices. At the same time a reconsideration of cross-border landscapes' definition could become the opportunity from which to redraw land use rights and natural protection fields according to local communities' needs and their relational resources. Aware of their vagueness, the images proposed do not claim to be specific or detailed previsions about potential future configurations of the North Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes, but rather are meant as potential disclosures of other 'landscapes of possibilities' (Appadurai, 1996; Buoli and De Soto, 2015).

Although considering different fields and processes (different constellations), the borderscaping research has been articulated around a series of design patterns that can be re-formulated as follows:

- . Introducing mutations in current conditions and perspectives / gazes on borderlands through light, incremental, place-based and bottom-up operations.
- . Re-orienting existing social, cultural, material and natural resources towards new uses and meanings to de-link them from dominant and hegemonic imaginaries.
- . Strengthening present transcalar networks of socio-cultural relations across different territorial scales around symbolical, spatial and relational hinges.

The potential of these principles could be further explored both in the specific context of the North Moroccan / Spanish border and in other similar contexts in the Euro-Mediterranean space.

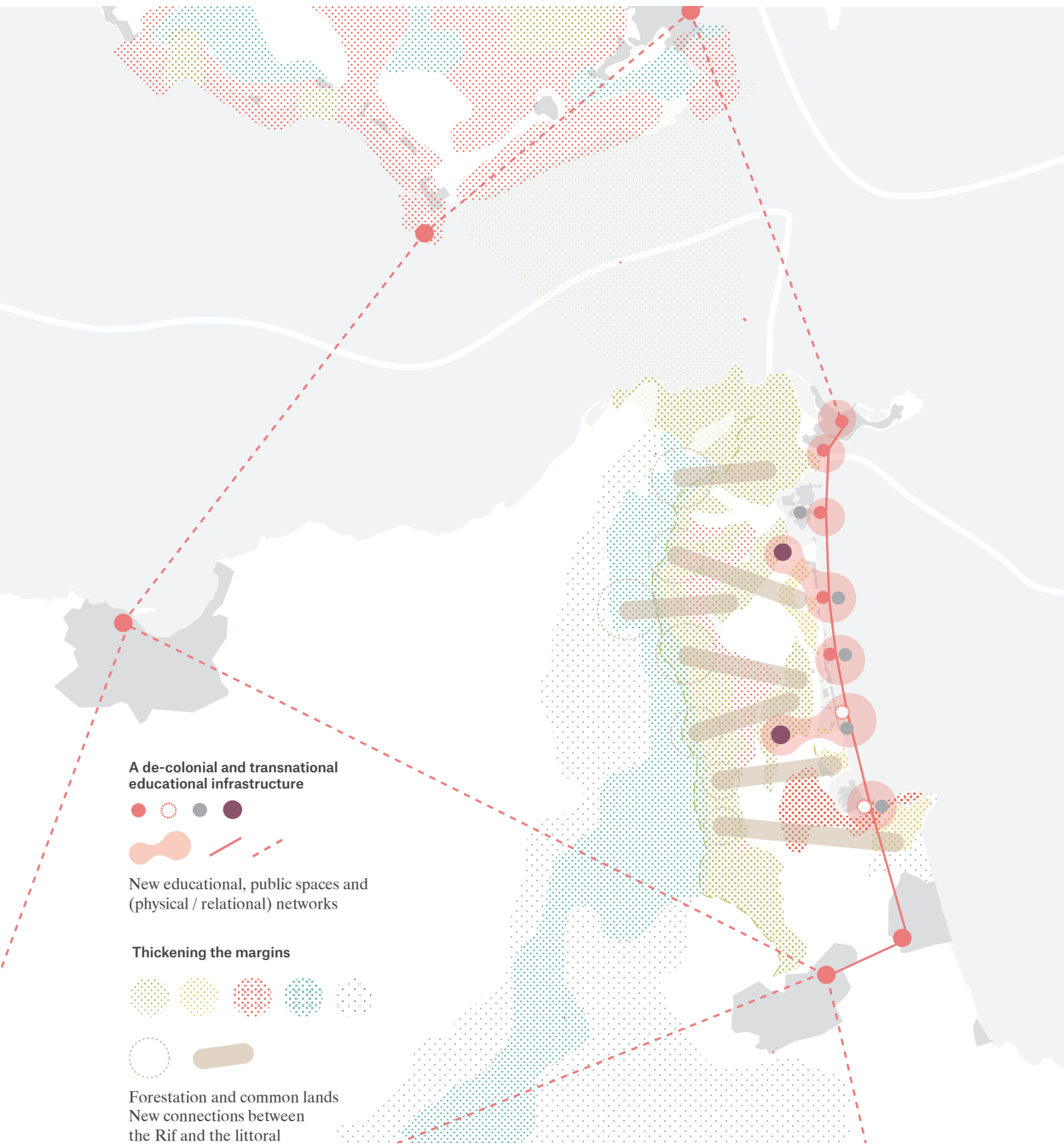


Fig. 27 / A possible recombination / integration between the meta-design explorations.
(Drawings by A Buoli, 2015)

Notes

1. Such as the *Pointcity / Southcity* project by OMA Source: www.oma.eu/projects/1993/pointcity-southcity– cfr. Bozzuto et al., 2008.
2. Source: www.abc.es/espana/20150209/abcirabat-ceuta-melilla-201502092101.html
3. Source: www.publico.es/541401/un-solo-detenido-tras-el-ataque-racista-en-tanger-a-golpe-de-machete and www.rfi.fr/afrique/20140901-vive-tension-tanger-entre-marocains-migrants-subsahariens/
4. Source: www.bladi.net/etudiants-subsahariens-maroc.html
5. According to the World Bank, ‘49% of Moroccan youth are neither in school, nor the workforce’. Source: www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/05/14/challenge-of-youth-inclusion-in-morocco.
6. The administrative process of authorisation of such documents could take more than ten years. Therefore many plans have been developed in the preliminary study phases and public presentation, but are still waiting to be officially approved.
7. Source: www.ecologie.ma/la-zone-humide-de-smir-quelques-etapes-de-lhistoire-dun-gachis-ecologique/
8. Source: www.libe.ma/Le-tissu-associatif-de-M-di-q-monte-au-creneau-La-lagune-Smir-mise-en-danger-par-le-tourisme_a17035.html
9. Source: www.decolonizing.ps/site/about
10. Source: www.beatingborders.wordpress.com/category/ceuta-engl-fr-esp.
11. Source: www.proyectorimar.org.
12. Source: www.tresculturas.org/noticia/marruecos-en-espana-proyecto-rihla-marruecos-3.
13. Source: *Transhábitat* - <http://www.transhabitat.org>.
14. Ministère de l’Agriculture et de la mise en valeur des agricole, Administration des eaux et forêts et de la conservation des Sols, 1996, Plans directeurs des aires protégées du Maroc, 7 vol.
15. Loi n° 22-07 relative aux aires protégées promulguée par le dahir n° 1-10-123 du 3 chaabane 1431 (16 juillet 2010) (B.O n° 5866 du 19 août 2010).
16. *Sites d’Intérêt Biologique et Ecologique*. Morocco has identified around 160 SIBE, divided into wetlands, dry lands and littoral areas.
17. Source: www.uvm.edu/ieds/node/158.
18. Source: www.transhabitat.org/es/reserva-biosfera.
19. As suggested by Pezzani, 2009.

(All websites last accessed in March 2015, except where stated differently).

Conclusions

Contributions

Limits

Future research

This last section presents and sums up the main original contributions, limits and research prospects proposed by the PhD thesis.

As discussed in the *Introductory Essay*, the main research questions have been articulated around two dimensions:

- . A methodological, conceptual and cross-disciplinary perspective on a possible dialogue between border studies, spatial disciplines and design studies.
- . A place-based and empirical focus on the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes, both in terms of interpretative descriptions and design-oriented explorations.

By adopting and translating a borderscaping approach at the intersection between these conceptual and empirical / design-based dimensions, the main contribution of this PhD thesis can be identified in the definition and operationalisation of the borderscape notion through its progressive tense form, borderscaping, intended as a twofold process. From one side, it has been assumed to be a socially based (dominant or counter-hegemonic) process of border-writing on landscapes and in collective imaginaries, at different spatial scales and levels of society.

From the other, it has been explored as a design activity on / across borderlands, performed by different subjects and networks (of professional, artists, activists, local communities, etc.), assuming the border as a resource and as a thick, open and fuzzy field in which to address specific dynamics of socio-spatial in/exclusion. These two understandings of borderscaping (as both a human / social border-writing process and as a collective design thinking activity enabling new landscapes of images around borders) have been applied and explored in the specific context of the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands, both in terms of descriptive and project-oriented research.

Such contribution could be read through a three-fold explorative conceptual /

methodological trajectory across all three sections of the thesis, which could foster other possible directions of debate and research:

- . From borderlines to borders as thick, blurred and open spatial fields, at the interface between design practices and border policies.
- . From border genealogy to simultaneous constellations of borderscapes.
- . From diverging geopolitical scenarios to lateral images of change.

These three movements are here discussed in more depth, along with the research questions addressed throughout the dissertation, which are here synthetically recalled in order to highlight how these issues have guided the research process and how the thesis has tried to reply to such enquiries.

a. From borderlines to borders as thick, blurred and open spatial fields, at the interface between design practices and border policies

Research questions:

- . *How can borderlands be re-designed?*
- . *With which practices / tools / approaches and language?*
- . *How can a dialogue be built between border studies and design disciplines?*

A first conceptual movement regards the exploration of the potential intersections between border studies and design studies (architecture, landscape design, spatial planning and urban studies), assuming borders as spaces of cross-disciplinary encounters, as testing grounds for experimenting with different visions and images for contemporary landscapes, allowing the production of spaces for cooperative and collective agency. These arguments were built in Part 1, beginning with an understanding of border thinking and design thinking around three main lines of debate: social practices

and agencies, knowledge production and imagination.

Borderscaping has been addressed, on the basis of the literature review and current cross-disciplinary debates, as a kind of imaginative design thinking process by means of which to conceptualise, describe and project (Viganò, 2010) other multidimensional images (Bozzuto, 2011) around border landscapes, emancipating them from current geopolitical imaginaries and settings (Brambilla et al., forthcoming). In this sense, the research questions have been approached by looking both at a series of border representations coming from artistic disciplines (borders polyptychs) and at a collection of design patterns.

These have been formulated starting from a selection of projects on / across / inside different borderlands.

Although they concerned different geographical and geopolitical environments, the projects explored eventually expressed possible design solutions through which to address the local configurations and conditions caused by the presence of a political division. These patterns meaningfully converge on the possible interlocking and mutual influence between design practices and border policies (as also suggested by Eker and Van Houtum, 2013), as regards the multiplication and opening of other fuzzy fields of reference for local / transnational governance of border dynamics, as well as for social agencies and collective performativity.

This was the case for the *AHOZ* project in San Diego (cfr. Chapter 2), which included the revision of land use regulations, by means of micro-scale urban design solutions, in cooperation with different organisations (local authorities, residents' communities, design professionals, local organisations).

For the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes, this attempt has been made by blurring and bypassing existing political / territorial / administrative definitions, and assuming another generic and open field of

reference, the landscapes *between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif*.

This semantic re-definition assumes the Strait, the border, the sea and the mountain as spatial and symbolic coordinates, opening a wider horizon of ontological understandings around them (as also stressed by Berriane, 2011; Aderghal et al. 2013). This arbitrary re-denomination highlights the limits of current territorial and administrative definitions (in terms of provincial, regional and municipal decoupage and their extent / reach in terms of governance efficiency and democratic participation – cfr. Planel, 2012). From a similar perspective, El Abdellaoui and Chikhi (2013) define their area of study as 'los espacios de frontera con Ceuta' (namely the border spaces with Ceuta), later explaining that their research fields are 'los espacios marroquíes más cercanos a Ceuta: municipio urbano de Fnideq y municipio rural de Taghramt', that is to say the Moroccan spaces which surround Ceuta: the municipalities of Fnideq and Taghramt (ivi, p.19). Again the need to adopt a periphrasis around the Spanish enclave shows how such fields could hardly be defined with a single term or expression (or administrative unit).

The possibility of intervening in this new vague field (*between the Strait, the Mediterranean and the Rif*), across different spatial, political and territorial regimes, has been addressed with the constellation interpretative notion and by means of the meta-design explorations on the Moroccan / Spanish border. In particular these two operations allowed the focus to shift from border lines to borderscape fields, opening and thickening the margins of a potential 'arena' of cross-border encounter (e.g. the RBIM), blurring and moving to the background the existing geo-political delimitations and administrative-territorial settings.

A reconsideration of existing multiple divisions across the Moroccan / Spanish borderlands as 'soft spaces' and

'fuzzy boundaries' (Allmendinger and Haughton, 2009) could foster 'alternative administrative geographies in the context of new governance arrangements for spatial planning and regional development' (Walsh et al., 2012, p.2; cfr. Pucci, 2014, p. 28). This further suggests that cross-border management could be effective, if shared between different (non)institutional actors and local communities.

This is the case with the ongoing trends and hints of change across the Ceuta/Morocco border: here the emerging (informal) collaborative relations between Moroccan and Spanish local authorities (Buoli, 2014), such as those around technical issues of urban design and management, have shown that despite the persistence of territorial and political discontinuities (Ferrer-Gallardo, 2010) unofficial forms of dialogue can exist and be strengthened. This can happen beyond the rigidities of the institutional framework, and in addition / integration to more explicit interactions (namely informal trade or cultural / social networks of self-help and cooperation).

b. From border genealogy to simultaneous constellations of borderscapes

Research questions:

- . *Which power interplays and coagulations are shaping the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes at different territorial scales?*
- . *How can such dynamics be described beyond current 'linear approaches'?*

A second conceptual and methodological trajectory concerns the interpretative angle adopted to narrate the specificity of the Moroccan / Spanish border landscapes (Part 2). By assuming the guiding image / notion of the constellation, I set out to select and represent different relational processes and sedimentations of recurring and emerging border conditions (places, practices, networks and events) that facilitated

the reading of the complexity of the borderlands, beyond linear or unidirectional time-space readings. Constellations have been intended as both genealogical and transcalar narratives and borderscapes fields, intended as sets of socio-political-economic-cultural dynamics giving shape to (scaping) the borderlands and which have been coagulated in space and time.

In the first meaning and in accordance with some recent interpretative readings of Walter Benjamin's thinking (Rollason, 2002; Gilloch, 2013), constellations have been considered and employed as diachronic narratives around some places, projects and stories that may permit an understanding of the border as a space of simultaneity (Schoonderbeek, 2015 – cfr. Chapter 1). The (historical) genealogy of the border has not, therefore, been conceived as a chronological timeline, but rather as a juxtaposition of narratives, stories, scenes and events.

In the second connotation, as fields of borderscapes, five different constellations have been assumed as varied spatial and discursive sedimentations of (hegemonic / counter-hegemonic) powers.

In this regard, the thesis aimed to highlight the material, spatial and symbolic coagulations of past, ongoing and potential bordering processes, by looking at the border from other relational viewpoints and through the socio-spatial representations performed by political / financial elites and networks civil of society organisations. These socio-spatial sedimentations have been shaping the border Moroccan / Spanish landscapes and constitute the resources on which the explorative design research has been practiced and could be further implemented.

An example of this is the first meta-design exploration presented in Chapter 6, which highlighted a possible movement from dominant landscapes of power towards relational spaces of encounter, reconsidering border ruins and colonial legacies as design materials for enhancing

new forms of social performativity and agency around them. Such constellar readings were meant, then, to allow a different kind of knowledge production and imagination around the Moroccan / Spanish landscapes by assuming a methodology that could be useful in addressing other border landscapes, opening further research directions.

c. From diverging geopolitical scenarios to lateral images of change

Research questions:

- . *Which lateral socio-spatial trajectories, through a design-oriented approach, could re-orient current dynamics of in/exclusion across the Spanish-Moroccan border?*

A third interpretative path regards a critical re-consideration of scenario building approaches and practices (which have been reviewed throughout the thesis) according to the specificities of the Moroccan / Spanish border context.

Indeed the re-production of binary contrast images, which have been part of the modern (political and cultural) construction of these borderlands, has been avoided.

Though recognising the rich dialectical and instrumental potential of ‘diverging’ scenarios (Bozzuto et al., 2008) in fostering debate and knowledge, rather I meant to look at lateral and multidimensional images as alternatives to current tendencies, in consideration of the peculiar conflictual / cooperative conditions of the geographical, cultural and symbolic context to which the thesis is devoted. Indeed, while macro geopolitical interests have designed and promoted certain boundaries and development directions, later adopted and enhanced by top-down public-private initiatives both in Spain and Morocco (such as the border surveillance initiatives in Ceuta, Melilla and Andalusia, or the mega-projects developed in North Morocco, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5), it is worth

asking (as proposed by Aderghal et al., 2013) how to encourage ‘the local’ to create synergies in reply to contrasting institutional visions and initiatives.

Going beyond a cause-effect equation ‘what if? ... if / then’ (for example ‘what if the border disappears?’) and consistent with the multi-dimensionality and multi-directionality of a borderscaping approach, I have chosen to look at transcalar images of change from a situated, intersectional and everyday life practices perspective (the spaces and trajectories of border economy, colonial ruins, cross-border and international mobilities, etc.), in coherence with the latent needs expressed by local / transnational communities.

This approach considers the project as a process able to unveil and unfold the current conditions and build its own resources (cfr. Aderghal et al., 2013) that could define other fields of interest and trigger novel directions of transformation. In this sense, the meta-design explorations have tried to contribute to building a methodological framework around the issue of ‘how to guide transformations on/ across borderlands?’ by means of a series of reviewed design patterns (Chapter 6). These patterns, starting from the international experiences addressed in Chapter 2, have passed through a process of revision and specification thanks to the encounter with the Moroccan / Spanish context. This has facilitated an understanding of how introducing light, incremental, place-based and bottom-up mutations and minimum landscape interventions (thickening, blurring, opening the margins) on/across borderlands could re-orient existing social, cultural, material and natural resources towards new uses and meanings and de-link them from current dominant and hegemonic imaginaries. In this sense, the duration and extent of such mutations are directly concurrent with the persistence and implementation of transcalar socio-cultural networks across the border (as relational / transnational spaces).

Limits and criticisms and future research perspectives

Though the interpretative and research-by-design work has been developed through some meaningful encounters and discussions with a variety of interlocutors at the local and international level (see Introductory Essay), as a key methodological feature and aim of the thesis, the interpretative and meta-design explorations have not been yet re-discussed with local / transnational actors and institutional, civil society representatives, due to time constraints.

A first limit of the thesis resides, then, in the lack of empirical feedback ‘from the territory’ about the outcomes of the descriptive and meta-design explorations: the potential contribution of the project to ongoing local debates is, therefore, yet to be proved on-site. This could constitute the background for a future implementation of the research, starting from a reconsideration of the methodological approach around a collaborative planning and participatory design re-framing. As a consequence a second, related, criticism is the vagueness of the meta-design explorations, namely the absence of a zoom in to more detailed declinations of the guiding images. This more generic approach has been informed by the need to leave such explorations as potential directions of study and research, rather than closed images. From this perspective there is room and space for developing further or revising / re-orienting the themes which have emerged. The peculiarity of the case addressed in its different dimensions and spatialities (the exceptionality of the Strait, Ceuta, Tanger, etc.) could be perceived as another limit in terms of the transferability of the empiric research and its results. At the same time, though the outcomes of the descriptive / operative explorations are specific to the context addressed, the methodological apparatus and the conceptual perspective adopted could be generalised not only

in other borderlands, but also in liminal (urban) spaces, defined by processes of socio-spatial in/exclusion at different territorial scales.

A fourth shortcoming is related to an over-emphasis on the cross-disciplinarity of the research, which in some passages has blurred the boundaries between the different scientific fields addressed: if from one side this could be intended as a positive outcome of the richness of the contributions of the different disciplines and research traditions to the thesis, from the other it could be interpreted as a lack of disciplinary focus.

These limits / criticisms could serve as background for some potential research perspectives, drawn on the possibilities that a trans-disciplinary gaze, an open methodological approach and a vague project-oriented background can open, also in view of a possible post-doctoral research project.

A first potential direction of research, is represented by what Eker and Van Houtum (2013) have called *European Atlas of Transnational Landscapes* (p.405), a proposal which paves the way to an ambitious work of data collection, mapping and interpretation of existing border landscapes in the European context. Along with internal European borders, it would be worth considering such a proposal in the EUro-African-Mediterranean context, by looking at the constellations of other border landscapes in the area in their material, symbolic, genealogical, political and relational current conditions and future transformative potential.

Adopting the methodological approach developed in other similar proposals / pilot projects, such as the digital atlas for the Cyprus GreenLineScapes (Grichting, 2015) and, to some extent already assumed by this PhD thesis, an atlas of the EUro-African-Mediterranean border landscapes could be developed by gathering a variety of different partners from civil society, academic networks (across border studies

and design disciplines), artistic and professional fields, as well as from cultural and local institutions.

For this reason the convergence between different figures and expertise, such as place-based design, critical curatorship and anthropology / ethnography, which have been addressed and assumed as references throughout the dissertation, could provide other ways to look at, represent and envision borders, as also suggested by Hirschman with the notion of 'trespassing' (Hirschman, 1998). Nevertheless, such an initiative should take into account the current geo-political conditions of most areas of the Mediterranean at the interfaces with conflictual / unstable regions, as well as in light of the current concerns related to international mobilities in the basin. Indeed, such an Atlas should work in continuity / integration with existing open content mapping platforms developed by researchers and human rights activists (Chapter 3).

Civil engagement and a focus on the human / relational / social dimensions of cartographic and representational methodology, uses and aims should be a crucial point of attention and reflection, beyond a best practices rhetoric.

A second follow-up direction of research, as mentioned earlier, is a return to the border for testing the general and specific outcomes of the thesis. Indeed, Part 3 could be further implemented to function as a prospect contribution to local dialogues / debates around current trajectories, trends and future prospects for the border landscape, in light of the current transitions and changes occurring in the EUro-Mediterranean area and in Morocco.

The lateral images and ideas developed in the context of the PhD dissertation could be presented to different focus groups or public forums with local communities and administrations, also thanks to the ongoing collaborations with the scholars and professionals I met during the field work missions (e.g.: from local universities and

research centres). This potential stream of research is directly related to the Moroccan context, in the African framework.

As an 'international matter' for Western countries since the beginning of colonial interest (Chapter 4), Morocco has become an important hinge between different geopolitical interests and interplays, in the context of the current conditions of the MENA region, being perhaps one of the few stable countries after the Arab Spring. By broadening the gaze towards the east and south it is possible to observe other peculiar border conditions and constellations of borderscapes: from the conflictual and complex relations at the border between Morocco and Algeria (a militarised sealed border), to the never-ending Western Sahara conflict, to the internal borders and socio-cultural barriers that non-Moroccan citizens coming from sub-Saharan and Middle-East countries have to cope with in their everyday living practices. These different border conditions (cooperative / non-cooperative to the north, conflictual to the south, and frozen to the east) have resulted in different socio-spatial coagulations (e.g. border cities such as Oujda and Lâyoune, militarised zones, refugee camps, migrant detention centres, etc.) of conditions that are worth exploring both from an integrated perspective and in their peculiarities.

In this context the critical, multi-faced and imaginative potential of the borderscapes approach could be further tested in relation to the prevailing conflictual dimension of the southern / eastern Moroccan borders, which hinders any cooperative prospect almost completely.

The potential of the borderscapes perspective in building multidimensional narratives could find here a terrain of further application and mutation / hybridisation.

In its critical, operative and imaginative aims, limits and opportunities, the thesis intended to propose one possible approach to filling a gap in spatial and

design disciplines, around how to address borders in their semantic, narrative and transformative potential, both in conceptual and methodological terms.

This is an open field, which is worth further exploration and sharing, not only with international networks of border and design scholars and professionals, but also (and above all) with the people and communities, which experience the everyday inequities and opportunities that borders imply, 'from the depths of [their] carnal bodies, to the immaterial *noosphere* that grows in the fertile land of words without owners' (Fadaiat, 2006, p.169).

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