# CITIES OF THE BORDER
## STRATEGIES AND URBAN MODELS FOR LETICIA-TABATINGA

BERLIN

TO ALL THE PEOPLE WHO MADE
THIS POSSIBLE. THEY KNOW WHO THEY ARE...

# CITIES OF THE BORDER
## Strategies And Urban Models For Leticia-Tabatinga

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**POLITECNICO DI MILANO**

# INDEX

The space is a measurable dimension. This dimension involve us all the time and we recognize it by a complex sensation of transition in between spatial-temporal segments. Those segments are only recognizable under the idea of a place. The way the measure the space is by the creation of spatial-temporal units contended on packs of places. We are all the time in transition in between those spatial-temporal units which bring us the idea of movement and spatial differentiation.

The way in which we recognize the transition from a place to another is by the creation of a certain division, the border. The idea we have of space is only allowed by the sensation of a constant motion between spatial-temporal segments differentiated by borders.

The borders bound the territory in a way in which we can recognize that spatial-temporal division of the space. Those boundaries are the human way to understand the world based into the idea of division by rational or organic modes. We understand the world by the spatial-temporal division that we comprehend from the nature or create by ourselves. Without borders we will be unable to organize the society in the way we know it.

Borders on everyday life are presented everywhere and the whole time are constraining and defining our public or private behaviors. Those constraints are strongly related on the nature of the content space and the characteristic that we decide to endow to it. This idea of transition is a spatial-temporal change and can be a subjective or an objective mode of appreciation of the space qualities. The change from private to public realms is only possible by the placement of a border recognizable by every member of the society, the one that defines the household and public spaces.

But not only borders shape the private-public dimension. Furthermore the borders rose from the necessity from the society to control the space by the settlement of a set of rules. Those rules work on the differentiation of the social activities on each societies and rooted in different levels of socio-spatial complexities.

Borders are created by the necessity to define the space and they are placed in very different ways, from physical borders rooted onto the ground to non-material borders placed on the public conception of the space. Borders works in different levels of separation, hind sighting an exclusion-inclusion dimension.

If we consider the borders as the natural outcome of spatial-temporal recognition and division of the space through the socio-spatial differentiation among cultures, we rise the idea in which is it possible to work in between the nature of them analyzing its advantages but also trying to understand the negative aspects of their placement.

Moving to a more specific contexts, borders are there because we need them to keep a certain control over the space. The massive division of the space by borders became into a contexts in which as more complex are the spatial-temporal division of the space, more we are involved into a urban contexts. The cities are the most complex contexts in which the presence of infinite and different kind of levels are located within. The cities are the natural outcome of the serial division of the space into more and more complex boundaries in the process in which the society tends to increase and arise higher levels of clustering.

Borders on cities not only works into the separation dimension. Borders support also the construction of the society based on a sense of cultural sharing rooted into the territory.

Borders move also from the simple political dimension based on the necessity to control over the territory to a dimension in which the societies recognize to be attached to the ground by common beliefs even when the division of the space is not physical landmarked.

The urban borders can be divided depending on their nature and their function, from systemic levels of political control to a dimension in which they shape the cultural shared values of a community. How to they work and which are the historic processes that define them is a long term research. This work faces the necessity to define a few kind of borders based and a briefly consideration of their ways to be implemented, their capacity to divide the space and communities and in the end their potential approaches for different urban contexts.

Borders in this work are considered no longer the simplified fact placed for the division of the territory. Borders are considered a necessity and an opportunity to reach some global conclusions and approaches able to be applied everywhere around the world.

Cities of the border is an attempt to reac a set of conclusions about how the boreders are working in some specific contexts, how they are presented on contemporary urban planning processes and approaching their possibilities whereas is it possible to preview its negative consequences.

Cities of the border attempts to recognize the role of the border on several cases around Europe related with planning strategies and their possible use on very different contexts. It is obvious to higlight the fact that borders work in different forms stronlgy depending on the contexts where they are but this work tries to go beyond the particular conditions in order to achieve a more global vision about how do they work.

2. FROM DUALITY TO THE BORDERS AS AN ABSTRACT
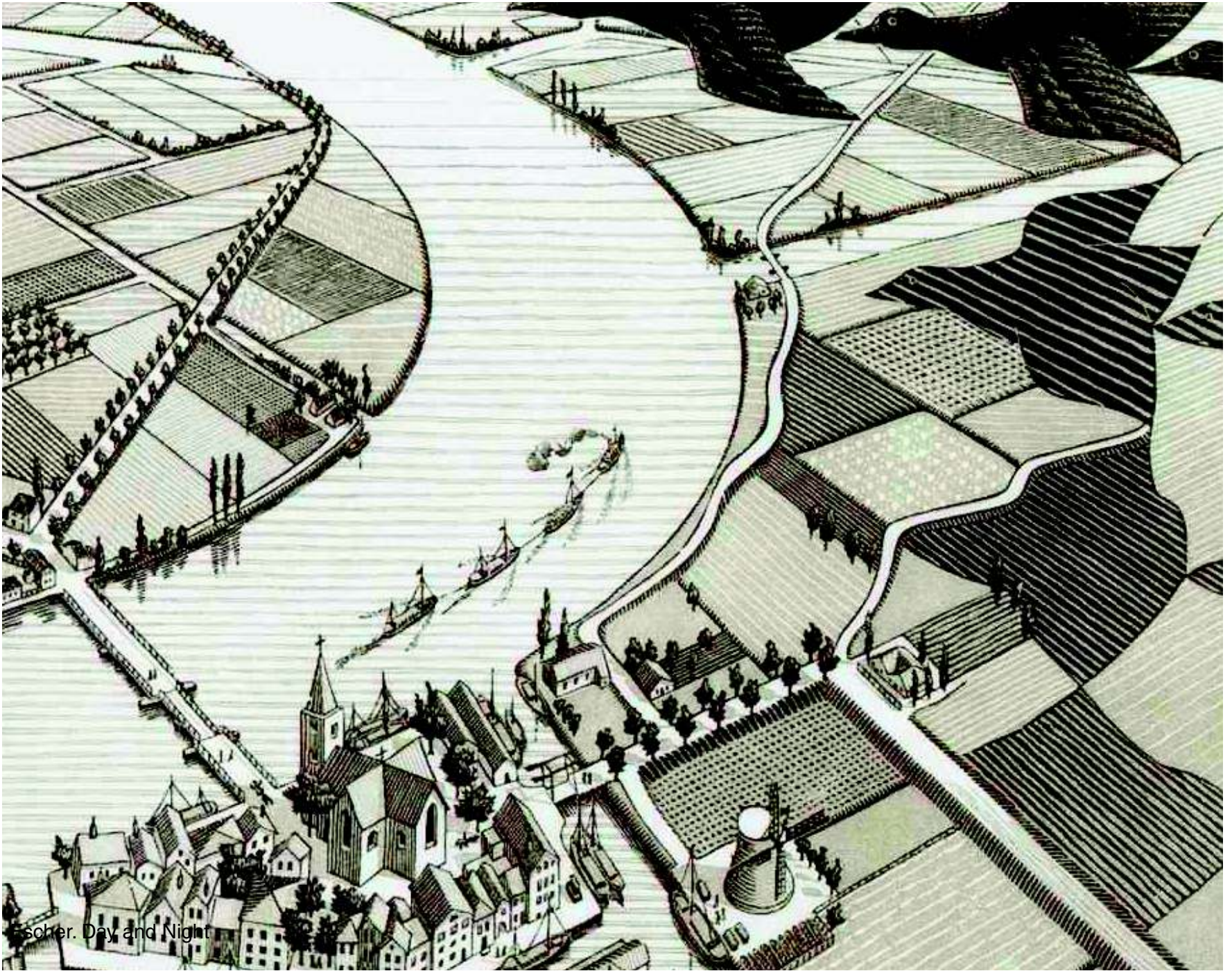
Escher. Day and Night
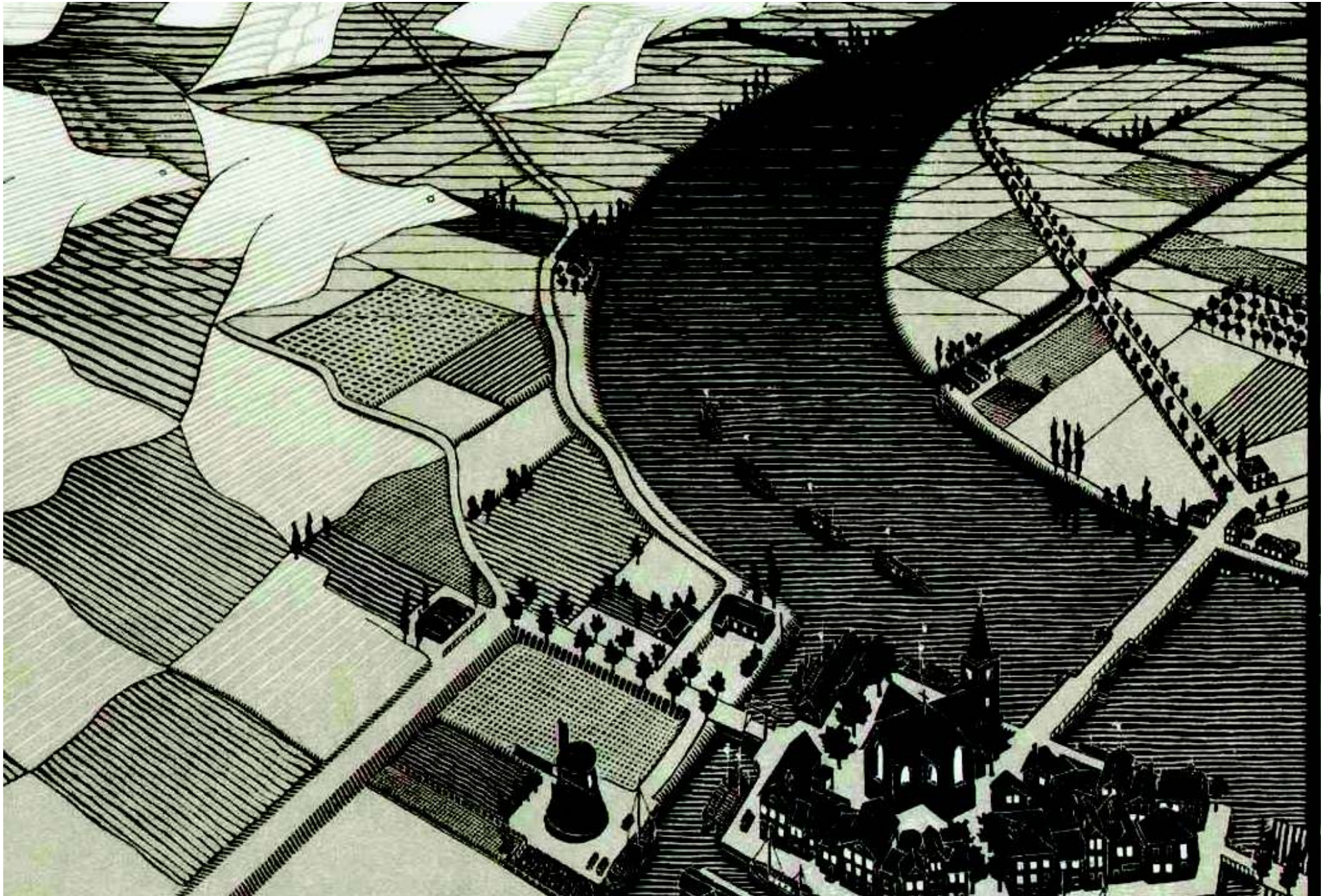
A TALE OF TWO CITIES. London
enterthestory.com

A TALE OF TWO CITIES. Paris
Jack Conway. 1935

*It was the best of the times, it was the worst of the times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we are all going direct to heaven, we were all going direct the other day-in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only. (A Tale of Two Cities. Charles Dickens)*[1]

*A Tale of Two Cities*  is a novel wrote by the XIXth century English writer Charles Dickens, it takes place in the years after the French revolution,  describing the social and political context of two different societies at the same time.
The English society as an example of civilization, development and the representation of the apollonian side of an urban context placed in London. Along the novel London is represented as the true sense of justice and fairnes into the social dimension, from a trial to the representation of the english everyday life the city embedded what the civilized nature of a city should be through the behaviour of its inhabitants.

In the other hand Dickens faced the urban context with the social struggles through the socio spatial relations in  Paris after the French revolution (bloodlust, revenge and scare as the Dionysian dread dimension). The lack of social capital, revenge and a total sense of violence is represented on the Parisian streets, this side of the society is understood under Dickens' universe as the worst scenario in which the social values cannot be longer attached to a sense of urbanity and all the values are able to be faded under a contexst of chaos

Dickens explained through the novel a complex, social context rooted in a very important moment in human history; this context,  the **Duality** between good and evil, right and wrong, those dualities are already presented within a social historical processes and are shaped under a territorial context, representative of a few  cities. This duality between good and evil has been a rooted-ivy dilemma from the beginning of the times, this dilemma is attached to several dilemmas and eternal existentialist doubts entrenching them through massive beliefs.

It is important to underline the fact that the sociospatial diversity within the territory brings opportunities for coexistence and enrichment of cultural values;

while at the same time, creates potential conflicts based on  differentiation, disagreement, and as things progress, segregation.

But not all  aspects of diversity in the socio-spatial dimension generate that duality between  togetherness or separation[3], toleration or rejection; the complexity that comes from diversity embedded in the territorial context is far more dense, intricate and complicated;  to use an abstract concept in order to link social diversity within a territorial, socio-spatial dimension, **here, there are the borders, the ones arose from the differences within the society and the social values.**

This work is about borders. In the wide, broad dimensions in which it can be understood; borders as natural results of human development, borders as tools for the control of territory and the gathering of communities under a sense of sameness and togetherness, borders as a separation and segregation  or even as a target, borders as an opportunity to reward differences, perhaps beneath a context of respect and recognition of values. Here we understand the border as an abstract dimension of differentiation that can be embodied into material facts or can be rooted into the massive conscience of communities,  a border can mean separation in any aspect that can be endowed.

Coming back and following the line: Human Nature – Duality – Diversity – Border, lets explain briefly how does it works on Dickens novel.

## 2.1 RECALLED TO LIFE – DUALITY:

*"Repression is the only lasting philosophy. The dark deference of fear and slavery, my friend," observed the Marquis, "will keep the dogs obedient to the whip, as long as this roof," looking up to it, "shuts out the sky.")*[4].

In *A Tale of Two Cities*, after several years, *Dr. Manette* is found deeply traumatized, enclosed into a basement, suddenly having become a shoemaker; this person has passed 18 years in the *Bastilla's* prison, the title *Recalled to Life* literally refers to the recovering of this person from the darkness to the normal life, a public life in a certain way.

1. DICKENS, Charles. A Tale Of Two Cities. 2007. Pg 18
2. JESSOP, Bob. BRENNER, Neil. JONES, Martin. Theorizing Sociospatial Relations. 2008, volume 26, pages 389 - 401

3. SENNETT, Richard. The Uses of Disorder. Personal Identity and City Life. 1970. Pg 81-84
4. DICKENS, Charles. A Tale Of Two Cities. 2007. Pg 262

Swiftly, the wrong actions taken by this man in the past, like rebellion against the monarchy, suddenly changed to be an example of heroism during the revolution and a very remarkable actor.

This is the first duality that can be taken from the *in between* meanings of the text, the duality of perception among what is a public, right action and what is a wrong action emerges as the **1st stage of complexity on duality related with public behaviors**[5].

The second duality is rooted in the geographical dimension, the example of London representing the Apollonian side of the society, a place ruled by reason, compared with the reality of Paris during the same period, the Dionysian consequences of the French revolution were struggling inside the society by an unclear sense of justice. This is a very subjective point of view from the writer, but taking the political thoughts out of the discussion, this second stage of duality is formed by a difference in the public rules of society based on cultural and political structures and represented through territorial entities. This is the **2nd stage of complexity on duality, related with public well being and cultural differences placed along the territories**, that means, at least, that whatever can be right and socially accepted somewhere, can be totally wrong and public rejected in another place.

This second stage of complexity not only is rooted on the difference values of the society but it brings to reality the fact that those difference inherently create borders. The borders arose from the territorial managment are the ones that tends to become in potential conflicts and diusagreements. In A Tale of Two Cities that border between the reason and the disorder is not placed into the territory between Paris and Londod whereas it came to reality into the social dimension and specially related with the social behaviours

And finishing this brief approximation to the nature of the complex dualities involved in the 1st part of the novel, one can discover the complex level of privacy and the public. During his traumatized stay in the basement, *Dr. Manette* was isolated from reality, from the outside, from the public life; throughout the novel, we see this person returning to his previous autistic state of mind during some difficult moments. This isolation creates the duality between closeness and privacy and openness and the public; dualities just separated by the house creating the threshold in this case.

The **3rd stage of complexity on duality related with the public and private realms associated with the place where social actions take form,** this is, in the end the feature about social life close related with the constant automatic changes of mind in which we are involved in our lives when we spatially change our position from a place considered private to a context considered public**.**

Those three dualities summarized from three stages of duality presented in the urban society include; the 1st stage, the duality between right and wrong actions depending on the political context in which they are involved, the 2nd stage, related to the relativity of the last duality considering the space and time where it is presented and last, the 3rd stage is the inherent duality presented in the realm of public and private depending on the place in which the activities related with the space and time where they are developed.

## 2.2 THE GOLDEN THREAD - DIVERSITY:

*"The dead man disposed of, and the crowd being under the necessity of providing some entertainment for itself, another brighter genius (or perhaps the same) conceived the humor of impeaching casual passers-by, as Old Bailey spies, and wreaking vengeance on them."* [6]

The set and the different levels of dualities create a complex context of public behaviors, that is, the diversity presented among cultures.

Dualities presented in social life create differences, what is right, normal, or frequent can become wrong, strange and infrequent for others. These differences are represented through cultural profiles and public behaviors, all of them shaping the space in the form that better fits and suits dual actions.

If we analyze the backgrounds or scenarios that Dickens shapes through the second part of the novel, the majority of the places used in the English events are embodied in the realm of privacy; inner spaces, mostly houses, offices, etc., instead of the public spaces where the story is developed on the French side like streets, wine stores, etc.

5. JARVIS, Helen, PRATT, Andy C., CHENG-CHONG WU, Peter. The Secret Life of Cities.
   The Social Reproduction of Everyday Life. 2001. Pg 44-75.

6. DICKENS, Charles. A Tale Of Two Cities. 2007. pg 160

The dimension in which dualities are involved in more complex contexts is not so clear, diversity arises when the dualities acquire a sense of wide spreading connotation; for example, a public decision can be right in some terms but wrong in other ones, the complexity of dualities take place as a sense in which the aspects of the public life are not just involved in the simplification of two choices.

But what does it mean in terms of diversity? If we come back to the last explanation about duality and its relation with the construction of diversity, we can link the fact that for Dickens, duality is presented in the simplification of good and evil among others, this simplification is usually embedded into a more complex context of dualities which forms altogether what we know as diversity.

Dickens, like other writers of that time, found in the city a perfect theater, fulfilled by casual or strong scenarios (as Balzac for example who found in a simple house the perfect place to show up the comedy that was the households activities and the everyday life in which different kinds of people lived and are involved in Paris during the XIXth) to develop his stories, but the way how he used the city as a **theater of diversity**[7] involves complexities beyond the simple storyboard. that is, in other words, Dickens painted the social interaction and the social diversity by public behaviors. He constrained the actions by rooting them in particular places. It's clear that the space constrains different actions, but those spaces are mostly static, as a background they don't flow like it does when people move, the spaces just allow people to act.

So far, when the space doesn't flow is easier to understand it as a place, this phenomena is what Dickens express in his novel, but what is important here is to remark that, when spaces don't change so often, then people diversify their actions in order to show the ambivalences, dualities and diversities which arose from public and private behaviors.

We should come back to the illuminist conception of the world where the human mind is able to resolve and shape the world around it due to the mankind necessities, this though goes further the religious or cultural foggy conceptions in order to search for a new logical unity of the space, this world can be measured and understood by logical ways, the man as the center instead of the otherness as the center.

That means that during the XIXth century dramatically the man was the principle and the end of the world, in *A Tale Of Two Cities* we don't find any special reference to the places where the story is developed instead of briefly descriptions when it is absolutely necessary, this fact enhance the diversification of the characters and the set up of dualities on simple actions.

At the end, the city for Dickens is understood as a place rather than a space that flows continuously while it adapts itself, due to the character's actions and movements. At least in Dickens's novel, the space flows just because the people make it flows, it flows when people move through space, the space is a place as much as the people allow it, this is a consequence arose from the diversity in that specific context.

## 2.3 THE TRACK OF A STORM – BORDERS:

*"A very few French leagues of his journey were accomplished, when Charles Darnay began to perceive that for him along these country roads there was no hope of return ……..whatever might befall now, he must on to his journey's end."* [8]

Cities have always been embedded in and shaped by human social behaviors and into the process, urban shapes are the result of those social actions. The structures that arose from them, *regionalization modes*[9], in Dickens's novel, represent clearly several entropic conducts, social movements and social structures and the city as a result of it. Therefore, the city is by itself an entity that shapes, embeds and keeps the society values, failures, contrast and so on, all of them contained by the space.

The rise of social diversity has a strong consequence on society's beliefs, manifesting itself in **the presence of borders**. Those are spatial perceptions of the communities about what they think is different and outside of their inner practices, but the borders are also tools created in order to control the space, keeping inside certain values and avoiding differences[10], and representing diversity on the socio-spatial dimension.

7. HANNERZ, Ulf. Exploring The City. 1983. Pg 202-241.

8. DICKENS, Charles. A Tale Of Two Cities. 2001. Pg 245
9. GIDDENS, Anthony. The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration. 1986, pages 119
10. ZANINI, Piero. Significati del Confine. 2002. Pg 3-18

Those borders are complex, they are shaped by several layers and conditioned by social features. There's a physical consequence of this phenomena, t**he world is understood and measured by dividing the space and distributing control over it. The world is divided because humans need to divide it, it** is a primal sense of self conservation, escaping from outsider values by the way in which we preserve our own values[11], these are the borders.

In the last part of *A Tale of Two Cities*, there's a clever moment in which all kind of borders are presented in an abstract way, the 1st stage of duality is presented by crossing a physical border, that is, in the moment when the main character comes back to France, his public actions will be judged in a context out of his responsibilities, here a geographical border playing a strong role in several ways.

The 2nd stage is even more evident, that duality related with public actions being relatively right or wrong depending on where they are committed, and is strongly related with the socio-spatial reality between England and France, that is, a cultural border based on social conscience between those two countries and the transition of this border influences dramatically the last part of the book.

*"It's far, far better thing that I do, than I have ever done, it is a far, far better rest that I go than I have ever known."* [12]

Dickens understood the city as a place of contradictions, inherent in its own nature, and here, we face the position in which this thesis will be supported, even when it is clear that the place shapes the human behaviors by spatial constraints and features, we will analyze those shapes as human creations (obviously sometimes supported by natural presences), as it is a human necessity to control the space by dividing it. Here, the entropic relation within man, shaping spaces and spaces shaping human behaviors, will be focused on the former. Supported in the idea in which man creates division due to his own necessities, mostly as processes of continuous change through history, this thesis will be focused on the division of cities imposed by man and how these divisions can keep the differences within a territorial entity.

11. SENNETT, Richard. The Uses of Disorder. Personal Identity and City Life. 1970. Pg 7
12. DICKENS, Charles. A Tale Of Two Cities. 2007. Pg 36

## 2.4 A CONTEXT OF COMPLEXITIES:

As we saw in the last chapters, the intrinsic mental relation between certain cultural aspects in social life with the diversity that they form into a global context arose from the dualities, we understood that the outcome is the birth of borders, mental constructions presented everywhere in very different forms.

Considering that the city is a place of borders formed by social differences, we can say that in fact, the city is made by borders and those borders are shaping the space in mental and physical ways. The city by itself represents borders in several layers; the city is a border between what we consider an urban context apart from a rural one, but where can we say that the city starts or where it ends? Is for instance the model of the garden city an urban-rural model? So, where is the border among each realm in that case?

The spatial answer of where borders are presented, without considering physical or mental constructions, finds the concept of place. A 'place' is a space auto-determined by the users, in the case of the city, by the inhabitants. When the space can be considered a physical dimension that flows, the place is a static perception, the same use of the verb 'to place' is more related with the root and attachment of a space under certain material features, by this way, we can say that the space is everything that surrounds us but a place is a contained spatial aspect, a chamber is a place, a square is a place constrained by constructions, and the city is a space that flows until indeterminate borders.

So, the borders are an attempt to constrain the space into places, by physical methods

like walls, fences, and landmarks, rigid constructions presented into contexts where the places have to be strictly recognizable and delimited, those are the physical features that shape the territory. On the other hand, the cities cannot be physically shaped due to the constant process of growing and shrinking. Cities need to be defined by boundaries in order to maintain control, those boundaries are usually mental constructions supported by a political vision of the territory, those borders are the politico-administrative ones and are in constant change over time depending on the necessity of its inhabitants or the political view at the time.

The other important aspect is the self capability of the communities to define which is their territory, a mental construction of a livable place that doesn't have to correspond with the politico-administrative imposition of boundaries, those are the socio-cultural borders.

The complex dimension in which all those borders are mixed is the base of cities as we know them, in some of them the different kinds of borders are related or supported between themselves, but in the case when they are not related (as for example when a politico-administrative border is not related with the cultural borders because there's a political domain of one group over the others or a case when the cultural mix is just too big) there's the core of many urban conflicts related with the fight for space.

Exposition Universelle (World Fair)
Paris 1937

## 3.1 BORDERS

If we understand the city as a theater for human behaviors, as a necessity for controlling the space, and as a set of results of human social processes, we have to consider that the space is divided by the activities that they allow, from private to public, even if sometimes the boundary between them is not clear or departs from the point in which it can be located in the layers of private and public, it is almost as difficult to recognize the thresholds which divide both categories[1].

Moving from the realm of private-public, which is not the aim of this text, we should say that the division of the space is everywhere in the city and is presented in many ways, from administrative borders to cultural zones, which are shaped in the mind of their inhabitants. What happens when the boundaries are created to keep the differences among communities? What happens when those boundaries are also shaped by natural conditions of the territory? What are the characteristics of those borders? Which kind are they? How do they work (or even don't)? What happens if, after a certain period, they fade away? Are they physical or just located on the people's conscience? All those differences can be described by case studies attached by specific historical, geographical and social contexts.

The theory of the border will be the analysis of different issues departing from the idea that, the target case of this work is divided by an international border, whereas, we will see in other case studies that the borders work in the same way, undistinguished by its territorial conditions[2], but those borders can also be understood in several ways, as a tool, as a boundary within the city or a mental construction based on cultural differences.

Lastly, t is important to define the kind of borders depending on levels of permeability; for this reason, we will divide the borders into three categories:

1. The Barrier: a border that acts as a wall, it impedes movement from one side to the other , and is commonly found on conflictive borders.

2. The By-Pass: a kind of border that works as a bottleneck or checkpoint pass, it allows crossing under some specific circumstances and by certain kinds of people, it means that the opportunity to cross the border is selective.

1. SENNETT, Richard. The Conscience of The Eye. The Design And Social Life Of Cities. 1992. Pg 5-41
2. ZANINI, Piero. Significati del Confine. 2002. Pg.155-162

3. The Open Border: this one is divided into two categories depending its nature; the border can be a mental construction based on administrative shapes but is barely represented on material limits (as a street for example) or it can be spaces without any kind of spatial delimitation where the borders are created as something in between spaces and formed by cultural differences (as the controlled spaces by gangs).

## 3.2 E BORDERS AS A PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE TERRITORY

The first approximation to the concept of a border will be first, a physical division of the territory by human or natural actions and the production, by way of landmarks for the differentiation of places heading for a possible unity of the space.

Physical borders are always marked by barriers or obstacles that impede or hinder communication among communities. Considering the fact that the rise of civilization and human cultures were formed initially by human settlements, shaped by natural conditions during a process of geographical expansion, mankind has been divided and distributed across different territories and once agriculture solved the problem of food, the inherent result was the creation of settlements, that means, permanent urban entities. Those natural spaces act as a place that shape the settlements, create a sense of community and at the same time, a sense of the others, the strange, something that doesn't belong.

For the practical methodology of this work, it will be important to clarify from the beginning that the physical borders are the first stage of the division of space in which natural issues shaped the communities and furthermore cities and nations. Natural borders are understood as those sets of geographical contexts within the territory that divide communities into settlements, and thereby, create differences between them. Those borders can be mostly represented by mountains, rivers, deserts, oceans, etc. and it is important to underline that, considering the 2nd part of this chapter, where we say that there's an entropic relation within man shaping spaces and spaces shaping human behaviors, this text will be focused on the first one.

THE BARRIER: The West Bank

THE BY-PASS: Berlin During The Iron Curtain Period

East

West
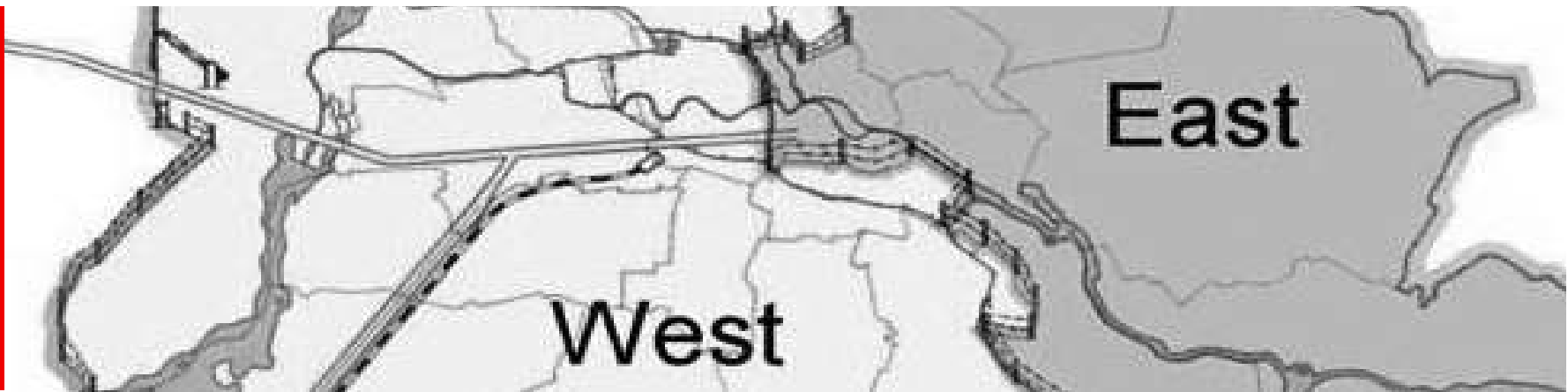
OPEN BORDER: Gang Division of the Territory in Los Angeles

Inglewood

South Gate

405 Freeway

Lynwood

In order to simplify this idea, let's consider the Greek culture during the Peloponnese's war (431-404 b.c.). During those years, the nation was divided into Polis or city-states, each one politically independent and autonomous from the other ones, only acting as a whole empire when the invasion from the outside was a menace. But what really shaped the cultures and human settlements along the Greek peninsula was its particular geographical condition. The peninsula is highly shaped by topographical features, mountains and hills are spread over the territory impeding the urbanization of extended cities, hence the human settlements were condensed into specific zones[3] (Athens, Sparta, etc).

The natural conformation of the territory is the 1st stage on the division of humanity into settlements, known later as cities. Those are at least borders that generate divided spaces and behave as containers of cultural features within territorial

containers, by keeping external values out of the community or impeding social progress coming from the outside, those natural features are sometimes embodied by territorial conflicts for resources or political differences.

There's another dimension in which physical borders work in the other sense of constraining urban spaces, when cities are developed because of trade marketing or they have an inherent importance as a crossroads, natural constraints of space don't work as a barrier but they make the cities develop other kinds of linkages with other regions far from the geographical position. In this case, for example, it is possible to understand why a city like Venice probably had more cultural connections with other ports instead of developing a regional network with other towns geographically close to it.

Understanding physical borders as natural constraints originated by the territory or limits on urban dimension imposed by the communities under certain special conditions, let's explain how they can be presented under three main categories:

Then, in order to evaluate later the case studies and the case target of this work, we must refer first of all to the natural boundaries in cases in which they shape communities and create borders.

3. MUMFORD, Lewis. The City in History. 1968. Pg 11-40

## NATURAL CONSTRAINTS OF THE SPACE

The natural aspects of the territory tend to shape human settlements under organic patterns following the physical surfaces or limitations by natural presences[4].

This fact, under a simple point of view, means that those organic patterns arose from the settlement of the territory considering its inherent topographical advantages, which can also create divisions between urban communities because of geographical aspects. Following a development timeline of urban entities, it is important to underline that the first human settlements were spontaneous, built by individual actions and developed through individual choices, the lack of communitarian planning enhances the opportunity for urban settlements to be shaped by geomorphic patterns rooted in the topographical conditions.

Here, natural borders are understood as natural conditions of the territory that strongly divide communities while allowing the concentration of human activities on defined territorial fields due to the productive conditions of the land or strategic points of control on flows.

Those natural conditions work shaping the cities and communities in different ways:
1. As natural barriers constraining urban developments due to geographical features.
2. Allowing human settlements due to the accessibility of resources.
3. Forcing or impeding cultural exchanges among communities.
4. Determining the level of stability of the human settlements along time

So, at the end, the natural aspects of the territory work as barriers, as accessibility modes or definitely as factors on the shape of the urban communities, all of this is important on the dimension in which the borders are created by the territory itself or because human needs to create them are always related with natural features.

## CLOSING

Self closing means the set of voluntary acts of the communities, to close themselves from the outside in order to preserve inner values or avoid the strange and unknown from the outside.

4. KOSTOF, Spiro. The City Shaped. 1993. Pg 43-46

When the communities transform this act of self-preservation into material borders like walls, we have the stronger physical border related with barriers and usually regulated by-passes.

The walled cities are results of a social phenomena across certain periods of time in which communities felt the necessity to distinguish themselves from the economic or military rivals[5] , the result of this phenomena were urban settlements self-constrained by social decisions and suffering afterword, the impossibility of growth and the inflexibility to modify according to the historical changes.

Another important factor to consider is that the self-closing borders usually follow geometrical patterns due to defense requirements, idealization of utopias based on ideal social organizations or regimented behaviors[6]. Self-closing settlements are quite distinguishable and their boundaries quite easy to recognize because they are normally landmarked on the territory.

Summarizing self-closed settlements, we point to two important factors, first they are the product of a public choice of isolation without any relation with the spatial features of the territory and second, the border here is clear and well defined as an inflexible boundary.

**ARTIFICIAL LANDMARKS**

The artificial landmarks can be clearly defined an inner and outer space bounded by the way of a self sense of cultural attachment, but can also be undefined, working as a social control, bringing fair spatial conditions for the inhabitants or at the end, models of limitless urban planning placed across the territory.

Artificial landmarks mean those actions that the communities built through artificial artifacts in order to divide the territory within the city or, even on the contrary, to create a sense of homogeneity and fairness into the accessibility of the urban space.

Those artificial landmarks are always urban items that define the boundaries between one space and another depending on functions (functional districts) or social differences (ethnical zoning) and going through socio-cultural meanings, they are created because of political needs (neighborhoods) over the control of the territory or they can represent cultural frontiers on communities beliefs.

Streets, parks, avenues, monuments can be examples of artificial landmarks that bound the cities and create cultural or political borders, but the nature of them depends on several aspects:

1. Artificial landmarks as morphological grids represent a political vision in which the homogeneity of the space created responds to an idea of fairness.[7]
2. Artificial landmarks work through social symbolism rooted in the communities beliefs, like religions and the space is bounded as a consequence of it. [8]
3. Those artificial landmarks usually work as control devices on the space, catalyzing the activities within them. [9]
4. They can be patterns of planning that suit a political context and can be a consequence of historical change. [10]
5. Artificial landmarks cannot be physical devices on the space but still work as a border on the territory. [11]

**PHYSICAL BORDERS AS A SET OF DUALITIES**

A. Natural, geographical conditions, can shape and constrain urban settlements but can also force them to create links with the hinterland.

B. Self-closing actions are always represented through material borders with defined boundaries in order to contain cultural values but can also hinder contact with the outside obstructing social exchanges

C. Artificial landmarks are physical borders that can be limitless while they work as patterns.

5. TRACY, James D. City Walls. The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective. 2009. Pg 1-14
6. KOSTOF, Spiro. The City Shaped. 1993. Pg 159-164

7. SENNETT, Richard. The American Cities: Ortogonal Grid and Protestant Ethic. 1990
8. KOOLHAAS, Rem. Delirious New York. A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan. 1997. Pg 5-41
9.MC. DONOGH, Gary. ROTEMBERG, Robert. The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space .The Geography of
   Emptiness. 1993. Pg 3-17
10. KOSTOF, Spiro. The City Shaped. 1993. Pg 95-123

NATURAL CONSTRAINTS OF SPACE. Genova

ARTIFICIAL LANDMARKS. San Francisco

SELF CLOSING. Venetian Ghetto

D. Artificial landmarks can represent strong socio-cultural meanings manifested into a certain territorial entity.

## 3.3 BORDERS ON SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSION

The borders shaped by human behaviors within the city are the cultural borders, imposed by social differences, and formed by the simple dual dichotomy between sameness and otherness.

The key to understanding the birth of cultural borders from a sociological perspective can be by the work of Richard Sennett[12] The Uses of Disorder. Here, the society is recognized as a set of communities searching for identity and a sense of appropriation, that means, mankind is divided into groups of people identified as communities by a set of shared values like religion, political views, etc.
Those groups are complex entities moving through different levels, from the sense of nation in which the language and the public behaviors are ruled in the same way, to neighborhoods, families, etc., all of them placed across levels of social sharing and interaction between individuals.

What Sennett underline is the fact that, those communities are always tending to purify and clarify its own sense of social belonging, designing certain rules of behavior and manners based on the idea of an order, this order just try to avoid confusion keeping apart what does not belong to the community and allowing the preservation of inner values that distinguish the community, this is the purify identity that form purify communities hence a clear social structure.

The moment in which communities purify themselves against the otherness and the outsider, and settle its sense of belonging through a territorial entity, the socio-cultural borders arise , places that don't have to be marked by any physical point of reference or barrier, they are borders made by mental constructions[13], cultural borders are faces instead of lines, in constant motion and evolution, frontiers instead of borders, unstable because of historical transitions, sometimes shaped by natural features but always, cultural borders are sharp territorial divisions.

Cities have always been embodied by complexities and contradictions, originating from many of the same dimensions in which a border can be understood and placed. As written in the first paragraph of the Tale of Two Cities[14], those complexities and contradictions as far as they shape the city and the communities behaviors, also define boundaries within the city, boundaries that can be recognized or understood as simple mental constructions, or as Richard Sennett says, the borders help to define the shape of the communities, keeping inside the idea of belonging and togetherness and taking apart the idea of the other, the border is a matter of division.

The anthropological version[15] of cultural borders are based on socio-spatial relations and focused on the development of communities and the accessibility and exchange of resources. Making a brief summary, Richard Fox wrote a timeline of social evolution in which the power is deeply rooted in the model of urban organization, that is, the way in which the communities regulate themselves.

The timeline given by Fox[16] is:
1st stage: Ritualism in which there's a hierarchy of social classes and the space is physically and socially divided by it.
2nd stage: Administrative level in which the state structures the territory based on functions.
3rd stage: Mercantilism where the city is decentralized and is embedded on territorial networks, borders are presented in between economic segregation
4th stage: Industrial model in which the city's organization follows the functions working In a machinist way, here the borders are because of the functions of the city.

Moving deeper into that classification, we will realize that the construction of socio-cultural borders during the first stage are more related with cultural differentiation among urban communities, whereas the next ones respond to socio-political models of production and the distribution of resources. Furthermore, the presence of socio-cultural borders due to ethnicity have always shaped the communities within the city.

12. SENNETT, Richard. The Uses of Disorder. Personal Identity and City Life.1970. Pg.3-50.
13. ZANINI, Pietro. Significati del Confine. Part 7 Chapter 7.4. Sarajevo. 2002. Pg.11-12

14. DICKENS, Charles. A Tale Of Two Cities. 2007. Pg 18
15-16. FOX, Richard. Urban Anthropology. Cities in their Cultural Setting . 1997.

It is important to remark that beyond the presence of borders, because of social class establishment or functional spatial division, there's a concept called moral order[17], this is the junction on which the social dimension of differences related with socio-economic conditions plus cultural diversity on public and private behaviors mix together under a dimension of popular perspective, in the collective social conscience, borders arose from social, economic and cultural differences between communities, related or not with the space, within a sense or pertinence or irrelevance, but those behaviors are also linked with the social control strongly associated with the socio-cultural model of self regulation (the political realm).

At the end, it is important to underline two main aspects of the cultural borders within the city:

I. Social movements are conditioned by the flow of people across the space and the frequency and propinquity in which they are integrated[18]. Those dynamics are also shaped and strongly related with the formation of socio-cultural borders within the city.
II. The sense of identity and membership to some determined group is a fact that bounds the territory into non-material zoning, especially on cities with strong ethical differences[19].

**SOCIO-CULTURAL BORDERS AS A MIXTURE OF DIVERSE SOCIAL LEVELS**

A. Within the Sociological dimension, the socio-cultural borders arose from the dual relation between identity and membership

B. Within the anthropological dimension, the socio-cultural borders are more related with the structure of the society based on political systems or cultural stratification.

C. All the socio-cultural borders are embedded into the consciences and are better known as moral order.

D. Those socio-cultural borders are not physical defined, instead shaped more as faces in constant change and integrated or not with physical conditions of the space.

E. Socio-cultural borders don't strictly shape the territory by themselves, but the dynamics that arise from them do.

## 3.4 BORDERS UNDER POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE CONTEXTS

Urban entities survive by separation into administrative entities, headed to create an inherent order, and avoiding the disorganization while keeping communities under control.

Those politico-administrative borders are usually represented by neighborhoods, boroughs, districts, etc, sometimes shaped by geographical conditions (the islands in Stockholm), sometimes formed along historical processes (Rome) or created after decision making contexts more related within the political dimension (Haussmann in Paris).

This administrative context is strongly related with the urban division as a part of a political structure aimed to organize the urban puzzle into logical units and then enhancing the possibility to control them by setting them into an economic, political and demographic classification.

Diverging from technocratic definitions which strongly depend on the administrative distribution of states and cities, lets consider another feature that creates the politico-administrative borders from a socio-spatial conception. It is important to say that the border as itself[20] is just a container, something that keeps together something else, it is by definition something permanent, something that shapes and limits by the way in which it evokes an idea of inside vs. outside.

17. PARK, Robert. BURGESS, Ernest. The City.Suggestions for Investigations of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment 1984. Pg.7-27.
18. AMIN, Ash. THRIFT, Nigel. Cities. Reimagining the Urban. 2002. Pg.31-50. 78-93
19. GHENT URBAN STUDIES TEAM. GUST. The Urban Condition. 1999. Pg.17-19. Pg 120-127

20. ZANINI, Pietro. Significati del Confine. Etimologia e Definizioni. 2002. Pg.8

Politico-administrative borders are pragmatic issues which are embedded into clear process of delimitation of space, built by a practice of measuring (not always, see the case of the slums), building and appropriating places in order to settle possible and rational urban units, named and clearly identifiable.

As explained before, politico-administrative borders are essentially tools used to divide and measure the territory according to the political structure of the states, those borders are fractal units with different levels of independence, but they are also formed according to the economic context in which they are embedded, related with the demographical distribution across the territory and lastly, with the location of resources[21].

It is important to understand that the politico-administrative borders can be related with socio-cultural borders, or not be related at all, constituting a factor of territorial conflicts. [22]

The birth of the politico-administrative borders are embodied in the implicit assumption that the territorialization of political power was established around national boundaries by national states and also served to define societies by bounded nationality, a political sense of citizenship in which the territory shapes the rights of the inhabitants. Those borders are assumptions of stability over the control of the territory but they are in constant movement. There's a contemporary phenomena in which those borders tend to fade due to the technological flows of information, resources and capital, globalization can be understood as a strong factor which is re-shaping the politico-administrative borders[22].

The Proverbial European City, with its concentration of different cultures in the same place, is the ultimate manifestation of the border. The city as a composition of borders is the representation of struggle among identities, a stage for diversity, and the materialization of the in-between. It is thus the alternative political space to the bordeless and apolitical space of globalization. The political ambition of fading the borders is not to make them an object of incomprehension or concern, but to use borders as an instrument of cultural progress and a starting point for the invention on new representations of the city. [23]

DEMOCRACY TODAY TAKES FORM within a public culture that is profoundly influenced by the new political economy [24] . The opening of the essay entitled THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ITS CULTURE by Richard Sennett tries to explain the strong linkages between the political structure of a state related with the economic system that supports it and the spatial organizations that arise from this relation.

At the end, there's another phenomena closely linked with the globalization processes, the politico-administrative borders tends to fade away due to the mass flowing of goods, information and people, the one specially by non territorial ways.

This phenomena causes an impact on the identity of the communities, supported also by the media. Crisis of identity are rooted in the change of socio-cultural borders, taking them apart from the territorial connotations in which they were born[25] and moving them out to virtual dimensions. The transformation presented on the identity is firstly related with the territory and bounded by spatial aspects, moving it to a virtual dimension the physical borders no longer exist, the socio-cultural borders ones are located on abstract locations, and the politico-administrative borders are less relevant in social organization.

## 3.5 "PERMEABILITIES"

Permeability: The quality or state of being able to be passed through[26].

Permeability is the real factor that changes the concept of borders, moving apart from physical landmarks, socio-spatial zoning and politico-administrative tools, this part of the work is an attempt to link those concepts by this spatial feature and then, apply it to defined real examples.

Permeability is related with the capability to be passed through; at the beginning of this chapter, the three levels of permeability were defined as:

21. LUHMAN, Niklas. Soziale Differenzierung Zur Gesichte Einer Idee. 1985. Pg 119-160
22. SASSEN, Saskia. Cities In a World Economy. 2006. Pg 122.
23. AURELI, Pier Vittorio, TRONTI, Mario. Brussels: A Manifesto Towards the Capital of Europe. 2007. Pg 27

24. SENNETT, Richard. The New Political Economy and Its Culture. 2000. Pg 1-17
25. ÖNCÜ, Ayse. WEYLAND, Petra. Space, Culture and Power. New Identities in Globalizing Cities. 1997. Pg 2-20
26. Definition by the Merriam Webster Dictionary Online.

1. The Barrier: 0% possibility to be trespassed, its function is to reject any kind of crossing.

2. The By-Pass: 1-99% possibility to be crossed, depending on certain circumstances and ruled under defined conditions.

3. The Open Border: 100% possibility to be trespassed, it is open and doesn't exist as a material item, it is located on the conscience of the communities.

Relating the level of permeability with the nature of borders, it is possible to link their meanings in the next abstract way:

PHYSICAL BORDERS (Phy B.): They work as barriers, containing the space and defining places, but they can also be divided by a set of by-passes when there's a modification to the natural context by human actions.
At least they can be also open borders on the material dimension used to connect communities instead of divide them, like a river that can be considered a barrier unless there's a bridge acting as a connection.

SOCIO-CULTURAL BORDERS (S-C B.): They work as a mental division that can be used to forbid the social interaction of the communities due to political differences and self closeness from the other side.

POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE BORDERS (P-A B.): They can be used as by-passes working because of the bureaucratic function to control the fluxes of people, or can be open in cases when they are tools designed to administrate the territory.

## 3.6 THE AMBIVALENCE OF BORDERS

Finishing this chapter, it is very important to note the inner relations between different kind of borders:

Relation between Physical borders and Socio-Cultural borders: they are not related, at the beginning of this work it was stated that human settlements were located due to topographical conditions, but through history, the diversity and rise of socio-cultural borders have been moving to another dimensions in which territoriality is no longer a factor that bounds cultural aspects.

Relation between Socio-Cultural borders and Politico-Administrative borders: they are related under special circumstances, communities can define their population by rooting them on the territories and regulating them with a clear sense of the right to the land, which makes them Politico-Administrative borders.

Relation between Politico-Administrative borders and Physical borders: they are related under special circumstances, where the geographical aspects still shape the communities and their political distribution, or where there's a need to constrain the space by physical items in order to control a territorial administrative unit.

It is possible to gather a set of conclusions related to the nature of the borders and the relations between them:

1. Space is divided by a human necessity to have control over it.

2. There are three kind of borders: Physical (Phy B.), Politico-Administrative (P-A B.) and Socio-Cultural (S-C B.) borders; each one characterized by different levels of permeability, from a barrier, moving through a by-pass border to an open border.

3. Physical borders used to shape human communities due to the nature of the territory, the 1st stage of division, but there are some cases in which mankind has modified this natural context in order to rationalize the division of space.

5. Socio-Cultural borders arise from social differences between the communities as a sense of belonging embodied in the duality of sameness-otherness.

6. Border Ambivalence, is a concept that means that, considering the nature of the borders, which present different levels of permeability, allowing or blocking exchanges from and to the outside to the inside of the spatial units.

7. The Border Ambivalence can be directly related between the nature of the border and its level of permeability (administrative borders can be shaped by artificial items acting as a barrier) or can be indifferent (By-pass borders use to bottleneck the border by artificial issues as walls or fences, but can also work because of natural conditions as rivers and bottlenecking the transit through bridges or tunnels).

At the end, and as the last stage of evaluation, it's important to understand that if the Physical borders are geographical features, the Politico-Administrative borders can be understood as a set of tools and practices in order to make an urban entity controllable and the Socio-Cultural ones are the ones that arise from diversity and the sense of identity attached to the space.
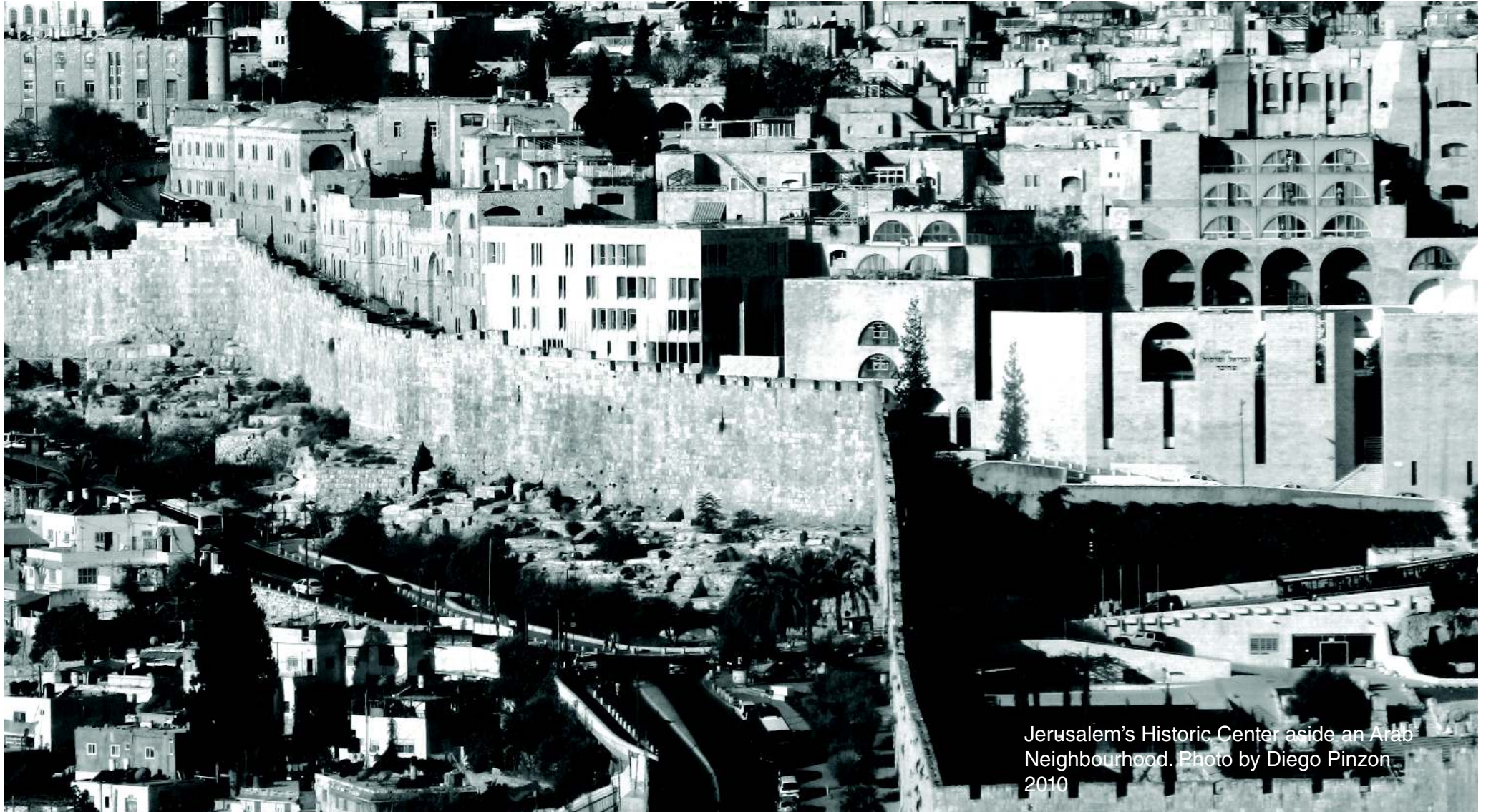


Jerusalem's Historic Center aside an Arab Neighbourhood. Photo by Diego Pinzon 2010

# 4. BORDERS AND THE URBAN DIMENSION (Case Studies)



HYDER - STEWART

BLAINE - SURREY
SWEETGRASS- COUTTS
SUMAS - ABBOTSFORD
PORTAL - NORTH PORTAL
PORTLAND - VANCOUVER
MINNEAPOLIS - ST PAUL
SAULT STE. MARIE
DETROIT - WINDSOR
NIAGARA FALLS
BUFFALO - FORT ERIE
TOLEDO - LAMBERTVILLE
JERSEY CITY - NEW YORK
YUMA - WINTERHAVEN
KANSAS CITY
SAN DIEGO - TIJUANA
SAN LUIS RIO COLORADO - SAN LUIS
CIUDAD JUAREZ - EL PASO
CIUDAD ACUÑA - DEL RIO
NUEVO LAREDO - LAREDO

COROZAL TOWN - CHETUMAL

LA MIEL - SAPZURRO
CUCUTA - SAN ANTONIO

IPIALES - TULCAN

LETICIA - TABATINGA

ZARUMILLA - HUAQUILLAS

ASSIS - IÑAPARI

CIUDAD DEL ESTE - PUERT

POSADAS - ENCARNACION
SANTANA DO LIVRAMEN

CHUI - CHUY

HAPARANDA - TORNIO

HALDEN - KNARDA

VALKA - VALGA

NARVA - IVANGOROD

CARLISLE

PADBORG - FLENSBURG

HEIHE - BLAGOVESHCHENSK

MANZHOULI - ZABAYKALSK

KYAKTHA - ALTANBULAG

CHESTER

HAMBURG

FRANKFURT AM DER ODER - SLUBICE

YANJI - KHASAN

BERLIN

GÖRLITZ - ZGORZELEC

BASEL - WEIL AM RHEIN - ST. LOUIS

VIENNA - BRATISLAVA

CHANGBAI - HYESAN

GORIZIA - NOVA GORICA

JI'AN- MANPO

HENDAYE - IRUN

RIMINI - SERRAVALLE

TSANDRYPHSH - VESYOLOYE

NAMANGAN

OSH

VALENCA DO MINHO - TUI

ASTARA

CEUTA  - FNIDEQ

MELILLA - BENI ENZAR

NICOSIA

JERUSALEM

LAHORE - AMRISTAR

BASORAH

SHENZEN BAY - DEEP BAY

EILAT - AQABA - RAS EL MASRI

FAZILKA - FIROZEPUR

GONGBEI - PORTAS DO CERCO

RUILI - MUSE

MONG CAI - DONGXING

MOHAN - MUANG NAMO

VIENTIANE - UDON THANI

BADME

BUKIT KAYI HITAM - SADAO

TEDUGAN - BUKIT LURAH

COCOBEACH

JOHOR BAHRU - SINGAPUR

TRUSAN - LABU

SUNGAI TUJOH

BRAZZAVILLE - KINSHASA

RTO IGUAZU  - FOZ DO IGUAZU

ENTO - RIVERA

## 4.1 BORDERS AND THE URBAN DIMENSION

Borders on urban dimension are presented in several complex forms, interrelated, with or without correspondence. Borders can be related or supported between themselves, for instance, the fact that several politico-administrative boundaries are settled based on topographical features of the territory or shaped by natural conditions, or, that those boundaries could have been shaped by socio-cultural differences in the community.

On the other hand, urban borders can be represented by their level of permeability, and most of the time, strongly related with their nature. In this case, the physical borders such as rivers or mountains were in the beginning presences that hindered the fluxes so acting as barriers, but, once the urban centers started to grow due to the natural economic expansion and development, those natural presences acted as bridges between communities.

**Considering the natural borders related with physical features of the territory, it is important to understand that natural boundaries of the territories settled the first level of spatial complexity**, for instance, the city of Stockholm is strongly spatially divided by water (the city is settled over an archipelago), so the politico-administrative division of the city started by the consolidation of districts on each island and have been enhanced by different urban morphologies, this case is useful to understand how geographical contexts shape the construction of the city as the first level of urban separation.
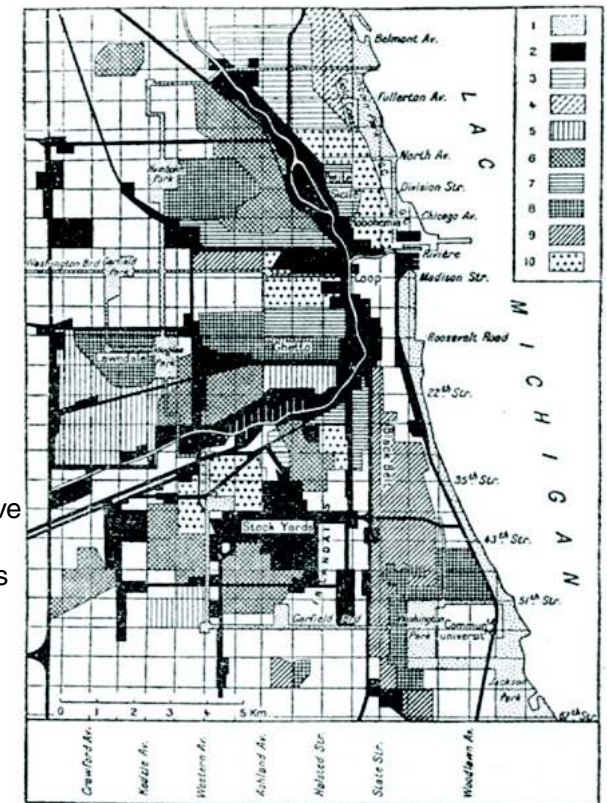
**The second level of complexity related with urban borders are the ones that arose from socio-cultural differences and the settlement of communities** (like ethnicities, religions) with the political spatial division as a consequence. Halbwach's ethnic map of Chicago is an example in which the city is divided by social differences coming from ethnicities, and its zoning onto administrative districts. The complex relation between cultural differences as spatial borders and its inherent shaping on politico-administrative borders is an important theme because it can be representative of social integration over the natural social differences or as a consequence for social conflicts and urban struggles as we will see in the case studies of Jerusalem and Nicosia.

Coming to the last point and the relation between social appropriation of space based on cultural settlement of communities and its representation on several administrative borders (neighborhoods, districts, boroughs), it is important to say that the level of potential conflict and embeddedness is based on the respect of the socio-spatial social outcome, this consequence is presented where the social differences cannot be settled on the same place hence the spatial sharing is no longer possible.

**The third level of complexity arose from the process in which the administrative borders become a matter of social identification for the communities**. This process takes form when the communities root their shared social values on the administrative borders, like for instance, the spatial appropriation by gangs based on the neighborhood divisions of the city.



On the Left: Map od Stockholm's Center.
On the Right: Halbwach's Ethinc map of Chicago

But, the relations among the different kind of borders are not the only ones that raise levels of complexity, the permeability nature of the border settles also another dimension for the understanding of the urban border.

As stated before, the natural boundaries of the territory can shape the city into different urban morphologies and create borders based on topographical conditions, but, this condition is not relevant to the permeability of the border, in fact, many times they are considered as spatial links rather than a separating factor, in those cases, the physical borders can be used as complete barriers like in the case of the Rio Grande river at the US-Mexican border or, they can bring the opportunity to link different communities like the bridges over the Danube's river between Buda and Pest cities.

Moving to another kind of border, the politico administrative borders tend to be open ones, only existing as a territorial land division, mostly when they are not located on international borders. This last condition, the one referring to the international borders, create the far most interesting and complex cases because their level of permeability depends on the political nature of the relationship between nations. International borders can be completely open to the circulation of people and goods like the progressive process of openness guided by the European Union, or can be built like by-passes as in most of the international borders due to the necessity to control the fluxes across the territories. Alternatively, they can be, completely closed borders, where the nations have a certain level of conflict like in the case of the Gaza strip or Berlin during the Cold War.

The relation between socio-cultural border and their level of permeability is not related with political or spatial features of the territories, they are most related with the degree of cultural mixture and the propensity towards conflict or sharing by which it can be shaped.

Summarizing the levels of complexity and the nature of the borders, it is possible to conclude that:

**1. On Physical borders**, the propensity to become  politico-administrative  is strongly related with the political distribution of the territory and the efficiency on the allocation of resources, but at the same time, they are not clearly related with the socio-cultural borders.

The permeability level is quite diverse because it can be  used as a barrier or it can work as a link between cities (see the Danube and the case study Vienna-Bratislava).
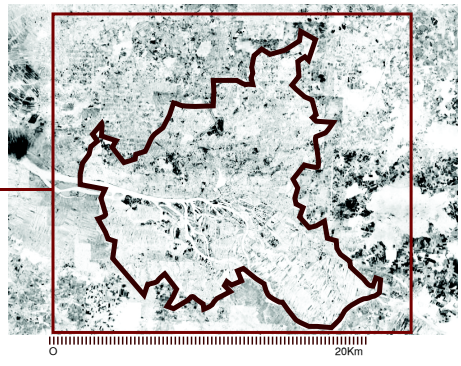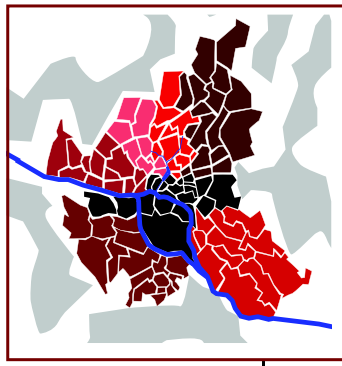
**2. On Politico-Administrative borders,** the possibility to be shaped due to the natural boundaries of the territory is a natural outcome of the political division of the territory but can also be formed by the socio-cultural differences of the communities only in cases where those differences are created by spatial historical development and the spatial boundaries are clearly settled.
The permeability level of those borders tend to be open because its nature is more administrative and abstract rather than a material fact but, they can also become barriers or by-pass borders depending on the  grade of social integration or political need inherent to the border.

**3. On Socio-Cultural borders,** the possibility to become a physical border, born from a natural feature of the territory or turned into a politico-administrative one are strongly related with the historical development of the city.
Its level of permeability also depends on the integration between the communities involved, even if they are not be represented trough material issues like walls, fence etc.. they can be understood as barriers for example in the territories of gangs, or can be complete open in contexts where the integration is a fact.

Hamburg

Berlin
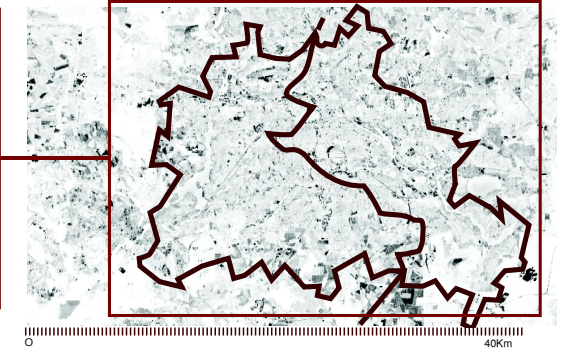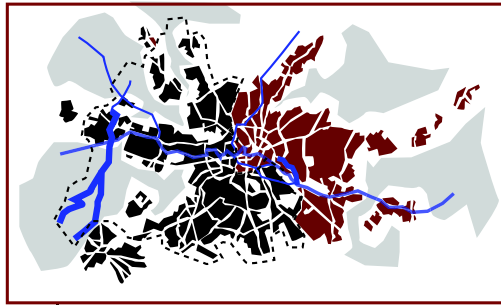
Viena - Bratislava
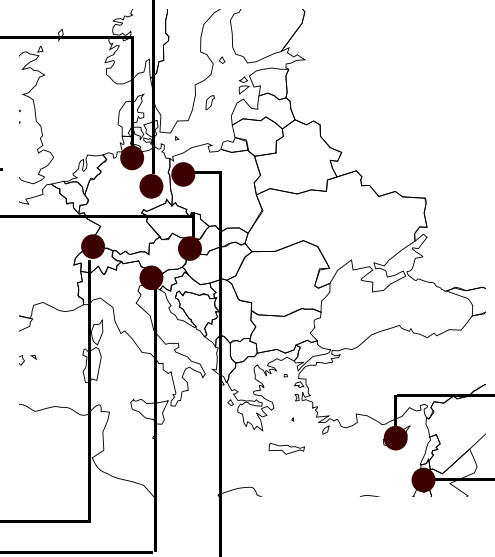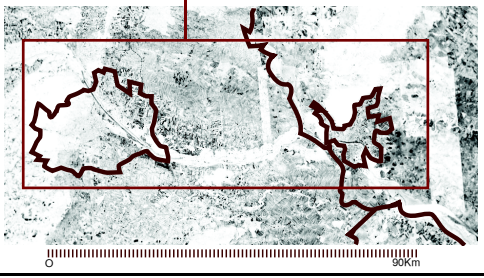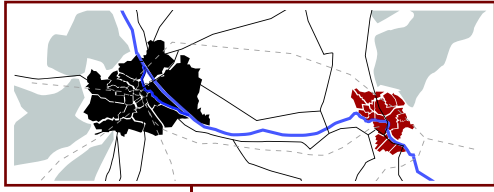
Nicosia
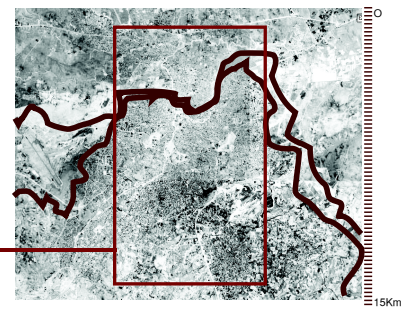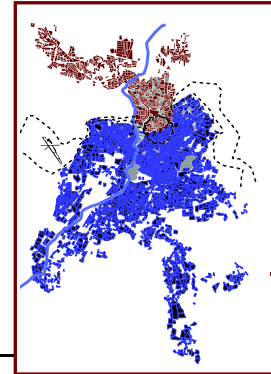
Basel
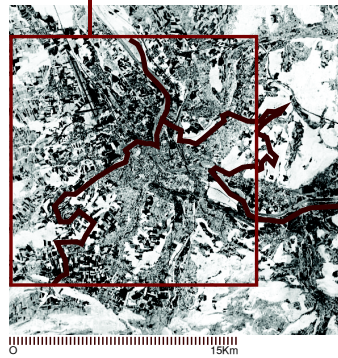
Jerusalem

Gorizia - Nova Gorica

Frankfurt Am Der Oder - Slubice

20Km

40Km

90Km

15Km

15Km

25Km

8Km
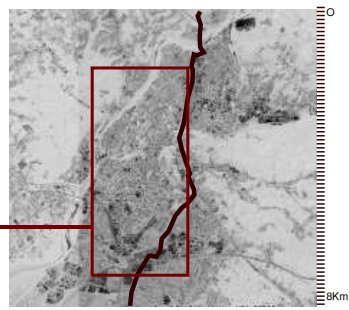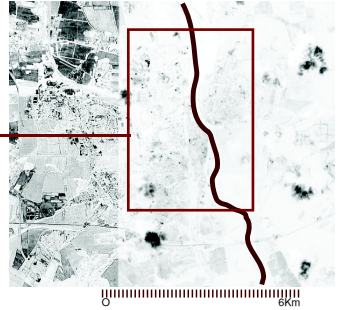
6Km
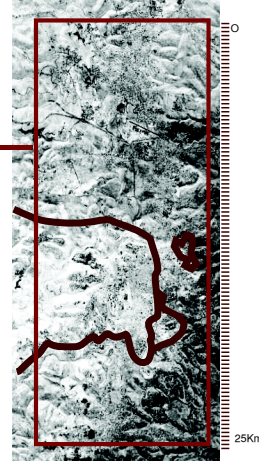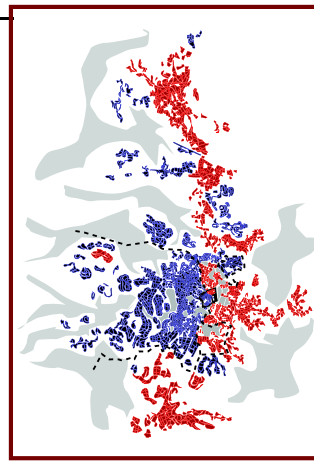
## 4.2 FADING POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE BORDERS

### 4.2.1 The Greater Hamburg Plan (Groß-Hamburg- Gesetz) 1937
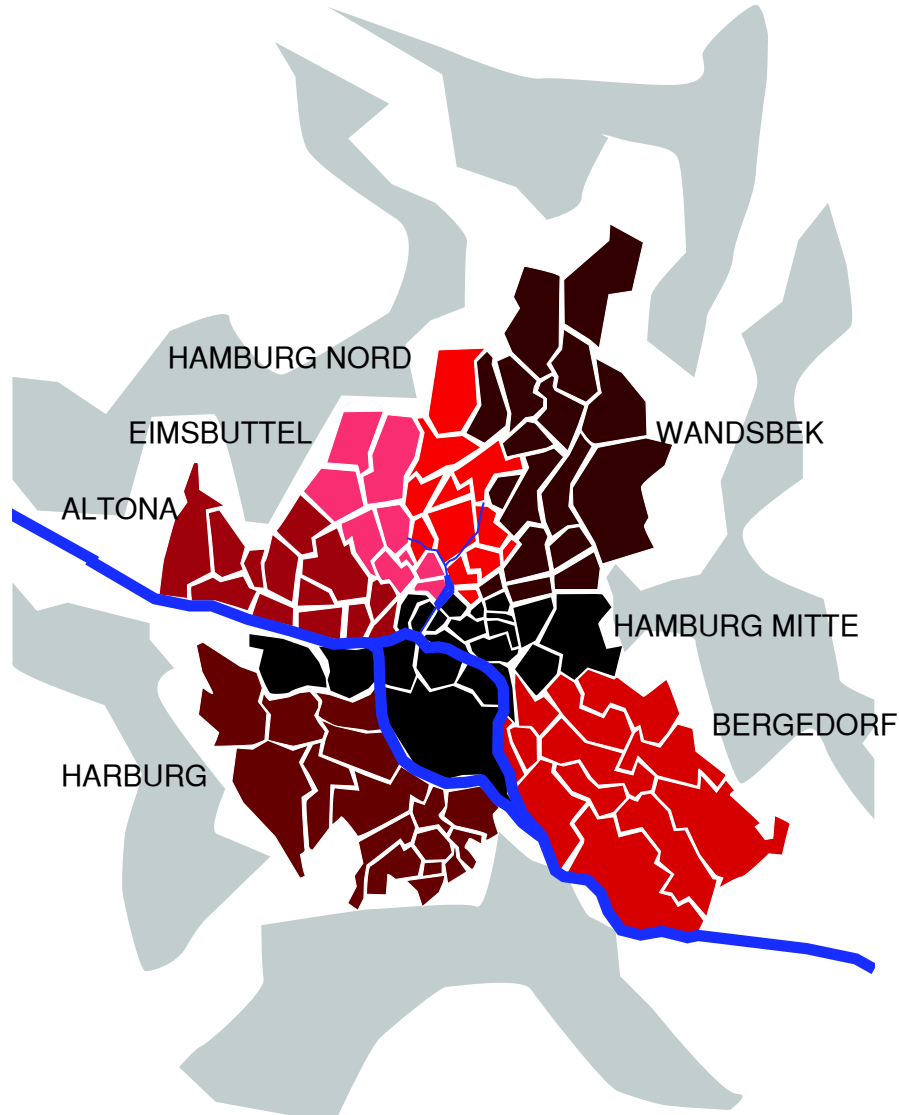


Hamburg, Freie und Hansestadt, is the second largest port in Europe and the second largest city in Germany, located between the continental part and the Jutland peninsula. It was founded by the Emperor Charlemagne around the year 808 a.C in order to have a fortress at this crossroad. After the dark ages, Hamburg started to develop its strategic position on trade routes to the Baltic sea and quickly became the main port in Northern Europe.

Around the XIth century, Hamburg created an economic alliance with Lübeck, later gathering other cities. This alliance was called the Hanseatic League and focused on trading goods and establishing and maintaining a trade monopoly along the coast of Northern Europe. During the Hansa Period, the city kept some independence and stability until the Napoleonic wars of 1810-1814, when the city was briefly attached to the French empire.

In the 2nd half of the XIXth century, the city had it biggest demographic growth, multiplying the population four times due to the increase of trade with America and the industry of freight and transportation in general.

HAMBURG IN THE XXth CENTURY

At the beginning of the XXth century, Hamburg was a city territorially constrained on the east and west sides by the municipalities of Altona and Bergedorf – Wandsbek etc. For this reason, the city developed and expanded on the south-north axis. During the first years of the century, the city faced housing scarcity due to the migrations supported by the economic growth. In 1919, the architect Fritz Schumacher presented an urban master plan[1] where many areas along this south-north axis were target for new housing projects.
The problem arose from the fact that the city was spatially integrated with the outer municipalities but administratively independent, a condition in which there was much difficulty in developing a logical strategy integrating the whole metropolitan area, difficulty also generated by the rivalry due to economic aspects between Hamburg and Altona[2].

1. KÄHLER, Gert. Von Der Speicherstadt Bis Zur Elbphilarmonie. Hundert Jahre StadtGesichte Hamburg. 2009. Pg50
2. EVANS,Richard. Tod In Hamburg. New Stadt, Gesselchaft und Politik in den Cholera-Jahren. Rowohlt. 1996. Pg 23-54

It is important to note an historical aspect, Altona was founded in 1535 as a Danish fisherman's town. It always had strong cultural linkages with the Nordic culture and it was developed independently from Hamburg. The town had its own urban commodities like a harbor, and it was a part of the Free State of Prussia until the beginning of the Second World War. Under this condition of territorial independence, we find the answer of the politico-administrative border between Hamburg, Altona and the other surrounding municipalities[2].

Linking the scarcity of housing and the development of the south-north axis, the city had difficulties to connect the centers of production, especially those located along the riverside, and the south part with the new housing developments in the north neighborhoods.

As a result, the architect Schumacher realized a plan called Natürliche Wirckliche wicklung achsenplan für der Stadt (natural real axis development plan), this is a theoretical scheme in which the center of Hamburg spread a radial growth according to the real dimension of its urban area. This plan conceived the idea of developing the new projects along several axes connecting the center of the city with the suburbs on the outskirts. The importance of the Schumacher scheme was the complete disregard for the politico-administrative borders in order to create a coherent territorial development within an organic view of a master plan[3].

The importance of the Hamburg case study is two special policies related with the borders, the organic plan for the territorial development of Hamburg area in 1919and the first attempt to break the politico-administrative borders in order to get a logical territorial strategy based on the organic view of the territory.

The necessity to modify those administrative borders, departed from the initial idea of Schumacher, became a fact under the rise of power of the National Socialist party in the in-between war period.
Under the Nazi period, the German territory was divided into unities called GAU (administrative divisions of the territory) Each Gau had an administrative leader, the Gauleiter (Gau leader). Though Länder and Prussian provinces continued to exist after the Enabling Act of 1933, their administration was reduced to a rudimental body attached to the respective Nazi Gau administration in the Gleichschaltung process [4].
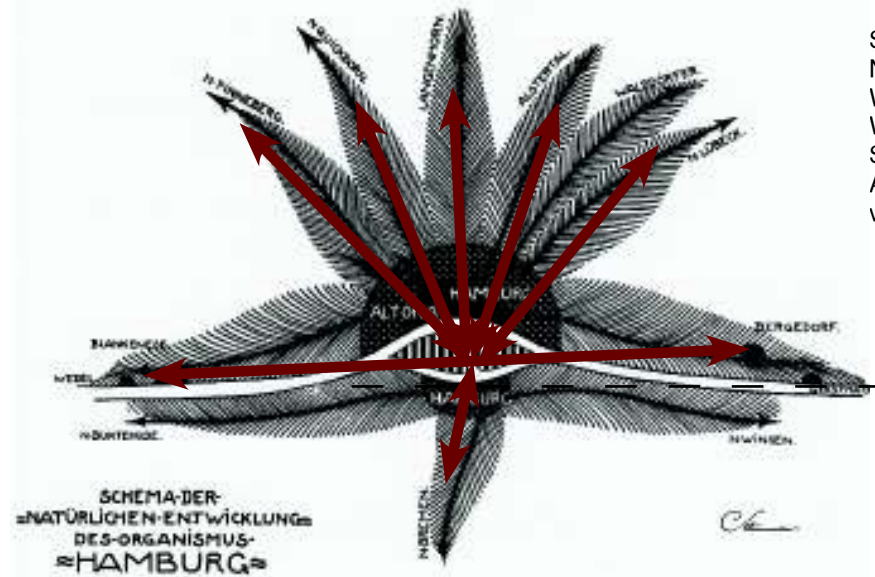


Schumachers Naturliche Wirklige Wicklung der Stadt: Der Achsenplan von 1919
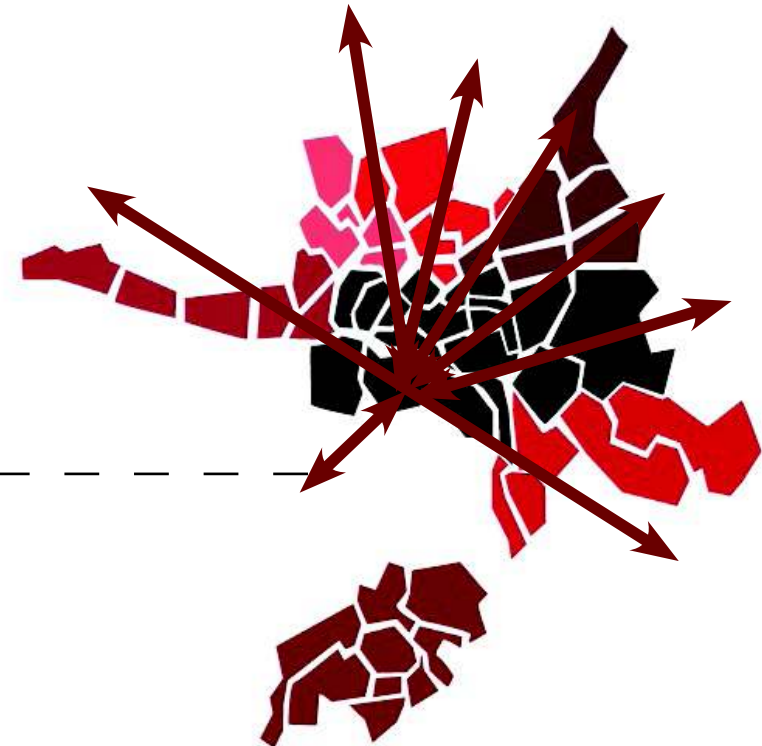
2.EVANS,Richard. Tod In Hamburg. New Stadt, Gesselchaft und Politik in den Cholera-Jahren. Rowohlt. 1996. Pg 23-54
3.SCHUBERT, Dirk. Hamburger Wohnquartiere. Ein Stadtfúhrer durch 65 Siedlungen. 1994. Pg44
4. http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/nazi/innenpolitik/gaue/

## THE GAU AND THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST TERRITORIAL POLICY

The implementation of the GAU represented the abolition of several existing political borders, like the Prussian ones. This policy had strong urban impacts on cities like Hamburg which historically were separated and constrained by them. The Groß-Hamburg Gesetz of 1937 was a policy supported by the National Socialist party, it was a consequence of the GAU and its importance rose from the abolition of the politico-administrative borders in the Hamburg metropolitan area and the attachment of the municipalities of Altona, Wandsbek and Harburg to the Hamburg area.

The change in the administrative boundaries on Hamburg allowed the administration to create a territorial plan and develop partial plans across the municipalities that would be very difficult to make under the former administrative model. Housing projects were now located in municipalities like Wandsbek, enhancing the mobility of workers to the industrial areas in the south. The port of Hamburg quickly absorbed the functions of the Altona port, eliminating the rivalry between them and its illogical inefficient conditions, following in a certain way the territorial development conceived by Schumacher twenty years before.

It is important to underline a set of consequences within this process:

This process of territorial unification, reached by the changes in the administrative boundaries, were only possible by the constrained political participation of the inhabitants and their right to self determination over the territory, this is clearly a constraint of freedom made by the dictatorship. [5] of the National Socialist party.

The paradox arises in the fact that the city of Hamburg could only be developed in a logical territorial way when there was absolute political power over the decision making processes, a paradox already studied in the economic development in South America made by the absolutist dictatorships [6].

The second consequence can be seen in the partial plans allowed by the The Groß-Hamburg Gesetz, urban projects taken on to preserve the image of the political power, like the plan of Konstanty Gutschov (Die Neugestaltung des Elbufers) for the riverside between Hamburg center and Altona. Many times, those projects didn't fit the urban necessities or were sharp modifications to the urban structures (Sanierung der Neustadt zu Hamburg) [7].



Gross-Hamburg
Gesetz 1937

5. KÄHLER, Gert. Von Der Speicherstadt Bis Zur Elbphilarmonie. Hundert Jahre Stadt Gesichte Hamburg.
   Dölling und Galitz Verlag.  Pg 94-99
6. HIRSCHMANN, Albert. A Propensity to Self Subversion.  Harvard University Press. Pg 154-189

7. HAMBURG UND SEINE BAUTEN 1929-1953. Herausgegeben Vom Architekten Und Ingenieur-Verein
   Hamburg E.V .  Hoffman Und Campe  Verlag. Pg20-24

The last consequence of this process is rooted in the relation between socio-cultural borders linked with the politico-administrative ones through the history. The fact that Altona and Hamburg, for instance, were politically separated allowed some differences in the identity of the community, the border between those municipalities is still rooted in the community who still consider their differences as a cultural reality [8].

LEARNING FROM HAMBURG:

1. Politico-Administrative borders can hinder the territorial development but can be ignored under certain political circumstances in order to reach some political and symbolical targets.

2. After the elimination of Politico-Administrative borders, longlasting differences between communities formed by them can remain.
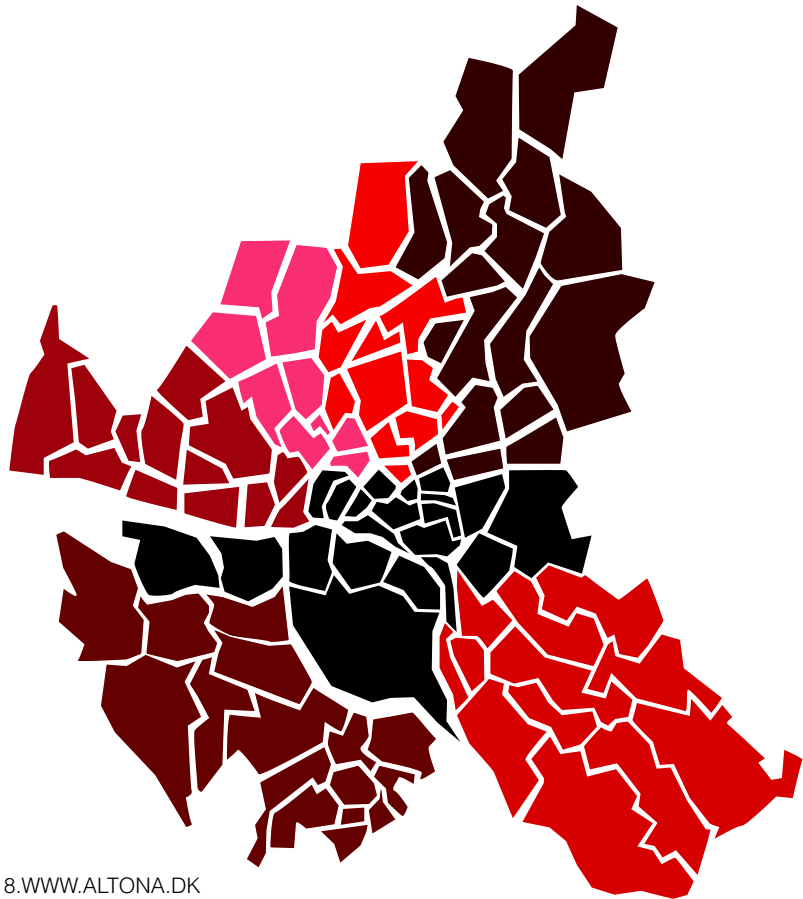
8.WWW.ALTONA.DK

Municipalities Attached To Hamburg Metropolitan Area on 1937
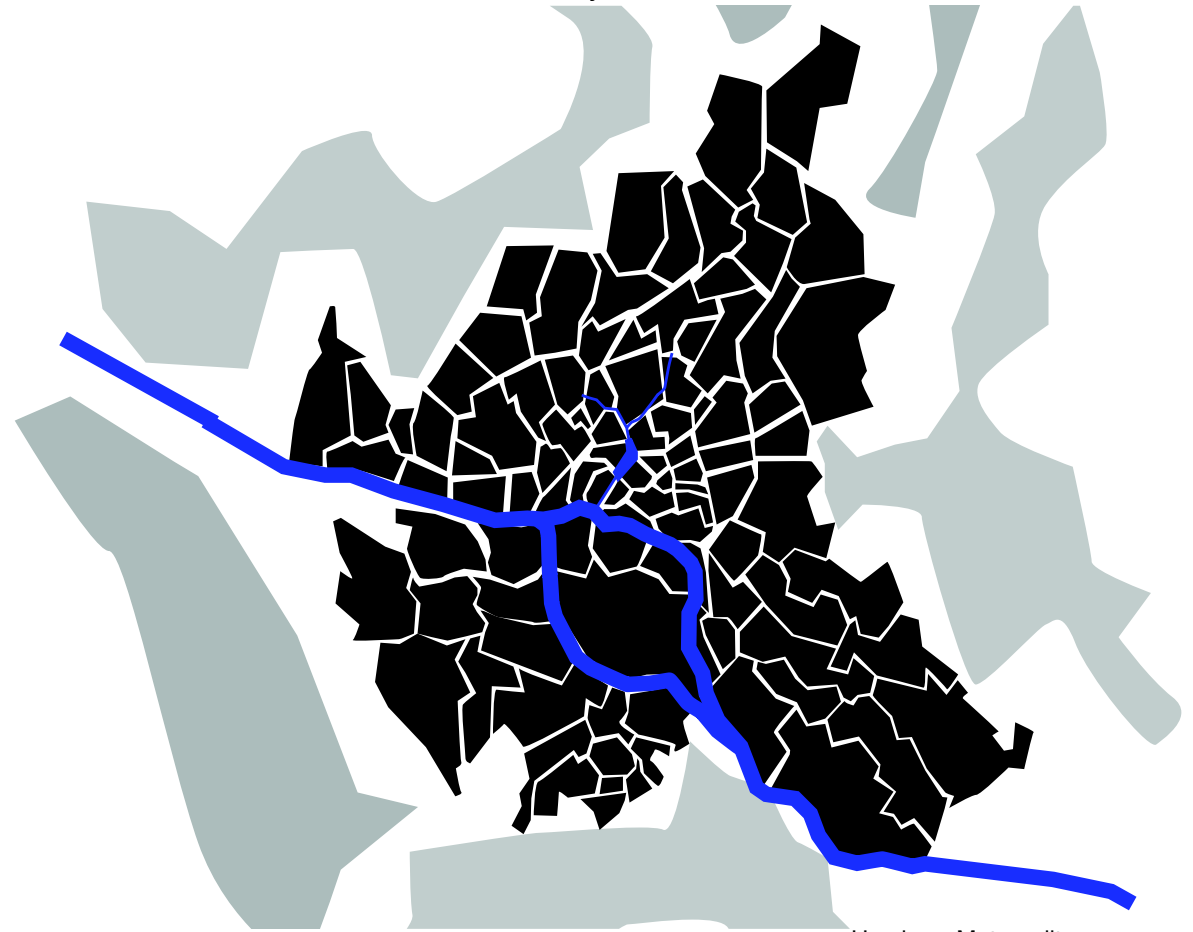
Hamburg Metropolitan Area today

## 4.2.2 Policies And Space inBerlin before and after the Reunification

There are not many cities that can embody the socio-political conflicts of the XXth century and  shaped with strong urban footprints[(9)] as well as Berlin. As the center of the primary war in the last century, Berlin became the hotbed of several social transformations that shape Western society.  The division of the city, into two main political tendencies, sharply bound the territory with a strong border: the wall.

Berlin, after the Second World War, was divided into four parts controlled by each one of the allies. The western part was under the control of the United Kingdom, France and the United States and the eastern part was complete controlled by the soviet union. As a result of this division, two different models of society based on the system of economic production were implemented on the west and east parts, starting from this point of spatial division in the city.

WEST BERLIN
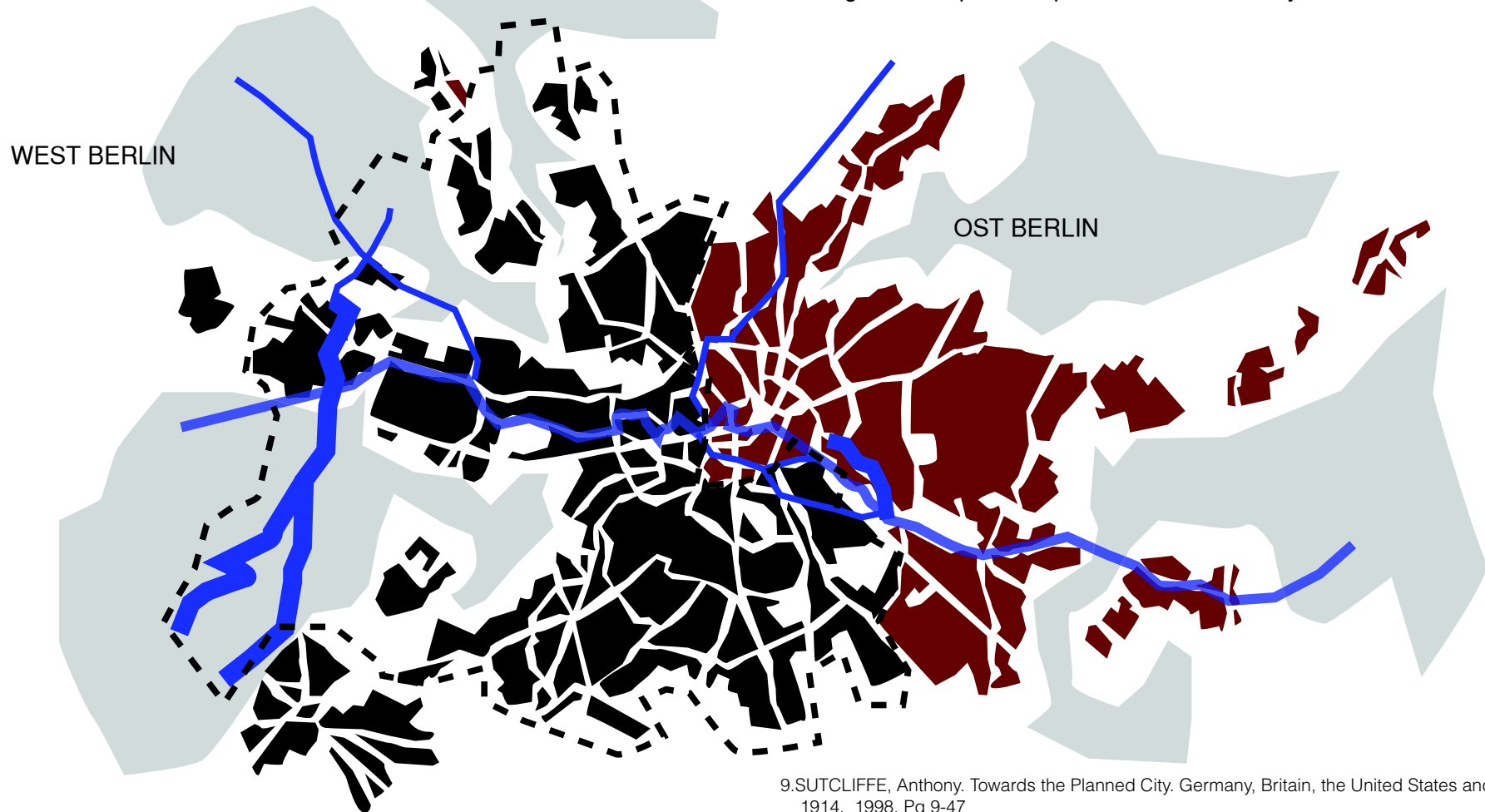
OST BERLIN

9.SUTCLIFFE, Anthony. Towards the Planned City. Germany, Britain, the United States and France 1780-1914.  1998. Pg 9-47

After the bombs, the city was slowly rebuilt under two very different models based on the organization of the society. West Berlin, controlled by the U.K, France and U.S was reconstructed under the Marshall Plan, which focused on the improvement of the urban facilities like the public transportation, infrastructures and so on.

In West Berlin, it is important to understand that the property of the land were still preserved as a private right, this means that the development of the city was more located in the private market, whereas the eastern part of the city was rebuilt under the socialist model in which the land was a public property and the powerholders were the ones to carry on the planning proceedings and the responsibility over the decision making processes.

That sharp difference between the actors who held control over the reconstruction and planning processes on both sides of the city became a strong differentiation in the urban morphology, but those differentiation are not only a matter of building typologies, in order to understand the historical process that shaped Berlin as the city that we know, it is important to underline some historical aspects.

AN ARCHIPELAGO (1977)

In 1977 Oswald Mathias Ungers and a group of architects worked on a project for Berlin called "Berlin as Green Archipelago". The main hypothesis of this project was that the process of de-population, and urban crisis could turn into a possible "ideal" for the city. Ungers proposed the form of the city as an archipelago of dense urban artifacts surrounded by a forest that would gradually replace existing (empty) portions of the city. Thought "Berlin as Green Archipelago" was a specific project for Berlin it can be regarded as a paradigmatic example of a political and formal interpretation of the city[10].

The idea developed by Ungers about an archipelago is nothing other than a description about the reality in which Berlin was strongly segmented under individual projects without an idea of urban coordination. This phenomena is a process rooted in the lack of a global view of the city and the limited coordination stemming from the segmentation of the city. The dialectic city for Ungers[11] developed the idea in which Berlin around 1977 should be structured into unified systems.

10. http://www.studio-basel.com
11. UNGERS, Oswald Mathias, VIETHS, Stefan. OSWALD MATHIAS UNGERS. The Dialectic City. 1999.
    Pg 11-23

The problem in Berlin was that the systems applied on the western side were isolated between themselves by the lack of an integrated master plan whereas it was also isolated from the eastern plan due to the different ideological tools applied to the planning processes.

The idea of Ungers to approach that isolation with several partial development plans (Siedlungen) across the western Berlin supported on the idea to create a polycentric metropolis by the improvement of those nodes as zone centralities and setting those plans into the idea of several layers related with the different functions superimposed among them, that's the idea of reconstruction of new centralities, those nodes are headed to approach their isolation becoming available to be used and operated as several changes on the structure of the city.

Ungers' West Berlin Green Archipelago

# RISE AND FALL OF THE BERLIN'S WALL

After several political convulsions, the German Democratic Republic could no longer survive after the fall of the Soviet Union, and as a result, the country was suddenly swallowed by the German Federal Republic and the inherent futility in the existence of the wall. The historical process in the fall of the wall should be briefly explained in order to understand the changing processes of Berlin in the 80's.

Coming back to the end of the Second World War, and the division of the city by the allies, at the beginning, transit between both parts were complete allowed despite the political differences between the western and eastern occupation. That free transit initially permitted the migration of the eastern inhabitants to the western side, attracted by the capitalist model and the economic opportunities, that migration was considered by the eastern powerholders a good way to be free of potential dissidents and troublemakers  but once the mobilization start to exponentially increase, the same authorities realized that the labor force were fading away to the west side and it was strongly impacting the productive system, the answer was to no longer allow people to escape by constraining the mobilization[12].

This process of constraining the mobilization ended in the decision to stop completely the migration by the building of a wall in 1961, that is, a barrier and a closed border coming from a socio-political need to control the territory, taking the permeability of the border to the non-transit dimension.

What is important to understand is the construction of the wall not only couldn't stop the willingness to move to the west side by the east inhabitants, but it created new ways to achieve this aim legally and illegally. In the beginning,  migration was allowed through different checkpoints along the wall under some specific circumstances, the border was a by-pass border, but once the eastern authorities were forced to constrain the migration,  immigrants found other ways to move to the west through the other socialist countries, such as Hungary and the Czech Republic. Once again, the mobilization through those countries started to be hindered, and the pressure from the population to the powerholders to grant free mobilization as a social right, increased, embodied in a massive social movement. The wall was no longer a feasible tool to divide the city due to politico-administrative differences and the end of the line was in  1989 when the eastern inhabitants tore down the wall and the reunification of the city and Germany became a reality.

Differences between the sides are founded in their economic conditions, the wall brought consequences onto the economic development of each side; the fact that the western side had no spatial connection[13] with its hinterland and difficulty to move people and goods from and to the city by other ways than  air freight became

an obstacle in the production of goods and services. This lead to a process in which many of the public institutions and private enterprises  moved to other cities of the Federal Republic and the obvious dependence of the West Berliners on government subsidies.

West
Berlin



East
Berlin

12.HIRSCHMANN,Albert. A Propensity to Self Subversion.  1995. Pg 9-44
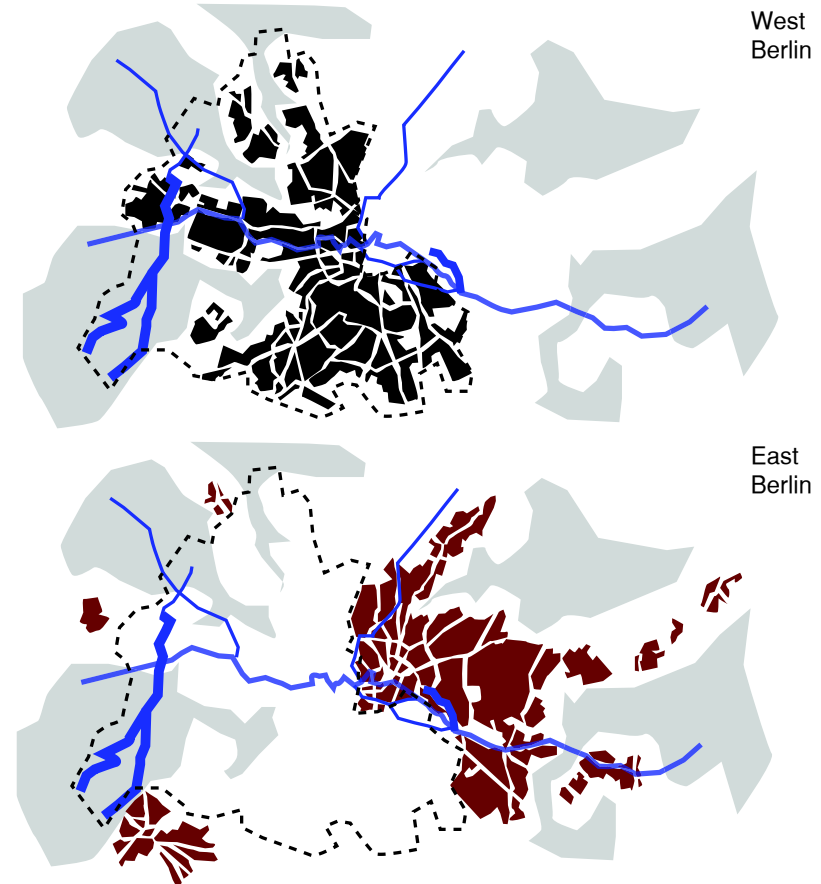
13.DANGSCHAT, Jens. Berlin and the German System of Cities.  Urban Studies, Vol 30 Num.6. 1993. Pg 1025-1050

The eastern part could develop an economic network with the region and the other socialist countries, but the absolute dependence of production on the powerholders hindered the development and the lack of job opportunities and economic growth were among the main causes for the inhabitants to decide to move away by any possible means[14].

HOUSING POLICIES, THE IBA (International Bauaustellung Architektur) 1980 AND THE ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISOLATION

The context of isolation within each part of the city, due to the lack of planning coordination, and between them, because of the politico administrative barriers, started to become focuses even before the fall of the wall. In 1980, the IBA (International Bauaustellung Architektur) was an exhibition of new architecture based on the west side approach to rebuilding the cities still dismissed after the war by the consolidation of new housing projects working as urban nodes in order to create a new structure in the city following the ideas of O. M Ungers regarding new centralities in Berlin[15].

The exhibition attracted the most important architects of the time in order to propose new housing models structured under some special urban conditions. The discussion allowed the construction of successful examples, new forms of housing focused on developing new models and revitalizing the border area close to the wall[16].

The IBA Berlin was the starting point for the upcoming rules of the reconstruction of the city and after the reunification, the opportunities to direct the reconstruction of the city on the east side were rooted as an attempt to avoid the expansion by the west side. Following the ideas of the IBA, a set of policies that had to be respected by all projects was approved by the town hall, those policies are mainly related with respect to the old networks of the city, their improvements in case of necessity, the use of the house as the principle unit for the reconstruction of dismissed zones, the regulation of the housing typologies and the implementation of new commercial zones within the housing zones[17].

But, if we consider that the reconstruction and reunification processes already discussed consisted of the empowerment of the small territorial entities within the city as neighborhoods, which were modified to carry on their own projects, this can be understood as a zoom in to zoom out process. It is, in the end, an attempt in which the massive changes in the structure of the city start from local plans which tended to be embodied into a bigger complex system, from the small scale to a big one. This process cannot be achieved without a strong change in the political structure and in the case of Berlin, this change could only be achieved because of the need for the restructuring of the whole decision making process due to the reunification.
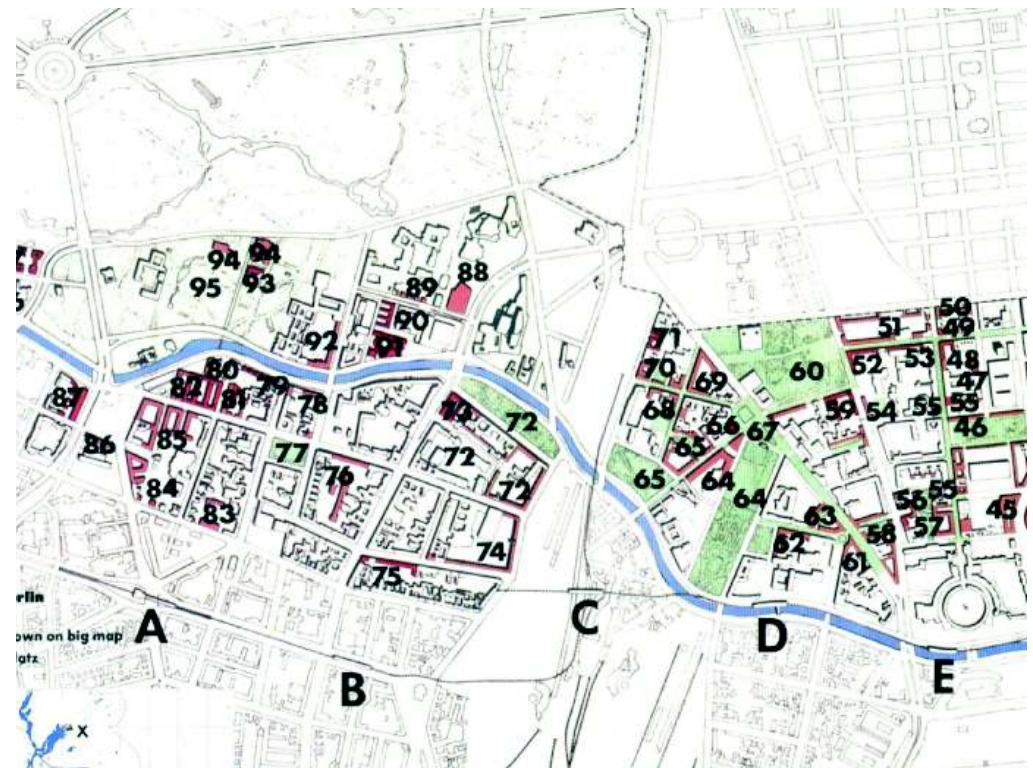


Partial Plans Developed in West Berlin during the IBA

14. LÄPPLE, Dieter. The Endless City. The German System. 2009. Pg 232-243
15. CALABI, DONATELLA. Storia della Urbanistica Europea. 2001. Pg 313-316
16. RAVE, Rolf. BAUEN SEIT1980 IN BERLIN. Ein führer zu 400 bauen in Berlin von 1980 bis Heute. 2005. Pg 24-30
17. MEUSER, Philip. Stadt Und Haus. Berlinische Architektur im 12 Jahrhundert. 2008. Pg 24-30

The decentralized concentration process started from the regional dimension in which Berlin is located, the city is in the middle of the Brandemburg lander. In the beginning, the west part was completely isolated from the surrounded region close by the wall and hindered without any spatial connection between them. After the reunification, there was a need to logically connect it, not only with the eastern city but also with the region, and the idea to realize this aim was in some way the same strategy designed by Ungers but within a regional scale, creating some centralities across the Brandemburg region closely linked with the city (both eastern and western part) [18].

In the end, the importance of Berlin in the discussion about urban borders, is located in the point in which some politico-administrative differences can become a physical border working as a barrier, sometimes endowed with strict checkpoints or by-passes, but this context can reach an opportunity to change the decision making structures in order to allow massive changes and can also permit the development of local projects in order to create or regenerate a new structure into the city.

LEARNING FROM BERLIN:

1. Politico-Administrative borders can become  physical barriers that sharply divide communities and planning tendencies.

2. The disappearance of physical barriers granted massive urban changes and enforced the change of decision making structures in order to achieve certain targets heading for the urban reunification.

3.The massive changes into the urban structure can start from local planning aiming to create a set of developed centralities and restructuring the city, but those changes must be also supported by a regional view due to the inherent linkages of the city with its surroundings.

Main Intervention Points in Berlin After the Iron Curtain
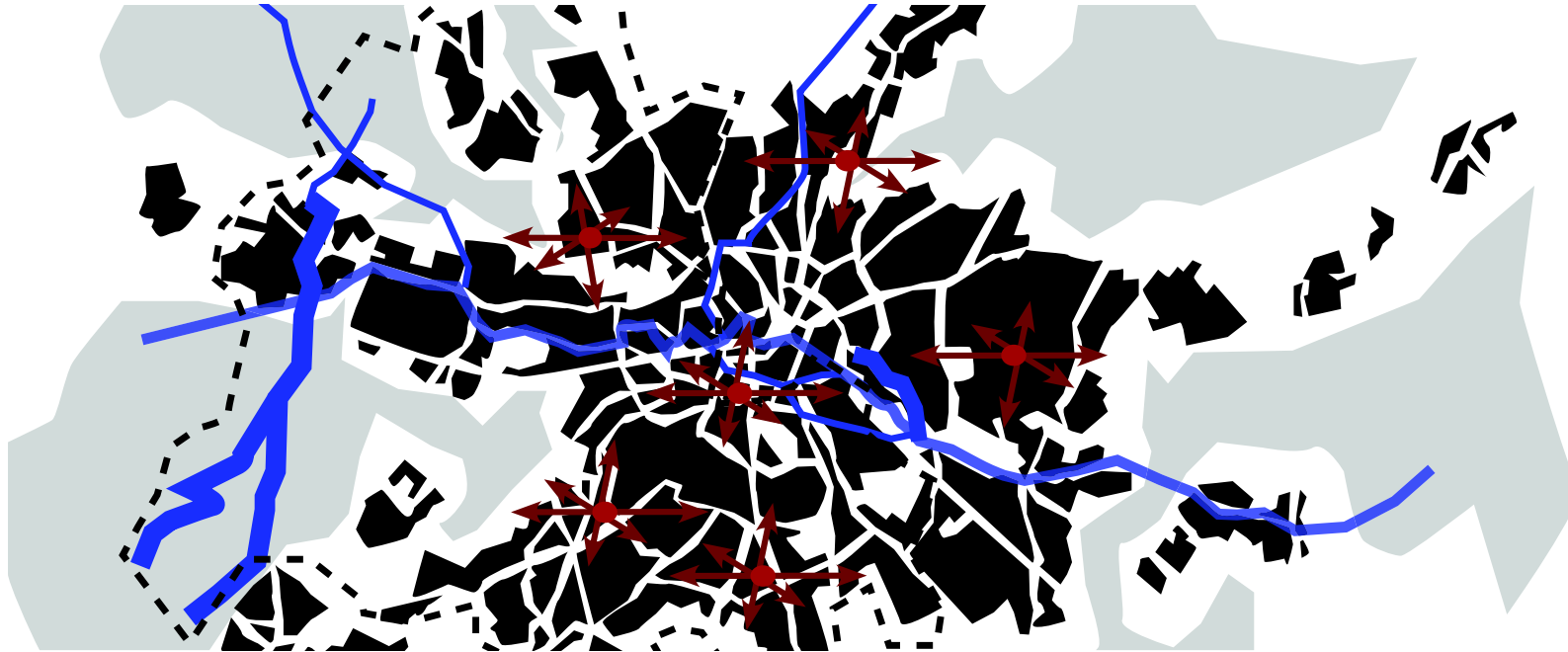
18.PEDRAZZINI,Luisa. Sotto il Cielo di Berlino. Piani, progetti, Trategie per lo sviluppo sostenibile.1999. Pg 200-203

### 4.3.1 Jerusalem's Strategies over the Conflict



EAST PALESTINIAN
JERUSALEM

WEST BANK
JEWISH JERUSALEM
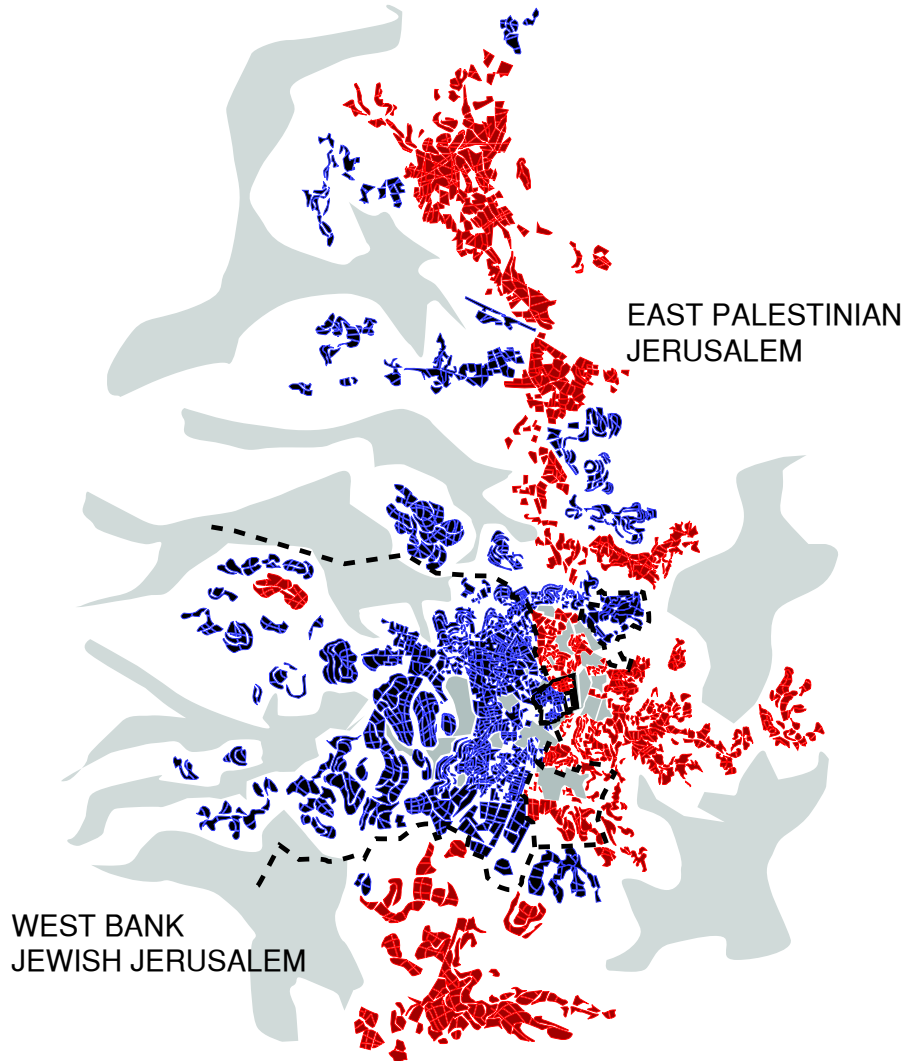
There are many aspects of Jerusalem's history related with the nature of the borders of urban dimensions. From its Biblical roots to the modern city, Jerusalem have been represented as a epicenter and crossroad of the most important western cultures and religions. Those cultural differences have been embodied in several territorial conflicts which are manifested in the socio-cultural dimension of space.

During the XXth century the problem of the citizenship linked to the territory after the fall of the Ottoman Empire became a matter of conflict. Under British territorial dominion, citizenship was related with the ethnic roots of the inhabitants which informed an ongoing social struggle for the hegemony on the political control over the territory. This factor added to the enormous growth of the population from 60,000 to 200,000 inhabitants in 30 years – this growth exacerbated a splintering of the metropolitan area of Jerusalem, while the lack of a central government became a problem and a conflictive context in which social, economic and cultural development were segregated process headed by each ethnic group.

The placement of nation states over conflictive zones where headed to establish a permanent political stability faced in Jerusalem a specific trouble, the presence of many ethnic groups laying claim the right to the territory for themselves out of the possibility to share the space.

In 1947, the United Nations attempted to create a Palestinian Federation controlled by Jewish and Arab communities. This first intention to create a federal state fractioned into territorial unities which were distributed between both groups, while the metropolitan area of Jerusalem remained a neutral zone. This political attempt failed due to the strong differences among both groups and the increasing political power of the Jewish political parties over the Palestinian political parties. in fact, the Jewish settlement has been increasing until the moment in which the entire West Bank was controlled by Jewish settlers, a situation that still evolving and remains undefined today.

During 1993, the Oslo Accords were a framework for the future relations between the Israeli and Palestinian political parties in the Palestinian-Israeli territory. The Accords provided for the creation of a Palestinian National Authority (PNA), which would have responsibility for administering the territory under its control. The Accords also called for the withdrawal of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) from parts of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. This political agreement had strong consequences on the Jerusalem metropolitan area due to the transformation of the already politico-administrative borders into physical ones; the creation of barriers between the Jewish and Arab settlements shaped a walled city that still regulates the fluxes people, good and automobile traffic through military checkpoints[19].

The following is an explanation the spatial consequences of the conflict over the territory:

ARCHIPELAGO AND ENCLAVES

The periodical and consecutive process of colonization and appropriation of the land in the Palestinian territories have been developing a complex bureaucratic process of legalization. It is necessary to explain the historic fragmentation of the territory in the West Bank by the highlight of some important points.

The Thesis of Alessandro Petti [20] explain clearly the process in which the territories in the West Bank are suffering a continuous process of fragmentation based on the construction of a network of spatially isolated Israeli colonies embedded into an Archipelago whereas the Palestinian territories are been complete isolated between them creating a panorama of enclaves in between the Israeli network of colonies. The planning processes designed by the Israeli government are based on the increasing of demand for land and new housing states due to the demographic growth of its population. That land has been taken from the Palestinian territories by the settlement of new colonies designed under the contemporary paradigm of security.

This process of land acquisition on the Palestinian territories are producing a panorama in which the new Israeli colonies can be conceived as islands connected by infrastructures designed and controlled by the Israeli authorities.

The access to those colonies and its infrastructures is complete forbidden to the Palestinian communities albeit their historic presence. In the other hand the Palestinian communities are been increasingly isolated without possibilities to reach an spatial connection between them creating close enclaves.

This panorama of enclaves and archipelagos creates a complex dimension of spatial fragmentation hindering the possibility to achieve a rational socio-spatial development of the territory.

The West Bank territory is divided by the Israeli government into three zones:

The A zones are the territories controlled by the Palestinian Authorities.
The B zones are the Palestinian settlements under control of the Israeli military institutions.
The C zones are the Israeli colonies on the West Bank

The process of colonization guided and supported by the Israeli government has been shaping a contexts in which the connection between the Palestinian communities are been cutting by the settlement in between them of new Israeli colonies and their progressive expansion and connection through infrastructures prohibited to the Palestinians.

The best example of this process is the placement of the Israeli colonies of Har Homa, Rachel Ramot and Haba'il Hamdan between Bethlehem and Ramallah hindering the possible territorial connection between those important Palestinian towns in the West side of Jerusalem.

The case if Har Homa can be highlighted in the way it represents a typical process of expropriation of a former Palestinian land (Abu Ghnaim) creating a high dense Israeli colony and cutting the principal connection between Bethlehem and the north part of the West Bank.

Finishing the context of Enclave and Archipelago it is important to summarize the methods of colonization of the Palestinian territories:

1. Direct confiscation expropriation of land by complex bureaucratic mechanisms.

19. MISSELWITZ,Philip. RIENIETS, Tim. City of Collision, Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism. 2005. Pg 58-67
20. PETTI, Alessandro. Arcipelaghi e Enclave. Architettura Dell'Ordinamento Spaziale Contemporaneo. 2007. Pg 1-47

2. The absent law in which wherever plot can be attached to the Israeli dominion if ther is not legal endowed to a recognized owner.
3. Lands declare a national necessity in order to achieve military scopes.
4. Expropriation for public necessity of land considered a primary necessity.
5. Buy of property rights on the free market and direct land transfers to the Israeli authorities.
6. Declared close military zones under the criteria of the military authorities without possibility of compensation.
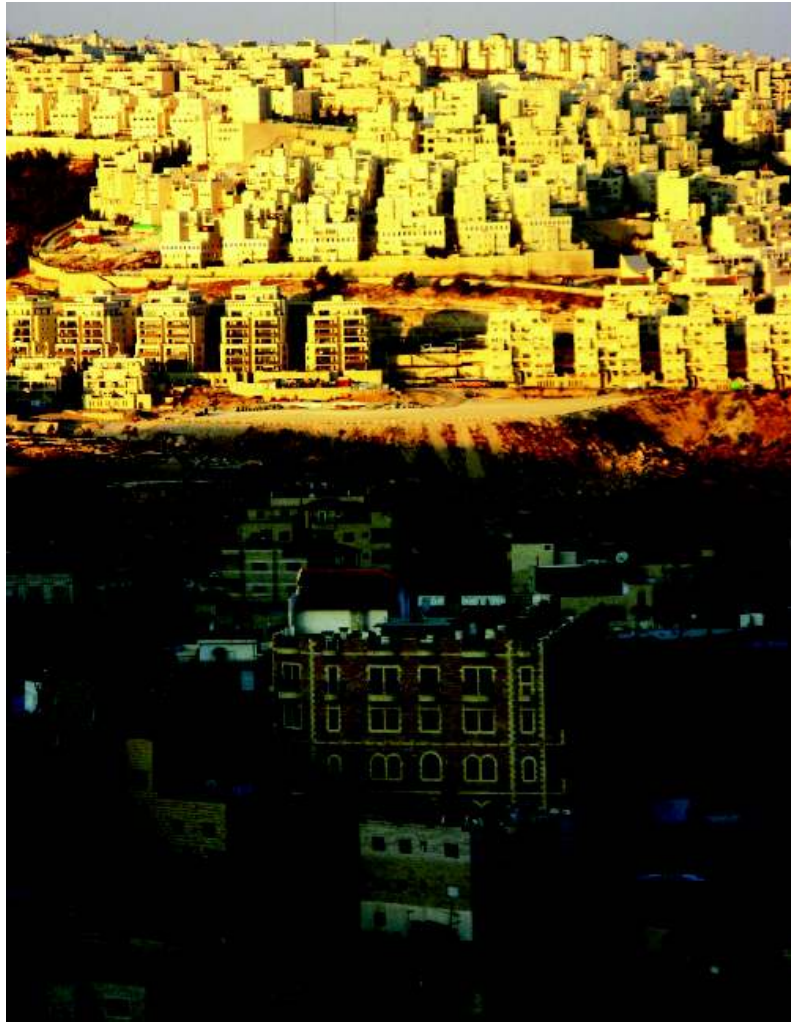


Har Homa Colony in the top contrasted with a suburb of Bethlehemin the bottom. Photo by Diego Pinzon. 2010

All those complex mechanism plus the phenomena of fragmentation are hindering the possibility to create a coherent spatial integration again, based on the security paradigm. The last mechanism used by the Israeli authorities is the construction of a wall on the most dense populated areas transforming the socio-cultural differences into a solid physical border. This by-passed and controlled border aims not only the physical separation of both cultures but also outcomes a dimension of segregation and urban unfairness and disequilibrium into the access of urban resources.

## SECULARIZATION OF THE JEWISH DOMAIN

The Jewish community in Jerusalem has its inner differences as results from theological conceptions. These differences are shaped into two main tendencies, the moderate Jewish and the Ultra-Orthodox Jewish, the differences between whom are related with the organization everyday life and the level of socio-spatial sharing. The former, moderate Jewish groups, are more likely to tolerate other beliefs and the use and appropriation of the space. The, latter, the Ultra-Orthodox community (haredí), aims to live segregated from the other social groups.

As a result, they bounded their specific territory through physical measures (normally fencing), isolating themselves socially and spatially from surrounding communities. this community has the higher rate of population growth and their necessity for space is increasing in the last years. This phenomena produced the expansion of their settlements and by the whilst occupying other communities' land.

The Haredi communities have a duality of their relation with the city because they wish to live isolated but at the same time require access to urban commodities. Such a need creates an ambivalence that impacts the urban dynamics[21]. This is to say that, the Haredi communities are walling their settlements but during this process they are also creating barriers and hindering the access to the city to the other Jewish communities, crowding out accessibility through the socio-spatial self isolation and bounding.

21.SANDERCOCK,Leonie. Toward Cosmopolis. Planning for Multicultural Cities.  2004. Pg177-182
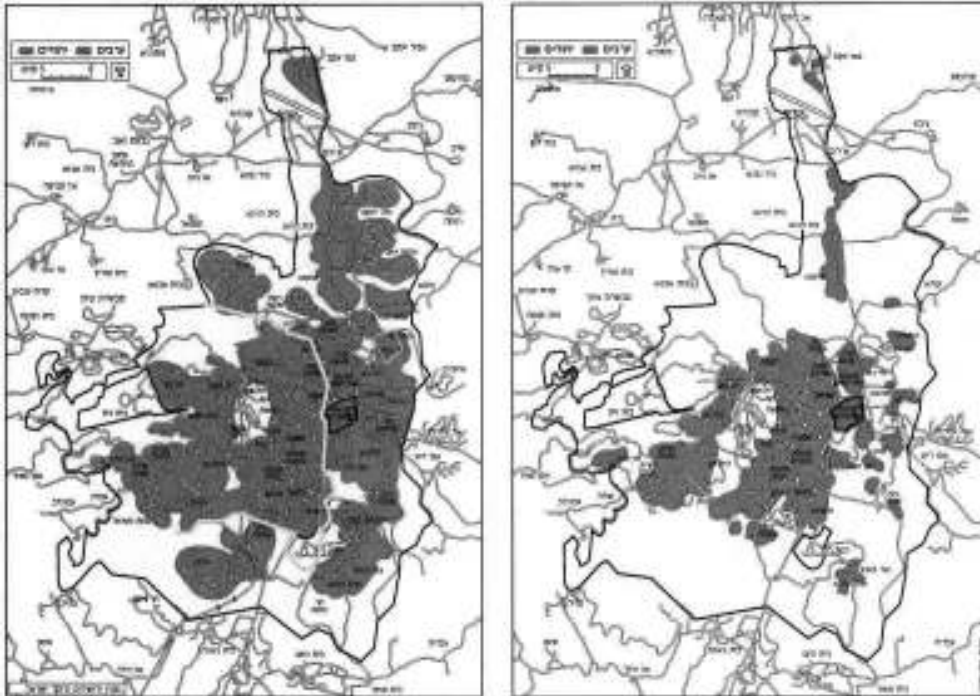
Expansion Of The Jewish and Palestinian Settlements from 1967-1997

## SPACE PRODUCTION - ENCLAVES

Together with the growing of the Jewish communities and the inherent necessity of space for new settlements, the Palestinian community has been increasing in population with the difference that they are still limited to the same neighborhoods. Such limitation is mostly a consequence of the lack of political participation and the impossibility to expand their settlements to areas already occupied by Jewish settlers. This phenomena has evolved into a gradual process of uncontrolled re-densification and overcrowding, slowly sowing the seeds of an ongoing territorial social conflict.

Considering the isolated Palestinian settlements and the self-isolating nature of the new Jewish ones, Jerusalem has become a geography of islands (enclaves).

These "islands" are completely unlinked, giving way to the materialization of buffer zones, near No Man Lands [22] in the space between settlements areas.

The outcome of these socio-cultural differences is the phenomena of strong spatial segregation in which the politico-administrative borders fail time and time again. The extreme consequence of this situation was called spaciocide (spatial suicide) [23] in which the isolation and expropriation processes resulting from weak politico-administrative evolved into constantly changing barriers and militarized zones. This process has produced and reinforced a strong cultural fragmentation and developed an ongoing sense that individual settlements are constantly under siege.

## SPATIAL STRATEGIES

Under this complex context there is no single answer or strategy to resolve the conflicts related with the land and the fluctuation of borders. Sandercock asserts that[24], "Jerusalem must invent its own Cosmopolis', meaning that Jerusalem should create its own conflict management processes in order to avoid divergences and achieve a possible spatial integration rooted into the sense of tolerance and sharing.

Jerusalem;s Historic Center: the Dome of the rock and the Wailing Wall Photo by Diego Pinzon. 2010

22.MISSELWITZ,Philip. RIENIETS, Tim. City of Collision, Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism. 2005. Pg212-237
23.SANDERCOCK,Leonie. Toward Cosmopolis. Planning for Multicultural Cities. 2004. Pg182
24.MISSELWITZ,Philip. RIENIETS, Tim. City of Collision, Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism. 2005. Pg84-130

Jerusalem by Arthur Kucher. On The New Jerusalem 1973

In order to reach some improvements under a possible dimension, scholars from Israel and institutes for urban renewal have been developing a number of strategies that can be summarized on two main axes:

1. The lack of public space is a strong element of spatial organization in Jerusalem. Public space allows to link peripheral areas spatially with more central neighborhoods. The city of Jerusalem is divided by socio-economic, cultural and religious differences – differences that are strongly related with the private domain of the everyday life. The range between united and divided found an equilibrium in the shared dimension. This is to say that the solution for socio-spatial segregation is not embedded in the total spatial unification but a medium level mixture. The construction of public space in the buffer zones is an example of a possibility to develop and to generate this dimension of sharing[25]. This strategy is focused on the recovery of some sacred places for different groups and the use of its model of spatial tolerance and respect to ultimately generate a sense of sharing.

2. Neighborhood rehabilitation is the other aspect that the Israeli government have been developing in recent years. This process is supported by the progressive empowerment of communities and grassroots organizations in the self regulation and improvement their housing conditions. This is a strategy based on a model of comprehensive planning in which the communities are the spatial unities who make decisions regarding their planning processes. Through this mechanism there is the institutional attempt to stabilize the settlements attaching some other policies such as the construction of urban amenities, the consideration of their lacking [26].

THE NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION Vs REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT[27]

The spatial development in Jerusalem has been facing many difficulties, thus there are many policies and politico-economic actions that should be realized in order to make any kind of change feasible. The illusion on the urban revitalization has to be supported by a decrease in unemployment rates and the openness of the socio-cultural borders to a less radical realities.

25.CHARLESWORTH,Esther. City Edge, Contemporary Discourses on Urbanism.  2005. Pg68-83

26-27.ELAZAR,Daniel. Urban Revitalization, Israel's Project Renewal and Other Experiences.  University 1986. Pg37-109. Pg548-557

LEARNING FROM JERUSALEM:

1. Politico-Administrative borders can be a consequence or a solution for the conflicts related with the spatial aspects of the socio-cultural borders.

2. Even in the most difficult contexts it is possible to design integration strategies focused on weakening of conflictive socio-cultural borders.

3. The tolerance among different urban communities cannot be sustained by institutional structures alone.



The wall between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Photo by Diego Pinzon. 2010

No More Walls

For a complete Jerusalem Metropolitan Area

## 4.3.2 Nicosia's Master Plan (NMP)



NORTH NICOSIA
TURKISH CIPRIOT
SIDE

SOUTH NICOSIA
GREEK CIPRIOT
SIDE
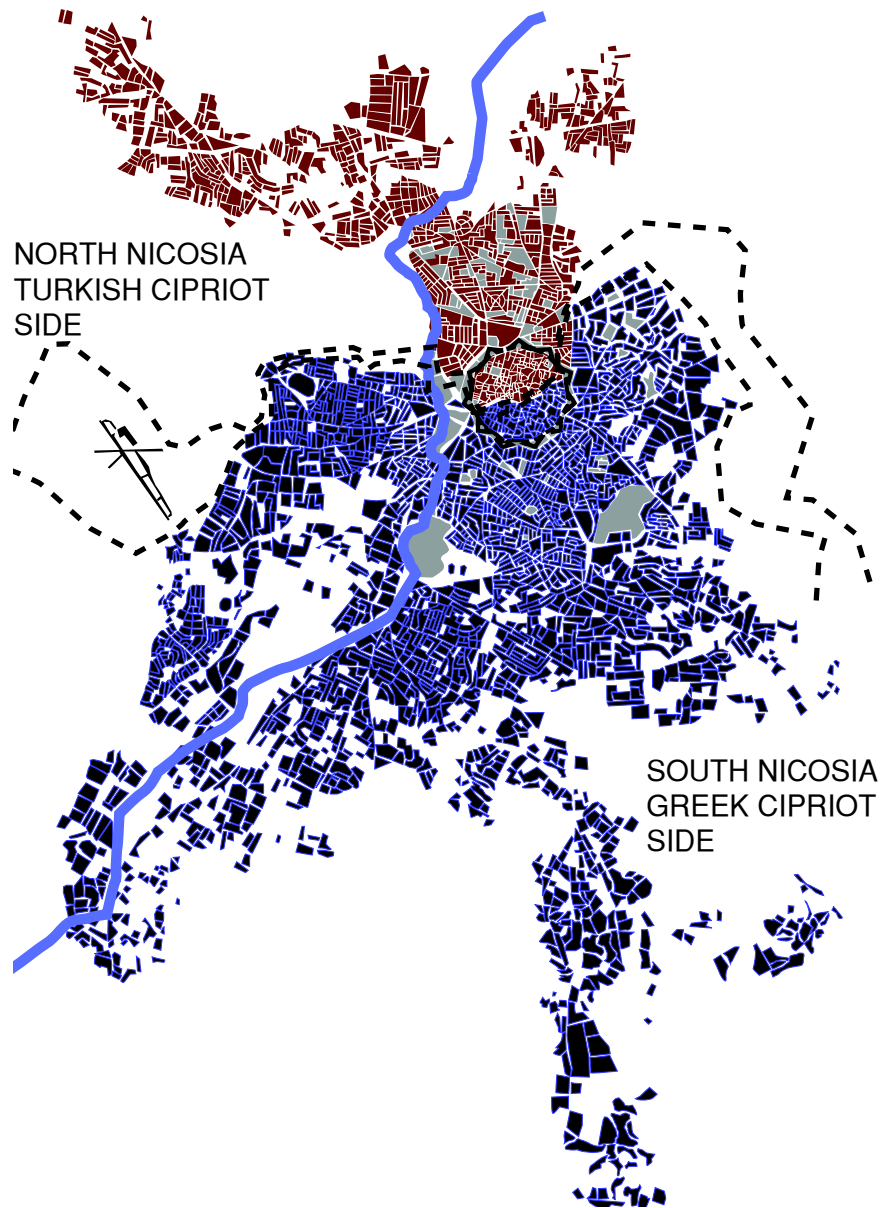
Nicosia is the capital and the largest city of Cyprus. Founded as the city-state of Lefkousia, it has historically been the edge of the principal empires of Europe like Rome, Venice and the Ottoman empire. Nicosia has been considered a strategic location due to its geopolitical situation between the east and the west world. Studying the morphology of Nicosia, a patchwork of urban shapes from the walled center built during the Venetian occupation going through Roman buildings to Byzantine neighborhoods, is evident. The Ottoman occupation of the city around the XVth and XVIth century endowed the urban area with the presence of a Turkish community, an important aspect that has been shaping the history of the city today.

Cyprus gained independence in 1960 from the British and Greek dominion. Just 14 years after its independence, however, changed the geopolitical situation:

15 July 1974, the ruling military junta of Greece staged a coup to overthrow the democratically
elected Government of Cyprus. On 20 July 1974, Turkey, using the coup as an excuse, invaded Cyprus, allegedly to restore constitutional order. The Turkish invasion left the island and its capital divided into two[28]

The military occupation of the northern part of the island by the Turkish suddenly divided the city in two parts, the north under Turkish dominion and the south part administrated by the Greek community. This process of separation was solidified by a Buffer Zone, placed by the United Nations, through the center. The buffer zone is an edge, conceived as a barrier, that it does not allow for interaction between the two communities. Such a barrier, however, has barely hindered any possible cooperation for a logical development of the whole metropolitan area.

The consequences of the division was a massive migration of the Greek communities settled in the north part of the city to the south as refugees. This phenomena gave way to a fast urban growth and sprawl - a process of which the outcome was the increase in number of residential areas.

28.CHRISTODOULOS, Demetriou. Nicosia Urban Area. 2001. Pg 239

The installation of the green line by the British in 1963 was as a first attempt of division. The city, responding to the installation of the green line, started to relocate its main administrative and service areas to the south.

The old center thus turned into an edge zone, greatly diminishing its urban qualities and amenities. Main policy interventions after the division in this regard focused on the settlement of a CBD (Central Business District) outside the old center and the construction of massive social housing in the south, close to the Buffer Zone with districts like That El Kala, Agios Andreas and Platy. Such projects were generated as an attempt to solve the lack of housing attributed to the internal migration from the north and natural demographical growth.

THE NICOSIA MASTER PLAN (NMP)

Nicosia has designed a master plan for the metropolitan area city supported by the United Nations Development Program UNPD. This plan is conceived into three main phases:

I PHASE

The first phase between 1981 and 1984 defined a general development strategy, based on the need to concentrate and consolidate the city. The proposed plan, was sufficiently flexible, so as to be adaptable to changing circumstances. It contained principles and proposals, capable of addressing the planning problems of Nicosia as a whole, as well as problems relating to the existing situation[29].

Whereas the phases of the Master Plan have been developed by parts, the southern city was the one to start the planning processes and project development according to the Plan. the beginning of this plan was implemented in 1990 by the town planning law. The first intervention envisioned in this plan was the intervening in and sewing together of the historical center in an effort to promote social cohesion.

The second attempt during this first phase was the revitalization of the areas close to the Buffer zone. Interventions were accomplished through residential projects financed by the government and endowed with fiscal incentives.

29.Took from www.nicosia.org.cy

1st Phase of the NMP - City Sewing

Turkish Nicosia

Greek Nicosia
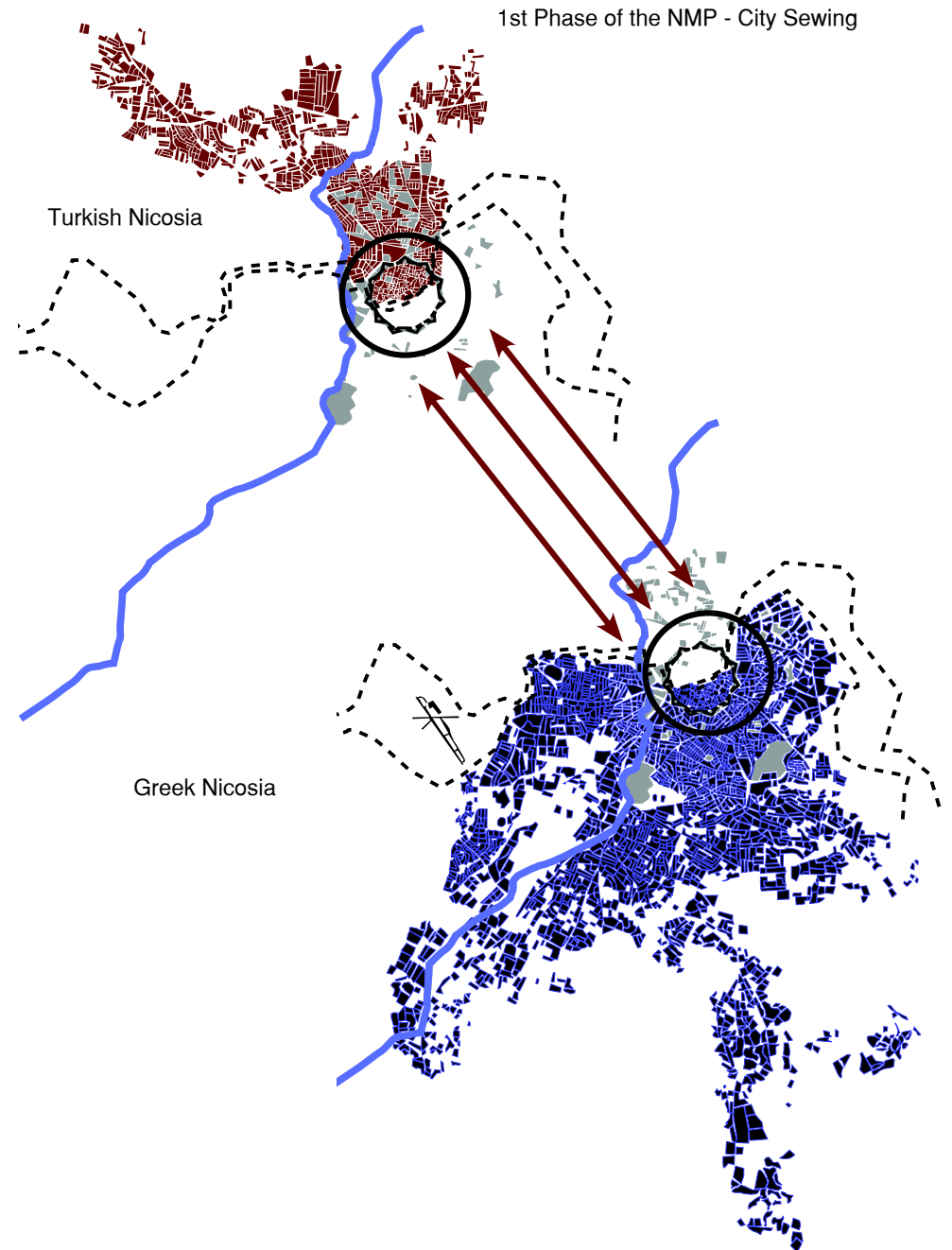
These areas (Agios Andreas for instance) were relatively successful due to their proximity to the center. They similarly embodied a policy to stop the homogenous sprawl of the southern districts[30].

The main targets embodied in these policies are thus the re-densification of the central areas, the improvement of the infrastructure as the sewage system and the planning of a shared transportation system according to the new development necessities.

II PHASE

The second phase , between 1984 and 1986, focused on a more detailed operational plan for the central area of Nicosia, including the historic center and the central business district[31].

The second part of the plan is a shared project of the both sides, specifically aiming to recover the walled city. It is composed of single projects governed similarly on both sides of the wall; unfortunately, this effort was not as successful in recent years due to economic cycles and the increasing national debt of the country.

The most important project embodied into this phase is the pedestrianization of the commercial area of the historic center on the both sides. This project consists of the creation of a continuous commercial axis in the walled city, to reinvigorate what was otherwise a suffering business district. The main causes for this decline were the constraints imposed on pedestrian movement by car traffic and on-street parking, the deterioration of the physical environment, congestion, pollution, and the development of new commercial centers on the outskirts of Nicosia. The pedestrianization project, which has already been implemented, aimed  to rehabilitate and to promote the environmental improvement of the business area in order to allow promote its competitive vis-à-vis the new commercial centers of the modern city. The main components of this project are the pedestrianization of the commercial streets, the creation of short-term parking areas in selected locations and the introduction of mini-buses which circulate in the periphery of the pedestrianized area providing free of charge optimum transit facilities to citizens.



2nd Phase of the NMP - City Center Intervention

III PHASE

The third phase is not a consequence of the second one. It is instead a series of single projects within or without the walled city, linked to the a new concept of "Gluing Projects" that is gaining importance and that first emerged from the NMP.

An example of one of this projects is the Chrysaliniotissa and Arab Ahmed Housing Projects. Chrysaliniotissa[32] revitalization Project was selected as the first to be implemented because of the outstanding architectural character and social merits of this area.

The relative neglect of this area by the property owners, the low income position of both owner-occupiers and tenants, the lack of community facilities as well as its proximity to the buffer zone have been the main factors that contributed to the general deterioration of the overall residential environment.

30.CARAMONDANI, Anna. Seminary EUROPEAN CITIES: Insights on Outskirts. Session on: SHAPING THE OUTSKIRTS DYNAMIQUES ET FORCES.  17 & 18/6/2004. Paris la Défense
31.PETRIDOU, Agni. Master Plan. Perspectives for Urban Rehabilitation – Building bridges between the two communities of the divided city of Nicosia.  Pg 1-3

32.Took from www.nicosia.org.cy

The proposed housing policy consists of the following three types of action aiming to improve housing conditions, to ultimately increase the available housing stock and attract new families.

1 Provision of housing grants and other incentives for the restoration of all the listed building of the area which are occupied by the owners.

2 Acquisition of vacant traditional houses for rehabilitation, thus ensuring that this portion of the housing stock will actually be appropriately improved.

3 Construction of new houses on vacant sites following their acquisition

In  the future there is a willingness to develop the Buffer Zone as a new integration area between both communities once the political struggles find a solution. This zone is envisioned as an improvement of urban amenities following the concept of Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

THE SOUTHERN FRINGE AND SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT

Although there have been attempts to sew together and foster cooperation between actors in the both sides, the project has currently reached an impasse due to political differences. This phenomena has been hindering the spatial integration of both communities. The lack of real interaction and sharing forced the authorities to continue planning processes either following the guidelines of the NMP or not. The southern fringe planning and sprawl is one example of planning by doing as a consequence of the localist and partial plans and the vacuum of an overarching planning authority. The overprotective nature of landownership policies of the Cypriot government [32] have been another obstacle to the re-densification and relocation of housing states to the north. As a result of these impediments, authorities are unable to contain land development within the boundaries of existing/designated growth areas.

33.CHRISTODOULOS, Demetriou. Nicosia Urban Area. 2001.  Pg 250

The Southern Fringe and Suburban Development of the Greek Nicosia
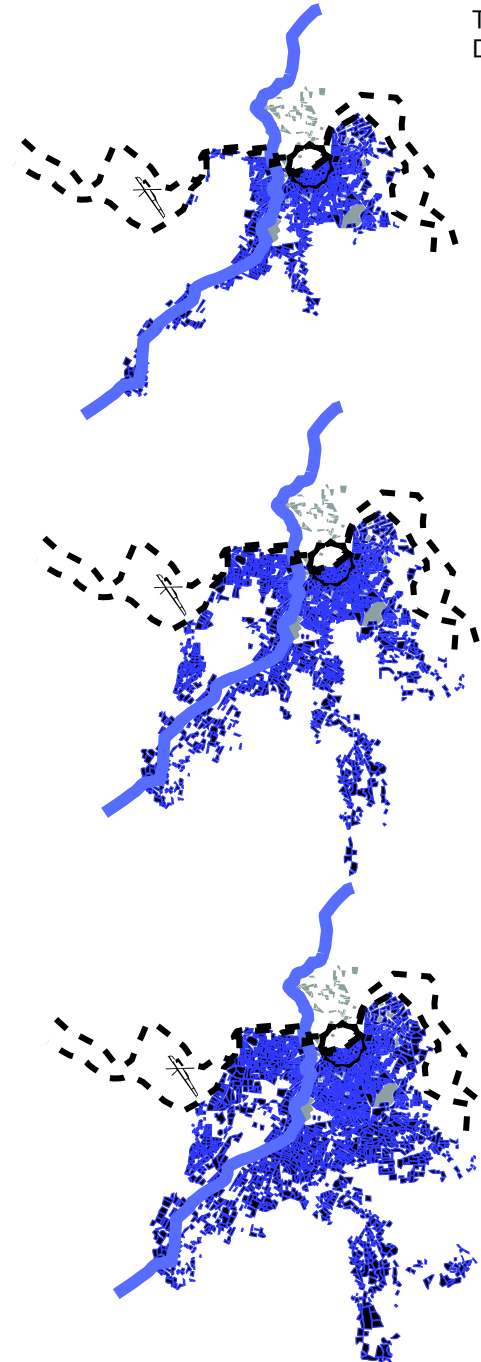
LEARNING FROM NICOSIA:

1. Projects can be conceived as a glue to gradually fade the borders there were built initially as barriers to a possible unification in the future .

2. Considering the difficulty in generating a coordinated planning process under conflictive circumstances, heading for a logic regional development, political differences must be avoided.

3. Urban heritage and legacies can be a cornerstone and starting point to develop shared policies of local interest.
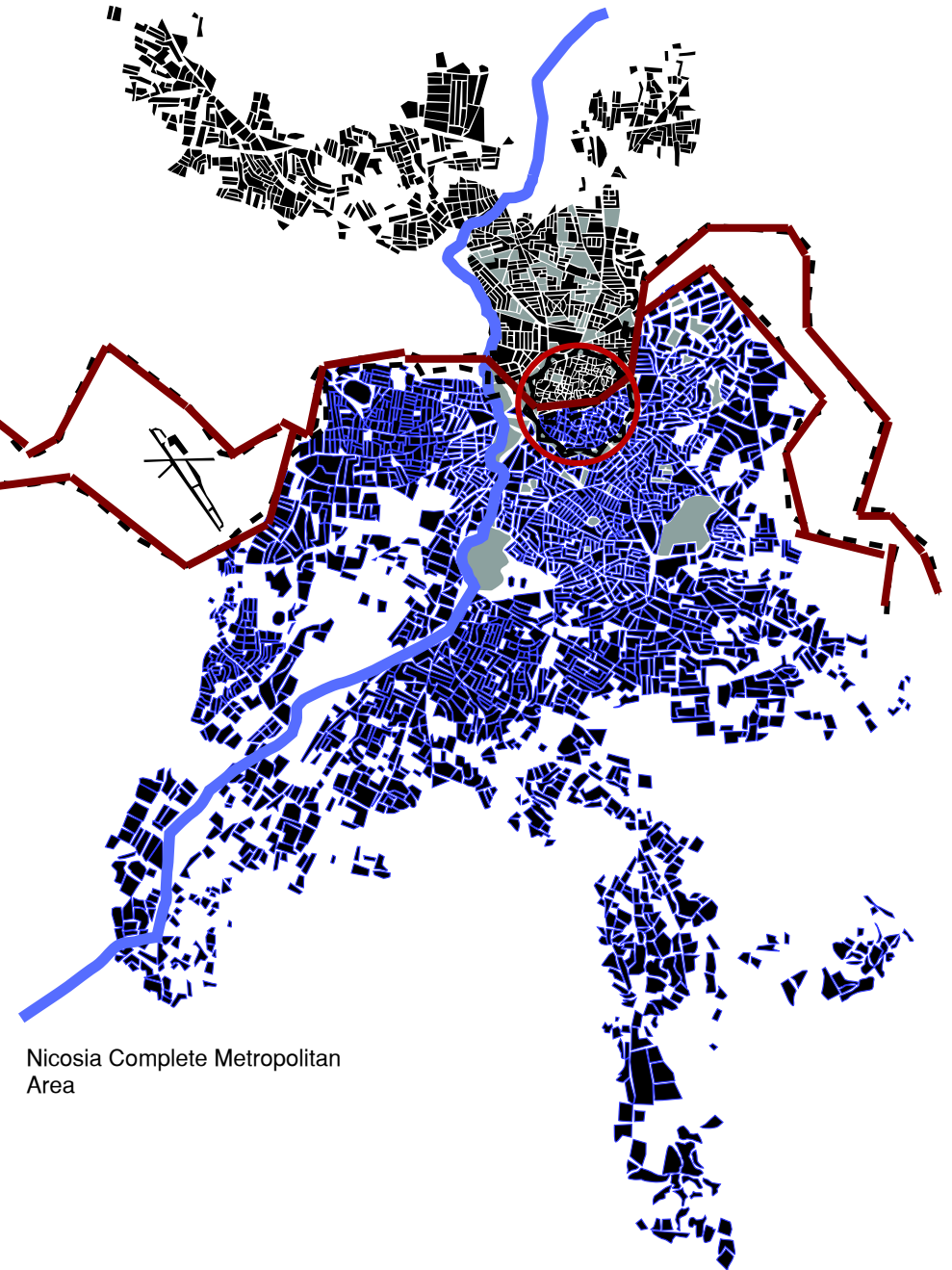


Nicosia Complete Metropolitan Area

## 4.4 THE BI-NATIONAL BORDER AND PLANNING STRATEGIES

### 4.4.1 Frankfurt Am Der Oder – Slubice, Political and civil Integration and the Idea of SlubFurt

FRANKFURT
AM DER ODER

SLUBICE
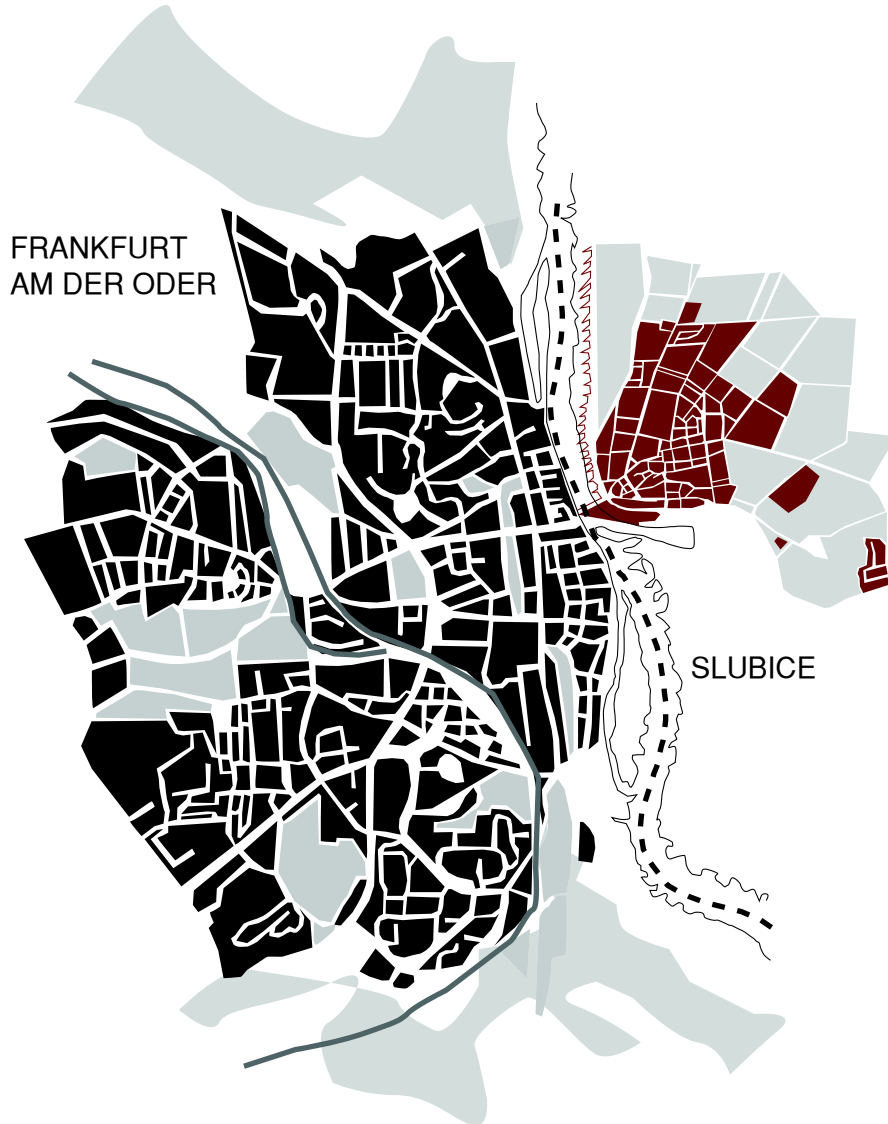
The City of Frankfurt Am Der Oder is located on the river Oder along a natural border within Poland and Germany. The city was founded around the year 1200 a.C, its early settlers lived on the western banks of the Oder. Later, the town was extended to the eastern bank (today's Słubice).

The breakpoint in the history of the city was after the Postdam treaty in 1945 in which the river Oder was established as the boundary between Poland and Germany, essentially cutting off the city into two countries.

In the after war period the cities developed independently from each other. The city of Frankfurt was a strategic point on the economic exchange among both countries during the communist establishment. However, under the reunification of Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the city started to decrease in population and the rate of unemployment rose to become a problem, creating difficulties in the social cohesion within the city.

Today, the city still has one of the largest rates of unemployment in Germany. On the other side of the river the Polish city of Słubice, covering 22% of the metropolitan area, has a relatively stable level of social cohesion. A particular aspect of the relation among the two cities is the economic phenomena created by the politico-administrative border; that is to say that the lower taxation on goods on the Polish side of the border generates continuous fluxes of Germans to Słubice. This particular phenomena had allowed for a certain economic stability compared with its German counterpart.

In terms of integration the case of Frankfurt Am Der Oder- Słubice is becoming very relevant to the studies of the cities of the border. This is due to the fact that institutional efforts of both municipalities to reach an integrated socio-economic development. There has, however, been a long series of processes and the problems and contradictions that arose and ultimately informed current patterns of socio-economic development.

The attempts to create a development integrated process among both cities are supported by institutional and civil organizations.

These processes started with the political will to design policies of urban improvements across the whole urban region with some initial rejections from the populations at the beginning[34].

With the opening of the politico-administrative border due to the attachment of Poland to the Schengen zone, the municipalities could create a shared vision of urban development without the obstacles originated by the nature of the border. The by-pass cross was thus changed into an open one enhancing the mobilization of population and eliminating some bureaucratic difficulties.

The heritage of the politico-administrative border during almost 50 years continues to shape the communities and differentiate them in several aspects like languages and political systems. This diversity, nevertheless remains within the context of an open border which is no longer an impediment to the achievement of the spatial integration policies of the cities[35].

Moving to more specific aspects of this collaboration, the municipalities have been developing an idea of regionalism in which the metropolitan area of Frankfurt Am Der Oder- Słubice will be planned unbounded[36], with a cross border cooperation and the inherent creation of politico-institutional platforms supporting such a system[37].

Within the politico-administrative realm this means the construction of a set of guidelines to be followed by both municipalities in order to set and achieve common development policies. Some of those guidelines arose from institutional agreements like for instance[38]:

• overcoming the peripheral location by enhancing accessibility and the transport infrastructure.
• enhancing attractiveness for investors by coordinated and joint location marketing.
• coordinated strategic urban development; joint land-use planning and land-use management, coordinated brown-field development.



Frankfurt Am der Oder, Photo on http://www.panoramio.com/photo/39837489     Slubice, Photo by Peter Darglatz on http://www.panoramio.com/photo/14690871

34.MATTHIESEN, Ulf. BÜRKNER, Hans-Joachim,. Antagonistic Structures on the Border Area. Local mililie and local politics in the Polish-German twin city Gubin-Guben . 2006. Pg43-45
35.GALASINSKA, Aleksandra. Border ethnography and post-communist discourses on nationality in Poland. 2006. Pg 609-612

36.DEAS, Iain, LORD, Alex. From a New Regionalism to an Unusual Regionalism? The Emergence of Non-standard Regional Spaces and Lessons for the Territorial Reorganisation of the State. 2006 Pg 1847–1877
37.KNIPPSCHILD, Robert. Inter-urban cooperation in the German-Polish-Czech triangle. Dresden 2008. Pg 101-114
38. http://www.slubice.pl/?a=temat&id=2

Project of Slubfurt. Reunification nof the Metropolitan Area
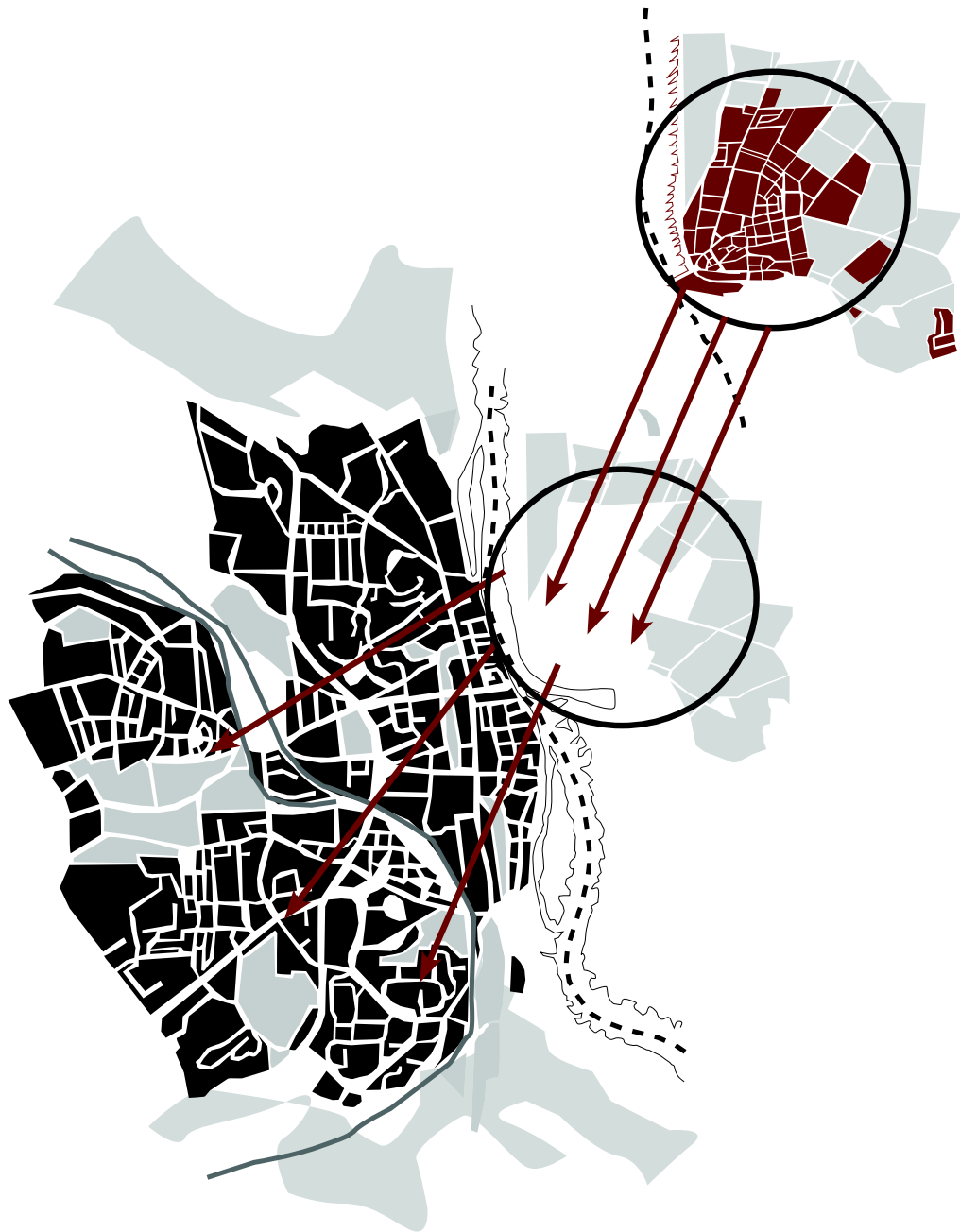
• sharing of functions and social infrastructure.
• coordinated zonal planning (e.g. technical infrastructure).
• coping with housing vacancies and shortages by supporting joint housing markets.
• safeguarding joint interests; joint lobbying of national and regional governments.

Another important aspect on the economic development of the metropolitan area of Frankfurt Am Der Oder- Słubice is the economic incentives from the European Union to develop integrated projects addressed to the civil society by loans and mortgages at low interest rates[39].

On the other hand, there is an attempt from the civil society to build up cultural connections between the communities at each side of the river. This is informed by an understanding that the social cohesion will be generated by such processes and by reinforcing respect among the two communities. Such activity in civil society thus an effort to raise a level of cooperation and level of integration while preserving socio-cultural diversity.

One of these attempts is called project SLUBFURT from the Viadrina European University in Frankfurt Am Der Oder. Viadrina European University has developed a theoretical concept in which both cities are not separated as they were in the beginning with the first settlers - a city in which there is a recognition by the inhabitants of the importance of considering the metropolitan region as a single project[40]:

 Slubfurt in itself is a very special city because it lies in two states simultaneously, in Poland and Germany. The Slubfurt project understands  it well, both cultures with their different experiences with each other will combine the qualities and by the way creating a new one. The Slubfurt is proud of his city...  There are not only sunny side, also there are problems, cracks and difficulties of a trans-cultural city area. Our recipe is in constant creation it crises and faces reordering and structures and spaces.

39.CHESSA, Cecilia. State Subsidies, International Diffusion, and Transnational Civil Society: The Case of Frankfurt-Oder and Slubice. 2004. Pg 70-108
40. http://www.arttrans.de/slubfurt/d/slubnet/stadtfuehrungen.html

At the end it is important to recognize the fact that not all parts of society are able to participate and agree on integration development plans. In the case of Slubfurt one of the largest problems derives from economic sectors at the German side which will be affected with the massive flux of shoppers to the Polish side [41].

LEARNING FROM FRANKFURT AM DER ODER - SLUBICE:

1. Borders in bi-national cities, far from a politico-administrative constraints, can enhance cultural diversities.

2. Is it possible to create institutional platforms in order to generate a base of cooperation headed for implement a coherent development plan.

3. Urban civil society can also recognize and participate in the spatial integration by non institutional actions.

41. http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/article/71141-slubfurt-unreal-city-some

SLUBFURT METROPOLITAN AREA

## 4.4.2 Gorizia – Nova Gorica: Sharing Projects for an Open Border

NOVA GORICA

GORIZIA

European cities from their foundation are structured by a number of historical particularities that evince the socio-spatial traces of different empires, kingdoms and past political arrangements. These historical changes through the course of time create a patchwork of urban qualities, but are at the same time a source of many social conflicts originating from politico-administrative borders in constant motion.

The city of Gorizia was founded as a fortress over the river Isonzo's valley. The city was called Gorizia during the IXth century when it rose as an small village attached to the Holy Roman Empire. After 300 years serving as the center of its own county, Gorizia was absorbed by the Austrian Hungarian Empire. The city gathered a complex set of ethnicities cultures and languages coming from Friuli, Venice, Slovenia and some German speaking communities from the north until the first World War when the city was conquered by the Italian army. Today the city is located where at border between east-west Europe is changing.

The city has been a part of strong socio-cultural shifts during the last century after the first World War when the city was locates exactly at the Yugoslavian-Italian border. Gorizia was administratively attached to the Trieste province and it lost its nature of semi-autonomous urban center because of this political shift. This phenomena hindered the economic development of the city and as a consequence was a constant ultimately leading to a decrease in the population from 202.000 to 79.000 inhabitants during a period of roughly 40 years[41].

The decrease in the Gorizian population was not the only sharp change in the city; when the border between Yugoslavia and Italy was settled just to the north east of the urbanized area. Due to the strong political differences among both countries (the iron curtain crossed along this frontier), the border suddenly became a barrier cutting through the territory of the valley. This boundary drawing evoked a territorial disarticulation in which the city of Gorizia at the Italian side was placed at the edge of the country.

42. VALUSSI, Giorgio. Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia. Confini e Regioni. 2000. Pg 61-83
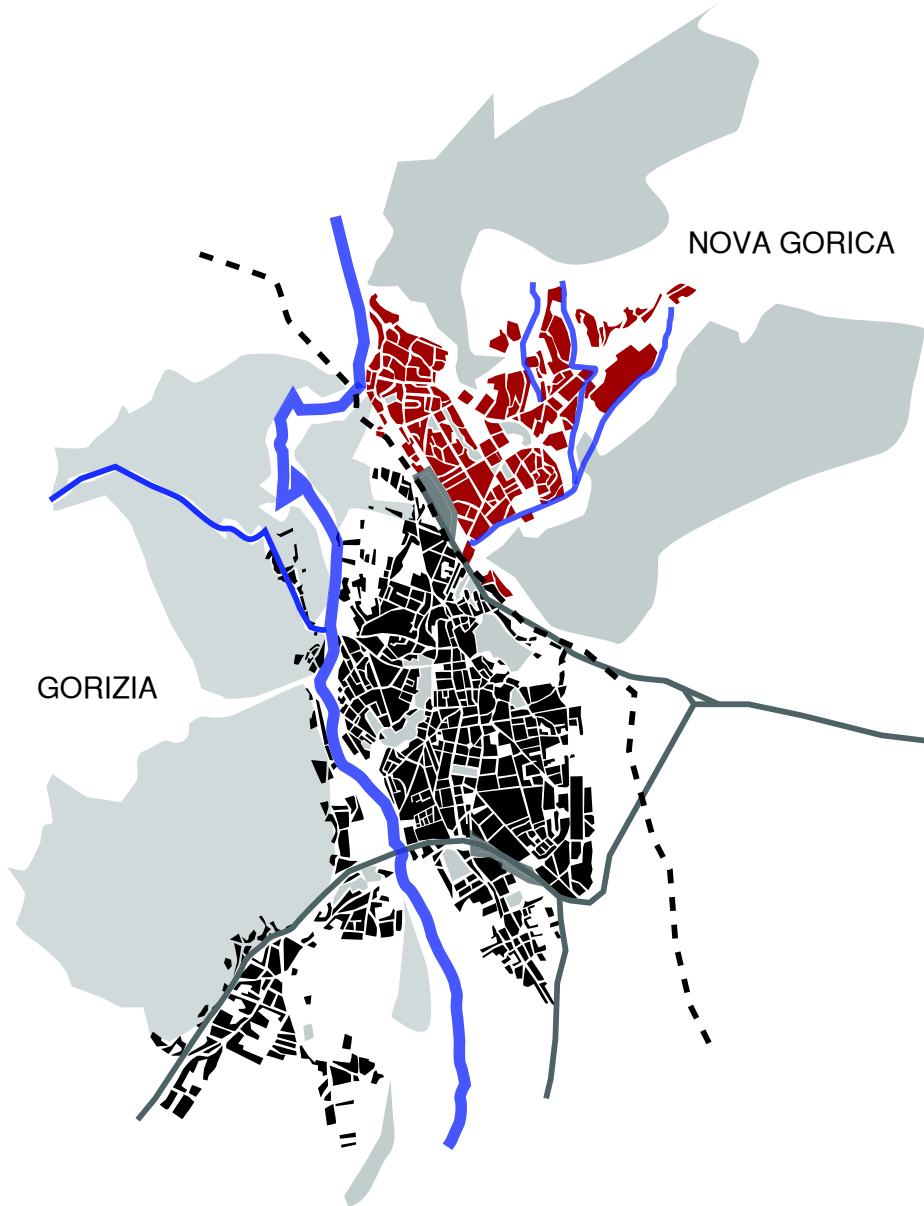
The lack of an urban center as a territorial node at the Yugoslavian side and the inaccessibility of the Slavic inhabitants to the agricultural markets located in Gorizia forced a solution which was the foundation on 1948 of Nova Gorica by the Yugoslavian authorities just aside the border where the city of Gorizia was cut[43].

This process of inner separation rebuffed and reconfigured the dynamics of the urban socio-spatial system. The first step was the disintegration of Yugoslavia starting in 1990 when Slovenia declared independence as an sovereign nation.  In 2004 Slovenia joined the European Union and by 2007 had also joined the Schengen Zone. This last addition to an international treaty zone is fundamental because an implementation of Schengen rules involves eliminating border controls with other Schengen members. This process is buffered by a  simultaneous strengthening of border controls with non-member states. These rules include provisions on a common policy on the temporary entry of persons (including the Schengen visa), the harmonization of external border controls, and cross-border police and judicial co-operation[44]. This policy in  the end is no more than the elimination of bi-national borders, and, in the case of Gorizia-Nov Gorica, the dismantling of the border as a physical and by-pass issue.

The case of Gorizia-Nova Gorica is a case in which the border changes its nature in a short period of time. This is to say that the fact that the barrier placed during the Iron Curtain closed border; after the addition of Slovenia to the European Union a final, open border was implemented following the stipulations of Schengen Zone policy.

This dimension in which the border has been sharply changing in a short period of time to a complete open state has had a number of impacts on policy coordination. Most importantly, the passage to open border means that both cities are strategically planning economic development based on the integration of regional policy. The cities collaborate in terms of planning cooperation and sharing goals but at the same time preserve cultural differences  and specificities like the languages.

An example of this attempt of integration is founded in the Gorizia planning strategies where the first three points provide insights into the organization of this cooperation[46]:

1. Structural elements: Strategic points for project intervention were identified in the area immediately adjacent to the border. Such points became the objects of project interventions to establish and radically transform government dynamics promote municipal and national shared interests.

2. Strategic targets: Strategic targets focused on the re-opening of commercial exchanges with the recent addition of Slovenia to the European Union. These targets included the coordination and the integration of planning strategies at the border with the possible interventions at the Slovenian side. Targets also called for a redefinition of the border area through an incorporation of the territorial functions within its limits.

3. Operational Strategies: In order to achieve social integration between the two cities,  there is a project called Project of reconciliation between the communities of Nova Gorica and Gorizia "Progetto di riconciliazione tra gli abitanti di Nova Gorica e di Gorizia". This project is oriented aims to promote collaboration in the spatial and the economic transformation of the cities keeping in mind the flow of goods, services and people.

During the last years a set of several shared projects and policies have been applied in order to enhance the integration of both cities, some examples are:

GORIŠKA CONTEA[46]

The Goriska Contea Project was presented by the municipalities of Gorizia and Nova Gorica is embedded into the common initiative Interreg IIIA Italia-Slovenia (2000-2006).

43. VALUSSI, Giorgio. Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia. Confini e Regioni.  Edizione Lint Trieste. Pg 61-83
44.http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asy lum_immigration/l14514_en.htm

45 http://www3.comune.gorizia.it/it/pianificazione-urbanistica
46 http://www.nolimesgo.net

PROJECT OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
GORIZIA - NOVA GORICA
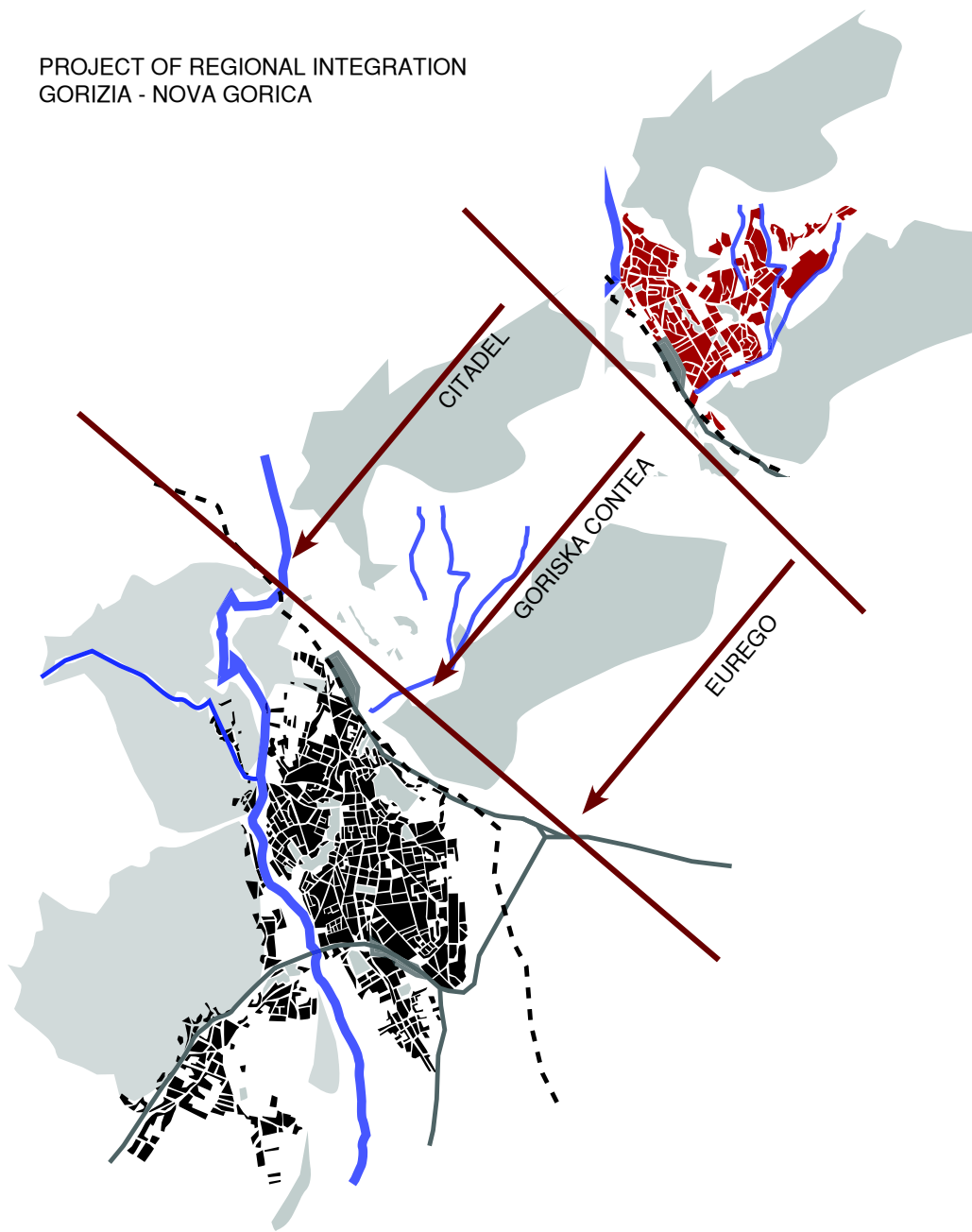


This project is headed to develop the touristic transnational activities in the region. Common activities of both municipalities are focused on the evaluation of some infrastructures related with cultural and leisure activities to ultimately create coordinated jobs for the promotion of the whole territory of the valley. The tool to reach these purposes was envisioned as the creation of a trans-national tourist office.

The project aims to develop the potential and opportunities linked with a sole vision of the border territory. It has a common matrix from the historic-cultural and environmental dimension. The initiative headed the economic development of the region based on the local resources and an increase of the sustainable tourism closely linked with the wine industry on the Collio hills over the valley.

The cultural heritage of the Goriška Contea region granted unrecognized values , promoting the territory as a sole entity. This project was designed to be coherent with the Italian and Slovenian development plans between 2001-2006. These regional plans (Strategia per lo sviluppo del turismo nel comune di Nova Gorica and Programma di Sviluppo regionale) were from their conception considered to be integrated in socio-economic aspects of policy formation.

EUREGO[47]

The Isonzo basin is a complex territory that has its central node the conurbation known as Gorizia – Nova Gorica. The Eurego project is a policy focused onto the social integration of the Italian – Slovenian communities representing an institutionalized phase of transnational cooperation supported by the European Union.

Eurego is a policy aimed to centralize and share social aims through an organizational structure acting so as to contribute towards the development of friendly neighborhoods relations between the local communities. The policy guarantees citizens and associated members an adequate chance to express their concerns.

47. Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia. Progetto EUREGO. http://www.provincia.gorizia.it

The Eurego structure is divided into two main axes. The first axis is a political phase in which the needs expressed by the populations and the subsequent targets are drawn. Such activities are managed by a general assembly. The second axis is related with the organizational phase that implies the design of specific aspects, operational strategies and the concretization of purposes; its role is to be the operational arm of the general assembly.

In the end the Eurego project is an association that gathers different actors of different nature at both sides of the border, but similarly splits these actors in two main communal organizations belonging to and shaped by the Italian and Slovenian policy exigencies.

THE UNIVERSITY POLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL HEALTHCARE CITADEL[48]

The consortium for a development of an university pole in Gorizia is a policy designed by the province, municipality and Chamber of Commerce. This university pole will become an important node of academic development through the creation of a research university center. The institutional public consortium is instead focused on the potential approach and production of synergy with the labor market of the region and the scientific research divided in several academic projects.

The main project spearheaded by this consortium is called Borderless Healthcare (Sanitá senza confine). With the attachment of Slovenia to the European Union, there was a public necessity to cooperate for the development of the region. As a consequence of this necessity, the opening of the border has allowed the sharing requirements between the two healthcare systems. Through a joint effort, the policy aimed the creation of an effective model that ultimately became exportable to the European level. This model is valid for the multilingual and multicultural reality, and in 2003 both municipalities signed a cooperation protocol in which the university is allowed to structure the healthcare services by an open planning accorded with private and public actors and institutions. This strategy was supported from the beginning by the European Union and materialized through the activation of the project International Healthcare Citadel (cittadella ospedaliera internazionale). Placed close to the border line in Gorizia, the citadel provides and improves the public welfare of the Italian and Slovenian inhabitants.

The project Borderless Healthcare, has been modify because of logical organization troubles, but those obstacles at the end are shaping a management model based on functional interactions and cooperation benefitting both communities. It is highly significant on the pedagogic aspect of cultural integration at the border zone.

LEARNING FROM GORIZIA – NOVA GORICA:

1. Borders in constant change do not hinder the possibility to create shared policies.

2. Shared policies can be realized over the socio-economic differences only in a context of political cooperation.

3. Both communities aside the border can be integrated on welfare and economic aspects by a set of political decisions without the necessity to lose the cultural differences.

GORIZIA - NOVA GORICA
METROPOLITAN AREA
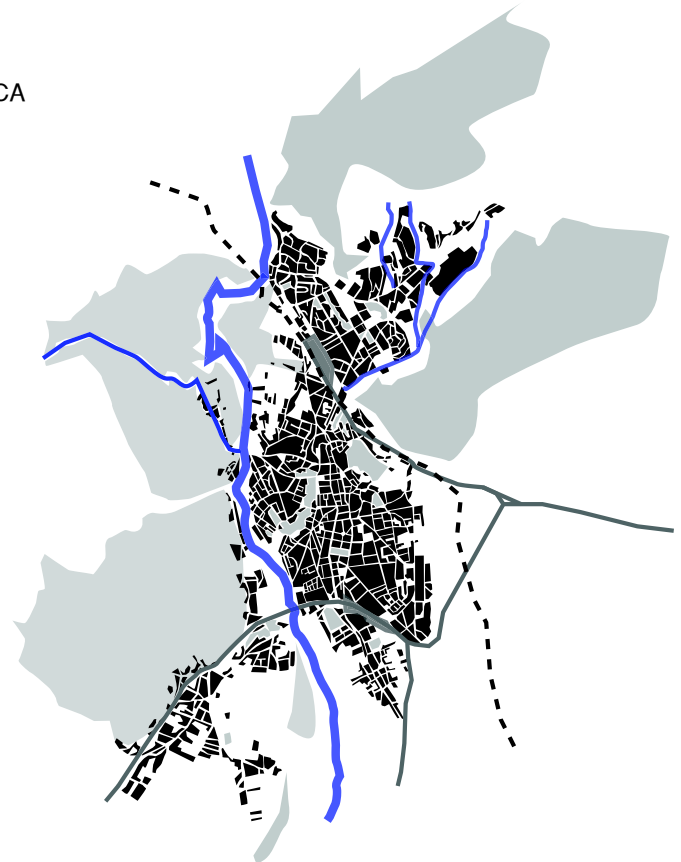
## 4.5 METROPOLITAN STRATEGIES FOR AN INTERNATIONAL URBAN INTEGRATION

### 4.5.1 Basel Metropolitan Planning

The city of Basel was founded by the Romans around the year 340 a.C. as an strategic point between the inner regions in the centre of Europe and the sea. The city was the bridge between the Swiss lakes and the flatlands of the lower regions of German and the sea along the Rhine river.

From the beginning and due to its location, the city was split in two parts crossed by the river in areas known as Basel and Klein Basel. Around the year 1400 Basel became a strategic fortress for the control the transportation of goods over the Lower Rhein Basin. Thus, working as a fortress, the city was walled[49].

At the beginning of the XIXth century the city became overcrowded to the expansion of residential populations within its walls. The walls could no longer constrain the spatial growth, and as a result the city became generically planned under several master plans. These master plans varied in success. The main Maring Plan[50] was adopted to control urban expansion outside the former wall perimeter. After the demolition of the wall, the city suffered periods of suburbanization of its outskirts and the modification of some central places in the old center due to partial plans.

Basel is located into the junction of a border in constant change been part from several states until the XXth century. The city is now located in the Swiss border and it absorbed other municipalities at the French and German Border.

This position granted the city with certain economic advantages. First, the location as the last port along the Rhine basin allow it to manage freight and shipping goods to the other metropolitan regions. The second aspect important to underline is the presence of industrial hubs specialized on the pharmaceutical research and production. Similarly, art festivals are changing the physical construction of space and the flows to its galleries and museums. The project of the international European airport at the French side enhanced the city as an important node on the passenger transportation and its geographical position acts as a bottleneck on the transnational mobility.

49-50.ETH STUDIO BASEL. MetroBasel. A Model of a European Metropolitan Region . 2008. Pg20-24



WEIL AM RHEIN

LORRACH

ST. LOUIS

HUNINGUE

BASEL

But, the importance of the case study Basel regards on the nature of the urban planning considering the nature of the border and the development through several axes of integration of the metropolitan region.

## THE NATURE OF THE TRINATIONAL BORDER

The Basel region is located in between the tri-national border of Switzerland, France and Germany. The metropolitan area is concentrated in Basel city complete spatially linked in the Suburbs with the municipalities of Weil Am Rhein and Lörrach on the German side and St. Louis and Huningue on the French side.

The politico-administrative border faded under the mobilization of commuters across the countries to the production centers and the commercial zones specially located in Basel city. This being said, fluxes are not only generated by labor and business; in the case of Basel, the politico-administrative border is presented as a membrane [51] instead of a dividing line.

In fact the associative efforts to gather the region under a complete territorial vision started with the Regio Basiliensis[52] movement founded in 1964. The movement was an effort by a local labor union to integrate policy in the region. After this attempt, some other platforms arose heading for the economic integration of the region. Some of these other platforms are:

Regio TriRhena[53]: The RegioTriRhena e. V. is considered a mixed-platform at the southern Upper Rhine (Basel - Mulhouse- Freiburg) and at the same time as an umbrella for regional offices in Germany, France and Switzerland. It was created to construct economic and administrative partnerships among its members.

MetroBasel[54]: is a think tank and voice for the development of the metropolitan region of Basel in the form of an association. It is focused onto a shared urban development for the region.
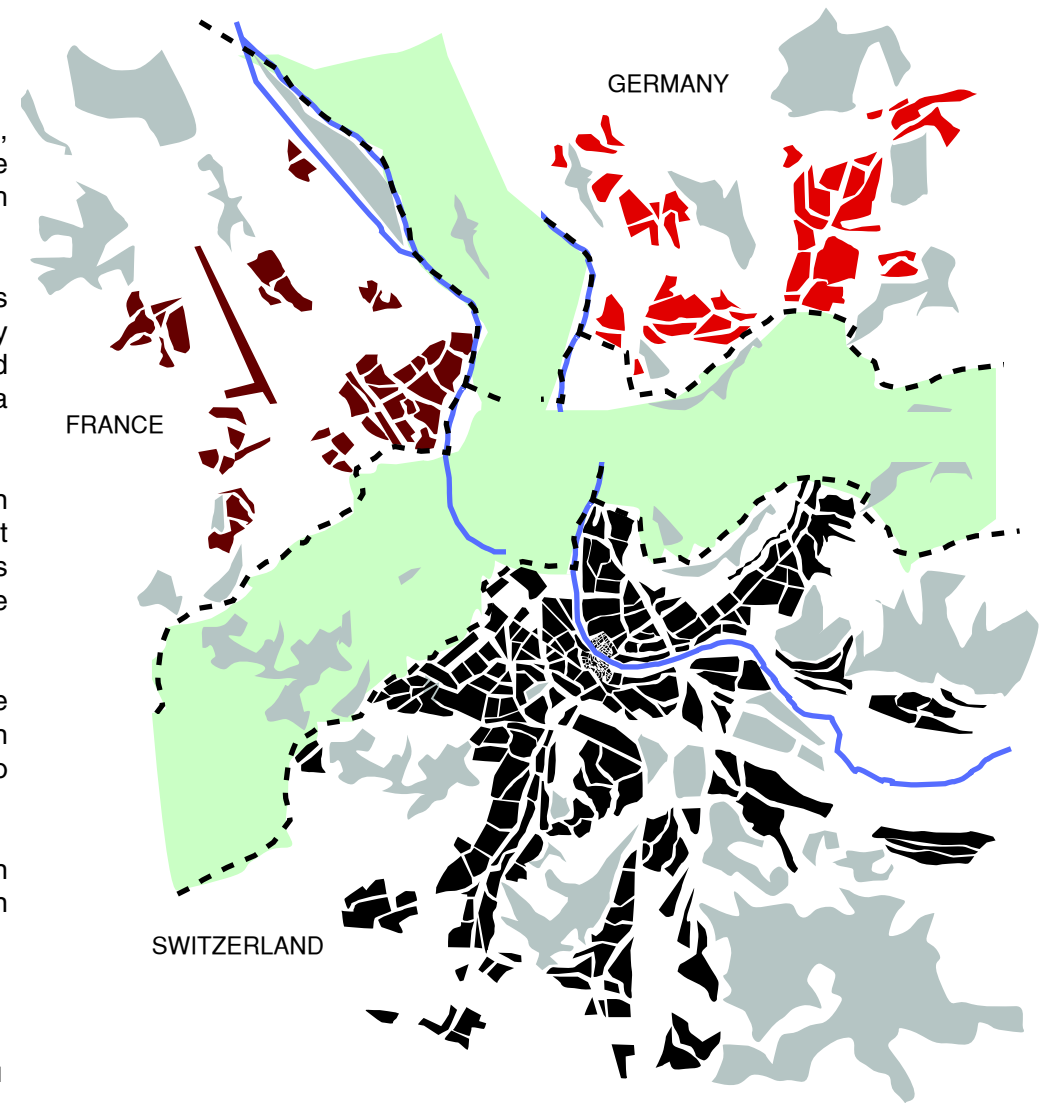
51. WINDHÖFEL, Lutz. Drei Länder, Eine Stadt. Neueste Bauten im Grenzübergreifenden Stadtraum Basel 1992-1997 . 1998. Pg10-14
52. EISINGER, Angelus. SCHNEIDER, Michel. URBAN-SCAPE SWITZERLAND. Typology and Regional Development in Switzerland . 2003.
53. http://www.regiotrirhena.org/
54. http://www.metrobasel.ch/

GERMANY

FRANCE

SWITZERLAND

BASEL POLITICAL DIVISION

TEB (Trinationaler Eurodisctrict Basel) [55]: The essential aim of the cross-border conurbation project is to strengthen the role of the central city and of the Trinational Eurodistrict Basel in the network of major European cities. This project focuses on the Improvement of metropolitan governance taking into consideration civil society in cross-border activities and reinforcing and promoting of the TEB territory as a competitive region at European and international scale.

It is important to underline that the fluxes of the population across the politico-administrative borders have a strong economic impact on the urbanization of the territory. The levels of taxation, for example, enhance the mobilization to France and Germany for the acquisition of goods. The prices on gas instead encourages its purchase at lower cost in Switzerland.

Another political problem arose in the last years related with the uncoordinated urban planning in the tri-national region. This problem evolved into a series of potential conflicts due to the different proposes on land uses [56] of the different municipalities. The problem was ultimately solved under a complete vision of the territory by deleting the politico-administrative borders and coordinating the different policy making processes of the different countries in order to reach a unitary project agreement.

Basel planning has been developed into several dimensions, of which the most important are housing, labor and transportation related to the border and the territorial integration.

THE HOUSING DIMENSION

Real states prices have a strong impact on the urban development on the region. The fact that the prices on the French side are far lower than the prices at the Swiss side have lead to an increase in the demand for housing in and the consequent urbanization of the suburbs in St. Louis and Sundgau. The city has always developed its residential zones in the German and French hinterland but this unbalance process is conforming several territorial difficulties, especially in transporation from the center of Basel to the neighborhoods on the outskirts. As an answer to this problem the scholars of the city are proposing the re-densification of some areas of the city at the Swiss side and the constraints on spatial expansion at the French side [57].



MAIN CROSSBORDER ASSOCIATIONS

RegioTriRhena

metrobasel

TEB



MOVEMENT OF COMMUTERS

MOVEMENT OF COMMUTERS

CONCENTRATION OF WORKPLACES
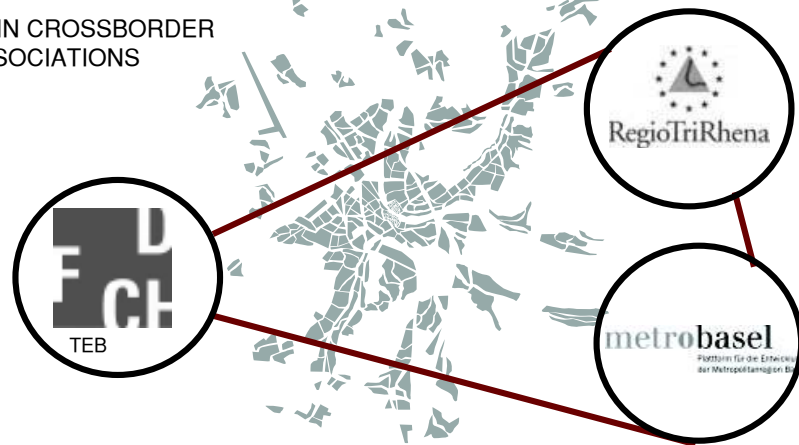
55. http://www.espaces-transfrontaliers.org/en/conurbations/terri_doc_ag_trinational_basel_en.html
56. ETH STUDIO BASEL. MetroBasel. A Model of a European Metropolitan Region . 2008. Pg55
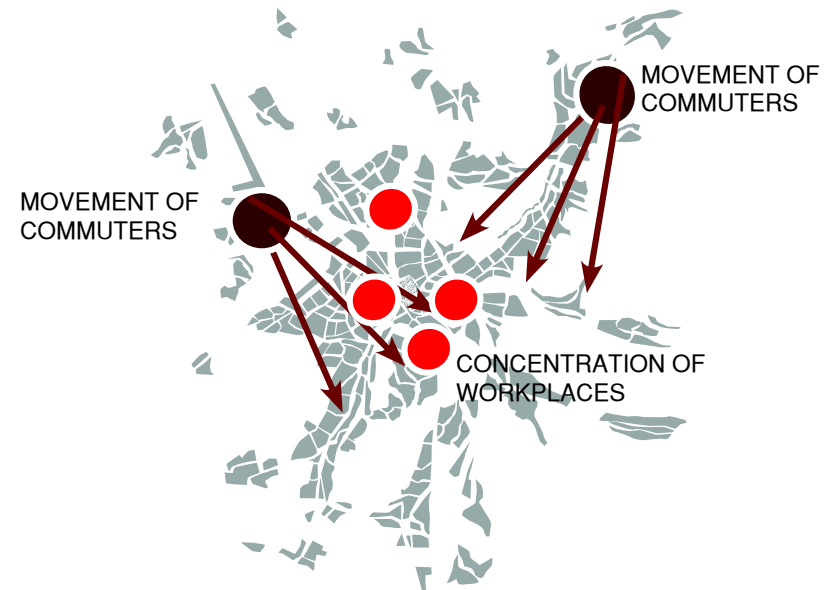
57. ETH STUDIO BASEL. Switzerland An Urban Portrait. Die Schweiz. Ein Städtebauliches Portrait. 2006. Pg17

## THE LABOR DIMENSION

As it was mentioned above, Basel an important hub of research and production for pharmaceutical industries. These zones are divided in two parts of the city. The first is the Novartis Campus, the main campus located in between the three countries national borders. The second campus is the Roche center which is located instead on the Swiss side border.

There are a set of policies aimed at integrating the main industries into a collaborative context. The first policy is embodied in project located an industrial zone known as the Bio Valley[58] . The Bio Valley is envisioned with a unique image of industrial cooperation, but split into three entities in each country ruled in different ways but working together. This cluster is an important source of labor and is an important contributor to the regional economy. The Bio-valley is the core of another cluster related with the pharmaceutical industry in the region .

The Bio Valley project is an important example in which a production complex can be located in between a politico-administrative border, but at the same time respect different aspects of legal norms operating in the  three countries by instead conforming a unitary network of production.

The second approach to the economic items on the Basel metropolitan region is the presence of three ports, each located in a different country. This organizational reality has created several problems in the shipping and the freight efficiency on the region. The solution to such problems has been the concentration of the three ports into one, whilst promoting easy accessibility to the centers of production. Due to their locations in the former ports, some projects for this idea are related to move the whole activities of the ports to the main one in Switzerland and recycling the space for new dwellings at the French and German side.  This project thus similarly permits the reuse of the space with strong possibilities for development.

## THE TRANSPORTATION DIMENSION

One of the main problems into the spatial integration of the tri-national region is the complete lack of relation between the different systems of public transportation. Each municipality developed its own system, which ultimately has become highly inefficient for the users.

58. http://www.biovalley.com

The projects aimed at solving this problem are focused first on the integration of the different systems independent of the border and secondly by proposing a new regional integration with the other cities of the upper Rhine (Basel, Mulhouse and Freiburg) through the implementation of regional railway following the model of the German S-Bahn.

## LEARNING FROM BASEL:

1. Borders on bi-national cities are far from a politico-administrative lines, behaving as a membrane of fluxes instead as a division of the space.

2. Urban policies can be developed to encourage multinational integration of the territory under a cooperative context between the subnational parts.

3. Urban planning must be integrated into a whole single view of the territory in order to avoid possible conflicts, inequalities and the lack of rational associations within the territory.

4. The different land uses must be planned independent of the politico-administrative border in order to achieve coherent relations between the residential and labor zones on each sides, enforced by an integrated system of public transportation.



BASEL METROPOLITAN AREA

## 4.5.3 CENTROPE: Vienna-Bratislava Regional Planning

The Danube's basin is one of the fastest changing zones in Europe. Along the Danube, the Iron Curtain was built in an effort to divide the east and west. The region also was the crossroads other several empires and kingdoms. The outcome of those historical processes are the shaping of a certain chain of cities founded and developed along the river. Among these cities, Vienna and Bratislava stand as two remarkable examples, primarily due to their proximity (60 km aprox.) and their differences based on the politico-administrative borders in constant motion within the zone, leading up to the creation of the modern nations as we know them today.

The first city, Vienna, has remained a capital city from the XIXth century when the Austrian Empire becoming quickly one of the main European centers and world political player. 50 years after, the city saw its best economic growth thanks to the expansion of the empire to eastern, Hungarian territories.

Due to it dramatic expansion during the century, the city started to suffer from spatial densification where the presence of the medieval walls had no longer any function and thus constrained urban spatial dynamics.

During this time, the urban project made by the Viennese architect Christian Friedrich Ludwig Von Föster was materialized; this project tore of the old city walls down and constructed a ring street (Ringstrasse) over the space where the wall was located. This project in 1860 was, with the straightening of the Danube's path, the most important projects which were started within a gradual process of strong urban changes on the city[59].

In order to support a logic territorial development, the municipality of Vienna had to expand its administrative borders to encompass the outer districts of the metropolitan area. In the following years discussions were formulated about the ideal dimension of Vienna and whether or not it should be combined with its suburbs to become a metropolitan area housing near to two million inhabitants. As an example of this discussion, the lawyer Dr. Leopold Florian Meissner sent in the name of the suburb Währing a petition to the Lower Austrian National Committee (the then state government) in which he encouraged the formation of Greater Vienna that should incorporate the suburbs into the city.



VIENNA

BRATISLAVA
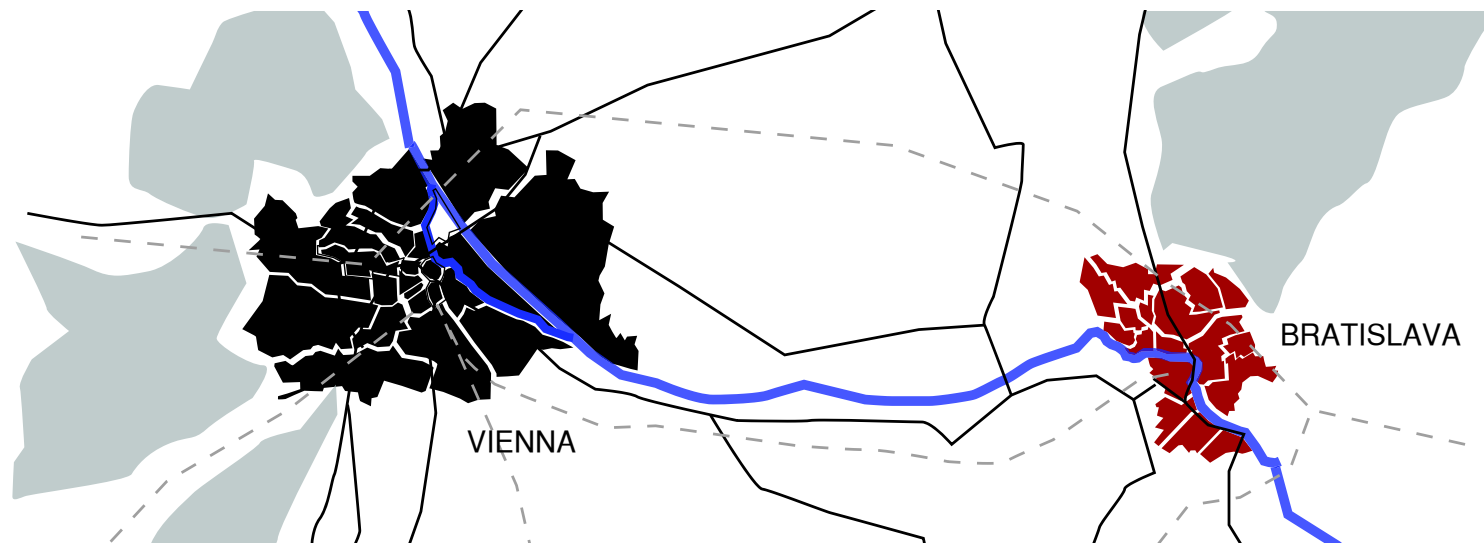
59. CALABI, DONATELLA. Storia della Urbanistica Europea. 2001 . Pg 60-62

Those proposals met with rejection at the Vienna municipal council, however, he had envisioned the possibilities of a further enlarged city. Around 1870 the political vision of the empire related with the construction of a Greater Vienna came a fact by the final decision of the enlargement of the political city. With this plan, the Viennese suburbs surrounding the Ringtrasse, were amalgamated and subdivided into an inner metropolitan area and defined by their functions into the urban policy (Bauzonenplanen).

After the expansion of the city boundaries, there was a necessity to link the suburbs with the inner city, which later was embodied in the project of Otto Wagner. The result of this project was the construction of the Metropolitan at what was considered at the time to be the outer ring of the city[60].

The idea of the Great Vienna came again back into a policy after the national socialist laws for metropolitan areas (Groß-Städte Gesetz, like the one in Hamburg). This was the result of a period in which Vienna was lead by socialist parties, commonly referred to as Red Vienna (Rotten Wien) [61].

The second city encompassing this important international crossroads is the city of Bratislava. This city has formed part of the boundaries of several empires and kingdoms due to its strategic position over the Danube. This condition of external point hindered the cities development as an historical role as other near cities like Vienna and Budapest.

After its Roman foundation, the city was the center of Slav communities. It was then absorbed by the Hungarian empire around the Xth century. As a consequence of its geographical position the city developed a trade tradition that generated substantial economic growth but also made the city a target for constant invasions. After the addition of the city to the Austrian empire in 1536 it was designated as the Hungarian capital under the name of Pressburg.

The town flourished during the XIIIth century becoming the largest and most important city in Hungary. After some decades, however, it started to lose importance due to the move of some public institutions and the nobility to Buda. With the consolidation of Hungary as a nation, the city was captured by the Austrians, guaranteeing the cities first periods of industrialization under Austrian rule. This moment in history is very important cause it gave the first idea of a close linkage with the near city of Vienna and the construction of the first service of public transportation consisted of steamboats sailing between the two cities.



BOAT AND WATER TRANSPORTATION DEVELOPMENT

HIGHWAY INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

RAIL INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT
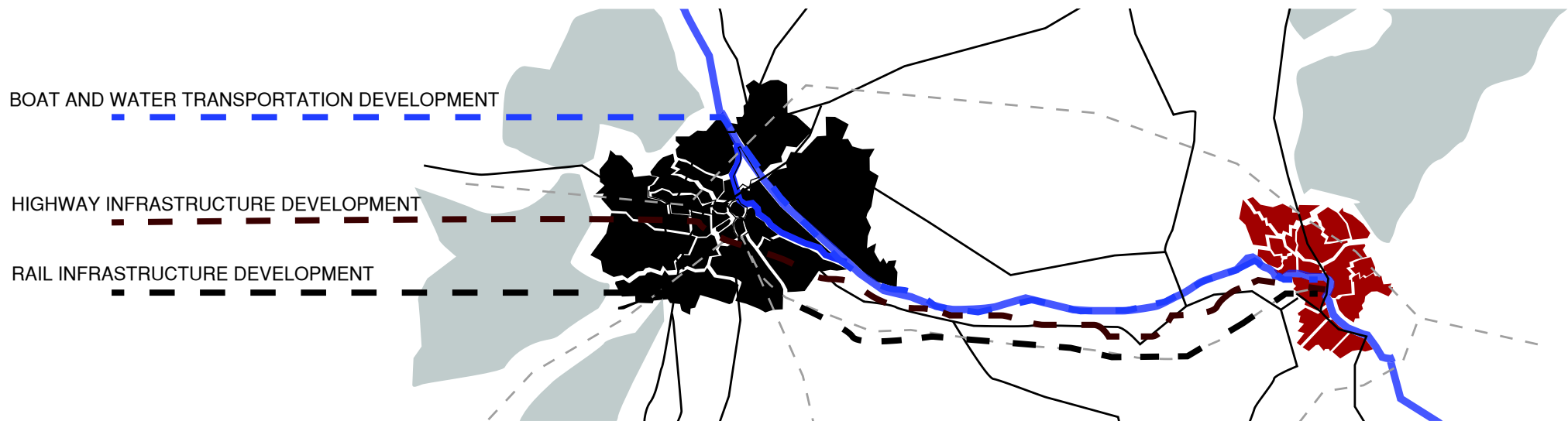
60. ARCHITECTURE IN AUSTRIA A Survey of the 10th Century. 1999. Pg 13-17/24
61. CALABI, DONATELLA. Storia della Urbanistica Europea. 2001. Pg 144-149/203-206

During the last century the city faced several strong political changes. In the beginning the town was composed of multiple ethnicities like Germans and Hungarians. This condition that paradoxically hindered the attachment of the city to the Czechoslovakian new country without certain terms. The outcome was the status quo of free city kept only for one year when Czechoslovakia took the control over of Bratislava despite the opposition of the German and Hungarian communities. During this period the city was renamed Bratislava. With the German Nazi invasion, the city was annexed and modified under the national socialist urban policies (Groß-Städte Gesetz like the one in Hamburg and Vienna), which, amalgamated the independent town of Petržalka at the other side of the river to the consolidated of a metropolitan area.

After World War II the entire country was taken under the communist control directly influenced by the USSR. The Communist Party ruled the nation and the Bratislava city administration began a sweeping program of large residential area construction in Petržalka and the implementation of infrastructure improvement strategies like bridges. In 1992 the country was divided in two independent nations due to the falling of the communism and the Iron Curtain. Slovakia was created as a new country with Bratislava as its capital, returning the city to its prominent national position lost during centuries of socio-political flux.

THE INTELLIGENT REGION[62] AND CONNECTIVITY

Vienna and Bratislava are considered twin cities due to their spatial proximity. Separated by 60 km, the internal mobilization of people and merchandises trough the international border force both municipalities to work together and cooperate in territorial strategic development. Today the dynamics of transportation among both cities are enhanced by the complex system of motorways, railroads and boats along the Danube. The expansion of cities during the time of the Iron Curtain was capped and led to an underdevelopment of transport links. As a consequence of this underdevelopment, the first project came to reality as a planned highway connecting the existing outer ring of Vienna with Bratislava and the construction of a fast rail connection between the Viennese Ostbahnhof and the station of Bratislava Petržalka. The presence of the two airports forced the creation of a bus line among them. Since June 2006 there is also a ferry service in operation between both city centers along the Danube - a service that had previously been interrupted during the Cold War.

PRINCIPAL AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT IN VIENNA AND BRATISLAVA



VIENNA'S SIMMERING

BRATISLAVA PETRZALKA
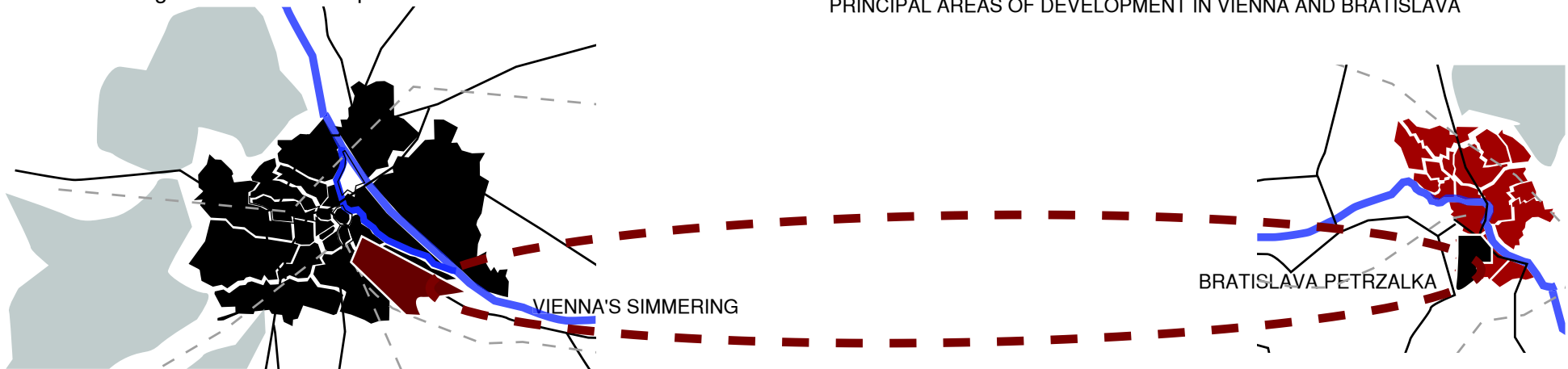
62. HINTERGRUND 25. 12 Wiener Architektur Kongress. Intelligente Regionen. Architekturzentrum Wien. 2004. Pg 84-89

What is important in this point is the fact that the improvement of the mobility infrastructure generates strong pressure for urban renewal in urban nodes like train stations and in the surrounding territory. This pressure, for example, can be seen in the urban transformations suffered in Petržalka and the new projects involved in the south western part of Vienna known as the Simmering[63] . Such development pressures are also embodied the building of the new main train station (Das Neue Wiener Hauptbahnhof[64]) in the place of the Ostbahnhof where the trains to and from Bratislava still work.

## DECENTRALIZATION POLICIES IN VIENNA AND BRATISLAVA CONSOLIDATION

Vienna has been facing a process of decentralization of the decision making context: (The decentralization and thus strengthening the position of the elected district councils[65]) is part of representative democracy.

By the empowerment of the municipal authorities and private actors and the creation and management of local policies granting the planning processes with more flexible tools, the aim of this policy is to widen the gap on decision making processes of the municipalities. This point is applicable in cases like the Simmering zone in which the dimension of urban transportation's nodes have to be developed with a certain liberty of action crossing through some administrative stages. This process is important in the study of the border zone development in the point in which the municipalities close to the international border gain efficiency on their district planning strategies according to the special requirements that they would deserve, like for instance:

> For each district, a district coordinator or a district coordinator is used. He or she is the contact person or contact the District Director or the District Judge. He or she supports the District Director or District Director in difficult issues where, for example, the cooperation of several departments is required at district level. The regional coordinators and coordinators perform their task in addition to the functions assigned to them in their department[66].

In the other side of the Border, Bratislava's Master plan[67] is focused on the consolidation of the outer neighborhoods and districts. What is important is the fact that the housing is probably the main axis generating urban consolidation and

promoting future expansion. New housing developments are mainly concentrated in the zone where the accessibility to the transportation to Vienna are located like for example the train station of Petržalka in the south and Dúvravka-Porvornice in the north. These strategies are target zones for the national Slovakian policy to enhance its participation into the European-wide flow of capital, goods services:

> Master Plan allows for the establishment of regional development poles in the northwestern, southern and southwestern direction, which suggests possibilities for new economic activities and sports and recreation centers of international importance.

It is important to highlight and unpack some of the principal targets of the Bratislava's Master Plan which are related with the study of the borders:

- Implementation of housing: as a key to open the city to the regional fluxes due to the presence of the labor markets in cities like Vienna and the agricultural production across the Danube's basin
- Completion of urban communication systems: to allow and improve the increasing on people and merchandising transportation.
- Start of construction of public transport carrier: as projects for the further economic development of the whole country.



67. http://www.bratislava.sk
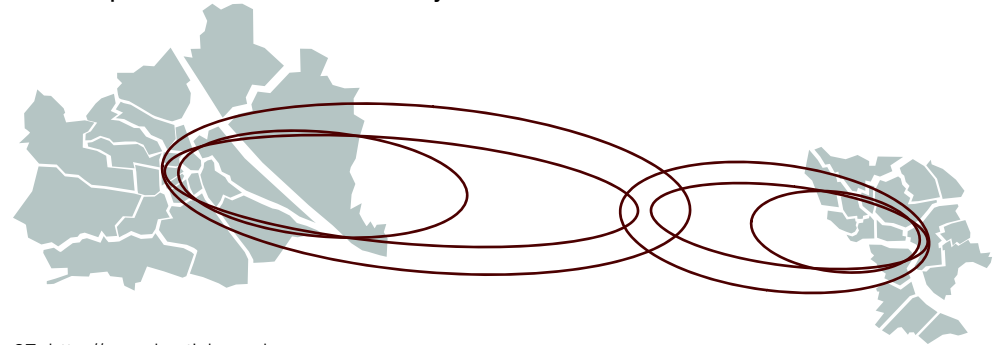
63. POLLAK, Sabine. URBANEK, Katharina. EDER, Bernhard. Das Andere Stadt. Projection Simmering. Pg 104
64. http://www.wien.gv.at/verkehr-stadtentwicklung/hauptbahnhof.html
65. http://www.wien.gv.at/bezirke/dezentralisierung/bedeutung.html
66. http://www.wien.gv.at/bezirke/dezentralisierung/kooperationen.html

CENTROPE

> CENTROPE takes the opportunity of intensifying integration and cooperation in the border quadrangle between the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Austria. With the Central European Region, a common economic space and place to live in is evolving into an attractive and strong region[68]

CENTROPE is a project of integration in different levels the area around the central Danube. This project involves Austria, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary, envisioning a sole territorial entity in order to develop common strategies of economic growth and social integration.

It is important to underline some of the main axes of the CENTROPE'S vision related with the territorial development beyond the politico-administrative borders:

1. Demography: this axis is focused on the recognition of how population is distributed across the territory in order to know the different levels of accessibility to the urban commodities and services. It is also used to develop a wide sense of social fairness. The tool to reach this purpose is the improvement of a cross border statistical data base (Geographic information systems GIS[69]). Another aim is to offer the users online data and analyses targeting the improvement the level of knowledge concerning the new European region. As a portal for digitalized information on the Central European Region, the CENTROPE Map will create a basis for coordinating cross-border projects and plans in such areas as traffic, the environment and urban development.

2. Regional Development: the social inequalities across the CENTROPE region are the target of this axis. The tool to solve this phenomena is the enhancing, improvement and increase of human resources through the territory and cross-border co-operation: The concept is based on the experiences of the CENTROPE Business & Labor Report, which was elaborated as a prototype in 2007. This pilot project showed that such an annual report on the economic and labor market development of the CENTROPE Region can provide an important common information basis for future policy initiatives. Yet, to reach this objective major efforts are necessary to improve the data as well as analytical methodology[70].

3. Spatial Development: The change and strength cooperation between the planning authorities of each country should find a context in which the regional strategies are rooted under the concept of cross border cooperation. Those strategies should be aligned under a common view of the economic and urban development: The pilot project led to an overview of relevant projects and instruments in the areas of infrastructure, transport, environment and planning, also considering the sub-topics of water management and long-term spatial development. In this context the most diverse documents, planning tools and actors in the sub-regions were registered and depicted in a clear and accessible way[71].

4. Spatial Integration: This axe is related with the fading off international borders in terms of: led intensive efforts to meet the demand for modern, efficient transport links as a basis for improved mutual accessibility[72]. The spatial integration is also related with the concepts of the settlement of an European traffic corridor as a typical crossroads zone enhanced with sustainable strategies

5. CENTROPE as a Vision for 2015: the center and origin of the cooperation of CENROPE'S project is located on the synchronization of the labor market and the possibility to distribute the economic development fairly across the territory

CENTROPE CONCEPT OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION



68-72. http://www.centrope.com
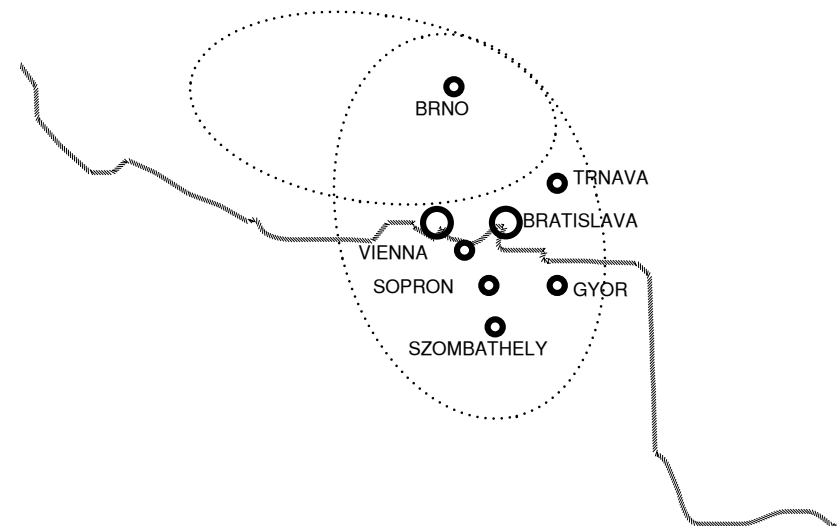
LEARNING FROM VIENNA - BRATISLAVA:

1. Borders on bi-national regions can become an opportunity to the sustained economic development based on the principles of spatial integration and territorial development.

2. Shared policies of spatial development can be achieved only in an open and wider context of political cooperation.

3. Regional planning can be oriented to the integration with the other territorial partners departing from local to metropolitan entities.

4. The empowerment of the territorial entities at different levels can improve the spatial development and integration close to the politico-administrative borders.

CENTROPE
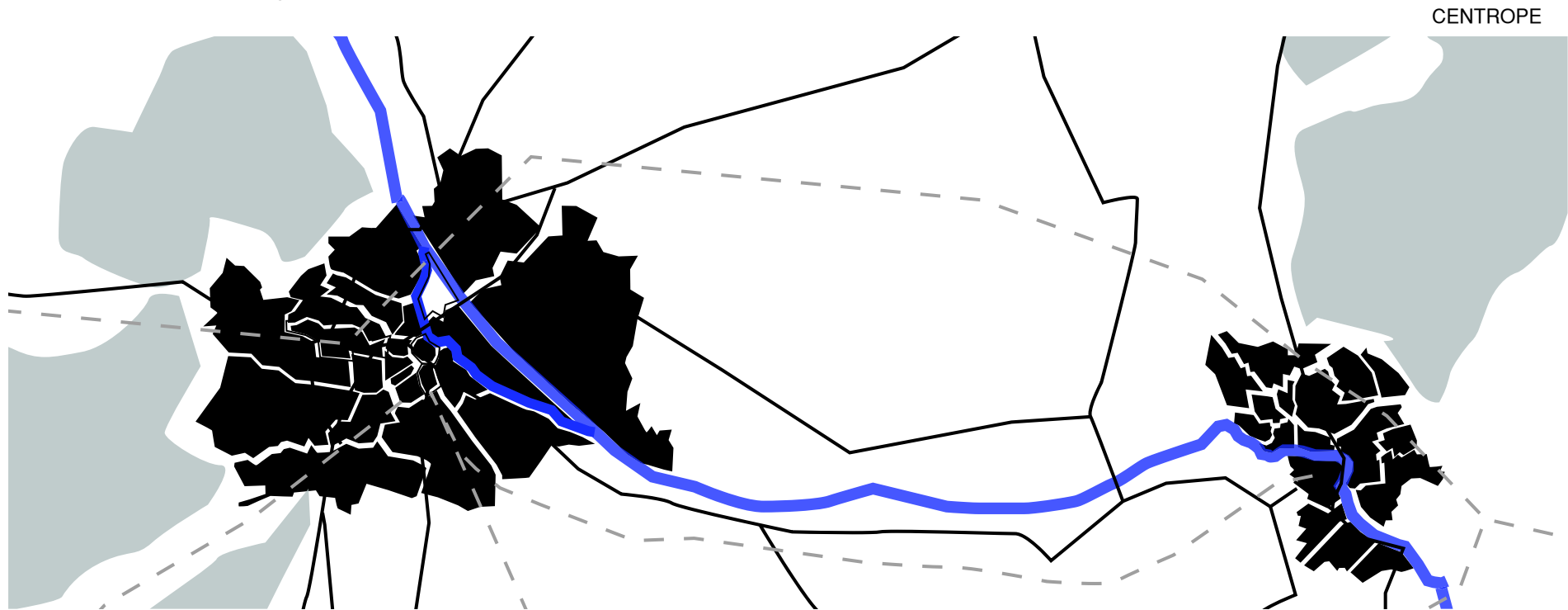
## 4.6 RELATION BETWEEN BIRDERS AND PLANNING OPPORTUNITIES AS A CONCLUSION FROM THE CASE STUDIES

To conclude this chapter it is highly important to arise a set of conclusions related with the presence, nature and complexities of the urban borders according to the processes saw on the case studies in search for general ongoing turned into global strategies independent of the place where they can be settled.



| HAMBURG | BERLIN | JERUSALEM | NICOSIA | SLUBFURT | GORIZIA - NOVA GORICA | BASEL | VIENNA - BRATISLAVA |
|---------|--------|-----------|---------|----------|----------------------|-------|---------------------|

808-1937 / 1192-1944 / -1000-1967 / 672-1974 / 1200-1945 / 1001-1947 / 374-2010 / 500-2010 200-2010

1938-2010 / 1944-1989 / 1967-2010 / 1975-2010 / 1945-2010 / 1947-2010

1989-2010
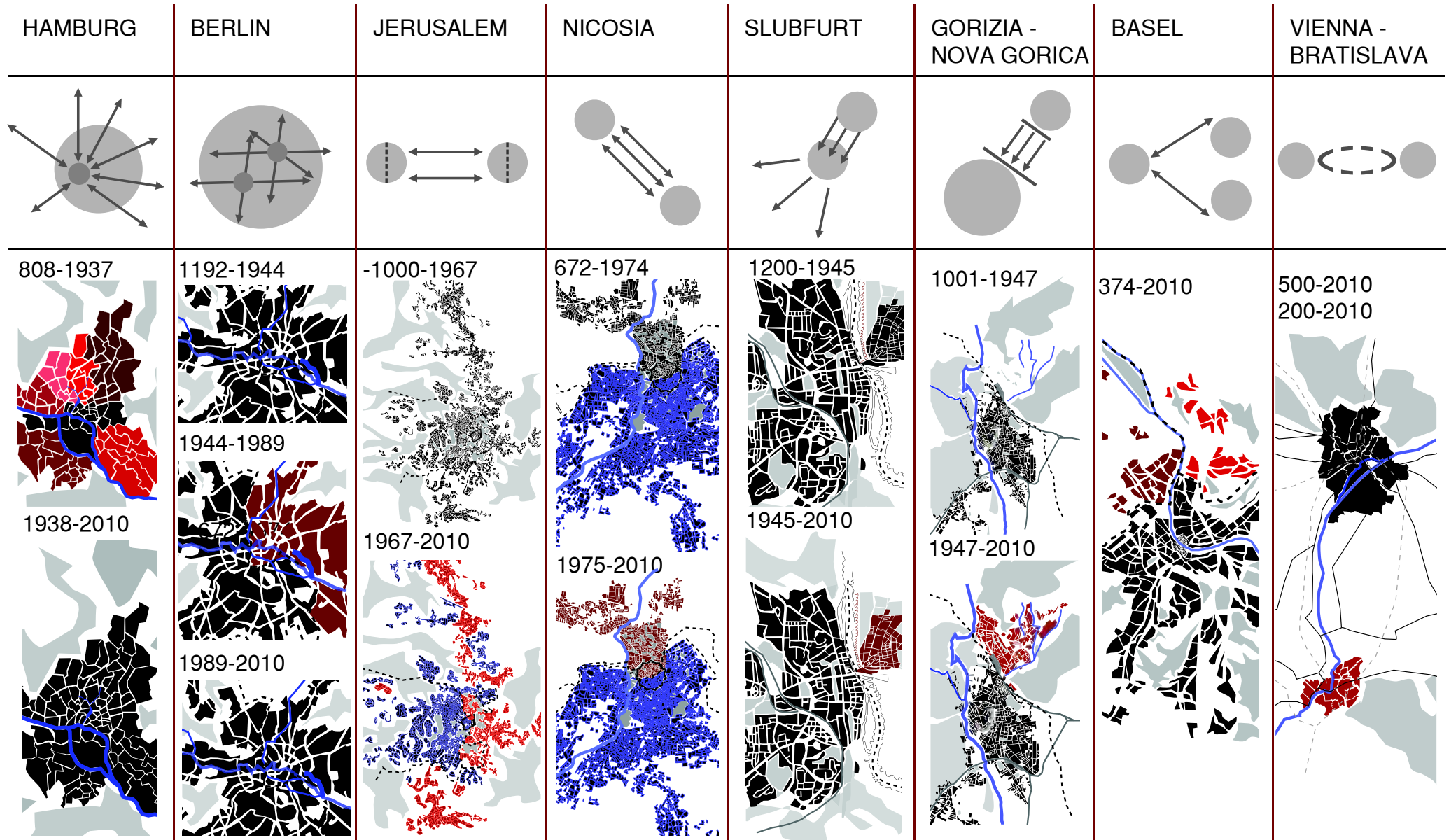
## 1 Case study Hamburg:

The politico-administrative borders can hinder the logic development of the territory because the political spatial units are propensity to disagree about the territorial development, in this case the decision making process is highly inefficient and the solution developed in Hamburg in particular and in the occupied cities by the German national socialist party in general was the modification of the politico-spatial structure of the cities from a group of autonomous districts to a whole metropolitan area, process achieved where the politico-administrative borders have not shaped by strong socio-cultural differences and it is an open one. This solution increase the efficiency on the decision making processes but constraint the communities to develop their own partial plans based on particular necessities.

## 2. Case study Berlin:

The borders are in constant change because of the historical processes, in cases when the borders sharply created a differentiation within an urban entity, the reunification brings an optimal opportunity to sew the urban tissue and support by the way, the possibility to renew and re-structure the city by the development of linking strategies departing from micro scales to a bigger one as a set of partial developments, those linking strategies of reunification are only presented when the former border had a level of closeness near to a barrier or by-pass and the communities and the city itself suffered a strong degree of separation and segregation.

## 3. Case Study Jerusalem:

The Politico-administrative borders become potential matter of conflict and struggle when the socio-cultural borders are not clear or the differences cannot achieve a minimum degree of tolerance and social sharing, but even in strong conflict zones, there are possibilities to develop planning strategies and projects designed to fade or weak the socio-cultural borders or at least, improve the level of tolerance among the communities in conflict by public policies and strategies, those strategies or projects are normally based on public commodities improvement as social housing development and public space development.

## 4. Case study Nicosia:

In this case we saw how a socio-cultural border became a barrier and the inherent break into a city due to some historical processes, anyway and beyond the presence of the barrier it is possible to achieve some social agreements based on the natural economic development of the city under the coordinated planning processes facing a possible reunification and working apart from the political dimension, this shared development strategies can be achieved only by the recognition of local potentialities working independently of the possibility to dismantle the physical barriers.

## 5. Case study Slubfurt:

Politico-administrative borders do not always refer to a social separation context on cities split, divided or growth within them, the normal development of the cities at both sides can keep the cultural differences without the necessity to hinder the planning strategies and the coherent regional development where the border is located. This phenomena can be realized only by the creation of international platforms cooperating for the achieving of a natural development of the territory, in this case the sharing strategies can be a result of a natural development of the metropolitan area but can also create social disagreements specially related with fluxes of people and merchandise, but can be developed only under a context of a complete open border.

## 6. Case study Gorizia-Nova Gorica:

The shared policies are natural outcomes of the territorial development of policies on cities located aside the international borders, this cooperation context is maybe the most difficult strategy to develop but once it is a reality, a set of shared targets can easily be achieved. Under a total cooperation context and without the conflict aspects proper from the socio-cultural and politico-administrative disagreements some other items like welfare or urban commodities can reach a dimension of sharing within the normal administrative differences at the border area.

## 7. Case study Basel:

Further from politico-administrative borders, there's important to generate coherent regional plans in order to rise a logic spatial development of the territory, in Basel we saw several attempts to achieve this goal by the cooperation between private but specially private actors, in this case economic development face the necessity to get a coordinated planning strategy in order to be competitive on the global markets even when it means to face some administrative troubles like national different policies and interests.

## 8. Case study Vienna-Bratislava:

The last case faces a shared planning strategy into a higher scale, the regional one, here the border is understood as an opportunity to improve the economic growing of the twin cities by a mutual support and aims. This case star with the compulsory necessity to develop as first the transportation system by different forms and then the consequences on the urban changing and its inherent integration.

In this case the inter-institutional cooperation is faced as a necessity where the governments attempt to integrate their particular policies in order to achieve a logic territorial development.

Leticia Around 1940. Historic Picture from the Leticia's P.O.T
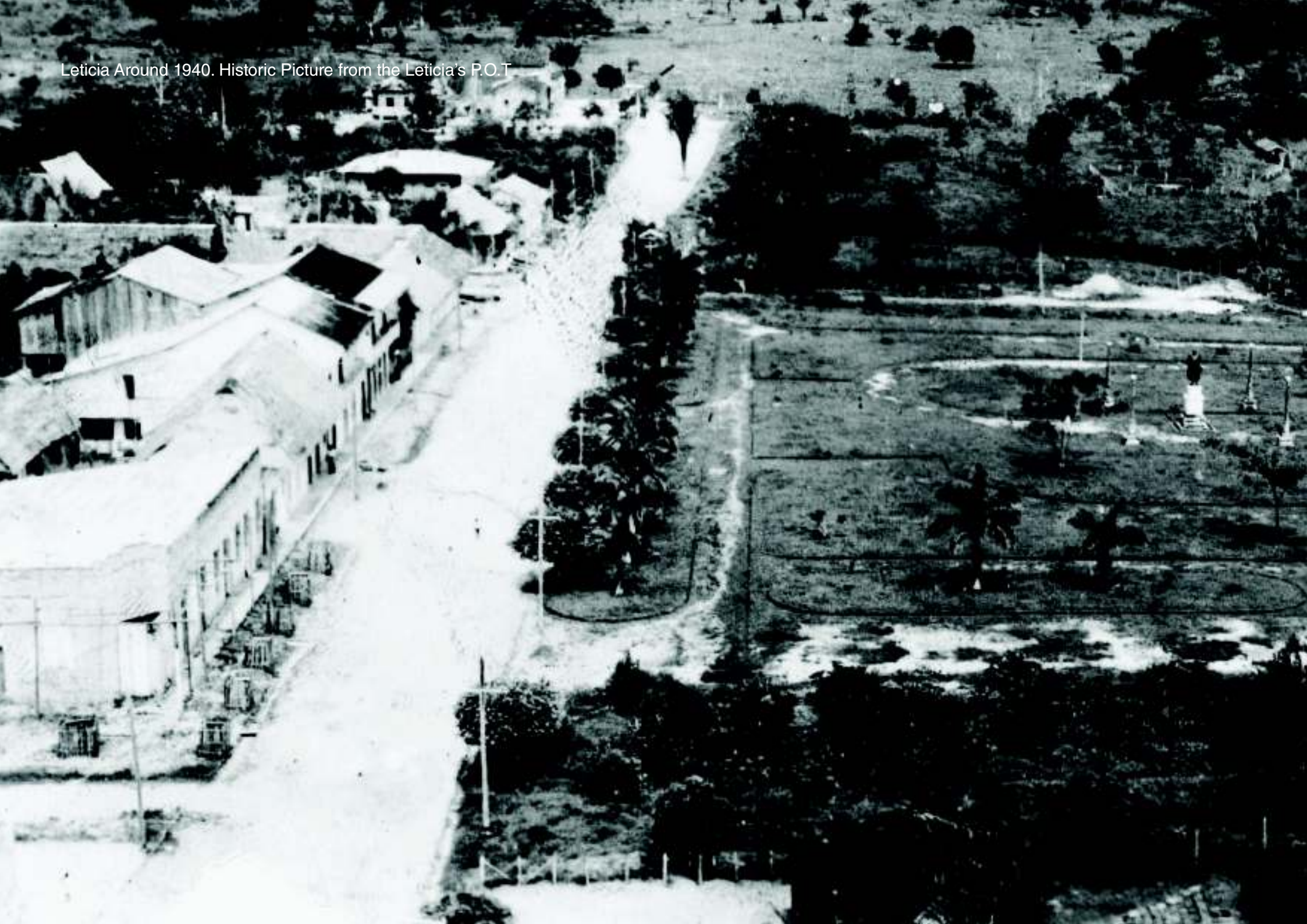
## 5.1 INTRODUCING A NEW CONTEXT:

There is a city in the middle of the Amazon rainforest, this city is called Leticia and is the capital city of the Colombian state of Amazonas. Leticia is located in the extreme south of the country placed in between the border within Brazil and Peru, but the whole urban context is contended and embedded into a most complex urban entity. In fact the city is complete attached to a similar mirror at the Brazilian side, a city called Tabatinga, and functionally linked with a little sishermen settlement in the Peruvian side called Santa Rosa del Yavarí, located just by crossing a part of the great Amazon river.

*The Universidad Nacional de Colombia has been developing an expanding strategy consist on the opening of different research and academic centers on the national borders cities. This strategy is based on a descentralization process of research activivies approaching on the process the richness and potentialities able to take advantage from them on the border areas. Those new research centers are supporting today very important studies about environmental, economic, social and demographical issues of the colombian edge territories. I had the opportunity to visit the amazon basin area during the spring of 2007 being part of an academic group of students and professors from the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, my former university.*

*That interdisciplinary group was targeted to know the region departing from very different points of view, being one of the most important issue to recognize the social features of the communities considering the mixture of ethnical groups placed in the region.*

*The study trip developed along a week a set of visits to local authorities, native communities and communities in general in order to achieve a real understanding about differen socio-political phenomenas that are hapening within the region. Those visits supported by the university and several local gudes open a wide interesting panorama about what is happening on the Amazon Basin regarded with demographic phenomenas, economic and environmental issues and governance strategies in order to improve the social welfare of the local inhabitants. Whereas we also faced very negative aspects like the cultural hibridization, the loose of cultural values and the environmental damage.*

*Along the trip there where a set of approaches related with the different carieers of the students involved. The main target of tis work is to comprehend and analyze what it is happening in the region into the planning dimension and the urban approaches presented within the new global phenomenas.*
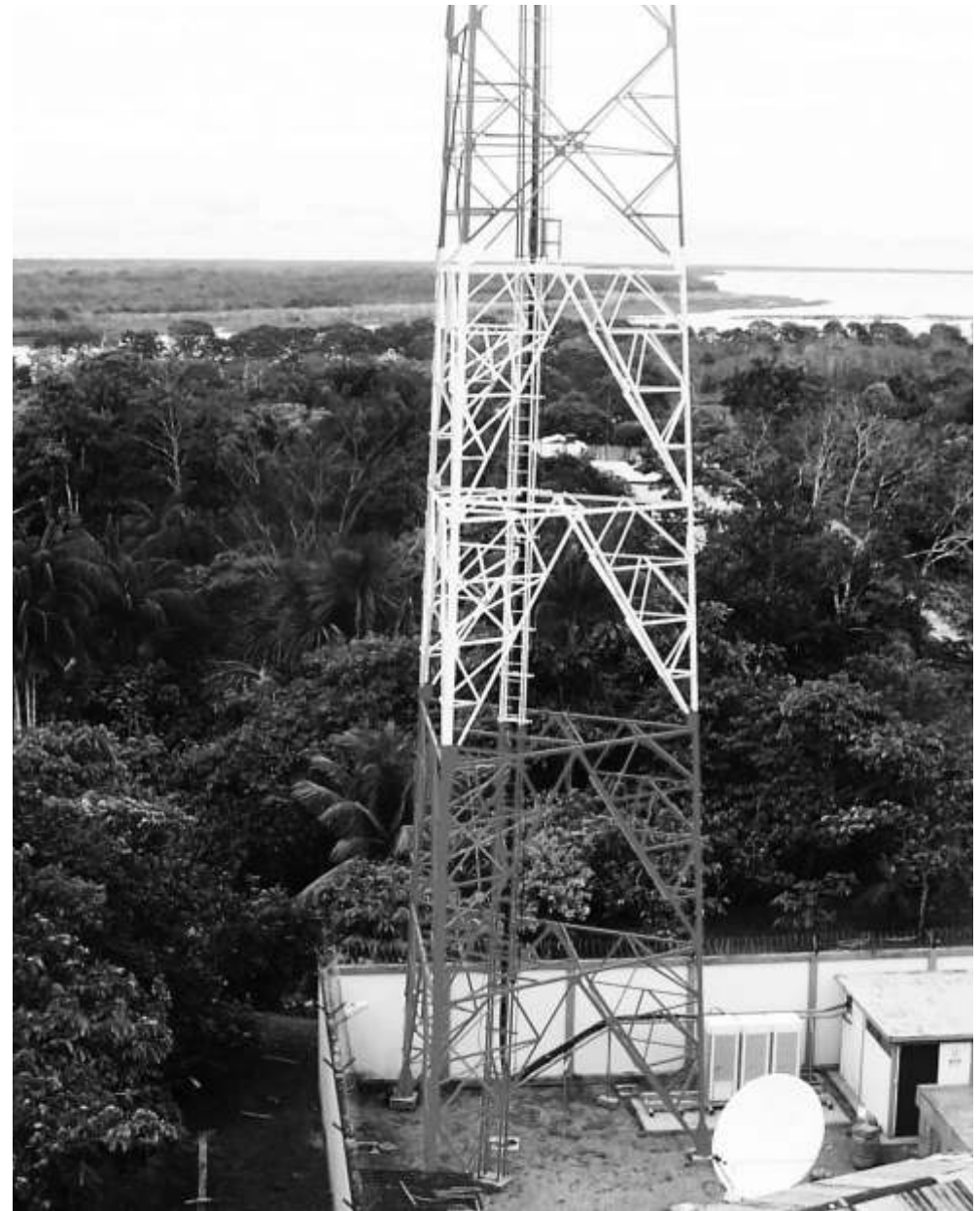


Economic Development on the Amazon Basin. Photo by Diego Pinzon. 2008

During the study trip, the group faced the reality of the region avble to be explained by a set of very important topics:

1. The region is embedded into a natural contexts rich in environmental resources, those potentialities are outcoming very contrasted consequences. That environmental richness is attracting research importance into the academic dimension. It can be considered an infinite source of new studies and scientific developments but is also a target of uncontrolled environmental damage. The negative environmental consequences are supported by the higher concentration of resources and the lack of power from the local governments unable to manage a controlled exploitation and increased by the normal levels of corruption usual on the Latinamerican political structures.

2. The region is shaped by a complete patchwork of ethnical groups from the native Indian communities, passing through settlers coming from other parts of the country, to itinerary temporary immigrants and international tourists. Those continuous fluxes of people are bringing another economic souce but are also creating an cultural hibridization on the native communities and its inherent loss of cultural values.

3. The region as an important and strategic point does not escape from the complexities and conflicts inherent of the Latin American history. Corruption and lack of transparence on the public affairs hinder the possibiliyt to reach a real planning process based on a global improvement of the inhabitants.

Furthermore, it is very difficult to reach the real dimension of the possibilities and problems which are happening topday during a week trip. The academic sector is now opening into consideration the importance to discuss the problematics on the region and its global role.

In the end it is possible to say that the region can be understand as a victim of its own qualities, ecological diversity, strategic geographical situation and high availability of resources, in contrast with the problems of poverty, social segregation, drugs traffic and environmental destruction.

This panorama allows to rethink the possibilities of the socio-spatial development within a new perspective by the use of a defined case which is this urban context in between the Colombian Brazili9an and Peruvian Border.

The border within this new contexts is headed to play a very important role related with the socio-spatial integration. The aim of this work is to rethink on the border possibilities instead of its separating nature. The border in the Amazon Region is an item, a reality able to support the social integrationnof the communities and will be considered in that way along this work.



Uncontrolled Exploitation of Natural Resources . Photo by Didier Rey. 2008



Cultural Hibridization of the Native Communities. Photos by Didier Rey. 2008



New Dynamics on the Region: Tourism. Photo by Diego Pinzon. 2008

The governments of the three countries involved have been developing policies in the region stripped into three main axes based on political strategies to fight poverty, underdevelopment, and environmental damage with different levels of success.

Therefore, what is important in the context already described? The city of Leticia-Tabatinga embodied usual features of the Latin-American cities, that means a strong socio-spatial segregation, concentration of economic resources placed along the territory while a strong mixture of cultures and ethnical groups that brings the city a sense of heterogeneity.

This heterogeneity is displayed within a special ecological context that must be preserved, this location brings to the city enormous opportunities to develop environmental policies while at the same time it can extend its natural demographical growth by space densification keeping the urban borders in order to conserve the forest.

The history on both cities start from the XIXth century, being founded as ports aside of the Amazon river. Those cities founded along the Amazon's riverside has been supporting trade activities specially relared with the exploitation of natural resources.

The main urban settlements which had the purpose to take the rubber and sugar cane out from the plantations inside the forest through shipping them along the river.That fearure shaped the cities as port settlements in the begining whereas some of them like Manaus and Iquitos got a metropolitan size.

The nature of the economic support of the cities within the region has been suffering a process in which the population tends to increase and dicrease depending on the econimic cycles based on the demand of those natural resources. During the econimic expansion the cities had faced a demand for space that they are not ready to support. This phenomena granted the construction of informal housing estates which afterwords became slums.

The economic attachment to the urban development has more to be analyzed but the aim of this work is further focused on the actual problem and the potentialities rather than be a study of the historic processes which shaped the cities on the Amazon Basin Region.

Geographic Position and Amazon Basin Map and distribution of population into the main urban areas



VENEZUELA
GUYANA
SURINAM
COLOMBIA
FRENCH GUYANA
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
CHILE
PARAGUAY
URUGUAY
ARGENTINA

BELÉM
LETICIA - TABATINGA
SANTARÉM
MANAUS
IQUITOS

MANAUS
1'688,524 Inhabitants
43% Pop

BELÉM
1'437,600 Inhabitants
36% Pop

IQUITOS
406,400 Inhabitants
9% Pop

SANTARÉM
276,665 Inhabitants
6% Pop

LETICIA-TABATINGA
81,607 Inhabitants
3% Pop

OTHER MUNICIPALITIES
80,500 Inhabitants aprox
3% Pop

It's important to underline that the Colombian part (Leticia was a part of Peru during its establishment and along the XIXth century) was founded following the Spanish rules established during the Indian Laws. Into the urban realm that means a strict grid within a square that represents the main social powers (the church, the town hall and the justice hall) whereas Tabatinga had been a part of Brazil from its foundation in the XVIIIth century as a military checkpoint in the Spanish-Portuguese border[1] .

This urban entity (Leticia-Tabatinga) also shares the border with a little Peruvian settlement named Santa Rosa del Yavarí just by crossing a strip of the Amazon river.

At least it is important to underline that beyond the physical proximity of the cities, they are ruled by very different political ways of planning. The Colombian city Leticia as a municipality with more than 10.000 inhabitants[2] must develop a master urban plan that is called POT (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial) produced by the central government as a national law. It considers the future developments, the functional zoning and the environmental structure among other characteristics.

In the other hand the Brazilian city of Tabatinga has the opportunity to follow its own urban planning system due to the federal structure of the Brazilian government. The city has the opportunity to choose its own policies. Tabatinga has a larger population [3]. Among both cities we have a shared (even bi-national) area of approximately 82.000 inhabitants plus the common inner migrations of Peruvian inhabitants from Santa Rosa del Yavarí (approx 2.000) that sums altogether the fifth most populated urban area along the Amazon river after Manaos (Brazil) [4], and Iquitos (Peru)[5], Belem and Santarem.

These latest features set the ground and the arguments for developing a research about the present and the possible developments for a city or group of cities in that specific context. Starting from the general dimension of the multiplicity of borders and to the latest briefly description it is possible to rise some features of our case.

1. PREFEITURA DO TABATINGA: www.portaltabatinca.com
2. 38.955 inhabitants according with the last census made in 2008.Municipality of Leticia
   www.leticia-amazonas.gov.co
3. Approx 42.652 inhabitants. Estimated population during the in the 2004. Municipality of Tabatinga.
   http://www.portaltabatinga.com.br/nossacidade.htm
4. 1'688.524 inhabitants according with the last census made in the 2006. Municipality of Manaos. http://
   www.manaus.am.gov.br/culturaeturismo/nossa-cidade/informacoes-gerais
5. Approx 406.400 inhabitants. Estimated population during the in the 2007. Municipality of Iquitos.
   http://www.munimaynas.gob.pe

1. The city of Leticia-Tabatinga as an urban entity, administrative and cultural divided by physical and administrative borders, can work together in order to generate a notion of unity into of a whole territorial view.

2. There are specific ethnographical and ethnical features shaping the urban area of Leticia-Tabatinga.

3. Both cities (Leticia and Tabatinga) bear their own infrastructural commodities as airports, universities, industrial zones and ports, while they could work together integrated instead of working apart and compete.

4. The cultural diversity made visible by the bilingual speaking, going through the many different ethnical groups into each parts could be thought as a potential resource of planning coming from the populations and been developed as a set of policies of bi-national integration.

5. To underline the necessity to define an external boundary to the forest in order to keep urban growth under control. This physical border will play an interesting set of relations within another kind of urban boundaries coming from administrative, cultural and social shapes, use of the space and socio-spatial relations located into a different set of spatial permeability layers.

The specific case brings to the actual study an opportunity to go deep into the analysis and the possibilities to explore new potentialities related with the development of the border. This work head toward the possible using od the policies and strategies already seen on the global case studies and their possible approach in a very different context.

Cities of the border faces the necessity to briefly explain an historic overview of the region. This historic approach will move later to a socio-economic explanation of the main phenomenas that shaped the territoy into the regional spatial distribution.

In the end, all the possible conclusions and featires rose from this analysis will be used as a cornerstone facing the possibility to be used into a whole panorama. The last part will be the possible use of those features in the strategic way that the case studies brougt to the actual reality.

## 5.2 A HINDSIGHT ABOUT THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LETICIA - TABATINGA

### 5.2.1 Foundation

The occupation of the Amazon territory started as a long term process with the settlement of the first Indian tribes between 13,000 and 17,000 years before the present, those tribes occupied the territory based on isolated communities or bigger ethnical groups. The first inhabitants of the region were partially isolated from the Andean communities due to the nature of the territory until the first waves of European settlers around the year 1500.

With the arrival of the first settlers to the continent, the presence of different levels of culture down to the Amazon basin made evident the existence of a logic spatial distribution. The more advanced communities had already built an extended network of urban settlements and roads supported by the fluxes of people and goods along the river.

The presence of those territorial networks were approached by the first Spanish and Portuguese settlers by the military or economic conquer of the native communities, keeping the base territorial network of urban settlements overlapping them with the new political division of the territory.

During the colonization processes of the Amazon basin, new territorial policies were introduced to the contexts in two different levels. The first one is related with the nature of the foundation of new towns ruled by the Spanish Indian laws superimposed on the territory without consideration of particular features of the land.

In the other hand, the territory was structured according to the extraction of natural resources as a system of economic zoning being the Amazon river the backbone and increasing of intensity near to the ocean [6].

The Logic of this allocation rooted by the imposition of circulation infrastructures, created as a land planning during the conquest and structured during the colonization period, had settled a footprint into the present: in one way , because of this spatial development, there's a permanent infrastructure network than can not be modified easily band because there are reasons to preserve it, it still remains as the economic base of exportation of agricultural goods and raw materials. In the other hand, because of the logic of the settlements followed a logic of domination over the native communities into a spatial urban hierarchy [7].

It is important to remark the fact that the occupation of the Amazon region can be divided in two kind of conquest considering the nature of them. The first one was the military colonization of the space and the foundation of urban nodes as an outcome of this process and the religious colonization. Processes in which the territory was sharply divided, the political border between the Spanish and Portuguese territories was placed. Here is the starting point of our target case of Leticia Tabatinga.

Around 1776 Tabatinga was founded as a military fortress over the river as a checkpoint and the edge of the Portuguese occupied zone but also as a custom control of slaves on the way to the extends agricultural zones of the Brazilian Northeast. This point came back to the Spanish dominion exactly into the place where the modern city of Tabatinga is placed, a strategic geographical position were the river shrinks and the military control is easier. Whereas the metropolitan area started to be developed based in two very different models of planning.

Following the Portuguese model Tabatinga has an spatial organization without a clear urban structure and mostly shaped by the natural features of the land. It doesn't have a main square surrounded by the buildings that represent the public powers but it follows the condition to be a spatial dominant crossroad checkpoint. The case of Leticia is a typical Spanish case in which a city is founded in 1867 following the Indian rules with a clear imposed grid with a main square, public buildings and the first approximation to a port-city conception [8].

6-8.  ZAMBRANO, Fabio. La Ocupación del Territorio en el Amazonas Colombiano. Pasado y Presente del Amazonas: su Historia Economica y Social. 1992. Pg 13-18

Handmade Map of Leticia-Tabatinga 1978. It explains that Tabatinga was a fortress untl 1980 whereas there were before a fishermen village called El Marco at the border side.
Victor Vargas, Hector Lopez. UNAL

## 5.2.2. Exploitation

From the beginning and during the processes of colonization of the Amazon basin, the urban centers were developed as port towns and located aside the river. They were founded mostly on the base of trade centers specialized on shipping products from the forest. The transportation started with human exploitation by slavery but where transformed later based on subtraction of gold and rubber.

The trade condition shaped the cities of the Amazon basin on the nature of the commerce. The slavery was the main economic activity during the colonization periods, most of the native tribes were military dominated by the European conquers in order to get workforce on the agricultural and mining zones.

During this first stage of urban consolidation and instead of the military fortress, the urban inhabitants were mostly itinerants whereas the towns were not enhanced with permanent infrastructures until the first waves of raw material exploitation of the forest. That situation forced by the later mobilization of slaves from Africa due to their better conditions for physical labor.

But once the continent was totally occupied and Spain and Portugal settled their dominion boundaries and political division of the territory, a period of low subtraction of natural resources was established before the vulcanization process discovery. This industrial innovation forced the acquisition of enormous quantities of rubber and the Amazon supplied the demand. The rubber boom brought an unexpected growing on the economies of the trade centers along the river increasing also the urban population [9].

9. GARCIA MORCILLO, Juan. Del Caucho al Oro: el Proceso Colonizador. 1982
    Online version on : revistas.ucm.es

Being the demographical expansion the mainly consequence of the rubber exploitation, the workforce moved from the flatlands in the Colombian-Venezuelan border and the north of Brazil.

Like Jose Eustacio Rivera wrote on his book La Voragine, the condition of the workers inside the forest were no less than simulated slavery but the conditions of the workers on the urban centers were far from be better [10].

Not only a demographical expansion was the consequence of the rubber boom. The first one 1879–1912 supported by the European industrialization period brought within European entrepreneurs heading for the high profits and supported by the higher prices on the European markets. This economic development supported the urban expansion of the main trade centers specially the ones located on the Brazilian side like Manaus and Belem, bringing with this expansion period the first investments on infrastructures specially electricity and rail systems.

The last important raw material exploited in regional mass trading processes that should be considered is gold, the production of this metal was at the beginning a low craft production made by the native tribes but it became an industrial process, due to this aspect, the industrial processes of extraction were modernized.

This aspect had also some important impacts on the cities, the presence of heavy machinery moving to the interior for mining activities forced the improvement of the infrastructures like the ports but also the construction of roads able to allow the mobilization of resources in and out of the forest through the city specially in the case of Leticia where the road to Tarapacá was Built.

At the end it is important to remark the fact that many projects have been designed in order to improve the mobilization of goods through the Amazon basin specially in Brazil. Today those projects include the possible connectivity to Peru and Colombia originated into the necessity of resources from those countries to the increasing industry in Brazil. Those projects are hindered by the logics of the environmental preservation taking the whole region to the dichotomy related with environment versus economic development, a point that will be explained forward.

## 5.2.3. Spatial Development

Being Tabatinga an older settlement, it was not more than a military checkpoint until the latest 70's.

After its foundation what was named as Tabatinga was related exclusively with the military settlement beside the fishermen village that growths at the north part it called El Marco. Later in the 80's both urban entities were united into a whole town keeping the name of Tabatinga.

Leticia was founded as a city from the beginning. It was not more that a sum of houses with a bare Spanish urban structure far from the main cities in Colombia and spatially apart due to its geographical position. This feature was approached by the Peruvian government during the invasion of the city on 1932. This invasion was facilitated by the lack of territorial control from the Colombian authorities. After the recuperation of the national territories, the Colombian government faced the necessity to populate the territory by increasing the institutional presence, investing on infrastructures and supporting the demographical expansion [11].

Whereas there are four more point to be remarked in order to understand the spatial development related with the economic and historical processes:

1. The construction and improvement of infrastructures followed a very different process in the two cities. In Leticia the airport and main roads were a part of a national policy to enlarge the institutional presence on the territory. At the Brazilian part, the airport was built due to a military necessity. This aspect has a logical explanation: Leticia is the capital city of the Amazonas region, hence the public institutions are stronger and more developed even if the population is lower than Tabatinga. Instead Tabatinga is just a border town on the huge Brazilian Amazon Region. It is not been even a main town and complete administrative dependent from Manaus and Belem, the biggest Amazon cities.

10. RIVERA, Jose Eustacio. La Voragine. 1924. Pg 287-385.

11. MEJIA GUTIERREZ,Mario. Aportes Populares Hacia Modelos de Ocupación en la Amazonia. 1990. Pg 39-65

2. The spatial organization rose from the foundation logics and nature of both cities are complete different.  Leticia is better prepared for allowing trade activities whereas Tabatinga is more developed as a border point where the institutions are not stronger than Leticia. This aspect explain the necessity of Tabatinga to be supplied trough Leticia on goods which cannot be fulfilled from Brazil, but also Tabatinga offers a bigger real state opportunities specially on housing aspects than Leticia.

3. The urban growing process have been following the socio-economic development of Latin American region. The urban expansion during the last 30's years had multiplied the metropolitan boundaries more than  the 200 years before from their foundation. Leticia granted its urban condition from its foundation whereas Tabatinga was no more than a military settlement attached to a fishermen village until the latest 70's. This sudden spatial growth had negative consequences on the urban structure on both cities like the lack of infrastructure building and  unable structures from the town governments to develop public policies and design strategies facing this phenomena.

4. The different historical development of the city has enriched the metropolitan with different urban patterns creating on the process a set of physical morphologies. The grid in Leticia create a homogeneous spatial distribution in comparison with Tabatinga where the physical structure of the city obeys to an overlapping of spontaneous growth.

## 5.3 AN ECONOMIC INSIGHT INTO THE COLOMBIAN-BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION DURING THE LAST CENTURY

What's the socio-economic aspect on the development of Latin-America which are important, and which are the consequences within our specific territory? In order to get an answer it is necessary to describe the economic features in Latin America facing the global context and working by a Zoom In coming from continental aspects to local consequences. Using this methodology  it is possible to reach an analysis that allows the recognition of several the environmental features and problems.

For this task is very relevant to refer the work of the essay of Jose Antonio Ocampo[12] called *Hirschman, industrialization and development*.

12. OCAMPO , Jose Antonio. Hirschman, industrialization and development theory. 2008. See the online Version http://www.scielo.org.co

This is an essay in which it is possible to underline three main aspects of the economic features in the Latin American Region during the last century: the later procesws of industrialization, the dynamics of development and the crisis on substitutes.

This overview is heading also to briefly create and comprehend the  linkage within those global phenomena and the specific consequences in the Amazon region.

It's here where It is special to name that those couple of concepts (socio-economic development within an environmental preservation and valorization) shape a potential urban re-conceptualization. Based on this consideration about how will be possible to approach this context and what it is feasible to propose on it. The allocation in between a bi-national border plus the presence of two different economic contexts and views are able to develop a share strategies of planning processes.

### 5.3.1. The Latest-latest Industrialization in Latin America.

Ocampo highlights the counterpart concepts of two very important economists of the last century: Albert Hirschman adn Alexander Gerschenkron. Both economist following their academic tendencies in orded to understand the idea that basically shares the same principle:  the very late economic development process in Latin American countries were an outcome of the constant  fluctuation rhythms in the economic growth.

Albert Hirschman develped an scenario in which the economies are strongly related with the level of development of the politic structures. Following this idea he faced the process that degenerate the decission making structures the failures and weaknesses of the economic processes.

Hirschman located that instability stressed on the politico-administrative context. His theory was based into three main regional instabilities. The first one is corresponded with the great depression and the two world wars that downplay and crack the consumption on the north American and European markets of some products and, the inefficacy of the internal markets to recover the production highly concentrated in some products. Secondly and because of it, there was an unbalance on the national debts payments and the crack of the internal markets specially those ones concentrated on the exportation of manufactured products, this problem became thirdly in a process of instability of the process of industrialization and a sense of weakness into the production.

In the other hand Gerschenkron [13] using his historic point of view formulate the fact in which, at beginning there was a strong discontinuity into the economic policies along the last century considering the continuously political changes. In the other hand there is a tendency to concentrate the agricultural production on few products on few products becoming most of the times into the arising of monopolistic productions (for example the coffee production in Colombia). The last characteristic of the Latin-American economies is the lack of internal strong markets and variety of manufactured production that inherently create a pressure over the levels of consumption.

It's possible to underline the phenomena in which the agricultural production's instabilities became into a process of progressive change of the economic models into the region. The primary sector quickly became into a secondary and tertiary sectors of production specially of manufactured goods and services. This change in the urban panorama had as a consequence, the concentration of industrial activities in cities and its inherent urban accelerated expansion[14].

## 5.3.2. Dynamics in The Development Process

In this point it is important to underline Jose Antonio Ocampo's analysis related with his work about Hirschman[15] theories about production and decision making processes.

From the beginning it is important to point inflexibility of the production in Latin America originated into the concentration of primary production on few products at the beginning of the century. The fluctuation of the economies during the first part of the XXth century ended in a continuous periods of crisis of local production specially of manufactured and agricultural products. There was the first temporary crisis with the crack of the prices and its increases and afterward, the recovery of the production due to the recovery of consumption in north America and Europe before and in between the world wars. This complete panorama of fluctuation and instability did not allow the economies to have a sustainable growing.

It is very important to underline the continuous changes in the political model in Latin America moving from leftist governments to extreme rightist dictatorships into short periods. This phenomena could not allow at the beginning, medium long term policies designed to establish the production and the internal markets and at the end, blocking the participation of many actors into the decisional and policy making processes.

The last factors became into an in equilibrated development of some economic sectors and the stressing of national production in few products understood it as a constraining and fluctuating cycle of the economy.

## 5.3.3. Crisis OnThe Importation Substitutes

Finishing this abstract and general remark, it is important to name a last factor that explains the instability on the growth of the Latin American Economies.

The process of inflexibe production and concentration plus the instability of internal markets inflicted by the volatile face of the consumption was an strategy to solve the lack of resources for public investments. This volatility on consumption and the public debt with external banks and governments increase its intense specially during the second part of the XXth century. This phenomena increase the national debt along the time touching high levels and compromising the internal consumption.

At the end, this work will consider as main economic strategies the concepts pointed in the UN-CEPAL document called Guia de la Gestión Urbana [16]. This program aims to create policies of guaranteeing the local, territorial and economic conditions(that means access to social housing, employment, and public services), the recovery of the state as a provider of basic conditions after periods of privatization, ensure the fair social surplus redistribution and economic resources and at least, enforcing the urban governance.

13. GERSCHENKRON, Alexander. Economic backwardness in historical perspective. 1962
14. MEJIA GUTIERREZ,Mario. Aportes Populares Hacia Modelos de Ocupación en la Amazonia. 1990. Pg 39-65
15. OCAMPO , Jose Antonio. Hirschman, industrialization and development theory. 2008. See the online Version http://www.scielo.org.co

16. JORDAN, Ricardo. SIMIONI, Daniela. Gestion para el desarrollo sostenible de America Latina y el Caribe. 2003. UN.-CEPAL-Cooperazione Italiana. Pg.50-51

FOUNDATION

1776 - 1867

RUBBER BOOM

1879 - 1912

ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES
(Wood)

1920 - 1940

RUBBER BOOM II

1942 - 1945

TODAY
(Ecotourism, Narcotraffic)

1950 - 2010

Demographic Growth

Demographic Growth

LETICIA

TABATINGA

SLAVERY AND COLONIZATION   EXPLOITATION   LATE LATE INDUSTRIALIZATION   CRISIS ON THE IMPORTATION SUBSTITUTES
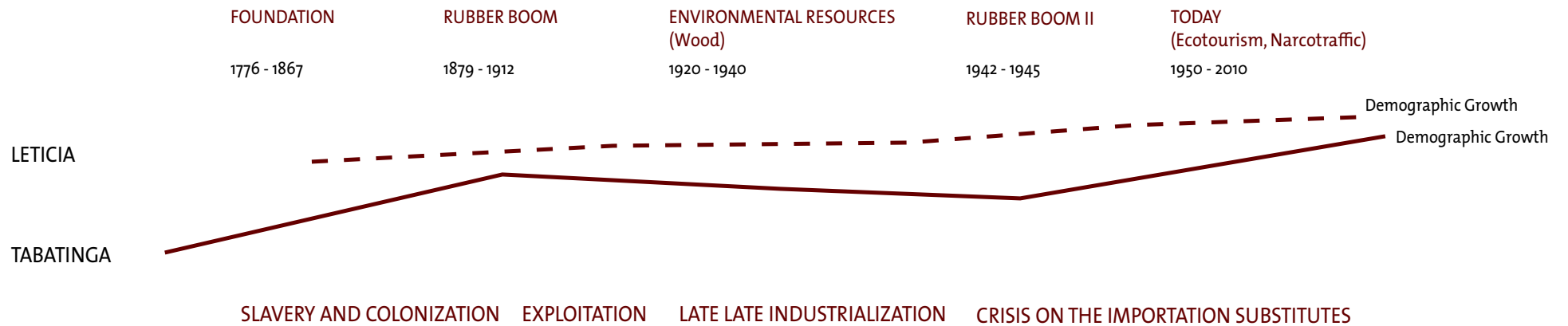
Economic development and processes in the Amazon Basin Region

## 5.4 PLANNING POLICIES IN THE COLOMBIAN-BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION

Is very important to briefly analyse and point the main policies related with environmental preservation and economic process from the two institutional regions involved: the Gobernación del Amazonas in the Colombian side, and the Estado do Amazonas in the Brazilian side.

The urban development on both cities have being designed under the idea of a n economic development which shall improve the social welfare of its inhabitants. The development of those policies are stronlgy re;lated with the economic historic processes. This linkage made important to explain those economic process before and support later the planning explanation.

It is important to emphasize from the beginning that the whole Amazon region has been developing its economic structure within the constraints of its own dichotomy. This dichotomy is located in the reality that the region has a great richness of environmental resources buy most of this resources evoke an environmental worse and damage. It is a region with lower rates of education and poverty that surely deserves investments for social welfare [17].

The research and essay developed by Tapia Morales[18] describes us perfectly the dilemma related with the economic development in the Amazon region. There are policies supported by institutions like BID (Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo) through policies like IRSIA (Iniciativa para el Desarrollo de Infraestructura en Sudamerica) financing strong policies of mega infrastructures un order to improve the accessibility of the region and facilitate the mobilization of resources[19].

Here we are in from of a new period of colonization after the first one happened during the XIXth century due to the boom production of rubber[20].

But coming back to the dichotomy, there are two kind of projects that contrast with its environmental impacts. The first ones are clear located into the dimension of environmental damage. Those are for example the extensive cattle activities in Brazil, production of Bio-Fuel in Colombia, projects of hydroelectric generation approaching the water resources in Brazil and the presence of extensive mono-agricultural production in Colombia.

17. JORDAN, Ricardo. SIMIONI, Daniela. MARTELLI, Giorgio. Gestion uia de la gestión urbana. UN.-CEPAL-Cooperazione Italiana. 2003. Pg.21-22

18. TAPIA MORALES, Carmensusana. Amazonas: ¿Desarrollo o Conservación?. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. 2009. Pg.1-12
19. JORDAN, Ricardo. SIMIONI, Daniela. Gestion para el desarrollo sostenible de America Latina y el Caribe. UN.-CEPAL-Cooperazione Italiana. 2003
20. RIVERA, Jose Eustasio. La Voragine. 1924. Pg 287-385.

In the other hand there are policies to enforce economic activities like eco-tourism, environmental research centers and implementation of new technologies.

Colombia: The departmental plan for development 2010-2011[21] (*Plan Departamental de Desarrollo*) focus the urban development policies into 6 main axes:

1. Tourism: Support of eco-tourism activities
2. Agricultural: Financing sustainable projects
3. Food Safety: Enforce the productive systems by    economic support
4. Competitive Development: Support of scientific and technological research
5. Energy: Coverage expansion
6. Transports and Infrastructure: Maintenance and building of new roads and bridges

But what its important are the urban impacts on the region:
1. Re-densification
2. Constraint over urban growth
3. Improvement of infrastructure
4. Sustainable agricultural expansion
5. Expansion of research centers as universities.

Brazil: The federal condition and level of decentralism on the planning decission making structres in Brazil became into a context in which the policies are not involved into a whole master plan but are been developed as separated initiatives[22]:

1. *Programa Zona Franca Verde* (Green Agro-Industrial development)
Program to enforce the sustainable agricultural activities across the territory.

2. *Projeto Ponte Do Rio Negro* (Bridge over the Black River)
The project consist in a bridge over the Black River at the side of Manaus, This bridge has the aim to link the municipality of Ponta do Ouvidor, with the neighborhood of Compensa.

3. *Programa Bolsa Floresta* (Forest Bourse)
Program to integrate the Indian communities by educational programs.

4. *Programa De Apoio Ao Polo Industrial De Manaus* (PIM) (Manaus Industrial Hub)
Consist into a strategy to develop and enforce the Industrial hub in Manaus heading to create more jobs.

5. *Programa De Habitacao* (Housing Program)
Expand the program to build more social housing within the urban settlements.

6. *Sistema De Ciencia, Tecnologia e Edicacao* (System of science, technology and education)
Economic enforce of the educational institutions and research centers.

And the Urban Impacts originated by those initiatives can be summarized in the fact that the spatial expansion, the improvement of infrastructure and the growth of educational and research centers are keeping the main efforts into the decission majing contexts.

It is evident that both territorial entities (*Departamento del Amazonas and Estado Do Amazonas*) face the sustainable development over environmental research. Whereas it is very important to point two negative outcomes: the infrastructural improvement is a fact that has been built with or without environmental impacts studies and the spatial expansion is not considered a whole problem whereas urban expansion are related to specific case conditions.

The federalism in one hand and the centralism in the other hinder the possibility to reach a shared planning strategy. This difference make very difficult to find a common point on both decission making structures where the sharing strategies can be concieved. Besides of this difficulty, it is possible to head for a new dimension in which the common strategies can be realized and supported by the empowerment of the local governments.

21.  PLAN DEPARTAMENTAL DE DESARROLLO 2010 – 2011(Un Amazonas con oportunidades para todos). Pg 163-169
http://amazonas.gov.co/apc-aa-files/6264333162633965666330383832303862/PLAN_DE_DESARROLLO_2010_2011.pdf
22. Estado Do Amazonas.  http://www.amazonas.am.gov.br/governo.php

## 5.5 AN OVERVIEW OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT VS ENVIRONMENTAL PRESERVATION

It is important to make an overview about which kind of urban plans and policies are both municipalities facing in their respective development strategies, regarding specially the urban constraints, future expansions and environmental impact.

This part of the work is focused just into bring a briefly overview about which are the main actions into the territorial and urban plans. Those strategies will be deeply explained and analyzed in the 6th part of the work.

The municipality of Leticia has been developing a local master plan called P.O.T (*Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial*) forced by the national laws. This plan was published in the year 2002 and it has been uploaded every year with several small changes.

The local master plan of Leticia is focused on urban consolidation related with land uses, future developments and evaluation of risk zones, the head of the policy says:

It is, as one of the main actions, the necessity to define the zone designated for the urban expansion that will be enabled for urban uses during the legal duration of the local master plan. The destinations of this land will be defined by the expansions forecasts and the possibility to enhance them with infrastructure like roads, water pies and waste management, public space and urban commodities. The defined zone was already found and shaped in the north part of the city in a place in between the city and the airport until the national border [24].

At least, the local master plan set of policies and projects are articulated in five main axes related with the urban context:

1. Building and fitness of necessary infrastructure according with the socio-economic development of the municipality, as well as its integration into the regional and national dimension.

2. To plan the migration fluxes and human settlements in the way that the territorial occupation process be a systematic process and avoiding environmental sustainable risks and demographical troubles.

3. Promotion of high productivity activities, feasible, not polluting and enhanced with a high social surplus coming from the private sector.

4. Articulation of the regional local master plan with the local development policies.

5. International treaty enforcement related with environmental preservation, especially those treatments with the border nations (Peru and Brazil).

Therefore the Leticia's master plan can be summarized in three main goals. Urban expansion constraint into the defined zone, development of economic activities (mainly located along the port and the center) and at least, a strong public control over the environmental resources.

In the other hand and as there we explained in the first part, Tabatinga has not an structured master plan of development, the PNDU (*Política Nacional de Desenvolvimento Urbano - National Policy of Urban Development* ) is a national strategy that has been evaluated by the Brazilian government. The municipality is not constraint to organize a general development plan.

The Brazilian planning model is more related with single strategies without the necessity to be embodied in a general plan. For the useful of this work there will be explained the main development project of the municipality of Tabatinga it is a free trade area called ALCT (*Área de livre comércio de Tabatinga - Free Trade Area*)[25].

24. Alcaldia de Leticia. Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial.
   http://leticia-amazonas.gov.co

25. Prefeitura de Tabatinga. Área de livre comércio de Tabatinga - ALCT
   http://www.portaltabatinga.com.br

The free trade area is headed to be a free trade node within the Amazon region in order to facilitate the entry of a group of products (especially agricultural, fishing and internal consumption) from Colombia and Peru to Brazil detached of taxes by the airport and the port. Mainly those products will be shipped along the river until the Industrial Hub of Manaus.

What is important here to name are the urban consequences that this policy can generate into the city. It is important to underline the enforcement of the infrastructure, specially the one related with freight like the airport and the port. Considering this necessity and because of it, it is predictable the growing of the population with their obvious demand of housing and another urban commodities. Tthe increasing of demographic fluxes due to the economic development that it's supposed to enhance the city as a new node related with merchandise exchange.

## 5.6 THE DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECT.

The Colombian-Brazilian region of the Amazonas has been colonized long time ago. Starting from the Spanish, then by different the settlers trying to approach the economic boom like the rubber production. Ultimately there is the phenomena of the increasing presence of tourism as a new actor involved into the economic development of the region.

To this mix of outsider cultures it is important to underline the presence of native groups integrated in different levels with the settler and local communities.

But what is important to describe is in general, which are the main ethical groups and which are their levels of integration and how is that represented into the construction of the twin cities.

Into the theoretical construction of those profiles it is important to separate from the beginning the 2 main groups. Settlers and natives are located indistinguishable along the bi-national border.

The native communities are distributed in several ethnical groups complete independent and enhanced with different cultural approaches.

LETICIA (Gobernacion del Amazonas) [26]:

Settlers: 39,500 aprox

Economic Activities::
- Agriculture
- Tourism
- Commerce
- Education

Native Communities:

- Bora (Population aprox: 676)
Economic Activities: horticulture, hunting.
Features: Concentrated alog the Via Tarapaca and dsistributed on small communities, Medium level presence on urban areas, especially in Leticia.

- Tikuna (Population Aprox: 7,068)
Economic Activities: horticulture, Fishing, Craftmanship.
Features: Communities located along the Amazon River, High presence level on urban areas, especially in Leticia and Pueto Nariño.

- Uitoto (Population aprox: 7,343)
Economic Activities: hosrticulture and fishing.
Features: low presence level in urban areas.

TABATINGA (Estado Do Amazonas):

Settlers: 42,000 aprox

Economic Activities::
- Agriculture
- Tourism
- Freight
- Education

Native Communities:

- Tupi (Population aprox: no data)
Economic Activities: horticulture, hunting.
Features: Communities spread across the territiry, low presence level in urban areas.

- Tikuna (Population Aprox: 20,000)
Economic Activities: horticulture, Fishing, Craftmanship.
Features: Communities located along the Amazon River, High presence level on urban areas, especially in Tabatinga and Benjamin Constant.

26. http://www.lablaa.org/blaavirtua
http://www.todacolombia.com/etnias/

At the end it is important to underline from the last box as a set of conclusions:

A. The native communities which economies are strongly based on craftsmanship and horticulture production are the ones with an strong presence into the cities.
B. It's very important for the cities the agricultural production of the native communities further than the   exportation of food from other regions.
C. Instead of food, the other commodities are exported from the other  parts of the countries by the river    or by the airports.
D. The native communities are becoming a target for a set of touristic activities.
E. For most of the native communities like the Tikuna, there are not national borders.

It is very important to highlight the presence of another important actor involved into the regional dynamics which are the immigrants. There are  two kinds on international migrations within the region (Colombians and Peruvians represents different profiles of outsiders with also different aims), those migrants move mostly to the Brazilian territory for different reasons like work demand and the relative stable structure of the society far from the internal conflicts[27]:

It is possible to rise some aspects as a set of future points able to be considered into the planning realm:

1. The region has been shaped as a zone of strong migrations from the Spanish – Portuguese colonization, going through the boom of the rubber plantations until nowadays, when there are strong movements of human groups specially to the main urban nodes.

2. The actual migrations are originated by the poverty in the rural areas and by the way becoming an unexpected resource of cheap labor for the industrial activities in the main urban nodes as Leticia-Tabatinga and Manaus.

3. The Peruvian migrants moving from the inner territories to the bi-national border are principally coming from Indian communities and countrymen aiming to find a better quality of life in the Brazilian side of the border.

4. The Colombian migrants are arriving to Leticia specially because of the internal conflict, then settled into the city while they develop alternative and informal economic activities[28].

In this part of the work, there was the attempt to briefly describe a phenomena of mixture and constant change that the different ethical groups represent into the region and the dynamics that can arise from this pattern of continuous transformation, understanding them as possibilities and potential territorial issues.

Settlement in the Colombian Amazon Region. Photo by Didier Rey. 2008

27. DE OLIVEIRA, Marcia Maria. A mobilidade humana na tríplice fronteira: Peru, Brasil e Colômbia. 2006. Pg.183-195

28. ROMERO MUNAR, Andrea. Aproximación a la problemática del Ordenamiento Territorial en el Departamento del Amazonas.2002. Pg.27-93

**6. POLICY ANALYSIS**

ZONNING ON THE LETICIA'S LOCAL MASTER PLAN
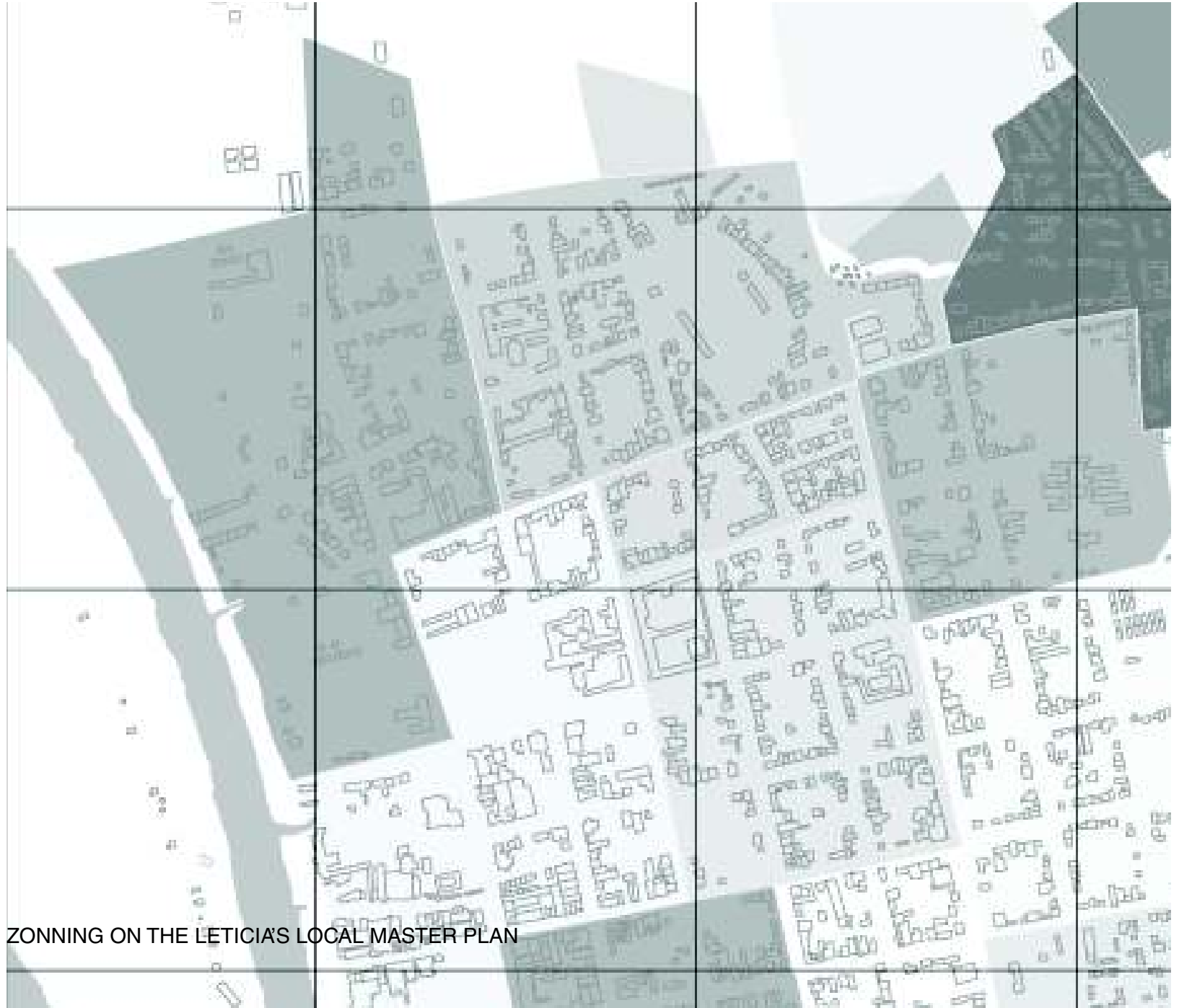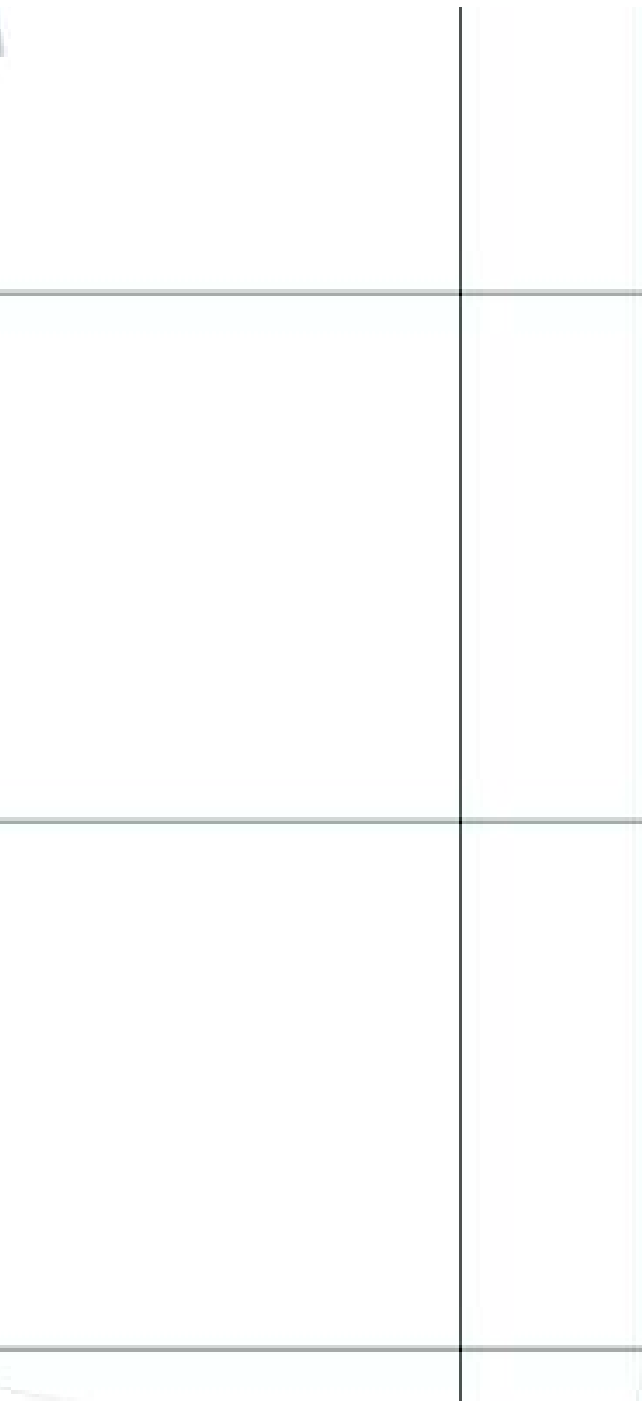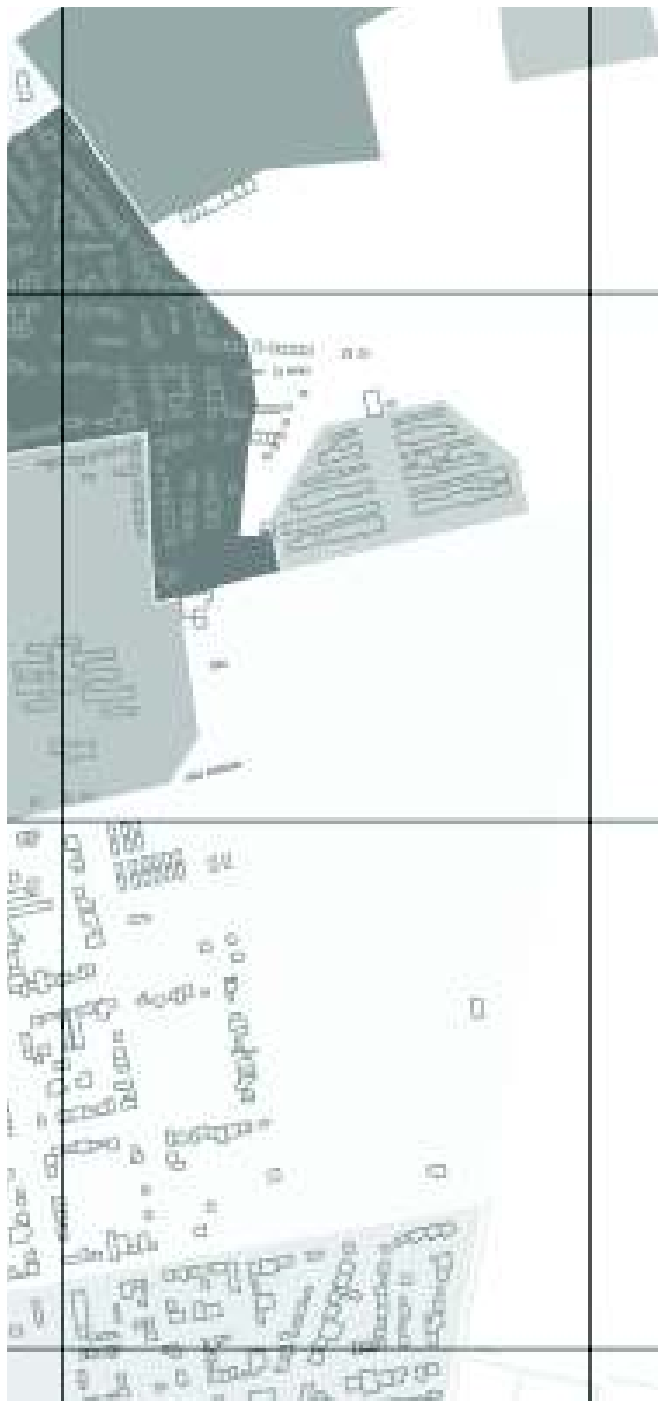
HUMARIZAL

IANE

JORGE ELIECER GAITAN

JOSÉ MARIA HERNANDEZ

LA ESPERANZA

LA FLORIDA

LA SABETA

LA UNIÓN

MARCELIANO CANYES

NUEVO JARDIN

FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA

EL PORVENIR

PUNTA BRAVA

RAFAEL URIBE URIBE

SAN JOSÉ

SAN ANTONIO

27.000

26.500

26.000

Puerto Nariño. Amazonas. Colombia. Photo by Diego Pinzon. 2008

LETICIA-TABATINGA. URBAN AREA

SANTA ROSA.
PERU

LETICIA. COLOMBIA

TABATINGA. BRAZIL

## 6.1 LETICIA'S LOCAL MASTER PLAN

### 6.1.1 The Local Master Plan As A National Law

The P.O.T (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial - Local Master Plan) is a compulsory policy for territorial development which is considered as the main tool strategy. The P.O.T is composed by several specific targets and embedded all together into the same political view of the future development.

This policy was designed as a national law due to the act number 152 of 1994 and regards all municipalities across the country with a population rate over 100,000 inhabitants. This national law aims to regulate, structure and harmonize the spatial development and its defined as a set of specific targets, guidelines, policies, strategies and development of processes. The Local Master Plan is headed to guide and manage the physical development of the territory and land use.

The Local Master Plan law [1] attempts to achieve spatial development strategies by setting them into three main goals:

1. Harmonizing and update the policies designed under the law number 9 of 1989, considering the change of the national constitution during 1991 of the ongoing planning strategies designed under the Organic Policy for Development Plans, Metropolitan Area Planning Procedures and the National Environmental System.

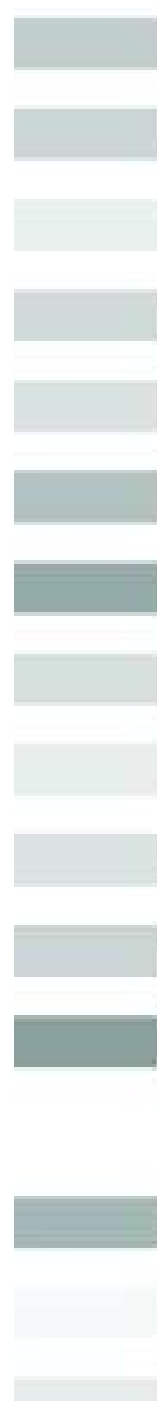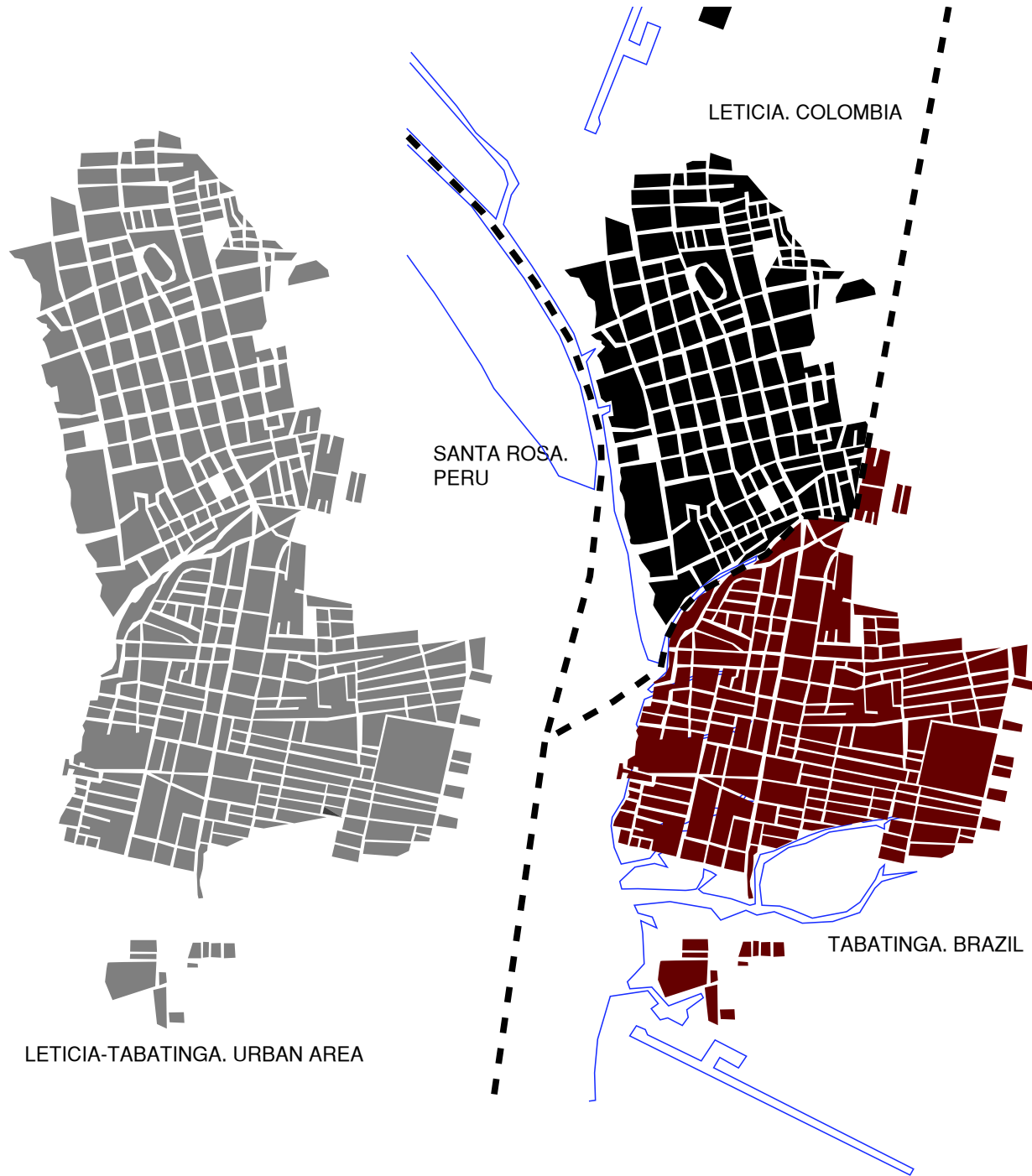2. Settling the mechanisms which shall allow the municipalities, according with their autonomy on decision making processes, to guarantee the free planning strategies related with specific features of land use, preservation, environmental conservation and natural risk propensity.

3. Certifying the rational use of land considering the specific infrastructure and housing needs and guarantee the right access to public amenities and supporting the environmental preservation.

1. http://www.leticia-amazonas.gov.co/planeacion

### 6.1.2 Leticia's Local Master Plan

Leticia as the other municipalities in Colombia was forced to design its own planning strategies according to the Law. The Local Master Plan was finally approved in November 14 of 2002 by the national act number 032 (act in which the Local Master Plan is approved and defined as the principal territorial strategy for the city and its hinterland).

The Policy is divided into several axes aspects to be developed, the potentiality of improvement and it is supported by technical analysis. In this order, Leticia's Local Master Plan is focused on:
1. The necessity to regulate the land use across the territory.
2. The control over the preservation and defense of the natural resources.
3. The setting up of the different policies in order to achieve a logic development process.
4. The socio-spatial distribution and location of urban amenities.

Whereas, it is important no highlight a set of strategies embedded into the Master Plan which are useful for reachng an understanding the necvessities of the city and the strategies arose from them.

THE EXPANSION ZONE

Te town of Leticia has been developing an expansion area located in the northeast side just in the front of the airport. This expansion was though as requirement originated with the previewed demographical growth and the necessity to control their necessity of space by a planned process.

This demographical growth is supported by the national statistics and the expected territorial importance gained by the high rates of economic development of Brazil and the region. Because of this reason, the metropolitan area of Leticia-Tabatinga is becoming a trade center specialized on the mobilization of resources from Colombia and Peru to the industrial hubs in Manaus.

Coming back to the expansion zone allocated by the municipal authorities, the area has been enhanced by the basic required infrastructure and public amenities easily connected to the city. In fact, the expansion area is placed into a very strategic place where the airport, the main avenues of the city and the infrastructure in general allows its construction at lower costs, without harming the environmental reservoirs and bringing the possibility to improve the housing offer of the city in order to increase competitiveness.

This project is based on a set of public strategies:

1. Promote the integral real state improvement.
2. Incentive the social housing projects focused on progressive development and its inherent public amenities.
3. Allow the improvement of the infrastructures and maintenance of the public space.
4. Recover the public investments of the area by the surplus utilities located in the private market on housing projects.



Expansion Designated Areas by the Local Master Plan of Leticia
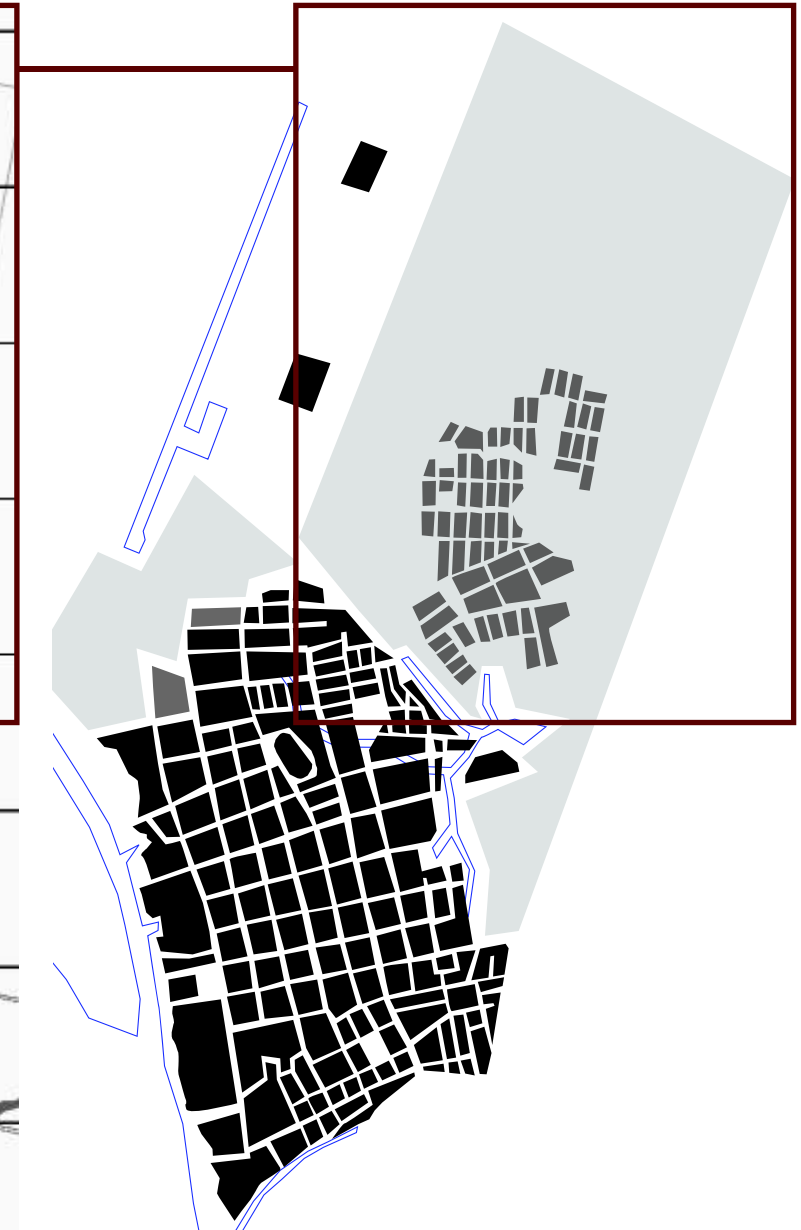
Natural Growing of the City and Partial Plans under Developments

## ALLOCATION OF ECONOMIC AND SPATIAL RISKS

The allocation of risk is the theme related with the recognition of natural risk areas, pollution propensity levels and possible social-spatial conflicts zones.

The first risk considered is the one related with the areas located near to natural aspects that can turn into natural disasters during certain seasons. Under this parameter, the zones located near the streams and river are specially susceptible to overflows and landslides originated during the rain period. For those areas the municipality had already defined the building parameters in which no housing projects can be developed whereas, there is compulsory the placement of an buffer environmental strip.

The second level of risk is the pollution originated by the industry, even if the city cannot be considered a production center it is important to underline that the small enterprises can inflict several harms to the delicate environmental equilibrium. The municipality of Leticia has already designed some sustainable waste management to be applied in a long term set of policies.

The last level of risk is more related with the economical investments and the land use. The zoning plans tends to create certain conflicts arose from the use of the land and the level of compatibility among them. For this reason, the municipality mapped the possible location of conflictive land uses and prevent the private investors and communities about the possibility to generate socio-spatial struggles.

## INFRASTRUCTURE

In Leticia like in other cities in Colombia, the road system was designed following the modern parameters focusing on the fluxes and the dimension required for avoid congestion. Considering the dimension and relatively low complexity of the city, this system has been working efficiently and its though to be expanded to the new neighborhoods, improving during the process the connectivity between residential zones with the center, the port, the airport and the only existing road to the hinterland, the road to Tarapacá.

In the other hand the water supply and sewage system can be considered one of the most efficient in Colombia covering almost the whole metropolitan area of Leticia only blackened with the lack of a water treatment plant, a project that is ongoing on discussion.

## HOUSING IMPROVEMENT

The Housing policies considered on the Local Master Plan are specially related with the improvement and construction of new social shelters. Most of those new projects are ongoing real estate developments at the expansion zone, enhanced with all the public amenities that they deserve and subsidized by the national government.

The technical strategies to achieve this improvement are the increase offer for housing development lowering during the process the costs. This strategy is clever and faces the possibility to avoid the informal housing constructions by the low income communities. The incentive to the private sector to develop housing projects is also a sharing policy of integration between private and public sectors approaching the economic surplus gained during the process

## URBAN AMENITIES

The creation and improvement of public space had face a progressive partial development without a global conception of them as a system. This feature become into a fragmentation of the public space or sometimes the complete lack of them, A particularity of this fragmentation is the almost lack of public space near to the international border, instead of it the Local Master Plan designed a complete structure of new public spaces closely linked with the natural shapes, specially the recovery of the water reservoirs and parallel, the creation of a network of parks improving the average green space per inhabitant.

Another aspect to be considered is the concept on the Local Master Plan to join the center of the city with the Peruvian settlement of Santa Rosa by pedestrian paths as a first attempt of politico-administrative borders fade.

The Public amenities considered on the Local Master Plan are divided in eight axes in which the facilities already built should be improve but also it is necessary to consider the construction of new ones, those axes are:

1. Welfare commodities: those ones related with kindergartens and special centers for ederly and drug dependents.
2. Education: Improvement of the schools but specially the university and the accessibility to it.
3. Culture: The ones related with cultural activities, specially museums.
4. Healthcare: Improvement of hospitals and care centers.
5. Sports and Leisure: rebuilding of sport centers subsidized and focused on the low income communities approach.
6. Public Administration: Infrastructure for public management activities.
7. Trade of Goods space: specially related with the spatial improvement of the city market in order to increase the competitiveness in the region.
8. Security: Improvement of the amenities of the civil defense authorities.

Housing Estates Valuation According with
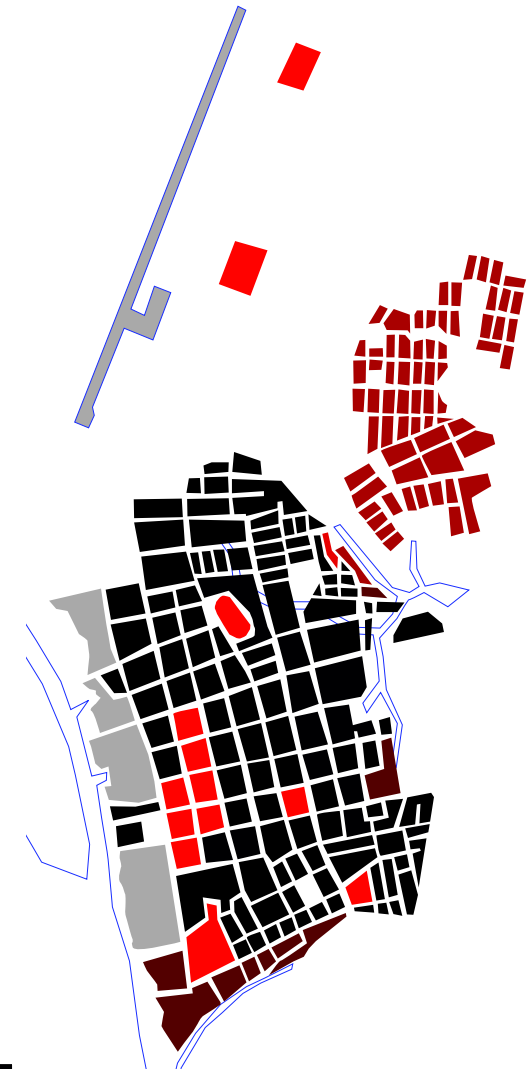


Natural Risk Zones According with the Leticia's Master Plan



Infrastructures Improvement According with the Leticia's Master Plan



New Urban Amenities According with the Leticia's Master Plan





- Housing Improvement Necessity
- Infrastructures Improvement Necessity
- Ecological Risk (Water Floods)
- Economic Risk (Real Estates Bankrupts)
- Public Amenities Improvement

## 6.2 TABATINGA'S DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Conversely Tabatinga is a border municipality in the Great Amazon Basin of Brazil. All planning processes in Brazil are regulated by an entity created on 2002 called Ministry of Cities, going through town councils to partial developments plans that belong to the community processes.

In Brazil, as a federal country, there is not a national compulsory structure on policy making processes, hence the development of territorial plans belongs to the states and districts. This characteristic takes the regional development plants to a Political hoice context in which each municipality is free to reach the projects that could be consider as a priority[2].

The freedom to develop planning policies in Brazil are facing certain advantages and problems, the first ones are related with the flexibility to execute specific interventions over specific targets. In the other hand, the non-compulsory nature of the planning processes become into an unbalanced reality in which many districts are achieving higher levels of development whereas there are another ones that are not.

In the place of a centralized compulsory structure on planning management, urban policies in brazil are strongly related with specific terms like housing livability, infrastructure or urban assessments[3].
The decentralized planning processes in Brazil are dev eloped from strategic planning tools based on specific projects. Following those plans there are two main urban policies which are been implemented by the collaboration among public entities and private actors. Those policies are the PBQP-H (*Programa Brasileiro de Qualidade e produtividade do Habitat* - Brazilian Program of Quality, Productivity and Liveability) and the PNUD-BRA (*Programa Des nacoes Unidas Para O Desenvolvimentp* - United Nations' Program for Development).

### 6.2.1 The Brazilian Program Of Quality, Productivity and Liveability

The PBQP-H (Programa Brasileiro de Qualidade e Produtividade do Habitat) is a program based on the improvement of urban amenities, especially those ones related with the livability. This policy focus the attention on the physical improvement of social housing and financial support, a process developed in different ways depending the particular necessities of each region.

The Brazilian Program of Quality, Productivity and Liveability was designed under the concept in which the fundamental rights to the city granting the poorest communities the accessibility to a formal housing fighting also the informal real estate market.

This program is also developed as a legal requirement for the participation of different actors into the design of new social housing estates. The Brazilian government force the private enterprises interested to be involved into the construction to be approved and financiual supported by the Federal reserve of Brazil.

One of this most important project are called *(Minha Casa, Minha Vida* - My House, My Life)[4]. The private enterprises interested to participate must be able to fulfill the technical requirements related with economic stability and work sources. This policy head for a private participation into the social needs by a set of financial incentives.

Moving to a more specific context, in Tabatinga there;s a srtron geen of public intervention related with the housing development. It will be coherent to call the private sector to work in the city by the application of the program in the redensification process.

2. http://www.cidades.gov.br/secretarias-nacionais/programas-urbanos/agenda/regularizacao-fundiaria/
   agenda-2010/julho/Edital-030-TOR-Cartilha-Reg-Urbana-PNUD.pdf
3. TERMO DE REFERÊNCIA Projeto BRA/00/043 – PBQP-H

4. http://www.pbqp-h.com.br/

## 6.2.2 The Unites Nations Program For Development

Moving to a more specific contexts, it is important to remark the second policy able to be considered. The United Nations development programs on the Brazilian Amazon region.

TheUnited Nations' Program for Development is a tool created by the Ministry of Cities which is a part of the federal government and supported by the United Nations. This strategic plan is still in construction but basically consist in a set of guidelines though to work on specific themes like housing policies, environmental sanitation, transport and urban mobility and territorial planning.

It is important to understand that the United Nations' Program for Development is realized by the town council's guided by the Ministry of Cities and composed by the public authorities coming from different spheres of the government plus, a set of actors involved into the decision making processes as the popular movements, businessmen, nongovernmental organizations, professional, academic and research organizations and labor unions.
In summary, the United Nations' Program for Development and the entities that deal with it are self defined by this way:

The creation of the Cities' Council, in the year of 2004, represents the materialization of an important instrument of democratic management of the National Urban Development Policy, which is still in construction process. It is a collegiate body with deliberative and advisory nature, that integrates the structure of the Ministry of Cities and has for purpose to study and to propose guidelines for the formulation and implementation of the United Nations' Program for Development, as well as following its execution.

The Council of Cities is, therefore, a true instance of negotiation where the social actors participate of the process of decision about the policies executed by the Ministry of Cities.

The plural origin of these bodies and entities and their traditional performance around the thematic of urban development make possible to the segments a performance characterized by the political articulation and negotiation, prospective action and technical quality in the debates, allowing, amongst other things, the construction of public policies that favor the access to all the citizens, having always as reference the deliberations from the National Conferences of Cities.

In the trajectory of performance of the Council of Cities, one of the main learned lessons is that democracy gains more quality when governments join with the accumulated experience of the organized civil society and increase its participation in the elaboration and execution of the programs and the public policies.

This program also encourage the donation or sale of federal lands to the municipalities in order to implement social projects involving on the process municipal governments, non-governmental organizations and communities[5].

The aim of this strategy is to create a toolkit of procedures to reach those specific aims. Considering the United Nations' Program for Development project for development as a set of partial investments which are difficult to point, it is important to keep the target of the program for a further consideration.

The United Nations' Program for Development is called to generate with The Brazilian Program of Quality, Productivity and Liveability an active process of housing and infrastructure intervention. The lack of liveability qualities and the necessity to improve the infrastructures are the most important needs to be materialize in Tabatinga.

For this reason it is important to consider the state of the decission making structures and conclude if is it possible to carry on those set of interventions.

5. MONTE-MOR, Roberto Luís. As Teorias Urbanas E O Planejamento Uurbano No Brasil. 2002
   See the Online Version on: www.ufpa.br

## 6.2.3 The Free Trade Area of Tabatinga

Coming Back to Tabatinga and being consequent with the lack of a centralized planning structures in Brazil, this chapter aims to focus into a special policy which has been developed by the municipality.

This Policy is the called ALCT (*Área de Livre Comércio de Tabatinga* - Free Trade Area of Tabatinga)which is the project of enhance the metropolitan area of the city as a free trade center approaching its border point location. This project face the possibility to create a special tax regime established to promote the development of the region through the benefits arose from the importations and exportations to Peru and Colombia.

The Free Trade Area of Tabatinga project can be arise from the clever geographic position of the city, this opportunity already bring the possibility to manage the mobilization of resources from Peru and Colombia to the industrialized areas in Manaus and Belem. This advantage is also supported by the existence of optimal infrastructures like the airport which is considered to be with the port the cornerstones of the trade activities in the whole region between Iquitos and Manaus

This economic policy already started to be implemented with the benefits succeed from the Manaus free trade zone, granting the coverage of the trading resources along the Amazon basin from the western node in Tabatinga to the eastern region, specially Belem.

Following with the Free Trade Area of Tabatinga policy, the foreign resources will be covered with the suspension of import duties of industrial products and, for the purposes provided for in art. 3 of Law No. 7.965/1989[6], the Free Trade Area of Tabatinga considers the suspension of taxation over:

1 Free Trade Area of Tabatinga domestic consumption products for the city.
2. Improvement, within the ALC of fish, mineral resources and raw materials of
   agricultural origin and forestry.
3.Agriculture and aquaculture products.

6. http://www.portaltabatinga.com.br

4. Installation and operation of tourism activities and services of any nature.
5.Storage for sale or use in other parts of the national territory.
6.  Activities of shipbuilding and maintenance.
7.  Industrialization of other products within the Free Trade Area of Tabatinga

The increase on the transportation of goods quantities are facing a reality through the improvement of the areas related with it:
   1.Goods coming by waterways originated in Peru (the port)
   2. Goods coming from the Manaus Free Trade Zone(the airport)
   3. Goods coming from another part of national territory(the port, the airport)
   4. Goods coming through Tabatinga International Airport from other countries.
   5. Goods coming  across the border with Colombia (the road system)

The legal benefits for the products integrated under the Free Trade Area of Tabatinga policy are granted due to the custom changing procedures which, in the end, are aimed to increase the job places fighting again one of the main problems of the region, the unemployment.

The last item to be considered with the Free Trade Area of Tabatinga are the urban impacts, even if apparently means the inherent improvement of the transportation infrastructures, this ongoing research suggest that at the moment there are not another planning projects related with other urban dimension like housing developments. Nevertheless, the progressive increasing of trading activities will immediately change the urban structures of the city with the rising of the job demand and the housing expansion.

## 6.3 COMPARATIVE SURVEY AND GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

The comparative advantage of the two different models of Planning in Leticia-Tabatinga face at the same time advantages and disadvantages. Those ones can hindered a coherent spatial development constraining a socio-spatial coherent improvement conditions over the whole region.

Nevertheless it is possible to underline three aspects that can work together into a sharing decision making processes toward a rational spatial development already developed through both national policies and able to be concentrated into a sole territorial project for the entire metropolitan area.

### 6.3.1 The Housing Dimension:

Comparing the Housing statement of both cities it is possible to underline several aspects:

The housing states in Tabatinga are mostly low density settlements, most of them created by informal processes on the informal market. This process become into a low quality rates on the housing estates in which there is a high percentage of dwellings not covered by basic urban infrastructures and services (specially water supply and sewage system). In the other hand Leticia presents a higher density and formal housing estates mostly covered by the public infrastructures.

On this dimension it is possible to remark the fact that the quality of housing in Tabatinga is lower than the quality in Leticia but, due to the spatial expansion, In Tabatinga the process of re-densification is becoming a necessity whereas Leticia is facing a necessity to expand its urban area in order to supply the increasing demand originated by the economical expansion.

Considering the The Brazilian Program of Quality, Productivity and Liveability program able to improve the livable conditions of the settlements in Brazil and the housing expansion policy of the Local Master Plan in Leticia, it is possible to create a cooperation context in which a general housing policy can be developed supporting each other with the assistance of both urban governments.

### 6.3.2 The Infrastructural Dimension

The other dimension able to be compared on both cities is the transportation infrastructure. On the contrary of what happens on the housing dimension, the transportation infrastructures are better developed in Tabatinga due to the special focus on trade and shipping tradition of Tabatinga.

TheFree Trade Area of Tabatinga policy support the financial status to create a free trade center in which the extensions over taxation will bring the opportunity to create jobs. This free trade status should enhance the possibility to expand to the Colombian side.

Another aspect important to be consider is the presence of two airports and two ports over the Amazon river. This particular aspect can create a competition among each cities in order to attract private investments. This fact can be avoided under a working together policy in which those infrastructures can complement each other aiming to the possible economic expansion advantages that this cooperation can bring.

The last aspect related with infrastructures important to be commented is the complete lack of a public transportation systems on both sides and the disinterest to arise a project on the public strategies in Leticia and Tabatinga.

Due to this disadvantage and considering the real necessity to create a real system of mobilization, it could be possible to think in a whole metropolitan project of public transportation covering both sides and fading away the politico-administrative border.

## 6.3.4 The Educational Dimension

An aspect important to be developed is the ongoing integration of the two universities located on both cities. The UFAM (Universidade Federal do Amazonas) with a research center in Tabatinga is working together with the Universidad Nacional de Colombia on academic programs and research cooperation specialized on environmental studios.

## 6.3.5 Community Empowerment

This aspect is considered on the Leticia's P.O.T and related with partial developments can be also supported by the PNUD programs in Brazil. This empowerment is a necessity to improve of the decision making processes and conflict solutions, changing on the process the political structures ob both cities.

The last aspect able to be considered is the integration of native communities to the urban area, granting them the right to the city by the creation of their own communities based on their special spatial organization.

7. THE OVERLAPPING STRATEGY
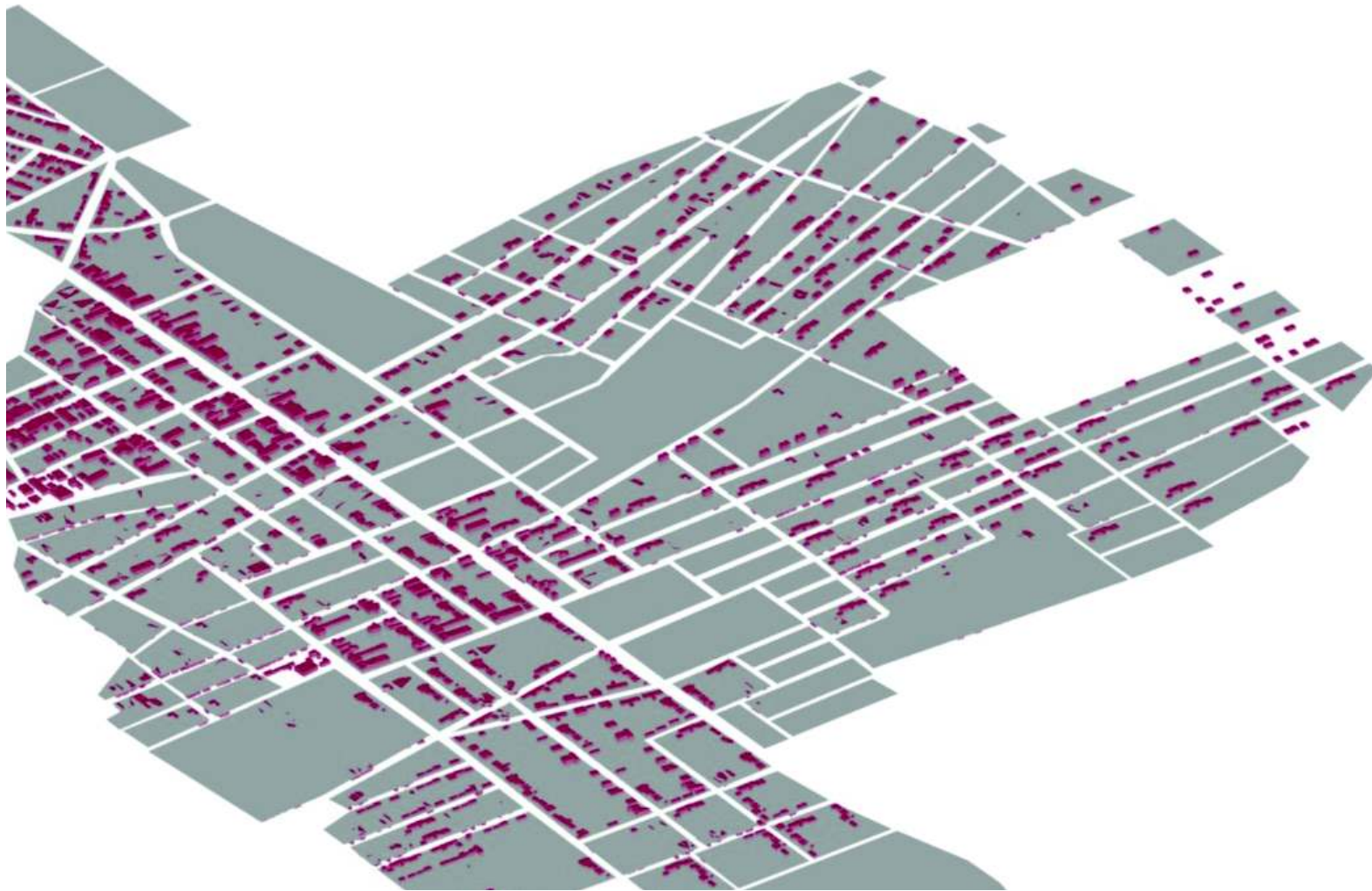
Port Pomenade of Leticia Under Construction. Colombia.
Photo by Diego Pinzon. 2008

## 7.1 THE S.W.O.T ANALYSIS

After recognizing several features about the territorial planning and specific circumstances related with the decision making structures in Leticia Tabatinga, it is possible to make a summarized diagnostic about the weakness, failures but also potentialities and advantages that can be approached for a planning-together context, over passing in the process the politico-administrative borders in order to reach a coherent territorial development.

Nevertheless it is possible to define a S.W.O.T Analysis as the first step to reach the overlapping strategy. This strategy consist in the extend overview of the border potentialities of Leticia-Tabatinga region and the use of the set of conclusions arose from the case studies.

STRENGHTS

- Economical Advantages can arise from the Free trade policy gaining on competitiveness on the regional competition for investments.
- Clever Geographical Position between the bigger urban agglomerations in the Amazon Basin, those are Iquitos and Manaus.
- The Multiculturalism arose from the different ethical groups and languages.
- Presence of Academic centers on both cities that can support an international environmental research center.
- Transportation Infrastructures able to be improved, granting the metropolitan area the possibility to become a hub on freight of goods and resources from the forest.

WEAKNESSES

- Lack of Public Transportation Systems on both cities, hindering the possibility to increase the urban quality of life of their inhabitants.
- Inexistence of Shared Policies related with real planning processes and the different structures on decision making contexts.
- The weakness on the decision Making Processes of the native communities and their lack of insertion on the urban life.
- Lack of Real Environmental Policies able to control the damage and deforestation process.

OPPORTUNITIES

- Borderline Innovative Policies can be developed on the base of an International cooperation for a shared planning policy.
- Sustainability is a clever aspect to be considered on the contexts due to the richness of the environmental qualities.
- Connectivity by air and water ways is possible due to the already transportation infrastructure and the advantages granted from their articulation into a coordinated system of freight.
- Potentialities over research activities thanks to the presence of universities and their probable partnership.
- Possible Densification Process due to the lower rates of inhabitants per square meter. This condition brings the possibility to a demographical growth without an spatial expansion.

THREATS

- Environmental Harm arise from the urban expansion originated due to a possible economic development and uncontrolled spatial expansion.
- Blocking on the Decision Making Process originated into because of the different political systems.
- Transaction Costs due to Bureaucracy.
- Massive Exploitation of Environmental Resources specially on activities like extraction of raw material and tourism.
- Overproduction and Underconsumption of resources due to the Free Trade increasing tendency of commercial affairs.

## 7.2 BORDERLESS COOPERATION

In the dimension of cooperation and sharing policies, it is possible to use the decision making processes models arose from some of the case studies.

### 7.1.1 Fading Politico-Administrative Borders:

The case of Hamburg highlighted a contexts in which the place of several politico-administrative borders arose from a political division of the territory and the natural growing on the towns hinders the logic and natural spatial development of the territory. This process originated a dimension of inefficiency on the decision making processes.

In that case, the GAU policies headed for a spatial integration by the joining of different municipalities into a whole metropolitan area. This decision faced the increasing of the flexibility on the planning structures. In Leticia Tabatinga it is not possible to erase the administrative boundaries due to their international nature but it is feasible to consider a dimension in which the spatial planning processes can be embedded.

The integration of planning processes is not an easy strategy. The centralized policies in Colombia and the lack of information at the Brazilian side make unclear the possible shared aspects on both decision making structures. Nevertheless the spatial development on cities of this nature regards an active cooperation and strong involvement of the municipal authorities. The feasible path to achieve this cooperation is by the sharing of specific targets heading for a coherent socio-spatial development.

In Hamburg the attachment process supported a set of individual and partial actions that were no possible before. Those partial and specific interventions were a designed outcome after some strong political interventions. Even if is not possible to change the politico-administrative borders on the region, a shared planning structure is able to be achieved by a political sharing set of policies.

The other important aspect on a theoretical sharing context is the one related with planning structures and its possibility to rise a coherent demographic expansion

and the opportunity to preview its spatial consequences. The possible increase of the economic dynamics of the territory originated on the re-location of resources and policies like The Free Trade Area Of Tabatinga, and the expansion zone in Leticia might be coordinated by the local institutions.
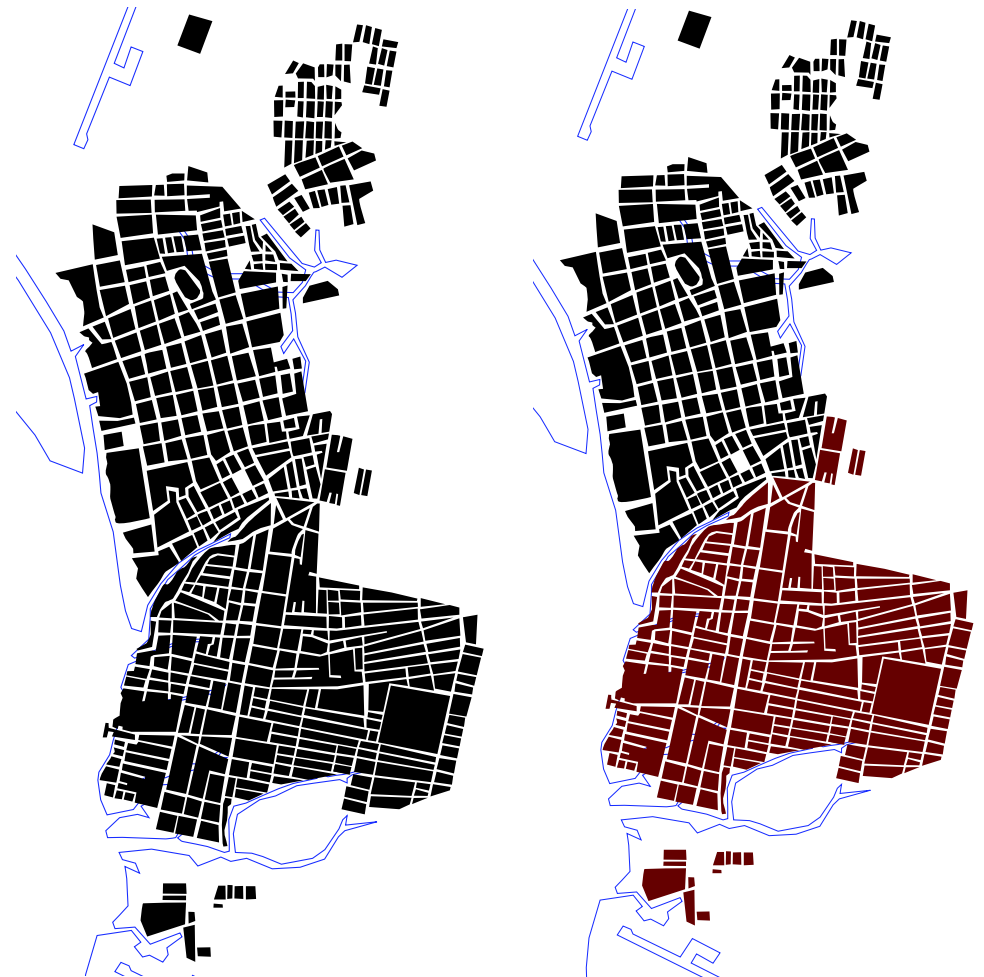
Afterwards, the integration of the planning structures risk the possible concentration of the decision making holders. That risk can be avoided by the opening of the decision making processes to the urban population and the native communities. This strategy will also open abroad the possible empowerment of the communities and the achievement of articulated partial projects
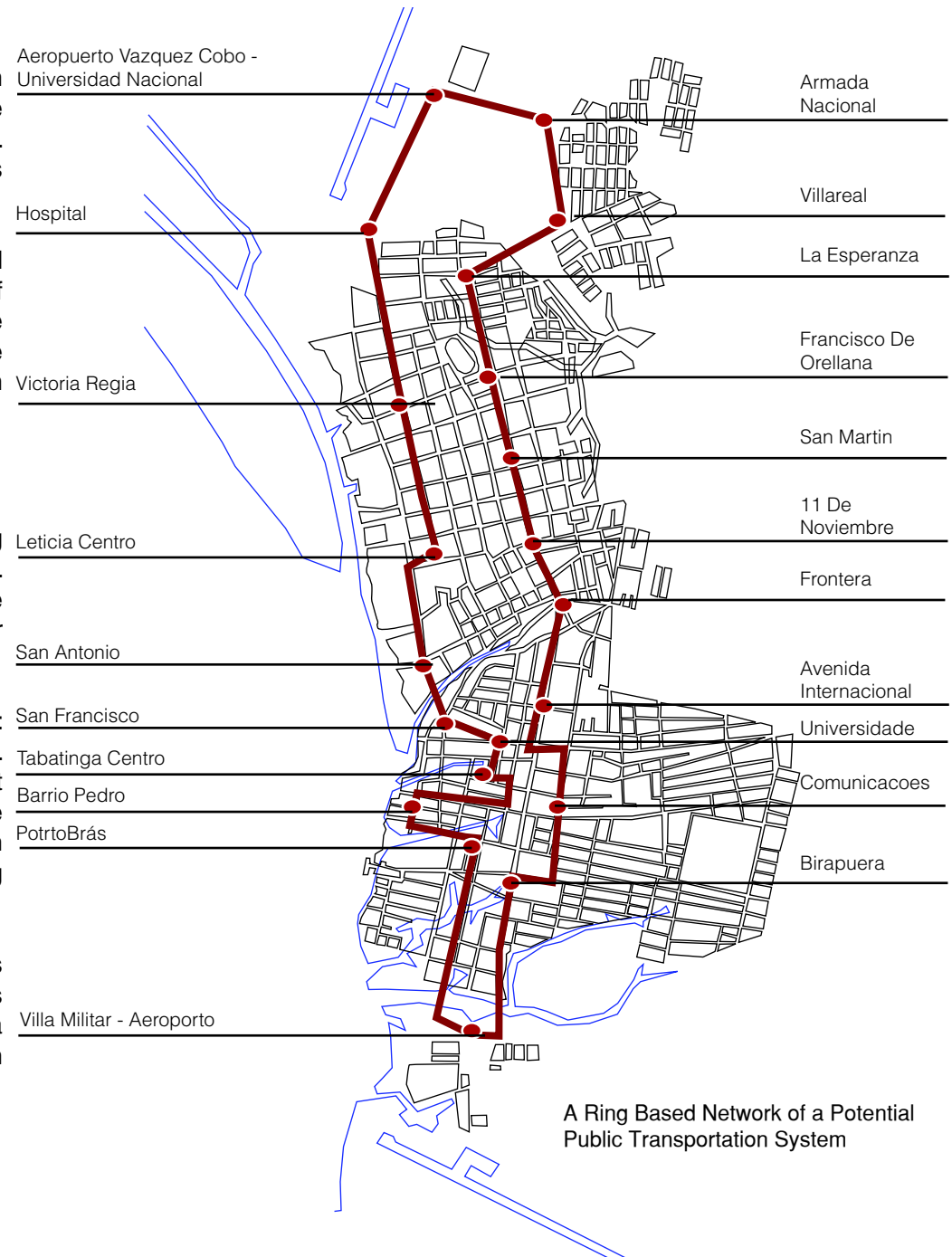
At the end it is important to highlight the nature of the borders under a shared planning structure. Even if the politico-administrative borders remain as a tool of political control over the territory, this aspect might not hinder the cooperation. The socio-cultural borders had prove to survive apart from the politico-administrative changes hence there is not any reason to consider the planning structure a risk in the cultural differences of the communities at both sides of the border.

## 7.1.2 Shared Information, And Transportation System:

In the case study Vienna-Bratislava it was possible to understand how the sharing of information becomes a very important step to rise a coherent planning process. The project CENTROPE has an axe very useful to highlight, the one of the demographic data sharing and the coherent re-distribution of the population over the territory considering the local availability of resources.

In Leticia Tabatinga region there was pointed the presence of two main groups: the settlers considered as the main urban population and the native communities. Those communities have a different level of impact on the urban dynamics but all of them are almost involved on the economic processes within the region. The information regarded with the real impact of the native communities on the urban dynamics is not clear, this lack of information hinders a real integrated planning process in which those communities shall play a very important role.

Considering the lack of information about the real impact of the native communities on the urban life, it is possible to represent a scenario where those communities can be considered an active actor on the planning processes. The setting up of a real demographic database is a necessity in order to reach a coherent decision making process involving the whole population of the region.

Aeropuerto Vazquez Cobo - Universidad Nacional

Hospital

Victoria Regia

Leticia Centro

San Antonio

San Francisco

Tabatinga Centro

Barrio Pedro

PotrtoBrás

Villa Militar - Aeroporto

Armada Nacional

Villareal

La Esperanza

Francisco De Orellana

San Martin

11 De Noviembre

Frontera

Avenida Internacional

Universidade

Comunicacoes

Birapuera

A Ring Based Network of a Potential Public Transportation System

Considering the real impact of the native communities on the urban realm it is possible to understand the necessity of them to be involved on the formal markets and their inherent participation on the decision making processes.

The allocation of resources shall increase on efficiency once the economic dynamics between the urban and native communities arise a coherent interaction supported by the planning policies of both municipalities.

Under the dimension of cooperation and coherent interaction, the necessity for an integrated market based on environmental resources and transportation activities becomes a strategy that is headed to increase the competitiveness of the Leticia-Tabatinga metropolitan area. This Integrated market involves the exchange of products over the bi-national border approaching the free trade dimension in Tabatinga designed into the Free Trade Area Of Tabatings and forcing the Colombian market to be embedded into this economic process.

With the creation of an integrated market not only the settlers shall enhance their economic participation but also the native communities for whom there is not an international border will face their increase of participation into the formal markets. The integration of the native communities to the formal markets is not only an attempt to recognize their role into the urban dynamics but is also a strategy to force their active participation on the decision making processes supported either by an active political involvement.

Facing an integration of the markets and the potential increase of economic dynamics and its inherent demographic expansion, it is very important to highlight one of the bigger disadvantages of Leticia-Tabatinga. The lack of a complete transportation system hinders the coherent development of the cities. In the case study of Vienna-Bratislava it was clear the fact that the transportation system can be the backbone for a spatial integration and can be even the first attempt to fade away the politico-administrative borders in order to reach a coherent spatial integration.

Considering the magnitude of the population fluxes, an integrated public system can be a light model in which the sustainability is the cornerstone of the policy.

The light network of public transportation will face the necessity to connect specially the labor places with the residential areas. Considering the historic spatial development of the cities and the allocation of work zones like the airport, the ports

and the administrative zones, it is possible to rise a model of a ring based network. This network obeys to link the principal residential areas in the eastern zones of the cities with the mainly infrastructures in the west along the river.

Nevertheless, the implementation of a shared transportation system has to be designed in order to avoid a set of externalities. The speculation on the land prices is a process that has to be controlled by a real management of the real estate prices by the political authorities.

This chain of strategies (Demographic database – Integrated markets – public transportation systems) is the first attempt to reach an intelligent region regarded with its planning processes. To achieve those purposes it is very important to work on a real sharing planning dimension among both municipalities heading for a common and natural development.

The correct distribution of the land uses bring the opportunity to the cities to increase efficiency and gain competitiveness on the global markets allocation.

This principle works for everywhere in the capitalist world and is a reality that the city of Basel is facing today. The correct spatial allocation headed from the academy can be considered an attempt to re-distribute in a better way the uses of the space considering the geographic and demographic features in comparison with the upcoming necessities of the globalized markets.

On that process, the academics of Basel consider the idea to relocate specially some of the workplaces bringing a coherent relation between them and the new residential areas as a borderless strategy. For instance the importance to move the national ports to an international one at the international edge not only increase the inherent functionality but also liberate the existent areas for new real estate developments.
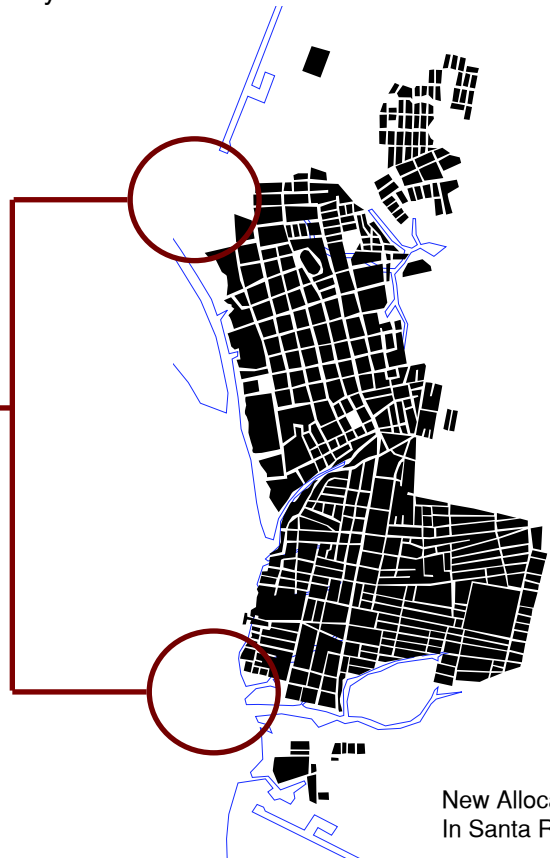
In the case of Leticia Tabatinga it is possible to think on the relocation of the small ports for a new one on the Peruvian area bringing on the process to develop the Santa Rosa settlement but also improving the spatial integration of the third country presented on the region.

The strategic development of the new port in Santa Rosa Peru follows the strategic location in the middle of the Amazon Basin thought to be a node on the natural resources exploitation and transportation to Brazil and specially to the industrial hubs in Manaus. This port can be also be connected with the couple of airports in Leticia and Tabatinga creating a whole transportation and freight centre in the region.

The relocation of the smaller ports to a new one in Santa Rosa is headed also to endow the local markets with a place where the regional transactions of goods and services can be materialized decreasing the transaction cost originated on the dispersion and lack of transnational markets for the region.

This Relocation of the bi-national commercial activities inherently change the view of a cross border bi-national cooperation to a three-national cooperation in the form in which the economic dynamics start to cover and involve the area of Santa Rosa and further the municipality of Ramon Castilla in Peru.

The creation of a workplace membrane in the region as it is thought in Basel can be perfectly applied approaching the open nature of the border among the three countries and the relatively free circulation of people in the region.

The second aspect of the tri-national cooperation is the choose of the housing placement. Like in Basel, the new residential areas can be developed following the coherent spatial growing into a borderless strategy. This aspect faces the reality in which the residential settlements in Tabatinga and Leticia are able to be re-distributed avoiding the spatial expansion. The new housing development is coherent with the planning strategies already purposed in Colombia by the P.O.T and the potential increase on the dwelling demand in Brazil due to the ALCT free trade area.

New Allocation of a Share Port
In Santa Rosa

The last aspect and the opening of the last specific propose is the borderless cooperation of research institutions. As it happens in Basel with the pharmaceutical hubs, it is possible to think into a whole research center supported by Colombia and Brazil governments. This possible center can support the research of the specific Amazon environmental features.

### 7.1.3 Cultural Sewing

The first part of this chapter highlighted the fact that the socio-cultural borders not always match with the politico-administrative ones.

In the case of Leticia-Tabatinga there are some aspects to be considered:

The difference of the language arise the first level of cultural separation among Brazilian and Colombian communities.
The education system is different whereas the quality level might be different in different cases
The native communities are divided on ethnicities, spread across the territory in a borderless spatial distribution.

The idea of a cultural sewing is not based on the homogenization of the cultural values or the elimination of social differences. On the contrary those values are considered the cornerstone of further social strategies and a source of diversity. The cultural sewing is based on the idea of consolidate across border the cooperation on social programs like welfare and a universal healthcare system for the whole metropolitan area. This idea will be developed later but it is important to name those strategies as the possible outcomes of the social sewing processes.

In the case of Slubfurt it was clear the feasibility to reach social programs based on the bi-national cooperation. The tool to achieve that cooperation is by the creation of an institutional platform that faces and supports the creation of different targets.

The creation of this institutional platform shall be a shared municipal attempt to consolidate the welfare of the population and the increasing of the competitiveness of the region as a consequence.

This platform is created as an institutional strategy but must involve also the civil society at both sides of the border opening abroad the decision making structure.

The Slubfurt project understood the importance to achieve that shared platform as the first step to guarantee the socio-spatial cohesion by the recognition of the differences on the cultures. The combination of the institutional platform and the cultural recognition shall creates a diversity dimension. In the case of Leticia-Tabatinga is possible to reach the same strategy supported by the trans-cultural aspect of the region.

The institutional platform is faced to support the integration in different aspects:

1. On the political level it will support a set of shared projects like the transportation system and the improvement of the infrastructure. The fair accessibility to those urban commodities cannot be achieved without this institutional platform that is rooted on the political decisions in a coordinated process.

2. The institutional platform shall attract private investors to the city due to the efficiency of the planning processes. That private investment is a strategic approach to guarantee the market integration and expansion facing the economic development of the region.

3. The coordinated zonal planning might be the cornerstone of the shared institutional platform. It is the only way to arise a logic spatial development for the whole region at both sides of the border.

4. At the end, only by the institutional platform will be possible to coordinate specific targets as housing markets, infrastructure improvement and urban amenities investments.

In the case of Slubfurt the concept of integration goes beyond the planning processes. It can generate a sense of sharing and tolerance among the communities. A process that deserves of time to be consolidated and be approached on its wide dimension.

A second aspect able to be considered is the possibility to rise an educational and local Welfare integration.

The shared policies related with specific targets as international policies reach and integrated dimension in which the cooperation among the parts helps do dissolve the cultural differences created by an artificial border. This is the case of the educational and welfare programs arose by the municipalities of Gorizia and Nova Gorica after the attach of Slovenia to the European Union.
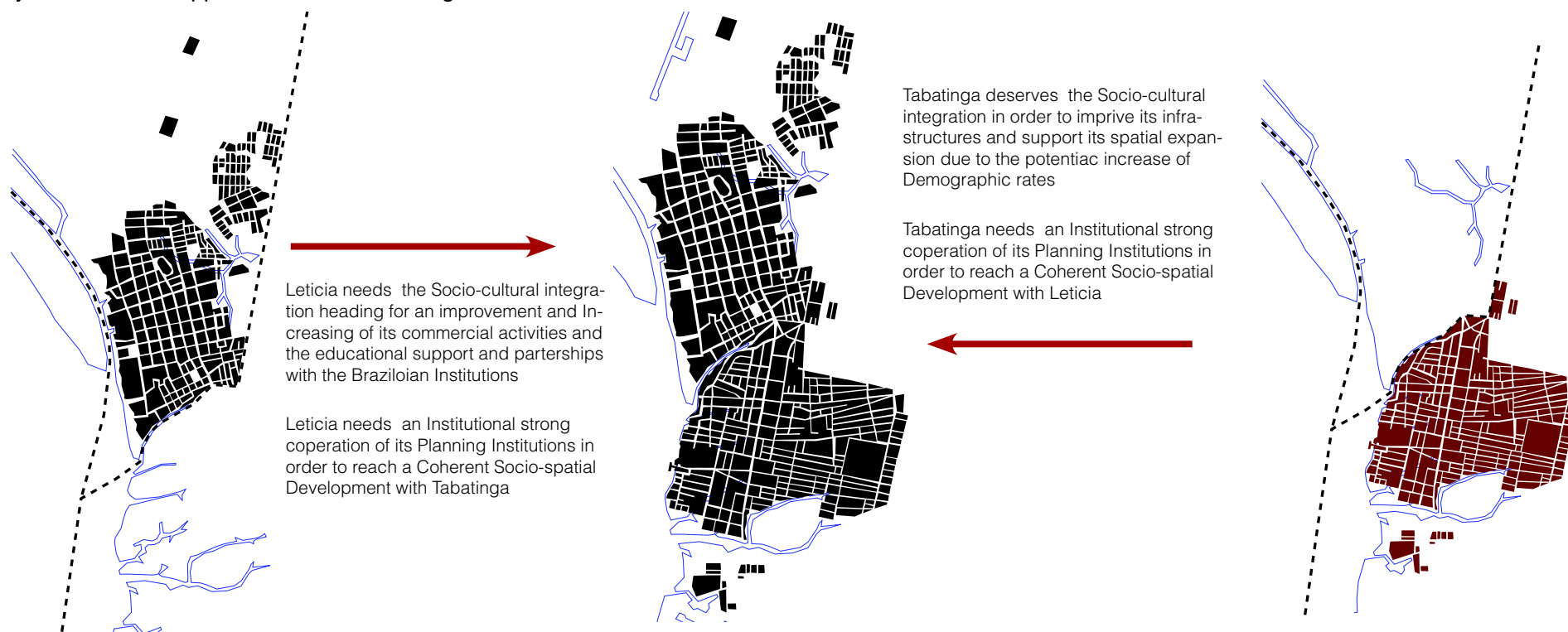
This shared development for instance of the healthcare systems supported by the cooperation of the medical institutions in both sides of the border is the main principle and a strategic policy to avoid inequalities on the welfare states in the same region created by the presence of a border.
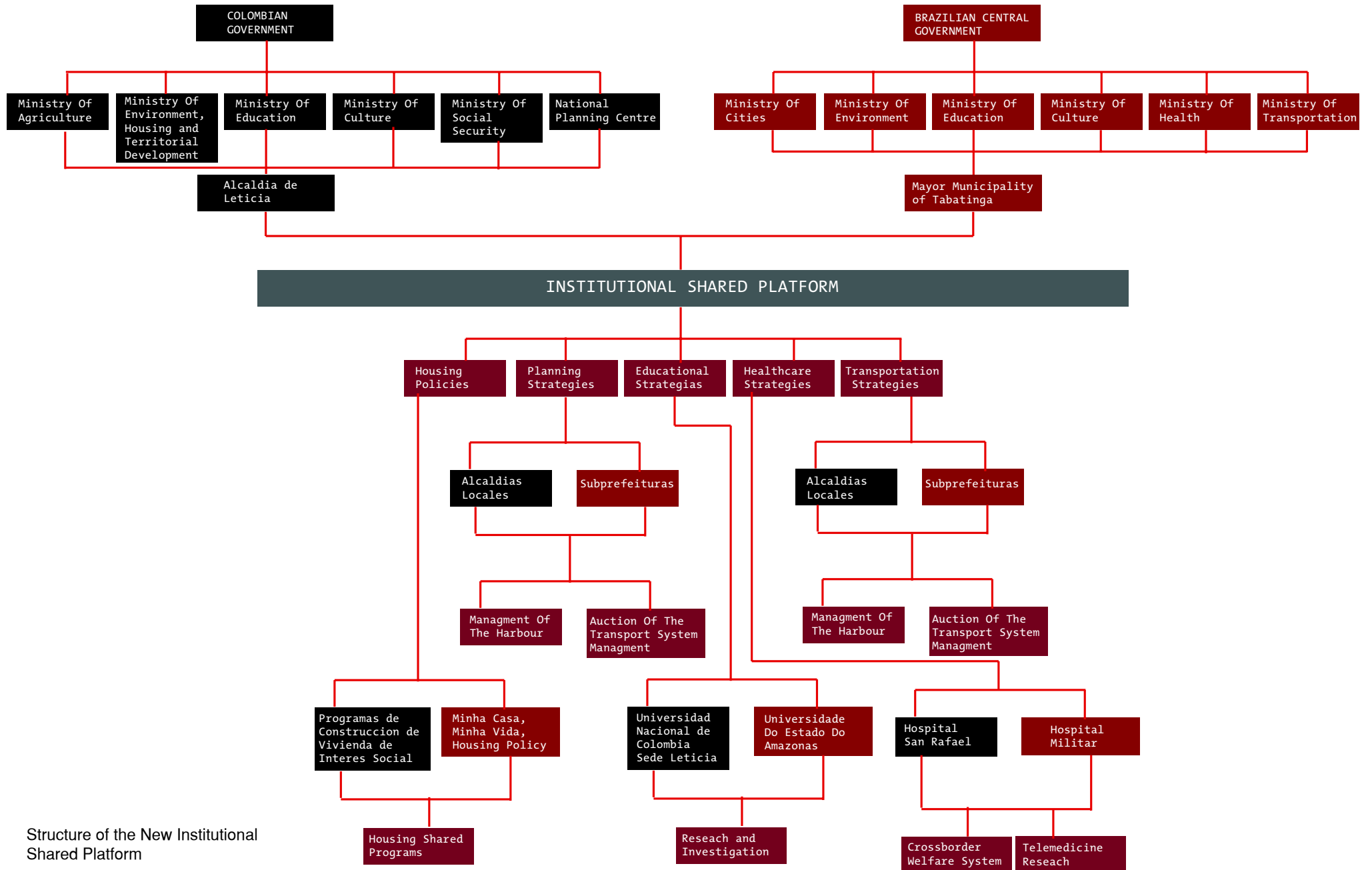
This cooperation can be seen not only as a strategic policy but also as a necessity for the fair and equal development of a border zone in cases of open international borders. In the case of Tabatinga it should be interesting to create and structure a new healthcare system based on the items that match between the different national systems and the application of the advantages of each one.

The third aspect is far easier to apply. As it was highlighted at the end of the last specific intervention the cooperation among the academic and educational institutions is a necessity to arise a high level of competitiveness. In Gorizia – Nova Gorica case, this cooperation could be achieved thanks to the compromise among the universities in the first level and research institutions at the second one to share the technical and scientific innovation of certain research themes.

But not only the dimension of research and innovation are able to be involved into a shared policy. The exchange of professional and students among the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Leticia and Universidad do Amazonas in Tabatinga is a necessity to increase the educative quality of them.

At the end, this cooperation is headed to enforce the cultural integration supporting the differences and the tolerance among them.

Leticia needs the Socio-cultural integration heading for an improvement and Increasing of its commercial activities and the educational support and parterships with the Braziloian Institutions

Leticia needs an Institutional strong coperation of its Planning Institutions in order to reach a Coherent Socio-spatial Development with Tabatinga

Tabatinga deserves the Socio-cultural integration in order to imprive its infrastructures and support its spatial expansion due to the potentiac increase of Demographic rates

Tabatinga needs an Institutional strong coperation of its Planning Institutions in order to reach a Coherent Socio-spatial Development with Leticia

**COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT**

Ministry Of Agriculture

Ministry Of Environment, Housing and Territorial Development

Ministry Of Education

Ministry Of Culture

Ministry Of Social Security

National Planning Centre

Alcaldia de Leticia

**BRAZILIAN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT**

Ministry Of Cities

Ministry Of Environment

Ministry Of Education

Ministry Of Culture

Ministry Of Health

Ministry Of Transportation

Mayor Municipality of Tabatinga

**INSTITUTIONAL SHARED PLATFORM**

Housing Policies

Planning Strategies

Educational Strategias

Healthcare Strategies

Transportation Strategies

Alcaldias Locales

Subprefeituras

Alcaldias Locales

Subprefeituras

Managment Of The Harbour

Auction Of The Transport System Managment

Managment Of The Harbour

Auction Of The Transport System Managment

Programas de Construccion de Vivienda de Interes Social

Minha Casa, Minha Vida, Housing Policy

Universidad Nacional de Colombia Sede Leticia

Universidade Do Estado Do Amazonas

Hospital San Rafael

Hospital Militar

Housing Shared Programs

Reseach and Investigation

Crossborder Welfare System

Telemedicine Reseach

Structure of the New Institutional Shared Platform

## 7.1.4 Consolidation And Revitalization of New Centralities

The consolidation of informal neighborhoods and their insertion to the formal markets is a gradual process that shall be coordinated by the institutional platform.

The NMP Nicosia's project is an attempt to unify the metropolitan area regarding the participation of two municipalities separated by the political conflict. The NMP faces in different levels the possibility to generate a coherent planning strategy abroad the territory, departing from the center to the periphery by the regeneration of urban amenities.

The revitalization of dismissed zones is a political strategy to recover and invest on zones already endowed with a certain level of urban services. This real estate investment provides at low cost the improvement of the urban conditions on dismissed zones and increase the supply of urban issues like housing decreasing in the process the costs.

Not only the decreasing of costs due to the increasing of supply is the  positive outcome of revitalization. The decreasing of cost increase also the accessibility of housing for instance of the communities to the formal markets.

In Leticia-Tabatinga there are not large areas able to be revitalized on a great scale but there are certain partial zone which can be considered able to be re-consolidated due to their strategic localization

The NMP not also proved the way to improve the public housing supply by the revitalization of dismissed zones. The policy is an attempt to sew the urban conditions by the enhancement of urban amenities like public space and infrastructures heading for a future unification.

Considering the lack of infrastructure in Tabatinga and the decision making flexibility on Leticia, the rise of an institutional platforms shall support the intervention and consolidation on dismissed zones by a transnational integrated program of partial interventions.

At the end, the revitalization of partial zones in Leticia Tabatinga metropolitan area has a very important positive consequence. As it was underlined before, the cities are not supposed to increase their spatial boundaries. The environmental preservation is one of the most important aspects to be considered and the re-densification of dismissed areas hinder the spatial expansion of the city over the forest.



New Potential Centralities

Expansion Zone In Leticia

Port Promenade In Leticia

Borderless Zone

University Zone In Tabatinga

Harbour Area Of Tabatinga

## 7.3 SPATIAL RE-DENSIFICATION AND SHARING SPACES

### 7.3.1 Urban Re-Densification

The theme related with re-densification is one of the most important aspects of the urban planning processes on the Amazon region. The demographic density and the spatial expansion are dimensions that play a basic role with the natural environment in which the cities in the Amazon basin are involved. The natural resources in the Amazon basin can be considered a potentially source of economic development but it is also a menace of environmental harm.

The cities in the Amazon basin have been growing and spatial expanding by following the same rhythm of the economic development. That expansion has in Manaus, Iquitos and Belem the main urban nodes rising some of them over a million of inhabitants.

The spatial expansion today is considered a target due to its environmental consequences. The rainforest is now an important value able to be preserved and the demographic expansion contained by the re-densification of the urban spaces.

In Leticia Tabatinga the rates of inhabitants per square meter is already low compared with other cities of the region. This feature allows the potential increase of population without the necessity to damage the forest by the placing of a strong barrier between the city and the forest but also by a program of building densification.

The case of Berlin comes here to play an interesting role in the form of partial plans as a set of new urban nodes. Those pointy interventions over the residential areas in Leticia and Tabatinga are headed to work in two different ways:

1. Re-densification of the residential areas by partial plans of housing improvement and re-building of the former estates
2. Create a couple of sub-centers linked by the theoretical new transportation system and closely joined to the labor places
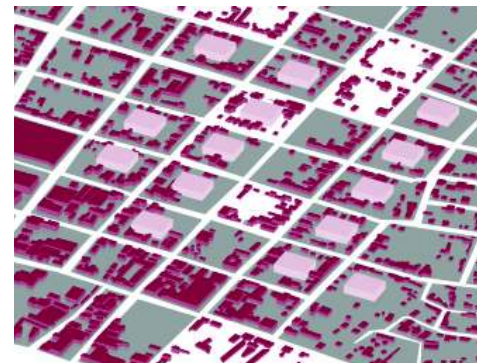
Current Urban Densities in Leticia

Current Urban Densities in Tabatinga

Proposed Progressive Densification inside the blocks in Leticia

Proposed Progressive Densification inside the blocks in Tabatinga

The creation of centralities in Berlin by the construction of social housing projects innovated at that time the conception of neighborhoods as self- sufficient and barely independent administrative units. In Leticia Tabatinga is possible to purpose a couple of new centralities at each side of the border not as a change into the politico-administrative distribution of the cities, but most as a support of new housing projects able to carry on the process of re-densification.

The new centralities of Leticia and Tabatinga correspond either with the necessity of spread over the city the work places in order to avoid congestion on the transportation. It is possible to think on the moving of some urban services to those areas leaving for the already existent centers the most specific uses like the ports.

At the end is very important to summarize the idea of the re-densification: the cities are spatial constraint due to the environmental preservation policies hence the idea of housing densification is the best way to carry on with the potential growing of the population.

Following this idea, it is possible to think on the densification concept by the placement of new centralities in the cities able to concentrate those spatial changes.

### 7.3.2 The Public Space Dimension:

The consolidation of a coordinated network of borderless public spaces might be the last backbone of an international cross border planning.

The lack of the public space as an important dimension on the planning processes in Leticia Tabatinga have been presenting a complete lack of unified spaces in both cities. The public space in Leticia for instance is a sum of parks remained from the Spanish foundation and places used for social gathering and business like the fish markets and the new promenade along the river's side.

In the other hand Tabatinga due to the nature of its creation presents a worse scenario. The only spaces that can be considered appropriated for social interaction are the cathedral square and the port at the side of the river.

Urban Recuperation of the Riverside and Water Streams



Housing Densification
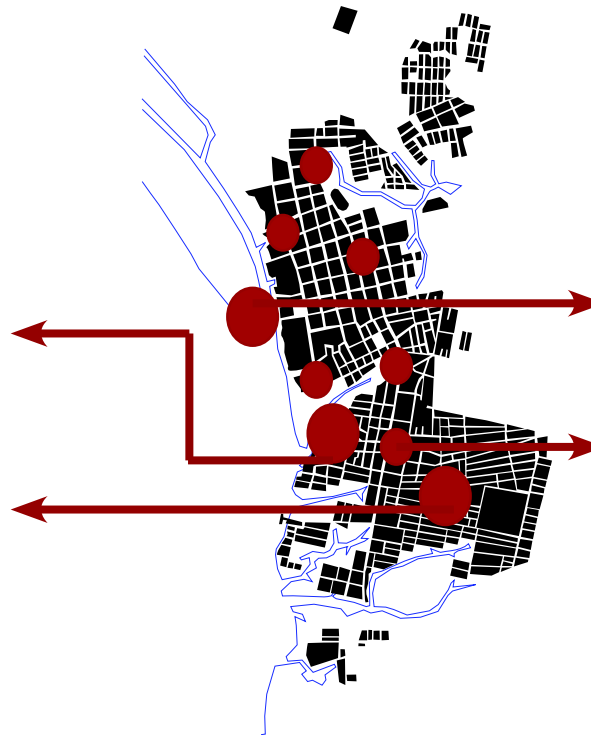




Relocation of the [Port in Santa Rosa



New Transportation System

The axe of the Public space is an attempt to recognize it as the real border sewing by the conception of the social sharing activities as the action that Integrates communities through the space. In the case of Jerusalem the strategy to escape from the conflictive tendencies by the creation and improvement of a network of public spaces is a coherent strategy that can be applied in Leticia Tabatinga not because of the presence of conflict but as a social gluing attempt through the socio-spatial interaction.

In Jerusalem the social cohesion is a project based on the improvement of the public spaces. Considering the nature of the political conflicts in the area, it cannot be more than a partial program and reserve to certain communities (the Jewish ones).

The aspect that can rise as a positive influence in Leticia Tabatinga from the Jerusalem case is the criteria and set of goals that can be synthesized from them. The work over the communities from a set of spatial interventions on the public spaces to a change on the everyday life by share and integrate neighborhoods is a strategy that can be formulated of the new residential areas in Leticia Tabatinga.

The axe of public space interventions is a formula headed to work through the social sharing of the former and new communities by the social sharing interaction. This axe consist on the infrastructure and physical improvement of new and existing parks through a network across the border facing and forcing the spatial integration of the communities ate each side of the border.

The second target of the public space intervention is to increase the quality of the space from the public realm and trying to arrive to the private domain of the housing states. This is at the end the necessity to design programs and policies which are not only involving the public space items but also this is an attempt to bring those goals to the improvement of the social housing estates in order to reach a coherent development of the whole metropolitan area.
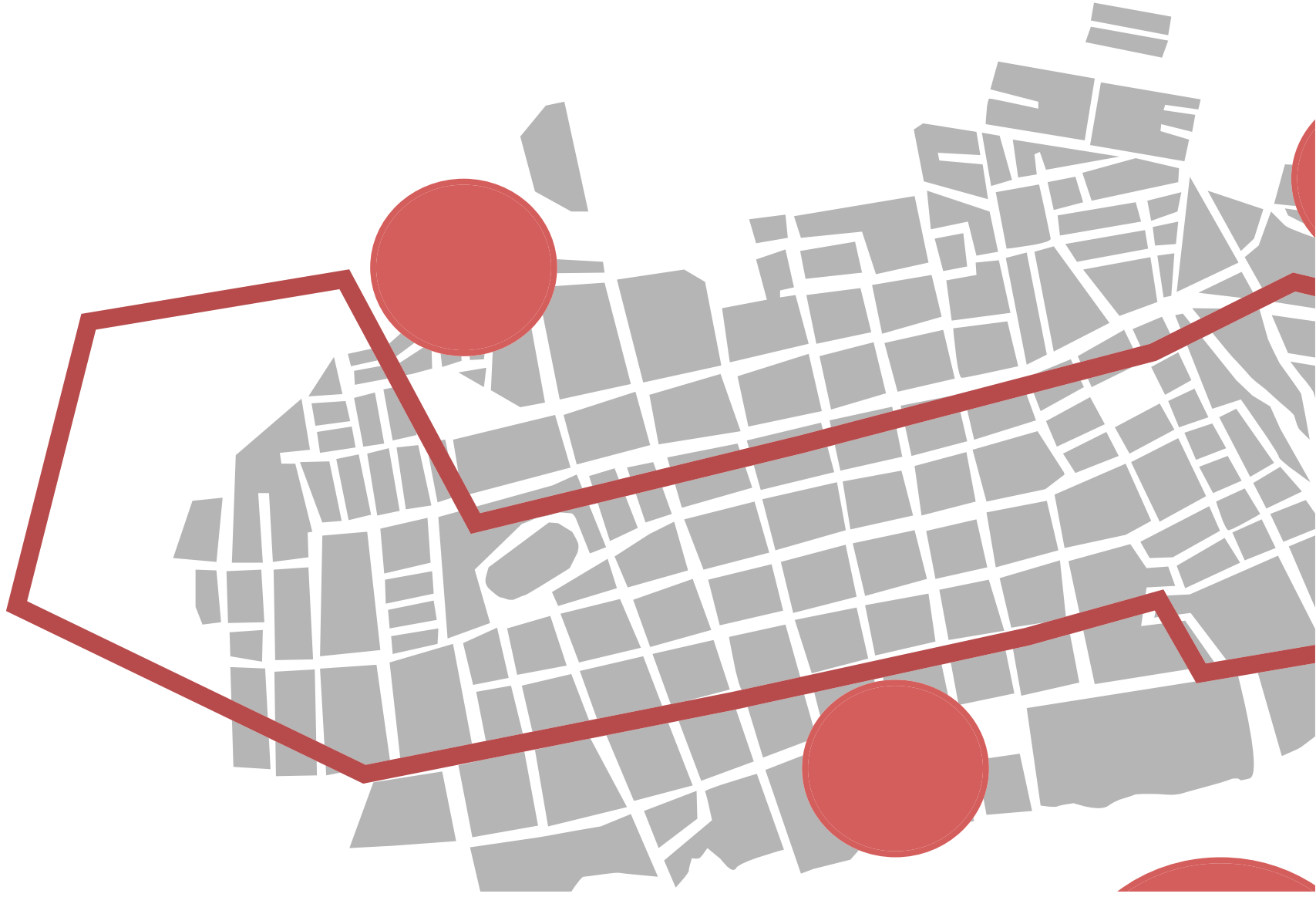
In the end is very important to highlight the necessity to increase the quality of the barely existence of public spaces by a coherent network of social sharing spaces as a borderless strategy.
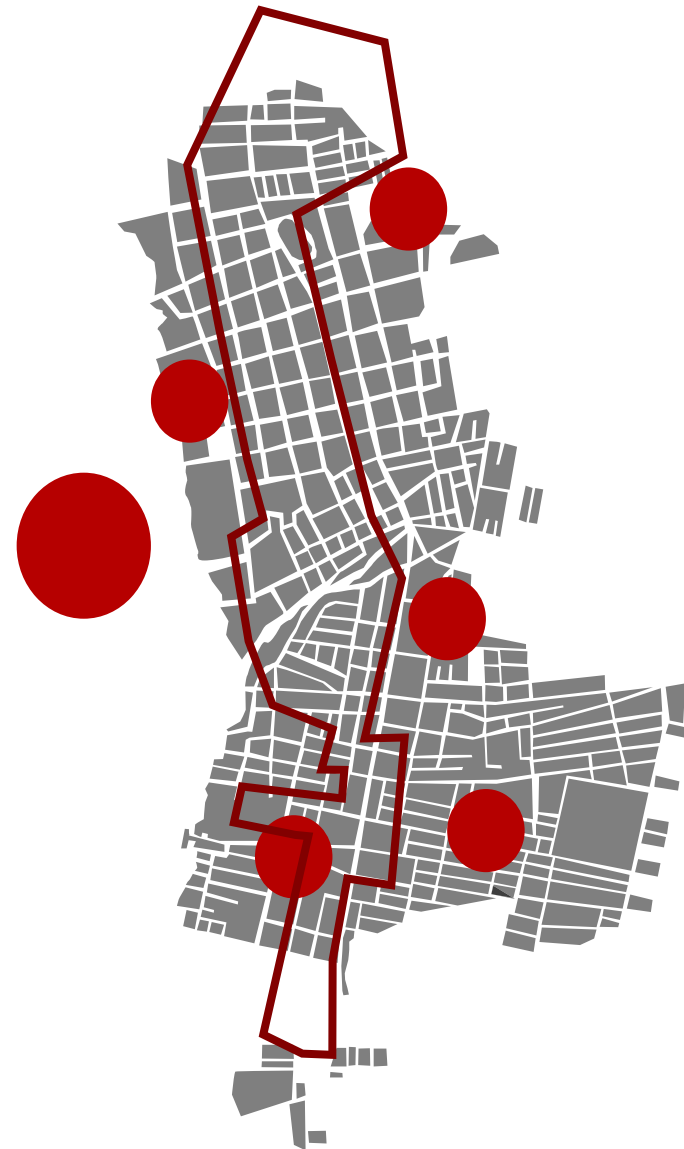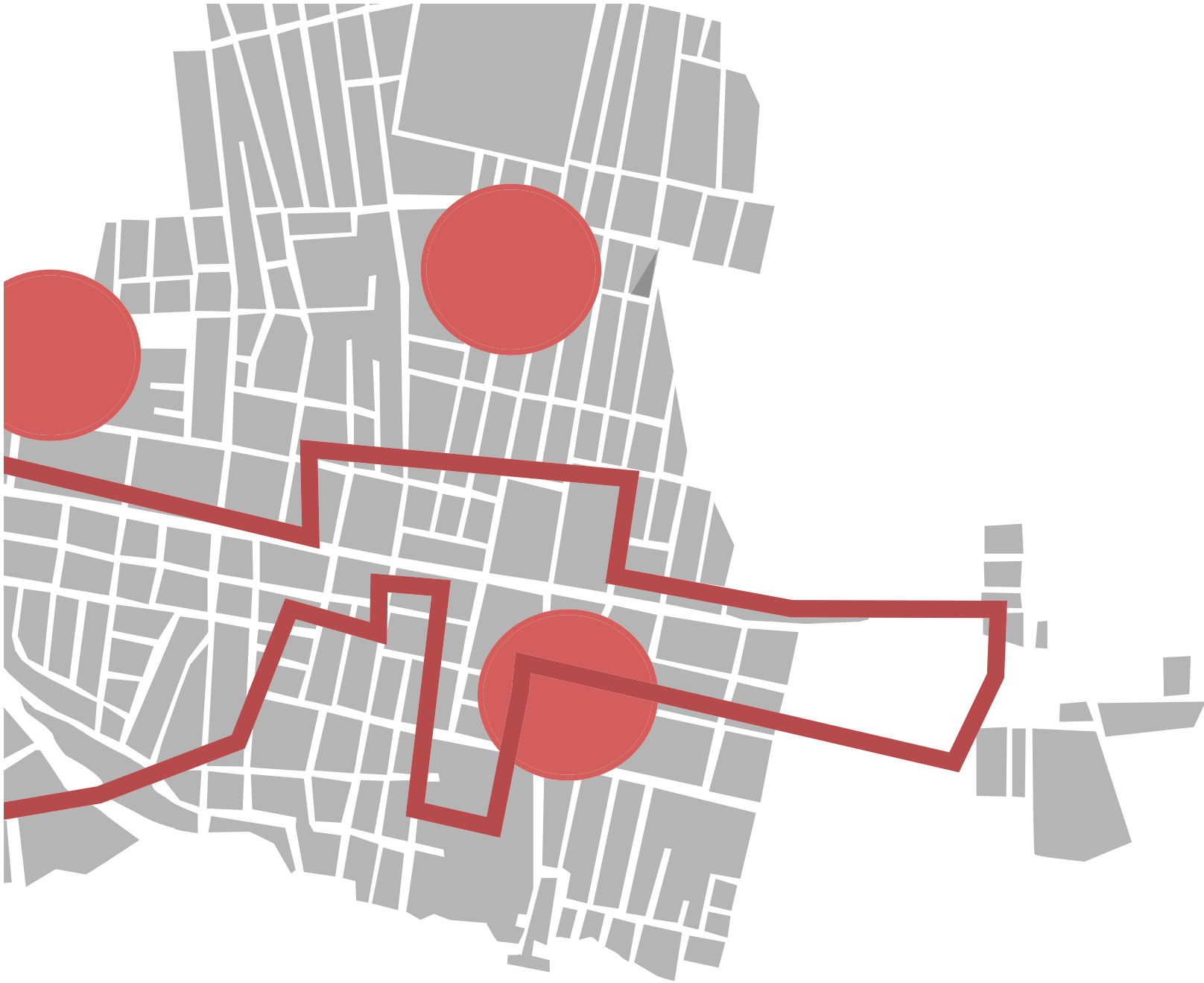


The Concept For A Crossborder Integration

# A DIMENSION OF SHARING

Along the last chapter there was evident the possibility to conceive, create, structure and realize different shared strategies within a politico-administrative and socio-cultural border without the necessity to affect the dimension of cultural differences.

To achieve this idea it was necessary to overview some different cases in very different realities and face them with the possibility to be applied into a specific target in a very different geographic context. The outcome of this process is the conclusion about how much possible is to rise a global application of abstract principles related with sharing policies even without considering specific local aspects.

Nevertheless the importance of this work is based into the understanding of very different mechanisms in which the planning strategies can become policies. Those mechanism are placed normally into a politico-administrative borderless contexts conserving the cultural differences but also achieving a coherent socio-spatial development on cross border areas.

Cities of the Border is an attempt to undersatnd the very complex realm of urban borders in the way in which they can seen as a set of possibilities. This work foresaw the phenomena of bounded contexts and the different alternatives to work within them.

The border as it was understood can potentially became a matter of respect and preservation whereas it doesn have to be materialized on physical ways. The transfoprmation of borders from a close dimension to an open one in whic the integration issues are not representing a cultural hybridization is the conclusion of this work.

It is very important to highlight the fact that this work does not consider the theme of the border as a matter of sepparation, whilst it tries to comprehed its urban phenomenas beyond the obvious aspects.

Furthermore it is possible to rise a set of conclusion for each chapter as a sequence of facts and then face them to achieve a global conclusion.

1. The border urban contexts are found everywhere across the world and placed in very different ways. The socio-spatial development of the cities located in those borders are strongly constraint to, economic and demographical changes along the time.

2. Borders are real facts located everywhere as a consequence of a human necessity to control the space. They can be considered in constant change. Their basic function is to make evident the difference among two different aspects.

3. Borders on urban dimensions are settled following special politico-administrative or socio-cultural patterns based on the necessity to control or appropiate the space. They are granted by a different levels of permeability regarded to the scale of sepparation-integration that they deserve.

4. The International borders can represent very different levels of integration or sepparation according mainly with political and socio-cultural aspects. Those are considered a boundary that was in constant change (Hamburg, Berlin), a boundary still in constant motion and an space container (Jerusalem, Nicosia), a reality able to create further institutional rellations (Frankfurt Am Der Oder-Slubice, Gorizia-Nova Gorica) or a regional integration target (Basel, Vienna-Bratislava)
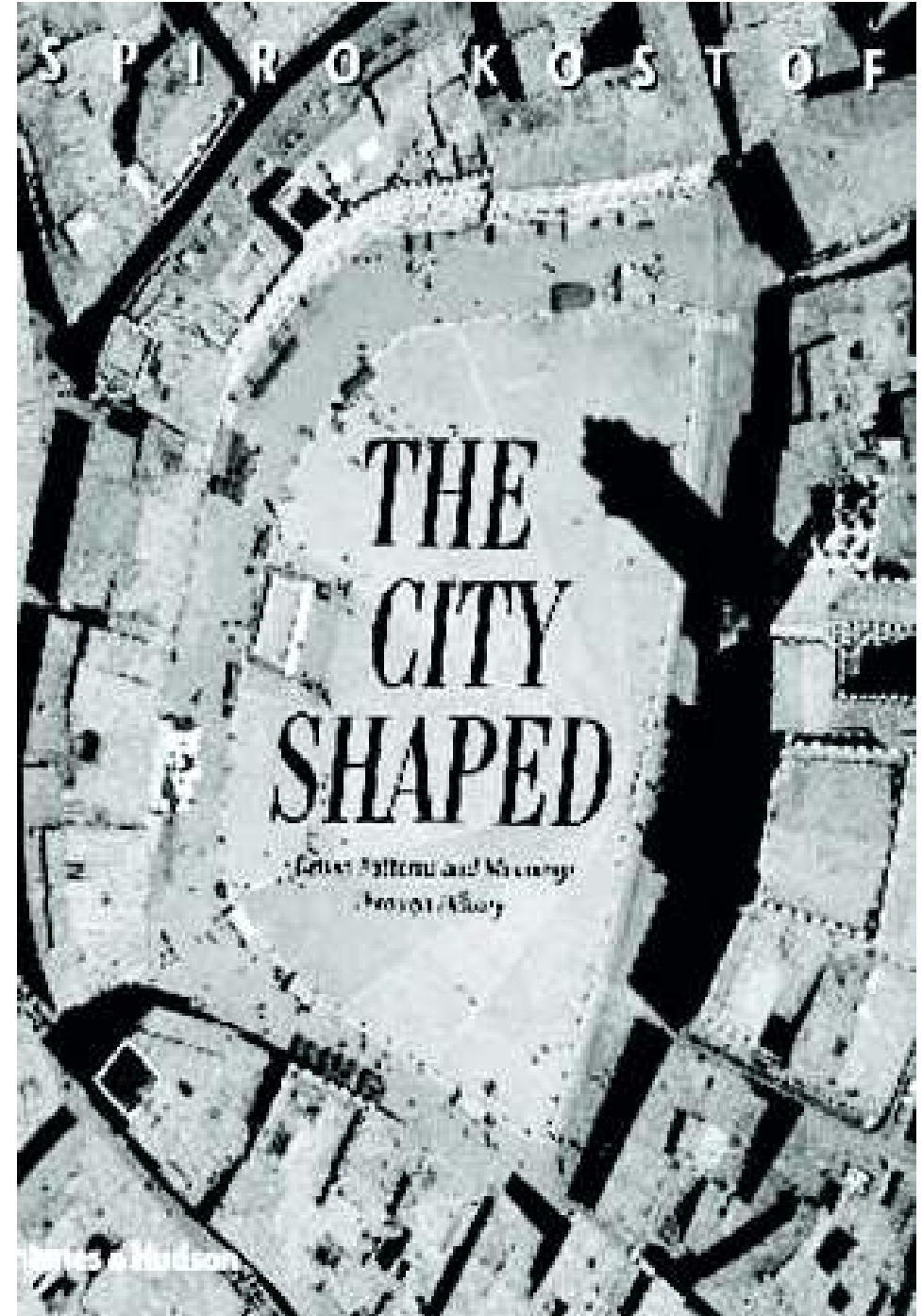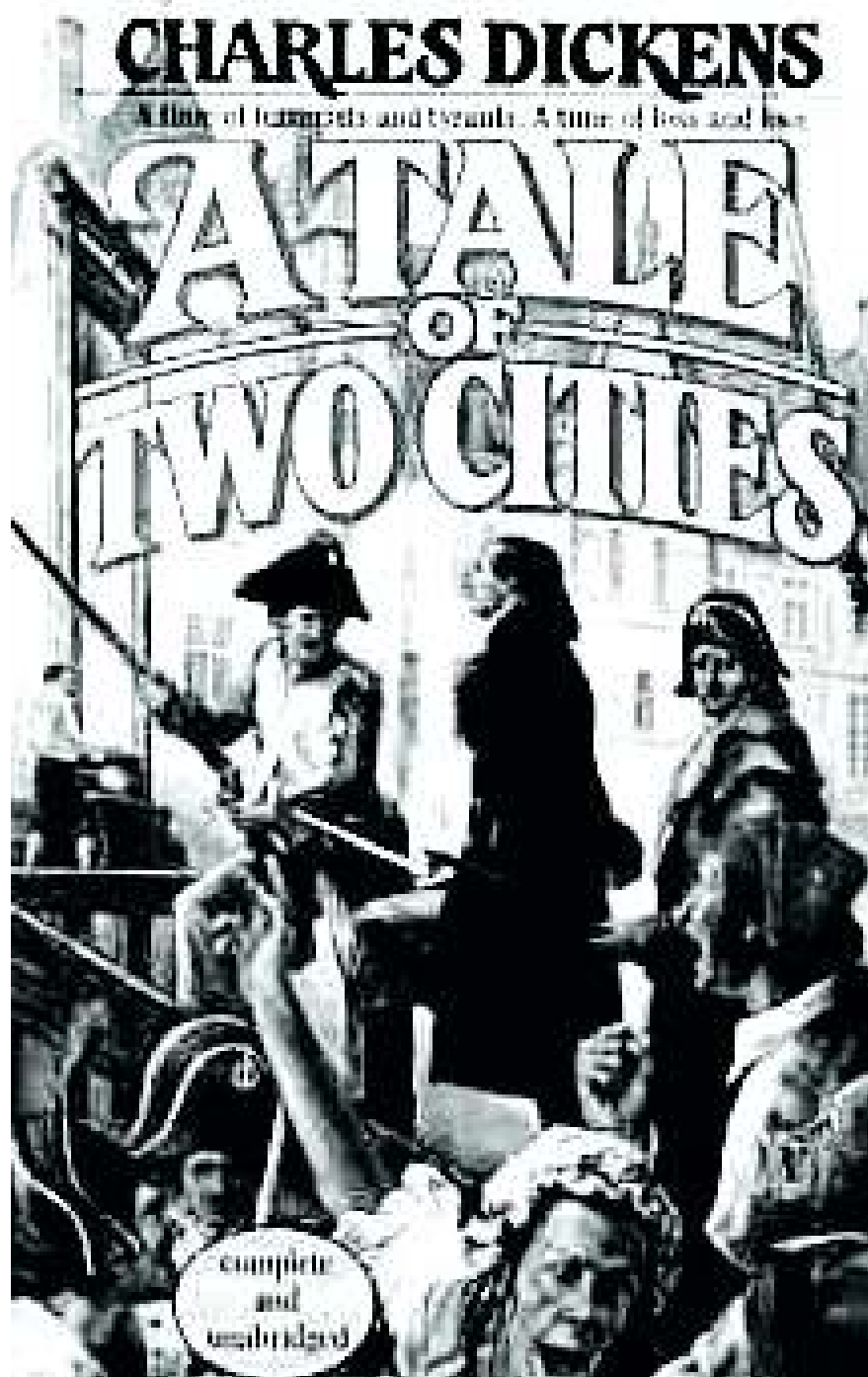
4. The Planning strategies and policies can be placed into a set of global or partial plans like the example of Leticia and Tabatinga. Whereas the difficulties of a sharing dimension placed on the first levels of planning consolidating structures, it is possible to foresee a further context of cooperation in the future.
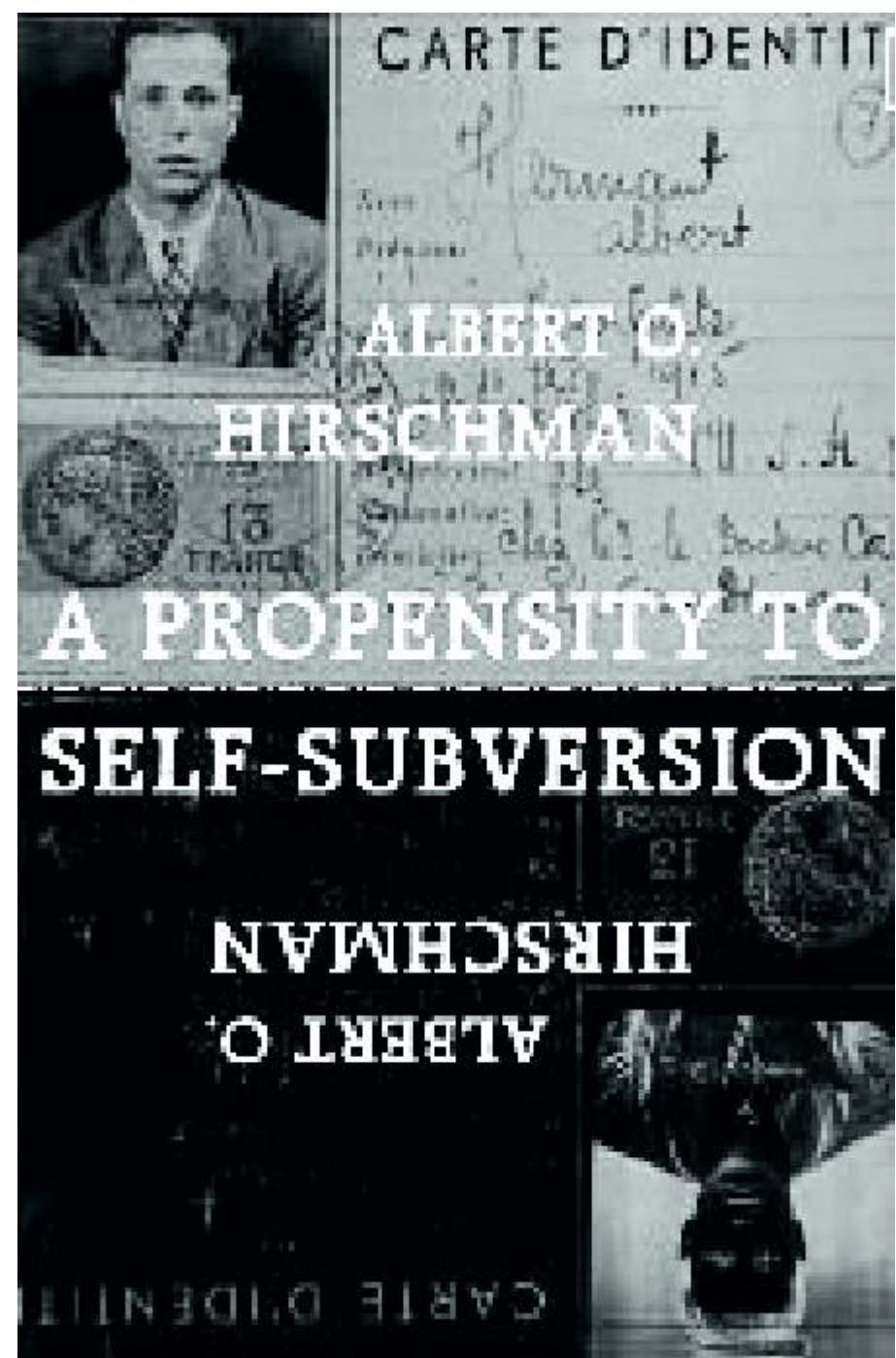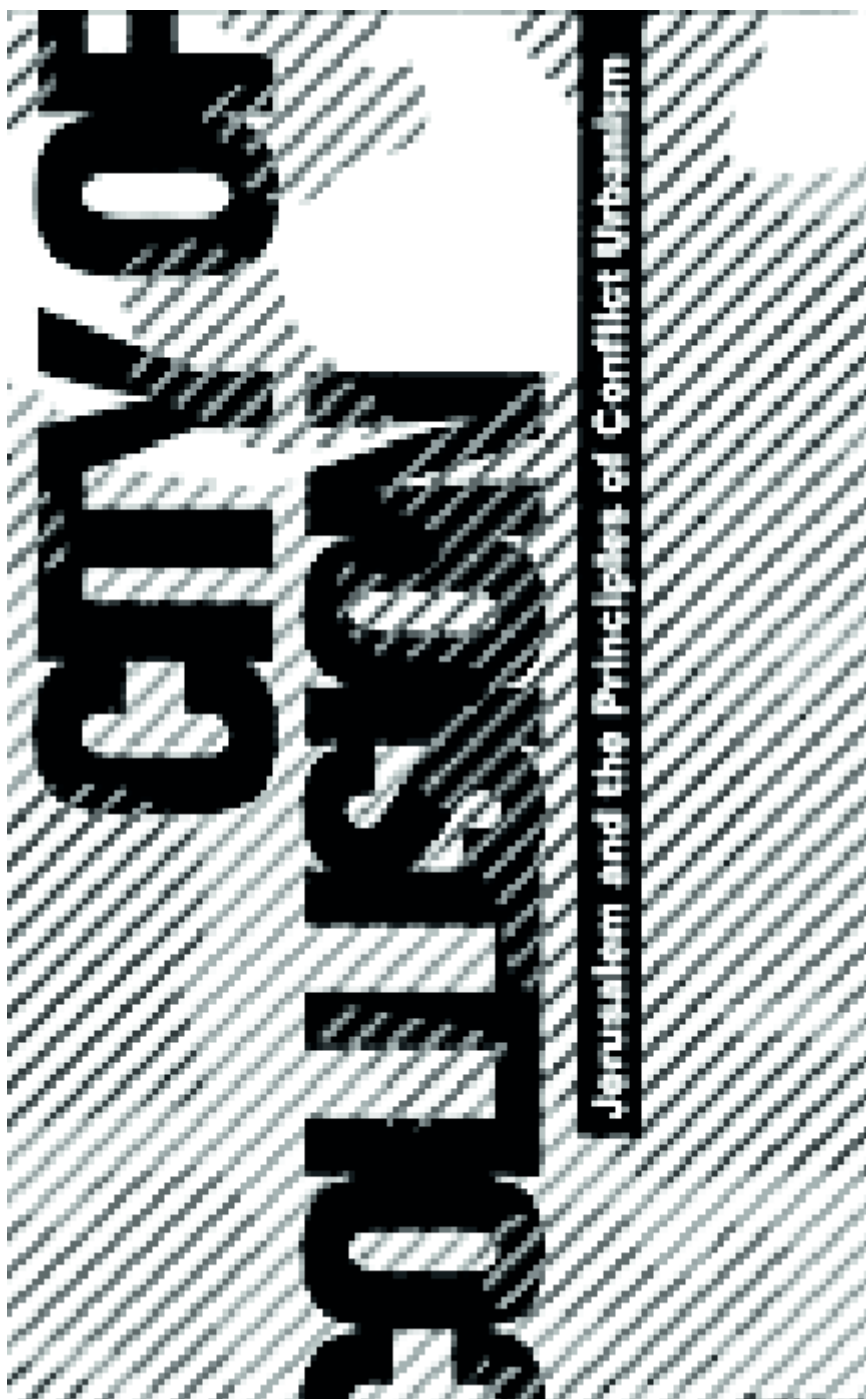
5. It is posible to reach a level of cooperation moving from the institutional dimension trough cultural and environmental aspetcs to a level of territorial comprehension of planning processes. This level of comprehension does not regards of the normal difficulties inherent to the integrating planning processes, but it shows up the socio-spatial possibilities located under a serious political willigness.

Cities of the border pretends to be a primary step for a future manifesto regarded with bounded urban contexts. It creates a base for further considerations and discussions about this very important reallity that tends to be undervaluated by the planning authorities around the world.

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