

**Fences, Walls and Borders : State of Insecurity?**  
**International Conference, University of Quebec at Montreal, Canada**  
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<http://www.uvm.edu/ieds>

Co-Organized by the Raoul Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies of the University of Quebec in Montreal and the Association for Borderland Studies (ABS) the conference on “Walls, Borders, Fences: States of Insecurity” opened with the question? “Do good fences still make good neighbours”? The organizers, Elizabeth Vallet and Charles-Philippe David - Professors at the Raoul Dandurand Chair - both underscored the increasingly multicultural and interdisciplinary nature of the field of border studies and gave the opening remarks of the conference. From artists and curators, to policy makers and planners, geographers and cartographers, political and social scientists and representatives from the naval and customs academies, – a wide range of disciplinary fields and geographic sites were represented. The principal themes of the conference - security and insecurity - were addressed through the lens of International Relations, Legal Dimensions of Walls and the question of Walls and Identities. Discussions included historical case studies, global analysis of the resurgence of borders, artistic representations and media narratives of walls, borders, the flows of migrations, environmental and social impacts, borderland security and the Security-Industrial complex. Vallet evoked the return of the theme of Walls and Fences in Political Science and International Relations despite the prediction of the end of the nation state and the territorial flows resulting from globalisation. Indeed, many papers addressed this dichotomy between the development of transnationalism and the preservation of national sovereignty. A scholar of political science and public policy and a geographer-cartographer gave the two keynote speeches. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly addressed the questions of agency and power in the borderlands - «Walls, Power, Politics and Borderlands: The Structure and Agency of Power » - while Philippe Rekacewicz illustrated the forms and methods of representation of borders – “Map Making and Confronting Walls”. Heather Nicol, Professor at Trent University and President of the Association of Borderland Studies gave the concluding remarks, commenting on the rich interdisciplinary participation in the conference and concluded with an appeal for the conference attendees to join the Association of Borderland Studies - the co-organizers of the conference. The Association for Borderlands Studies (ABS) is a group of borderlands scholars, students, policy-makers and other individuals interested in a variety of borders, borderlands and border regions worldwide. [www.absborderlands.org](http://www.absborderlands.org). A full program of the conference can be downloaded at the link below. Audio files of the presentations will be made available as from June 1<sup>st</sup> on the conference website. [www.dandurand.uqam.ca/walls2011/pdf/Programme\\_walls2011.pdf](http://www.dandurand.uqam.ca/walls2011/pdf/Programme_walls2011.pdf). The BRIT International Conference on Mobile Borders will be held in Geneva University Switzerland and Grenoble University France on the 6 – 9 September 2011. For more information please go to: <http://www.unige.ch/ses/geo/britXI/index.html>. On October 21 – 23, 2011, the Institute of Environmental Diplomacy and Security (IEDS) at the University of Vermont will hold its inaugural conference. The conference will be arranged around five themes: Polar Diplomacy: Energy, the Environment and Security in the Arctic and Antarctic ; The Social Ecology of Borders: Environmental Regionalism and Globalization; Beyond African “Exceptionalism”: Ecological approaches to improving the African Union ; Bridging Eurasia: Energy Infrastructure, Conservation and Culture ; and Chemical

Diplomacy: Negotiating the Global Mercury Treaty. The call for papers is open until 30 June 2011. For more information please consult the IEDS website. <http://www.uvm.edu/ieds/node/522>.

*The following is a selective compte-rendu of a selection of conference panels and presentations, restructured to reflect the research fields and interests of the author and with additional information and personal contributions.*

## Borders Post-11/9 and Post 09/11. From globalising flows to interposing security infrastructures

The adjective “Post” was used repeatedly during the conference to situate and define global territorial, economic and societal changes, amongst them *Postmodern* (beginning around 1972 according to David Harvey), *Post-Soviet* (1989) and *Post 9/11* (2001). The Post Soviet, or Post Cold War era, marked by 11/9 – the date of the fall of the Berlin Wall on the 9<sup>th</sup> November 1989 – heralded the dawn of a borderless world, a territory of flows, an end of the nation-state, an increase in the power of multi-national corporations, the emergence of multi-level and regional governance, and the rise of global civil society. The Post 9/11 phase is marked by an increase in military spending, the securitization of borders, the sophistication of biometric controls and a rise in the construction of walls and fences - Firewalls (China and Iran), Security Walls (Israel), Immigration fences (USA) and UN Military Buffer Zones (Kuwait-Iraq).



The UN Demilitarized Zone between Iraq and Kuwait patrolled by UNIKOM (United Nations Iraq Kuwait Observation Mission)  
Original Map Source: CIA. Location University of Texas Map Library.

Vallet reminds us that these walls are being built by democratic states – the USA, Spain, Israel and India, which has walled two thirds of its border with Bangladesh – and even a wall between Canada and the US is being discussed between congressmen. On the other hand, China no longer has a Great

Wall but a virtual and digital Firewall controlling the flow of information into and out of the country, while it is planting a “Great Green Wall” to protect the fertile lands from the Arid Desert Dust storms. At the same time Chinese scientists are now studying the development of different ecosystems on either side of the obsolete historical Great Wall to measure its impact on the surrounding landscape, illustrating a rising interest in border ecologies and the long term effect of building barriers. A direct effect of the securitization of borders is the increasing difficulty of entering or exiting certain territories. By way of illustration, the Moroccan border scholars who were invited to speak at the conference were refused visas. Morocco has several contested and fenced border zones – Mellila and Ceuta, which are two North-African cities under Spanish sovereignty on the Mediterranean coast and the Western Sahara, an ancient Spanish colony that is disputed between the Polisario movement for the independence of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco.

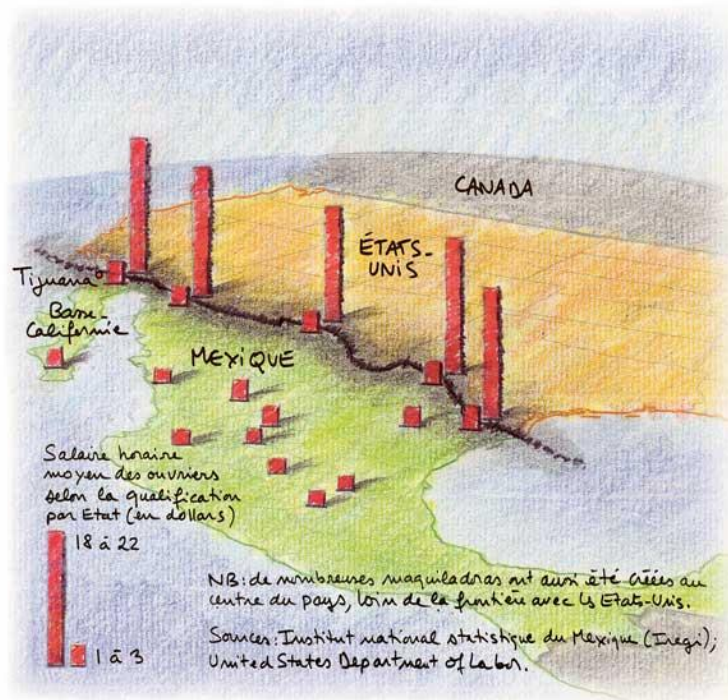


Map of Western Sahara. Source MINURSO (United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara)

## Map making and confronting walls.

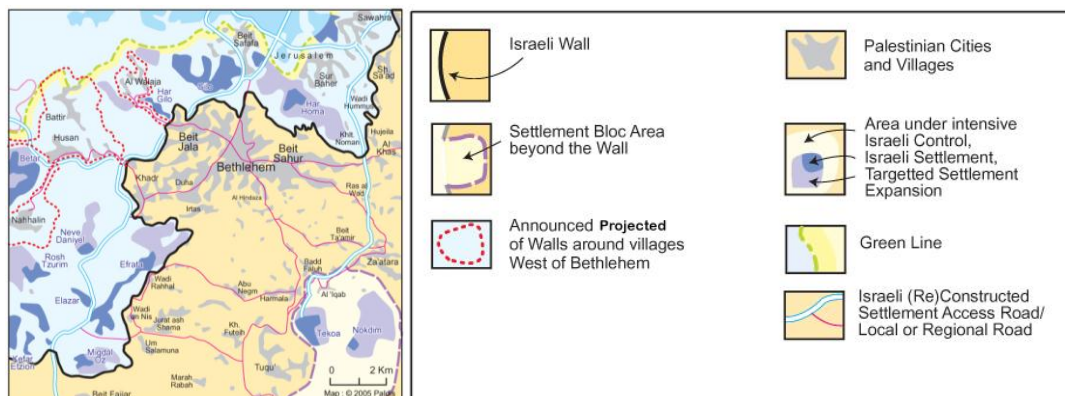
In his keynote speech, Philippe Rekacewicz, a geographer and cartographer, questioned the objectivity of maps, emphasizing that the representation of borders generally depends on who is drawing them or publishing them. For example, you will not find the representation of the Morocco Bern - a Desert Wall that defines what is considered by the United Nations to be a non-self governing territory between the Western Sahara and Morocco, - on a map of the Kingdom of Morocco, as it lays claims to this territory formerly occupied by Spain. Rekacewicz defines the map – which he places at a nexus between Science and Art - as a selective tool of representation of a territory, our interpretation of the world as we see it or want to portray it. Mapmaking is an art that transmits a thought, an idea, a project, an ideology and it is communicated through a graphic semiology - the language of the map - which uses colours, symbols, lines and surfaces to describe a reality or projected reality. This places the map between science and art. Rekacewicz demonstrates the way in which we can represent multiple borders - the physical as well as the social, cultural, economic and ecological borders and the flows across them – with his visual presentation combining poetic hand sketched maps and the well-crafted digital maps published by the Monde Diplomatique. He asks: How can one represent the real and deep territorial fracture of a wall or fence when a border is usually

defined by a red or black line on a map? His sketched map of the US Mexico Border is an example of a visual representation of a social and economic fracture, showing the mean hourly salary for workers on both sides of the border.



Mean hourly wage along the US Mexico border. Philippe Rekacewicz

Mapping is a very important act and a powerful instrument of communication. For example, it is only with a map that we can represent and recognize the Seam Zone created between the (visible) constructed Israeli Security Barrier and the (invisible) designated Green Line and can see how it casts its shadow on the land. Rekacewicz refers to Claire, a resident of Bethlehem who lives beside the Wall in Palestine and who narrates that since its construction, her “soul is in the shadow” and that the Wall is breaking her and her peoples lives. On the other side of the Wall, in Israel, a security discourse argues that the wall is saving the lives of the people.



Map of Bethlehem area showing the Green Line and the Wall. PENGON/Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign.



## Security Fences. Israel/Palestine - Mexico/US – US/Canada

At the same time as the conference on Walls, Borders and Security is underway, president Obama is proposing to return to the pre-1967 borders of Israel Palestine – the Green Line - as the only way forward in the Middle East Peace Process. The Security Fence, as the Israeli Defence Establishment refers to it, is an operational concept conceived in order to reduce the number of terrorist attacks. The structure, which surrounds 30 West Bank communities on at least three sides, cuts thousands of Palestinians from their farmlands, jobs, schools and medical care and it is seen to violate the internationally agreed border of the Green Line established by the 1948 Cease Fire Agreement. Also referred to as a separation barrier and apartheid wall it is regarded as the most controversial piece of architecture built in the Middle East in recent years as it creates an enclaved seam zone of annexed Israeli land in the Palestinian territories.

A few days earlier, in the Chamizal Memorial Park in El Paso, President Obama explained his measures for increasing security along the border and for decreasing illegal immigration. The park is a symbolic space in the border history of the US and Mexico as it commemorates the peaceful resolution of the 100-year Chamizal border dispute between the United States and Mexico that resulted from the natural change of course of the Rio Grande between the cities of El Paso and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua. The national memorial was established on part of the disputed land that was assigned to the United States according to the Chamizal Convention of 1963; a corresponding Parque Público Federal "El Chamizal" was created on the now-Mexican portion of the land. In his speech, Obama confirmed that the USA had strengthened border security "beyond what many believed was possible," increasing the amount of fencing and aerial surveillance and the number of border agents, National Guard troops, intelligence analysts and deportations of illegal immigrants. While it is unlikely that the President will be able to put forward his reform of the immigration legislation during his term, he did reiterate his long-term goal, that is, to open up paths to citizenship to the illegal immigrants.

A border community that has been deeply affected by the increasing securitization of the border and the building of the fence is the Tohona O'odham Nation Tribes, whose territory straddles the Mexican US Border. *Conservation Lands and the Security Apparatus on the US Mexican Border* is a case study that was presented by Scott D. Warren, a PhD Student at the School of Geographical Sciences and Urban Planning at Arizona State University. His case study on the Tohona O'odham Nations confronts us with two concepts of Nation — the aboriginal concept of Nation referring to the sedentary and the nomadic Native American tribes and the Westphalian concept of Nation based on territory and sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> "Tohono O'odham" means "People of the Desert" and the Nation resides primarily in the Sonoran Desert southeast of Arizona and northwest of Mexico with around 25,000 in Arizona and several thousand in Mexico. Unlike aboriginal groups along the U.S.-Canada border, the Tohono O'odham were not granted dual citizenship when a border was drawn across their lands in 1853 resulting from a land purchase by the United States, but they continued to move freely across the border for work, religious ceremonies, medical appointments and to visit relatives. Since the mid-1980s, they are continually being restricted by border enforcements and are trying to persuade Congress to grant them U.S. citizenship. The Tribe has been planning and developing its territories as

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<sup>1</sup> Westphalian sovereignty is the concept of nation-state sovereignty based on two things: territoriality and the absence of a role for external agents in domestic structures. Scholars of international relations have identified the modern, Western originated, international system of states, multinational corporations, and organizations, as having begun at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.[1] Gabel, Medard; Henry Bruner (2003), *Global Inc.: An Atlas of the Multinational Corporation*, New York: The New Press, p. 2, ISBN 1-56584-727-X

an Eco tourism destination but the border apparatus is beginning to modify the demographics and the land use of the border areas. On April 1<sup>st</sup> 2008, the Department of Homeland Security announced the suspension of 36 federal laws to finish the border wall by the end of 2008. Aside from the illegal migrants and smugglers, who leave little impact on the land aside from their waste, it is the security infrastructures which affect the landscapes of the Nation, both the wall itself - which has many environmental impacts - as well as the surveillance apparatus and personnel. The town of Ajo, formerly an important mining town, one of the biggest open pit mines in the world - is transforming into a new border town as the Federal government has rented most of the housing stock for border agents and is building new constructions and modifying the social fabric and economy of the town.



The US Mexican Fence running through the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in the Tohona O’odham Territory.

What is happening in the Tohona O’odham territory and around the town of Ajo is similar to what Viktor Konrad describes as a thickening of the border. In his paper entitled “Borders, Bordered Lands and Borderlands: Geographical States of Insecurity between Canada and the United States”, Konrad - a geographer from Carleton University in Canada - examines the geographical impacts of enhanced security and how security and insecurity are inextricably linked. He describes a *thickening* of the borderlands zone with the security apparatus extending farther and farther from the border. Konrad suggests that the higher (or tighter/denser?) the wall the greater the shadow that it casts with virtual walls having similarity to physical walls. The shadow that is cast also depends on the fabric that it is projected on. For example, the geographical impact of the US - Canada security wall is greater in Canada than in the US, as there are more people living near the border on the Canadian side. Konrad describes the geographical impacts of security primacy in several stages. The first stages are characterized by a spatial re-ordering of borderlands as a security zone; a detrimental effect on the environment; the stretching and tearing of the social fabric; the social and economic straining of communities at the border; a heightened sense of uncertainty; and a polarization of secured and non-secured spaces, places and people. The subsequent stages of the spatial reordering of the border witnesses the affirmation of a borderlands community culture resulting in: an empowerment of stakeholders along the border; more balanced approaches at the intersection of two nations; an effective scaling of border relationship; more humanized security; an acknowledgement of diversity; and new perspectives on the borderlands (rather than a new model). In brief, Konrad’s research takes a positivist and prospective approach and looks at the possible future evolutions of the borderlands.

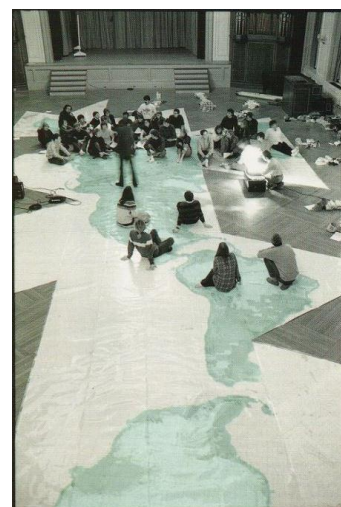
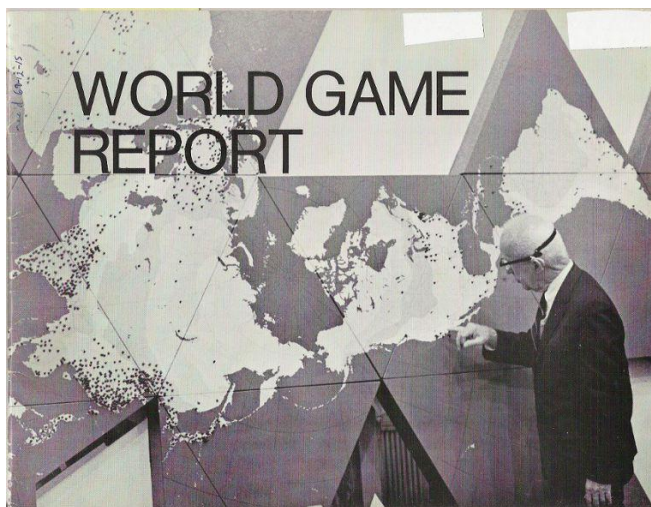
## Security Buffers. The Security Industrial Complex

The building of the security fence, as well as the apparatus of surveillance – for example the drones

used to patrol US-Canadian territory – all participate in creating an economy of security and surveillance – the Security Industrial Complex. Also referred to as the Surveillance-Industrial Complex – it is described as one of the recession-resistant sectors of the defence industry with Governmental spending on products and services for homeland security was forecast to reach \$141.6bn worldwide in 2009 (Visiongain Market Research, 2009). Paul Craig Roberts views the War on Terror as a marketing campaign for security industries and terrorism experts with the latter *“pulling in the consulting fees and the former are rapidly inventing new products that enable “our” government to watch our every move and to know our location at every moment.”*<sup>2</sup>

A Panel on the Security Industrial Complex was chaired by Julien Saada, a political scientist affiliated with the Observatory of the Middle East at the Raoul-Dandurand Chair. He gave some figures for the budgets allocated to secure borders: *USA - 55 Billion, Saudi Arabia - 118 Billion* and also reminded us that each technology invented invites a new form of circumventing, therefore calling for a new technology that has to be developed and purchased. Saada also numbered 450 specialized enterprises in territorial surveillance worldwide often headed by former state security and defence officials and he proposes the scrutiny of the role of the defence industry on the EU security agenda, describing its predominant role in the research sector as a principal beneficiary of research grants. This leads us to question that perhaps we should begin to reflect and envision how these enormous budgets extracted from taxpayer’s contributions might be otherwise allocated to development projects that could participate in building a more just, balanced and secure world? Perhaps we could inspire ourselves with Buckminster Fuller’s World Peace Game?

In the 1960's Buckminster Fuller proposed a “great logistics game” and “world peace game” (later shortened to simply, the “World Game”) that was intended to be a tool that would facilitate a comprehensive, anticipatory, design science approach to the problems of the world. The use of “world” in the title obviously refers to Fuller's global perspective and his contention that we now need a systems approach that deals with the world as a whole, and not a piece meal approach that tackles our problems in what he called a “local focus hocus pocus” manner. The entire world is now the relevant unit of analysis, not the city, state or nation. The World Game that Fuller envisioned was to be a place where individuals or teams of people came and competed - or cooperated - to: “Make the world work, for 100% of humanity, in the shortest possible time, through spontaneous cooperation, without ecological offense or the disadvantage of anyone.”



<sup>2</sup> Paul Craig Roberts – *The Security-Industrial Complex*. <http://www.lewrockwell.com/roberts/roberts203.html>

Left: Source: scanned by Gene Keyes from cover of *World Game Report*, [28 p.], ©1969, Edwin Schlossberg. Photography by Daniel Gildesgame and Herbert Matter. <http://www.genekeyes.com/FULLER/BF-6-later-ed.html>. Right: Craig Lambert, "Bucky Fuller's Big Game Goes On" (*World Monitor*, 1989-06) p. 18-20. <http://www.genekeyes.com/FULLER/BF-6-later-ed.html>

On the eleventh of April 2011, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) revealed the figures for military spending worldwide in 2010. Though still on the rise to as much 1'630 billion dollars, the growth is slowing down and even regressing in Europe. However, according to calculations made by the International Peace Bureau, this is still five times more than the 329 billion needed to fulfill the millennium development goals and therefore, all basic human needs. To raise awareness to this unacceptable situation, the 12th of April was declared "Global day of action on military spending". More than one hundred "peace" events were organized around the world on that day.

Vincent Boulanin, a visiting research fellow at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, presented the EU's external security agenda, questioning the creation of new *Limes* at the borders of Europe (*Limes* is used to designate the fortified borders of the Roman Empire). Since the creation of the Schengen Space, the EU member states have begun to coordinate their national policies to propose technical solutions to illegal immigration and undesirable visitors, with the creation of a border agency (FRONTEX), a Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR), as well as a new checking system on entry and exit to and from the EU based on biometric data. If realized, the *EUROSUR* project will, by 2013, make use of satellites, drones and other intelligence – all integrated into one comprehensive network – to monitor Europe's borders from the Baltic Sea to the Canary Islands. (European Commission 2008d).

"Confining Outside (Enfermer Dehors): The Contemporary Wall, an Internal Policy?" by Évelyne Ritaine, Director of Research at the National Foundation for Political Science, Centre Durkheim, in Bordeaux. She asks: which are the actors who are publicizing the border as a risk? In Italy, the border is closed in the name of security and the media are constantly translating the question of migration as a State of Urgency. The dominant narrative is the one of being invaded from the sea, whereas there are only 13% of all migrants who arrive along the coasts. Associated with a return of barbarism, the press show images of shipwrecks and the victims of drowning – at the same time morbid and sensational – with the aim of arousing the citizen's fear

Helion Poveoa Neto, a professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, whose paper was entitled "Security Discourses in Immigration Policy: Walls and Fences as Anti-Invasion Rhetoric" posed the contradictions between the official discourse of the European Parliament – that it does not intend to build a fortress – and the realities of some of its member states such as Greece, which is planning to construct a wall along its 128-mile land border with Turkey in order to tackle the influx of illegal immigrants.





Source: Monthly Review Magazine. <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2011/latuff120111.html>

Poveoa Neto examines the anti-immigrant discourses that fuel the construction of physical barriers. That the West is being “invaded by immigrations” is part of the daily discourse and the media and policy makers and researchers build this Myth of Invasion. In Italy for example, the image of the tidal wave of immigration, the inundation, “a human tsunami” (Berlusconi), conjure a necessity for physical barriers – dams to stop the flow. The narratives of hordes of black, African, poor, Muslim men invading Europe is the discourse that has transformed the North of Africa into a “buffer zone” for the control of Migration. The borders of Europe are now outside of Europe. The security apparatus operating at its edges influences and disturbs large territories and populations in Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania.

Luna Vives, a PhD Candidate in Geography is researching the ethnographic impacts of the border controls between Senegal and Spain – through the territories of Morocco – that are being implemented since 2005 to stop unwanted migration. The Strategies are twofold; preventive strategies with development aid and preferential trade are implemented in Senegal while defensive strategies, which include militarization of the borders, repatriation and expulsion, are being carried on in Morocco and Spain.

Also at the edges of the EU, but not demarcated or recognized as a border of Europe, the Green Line Buffer Zone of Cyprus divides the island into the Republic of Cyprus (Greek) and the Turkish Cypriot territory in the North. Acknowledging the Green Line as a European border implies accepting the (de facto) Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus – which is officially recognized only by Turkey. It is therefore a porous border into Europe and migrants - mainly from Iraq, Palestine and Iran - daily wander across the Green Line Buffer Zone, which is also considered as a possible entry point for terrorists. This “weak link” of the Cypriot demarcation line was presented by Olivier Clochard, a researcher at the CNRS and at "Terrferme" which is running a research project called “Confinement Systems: A Local Approach to contemporary socio-political control processes.”

### **The Agency of Power in the Borderlands: *We are the Borders***

Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Professor of political science at the University of Victoria, Executive Secretary of the Association of Borderland Studies and Editor of the Journal of Borderland Studies, gave an

excellent keynote speech on the “Walls and Borders, Power (State) and Politics the Structure and Agency of Power”. With a particular accent on the tug of war between agency and structure, Brunet-Jailly argued that the study of borders is now ready for a broader interdisciplinary border model, a model that includes the range of disciplinary perspectives that examine borders. This framework to examine the complex mechanisms that produce and reproduce territorially defined cultures, economies and, ultimately, local and central states should be inclusive of structural considerations while placing human agency at its core.<sup>3</sup> Walls are hard territorial lines that result from bordering policies and Institutions. But what specifically interests Brunet-Jailly is that they are also about people. In the case of most settled territories walls are predominantly about exclusion. Nevertheless, they are also woven into varied cultural economic and political fabrics. “Walls and boundaries are the outcome of the (sometimes) difficult interactions between people and territories.”

Brunet-Jailly highlights the important structural transformation of the nature of states as they have been theorized by scholars of political science; the unbundling of sovereignties and the denationalizing of territories with disturbing repercussions for distributive justice and equity (Sassen 1996); the recalibration of regional central government relations from vertical coordinative and redistributive to horizontal, competitive and developmentalist (Breener 2005); the information communication revolution that suggests a fundamental transformation of the relationship between politics and market forces: “spaces of places” and “spaces of flows” and the loss of sovereignty of the modern nation state bypassed by global networks of wealth, power and information. (Castells 1989). While States are transforming structurally, their numbers are also increasing - from 69 Sovereign States in 1919 to 195 Sovereign States in 2011. This expansion results in an increase of borders, which are also transforming their nature and structure. What is a border today? Brunet-Jailly cites Ballibar who speaks of *borders that vacillate* because they are no longer localizable (Ballibar 2002) and they no longer allow the superimposition of a set of functions of sovereignty “vacillating, multiplied and reduced in their localisation, thinned out and doubled, no longer the shores of politics but the space of the political itself”.

For example, the borders of Europe today are outside Europe and are difficult to identify. The European Security Strategy and the European Neighbourhood Policy recognize that the countries at the borders of Europe need to be well governed and free from conflict and the Lisbon Treaty aims to establish an area of prosperity and good neighbourliness with peaceful relations based on cooperation. In these EU policies, we could identify and propose an inversion of the much-cited line from Robert Frost’s poem “Mending Fences” which appears to have become a slogan for wall building – “Good fences make good neighbours”. The EU policies imply that it is good neighbours that make good fences and not the other way around. “*There cannot be sustained development without peace and security, and without development and poverty eradication there will be no peace. Threats to public health, pandemics, undermine development. Human rights are a fundamental part of the equation...*” (Report of the implementation of the EU Security Strategy, 2008).

Brunet concludes by saying that there is a growing literature that is now suggesting that we need to develop an understanding of borders that go beyond our “*territorialist*” and “*geopolitical*” intellectual and policy traditions. We need to focus on the agency of borders and of walls; that is, the activities of social, economic and political individuals and the processes of production and re-production of borders and walls – the bordering and de-bordering praxis – at a given time in history and within a given space – that are economically, politically and culturally embedded.

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<sup>3</sup> In this context, “agency” refers to the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices. [1]. Barker, Chris. 2005. Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice. London: Sage. ISBN 0-7619-4156-8 p448

These agencies include the processes and practices of human groups across the border (immigration, smuggling) which are increasingly the target of States "intelligence and objects of security collaboration toward a better understanding and control of spaces of flows" i.e. for instance, illegal immigration flows that are culturally rooted in the southern Mexico. Brunet sees this praxis of the border – these border flows – as human tidal waves against walls and ultimately, the structure of agency of power is about the complex mechanisms that produce and re-produce territorially defined cultures. His presentation gives us a fertile ground and framework for investigating the praxis and process of bordering/debordering/rebordering. Brunet-Jailly's conclusion is that "we are the borders, we are the walls!"

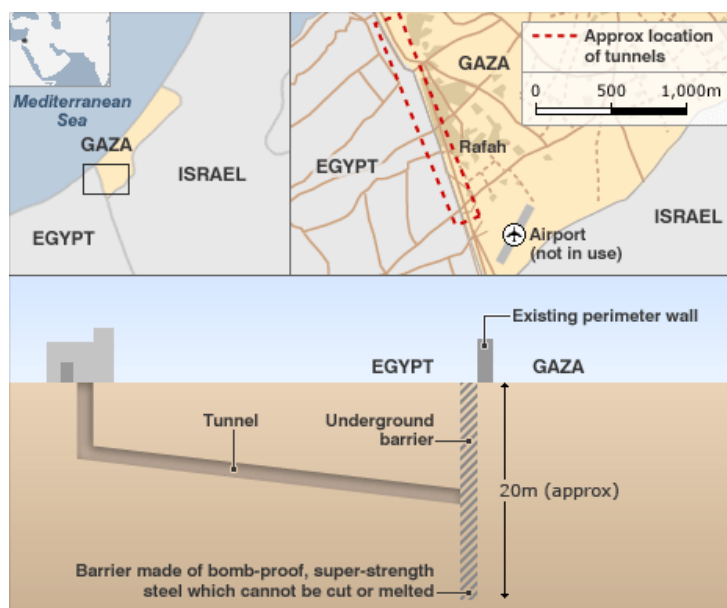
## Resilience and Circumventing the Wall

Another line from Frost's poem - Something there is that doesn't like a Wall – was the title of a paper on Transnational Communication in the Electronic Age presented by Helen M. York, a PhD Candidate at the University of Maine, as part of a panel on "Strategies Aiming at Bypassing the Wall" which included a case study on Hebron by Brigitte Piquard, Reader in Humanitarianism and Conflict at Oxford Brookes University and Université de Paris Est Créteil. Brigitte Piquard's work looks at the social and spatial impacts of the wall – how it affects work, agriculture, family life, health and education of both the sedentary and nomadic (Bedouin) populations of Palestine. Piquard relates how the building of the Security Barrier, with its walls and towers, recalls the construction of Kibbutz settlements in the 1930's, Home Umigdal – Wall and Tower – with the rapid elevation of a surrounding wall and a watchtower. The Homestead Act of the Frontier settlement in America during the 19th century had a similar tactic of rapid settlement and improving of the land to gain ownership. The research demonstrates a very strong civil society in Palestine, and investigates the artistic acts of resilience. One example is the Wall Art by international and local artists, For example the girl floating up over the wall with balloons painted by the international artist Banksy at the Israeli Apartheid wall in the West Bank in 2005. Piquard talks about the on going process of these artistic interventions and shows how another artist added a comment to this work with a caption asking « Sister, do you want some more? » (referring to the balloons, as she is not quite able to rise over the fence). The artist Banksy went to Israel and painted several works on the security barrier including one with children digging through it to reveal a tropical beach on the other side. His provocative work questions: How illegal is it to vandalize a (an illegal) wall? He argues: "The Israeli government is building a wall surrounding the occupied Palestinian territories. It stands three times the height of the Berlin wall and will eventually run for over 700km—the distance from London to Zurich. The International Court of Justice last year ruled the wall and its associated regime as illegal. It essentially turns Palestine into the world's largest open-air prison."



Girl with Balloons. Painting on the Israeli Security Wall by the artist Banksy

Other forms of resilience against what is often referred to as a Spaciocide and Ethnocide presented by Brigitte Piquard include a route for alternative tourism between Jaffa and Haifa, which is being developed by an NGO; Breaking the Silence, a web-based platform of veteran combatants who have served in the Israeli military since the start of the Second Intifada and have taken it upon themselves to expose the Israeli public to the reality of everyday life in the Occupied Territories; B'tselem, Checkpoint Watch and an NGO promoting an alternative tourist route between Jaffa Haifa.



Egypt starts building steel wall on Gaza Strip Border. Christian Fraser, BBC World. 9 December 2009. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/8405020.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8405020.stm)



Doaa Elnakhala, a PhD candidate at the University of Texas at Austin, presented her research on “The Dynamic Relationship between Physical Barriers and Attack Tactics; the Gaza Fence as a Pilot Study.” Born and raised in Gaza City, Doaa Elnakhala lived in West Bank for 10 years before moving to Texas in 2006. She has not been able to visit her family in Gaza for many years, as she explains that she might be able to get in, but then will never know when the gates will open and she will be able to leave again. Her research asks: What are the actual Security outcomes of physical barriers on borders? Do physical barriers on borders stop attacks from the other side? Why? In 2008, Ehud Olmert, the Israeli Prime Minister, declared that the security barrier has curtailed anti-Israeli attacks. This declaration does not take into account the fact that the militants adapt to each new security measure or barrier and develop new techniques and more sophisticated border infiltration tactics. Elnakhala’s research looks at the motivations of these non-state actors, examining the *Innovation and Diffusion Literature*. (Terrorism Literature) as well as the knowledge acquired through linkages with other groups. Basically, the militants are motivated by long-term fundamental goals and short-term instrumental and operational goals. The choice of their operations depends on their resources and the costliness of the different kinds of attacks. The higher the policing tactics, the higher the escalation of attacks. Militants look for alternative sources for their materials and knowledge (know how and training) or information. The premise of Elnakhala’s research is that barriers constructed on borders can perpetuate and strengthen militants supply institutions, enabling them to continue attacking despite the barriers and can even increase the frequency of attacks. The methodology of the research is both quantitative and qualitative, examining patterns and frequencies of attacks in the Gaza Strip. It evaluates the number of attacks, as well as the tactical shifts (bombings, rockets, tunnel attacks and settlement and road side attacks); the supply institutions, networks, connections and linkages; and the modes of exchange of materials and knowledge (for example the smuggling networks through the tunnels in Gaza). Elnakhala states that it is difficult to create a database on the tunnels in Gaza. The tunnels appeared in the early 1980’s following the signing of the Israeli/Egypt Peace Treaty (1979) and later the building of the Gaza Strip barrier. The wall split Rafah into two and families were separated. The tunnels were at first built for social purposes, to reunite families, gradually becoming used for smuggling commodities and people. Until 2000 tunnels were rarely used for militant reasons, but after this date they were used intensively to bring in military materials and get training from Hezbollah. Elnakhala’s conclusion is that barriers and borders do not necessarily stop attacks and they may even be correlated with an increase in attacks. While the barrier imprisons the Palestinians and protects the Israelis, it did also result in Israel abandoning some of its illegal settlements in Gaza but they consequently annexed additional Palestinian land to widen the width of the Buffer Zone between Gaza and Israel.

“Olive Trees Beyond the Wall” by PhD student Arnaud Garcette, presented research on the socio-economic impacts of the Israeli Wall on the Olive Oil industry in the Palestinian Territories from 1993-2010 and how new processes of producing and practices of exchange are created to circumvent the barrier. The Wall encloses 12% of the most fertile lands of the Palestinian territory in the seam zone. Its presence invites transgression, as ways have to be found to circumvent or to surmount the wall. 60% of the inhabitants in the Seam Zone cannot access their lands and this has an important impact on commercial exchange. The socio-economic routes of the olive oil trade have to be reoriented and/or restructured. Palestinians require visitor permits to access their lands which lie beyond the wall and these are often refused or, if they are allowed, do not include the use and transport of tractors and machines. This confinement affects the production and harvesting of the olives and therefore the quality of the oil, as they are subject to the Israeli rhythms of life, their holidays, etc. New socio-economic practices, in the face of increased control measures, create an intermediary market, where farmers delegate the work in the olive groves in return for a share in the profits and then entrust the produce to transport agents who negotiate the prices. A back-to-back system is

installed, where the goods are delivered to the checkpoints and then turned over to Israelis who distribute them in Israel and the rest of the world.

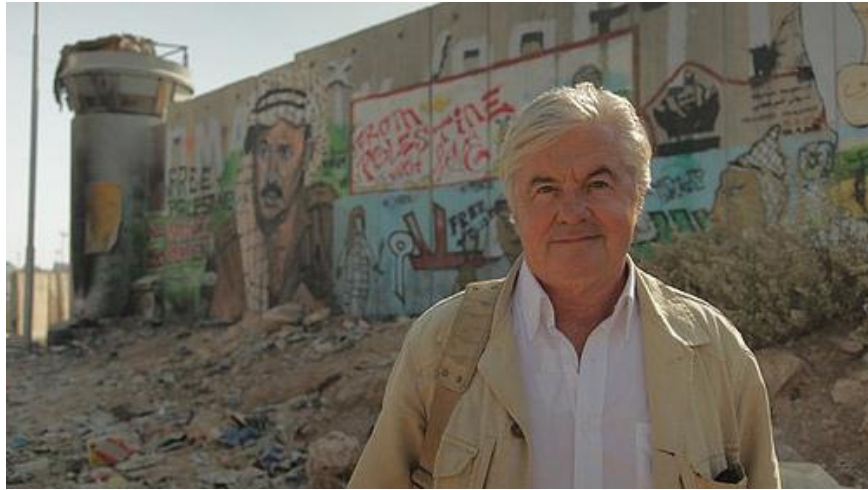
Programs to promote and distribute Palestinian Olive Oil have been implemented worldwide to encourage the producers, but the instability of the context dissuades producers from investing in these projects. These events have given rise to an internationalisation of the olive oil distribution, where foreign NGOs based on Fair Trade support the production and development of the industry and where volunteers help to plant and harvest the olives. With these new forms of partnerships – the creation of a local international and international network - from the bottom up, a new space that adapts and circumvents the system imposed by the Wall is created and the roles of passing the border, distributing and producing are redistributed.



*The Israeli permit for Palestinian farmers needing to pass through the separation barrier to reach their olive groves. (Reto Albertalli). <http://kanan48.wordpress.com/2010/03/11/beyond-compare/>*

## **Walls and States of Insecurity. The Role of the Media**

The role of the media was addressed in a specific panel on Journalism and Walls chaired by Phillippe Marcoux of Radio Canada. Amandine Kervella, a lecturer of information and communication science at the Université de Haute-Alsace, France, presented her research on “The West Bank Wall in French Television: Issues and Representations” in which she analyzed the news programs of the two major French TV Channels, TF1 and France 2. Looking at the language and the setting of the television programs, she analyses the nouns and adjectives that describe the nature and function of the Wall; wall, barrier, line, separation, fence, dividing structure, security structure, anti-terrorist structure. She is also interested in the perceived objectivity of the journalist – which can always be questioned by the spectator, especially on such a contentious subject as the wall - with the public often interpreting any critical stance as being anti-Semitic. The Wall is built to respond to a state of insecurity – therefore it should produce security. But the reporting also shows the lives of Palestinians and how they are affected by and suffer from the Wall. In her analysis of the news footage, Kervella adopted five frameworks according to the denominations of the Wall: political wall, technical wall, wall of discord, separation wall, security wall. She also considered the backdrop for the news presentation, which included scenes of international institutions, political events, terrorist attacks, demonstrations, the Wall, religious buildings or ceremonies, military spaces, diplomatic meetings journalistic surroundings, civil society scenes. In conclusion, in the televised news, the Wall is an actor that takes on its own life.



The journalist Herve Chabaliere at Qalandia Checkpoint. TV5 Le Monde en March.  
[http://farm6.static.flickr.com/5047/5360385488\\_2553ca2b81.jpg](http://farm6.static.flickr.com/5047/5360385488_2553ca2b81.jpg)

## Art and the Border

A panel on the Artistic Representations of Walls was chaired by Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary from the University of Grenoble and included the work of several artists and curators. “The Stanstead project or How to Cross the Border” presented by the artist and independent curator and PhD Candidate at UQAM, Geneviève Chevalier, looks at the art exhibition as a platform for the exploration and exchange of information and ideas. The exhibit is organised in two parts with a first exhibition in Sherbrooke this year and a following exhibit in the village of Stanstead. The research objectives are to investigate how the building of the Wall, which bisects the village of Stanstead, affects the lives of the inhabitants. To quote the curator “the exhibits *theme is border lines, those which, as architectural artifacts inscribed in the landscape, have an impact on citizen’s mobility.*” The project is investigative and participative, and is intended to inform and involve the community and its inhabitants, as well as the world.



The Border between the USA and Canada running through the Haskell Library in Stanstead.  
<http://talesfromanopenbook.files.wordpress.com/2008/05/haskell.jpeg>

Approximately two hours east of Montreal, situated on the Canadian-American border neighboring the town of Derby Line, Stanstead and its border particularities are the site and underlying concept

for the exhibit. In the past, citizens of both towns could causally go between the two countries. An example is the Haskell Library and Opera House, where once inside, one can jump from one side of the border to the other across the black line on the floor that indicates the border line. Since the heightened security and border surveillance of post 9-11, the peaceful way of life of these two towns has been disturbed. The artists taking part in the exhibition are known internationally for the work on borders. Christophe Philippe Muller from Austria was the author of the Green Border Installation at the 1993 Venice Biennale; Ursula Bierman from Switzerland has worked on borders and mobility and produced a film on the Mexican/US border entitled *Performing the Border*; Andreas Rutkauskas, a Canadian landscape photographer, combines the act of walking the border – the cutline - with his photographic documentation of the landscapes he walks through.



Andreas Rutkauskas. Outline 1.

Ian Howard, Dean of the College of Fine Arts, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia is both an artist and theorist and presented a paper entitled “Physical Barriers, Virtual Freedoms, protection verses creativity amidst a global crisis.” He explains the position of artists as synthesists and quixotic characters that can take the liberty of asking very broad questions on the interpretation and representation of walls. He has travelled to the many border walls of the world - Derry in Ireland, Pyongyang between North and South Korea, the Great Wall of China, the Waga border between India and Pakistan - and performs the art of “Wall Rubbing” taking the literal imprint of the wall. His art investigates the different themes and geographies: the Freedom reality of landscape and its psychological core (Tasmania 1831); the intuitive resistance to barriers - individual and cultural – (Waga Gate 2011); border security and creative productivity (El Paso/Ciudad Juarez).

### **Ecological Planning and Transfrontier Conservation in the Borderlands**

Transboundary Peace Parks have been developed as a remediation to border conflict zones and as environmental alternatives to the fencing of borders. Transfrontier Conservation and the Contradictions of Cross-Border Movement is a research project being conducted Elizabeth Lunstrum, Assistant Professor at the Department of Geography, York University, on the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, a peace park that links Kruger National Park with the Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe and with the Limpopo National Park in Mozambique. Lunstrum focuses on the



consequences of fence removals to promote conservation and the tourist economy. As fences are removed and borders opened, there is a tightening of border controls and an increase in military and police presence to intercept poachers and migrants, while tourists, wealthier migrants and animals cross the border easily. Villages and communities inside the park have been displaced to allow the free roaming of the animals as they are considered a threat to humans. This double movement, opening and securitizing, illustrates the filtering aspect of a border and selective passages and shows that an open border is only open to the flows that are desirable for the economy or the animal ecology and while becoming more permeable for certain groups it becomes impermeable for others.

In 2006, the New York Times asked 13 architects and urban planners to design the projected "fence" between the US and Mexico. (A Fence With More Beauty, Fewer Barbs - The New York Times 6/1/11). Of the five who submitted designs, four proposed making the boundary a point of innovative integration, a horizon of opportunity. James Corner of Field Operations, a New York urban planning and landscape architecture firm, suggested that a second purpose for the fence, "productive, sustainable enterprise zone" like a solar energy collecting strip that would attract industry from the north and create employment for the south. Corner called his partnership of 20th-century territorial power and 21st-century green, global interconnectedness "a kind of Bush meets Gore hybrid."

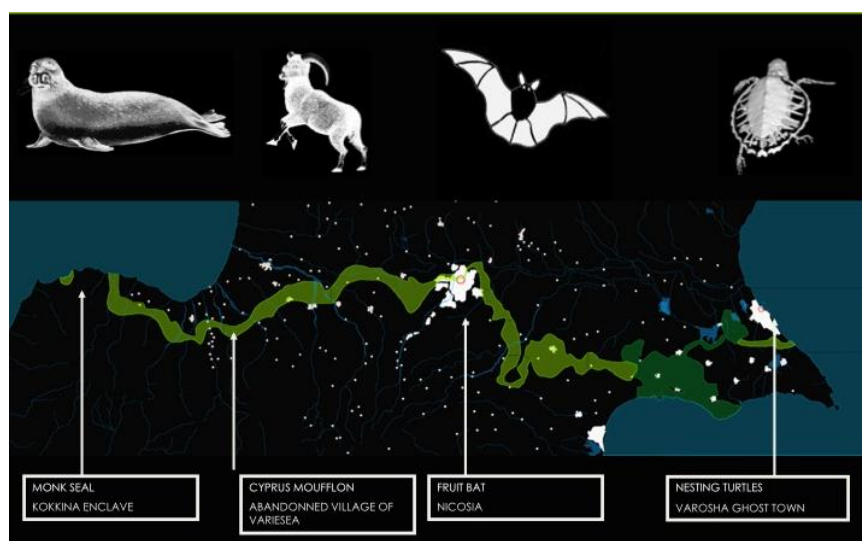
In the same vein, Ronald Rael, an architect and assistant professor at the University of Berkeley, presented "Border Walls Architecture", a design project that creates an alternative vision for the Mexico/US Border Zone as a future zone for energy, social and economic infrastructures. Citing Roosevelt, he proposes a vision of hemispheric security that is not beholden to a limited view of border fortification. *"What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition – clear, definite opposition – to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall."* (F.D.R., Jan 6, 1941). To argue his project, Rael cites the budget for building the Fence – the single largest building project in the US - at 4 million dollars per mile and the cost of completing the infrastructure at 49 billion dollars. He equates this sum with 300 Seattle Libraries, 10 Denver Airports, 204 Disney Concert Halls, 500 Miles of High Line, and 18 Miles of San Francisco Bay. 30 laws were waived to allow for the construction of the fence, which is in fact built in retreat of the actual border. This leaves land lying fallow along the wall, between the fence and the boundary line. Literally, 40,000 acres of land have been conceptually ceded to Mexico. Rael's project offers counterproposals - retrofits and new schemes – that create social and hydrological and ecological infrastructure.

In El Paso for example, the municipality aims to raise 600 million dollars from Storm Water fees based on impervious surfaces which, in Rael's project, could be used to fund a storm water catchment system including basins along the river, create riparian landscapes, and public spaces for performances and leisure. The Rio Grande River is one of the most polluted rivers in the US and the project also proposes a linear pond filtration system that runs along the border, producing irrigation water and methane energy. Solar energy is the most untapped potential along the border – the latent potential being 5.3 gigawatts of per year - and, according to Rael, for the price of the wall you could build a linear solar farm that could create thousands of jobs. Borders zones often experience an erosion of social infrastructures and the project also includes social programs, including water stations for people and wildlife – as most deaths across the border are caused by lack of water. The infrastructures also include sports, linear parks in urban contexts, and a cross-border library. By creating jobs along the border, it will increase the quality of life on both sides of the border zone and lessen the need for migration.

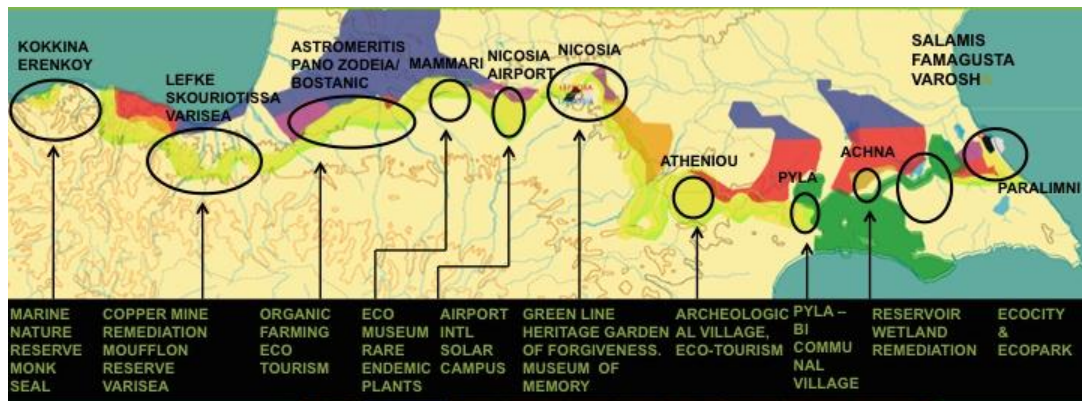


Right. A 20 million-gallons/day wastewater treatment facility on the border between Mexicali, Mexico and Calexico, California. Left. One square foot of solar energy production along the border can power a dishwasher for a year. Border Wall as Architecture.

The Cyprus GreenLineScapes Laboratory presented in the Poster Session of the conference by Anna Grichting, Director of Bordermeetings and Fellow at the Institute for Environmental Diplomacy and Security, University of Vermont includes a Collaborative Mapping Prototype for the Digital and Dynamic Atlas of Ecological Cooperation - Zones of Peace. The Cyprus GreenLineScapes Laboratory seeks to engage actors and stakeholders across the Buffer Zone that divides the island of Cyprus, in a common vision for the future ecological and cultural rehabilitation of the No-Man's Land, including the preservation of the biodiversity that is flourishing in the so-called 'Dead Zone'. The Digital and Dynamic Atlas of Ecological Cooperation is a dynamic mapping instrument that focuses on border areas that are currently being planned, researched and/or negotiated in existing zones of conflict and speculates on possible future Peace Parks that could be implemented as preventive measures to future conflicts. The Atlas considers functional ecosystems as units of analysis for geographic demarcation rather than human-imposed geopolitical boundaries and will be aimed at challenging conventional perceptions of borders at multiple levels of political and social discourse. It is both intended to provide constructive guidance on rehabilitating conflict zones at the level of landscape architecture and as an instrument to inform and inspire peace builders all over the globe from various disciplinary fields, ranging in expertise from ecology and biodiversity, to environmental law, to spatial planning and design.



In the fall of 2010, the World Knowledge Dialogue in Switzerland featured the Atlas and funded a workshop with Cypriot participants to develop a prototype based on the Cyprus Green Line. A dynamic map was developed that can be accessed online and will be further populated with sites and plans for a future peace park through ongoing community-mapping efforts in Cyprus that will involve grassroots organizations across Cyprus and will produce both an educational and communication tool as well as an instrument for policy advocacy. The stakeholders will help to identify common themes of environmental, cultural and social significance and will also contribute personal narratives, videos and other forms of multi-media representations. Through this process of community engagement it is intended to develop a physical plan for conservation of the Green Line region as a peace park where Cypriots from both sides can consider ways of coming together and healing the wounds of the past conflict.



GreenLineScapes. Project Scenarios for Biological and Cultural Diversity in the Green Line Buffer Zone. Anna Grichting



GreenLineScapes. A Solar Campus & International University at the abandoned Airport of Nicosia. Anna Grichting