Global Borders: from territorial boundary lines to invisible boundaries?

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History of Ideas on Borders

◆ Borders History100 in 10 minutes, (*where do they come from? what shape and form? what are they?*) & definitions
  - Sumerian: treaty and maps
  - Westphalia: maps and astronomy
  - Modern Era: treaty/law and chronometer
  - First World War & Paris Convention –generalization/colonization
  - Second World War: The UN, de-colonization and self-determination
  - Lessons
◆ Review of the literature- border studies model
◆ What we know, and what we don’t know?
  ◆ History of borders: *dividing territory (or people)?*
  ◆ Borders of tomorrow: *world-wide segregation?*
  ◆ *Borders, boundaries, frontiers, borderland...*
History of Ideas on Borders

US & THEM
1/ Quick history of borders

- Humans have fenced themselves from each others for thousands of year.
- Cities and Walls appeared in turn: Mesopotamia; particularly Eridy, Uruk and Ur - about 7500 - 5700 years.
- The Sumerian civilization was made up of walled cities
- Borders appear then
- Lesson:
  - Humans associate and dissociate; us and them – the slaves
  - We conquer hence our God(s) is superior
  - Fences and Walls are about inclusion and exclusion.
  - This is a process, may be 12,000 years old
The Stele of Vulture (2600-2350 BC) in Mesopotamia celebrates the victory of the City Lagash over its neighbor Umma. The text tells us the conflict war over a piece of agricultural land located between the two city states. The god of Lagash –Ningirsu- won the war, it says.
The earliest known world map

The earliest known world map: the Babylonian world map, from Sippar, southern Iraq / 2700 years old
Thanks to astronomy - Ptolemy map world C. 150 a reconstruction in the 16th century.
Modern Era - Westphalia: first international agreement

- A process whereby powers impose their will onto ‘their’ people and ‘their’ land/territories and conquests.
- Historians and lawyers usually go back to the treaty of Wesphalia in 1648 to document the first international agreements: when Spain recognized the independence of the Dutch Republic.
The Paris Convention and Treaty of 1919 subdivides the world.
What is recent then is the **systematic repertory** of land possession of particular powers, and the rights of those powers to exercise violence within their territory as sovereign.

Two key technological advances: **international treaty making & chronometer**

The 1919 treaty of Paris generalizes the delineation

**Note** – ultimately achieved 100 years ago, only!
2/ Review of the literature on border studies

- Borders are human creations; Scholars have argued that
  - Natural geographic borders were ideal (Semple, 1911);
  - Borders were “good” or “bad” depending on their intrinsic merit in fostering or limiting tensions (Holdich, 1916, Lyde, 1915).
  - Border functions was to provide economic equilibrium (Brigham, 1932) or to strengthens state power (Peattie, 1944).
  - They were “buffer zones” that lessened tensions between states (Johns, 1959)
  - Borders are central to the national agenda of states – they are established by international agreements.
  - Borders are institutions (Paasi, 99, Newman & Paasi 98) that emerge from the complex interactions multiple government policies; often back to back – not integrated - they result from the hegemonic stroke of a pen...
What is a border?

• Since the earlier antiquity, the origins of state, city-states and empires, there are borders and marches – lines, zones, strips of land, which separate, divide, and other zones of confrontation, passage: their many functions varied greatly.

• It is changing again.

• Yet today’s borders ‘vacillate’ (Balibar, 2002), because borders are not only at the boundary line itself. Yes, there are remains of those ‘roman limits,’ those boundaries that mark the end of a ‘sovereignty’ and the beginning of another ‘sovereignty’ where obligations and currency change, and where tolls are paid and customs are examined.
2. Borders and Borderlands

- Borders and walls are not only about territorially bounded authorities. They are not just sea and air ports of entry, or border crossings.
- Borders and walls are also increasingly virtual or simply impalpable. (electronic, non visible - biometric identification & control, or electronic devices set to track flows of goods or people such as tracking financial transactions, spywares).
- Etienne Balibar suggested that borders are “vacillating, multiplied and reduced in their localisation, thinned out and doubled, no longer the shores of politics but the space of the political itself” in my own words we are borders, we are walls!
- In short: there is a growing literature that is now suggesting that we need to go beyond “territorialist” and “geopolitical” intellectual and policy traditions.
2. Borders & Borderlands

• Internal controls are prominent, zones of transit as well, populations wait for entry or exit, where individuals negotiate their rights.

Also,
• Trade and exchange across borders has gone beyond possible control
• Natural/Cultural controls have reached limits – Chernobyl, 'Mad Cow, cannot be stopped at the border; Nor can the Aids virus, nor CNN’s images.

Borders are vacillating because they are no longer localizable.
• They no longer allow superimposition of sets of functions of sovereignty, administration, cultural control, taxation – they do not work for people and things in the same way anymore, nor for people “equally.”
2. Borders & Security
Vacillating Borders and Multi-sectoral Security
Today, there is a search for a national normality of the national citizen-subject, that would be **internalized by individuals**, and would be an reference of collective and individual identity (language, ethnicity, religion).

This ‘ideal’ border is internalized – and individualized - It is an invisible border (biometrics) it is still territorialized but **we are also the borders** (Vaughan-Williams/Agamben).
I / Illustrations of Vacillating Borders and Multi-sectoral Security

• First “ad-hoc immigration group” drafts convention on immigration and external borders in 1989.
• SCHENGEN establishes the control and surveillance of external borders: *strengthening and protecting* is a “compensatory measure” for the elimination of internal borders (EU parliament).
• “LAEKEN E.U. Council” (December 2001) adopts a Commission suggestion:
  – (1) the EU “management” of external borders: surveillance, analysis of risks, personnel, and equipment.
  – (2) the creation of a European Border Police and Council.
  – (3) In May/June 2002 Council approves a broad policy framework on “Management of External Borders” (APMEB) including joint legislation and operations: training, repatriation, treatment of aliens, cooperation / third countries.
  – (4) Creation of ARGOS to promote cooperation between national administrations to promote uniform application of Community law, transparency, efficiency.
• *European Commission contribution: 540 Million Euros.*
II / Illustrations of Vacillating Borders and Multi-sectoral Security

**Frontex (Frontières Exterieures)** looks after 42,672 km of sea borders, 8826 km of land borders across the Schengen countries. 25 countries, half a billion people, with about 350 million crossing yearly (2009).

Its role is to set an effective barrier to cross-border crime; it provides:

- Risk Analysis – information gathering systems – R&D
- Operational Cooperation between member states
- Training – sets common training standards for border guards (400,000)
- Rapid Crisis Response Capability (Capacity -700)
- Member States in Joint Operations
III / Illustrations of **Vacillating Borders** and Multi-sectoral Security

- The *European Neighborhood Policy* (ENP) launched in 2004
  - A Secure Europe in a Better World – *European Security Strategy*, 12/12/03; “Even in an era of globalization, geography is still important. It is a European interest that countries on our borders are well governed. Neighbors who are engaged in violent conflict, weak states where organized crime flourishes dysfunctional societies or exploding population grows on its borders all pose problems for Europe.”
  - “Our task is to promote a ring of well governed countries to the East of the European Union and on the borders of the Mediterranean with whom we can enjoy close cooperative relations.” (Commission, 2003)
  - “The European Union’s interests require a continued engagement ... through more effective economic, security, and cultural cooperation.” (Commission, 2003)
  - “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)
  - [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm) (map)
IV / Illustrations of Vacillating Borders and Multi-sectoral Security

- The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) launched in 2004
  - The Lisbon Treaty commits the EU to the “development of a special relationship with neighboring countries aiming to establish an area of prosperity and good neighborliness, founded on the values of the Union and characterized by close and peaceful relations based on cooperation.”
  - 16 neighbors: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Palestinian Territory, Syria, Tunisia, and Ukraine.
  - Morocco – is engaged in political dialogue regarding human right issues, the establishment of a Moroccan/EU parliament commission, assistance for local elections with a quota (12% women elected versus 0.58%). Business, trade relations, 58% of all exports to the EU, the creation of a Development Bank. Information exchanges on immigration, legal and illegal, Morocco Spain issues, drug trafficking, membership European Convention of cyber-crimes, European council cooperation on the training of Judges. EIB Euros 654 million (among other examples).
  - The ENP funding for the whole policy is Euros 8.4 billion – all 16 countries plus Russia. http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm (map)
3. Summary

Summary of What we know:

• Limits and borders are as old as cities
• The 17\textsuperscript{th} century enshrined boundaries in law – Westphalia and first International Treaties/Sovereignty (Control of Violence and Oppression).
• The 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries were disciplinary eras where societies implemented a type of power, a set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, and technologies that were anti nomadic.
• Today – surveillance & control era: In our time the body to has become a password in a coded flow, allowing access and status. Each individual is a key of it own world of biometric surveillance.
3. Summary: What about the impact of technology?

- **Genealogical approaches**: historicize borders and focus on how boundaries and borders are sites of technological control of people, goods… (Walters 2004)
- **Traditionally Limits, Boundaries & Borders delineate territories** (space of places); yet today borders are about flows / moving spaces (spaces of flows).
- **Disciplinary societies** – enforce the boundary lines (the territory) – they are containers: have policies of identity cards, passports, & visas. (Foucault, 1977)
- **Surveillance societies** – enforce preclearance of goods and people – who carry the border in them (iris biometrics) – (Deleuze, 1995)
- The EU removes borders, and generalizes border control across vast trans-boundary regions, developing ‘good’ neighborhood policies. It implements a multifaceted approach weaving security across a wide array of policies to control flows.
- The North Americas generalizes preclearance and builds walls.
3. What we don’t know well

**Summary of what we don’t know well:**
Assume ‘you’ are the ‘key’ -- but where is the ‘lock’?

- Our challenge, then, to understand whether borders are ‘vacillating’ (Ballibar) ‘unpredictable’ ‘volatile’ or ‘arbitrary’?

- **Our challenge?**

- To understand how our relationships – not to spaces of places (Territories) – but to all ‘spaces of flows’ -- in particular -- virtual flows; the virtual and wireless world in construction since the beginning of the information communication society?

- **How is securing flows changing (the politics /democracy /accountability – representation) our bordered territorial world?**
BIG to look at information communication technologies’ impact on borders and bordering practices and techniques, and among policy makers
STUDY # 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 - Regulatory Contexts:

• Borders In Globalization asks whether regulatory systems governing movements of products, services and people ‘straddle’ boundary lines?

• As opposed to being organized primarily along territorial limits (Hales, 2016)
BIG results 2016

Study #4: Agrifood sector – open to the world
• Strict Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese regulatory standards in Canadian meat packing plant
• European Union restriction and tracing on agrifood containing GMOs
• North American restaurant chains restrictions on potato processor, and growers, and antibiotics on animals
• Expand markets and including niche producers
• Canadian Food Agency and US Department of Agriculture align all regulations
Study #5: Electricity, pipelines, food processing (Bartlett, Hale 2016)

• Electricity transmission systems are by far the most far-reaching coordination of operational systems across North America – with provincial/state legislative authorization and regulatory oversight through a single agency (NERC and its regional EROs)

• Pipeline regulation is primarily national and contested regionally and locally – politically sensitive to local green politics, concerns with climate changes/intense contestation

• Food processing is organized by reciprocal regulatory systems – nearly integrated but for meat, dairy products and shellfish
THANK YOU!

QUESTIONS? COMMENTS?

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Review of the literature on border studies

FOUR ANALYTICAL LENSES


   Beyond the controversy, it is clear that borders are at the juncture of markets, a defining characteristic of borderlands.

2. Governments set Borders: Beyond international agreements, to understand borders we need to understand the complex, intermeshed networks of government policy that produce those international boundaries, establish border policies and functions. National governments are key players, yet, more complex - policy network, multilevel governance - all modify the influence of governments on borders and borderlands. (Marks, Hooghe, 2001, Blatter, 2001-3, Church Reid, 1999, Maillat 90).

   Activities of multiple and integrated governments have great influence on borders

   - Cultural communities are either brought together, or enhance the border effect of division.

4. **Local political clout** establishes linkages between communities. There are, however, many instances of borderland communities that have established linkages when contiguous. Scholars describe policy network and symbolic regimes, in North America (Blatter 1999, Clarkes 2002, Cold-Ravnkilde, Singh, Smith, Alper 2004).

   - Local political clout either enhance the border effect or strengthens communication within the borderland
Local Cross Border Culture:
Sense of belonging, common language, or ethnic, religious, socio-economic background, spans the border, and borderland.

If Culture straddles the border it integrates the borderland.

The Policy Activities of Multiple Levels of Government:
Multilevel governance spans the border to link (type 1) local, regional, provincial, state, and central governments, and (type 2) task specific public and private sector organizations.

If Governments Policies straddle the border they integrate the borderland.

Model of borderland studies: Each analytical lens may enhance one another, to - integrate or dis-integrate - the borderland. These are competing forces that - in time and place - vary in intensity along continuums where the relative influence or agency of culture, markets and government compete for structural influence.

(Geopolitics - Theory of Borders (2005) ; Borderlands, 2007)

Local Cross Border Political Clout:
Active local civic and political organizations and individuals initiate and expand: Local level relations, local policy network, local policy communities, symbolic regime. If Local Political Clout straddles the border it integrates the borderland.

Market Forces and Trade Flows:
Flows of good, people and investments span the border and borderland.

If Market Forces and Trade Flow straddle the border they integrate the borderland.