A New Common Border Space

Towards More Justice in Cross-Border Development:
The Case of Imbalanced Power Relations

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Abstract

T he drive of global economy and the growing gap in economic growth between peripheral and core countries hoist many complexities to surface on the different levels of north-south co-operation. A more agitating factor adding to the polarization of economic and political power is the global notion of the still-shifting meaning of borders, where traits of permeability, control and the physical form of borders have gone into metamorphosis to adjust and adapt to globalization and its by-products.

The scale of cross-border development and planning as well as predetermined economic goals discard several issues of differences between cross-border partners within the process of planning for development. This seems to depend ultimately on the scale and size of power between partners. Moreover, the tradition of conceiving and dealing with borders and the meaning and value of spaces encapsulated by or tangential to borders is a neglected issue in formulating cross-border development. Therefore, in many cases, cross-border development is approached in a project-oriented way where benefits acquired from cross-border sectoral projects are the foundation of cross-border development and co-operation. This is observed to yield spatial injustice in terms of distribution of development products and burdens of co-operation.

It is a controversial issue to arrive at a just form of cross-border co-operation between partners with imbalanced power relations, where partners attain fair benefits from the spatial development in terms of distribution and burdens in the co-operation.

Justice is defined by power, and power in a cross-border context is one of the key pillars of differences between cross-border co-operation partners. Reaching a more balanced definition of justice in a cross-border co-operation means reducing the influence of power relations on the processes of spatial development, from genesis, design and ratification to implementation and operation. However, power relations are only one segment of what is referred to by the author as 'relationships of differences' in which two other types of influential relations exist beside power relations: relationships of communication and objective capacity.

This research analyses the 'relationships of differences' in a cross-border co-operation as an attempt to uncover means to curb the influence of 'relationships of differences' on the processes of cross-border development, and thus to attain more justice in cross-border co-operation. The research aims at formulating a model for a 'just' cross-border co-operation between partners with wide-ranging 'relationships of differences'. A 'new common border space' (NCBS) is the anticipated cross-border model which is divided into a territorial concept and an operationalized spatial concept. The territorial model re-conceptualizes the national and regional borders of the cross-border area in an attempt to reduce the influence of borders in spanning the different social, economic and political barriers between the two sides of the border space. Consequently, the operationalized spatial concept explains the processes of the NCBS, from governance and spatial development strategies to social implications.

Keywords: Differences, Borders, Power, Justice, Cross-Border Development, Decentralization.

Acknowledgement

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Acronyms

AESOP	Association of European Schools of Planning
CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CURD	Centre of Urban and Regional Development
ESPD	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESPON	European Spatial Planning Observatory Network
EU	European Union
IMFA	Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOPIC	Palestinian Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NCBS	New Common Border Space
OECD	Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
OPEC	The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
UN	United Nations
UNCRD	United Nations Centre for Regional Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNS	United Nations Secretariat
USA	United States of America
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development

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Preface

"Not every end is a goal. A melody's end is not its goal."
Friedrich Nietzsche

I felt the need to narrate the notion of the several processes and the different benchmarks which I went through during my doctorate research. These processes formed a vital part in creating the fabric of my doctoral work and were the adhesive correlations between its divisions as well as the basic stimulants in the building of its dogmas.

I would like to start by quoting Raymond Williams from his book *"Resources of Hope"*:

> *"This was the saddest discovery: when I found that in myself ... that most crucial form of imperialism had happened. That is to say, where parts of your mind are taken over by a system of ideas, a system of feelings, which really do emanate from the power centre. Right back in your own mind, and right back inside the oppressed and deprived community there are reproduced elements of the thinking and the feeling of that dominating centre. ... if that negative politics is the only politics then it is the final victory of a mode of thought which seems to me the ultimate product of capitalist society. Whatever its political label it is a mode of thought which really has made relations between men into relations between things or relations between concepts" (Williams, 1989:117).*

I have always wondered about my personal political labels: my loyalties, in the same sense that Williams has constructed. Even if one finds it so hard to frame one's own loyalties and political identity, this does not mean that one is free from the influence of the different modes of thought. The stimulus of social politics inherited from family, schools, institutions, clans and all the wide spectrum of social structure is non-escapable. Therefore, this dissertation is a product of my history, upraising, family, relations, and all the significant and non-significant incidents that contributed to shaping my person up to this moment.

I had never anticipated in my life being involved in any discipline other than 'Architecture'. Therefore, the initiative of travelling to Dortmund and working on my doctorate research in the field of Spatial Planning was never a conjecture. I received a proposal from the Dean of Engineering sometime in March 2002. I did not have much time to think about how this initiative would fit within my future plans, as the fierce Israeli incursions into the West Bank commenced at the dawn of the 29th of March 2002. Upheaval periods of curfews, heavy military air and ground assaults, sabotage of the physical image of cities, resistance, and illicit arrests went by during which I felt completely helpless in the face of the powerful political and military actions of the Israelis. Rethinking my life in the those periods of angst and fear, while stripped completely of any binds to a secure feeling of amenity, I decided to flee to a safer haven. To a place where I could be rescued from the probability of being a young man at the age of 27 who could be a target for the unfair prevailing power of Israel. I decided to take the Dean's offer, not thinking exactly if spatial planning as a discipline reflected my ideology and thoughts and suited my ambitions as a young architect who is extremely passionate about architectural design.

My background in planning was modest, and the way I understood planning was based on basic planning courses, which I had taken during my bachelor studies, and

another condensed planning course which was given within my Master studies in Norway by August Røsnes. At that time, planning left an impression of complication and difficulty: I don't know if that was due to the difficult texts and readings, which I could barely finish skimming for the next class, or because of all the complicated terminology, which I was wholly unable to interpret. Or was it because of my English, which at that time was limited and débutant.

When I first came to Dortmund, I tried to go back to the readings in planning which I had brought back with me from Norway, and I started with an article written by Oren Yiftachel in 1998 entitled "*Planning and Social Control: Exploring the Dark Side*"[1]. I thought that this could be a good beginning for me in order to understand what planning means, through a context in which I was living day to day. I was very astonished by the fact that the article had drawn my full attention, and I recalled that Røsnes remarked when he mentioned this article that this was an excellent article, and Yiftachel was one of the most respected rising planners writing about ethnic planning. Consequently, the gateway through which I approached planning was through the angle of planning being a tool for social control in an imbalanced power- relation context.

I started reading on the issue of power, especially through Foucault's texts, and it appealed to me at that time to explore the topic of power relationships especially the questions of what creates power, how power prevails and in which cases, until I was given a tip by Viktoria Waltz about the Jordan Rift Valley Project[2]. This huge cross-border project was derived through a series of economic conferences that took place in Qatar, Casablanca, Amman and Cairo and aimed at developing the river valley region between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. Reading through the Israeli regional development proposal for the Jordan Rift valley, I was thinking in parallel about the political, economic and military power of Israel which prevails in different forms as an occupation power in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Likewise, I was reflecting on the interrelations between the United States and Israel, and the fact that the latter is a strong ally of the United States on all political fronts. Moreover, I started thinking of the fact that Israel contributes largely to medical and military technology, as well as the development of agricultural sciences and production. With all these issues in the back of my head, along with the readings of Oren Yiftachel and Michael Foucault, I arrived at the idea that I should dedicate my thesis to proving that the Israeli regional development proposal for the Jordan rift valley is based on the exploitation of regional resources. Furthermore, I was thinking as well of proving the point that Israel is taking advantage of the limited cognition and retardation of its regional 'partners' through its regional development proposals, which were proposed in a particular way to utilize a base and infrastructure for other national projects which will allow Israel both to control the economy of the region as well as to take on a more powerful political role.

I went through a long discussion with John Forester at the AESOP[3] PhD workshop, which took place in Aix-en-Provence on the 26th of June 2004. John was the mentor of my group, which was composed of different students of different European nationalities coming with different research themes, ranging from grassroots participation, rural development, brownfields, and landscape value in planning, to computer modelling and regional development. John has influenced me enormously with his way of thinking and his expertise in the field of power and planning. He touched on several accounts in my research, and finally said to me frankly: "Let's stop rediscovering power and start to

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[1] Yiftachel, O. (1998) *Planning and Social Control: Exploring the Dark Side*, Journal of Planning Literature, Vol.12, No.2, pp: 395-406, Toronto.

[2] An introduction to the project is to be found in Chapter Two.

[3] AESOP: The Association of European Schools of Planning.

work out what to do about it". Consequently, I reached another benchmark in my doctorate research, where I started thinking about the outcome of my doctoral dissertation, and how my research could be a means of reducing the by-products of imbalanced power relations in transnational development and planning. I decided eventually to write down all my thoughts, ideas, and everything I had gathered and written until that point in a short paper, which I handed out to several academics in Germany and Europe. I eventually received some comments, feedbacks and critiques on the contents, structure, discourse and arguments, for which I was very grateful and with which I was very keen to renew and revise the course and structure of my thinking in dealing with the research theme and paradigm.

My three-year stay at the Faculty of Spatial Planning/Dortmund University – working on this dissertation among many interesting and supportive academics, through personal discussions, lectures, seminars, and colloquiums – has largely supported the processes and context of writing this work. Eventually, the purpose of my research became more polished and refined, and the thematic questions became clearer and more lucid; especially through the discussions with my main supervisor, or, as Germans would call it, my 'Doktorvater' Günter Kroes, as well as my second supervisor Volker Kreibich, I was able to see the faint light at the end of the tunnel and eventually the direction towards the exit.

"Things are always at their best in their beginning."
Blaise Pascal

PROLOGUE

Creation Day 3, by *Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld*, copied from
Das Buch der Bücher in Bilden.
Source: World Mission Collection, 1997.

Chapter One

Prologue
'An introduction to the research'

"Have courage to use your own reason!"
Immanuel Kant

T he *prologue* is designed to clarify several clarifications about the genesis of this doctorate research, shedding light on how the author developed the idea for this doctorate research. Moreover, this chapter elucidates a number of important questions: What is this research all about? Why did the author choose to conduct it? Why is it so important? To whom is this research directed? How was this research carried out? Accordingly, the questions are answered through the several sections of the *prologue*, before infiltrating through other chapters of this dissertation.

1. Introduction to Research Problem

This section is an introductory part for the problem formulation, in which the Jordan Rift Valley Project will be introduced as a main inspiration for this doctoral dissertation. Mainly while reviewing the Jordan Rift Valley Project in the initial reading phase of this doctoral study, several observations surfaced which were the main stimulants for the research questions and problem formulation at a later stage. Whilst the Jordan Rift Valley Project is a particular project designed and planned for a certain space within a certain time interval, the observations deduced from this project lead to more universal and general questions, as will be explained later in the *Research Scope*.

In this section, two main issues will be highlighted. The first is the factual background to the Jordan Rift Valley Project, which will include the following: (1) a brief background about the Jordan Rift Valley will be given in order to give the reader an idea about its geographical location and historic relevance, and its current value in the region; (2) The cross-border co-operation in the Jordan Rift Valley will be viewed in terms of establishment, motives, partners, and history; (3) A brief description of the visions and (4) spatial strategies of the project will be presented, as well as (5) the master plan and the core projects included within the regional development.

It is worth stressing here again that the Jordan Rift Valley Project is not the target of this research project but the catalyst and main stimulant of its main idea.

The second issue to be highlighted in this section is the observations that have been drawn from the personal review of the Jordan Rift Valley Project. The observations part will be based on observations made by the author during the process of reviewing available data about the project.

The remarks in the observations part are not in any way a comprehensive analysis of the Jordan Rift Valley Project; moreover, some remarks reflect the author's personal view of the project.

1.1   Jordan Rift Valley Project

It is worth stating at the beginning that most of the following information is adapted from the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs (IMFA). The IMFA (1999) is the only source the author could find that provides information on the overall regional development and implications of the Jordan Rift Valley Project.
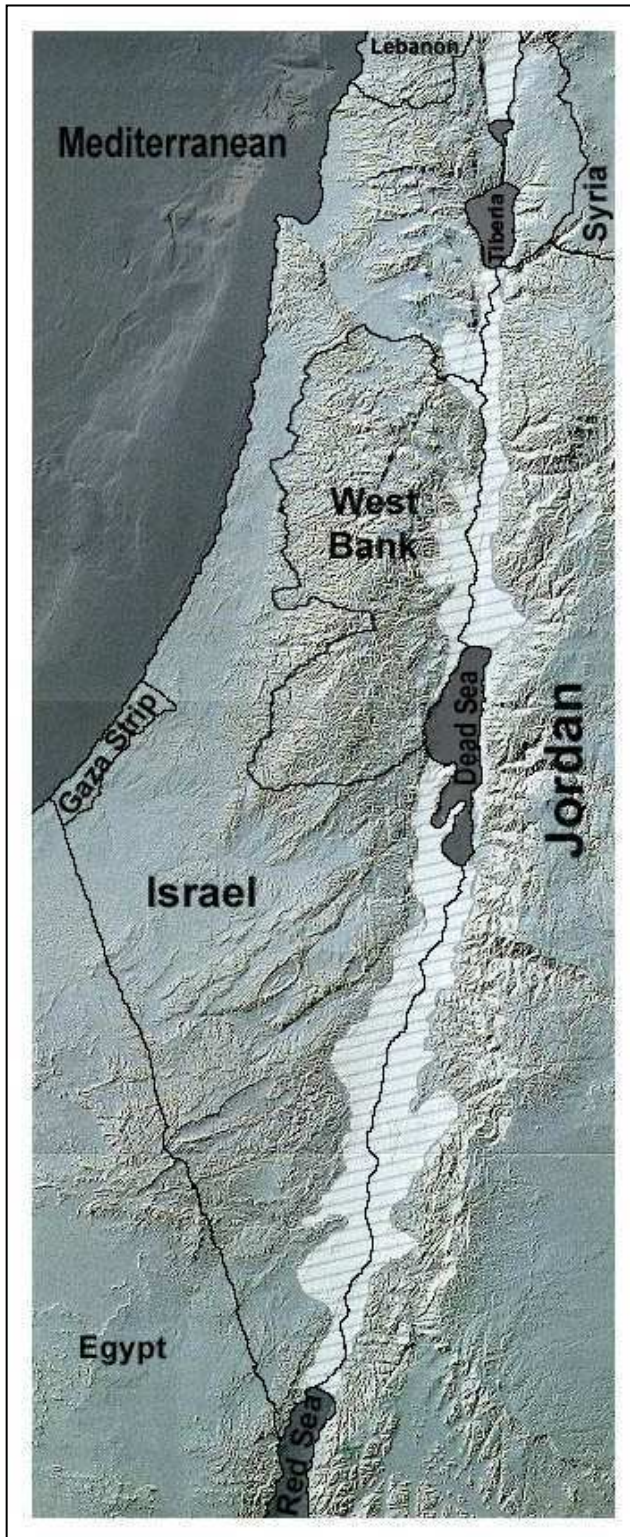
Figure 1.1: Jordan Rift Valley (Anani, 2006)

The Jordan Rift Valley is a distinct geological and geographical part of the Great Rift Valley, which in turn extends from Syria through the Red Sea to central Mozambique in East Africa. The Jordan Rift Valley is named after the Jordan River and is shared territorially by several administrations: Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority. The obliquely hatched area in *figure (1.1)* shows approximately the area referred to as the Jordan Rift Valley.

The Jordan River is an essential component of the valley running down from its main springs in the southern mountains of Lebanon through the lake of Tiberius to the Dead Sea, which settles around 400m below mean sea level, being ultimately the lowest point on earth.

The Jordan Rift Valley holds the remains of what is known to be the oldest human settlement on earth dated back to 9,000 B.C. and located in Jericho. The valley has a significant historical and religious meaning for the formation of the civilizations and cultures of the region. The importance of the Jordan valley comes from the fact of it not only being a trade corridor hosting caravans with goods and spices from the Far East through the Arabian Peninsula, up to Syria and Iraq, but also from being a resort to many saints and prophets who had chosen this place to meditate and come closer to God. Hence, the Jordan Rift Valley hosts many

convents and religious areas, where many sects are still practising their own rituals, recalling those of their ancestors, thousands of years ago.

The Jordan Rift Valley attracts people from all over the world for its bio-diversity and its sub-tropical climate. The Valley contains several medical resources, such as mineral springs and the Dead Sea, which provides clay and water with both medical and cosmetic qualities.

In addition to the abundance of its natural springs, the Jordan Valley collects rainwater from the eastern and western slopes of its surrounding mountain ranges. The water runs through horizontal valley perpendicular to the Jordan River, adding more value to the valley as a contested water basin in the region.

Moreover, the Jordan Valley is a very sensitive area in terms of its seismological formation. As part of the Great Rift Valley, the Jordan Rift Valley is formed on the colliding point of the Asian and African continental plates, making it one of the most seismically active regions in the Middle East.

Finally, The Jordan Rift Valley is a very valuable area in terms of its agricultural, touristic, and religious potentials. It is the most important water basin in the region, which is considered to be one of the most alarming areas for any future water crisis. The potential for regional development is very high and promising for all the countries in the area; however, the area has been subjected to perpetual political and social conflicts and instabilities (mainly Arab-Israeli conflicts) since the beginning of the last century. The Jordan Valley has a high environmental sensitivity, not to mention its fragile seismic formation; therefore, any large-scale development of the valley should consider all the above-mentioned factors in its plans and agendas.

Jordan Rift Co-operation

The Jordan Rift Valley Project initiative was a product of a series of economic conferences that took place in Cairo, Amman, Casablanca and Qatar aiming at regional development and economic partnerships in the Middle East and North Africa. These summits were based on visions to promote peace through trade and development in the region, aiming as well at normalizing relationships between the Arab countries and Israel. The economic conferences were peacemaking attempts running parallel to the political channels and diplomacy in the Middle East, where governments were encouraged to forge and create foundations and incentives for trade and investment.

According to IMFA (1999), the Jordan Rift Valley Project resulted from a trilateral initiative between the United States, Israel and Jordan, whereby a trilateral steering committee (headed by the United States) was formed in order to frame a master plan for the large-scale development of the different parts of the Jordan Rift Valley. Furthermore, the World Bank had adopted all affiliated development and research studies undertaken within the framework of the project, while the Italian government, as stated by the IMFA (1999), had provided $3.2 million for a second comprehensive regional integrated development study. This study was aimed at producing a master plan for the regional development in the Jordan Rift Valley, and was conducted by HARZA[4] and completed in August 1997.

Finally, the role of the Palestinian Authority in the Jordan Rift Valley Project was marginalized by the participants of the economic conferences because of the fact that it

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[4] Montgomery Watson and HARZA Engineering (MWH) is one of the world's top three experts on power, water and wastewater issues. MWH provides solutions to government agencies, multinational companies, industrial concerns and military organizations worldwide, environmental engineering, power generation, facilities development, laboratory services, construction, multi-sector program management, asset management, financial services, IT consulting, government relations and applied science.

lacked sufficient infrastructural and economic bases for equal engagement in the partnership development in the Middle East. This was clear in the Casablanca Declaration:

> *"[T]he West bank and Gaza Strip require special attention from the international community, both public and private ... to enable the Palestinian people to participate on equal bases in the regional development and cooperation"* *(Casablanca Declaration, 1994: article 5).*

The statement mentions the possibility of the future participation of the Palestinian Authority after an undetermined period in which the economic and infrastructural bases of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are to be built to enable the Palestinian Authority to participate 'equally' in the regional development. However, in reality the Palestinians are discards as possible partners the Jordan Rift Valley Project.

Project Visions

Based on the introduction to the Jordan Rift Valley Project in the IMFA (1999), the project was planned following three main visions.

– Development of the corridor links through the Jordan Rift Valley through the establishment of land transport, energy, logistics and communication connections between the two sides of the Jordan Rift Valley. The aim of these connections is not only to serve as an infrastructure to regional development purposes but also to ease the flow of people and goods for the different international activities.

– 'Sustainable' exploitation of the Jordan Rift Valley's shared environmental resources based on co-ordinated resource management: through the establishment of a co-operative institutional mechanism for cross-border co-operation. Several regional and international economic activities are to be linked to the shared environmental resources such as tourism, industry and agriculture.

– Creation and exploitation of vertical and horizontal synergies through the development of linkage between primary and subordinating activities, the creation of scale economies, the exchange of knowledge (know-how) and technology (e.g. in agriculture, aquaculture, water management, and energy generation).

Most of the proposed development project in the Jordan Rift Valley between Jordan and Israel are built upon the existing peace agreements between the two countries. The Jordan Rift regional development is forecast to be complete by the year 2020 according to IMFA (1999).

All proposed projects are planned with high consideration given to optimal employment generation as well as effective environmental-impact assessments. The IMFA (1999) states that the incremental expectation of demographic increase until the year 2020 for the entire area is estimated at 350-500 thousand people, while the incremental employment generation expected from the Jordan Rift Valley Projects is estimated at between 110-146 thousand jobs. This implies that the employment growth rates range between 3.7-4.5% per year.

Master Plan

The IMFA (1999) explains that the master plan was designed to perform five major key functions:

– Provide strategic overall guidance to statutory planning.

– Outline a framework for co-operative integration of infrastructure.

– Identify projects that are designed to minimize both negative environmental (impure products) impacts and high development costs.
– Provide a common conceptual framework for project planning and assessment.
– Inform potential investors, donors and government agencies of projected investment opportunities.

The time duration of the several planned 'core projects' varies between long-term projects and urgent short-term projects (completion within 5 years). The short-term projects are termed leverage projects funded essentially by the public sector in order to facilitate and stimulate private investment in the Jordan Rift Valley. The IMFA (1999) estimates long-term public and private investments of about $5.8 billion, while the short-term investments are estimated at $2.8 billion, as summarised in table (1.1).

Table 1.1: Indicative investment costs for identified core projects of the master plan (IMFA, 1999).

SECTOR	SHORT TERM		LONG TERM*	
	No. of Projects	US$ million	No. of Projects	US$ million
Agriculture	5	27	2	79
Aquaculture	5	39	2	300
Industry	15	763	10	735
Tourism	13	697	8	3,070
Energy	3	105	5	558
Transport	9	352	8	595
Telecommunications	5	21	n.d.	n.d.
Water	5	786	4	490
Human Resource Development	3	40	n.d	n.d.
Environment	8	14	n.d.	n.d.
TOTAL	71	**2,844**	39	**5,827**

*   :   not including Red Sea - Dead Sea Canal (RSDSC)
n.d. :   not defined

Core Projects

As shown in *table (1.1)*, there are ten sectoral projects planned in the Jordan Rift Valley which are also connected to other national (Israeli) and regional projects. The Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal Project is an example of the connection between the Jordan Rift Valley Project and Israeli 'national' projects; it is aimed at restoring the water level in the Dead Sea, generation of energy through the altitude difference between the Mediterranean Sea and the Dead Sea, as well as utilization of the canal for industry and aquaculture. Another Mediterranean–Jordan River Canal project is proposed in the northern parts of Israel, where connection with the Mediterranean is proposed south of Tiberius Lake.

The following text summarizes the major sectoral projects that are planned in the Jordan Rift Valley, adopted from IMFA (1999):

– Water: (1) the establishment of a co-operative, effective institutional framework for water management in Israel and Jordan; (2) the establishment of an integrated program of water development in the Jordan Rift Valley in Israel; (3) Adassiya Diversion Dam Project on the Yarmouk River (Jordan); (4) a joint co-operative Wadi Araba hydro-geological investigation. Finally, (5) the establishment of a joint Israeli-Jordanian water plant on the Dead Sea.

– Tourism: (1) tourism-co-operation projects for the Northern Jordan Valley; (2) cross-border tourism in Wadi Araba (with connection with Egypt); (3) joint development of tourism infrastructure at the Dead Sea. Finally, (4) the establishment of a joint school for tourism at the Dead Sea.

– Transportation: (1) the establishment of a road connecting Haifa (industrial port city) with Irbid, crossing through the Sheikh Hussein Bridge (border point) and eastward; (2) the establishment of several bridges across the Jordan River; (3) creation of additional border-crossing points at the Dead Sea and Wadi Araba; (4) the construction of a railway connection for industrial purposes between Haifa and Mafraq.

– Logistics, trade and industry: (1) construction of industrial parks at the Sheikh Hussein border crossing and Beit Shean; (2) the creation of small-scale industries and high-tech incubators near the King Hussein border crossing.

– Agriculture and aquaculture: (1) establishment of the Awassi Sheep Breeding Pilot Farm in Wadi Araba; (2) contract production of vegetables for export in the southern Ghors[5]; (3) joint collaborative research in crop and livestock production; (4) joint agricultural training and professional exchange programs. Finally, (5) the establishment of small-scale intensive fish farms.

– Environment: (1) restoration of the lower part of the Jordan River; (2) establishment of the "Lowest Park on Earth" at the Dead Sea; (3) creation of a bi-national natural reserve by extending and linking the Dana and Nahal Sheizaf natural reserves; (4) the control of flies in the Jordan Rift Valley; (5) conducting an environmental resources survey and database for Wadi Araba; (6) Dead Sea special joint studies; (7) joint monitoring of bird migration in the Jordan Rift Valley.

– Telecommunications: (1) establishment of the East-West Amman-Tel Aviv international telecommunications cable.

– Energy: (1) establishment of a joint regional energy centre that includes other countries in the region; (2) establishment of energy plants on the Read Sea-Dead Sea canal.

The Jordan Rift Valley Project along with its different sectoral projects was reviewed by the author, leading to a set of different observations which are discussed in the following text.

1.2   Observations

At this stage, several 'personal' observations were arrived at from reviewing the Jordan Rift Valley Project and its implications, these observations being the main stimulants of the research questions and subsequently of the problem formulation. The deduction of these observations was affected by several forces:

– The author's Palestinian nationality and its troublesome restrictions in the occupied Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

– The Arab/Israeli conflict in the region.

– The lack of material regarding the Jordan Rift Valley Project.

Furthermore, the observations mostly targeted the negative impact of the Jordan Rift Valley development upon the multilevel, political, social and economic particularities of the region. The author is aware of the importance of such large-scale development projects for the multi-levelled development of the region and does not reject the Jordan

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[5] Ghors is the Arabic word for the low fertile plains in a valley.

Rift Valley Project as much as being unconvinced by certain aspects of the project. These aspects were considered by the author at the initial stages of this doctorate study to be 'unjust' and 'oppressive'.

Accordingly, the observations are divided into three major parts: (1) political and territorial, (2) environmental, and (3) other impacts.

Political and Territorial

The political and territorial observations relate largely to the reflection of planning for the Jordan Rift Valley development on the conflict in the region, especially through marginalizing the role of the Palestinian Authority in the project and the use of the project as an instrument to determine territorial definitions in the Israeli-Palestinian territorial conflict.

– The Israelis had realised the potentials and value of the Jordan Rift Valley as a regional asset long before the joint initiative of the economic conferences in Cairo, Casablanca, Amman and Qatar. Israeli colonies were built extensively in the West Bank on the eastern slopes of the Jordan Rift Valley, especially in areas of water value (e.g. natural springs, ground water aquifers).

– The Palestinian Authority (Palestinians) was marginalized as a partner in the Jordan Rift Valley Project and was not even included within the steering committee, although around 28%[6] of the West Bank is considered part of the Jordan Rift Valley.

– The West Bank's sections of the Jordan Rift Valley were excluded perpetually and systematically from all peace proposals that were negotiated by the Israelis or initiated by the United States. Since the Oslo Interim Agreements, through Wye River peace negotiations to Sharm El-Sheick, all the proposals – as illustrated in *figure (1.3)* – annex the West Bank's areas of the Jordan Rift Valley to the Israeli administration and ultimate control. Therefore, marginalizing the Palestinians as a viable partner in the Jordan Rift Valley Project is a systematic strategic step.

– The third stage of the Israeli 'Security Wall' annexes the whole West Bank's areas of the Jordan Rift Valley as a fact on the ground, as illustrated in *figure (1.4)*. Along settlement-expansion activities in the West Bank's eastern slopes of the Jordan Rift Valley since 1967, the segregation wall manifests a unilateral authority of Israel over the Jordan Rift Valley.

– With enforced land expropriations, the demolitions of buildings, military closure, expulsion of Bedouins, as well as limiting administratively the expansion of Palestinian built-up areas in the Jordan Rift Valley (through denying building permits), Israel reduces exponentially the demographic representation of Palestinians in the Jordan Rift Valley, as explicitly discussed in Hass (2006).

– The Jordan Rift Valley Project proposes the use of the part of the Palestinians' land of the West Bank (excluding the Jordan Rift Valley areas) as a backdrop for transportation projects, energy lines, and tourism and water infrastructure with no reference to Palestinian participation in decision-making. The West Bank lies in a strategic zone between Jordan and Israel connecting between the Jordan Rift Valley and the rest of Israel (especially with coastal cities like Tel Aviv).

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[6] Juma, J. (2005) ZNet, "The Eastern Wall: closing the circle of our ghettoization". http://www.zmag.org/weluser.htm , viewed on December 2005.
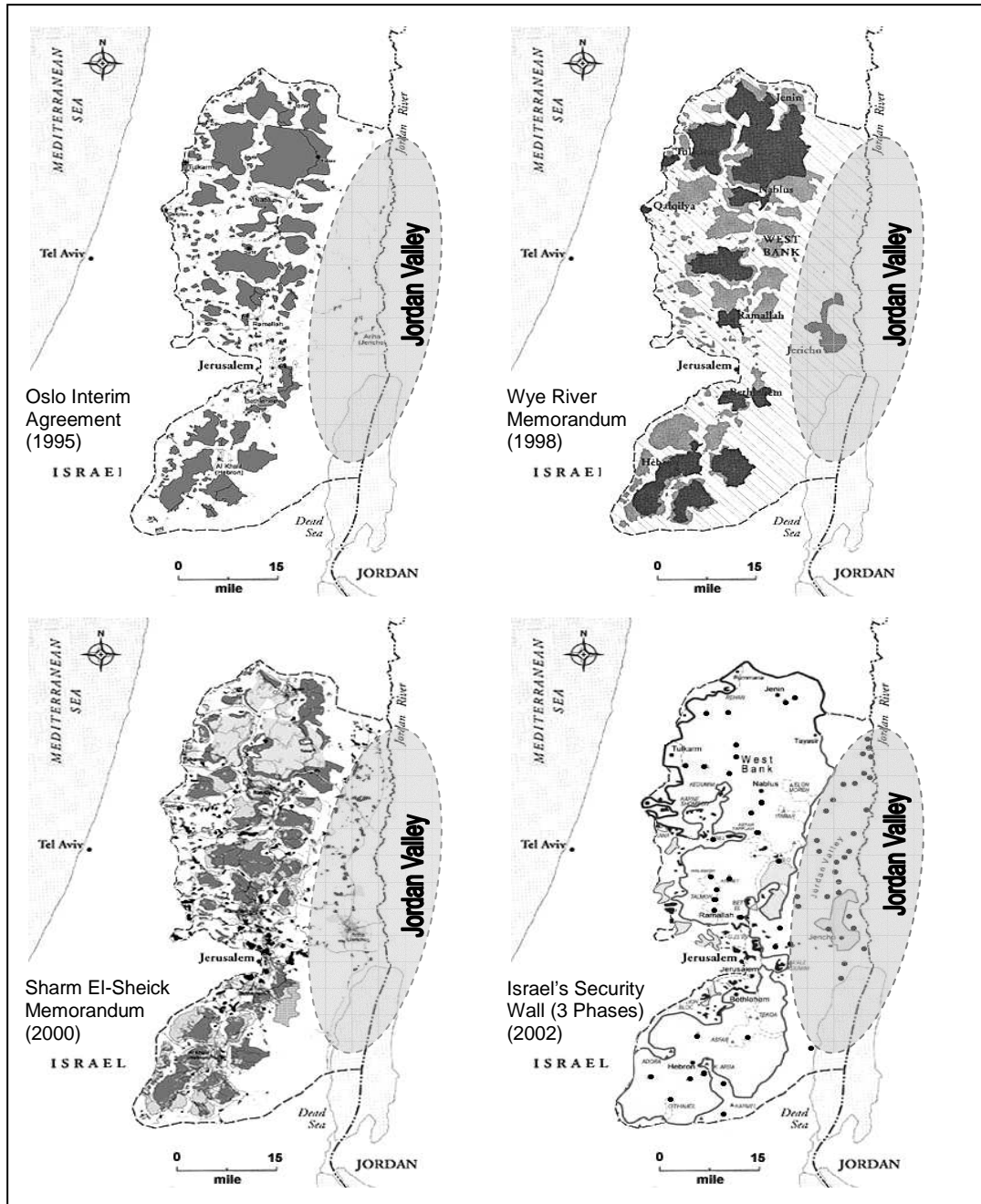
Figure 1.2: Jordan Valley: peace initiatives, colonies expansion & security wall (Anani, 1999)

Environmental

The environmental observations were constructed through readings on the history, geography and biodiversity of the Jordan Rift Valley. Moreover, through a review of the proposed budget for the Jordan Rift Valley Project, as well as the different water projects (especially the Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal and the expansion of the Gulf of Aqaba), many interlacing issues between the project and the environment surfaced.

– The Jordan Rift Valley Project will bring about economic and social changes to the built-up spaces in the Jordan Valley, which mainly consist of small villages and towns. However, the affiliated large-scale development projects from water, transportation, industry, energy, tourism along to the rapid development of the built-up area could affect the fragile seismic structure of the valley (especially the big

dams and water canals). This has not been mentioned or tackled seriously in the Jordan Rift Valley Projects or any of its studies.

– The basin of the Jordan Rift Valley is relatively deep. The difference in altitude between the two mountain ranges on both sides of the rift and the bottom plains of the rift reaches more than 1,500m in some areas. For example, the altitude of Hebron Mountains reaches ~1,000m above sea level, and in Ramallah ~900m above sea level, while the drop in the Jordan Rift Valley reaches 400m below sea level. Moreover, the mountain ranges protect the Jordan Rift Valley from the western and southern winds blowing from the Mediterranean. In reference to *table (1.1),* the proposed industry in the valley with a budget of about $1,498 billion on short and long-term projects and accounts for 17.3% of the total budget, is a threat to the enclosed basin environment, especially in respect of industrial air pollution.

– The budget dedicated to the environment in the short-term projects, as shown in *table (1.1)*, is about $14 million, representing 0.5% of the total budget of short-term projects, while in the long-term projects, the budget for the environment is not defined, implying that plans and detailed activities for the environment were not considered in the long-term projects. Furthermore, the existing budget for the environment is divided between research and protection projects; hence, less financing will be dedicated to actual environmental protection projects.

– The environmental projects that are proposed in the Jordan Rift Valley are not essential to the large-scale development projects proposed by the project in terms of significantly protecting sensitive environments in the Jordan Rift Valley within the planning of development schemes (e.g. greenbelts, green ways). Moreover, the environmental projects are not even partially structured to reduce the impact of the Jordan Valley Project (e.g. industry) on the environment.

– The change to the image of the Jordan Rift Valley, and all the heavy-duty activities from tourism, agriculture, industry, energy, transport and settlement development will eventually affect the ecology and biodiversity of the valley affecting the natural environment of many species.

– The Jordan Rift Valley lands are classified by MOPIC (1998) within the formation of the West Bank's Regional Plan as alluvial water aquifers and very sensitive to development, and, likewise, vulnerable to pollution. Moreover, the area around the Dead Sea was highly restricted for development activities due to its cultural and environmental value. However, industry and tourism infrastructure along with insensitive agricultural projects could endanger the ground water, which is a valuable and contested resource in the region.

Social

The Jordan Rift Valley Project ignores several social and spatial aspects in the valley area in favour of strategic and economic profits.

– The budget in *table (1.1)* does not consider the social impacts of the project in the Jordan Rift Valley, though the planning approach for the Jordan Rift Valley, as clarified by the IMFA (1999), is an integrated one. The project, as discussed earlier, will generate a high annual employment rate in the area; however, neither social infrastructure (e.g. housing, education, health) nor regional social impacts (e.g. migration) were mentioned at all in the development of the Jordan Rift Valley.

– The Jordan Rift Valley comprises largely both agrarian and Bedouin communities with a special life style and settlement conditions. The planned development projects represent an alteration to the local social and economic processes. Nevertheless, the Jordan Rift Valley Project did not encompass any strategy or plan to integrate the local milieu within its development program (e.g. through participatory planning processes, through impact assessment on local settlements).

By and large, the project attracts attention to the Jordan Rift Valley as a region of high potential for large-scale development which, if well planned, could contribute chiefly to the political and economic stability in the region.

However, the project is not aimed at all at solving the existing conflict; on the contrary, it upsurges the differences between the different entities in the region by preventing the Palestinians from partaking in the cross-border development and planning. Moreover, the project is a chief factor in the systematic Israeli oppression within the Israeli-Palestinian territorial conflict.

The Jordan Rift Valley Project ranks as the biggest and most profitable integral part of the Israeli national development schemes, as one can see from the different projects listed in the IMFA (1999). Moreover, these other small projects have diverse links with the Jordan Rift Valley (e.g. expansion of Ashdod & Haifa Ports, Trans-Israel highway project, Eilat-Aqaba joint development, etc.). This makes Israel the main profiteer from the Jordan Rift Valley due to its strategic middle location, which gives it the opportunity to link the project with other infrastructural and vital projects in the region.

Finally, Israel's position as an ally of the United States, as well as being the strongest military, technological and economic power in the region, gives it the virtue of controlling the planning of the project for its own benefit as well as the benefits of its allies.

2. Problem Rational

This section connects the author's observations on the Jordan Rift Valley Project to the problem formulation and research hypothesis by deducing the research questions from the observations. The *Problem Rational* is divided accordingly into five main parts: (1) research scope; (2) research questions; (3) the formulation of the problem statement; (4) research hypothesis; and finally, (5) the aims and objectives of this doctorate research.

2.1   Research Scope

The observations deducted from the Jordan Rift Valley cross-border co-operation were very 'particular' to the Near East conflict and to the development project of the Jordan Rift Valley, from which some are actually in the process of implementation, such as the Industrial Joint Gateway Project[7] between Jordan and Israel.

The research scope could have taken many tracks as a result of reviewing the Jordan Rift Valley Project and would have led eventually to different research topics. These tracks can be divided into two main categories: (1) particular and (2) universal.

–   'Particular': there are numerous examples that could potentially be generated as topics from a 'particular' research scope that deals with the Jordan Rift Valley Project, such as: empowering local participation in the Jordan Rift Valley Project, settlement growth in the Jordan Rift Valley: 2020 prospect; water management in a spatial perspective (the Jordan Rift Valley case) or environmental planning as a means of promoting cross-border development in the Jordan Rift valley.

–   'Universal': likewise, one could derive many 'universal' topics out of the review of the Jordan Rift Valley Project, such as: planning as a tool of ethnic oppression: the case of the Jordan Rift Valley Project; the politics of planning for cross-border development: the case of regional planning, etc.

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[7] The Industrial Joint Gateway Project is a planned industrial park/free- trade zone that straddles the Jordan River between Israel and Jordan. The project is funded by the International Finance Co-operation (IFC).

However, the author selected a 'universal' scope for this doctoral research, which is summarised in the following sentence:

> *Planning for regional development in a cross-border co-operation within a case of imbalanced power relations.*

Limitations

There were several reasons that had influenced the author to limit the research scope to the above-mentioned 'universal' notion:

– The escalated Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the starting phase of this doctoral research. This implied the following:

  · High risk in conducting fieldwork-oriented research between Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Authority due to the author's nationality.

  · Impossibility of retrieving information from the Israeli side, due to the conflict and the author's restricted accessibility to Israel.

  · The restricted mobility and accessibility to the Jordan Rift Valley.

– The overall lack of official documentation regarding the Jordan Rift Valley Project in terms of studies, agreements, minutes of meetings, protocols, etc.

– The author's personal interest in conducting more theoretical research.

– The author's personal interest in issues of power and control.

The research scope was an important phase in funnelling the research observations towards the specificities of the research problem.

2.2   Problem Statement

Through the author's personal observation and literature review, it was evident that spatial planning theories, in general, lack the theoretical credentials to explain issues of justice and power in planning for cross-border development and the formation of cross-border co-operation. This is particularly deficient in the case of imbalanced power relations and over-arching differences (e.g. economy, technology, military, social, political alliance, etc.) between co-operation partners, such as in the case of the Jordan Rift Valley Project, as explained in the *Observations*.

Moreover, very few spatial planning research has been done on the issue of the influence of power over the development of spaces in cross-border co-operation; most of the literature describes the prevalence of power and its several forms, neglecting solutions or answers on how the negative influence of power can be tackled and reduced.

As the author had personally observed in the Jordan Rift Valley Project, the rationalization of decision-making from the project partners to exclude Palestinians from the cross-border partnership, whether with or without the Palestinians' being involved in this decision, was obviously due to the imbalanced power relation and the weak position of the Palestinians. Therefore, and as Foucault states in '*The Subject and Power*':

> *"The relationship between rationalization and excess of political power is evident. And we should not need to wait for bureaucracy or concentration camps to recognize the existence of such relations" (Foucault, 2000: 328).*

Finally, spatial planning literature that illustrates the milieu of negative influence of power in spatial planning commonly tackles only one fraction of power in a micro-

sectoral framework, as in the work of Forester (1998), who referred to the institutional power relations versus the role of planning practice; he suggested strategically communicative solutions for planning practice. Another example is Flyvbjerg (1998), who referred to city-planning development and demonstrated explicitly the role of power relations in shifting planning away from its preset aims and goals.

2.3 Research Aims

The research aims were developed accordingly, based on the *Research Scope* and the *Problem Statement*. The research aims are divided into different parts:

– *General aim*: this doctorate research aims at investigating the issues of justice and negative influence of power in the planning of cross-border development in the case of imbalanced power relations in cross-border co-operation.

– *End-product aim*: the dissertation aims not only at analysing the negative influence of power and justice as relationships within the cross-border processes of co-operation, but also. and most significantly, it aims at finding a solution in the form of a conceptual model that reduces the influence of negative influence of power and brings more justice to cross-border development.

– *Analytical aim*: as spatial planning theory is deficient in the discourse of justice and power in cross-border development, the theoretical analysis of power and justice in this dissertation aims at utilizing philosophy and the social and political sciences as a main resource for analysis.

– *Contribution aim*: The dissertation is an attempt to contribute a little more to the discourse of power, justice and just cross-border spaces in planning theory.

– *Utilization aim*: This doctorate research is intended for spatial planners and scholars who embark on issues of planning for cross-border development as well as power and justice. Moreover, the research is meant to be a document for politicians and decision-makers from peripheral countries who are involved in cross-border projects, whereby this doctoral thesis presents not only issues to consider in the course of cross-border development and co-operation, but also an alternative way of thinking of planning for a more just and equitable cross-border development.

– *Thesis-approach aim*: This piece of work aims at exploring possibilities rather than collecting and presenting implications of known truths or focusing the research mainly on discovering regulations and laws on what already exists. Moreover, the endeavour to reveal new orders and regulations on what already exists is a means to exploring new possibilities and not a particular end of this research. A statement by the location theorist Lösch in his opening argument explains precisely this aim; he states that our task is "*not to explain our sorry reality, but to improve it*" (Lösch, 1954).

The research aims have drawn the guidelines for deriving the main and secondary research questions.

2.4 Research Questions

Consequently, the research questions were narrowed within the framework of the *Research Scope and Research Aims* and were eventually divided into: (1) a main research question (solution-oriented question), which implied analytical (cause/effect) as well as sequential (process) analysis and (2) secondary research questions.

The main research question is a 'solution-oriented question' that brings about solutions as products of this doctoral dissertation. On the other hand, the secondary questions differ in style: some of them are 'analytical' (cause/ effect questions), embark upon analysing certain aspects of the main research theme, and some of them are

'sequential', relating one component of the research to another correlated component. Moreover, within the secondary research questions, 'process-oriented questions' as a medium between analytical and sequential research questions are used to clarify the different plexus of links between the different components of the research.

The three types of questions were used simultaneously or sometimes separately in composing the secondary research questions.

Main Research Question

– How can we achieve just regional development in a cross-border co-operation within a case of imbalanced power relations? (*solution-oriented*)

Secondary Research Questions

– What is justice in cross-border co-operation? (*analytical question*)

– How can justice be measured? (analytical and process-oriented question)

– What is the relation between justice and difference in power relations? (*sequential and analytical question*)

– What is power in cross-border co-operation? (*analytical question*)

– How does power influence cross-border development? (*analytical and process oriented question*)

– What might be the power differences between co-operative partners? (*analytical and process-oriented question*)

3. Inner Structure of Thesis

In this section, a brief description of the contents of each chapter of the thesis will be set out in a general manner. Moreover, it is worth clarifying at the beginning that the first two chapters are introductory chapters to the dissertation, while *Chapter Three* and *Chapter Four* are confined to the theoretical analysis and theoretical findings. *Chapter Five*, *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven* contain the formulation of the final findings of this thesis.

Chapter One, the *'Prologue'*, is in the form of preparatory information as a significant prerequisite for understanding the following parts of the thesis. This chapter highlights the backdrop which stimulated the idea for the thesis, i.e. the Jordan Rift Valley, from which the author has drawn observations about planning for cross-border development. The observations were utilized to formulate the problem statement and consequently the research questions. Within the focus of the research scope, observations and problem, the research aims are formulated in this chapter.

Chapter Two, the *'Methods'*, equips the research with several general and specific methodological schemes in order to structure the research within its different parts and processes. This chapter explains the general dialectical approach underlying thinking on the research; moreover, it sets the methodological and theoretical basis for theorizing and conceptualizing the final findings of this doctorate research in *Chapter Five*, *Chapter Six* and *Chapter Seven*. Finally, the chapter explains the general methodological approach adopted in this thesis.

Chapter Three, *'Justice, Power and Differences'*, starts the theoretical analysis of the meaning of justice in cross-border development and co-operation. Subsequently, the chapter connects justice with power and embarks upon an analysis of the negative influence of power in cross-border development and co-operation. The chapter ends

with the author's findings regarding the links between justice and power in cross-border development and co-operation.

Chapter Four, *'Cross-border Differences`*, analyses 'relationships of differences' and their influence on the different processes of cross-border development and co-operation. This chapter carries on the investigation of differences between cross-border development partners and demonstrates the negative consequences of cross-border differences in planning for cross-border development in general.

Chapter Five, *'A New Common Border Space'*, puts forward a new abstract territorial concept of cross-border space, based on the notion of reducing differences between cross-border partners through looking at the borders of the common cross-border space. The new abstracted concept of the cross-border space is referred to by the author as the new *Common Border Space*. Borders are discussed as (a) significant spatial element(s) in creating differences between partners, and eventually a space for the negative influence of power to operate in.

Chapter Six, *'Operationalized Spatial Concept'*, complements the abstracted territorial concept of the NCBS as an operationalized concept. Different social, political and economic processes of the newly abstracted, territorially defined space are reconstructed to reduce the differences in the common border space, consequently reducing the influence of power within its newly defined borders. Eventually, the common border space is designed to allow more just cross-border development and fairness between co-operation partners.

Chapter Seven, *'Thoughts for an Epilogue'*, is a brief outlook on the potential use of the common border space concept, elucidating the expected benefits and contribution of this concept in solving regional imbalances between co-operation partners. Finally, the epilogue to the research suggests future elaboration on this doctoral dissertation as a post-doctoral study or research.

4. Definitions

In this section, certain basic terminology and ideologies are to be defined which will be used through this dissertation within the phases of analysis and final findings. These basic definitions are chosen to cover the major terminology found in the main ideas that are discussed in this dissertation. The definitions are elaborated further in the coming sections and chapters.

Abstraction

The basic theories of abstraction originated in the work of the English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704). According to Locke (1994), abstraction is a mental process through which general ideas are generated from particular ideas. Accordingly, this is considered as the basic process in concept formation. To Hume (1999), the process of abstraction relies upon an innate ability of recognising resemblance between objects or processes, which was one of the critical problems in Locke's works on abstraction, criticized by Hume (1999) and Berkley (1947).

Borders

As a basic definition, defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, a 'border' is:

> *"a. The district lying along the edge of a country or territory, a frontier; pl. the marches, the border districts. b. The boundary line which separates one country*

from another, the frontier line. on the border: on or close to this line, on either side" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).

The definition of 'border' in the Oxford English Dictionary includes two forms of border: (1) as an area or a district, and (2) as a line. These two definitions of 'border' will be encountered and elaborated on as a basis for re-conceptualizing borders in Chapter Five.

A long time before the existing form of (defined lines) political borders, borders were defined with neutral zones called marchlands, which took the form of a buffer zone separating two states, administrations or territories. In defining borders, another set of activities is also defined between and in the two spaces separated by these borders (e.g. mobility, security, accessibility, area of administration, validity of jurisdiction, etc.).

Conceptualization

It is worth clarifying at the beginning the meaning of the word 'concept' in the English language, which could differ, if literally translated to other languages, particularly since this dissertation was produced in Germany. The English meaning of 'concept' is used throughout the different sections of this thesis. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the meaning of 'conceptualism' as an act of producing concepts is:

> *"The psychological doctrine that the mind is capable of forming an idea (i.e. mental image) corresponding to the abstract and general term: held by, or attributed to, Locke and other English philosophers" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

This definition stresses on 'abstraction' and 'generalism' as main attributes of concepts, relating to concepts as universal ideas and not detailed instrumentalized strategies.

Justice

The following definition of Justice in cross-border co-operation is adopted from David Harvey, emanating from Wittgenstein's (1967) contributions to the theories of meaning and reflected from the relativism of discourses as a philosophical approach, such as in the writings of Marx and Engels (1951).

> *"Justice is a socially constituted set of beliefs, discourses, and institutionalizations expressive of social relations and contested configurations of power that have everything to do with regulating and ordering material social practices within places for a time. Once constituted, the trace of a particular discursive conception of justice across all moments of the social process becomes an objective fact that embraces everyone within its compass. Once institutionalized, a system of justice becomes a "permanence" with which all facets of the social process have to contend" (Harvey, 1996: 330).*

Accordingly, within a cross-border co-operation, which implies two partner countries at least, each country has its own definition and discursive conception of justice, which is inherited through a history of social processes and interactions. This conception of justice is institutionalized with norms and regulations defining rights and punishments in each partner countries. When the two partner countries are co-operating on spatially arranging a joint common space on their borders, a new definition of justice comes into play. What constitutes justice in cross-border co-operation is further elaborated in Chapter Three (thinking justice in cross-border co-operation).

New Common Border Space (NCBS)

The new common border space that is referred to in this research is the newly defined space of cross-border co-operation which lies between two countries separated by a "physical" political border, as illustrated in *figure (1.1)*. The new common border space is a new conception of a joint region aimed at reducing the negative impact of differences between cross-border partners with regard to just spatial development through re-conceptualizing borders and spatial processes within a cross-border space.
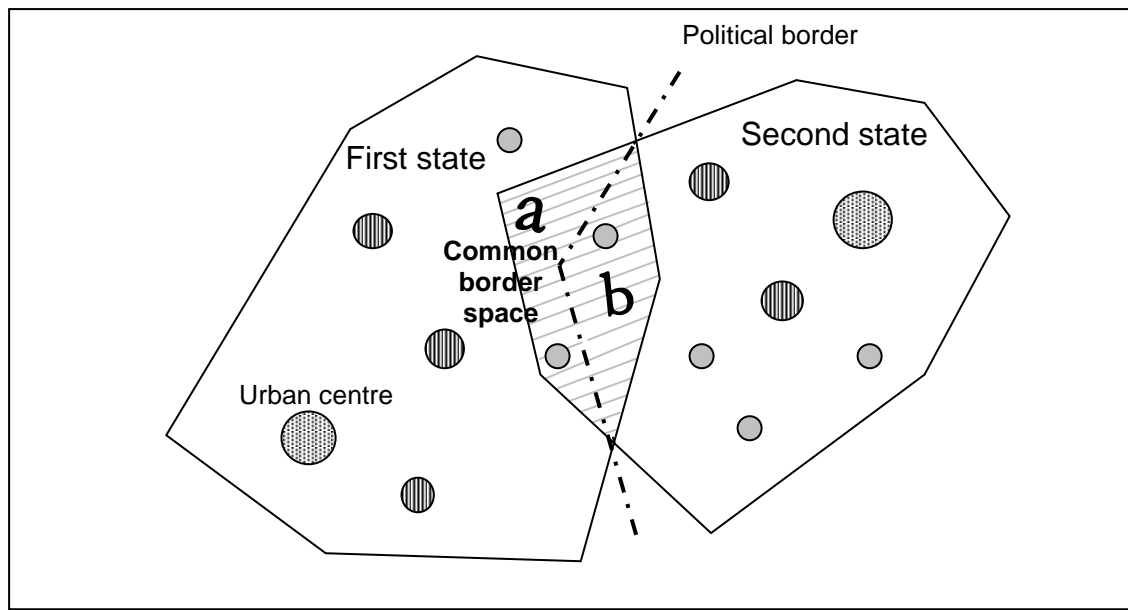
Figure 1.3: New common border space (Anani, 2006)

Consequently, and referring to *figure (1.4)*, the new common border space is a combination of area "a", which belongs to the first state, and area "b", which belongs to the second state. Within the boundaries of the new common border space, urban centres and their hinterlands, as well as rural and natural areas, exist separated by the national political borders, which define the jurisdiction of each of the states.

The new common border space is designed to operate between two countries with vast differences in economic, social and political milieus. For example, it can take place on the borders between Mexico and the United States of America (e.g. between the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas and the Mexican regions of: Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas). Another example would be the potential cross-border development between Jordan, the Palestinian National Authority and Israel, in particular between the Jordanian governorates of Ma'an, At Tafilah, Al-Karak, Amman, Al Balqa, and Irbid, and the Palestinian governorates of Bethlehem, JerUnited Stateslem, Jericho, and Tubas, and finally the Israeli sub-regions of Kinneret, Zefat and Beer Sheva.

Finally, in this doctoral dissertation the terms 'cross-border development' and 'cross-border co-operation' are used intentionally instead of the term transnational development and planning. The term cross-border development and co-operation reduces the meaning towards spaces where borders exist and play a vital role in defining the character of these spaces, yet the term also suggests the notion of co-operation between the two sides of the border. 'Transnational co-operation', on the other hand, has a meaning that concentrates on the action of co-operation outside the national boundaries without focusing on borders as specific elements defining the space.

Objective Capacity

Objective capacity is one of the traits of differences between people as individuals or groups. As defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, the objective capacity is:

> *"Mental or intellectual receiving power; ability to grasp or take in impressions, ideas, knowledge; active power or force of mind; mental ability, talent; the power, ability, or faculty for anything in particular" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

The definition highlights two main aspects: (1) mental and (2) physical. To have a physical capacity means: to empower one's physical status (e.g. muscles, military, resources, talents, etc.). On the other hand, to have a mental capacity means: to empower one's cognitive status (e.g. knowledge, experience, policy, tactics, etc.). Both capacities can be used as an instrument of power to dominate, control and exploit others.

Power Relations

Power relations are the institutional relations (e.g. in family, government, health and academic institutions) between people as individuals or as groups that allow an individual or a group to act upon the others. In addition, as defined in Foucault (1982), power relations do not act upon physical objects or bodies as much as on the actions and behaviour of others.

> *"What defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly or immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those that may arise in the present or the future. A relationship of violence acts upon a body or upon things; it forces, it bends ... A power relation [requires that] ... the one over whom power be exercised be thoroughly recognised and maintained to the very end as a person who acts: ... [(in order that] a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983: 220).*

Therefore, in power relations, the powerful needs the existence of the other (less powerful) party in order to accomplish and reach his own personal ends.

Relationships of Communication

Relationships of communication are one of the instruments of power and are a main trait of differences between people as groups or individuals. Through these relations, information is transmitted by means of language, a system of signs, or any other communication medium. Postmodernists such as Habermas (1990) and Luhman (1993) reflected on communication in their own theories in several regards. The type of information (e.g. misinformation, incomplete information) and the structure of language as a medium of transmitting information (e.g. grammar, intonation, speech) can be tools of control over the actions of recipients.

Relationships of Differences

The relationships of differences are the relations which are generated from differences between partners in power relations, relationships of communication, and objective capacity. These differences are tools and instruments that can be used to control, dominate and exploit others as groups or individuals. The term is inspired by Foucault's (1994) *The Subject and Power*, in which he differentiates between relationships of communication, objective capacity and power relations.

METHODS

Creation Day 5, by *Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld*, copied from
Das Buch der Bücher in Bilden.
Source: World Mission Collection, 1997.

Chapter Two

Methods
'Research methodologies'

"Identity is not found in behaviour, nor – important though this is - in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going."
Anthony Giddens

I n this chapter, the different research methodologies are demonstrated and explained explicitly. The author differentiates between three main different methodologies: (1) the research approach as a general way of thinking in writing and conceptualizing this research through its different phases; (2) the mode of theorization, which has been followed in analysing the research problem and conceptualizing its final findings; finally, (3) the general research methodology, which explains the methods of conducting the different research phases and the connection between them.

1. Research Approach

Before starting with the different research sections, it is important to clarify on which mode of thinking this research is built. Thus, this section connects briefly the author's personal view about spatial planning and space with the dialectic mode of thinking, and then explains concisely the origin of dialectics as well as its basic principles. Moreover, this section links dialectics with the way of looking at space, spatial planning and cross-border co-operation.

Spatial planning is a multidisciplinary, hermeneutic discipline, which integrates the knowledge of many other disciplines to explain spaces and eventually to utilize this built-in knowledge in developing spaces towards a more 'sustainable' and 'just' environment for living. In this sense, the definition of space does not rely solely on the elements and objects from which it is physically constructed (e.g. buildings, roads, trees, public spaces), but also on the social, political and economic processes which give a value to the different elements of space. People's constructed social norms, for example, affect the shape of buildings, the location and type of housing, the environmental setting of neighbourhoods and eventually the image of the city. Therefore, different cultures have produced different spaces. Conversely, elements of a space affect its processes. A new railway passing through a village changes its economic and social processes through time. The mobility that railways offer brings, for example, new trade and investment opportunities, more access to markets, and a large social and cultural exchange. Therefore, the author understands spatial planning as an act of future arrangement of spaces within their geographical context, by means of understanding space as a complex set of processes and relations which explain the structures of elements, objects and events in a space.

The personal understanding of the author of space and spatial planning comes close to the conception of dialectic thinking, based on the fact that reality is a structure of evolving processes. Therefore, this doctorate research adopts the dialectic thinking

approach in explaining and understanding the research problem, likewise in analysing and formulating the final results of the research. In this regard, the following text is not an attempt to draw the author's personal principles of dialectics as much as to clarify the interrelation between dialectics and understanding spaces.

The dialectic mode of thinking has become popular since such luminaries as Hegel, Leibniz, Heidegger, Derrida and others brought to bear the dialectic influence on modern philosophy, though the origin of the dialectic goes back to the Greek era, as discussed in James (2005). David Bohm explains the dialectic thinking referring back to Heraclitus[8]:

> *"The notion that reality is to be understood as a process is an ancient one, going back at least to Heraclitus, who said that everything flows. ... I regard the essence of the notion of process as given by the statement: Not only is everything changing but all is flux. That is to say,[what is] is the process of becoming itself, while all objects, events, entities, conditions, structures, etc. are forms that can be abstracted from this process" (Bohm, 1983:48).*

Bohm (1983) argues that dialectic thinking, therefore, focuses on grasping and interrelating relations, processes, flows and fluxes to analyze elements, things, organized systems and structures rather than focusing only on the closed analysis of objects. A good explanatory example is also provided by David Harvey, relating the value of money to a socially constructed value:

> *"Money" similarly takes on all manner of "thing-like" forms but those "things" (like coins or entries on a computer screen) only have a meaning in terms of the processes of social production and exchange that validate them. Without the process continually working to support it, money would be meaningless" (Harvey, 1996:49).*

The dialectical analysis of the existence of a certain structure (e.g. a built-up area) with its various elements within a certain condition refers to the processes and relations that constitute the different objects and elements within certain relations (e.g. welfare conditions of inhabitants, ethnic policies and social status). In James (2005), Harvey (1996) and Bohm (1983), it is argued that these processes give the general structure its current traits and shape (e.g. worker settlement, business quarter, slums). Subsequently, dialectic thinking always generates an inquiry into things or events that we encounter in our every day life, asking, *"By what process was it constituted and how is it sustained?"* (Harvey, 1996:50).

The dialectics go further by explaining that things and events are again constituted from substructures and sub-elements, which are, by all means, in a flux within certain processes and relations which create and constitute these things and events.

Systems with their own sets of objects and processes are interlacing and overlapping, affecting the traits and components of each other; moreover, a set of interlacing systems is eventually a system in its own right. Hence, the change in a sub-process would eventually affect several systems to different relative degrees. These influences are sometimes evident in the general trait of systems and objects, and sometimes are trivial and plotless.

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[8] Heraclitus of Ephesus (535 - 475 BC), known as 'The Obscure,' was a pre-Socratic Greek philosopher from Ephesus in Asia Minor. As with other pre-Socratics, his writings only survive in fragments quoted by other authors. He disagreed with Thales, Anaximander, and Pythagoras about the nature of the ultimate substance, but instead claimed that the nature of everything is change itself; he uses fire as a metaphor rather than his solution to material monism. This led to the belief that change is real, and stability illusory. For Heraclitus everything is "in flux". Heraclitus is recognized as one of the earliest dialectical philosophers with his acknowledgement of the universality of change and development through internal contradictions. (www.wikipedia.org viewed on 09.11.2005).

Lefebvre (1991) argues that the setting of time and space is contingent within the processes of systems and is never absolute. The relativity of time and space within the different processes and systems is a necessity. For example, within the Palestine/Israel conflict, the time needed for both nations to overcome the atrocities committed during the conflict after reaching a final peace agreement will span two or three generations, while the tempo of economic development will have a faster pace as soon as the conflict is put to an end.

Accordingly, this doctorate research will examine cross-border development through this dialectical lens, trying to understand the processes and the relations between the elements of the border space which have relatively constituted the image, meaning, and function of the border space. The traits of border spaces are related both to processes inside the spaces as well as to processes outside these spaces. These processes perpetually influence the structures of elements, objects and events inside border spaces.

2. Mode of Theorization

This section elucidates the general mode of theorization which was followed in this doctorate research. Accordingly, the discussion will be divided into two major parts: (1) abstraction and theorization in general, and (2) the selected modes of theorization in this doctorate research. Moreover, the discussion ends with three types of theories in theorization derived from a socio-political paradigm. Finally, the second part will define the line of theorization in this doctoral dissertation using the findings and discussion set out in the first part.

2.1   Abstraction and Theorization

This part will discuss the connection between abstraction as an act of thinking and generating concepts and theorization as a universal abstract scheme or set of ideas.

Abstraction

Abstraction is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as:

> *"the act or process of separating in thought, of considering a thing independently of its associations; or a substance independently of its attributes; or an attribute or quality independently of the substance to which it belongs" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

Abstraction has always been considered a key process in cognition, as was elaborated in the work of Aristotle (in Barnes, 1984) and later on in the writings of Locke (1994), who considered abstraction as a unique feature of human cognition that differentiates man from other creatures. Locke's writings influenced many philosophers of the enlightenment who debated abstraction in their work, such as Hume (1999) and Berkeley (1947). Little has been done to completely theorize abstraction in history due to the fact that abstraction has always been considered as an obvious process of conceptualizing and theorizing, moreover, it is indeed very basic to require theoretical formulation. Nevertheless, the use of abstraction in philosophical theorem and conceptualization is vital in order to simplify the complexity of a particular concept through concentrating on the information relevant to the particularity of that concept.

Abstraction is connected in many regards to socio-political theorization, and similarly to spatial theorization, depending on the universality or the particularity of a given theorem. To connect spatial theorization with socio-political theorization, it is

important to go back to dialectical thinking, which provides a good base for connecting socio-political processes with the attributes of a space. As explained in the dialectical research approach, spaces are to be analysed through the different fluxes of processes and relations between the structures of objects and elements which they contain. Moreover, the social and political processes of a space among other processes (e.g. economic, ecological) share in defining the traits of a space. Therefore, socio-political phenomena are part of spatial phenomena, and eventually the mode of abstraction followed in theorizing a socio-political phenomenon can also be followed in theorizing a spatial phenomenon.

Theorization

On the other hand, theorizing is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as:

> *"A scheme or system of ideas or statements held as an explanation or account of a group of facts or phenomena; a hypothesis that has been confirmed or established by observation or experiment, and is propounded or accepted as accounting for the known facts; a statement of what are held to be the general laws, principles, or causes of something known or observed" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

Theorization, as in the definition above, starts by observing things or processes which exist beyond a comprehensive explanation from existing systems of thought. The traditional logic of theoretical analysis deals with the presentation of consistent proofs and arguments in order to change (e.g. by adding to or rejecting) the traditional way of thinking.

Accordingly, there are three levels of spatial theorization, derived from socio-political theorization: grand theory, middle-range theory, and micro-level theory.

– A grand theory is the most abstract level of theories. It contains a plexus of several interlaced concepts, explaining a certain phenomenon. A grand theory is universally applicable; therefore, it is independent of time and space. An example for grand theories would be Parsons' (1951) functionalist Social System Theory, in which he tried to create a general conceptual integrated structure for sociology. Another example is the theory of Dialectic Materialism by Marx (in Arthur, 2002), in which he based economic relations as a basic foundation for social structure.

– A middle-range theory is also a complex of interlaced concepts explaining a certain phenomenon. However, a middle-range theory does not attempt to be universal and explain how all spaces and societies function but is rather limited in scope to a particular aspect of reality. Robert Merton is one of the main developers of middle-range theory. He stated in Merton (1968) that:

> *"Our major task today is to develop special theories applicable to limited conceptual ranges ... theories, for example, of deviant behaviour, the unanticipated consequences of purposive action, social perception, reference groups, social control, the interdependence of social institutions ... rather than to seek the total conceptual structure that is adequate to derive these and other theories of the middle range" (Merton, 1968:51).*

– For Merton, middle-range theory is meant to analyse reality through a particular phenomenon, allowing the production of theoretical accounts aimed at communicating ideas (e.g. to policy-makers, scholars from other disciplines) for future work.

– A micro-level theory is a limited explanation of a certain phenomenon; however, it is not meant to be universalized as much as localized through relating the phenomenon to its local process and forces. According to Merton (1968), micro-level theories are only applicable in certain spatio-temporal settings and are unable adequately to explain and relate local problems to collective phenomena.

2.2   Use of Theorization

This part explains: (1) the relationship between the analytical theoretical investigation of this dissertation and the grand theory as a mode of theorization, (2), in addition to the association of the middle-range theory, with the conceptualization of the final findings.

Theoretical Investigation

The analytical part of this dissertation explores universal notions and definitions in an attempt to crack and solve the research problem. Many ideologies surface within this analytical phase and are eventually investigated in various chapters. The mode of theoretical investigation of these ideologies is related to grand theory, as it elaborates on a universal definition and comes up at the end with an adjusted universal definition independent of time and space.

The mode of investigating these ideologies is a four-fold method: (1) initial definition; (2) theoretical review; (3) adjusted definition; and (4) linkage to other ideology, as clarified in *figure (1.1)*.

– Each initial definition of an ideology, as in *figure (1.1)*, stems from the basic disciplinary definition if such exists. In the case of non-existent disciplinary definitions, and since the theories of spatial planning are borrowed or derived from other disciplines (e.g. social sciences, political sciences, and economics), the initial definitions in this case are referred back primarily to their semantic meaning.

– The initial definition is investigated in the theories of spatial planning, if such theories exist. If not, a theoretical review investigation is conducted in other related disciplines to elaborate further on the initial definition within the line of argumentation.

– A new, adjusted definition is reached through the theoretical review and investigation, which elaborates on the line of argumentation.

– The new definition is linked through consistent argumentation with the discussion of other ideologies.
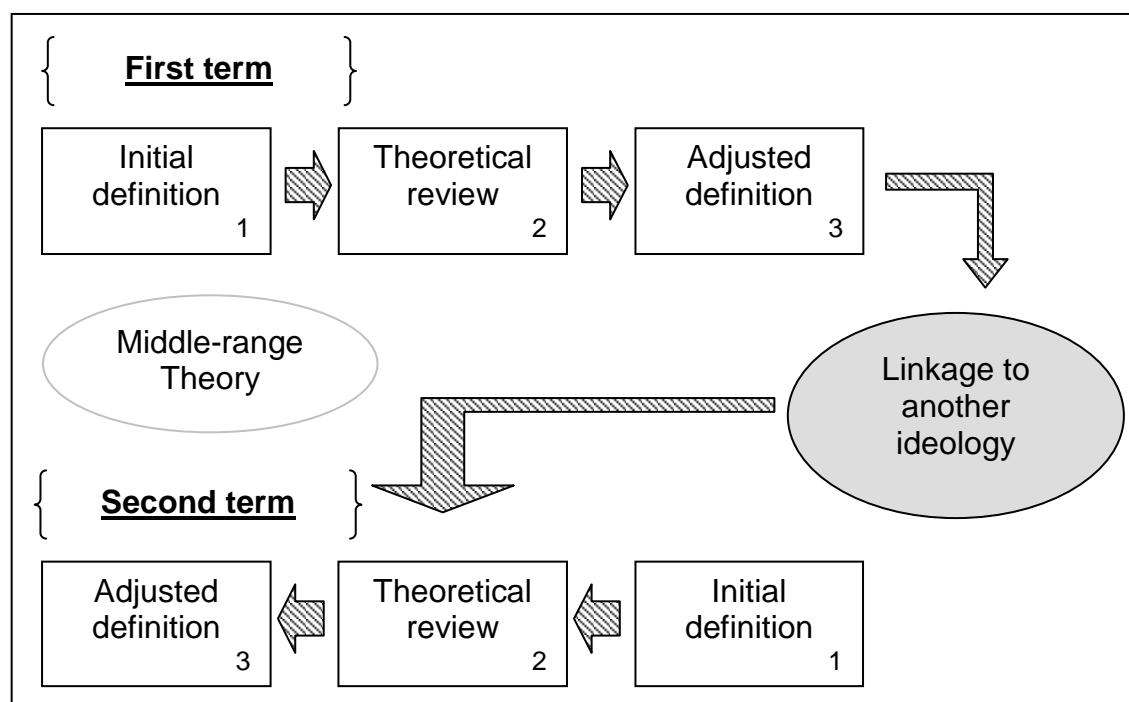
Figure 2.1: Theoretical investigation, (Anani, 2006)

This mode of investigation corresponds to the mode of discussion within this dissertation, which is based largely on connecting several ideologies in order to change the traditional way people look at certain issues in spatial planning.

Conceptualizing Findings

As the final chapters in this dissertation rely profoundly on abstracting ideas and reconstructing notions and concepts, it is important to refer to the specific framework of abstraction and conceptualization used in this dissertation. Moreover, the final findings are related to a certain theme defined by the research problem. Therefore, the final findings conceptualize a certain phenomenon, which is related to special types of spaces within special temporal definitions. Accordingly, the conceptualization of the final findings is related to middle-range theory.

The final findings, as explained earlier in the *Conceptual Framework*, will be in the form of a conceptual model for cross-border co-operation. This model, as is explained in the research aims, is aimed at bringing the definitions of justice between partners closer together through reducing the negative influence of differences on the processes of cross-border co-operation. Accordingly, the conceptualization of findings is used in two basic levels: (1) the abstracted spatial concept, and (2) operationalized spatial concept, as shown in *figure (1.2)*.

The proposed model of cross-border co-operation will not only define a general conceptual framework of a new and just cross-border space, but it will also operationalize the cross-border concept by explaining the different social, political, and economic processes which will tackle the negative influence of power between partners leading to just cross-border co-operation.
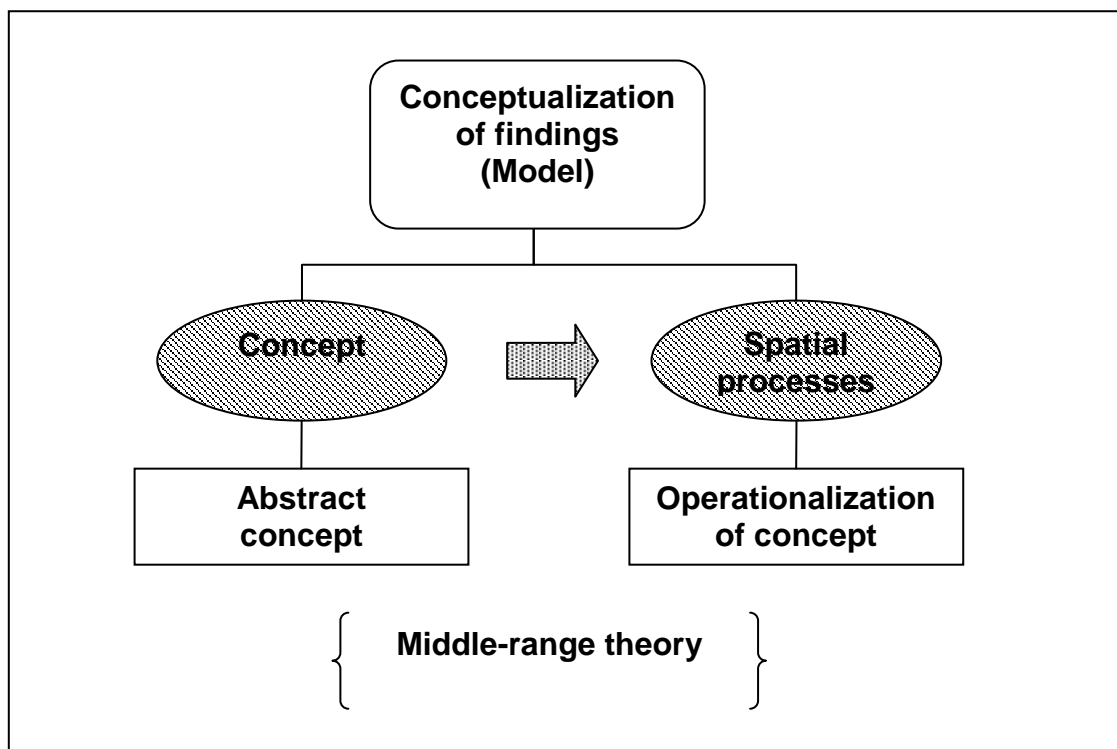
Figure 2.2: Conceptualizing findings, (Anani, 2006).

3. General Research Scheme

An overall plan to manage the different phases of this doctorate research was set in a chronological and logistic manner. This scheme was followed from the genesis of the thesis until the conclusion.

Figure (2.3) shows in detail the three major phases of the research scheme that this dissertation has gone through: (1) observatory phase, (2) analytical phase, and (3) model formulation phase.
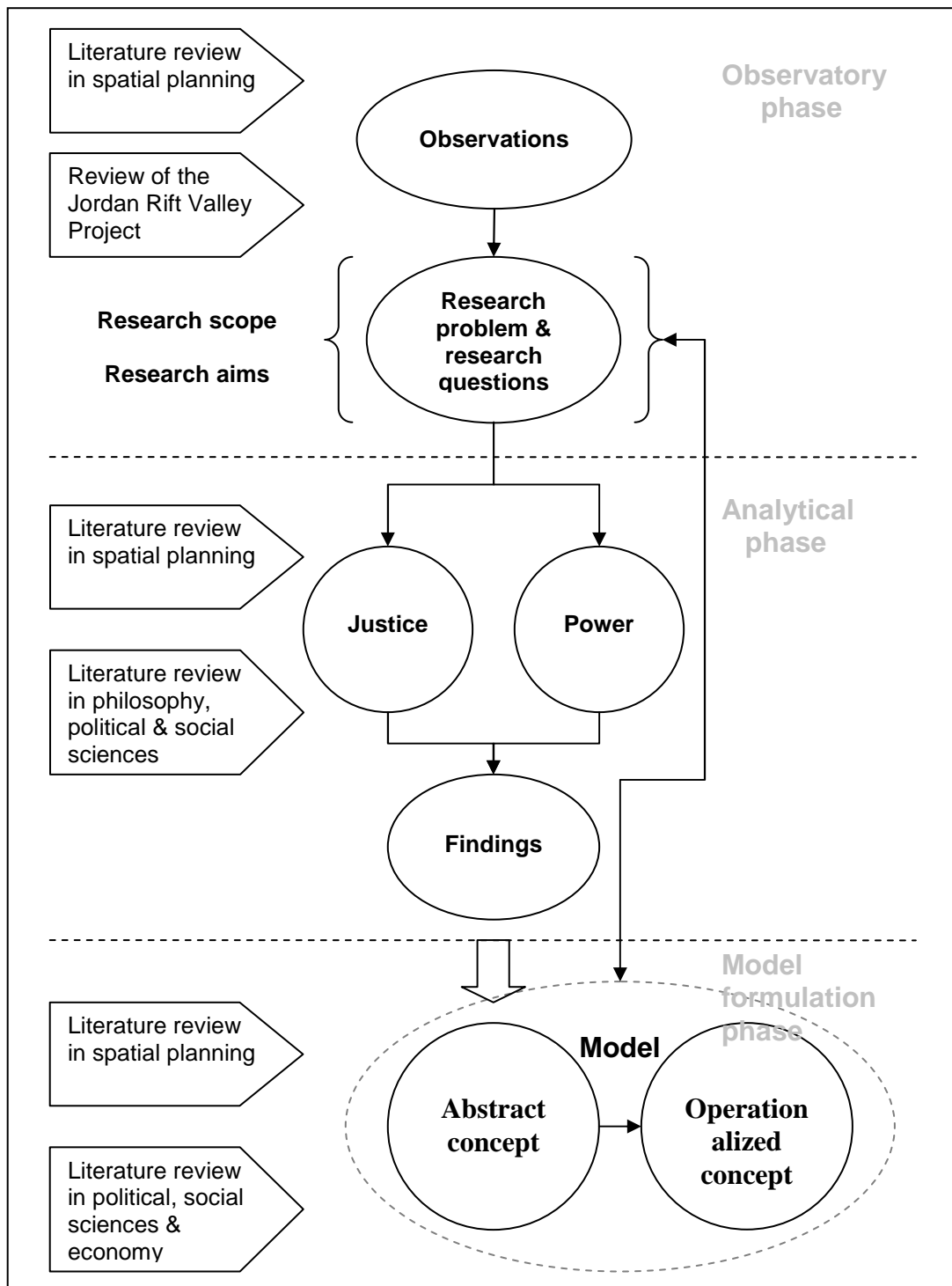
Figure 2.3: General research scheme (Anani, 2006).

– Observatory phase: this phase is the stage where the main observations of the research were originated through reviewing the Jordan Rift Valley Project, as demonstrated in *Chapter One, section (2.1)*, along to the review of related literature in spatial planning, basically Flyvbjerg (1998). The observations had led to the formulation of the research scope, where the interests of the author played a major role in focusing the research aims and eventually framing the research problem, as illustrated in *Chapter One section (3.0)*. The research problem was translated into detailed research questions, which in turn helped in setting a clear direction for the research, again with the help of the research aims.

– Analytical phase: in this phase, the investigation themes were derived from the research questions, which were, basically, the investigation of justice and power in planning for cross-border development. The investigation is undertaken through the review of literature in spatial planning, philosophy, social sciences, and political sciences due to the author's observation of a lack of material on justice and power in spatial planning theory. The theoretical analysis follows the methodological approach, as in the section on *Theoretical Investigation*. The analysis of justice and power ends with findings concerning the major cause of the prevalence of the negative influence of power in cross-border co-operation and eventually the lack of justice, as explained in the *Problem Statement* and *Research Questions*.

– Model formulation phase: the findings from the analytical phase are used to formulate an abstract conceptual model of the cross-border space, as revealed earlier in the section on *Conceptualizing Findings*. The abstract concept is then operationalized through the insertion of suitable social, political and economic processes that help in achieving the *End-Product Aim* of the dissertation, as set out in *Chapter One section (3.3)*.

Finally, the general research scheme has proved to be sufficiently flexible all through the different research phases by allowing always a retreat and a comeback from one phase to the other.

Justice, Power & Difference
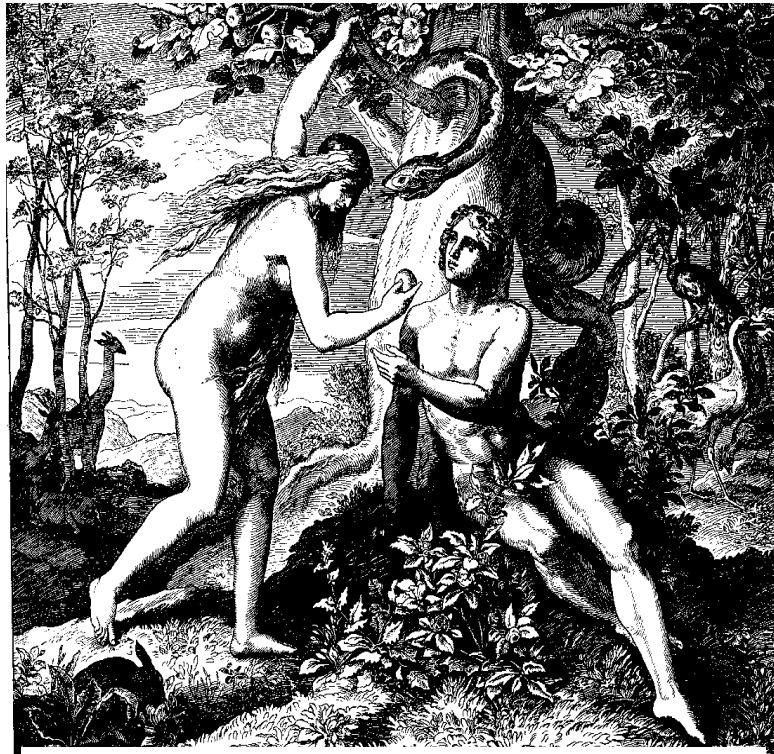
Adam and Eve eat forbidden fruit, by *Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld*, copied from *Das Buch der Bücher in Bilden*. Source: World Mission Collection, 1997.

Chapter Three

Justice, Power and Difference
'A theoretical review'

"What is just and unjust is usually in dispute"
John Rawls

I
f planning and development were used ethically, they could be challenging means of achieving peace and 'justice', and, furthermore, of contributing significantly to human well-being at all levels. However, for as much as planning can be a tool of social reform, it can also be used as an instrument for controlling and repressing peripheral groups, as thoroughly illustrated in Yiftachel (1998).

This chapter answer the research questions that tackles the issues of 'justice' and power in an attempt to structure a way towards uncovering answers to the main question of the research: how can we achieve a just regional development in a cross-border co-operation within a case of imbalanced power relations?

Accordingly, this chapter undertakes investigations on the issues of 'justice' and power in spatial planning and development. The exploration of the meaning of 'justice' and power, and the relationship between the two terms, leads to a conclusion about the influence of power on the definition of 'justice'. Moreover, the analysis in this chapter is designed to reveal whether power is the only factor that influences the definition of 'justice'.

1. Thinking 'Justice' in Cross-border Development

In the discipline of spatial planning, 'justice' is a term which is understood differently by the different sectoral branches of the discipline. Environmental planners see 'justice' in a different contextual and conceptual lens than that employed by transport planners or economic and finance planners. Planners who work on issues of migration and ethnic cultural issues see 'social justice' from a very different angle and standpoint again.

This section is divided into three parts: (1) the semantic meaning of 'justice'; (2) a theoretical review of 'justice'; and (3) the link between 'justice' and 'power'.

Accordingly, 'justice' is related to its semantic meaning as an opening for a brief theoretical review about 'justice' in philosophy, social and political sciences and as a substitute for the general lack of literature on the issue of 'justice' and spatial planning. The theoretical review will set the basis for uncovering the linkage between 'justice' and 'power'. The investigation of justice as well as power in a later stage is processed according to the methodological mode in *Chapter Two, section (2.1): Theoretical Investigation.*

It is worth stressing from the outset that the discussion of 'justice' in this section is related to the context of planning for cross-border development in the case of imbalanced power relations where a border space is already agreed upon for the purpose of development and an initial agreement between partners is already in place.

1.1   'Justice' in Language

'Justice' is a controversial term which tends to be defined in various manners. Each definition is independently structured according to its use in particular historical epochs with specific social, political, economic and religious conditions.

To demonstrate the weight of different meanings and angles upon which the meaning of 'justice' can be structured, several definitions of 'justice' are selected from the Oxford English Dictionary (2006): "to punish, esp. by death", "infliction of punishment", "rightfulness; fairness; correctness; propriety", "the persons administering the law", "court of 'justice'".

–   If the term 'justice' means, "to punish" or "infliction of punishment", then the value of the term 'justice' focuses mainly on the implications of unjust deeds and not on the constructive side of the social objectives of having 'justice' in a society. The two latter definitions show the instrument of punishment as a feature for the meaning of 'justice' in a society. Such definitions would suggest a view of a society with a dominant controlling executive body of police and/or military, on the lookout for unjust acts and breaches of laws, to punish and maintain 'justice'. These definitions see the act of breaking the law as an independent act, not as a product of other social processes, systems and relations which triggered misdeeds and unlawful actions.

–   The second definition of 'justice' is: "rightfulness; fairness; correctness; propriety". Here, one can see that these meanings vary and change from time to time, and from one space to another. What is appropriate, correct, fair and right is either collectively defined (e.g. inherited by the society in the form of formal and informal laws) or is constructed by small groups/individuals and enforced through institutional mechanism with executive powers.

–   In the last two definitions of 'justice' – "the persons administering the law" and "court of 'justice'" – the significance of the meaning of 'justice' is confined to a group of people and a space (building) where these people create and control the law and decide on what is just and unjust. These two definitions bring about different queries regarding the right of the different segments of society to contribute to the definition of social 'justice'. The latter definitions ignore both the significance of the existence of many informal mechanisms of 'justice', such as mediation and arbitration, which continue to be practised privately away from the state mechanisms and formal spaces which 'justice' inhabits.

Reviewing the three different sets of definitions, the following remarks can be made regarding the meaning of 'justice':

–   If 'justice' is a societal value, then it is like other social values – changing in time and from one space to another, as an inherited system passed from one generation to the other, adapting to the existing social norm, and aimed at 'control' as an essential pillar for well-being and successful social co-operation.

–   There are two strong forms of justice in society: one is formal and institutionalized (e.g. in laws, buildings, bureaucracies, executive bodies, etc) and the other one is informal and defined by unwritten rules which are inherited and based on the particularity of the space in which it exists.

–   The regulatory mechanisms of 'justice' are inherited through components of other systems (e.g. religious, tyrannical, military, dictatorship) exerting a historical influence on the rules and structure of a society.

–   There must be a set of agreements over rules and regulations between people (as individuals or groups) in order to define what is just and what is unjust. Where these agreements over specific rules and laws do not exist, what is just and unjust is placed under debate with reference to past experiences and similar contexts. Debates and argumentation on what is just and unjust are a basic source of dispute on the definition of 'justice'.

- In the informal form of 'justice', it is presumed that a form of defined 'justice' (defined by certain group(s) or individual(s)) exists in any social co-operation or between individuals unless the definition of justice is resisted and contested.

- Different forms of power (e.g. executive, formulatory and juridical) are essential for formal institutional justice in order to enforce a unified system of justice essential for functional social co-operation.

The semantic definition of justice is followed by a theoretical review in which a reference to the semantic definition will be made in order to identify the meaning of justice in cross-border co-operation.

1.2 'Justice' in Theory

The regulatory framework of formal and informal 'justice' by means of rules and laws has a wide historical range of origins that tend to give justice a particular value and form. There are ample examples of theoretical work that values and systemises 'justice' as a personal, ideal definition argued to fit a certain spatio-temporal setting. In the following theoretical review, different conceptions of justice are illustrated; moreover, at the end of each conception, a reflection on the issue of justice in cross-border co-operation will be cleared in the following points:

- Planning theory does not touch directly on the issue of justice and planning; the existing written sources in planning theory deal with justice only within the ethics and morals of planners in practice. Such a theme is found in the work of Howe, E. and Jerome Kaufman (1979) as well as of Marcuse (1980).

    · Planning theories are focused on the role of planners in practice between the different stakeholders and the priority of needs in developing spaces.

    · Planning theories fail to provide a concrete contribution to the issue of justice in planning for cross-border development.

    · As an alternative, theories of justice are reviewed in philosophy, social and political sciences in the following text.

- There are several different theoretical variations of 'justice' originating in different schools of thought, such as 'justice' and divinity, where justice is related to God and the divine order that is spread on earth through prophets and saints. This divine 'justice' is found in all religions, even in Greek times. God's (or the gods') commandments set collective and individual norms of behaviour and systems of morals and ethics that function as the backbone of a healthy society that has been promised God's heaven (or is not punished by gods in the Greek era) and is saved from the punishment of hell. Such theories have their origins in the works of Plato, and were further developed and deployed into something known as the divine command theory, despite its pagan origins. The advocates of the divine command theory, such as Donagan (1977) and Wierenga (1998), argue that God is the only creator of ethics, morals and ultimately of divine justice.

    · It is difficult to deduce particular measurements for cross-border co-operation from 'justice' in divine command theory, because in most religions divine justice is a general system of ideologies, oriented towards the creation of moral and ethical societal norms that are neither binding for a cross-border co-operation nor applicable to its particular processes.

    · There are several definitions and interpretations of divine 'justice' in different religions and all their fractions; therefore, justice in this context cannot be held as a universal norm to measure the processes of cross-border co-operation. On the contrary, it could lead to disputes as well as social and political clashes of religions and identities.

– Justice as natural laws is another philosophy that relates justice to nature. Although the meaning of natural laws was interpreted differently by different philosophers according to their personal loyalties, the fundamental and basic idea behind natural laws is the connection between individual rights and nature (or God in other interpretations, which makes it then more related to the divine command theory). Social contract theorists such as Hobbes (1981) and Locke (1994) elaborated in their works on the linkage between individual natural rights and the state, or social co-operation and the transfer of individual rights to the custody of the state. This natural transfer of rights is justice and breaking this social agreement is injustice, it is strongly stated in Hobbes (1981). Accordingly, from the work of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) 'justice' is taken to another authoritative dimension as rules and regulations enforced by the state, which derives its authority from the social contract between the state and all the individuals of a society. Consequently, breaking the state's enforced rules is unjust and requires punishment, not only for causing damage to the social contract with the state, but also to other members of the society.

  · State-defined 'justice' in cross-border co-operation is a central type of decision-making that reduces the expression of the needs and expectations of local and minor groups. The overall development of spaces (even in those spaces which are populated by minorities with groups of special needs) is expressed from top to bottom, with decision-makers deciding on behalf of other groups without knowing the real spatial needs of these groups.

  · The definition of state 'justice' in the work of Hobbs (1981) and Locke (1994) does not refer particularly to a state-to-state co-operation and the influence of power through state-to-state negotiation on local spaces.

– Authoritative and imposed 'justice' by force and power, and the definition by the powerful of what is just and unjust, has been discussed in various schools of thought in different historical eras, starting with Plato's Republic (1994) to Nietzsche (1994), Marx (1967, 1951). The latter signifies the role of power in defining justice and the difference in the definition of what is just and unjust by stating that:

  > *"The justice of the Greeks and Romans held slavery to be just; the justice of the bourgeois of 1789 demanded the abolition of feudalism on the ground it was unjust. The conception of eternal justice, therefore, varies not only with time and place, but also with the persons concerned" (Marx and Engles, 1951: 562).*

– Nietzsche (1994) conversely argues that 'justice' is part of the morality of the powerless and slaves, resulting as a resistive form of resentment to the oppression of the powerful.

  · The connection between justice and power is clarified radically in the work of Nietzsche (1994); it is, however, expressed in terms of capital, the power of military, and information in the Marxist definition.

  · The term 'co-operation' loses its meaning when one partner controls it; eventually, justice is defined by the powerful partner affecting by that the development of the spaces of the weaker partner.

  · Resources as capital, information and military power contribute largely in defining justice, whereby the differences in these resources between cross-border partners might be used to influence the decision-making on the development of the border space. This is observed in the Jordan Rift Valley, where the role of the Palestinians in the cross-border co-operation was marginalized through power relation and alliances.

– Modern utilitarianism by the end of the eighteenth century relates the principles of 'justice' to the measurement of consequences for the overall welfare of societies, as evident in the book with the same title by John Stuart Mill (1987). A 'just' constellation of rules and regulations in a social co-operation are those that bring about the best collective consequences for the welfare of the majority. Furthermore, utilitarianism shows the necessity of punishment as instrument that (1) affects the

choices of people to maximize the overall welfare of a society, (2) and makes unproductive people more productive through the threat of punishment and the rehabilitation of the punishment institutions (e.g. prisons and mental asylums), and, finally, (3) punishment limits the irredeemable effects of bad people over the overall welfare of the society. This definition of justice, which holds punishment as a main plank of the definition, is referred to as retributive justice. It is necessary to mention that one of the semantic meanings of 'justice' mentioned earlier includes 'punishment' as a benchmark of the definition.

· Utilitarianism does not satisfy the needs of all the members of the social co-operation; moreover, it ignores the influence of power relations (e.g. personal interests, capital and knowledge) within the society as in-between administration and people.

· However, the best collective welfare conception is an aim to be achieved in a cross-border co-operation. The functionality of utilitarianism suggests that the best collective welfare is exposed to impure sediments from the misdeeds of incompatible members of the social co-operation; therefore, it is necessary to have the punishment system as a regulatory framework. And, it is also necessary to think about a regulatory framework in a social co-operation that provides the best collective welfare.

· The system of punishment as a regulatory framework of justice can function within a state as a form of social co-operation, but there is no international punishment system which regulates the processes of cross-border co-operation between countries.

– One of the main critics of utilitarianism is Rawls (1971), who is a pioneer of the school of distributive justice. Rawls referred in his *A Theory of Justice*, published in 1971, to two basic aspects: (1) distribution of products, and (2) burdens in the social co-operation. Rawls (1971) tackles the issue of social and economic inequality through proposing a measurement for product arrangements aimed at achieving the greatest benefit to the least advantaged in the society. Moreover, the burdens of co-operation are based on the principle of equal opportunity, regardless of the value or amount of positions people have. Rawls explains the symbiotic relationship between a viable social co-operation and the existence of justice by deriving three main measures of similarities: co-ordination, efficiency, and stability. He argues that a viable social co-operation requires co-ordination between all individuals with their plans fitted together, leading efficiently towards social goals and ends, thus maintaining social stability through the existence of social forces which fight anarchy and instability. He goes on to say that without justice in social co-operation the three main measures of co-ordination, efficiency and stability would not exist, as the co-ordination between individual needs and anticipation is central and enforced, leading to a deviation from the social goals, which are in turn vague and non-universal. Consequently, the social forces clash and are destructive; consequently, instability, distrust and resentment corrode social ties and co-operation.

· Although Rawls' discussion of justice is confined to social co-operation in a state, his ideology of justice is more reflective to cross-border co-operation than other principles as it measure justice from a distributive. non-subjective angle, whereas the other principles of justice subjectively assign an ethical moral value which cannot be practically measured.

· Rawls' distributive definition of justice chimes with that of Aristotle, which is derived from '*pleonexia*', meaning, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (2006):

"covetousness, avarice or greed, derived from: gaining some advantage for oneself by seizing what belongs to another … or by denying a person that which is due to the person" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).

· Consequently, as with Rawls, Aristotle's definition tackles two main principles: the first is what belongs to a person, and the second principle is what is due to a

person. If applied to cross-border co-operation, there are two major issues to be highlighted: one is the distribution of spatial products, and the other is the burdens of co-operation.

1.3 Reflection on Justice

In this part, conclusions are drawn from the theoretical review of justice, connecting personal observation and research questions with justice and power.

– From observations of the Jordan Rift Valley Project, Rawls' measurements of distributive justice are evident in many cases:

· The burdens of co-operation in the Jordan Rift Valley are not proportionate, as the role of the Palestinian Authority as a major regional partner was rejected. Therefore, according to Rawls, this proves that the disproportionate burdens of co-operation in the Jordan Rift Valley Project are evidence of unjust cross-border co-operation.

· The allocation of impure-product such as the pollution and environmental hazards which result from the industrialization of the Jordan Valley only affect areas of the West Bank and Jordan due to the typographic and climatic factors, as explained earlier in the observations. Again, according to distributive justice, the misdistribution of spatial products, even in the case of impure-products, is a further evidence of unjust cross-border co-operation in the Jordan Rift Valley.

· The Jordan Rift Valley Project clutches the Israeli control over water as a critical resource in the region, making the Israeli Government the main distributor and manager of water to its regional partners. In this case, it is both the control of distribution and the unilateral burdens of co-operation that imply injustice.

· There are many other domains in the Jordan Rift Valley Project where injustice can be measured through Rawls' distributive justice. However, a one-case proof is enough in this case due to the fact that proving injustice in the Jordan Rift Valley is not the final goal of this research, but a means of reaching the *end product aim*, which is again to 'reach a just regional development in a cross-border co-operation within a case of imbalanced power relations'.

· Rawls contradicts himself in his definition of viable justice through the existence of the three main elements of co-ordination, efficiency, and stability. Because even if power prevails in a co-operation just like in the case of the Jordan Rift Valley, the Israeli-Jordanian co-operation, with unequal burdens of co-operation and unjust distribution of products, still has a degree of stability, co-ordination and efficiency.

· Rawls' distributive measures (distribution and burdens of co-operation) are taken as a main consideration in formulating the final model of this thesis. The other measures of efficiency, stability and co-ordination will not be considered in the way found in Rawls' arguments.

· The aim of Rawls' distributive theories of justice is to achieve the greatest benefit to the least advantaged in the society. This aim will be considered in the creation of the final model of this thesis.

– Most of the previously discussed theories of justice, especially 'authoritative justice', relate the definition of justice to power. For example, the divine command theory relates the creation of justice to God, as the ultimate power, whilst utilitarianism entitles the definition of justice to the most representative powerful groups to define what is just and unjust for the minor, smaller groups. Even Rawls' principles of justice are set to provide a collective formulation of justice in a society, including repressed small groups, as an empowerment against a unilaterally defined justice. Therefore, in the domain of power and justice, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- Justice is defined by power in planning for cross-border development. The Jordan Rift Valley Project, with its particularity of distribution and burdens of co-operation, provides proof of injustice. Negative influence of power provides control over the spatial distribution of cross-border co-operation products as well as controlling the degree of contribution in the burdens of co-operation.

- If justice is defined by the use of power (negative oppressive power), then the control and regulation of power (negative oppressive power) brings about more just cross-border development in terms of distribution of products and burdens of co-operation. Eventually, a cross-border co-operation aims at achieving more benefits to the least advantaged in the co-operation.

Finally, it is necessary as a next step to examine what constitutes power in cross-border co-operation and how the influence of power prevails. This step comes as a fulfilment of the second part of the research questions.

2. Power in Cross-border Development

If justice is a term that is defined commonly by power, then it is important to understand the types of power in cross-border cooperation and how does in influence the development of border spaces. This section is dedicated to uncover the concepts of power through a theoretical and semantic review. Moreover, power will be connected to distributive principles of justice in an attempt to discover methods to reduce the negative influence of power influence on distribution and burdens in cross-border co-operation in order to reach a more just development in border spaces.

The discussion of power is divided mainly into three major parts: (1) the semantic meaning of power, (2) power in theories, and (3) reflection on power in cross-border development. The investigation of power is dealt with according to the methodological mode in *Chapter Two, section (2.1): Theoretical Investigation.*

2.1   Semantic Meaning of Power

The semantic meaning of power, as found in the Oxford English Dictionary, ranges between three significant categories, despite the fact that the meaning of 'power' was obtained from different semantic formulations in different historical eras.
In the first category power means:

> *"Ability to do or effect something or anything, or to act upon a person" or "possession of control or command over others; dominion, rule; government, domination, sway, command; control, influence, authority" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

In the latter definitions, 'power' is an act of using one's position in order to change the actions of others who are in a less powerful position (e.g. as in the relationship between a father and his son or a teacher and his student, etc.). The hierarchy in the position of the powerful projects different types of consequences onto the less powerful, forcing the latter to act upon the wishes of the former (e.g. losing one's job, losing a raise, punishment, etc). This type of power relation preserves its conception as long as it does not act physically on the body of the less powerful subject.

The second set of meanings introduced by the Oxford English Dictionary is:

> *"A body of armed men; a fighting force, a host, an army; or different kinds of troops composing an army" or "a particular faculty of body or mind" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

In this set of meanings, 'power' is related to the capacity of the beholder, as in the power of the army (weaponry), the power of the body (e.g. muscles) or the power of capital, and so forth. This kind of power, when it is exerted, changes the attributes of things or people. For example, the power exerted by the hand muscles over a sponge, squeezing it and deforming its shape.

The last semantic meaning of power is:

> *"Ability to act or affect something strongly; ... mental strength; ... force of character; telling force, effect" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

In this definition, power is related more to a communicative feature, where language is a medium for changing the behaviour of other people. Communicated information affects the decision-making of people, depending on many features such as language, intonation and tone, character of people, intellectuality, etc. A good example is the stock exchange, where the prices of shares, as well as the buying and selling of shares, depend highly on communicated information about the status of a certain co-operation.

It is clear that these three categories of meanings do not necessarily give power only a negative meaning. On the contrary, power can be positive when it is used for example in:

– A hierarchal institutional structure in order to organize and manage the productive processes of these organizations. *(power relation as the first set of meanings)*

– Physical power, mechanical power, hydraulic power, etc. used in production, construction and other development processes. *(power as capacity as in the second set of meanings)*

– Communication and movement of information in contributing to a better well-being. *(communicative feature of power as in the last semantic meaning)*

Accordingly, the positive influence of power is a tool used in many daily processes to achieve better well-being and sustain the development of spaces. However, the positive influence of power is not the type of power that shaped injustice in the Jordan Rift Valley Project leading to the unjust distribution of development product as well as of the share in the burdens of co-operation. Negative influence of power is the type of power that is in question in this dissertation.

> *Subsequently, from this point onwards, 'power' is used in the sense of the 'negative influence of power'.*

According to the semantic meanings of power, the negative influence of power can exist in the three categories of definitions as explained before (power relation, power as capacity, and communicative aspect of power).

The three major semantic meanings of power will be applied to the findings from the theoretical review of power in the next section.

2.2 'Power' in Theories

In this section, power theories are reviewed and discussed with a brief reflection on the relevance of the theories to the theme and subject of the thesis. Moreover, the author's reflection connects the earlier findings from the review of justice with power, as well as projecting the analysis of power on to the observations as well as on to the research questions.

– Planning theories lack an independent theoretical foundation on the issue of the negative influence of power and its influence on spaces and the planning of these spaces. Planners like Oren Yiftachel (1998, 1995) and Paul Davidoff (1965)

contributed to pluralistic and colonial planning, where power is used to oppress the rights of minorities in developing their own spaces. John Forester (1988, 1989) focused on the role of planners in practice within the different settings of the planning environment and what it includes (e.g. different stakeholders, interests and power relations). Forester suggests strategies for planners in overcoming the prevalence of power in planning practice. The role of politics in the planning processes, and the influence of political decision-making over spaces, were tackled by several planners such as Altshuler (1965), Baum (1988) and Hartman (1978). Bent Flyvbjerg (1998), in his *Rationality and Power*, demonstrated all of the institutional and personal power relations and shifts in decision-making in the processes of designing, planning and implementing the Aalborg project.

- · Planning theories do not tackle the issue of power in its general context, as much as embarking on studying and researching certain aspects of power.

- · The author did not find any source that deals with the issue of 'planning, power and justice' or 'power in planning for cross-border development'.

- · In order to uncover the role of the negative influence of power in cross-border development, as observed in the Jordan Rift Valley Project, a review of the theories of power in philosophy and in the political and social sciences is conducted in the following text.

– In his book 16th-century book 'The Prince', Machiavelli (1961) demonstrates the power struggle that exists in any society and the use of the negative influence of power in various forms in order to maintain the stability of a reign and the position of a ruler (the prince). The work of Machiavelli was an inspiration and benchmark for many the post-modern theorists of power, such as Michael Foucault. Anthony Giddens (1987), as a contemporary social theorist, stressed again the role of the power mechanism in a modern state as a means to an end; likewise he related the use of power within different forms and levels to the actions of every member of the social co-operation. Giddens referred to the difference in knowledge and spatio-temporal particularities as main catalysts of power in a society. However, the analysis of power builds basically on Nietzsche's (1968) *The Will to Power*, where he stated:

> *"Do you want a name for this world? A solution for all its riddles? A light for you, too, you best-concealed, strongest, most intrepid, most midnightly men? ... This world is the will to power ... and nothing besides! And you yourselves are also this will to power ... and nothing besides" (Nietzsche, 1968: 550).*

– Nietzsche referred to the '*Will To Power*' of states as an institution with divided responsibilities, where all individual bear part of its power and eventually hold no responsibility of its behaviour. Nietzsche asserts that 'the will to power' is an instinct in human nature, where humans tend to dominate other humans.

- · Power is used in the processes of every kind of co-operation and exerted by individuals or groups.

- · Knowledge and the difference in the spatio-temporal particularities of spaces catalyze the use of power.

– In the political sciences, and likewise in the social sciences, many theories of power emerged either elaborating and endorsing existing ones or presenting a different argument in subordination to other views of power in a society. However, several are irrelevant in the context of analysing power in cross-border co-operation because most of them tend to define and redefine the meaning of power as in feminist theories of power.

> *For the purpose of this research, a methodological approach is needed for finding what 'power' is in planning for cross-border development.*

– Several modern and post-modern theories of power have surfaced since different systems of markets and governance emerged in different parts of the world with conflicting dogmas in between. One of the rational theories of power is 'game theory', which has its foundation in the theory of 'rational choice'. Game theory is used in many disciplines to analyse power relationships between actors, as explained in the one rational choice of the definition of power given by Dowding (1996) and Shapley, L. and Martin Shubik (1954). In game theory, actors as individuals or groups recognise the different choices and options for reaching a desired outcome, and from this estimate the costs of each choice. Power is defined in two interrelated concepts: (1) the power of outcome or the ability of bringing about outcomes, and (2) social power or the ability to change the incentive structure of other actors in order to bring about the desired outcomes. Game theory is ultimately derived from a value concept where there is a quantity to be divided among players. Power in game theory, as expressed earlier in 'social power', is based on bargaining over payoffs, which are realized by the winning coalition. However, according to Coleman (1986), the collective decision-making in a social co-operation cannot be tackled in the way this is done by game theory. Coleman argues that bargaining is not relevant in the cases of the provision of public goods or the issuing of new laws, for example, where the consequences to every member of a social co-operation are fixed exogenously. Finally, the structure of value in calculating benefits and costs in game theory is neutral to acts of threat, domination and control, which can eventually change the likely costs and benefits of different actions.

- It is not easy to estimate the costs and benefits of a cross-border development project such as the Jordan Rift Valley, where there is such an imprecise number of formal and informal actors involved in the game. Moreover, the capacities of each of the known and unknown actors are incalculable in many instances and in other instances cannot be abstracted into a universal value.

- If game theory is to be used in analysing power in cross-border development, the unequal flow of information, capacity, and knowledge makes it hard to predict the values of outcomes, or estimate the choices of players.

- Game theory does not recognize concretely the different implications of the different forms of power, which are described through the preceding semantic analysis of the meaning of power. For example, in the case of power relations, the ethical kinship relationship between two vendors from the same clan in the Middle East projects different values of benefits and costs in a business venture.

- It is therefore inefficient in the context of this research to use game theory to analyse power in a cross-border development between partners with imbalanced power relations.

– In Marxism, the definition of power is strongly connected to justice, as explained earlier. Furthermore, power originates from the notion of ownership and the control over production. Marx and his followers interpret power as a struggle to secure needed resources from nature; therefore, the production and marketing of economic goods are the major force that profoundly affects the structure of a society. Marx (1967, 1951) refers to 'labour' as the basic resource that is ultimately under perpetual struggle in the capitalist society, and it is in fact the main shaper of the socio-cultural system. The labour market defines the value of all goods and services within a capitalist society; eventually, the capitalist system tends to get more value out of labour with the least possible expenses and investment.

- Marxism highlights a significant link between market forces and society. If applied to planning for cross-border development, the global market and economic interests in the Middle East certainly have an influence on large-scale cross-border development projects in the region.

- The interest of the World Bank and the United States government in being chief partners in the Jordan Rift Valley Project reflects the existence of a great economic value in the Jordan Rift Valley as a space. Consequently, there is a kind of vision created by the global market about the approach to development

in the Jordan Rift Valley. Eventually, market forces play a major role (formally and informally) in sustaining and achieving its vision.

· However, the Marxist linkage between labour as a main resource for market forces and its key influence on the socio-cultural structure of the society cannot be applied to the special case of the Jordan Rift Valley Project.

– Another key post-modern school of thought that interpreted power in terms of communication is the Habermasian School, or the Frankfurt School. Habermas (1987b), in his theory of communicative action, goes back to law as a medium which gives the political structure its legitimacy. The communicative power is generated through the process of legitimate law-making through a convention of public opinion. When the system of law, which is ultimately recognized by all citizens, is set through a convention of public opinion, communicative power is generated between the public and the political institution through elections. Public opinion is embodied communicatively along with the political interest into laws and eventually into administrative power. This was explained later by Habermas (1994) :

> *"Informal public opinion-formation generates "influence"; influence is transformed into "communicative power" through the channels of political elections; and communicative power is again transformed into "administrative power" through legislation" (Habermas, 1994: 8)*

· Habermas does not suggest any system or method to analyse power in a co-operation; moreover he does not embark on the analysis and definition of power. Nevertheless, his theory of communicative power is a solution to combat the corrosiveness of power in all its shapes and forms through a model of communicative democracy.

· The Habermasian model of democracy, which generates communicative power, transformed into administrative power, is not applicable to cross-border development. First of all, international laws and regulations do not exist as an umbrella for cross-border development politics. The second reason is that there is no elected international body that acts on international law-making for cross-border co-operations generating communicative power with the international community. Cross-border co-operations between partners with imbalanced power relations are left to be shaped (formally and informally) by the partners themselves and by market forces.

· Communicative power and the model of democracy built by Habermas are more applicable in a closed-state system. Moreover, Habermasian communicative power can be made use of later within the formulation of the new conception of the cross-border space as a people-empowered space.

– The most important post-modern school of thought which theorized power in human activities is the Foucauldian School, derived from the works of Michael Foucault (2000, 1989, 1982, 1980, and 1979). Advocates of the Foucauldian School are philosophers like Lukes (1974), who suggested a three dimensional structure of power which evolves alongside Foucault's thoughts on power. Foucault's main notion of power is founded on his concept of 'technologies of power' in his *Discipline and Punish* 1979. Foucault differentiates between three types of relations, of which the power relation is one: (1) objective capacity, (2) power relations, and (3) relationships of communication. Selectively, the whole Foucauldian concept of power is based on power relations, as in the notion of 'acting upon other people's actions'.

· The institutionalization of power relations into government and public institutions is only one part of the relations that affect the processes of planning for cross-border development. Military power as well economic power plays a major role as a capacity for one partner over the other, as was observed, for example, in the Jordan Rift Valley Project. Moreover, information and knowledge are also essential media of communication, as explained by game

theory, as well as by Marxism when it applies market forces and the evaluation of benefits and risks.

· Foucault's separation of the three types of relations that have impact on decision-making is relevant to the semantic definitions of the meaning of power that were discussed earlier.

> *These relations (capacity, power relations and communication) will be referred to from now on in this thesis as the 'relationships of differences'.*

2.3 Reflection on Power

In this section, a summary of all the findings in the semantic meaning of power as well as the review of power in different theories is discussed in relation to the observations as well as to the research questions. The new connection between justice, power and the relationships of differences will be elaborated.

– In a cross-border co-operation between partners with wide-ranging relationships of differences, each partner has a personal vision regarding the outcomes and the benefits of co-operation. Accordingly, as stated in game theory, each partner works towards achieving his own vision by changing the partner's values of benefits and risk through bargaining. However, the estimation of costs and benefits, as observed in the Jordan Rift Valley Project, is hard to evaluate due to the hidden and complex structure of actors' relations and interests.

– The global market is a major player to be considered as part of the power relations in the cross-border co-operation.

– Justice is defined by power, as concluded earlier, and power relations are part of a greater definition, which is 'relationships of differences'.

– If related to the concept of 'relationships of differences', Israel is the powerful entity in the region

– The 'outcome' in the form of 'distribution' and 'bargaining', as part of Rawls' (1971) 'burdens of co-operation', is affected by the relationships of differences summed up by Foucault. Accordingly, in order to have a just cross-border co-operation and a just development of the cross-border space, it is necessary to understand two main issues as a new contribution to the research questions:

· What are the relationships of differences in a cross-border co-operation?

· How do relationships of differences prevail?

As a result, the questions regarding relationships of differences are investigated in the following sections.

3. Relationships of Differences

Due to the compatibility between the semantic definition of power and Foucault's methodology of differentiation between power relations, capacity and communication as parts of the relationships of differences, the relationships of differences are tackled through Foucault's power methodology. Therefore, the analysis of relationships of differences in this section is based on Foucault's writings and ideologies. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning here that Foucault did not target power in cross-border development and has never exemplified planning and development co-operations in general in his power discourse. Hence, the following text is exclusively the author's personal reflection of Foucauldian dogmas and power discourse in the context of cross-border co-operation.

Again, the relationships between actors, which define and construct a cross-border co-operation as regulations, design, plans, and implementation schemes, can be categorised into three main dominions according to Foucault: (1) objective capacity, (2) power relations, and (3) relationships of communication.

These three types of relations allow a great deal of space to one or more actors to use such differences directly or indirectly in order to achieve his personal benefits over the others'. Consequently, there is an urgent need to distinguish between these three types of relations, which are all frequently – common mistake – framed under the realm of power relations, yet they are different but somehow interlacing and dependent on each other.

Identifying such differences is a step towards understanding the medium of communication between actors and the setting of misusing such relationships to shift the goals of development towards the benefits of one or more actors. Accordingly, if distributive justice is to be achieved in planning for cross-border development, then it is important to limit the influence of the 'relationships of differences' on distribution and burdens of co-operation.

This section defines the three pillars of relationships of differences in reference to Foucault's methodology. Moreover, this section is a basis for the analysis of the relationships of differences in the setting of a cross-border co-operation.

Power Relations

The first form of relationship of differences is 'power relations', which according to Foucault:

> *"brings into play relations between individuals (or between groups) … if we speak of the power of laws, institutions, and ideologies, if we speak of structures or mechanisms of power, it is only insofar as we suppose that certain persons exercise power over others. The term "power" designates relationships between "partners" (and by that I am not thinking of a game with fixed rules but simply … of an ensemble of actions that induce others and follow from one another)" (Foucault, 2000: 337).*

This kind of relationship of differences is the most complicated one. It is hard to contain the plexus of power relations and frame within a cross-border co-operation, not to mention the difficulty of evaluating it. The complexity of power relations, as well as its hierarchy, is due to the large number of actors involved on different levels (directly and indirectly), as well as to the large number of institutions involved. The influence of these relations on planning for a cross-border development is immeasurable with no possibility of an overall regulatory system which can contain or control these relations.

Relationships of Communication

The second form of relationship of differences is the relationships of communication.

> *"Relationships of communication that transmit information by means of a language, a system of signs, or any other symbolic medium. No doubt, communicating is always a certain way of acting upon another person or persons. But the production and circulation of elements of meaning can have as their objective or as their consequence certain results in the realm of power; the latter are not simply an aspect of the former" (ibid: 337).*

Again, in a cross-border co-operation, the language of communication between partners is used in setting the treaties and the protocols, explaining the aims and objectives of each actor to one another. Moreover, the information or mis-information that is

provided by one or both partners is the basic knowledge upon which the processes of planning for cross-border development are based. Eventually, relationships of communication play a direct and indirect role in shaping the new characteristics of a border space. Intentional or ad hoc miss-information leads to building up knowledge over an inaccurate information base, which affects drastically the development of the border space. On the other hand, misformulation leads to an imbalance in the different regulatory frameworks which govern the relationship between the partners themselves and the space as well.

Objective Capacity

The third form of a relationship of differences is a most basic one, known as:

> *"objective capacity" or the power "which is exerted over things and gives the ability to modify, use, consume, destroy them – a power that stems from aptitudes directly inherent in the body or relayed by external instruments" (ibid: 337).*

In a cross-border co-operation, 'objective capacity can be analysed in two facets: (1) the operational ability facet, and (2) the negative ability facet.

The operational ability facet explains more the personal capacity and ability of partners in operationalizing the co-operation in terms of the effectiveness of the system of administration (e.g. institutional structure, finance schemes, management, etc.). Moreover, 'objective capacity' in the sense of operational ability refers to the cognition needed for planning for cross-border development (e.g. information, science, technology, etc.). The last meaning of the operational ability facet touches on the capacity of having an infrastructural base for implementing the anticipated plans and schemes.

The negative ability facet is the potential ability that implies an indirect or direct threat from the partner of higher capacity (e.g. military, technology, allies, etc.). The negative ability facet causes the formulation of a type of indirect 'power relations' between partners.

An imbalance in the 'objective capacity' between partners leads to an unequal role on the part of the less capable partner in the different processes of co-operation leading to a greater burden for the capable partner in the co-operation (meaning more weight in decision-making through the different processes of planning). Moreover, it would affect the decision-making on the form and outcomes of development, which is again unjust according to Rawls' distributive justice.

These three types of relationship of differences are domains which are not necessarily separated, but, as Foucault would fame it: *"overlap, intertwine and support one another reciprocally, and use each other mutually as means to an end" (ibid: 338).* The manner in which all these relationships interplay within a cross-border co-operation is diverse and heterogeneous with no typical standard. However, in certain locations and circumstances, the interplay between the three forms of relationships establishes itself in a specific form according to a particular model. An example is the educational system, where the three relationships of differences are regulated in a way which serves the existence and durability of the system in the form of 'control'. Foucault further explains this by discussing the educational institution as:

> *"The disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations that govern its internal life, the different activities that are organized there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another, each with his own function, his well-defined character - all these things constitute a block of capacity-communication-power. Activity to ensure learning and the acquisition of aptitude or types of behaviour works via a*

> *whole ensemble of regulated communication (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, codes, signs, obedience, differential marks, of the "value" of each person and the levels of knowledge) and by means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy)" (ibid: 339).*

Moreover, in some systems, the articulation of the three relationships can mainly accentuate and emphasise only one of the three relationships, for example *"power relations and obedience (as in those disciplines of a monastic or penitential type)" (ibid: 339)*. In other cases to 'objective capacity' or goal-directed activities as in, the disciplines of workshops or hospitals and some other cases are more oriented towards relationships of communication as in apprenticeship disciplines.

Furthermore, there are cases where the three are mixed together, such as in the military, where it is necessary for the existence of the three types of relationships to produce a certain number of technical effects.

Finally, these examples are just to clarify the idea of the different uses of a combination of these relationships within a certain co-operation or institution. Correspondingly, actors can become more and more disciplined within time in an institution or a co-operation not because they become more obedient to power and to the system, but due to the fact that control is being performed more intelligently in political and economic processes, in social reforms, as well as in the creation of spaces. This control is rejuvenated through using different models and combinations of the three previously mentioned forms of relationships: power relations, objective capacity, and relationships of communication.

4. Summary

Justice is a term which is always in dispute. The definition of justice varies according to the time and the spaces in which it is debated; moreover, according to the group or individuals who define it. Thus measuring justice is a difficult task due to the various definitions, which produce different social and juridical regulations. However, distributive justice provides two measures regardless of the spatio-temporal definitions of justice: (1) distribution and (2) burdens of co-operation. The two measures helped in ratifying the author's observations on the Jordan Rift Valley Project, and thus supported the notion of the evident connection between the negative influence of power and justice.

Power can have several forms, positive as in the meaning of empowerment and negative as in domination and control. From the observations and the definition of justice, 'negative influence of power' is the form of power that makes shift in the definition of justice toward the benefits of a group or individual.

Power is looked upon differently by many philosophers and theories. However, and through the theoretical investigation of the meaning of power, the author has concluded that power is part of a larger domain of influence over justice, which was referred to by the author as 'relationships of differences'. By crossing the semantic meaning of power with the work of Michael Foucault, relationships of differences are clearly defined in three main relations: (1) power relations, (2) relationships of communication, and (3) objective capacity.

Consequently, two new research questions are added to the previous research questions through the discussion of the relationships of differences:

- What are the relationships of differences in a cross-border co-operation?
- How do relationships of differences prevail?

Finally, after uncovering the relations between justice and relationships of differences, the next chapter will examine the relationships of differences in cross-border co-operation and their influence on cross-border justice.

Cross-Border Differences

The battle of Jericho, by *Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld*, copied
from *Das Buch der Bücher in Bilden*.
Source: World Mission Collection, 1997.

Chapter Four

Cross-border Differences
'Impediments of differences'

"We must distinguish between ... those who to achieve their purpose can force the issue and those who must use persuasion. In the second case, they always come to grief"
Niccolò Machiavelli

U ntil this point, differences have been proved to be a major generator for shifts in the definition of justice through the three relations: the power relation, relationship of communication, and objective capacity. The more wide-ranging are the differences, the more chance that distributive justice is altered towards the benefits of the resourceful.

This chapter elaborates on the theoretical discussion of justice, power and relationships of differences in two ways: (1) analysing relationships of differences in a cross-border co-operation, and (2) discussing the implications of differences between cross-border partners. This chapter forms a link to the main research question: *How can we reach a just regional development in a cross-border co-operation within a case of imbalanced power relations?* Understanding the relationships of differences between cross-border co-operation partners is the last step towards the final product of this dissertation, which is in the form of a model for just and equitable cross-border development and co-operation.

1. Cross-border Relationships of Differences

This section analyses the three forms of 'relationships of differences' in a cross-border co-operation context; in doing so it answers the newly arrived at research question: *What are the relationships of differences in a cross-border co-operation?*

1.1   Power Relations

Three different levels of power relations are defined in this part: (1) global, (2) national and (3) local (meaning the border-space level). Moreover, by defining possible actors, the discussion in this part takes a more practicable route, envisaging the possible influence of different actors through power relations over planning for cross-border development.

It is radically idealistic and abstract to discuss or talk about any type of co-operation while ignoring the realm of power relations. 'Power relations' is a mode of action which acts upon others' present or future actions. It is a mode of action that possesses no form of violence or physical hostility against the others. According to Foucault (2000), it is a mode of action which governs and structures the possible fields of action of the others.

> *"Power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not a supplementary structure over and above "society" whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of" (Foucault, 2000: 343).*

Accordingly, being part of society (social co-operation) or other kinds of co-operations means implies the possibility that one actor is acting on the actions of others, or that one's actions are acted upon by others.

Consequently, in order to study power relations within a co-operation, one should refer back to the historical processes from which they have been generated, and the sources of the strengths and weaknesses of such power actions, and similarly to the conditions that enforce their strength or deplete their control.

In his thorough discussion of power relations, Foucault brings again into play several considerations that are needed in the study of power relations within a certain co-operation. These considerations were elaborated at several points in the discussion of power relations.

– The first issue is the difference in inherited systems between partners which are put into play as conditions and results for power relations. Examples of such inherited systems are:

> *"juridical and traditional differences of status or privilege; economic differences in the appropriation of wealth and goods, differing positions in the process of production, semantics and cultural differences, difference in know-how and competence, and so forth" (ibid: 344).*

– The second concern is the differences generated from the types of objectives each partner possesses. In other words, the main motives behind which power is exerted to influence the actions of others, such as:

> *"Maintenance of privileges, accumulation of profits, the exercise of stationary authority, the exercise of a function or a trade" (ibid: 344).*

– The third concern is the instruments and channels through which power is diverted to achieve an act over the actions of others. Foucault gives example regarding this issue as in the:

> *"threat of arms, by effects of speech, through economic disparities, by more or less complex means of control, by systems of surveillance, with or without archives, by rules, explicit or not fixed or modifiable, with or without the material means of enforcement" (ibid: 344).*

– The fourth issue is the type of institutions which host the actors, where the exertion of power can take place. Foucault gives several examples, such as the family as an institution that accommodates a complex of traditional conditions, regulatory structure, habits and fashion as well as 'scholastic and military institutions', which are considered as closed systems, with their special regulatory structure, specific hierarchal system, and relative autonomy.

> *"They can also form very complex systems endowed with multiple apparatuses, as in the case of the state, whose function is the taking of everything under its wings, to be the global overseer, the principle of regulation and, to a certain extent also, the distributor of all power relations in a given social ensemble" (ibid: 344).*

– The final consideration is the degree of rationalization used by actors in order to ensure the effectiveness of the instruments used to exert power and the certainties of their results. Accordingly, "power" is adjusted into processes that are more or less elaborated, refined, transformed and re-organized to suit the current situation. Various costs are expended to ensure the effectiveness of the power, such as economic costs, technological refinements and so forth.

After taking all five considerations into account in the following analysis, it is worth starting by differentiating between three main interlacing levels of power structures within a cross-border development space: (1) global, (2) national, and (3) local (border-space level).

In order to clarify each level, the discussion is generally structured by defining the actors on each level and their connection with other actors and groups in other levels, likewise their assumed aims and goals from cross-border development in the border space.

Abstraction in the categorization of actors, as in the sense discussed in *Chapter Two*, is used in order to ease the understanding of the complexity of the power structure in a cross-border context.

Abstraction does not imply that each of these actors works alone to achieve his aims, because aims can be mutual to several actors on several levels, and consequently power can be exerted by several actors through several channels in order to reach an individual or allied aim. On the other hand, power can also be exerted through actors who have no direct interest in the cross-border development. However, such actors gain incentives through exerting a form of power to change the course of development in the border space, and in so doing gaining incentives from different actors who have a direct interest in the development in the border space but, nevertheless, have no direct power tools to achieve their aims. The plexus of actors' relationships is complex and multileveled and these are never exerted unilaterally on one level; however, power manifesto could be more direct and evident in certain levels and through certain actors where tangible measures in the form of pressure can be observed through dialogue and negotiations.

To know exactly why an actor holds a certain amount of power, one should analyze three related factors: structural, organizational and individual.

–   Structural: actors from a recently growing sector have more power (patronage and subsidies) than those representing a declining one (budget cuts), as the financial and ideological investment in a growing sector is rewarding and more committed to spatial development than in a declining one.

–   Organizational: the sovereignty of an actor within an organizational structure is important for defining the amount of power the actor possesses, especially when it comes to decisions regarding budgetary and financial formulations. It also reflects the amount of arguments others would have for their demands. The more sovereign and independent the actor is, and the less interference there is in the formation of the actor's budgetary and financial policies, the more powerful the actor's claims are.

–   Individual or personal: meaning the amount of involvement needed on the part of the actor in the development project. In other words, how much is the actor required as a service provider within the project. For example, if the major load of a project rests upon enhancing the public transportation system (buses), then the bus company acquires a high level of power in placing demands and getting involved in decision-making regarding the project. Moreover, the actors, public prestige and visibility are extra assets of power, where the public support of the actor's ideologies is another source of power. Finally, the personal relationship between actors is a leverage in itself, as explained by Flyvbjerg (1998).

Consequently, the border space contains several actors in a state of competition to achieve their own spatial expectations. These actors, in turn, are connected with other actors on different levels within different power relations and structures. Subsequently, a state of competition exists between local actors on both sides of the border space, each trying to exert power in different channels to fulfil his/her/their aims and expectations as well as to gain benefit. Thus, within the following discussion, the latter assumption always provides the backdrop of the discussion, especially in the discussion of the national and local levels.
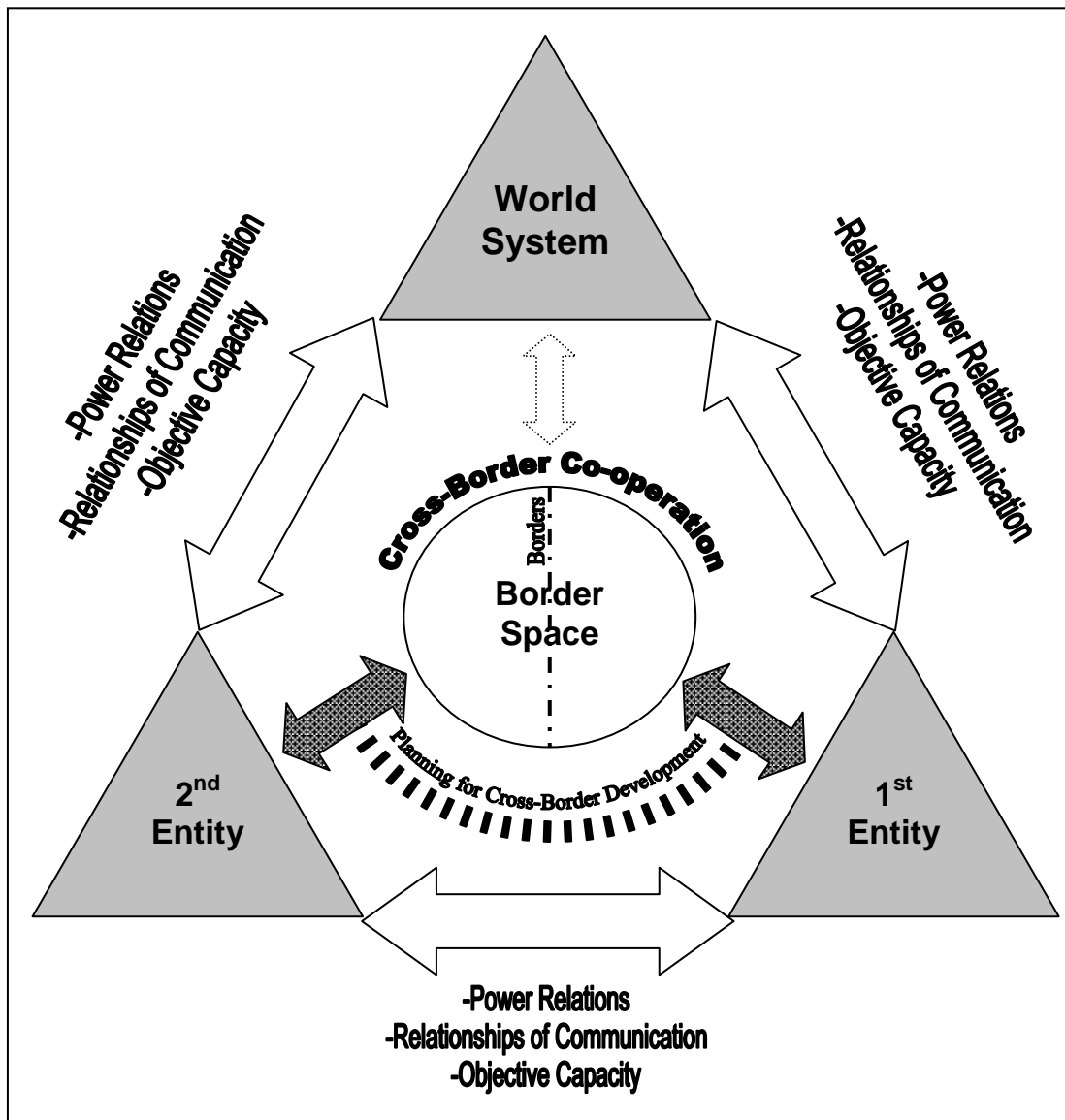
Figure 4.1: Power relations in cross-border co-operation (Anani, 2006)

Figure (4.1) shows an abstract chart of the power relations within the different levels of actors in a cross-border co-operation. The three basic pillars of the chart are the world system and its relations to the two co-operating entities. The border space where development is supposed to take place is symbolised by a circle as the heart of the cross-border cooperation, and likewise as the place where all the levels of interests lie. The arrows represent the relationships of differences between the entities and the world system, comprising: power relation, objective capacity and relationships of communication. The chart also shows (directly and indirectly) the way relationships of differences affect planning for development in the border space.

Accordingly, each level is to be explained in terms of possible actors within the level as well as their aims and possible relations with other actors and the common border space.

Global level

It is important at the beginning to state that it is not the mandate of the thesis to drift to a thorough discussion and analysis of globalization and its complex specificities as much as pointing out the potential global influence on cross-border development.

Due to the global progression of economy, politics, and the production of technology, telecommunications, information technology and transport, the concepts of space and time have changed, eliminating geographical and political borders. The newly defined notions of space and time enable people to communicate and transact more quickly, more easily, and more efficiently. The global perception of the dimensional property of space has been altered, as has been described by Schivelbusch (1978) as 'a collapse in space and time'.

> *"The elementary concepts of time and space have begun to vacillate. Space is killed by the railways. I feel as if the mountains and forests of all countries were advancing on Paris. Even now, I can smell the German linden trees; the North Sea's breakers are rolling against my door" (Schivelbusch, 1978: 34).*

The global interlacing networks of interactions have influenced the independency of political spaces in such a manner that instabilities and insecurity in one space interrupt the flow of transactions in other spaces, and consequently influence the anticipated socio-economic potentials and benefits. Transnational language (e.g. transactions) on all its levels is merging with evolutional and more complicated grammatical and terminological structures.

The interest of global trade sees no borders. Thereafter, the establishment of new markets and the exploitation of new resources are planned transnationally by setting the necessary transborder and interregional political, economic and social infrastructures in the form of cross-border and transnational projects and development. Therefore, national policies cannot escape global influence; on the contrary, the political entities are adapting to globalization as a notion by accustoming internal policies (through policy reforms) to the new global trends.

The global interests range from exploiting natural resources, establishing new markets and regional trade infrastructure, to strategic political and social coalitions and reforms. In addition, the global environmental concern is a factor that is constructed in a set of specifications in the international accords and agreements affecting the course of cross-border development. Such international accords and agreements are mostly imposed by international institutions such as the UN. In addition, global agreements and treaties are basic prerequisites to cross-border protocols, in terms of plans and setting of proposals as well as implementation.

Another important global factor which is a major global concern nowadays and has been strongly emphasized since the 11th of September 2001 and incorporated into development issues is 'security'; it is seen as a basic need to sustain development and maintain the processes of world trade. As formulated by Wallerstein (1976), the European transnational security concept is anticipated in its Northern African and Middle East security belt, which is anticipated to maintain the political and economic stability of the EU. This belt is expected to prevent unwanted migration and provide the necessary armour against potential terrorist flows to the EU community. The countries within the belt are to have a certain level of political and social stability through the assistance and investments of the EU. However, the mass of investment and economic aid is not at all intended to create economic rivals in the belt areas as much as the minimum level of economic development, which could guarantee the social and political stability of the belt.

The global influence on the shift in decision-making in cross-border development is a process which unfolds with different facets, either through trade protocols between the political entities or directly through the sponsors and the major donors to cross-border development, such as USAid, the World Bank, the UNDP or other donors. In these cases, the capital-supported-development aims at meeting the basic political and economic interests of donors and endeavours to direct cross-border development towards specific spatial results.

On the global level, actors can be classified into several groups, as shown in *figure (4.1)*: (1) governments which have formal and informal contacts with both of the cross-border partner states, as well as indirect relations with private institutions within the participating entities. Another active actor is the (2) international organizations in several forms (e.g. financial, political, environmental, religious, humanitarian, social, etc.). Finally, one of the influential networks of actors and interests is the (3) global market plexus with its complex networks of governments, institutions and individuals at all levels. These actors, with their potential roles in cross-border co-operation and development, are discussed in the following bullet points:

– Governments: governments are connected to cross-border partner entities directly through diplomatic relations. However, governments can also be in contact with different political groups and factions within the same entity as well as powerful institutions and individuals through indirect and informal relations.

   For political or economic reasons, these governments have specific interests in the entity and tend to empower certain groups and individuals to sustain their interests. Nevertheless, this is not a general norm. The main channel through which governments negotiate with other governments is diplomacy and the diplomatic body of embassies, representatives, convoys, economic liaison and so forth.

   The interests of other governments in a cross-border development could display one or multiple facets, for example:

   · To enforce political alliances within one of the cross-border entities by strengthening some political or social groups. If these groups exist in the border space, then these governments have a political interest in the cross-border space.

   · To support one of the partner entities as an ally by exerting certain powers over the other entity due to the reciprocal political and/or economic affiliations.

   Another form of global political interest takes the form of intentional political conventions over certain lines of policies (e.g. measures for security, terrorism, drug traffic). The final outcomes of these conventions are directed towards a group or individual countries, forcing governments to abide by certain reforms and changes in their political and economic dealings.

   Another form of international governmental interest in a cross-border co-operation can take the form of giving certain incentives for a co-operation project in return for political or economic reforms.

   Furthermore, there is certainly an economic interest on the part of governments, especially of neighbouring countries, in the cross-border development as a potential new market for certain products, investments, industries, as well as infrastructure and the provision of services. Therefore, power is exerted by such governments through different means and mechanisms to influence and change the course of development in the border space towards a higher potential economic opportunity for these governments.

– International organizations: international organizations, on the other hand, produce international legislation and treaties which governments collectively sign up to, thus affecting many spatial practices in terms of regulations and processes as well as outputs.

Such organizations can vary in terms of the domain of concern.

- More politically oriented, such as some fractions of the UN (e.g. the Security Council).

- Defence and military oriented, such as NATO.

- Trade and economy oriented, such as the World Trade Organization, which is based on economic treaties and trade agreements.

- Humanitarian aid and environmental concerns, such as other fractions of the UN.

What makes such organizations effective and influential is the signed agreements which govern different sectoral behaviours of governments through reform in sectoral regulations and policies. On the other hand, there are always promised incentives for governments to sign in order to take part in such agreements. Accordingly, being part of certain international organizations or treaties gives more power to governments in the form of acquiring alliances through signing these treaties.

The international organizations take several coalition forms, for example, some of these are geographically formed, such as the European Commission, or the Asian Productivity Organization, and some are based on mutual resources, such as OPEC. NATO is based on a strategic military alliance, while the United Nations is a global international organization which covers diverse sectoral issues. A number of these international coalitions also exist between core and peripheral countries, such as many of the EU co-operation programmes, as well as the Commonwealth.

It is so important to be aware of the web of interlaced relations or power in the form of binding treaties and alliances, which, if plotted on paper showing all governments relations, pointing out alliances and adversaries, displays the complexity of the plexus of global power relations and their influence on national, regional and even local spaces.

– Global market: trade interests are historically deeply rooted in the formation of governments in a direct and indirect manner. Such a relationship between entrepreneurship, symbolizing 'commerce and industry', and the political body in terms of the plexus of relationships that defines the development of spaces can be traced back to historical roots in several cultures. Flybjerg (1998) explains this based on the development of city councils in the 'trading towns' of Denmark after King Erik of Pommerania's[9] decree in 1422. City councils were mainly composed of merchants and prominent personalities, who contributed to the decision-making regarding the development of the city.

> *"it was certainly very exceptional that anyone other than merchants, in addition to, possibly, brewers, goldsmiths, tanners, and others carrying out more reputable mercantile occupations, could obtain seats in the magistrate" (Flyvbjerg,1989: 88).*

Therefore, and as was explained earlier in the points about the global influence of *Governments* and *International Institutions*, the global market works on the same line alongside with governments and international institution within a plexus of interests and relations of alliances and adversaries.

The influence of the market, information (including media) and technology is a crucial factor in defining power relations between countries on the basis of demand and needs. The geographical location of spaces and the role of these spaces in the flow of money and information determines the pace and direction of development of such spaces. A hypothetical example is the way in which the closure of a main OPEL car factory in the Ruhr-Gebiet in Germany can dramatically affect the stock

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[9] Danish king Erik of Pommerania was elected the king of Sweden, Norway as well as Denmark. He established the Kalmar union of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, this caused his downfall between 1437-1439. Source: World History at KLMA: http://www.zum.de/whkmla/. Viewed on 12.05.2006.

market in New York, causing the bankruptcy of other companies in Tokyo, which were highly damaged by the depression in the stock prices. While an investor in Qatar got early-warning information and managed to sell all his shares before the depression occurred and escaped with some gains.

The costs of production and distribution influence the deterioration of industries, on the one hand, and the rise of new industrial locations that provide access to bigger markets, lower production costs and minimize the costs of transportation and distribution. The ability of spaces to engage within the global market depends vitally on their resources, production and capacities, not only in financial and infrastructural domains but also in scientific, institutional, and administrative realms.

– Finally, the potential economic rewards that are generated by cross-border development projects are a significant attraction to investors whether they be individuals, organizations, governments or alliances. These actors have diverse views on the course of development and the form of cross-border projects in the common border space which would bring about their anticipated incentives. Their norms, preconditions and influence on the course of development are very considerable, mainly through the state mechanisms or other involved organizations and actors.

National level

The actors on the national level are connected in fact in several dimensions to other actors on the local and global levels. Possible influential actors on the national level can be categorized as follows: (1) the state with all its institutions, regulations, managerial and executive systems; (2) the wide spectrum of civil society organizations, such as the NGOs, educational, scientific institutions and other organizations, media and the national society of information exchange, such as newspapers, T.V. stations, journals and other media which effect public opinion; finally, (3) the private sector, with its investments, and networks of institutions and individuals who are also connected to global actors. The private sector can convey to a certain extent the aims and agendas of other global actors.

– The state: the state is the main national actor, with its system of governance, and its juridical, executive and administrative apparatus, the state controls the mechanism of the society and the different processes that take place within the national space. The state –hypothetically- aims at facilitating and producing collective goods and services for the majority of people living within its borders. The state is the main source of control and influence over a cross-border co-operation.

A big share of the global power is infiltrated through the government through negotiation and diplomacy and transformed through the different juridical, administrative (including financial) and executive bodies and apparatus. These forces particularly influence the form of cross-border development.

These forces take several forms:

· Formal: in the form of documents, regulations, permits and direct official requests and demands.

· Informal: in the shape of direct individual confrontation and negotiations.

· However, the power that can be exerted by the government can follow other routes through other actors, such as related or indirect agreements with the private sector, media or influential individual actors.

· The type of governance – whether centralized or decentralized – affects the balance of power between governmental bodies on different levels. Decentralization, for example, gives more power to local bodies, thus reducing the power of the central administration. However, the state in both cases plays a

major role within planning for cross-border development, while cross-border development is considered as a national issue touching many vital national concerns (e.g. national security, borders, national resources, large-scale investments, economic benefits, regional politics, etc.) especially to the administrations of peripheral countries.

· Moreover, a large-scale cross-border development affects so many national and local processes; thus it changes considerably and breaks the rhythm of various national processes over which the state is used to controlling and governing.

– Civil society: civil society, on the other hand, as a representation of several social and national groups with different sectoral concerns, influences the course of spatial development in different mechanisms, again both formal and informal.

The concern of the civil-society institutions is different to that of the state or the private sector, as the civil society, in abstract terms, expresses wide-ranging popular needs and expressions.

Some of the direct power mechanisms are exerted by civil-society institutions through negotiations, complaints to the state and the private sector using popular support, and self-influence as a power relation, as well as support from other actors and groups on global and national levels.

The active or non-active role of civil society also influences the course of the regulatory system in the form of legislation and regulation as well as the governance of the state, and consequently the conditions within which spatial development projects are established.

Civil-society organizations at the national level can belong to a network of international institutions operating in a specific domain, representing the dogmas, needs and expectations of these international networks of organizations within a country, consequently privileged with more influence than those of local civil organizations.

– Media: media can be viewed through different lenses: on one hand, (1) as an instrument of power provoking public opinion and magnifying the focus on certain issues including spatial development. On the other hand, (2) media can be seen as a producer and provider of public goods in the form of information and misinformation.

Media as provider of public goods:

· Media as a flow and construction of institutionalized information can be influenced by actors who have the power over the regulatory framework of media apparatus such as the state. Alternatively, this can also be influenced by financial resources, such as major shareholders and investors in media institutions.

· Media is after all a producer of a public good that is purchased by customers, which is also affected by market forces in the same way as any other market products. Media companies can be bought and sold like factories (nationally or internationally), they can be closed down or re-established, they can maintain a big chain in other spaces, and they can be owned by several owners (shareholders).

· Media can also be influenced through the quality of being notoriously able to influence public opinion as individuals or groups.

Media as an institution:

· Media is managed and administered by people who are connected through networks of interest with other people. A certain political or social system of beliefs could in turn be another adopted regulatory framework upon which the information construction of media institutions is based. An example on this is a newspaper for left-wing political parties or TV stations owned by a right-wing

faction. Therefore, media can also take sides within a conflict or disagreement supporting the systems of beliefs of administration or owners.

·   Media is, therefore, a medium of information exchange which has a huge influence on public, private and governmental sectors, thus stimulating through the construction of information a form of resistance or support on diverse levels, influencing drastically by that decision-making.

·   How media is viewed and used in a cross-border co-operation is very important as a tool of support or, on the other hand, as opposition to engaged actors. A particular reflection on media and the act of publishing information and its influence on several groups can be viewed as follows:

·   People living in the border space.

·   Public opinion in the two partner states.

·   Regional and international view of the cross-border co-operation (world economy and politics).

·   Media generates the mechanism of public support and opposition by using the right information processed to match the popular language (terminology). Such self-expression is important to recruit support and can be an act of change in the course and processes of cross-border development.

·   In the case of unequal power relationships, the mechanisms of self-expression through media that the two partners possess are particularly different and unequal. Therefore, this is a major asset for the powerful partner who can generate public and international pressure. Media in this case aids the powerful with public (national and international) support to his view of the course of cross-border development.

–   Private Sector: the private sector on the national level is again connected to the global market system with its investors, shareholders, financial resources, production and consumption, assuming a non-dictatorship government with connections and relations to the global context. The private sector maintains a direct connection to cross-border development by financing, producing, owning through buying, marketing, and providing services. The private sector's actors aim at gaining benefits from providing certain functional actions up to a certain quality, which brings maximum gain.

The direct opportunities that the private sector might foresee in a border space range from the opportunities of markets for certain products or services, a chance of allocating new chains for an organization or an institution within the border space.

Moreover, a change in the existing plans and development of the border space could bring about incentives to factions of the private sector; therefore, networks of alliances (national and international) and tools of power on decision-making can be established and used to achieve the desired changes and bring about the anticipated benefits. For example, a national or international bank which holds all the deposits of the government's pension funds could appeal to the government by increasing the interest rate paid on the money by a small percentage in return for a certain role within the cross-border development project.

Finally, the network of interest and co-ordination between the national private sector and the global power relations can lead to other types of global influence as a different channel used to achieve private aims and goals.

Local level (border-space level)

The group of actors at the local level or border space who take part in the networks of power relations can be divided essentially into several groups of actors.

–   Regional governorates: one of the major actors is the regional governorates that preside over parts of the common border space with direct connections to the

national administration. The role and independency of the regional governorates from regulations and sectoral policies in forming their regional structure of spatial development depends largely on the form of governance (centralized or decentralized) and the institutional structure of the planning agency and its interdependencies.

Several power relations are exerted through the regional administration, mainly through the national government, regional political environment, regional economy as well as through other actors (e.g. investors, media, civil society, etc.). The power relations on the regional level are a microcosm of those at the national level.

– Local administration: another important actor is the local administrations within the different partner regions or districts, such as municipalities and local communities. Like the regional governments, the contribution of local administrations to the arrangement and development of their local spaces (border space in this case) depends entirely on the national system of governance as well as on the structure of the planning agency.

– Other actors: the border space might also contain groups of people or individuals who possess power through popular kinship in some cases, or through religious or cultic influence in other cases. Moreover, big proprietors and rich families also have significant local power which is calculable in power relations in the common space border.

Other possible dominant groups or individuals could also have a more shady status, such as gangsters, drug dealers and so forth.

Some spaces with special regulatory disciplinary features, which can be found in some parts of the common border space, have influence over spatial decision-making in reference to the private security norms and particular regulatory systems, for example private military zones, airports etc.

Furthermore, dominant actors such as the police or a strong cluster of a certain political faction in some areas could also be significant actors in defining certain issues about the development of spaces. For example, as in the case of the Aalborg project described by Flyvbjerg (1998), the interest of the Social Democrats and the trade unions was focused largely on raising the social welfare of people through the development projects, while the conservatives preferred to influence the local material conditions for production and commerce.

– Finally, active local civil society organizations and local private sectors are effectively considered to be strong actors in the development of spaces.

Cross-border development is a huge advantage to regions and their localities which belong territorially to the border space which is to undertake cross-border development projects. Investments, production, taxes, competence and higher welfare standards are among the incentives that regional governorates as well as local administrations look forward to sustaining over the long term. The type of governance as well as the relationship between regional governments and localities with central state administration determine the range of independency of regional governments and local administrations in making their own decisions about their spaces within the cross-border co-operation.

Reflections

It is not easy to reflect on the analysis of power relations on the Jordan Rift Valley Project due to: (1) the limited information available about the contents of treaties and accords signed between Israel and Jordan (maybe the Palestinians); (2) the minutes of committee meetings and (3) all the under table economic and political communication. However, from personal observation the alliance between the United States and Israel

is one power card with all its economic and political implications. Furthermore, the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, which assumed an annual financial contribution from the United States to Jordan, is another powerful card in the hands of the United States.

Finally, the final product of this thesis should minimise the state forces on the border space, towards more effective fulfilment of the needs and expectations of the border-space inhabitants. The state, as discussed earlier, is a medium for other global and national power relations that infiltrates through the institutional and regulatory structure of the state. Decentralization of the state power minimises the influence of these power structures on the border space.

1.2   Relationships of Communication

Communication and the method by which information flows between partners significantly influence the leverage of power between partners in a direct or ad hoc manner. In this section, the discussion is divided into three main sections: (1) language as a medium of communication; (2) language as information; and finally (3) participation as a means of communicating information and defining roles in cross-border co-operation.

Language

To discuss another dimension of differences, Sapir (1949) argues that no two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. Language and social processes are embedded in each other; moreover, both develop simultaneously to represent the change and the newborn interactions in a space.

The spatial expectations and needs of inhabitants and actors, along with their beliefs, shape the construction of the language used within a certain space, as argued by Harvey (1973). Furthermore, social problems, the standard of living, along with the common collective activities within a space, affect the tendency to use certain verbs, nouns and adjectives in the common speech. The power of verbs, nouns and adjectives varies from one space to the other depending on the relevance of such a language construction to the spatial processes.

In his investigation of power in the Aalborg project, Flyvbjerg (1998) realised how the language of protocols and minutes that aims at an idealistic formalization of 'just' scientifically based spatial plans and decisions is only written material. These papers sometimes do not stand as a rationally strong front in the face of power relations.

> *"The written and spoken language that we used is structured by idealism, while reality and our actions as human beings are manipulated by power" (Flyvbjerg,1998: 8).*

The other side of the coin is that when language is used in protocols between cross-border partners, it clarifies exactly the real intentions, motives and needs of participants. For example, the word 'criteria' in its literal meaning can be reframed in a different set of alternative synonyms, however with a slight difference between all of them. Synonyms can vary, replacing the word 'criteria' with 'preferences', 'demands', 'obligations', 'alternatives' or so forth. Each one of the words suggested holds a different amount of power and a different intension regarding the practical implementation of the literal meaning. 'Preferences', for example, suggests something which one can consider but must not abide by, while 'alternatives' presents a weaker meaning of power, suggesting other possible arrangements but can be nonbinding

'Obligations', on the other hand, gives the meaning that one is forced somehow to do something as a matter of duty or confining processes, whether one agrees or not, while 'demands' means a set of arrangements dictated to be applied with critical consequences if not fulfilled.

Within the formulation of official documentations in the different processes of cross-border development between the parties, the grammatical formulations and synonyms used in texts can manipulate the course of development with determinate spatial effects.

An example is the Oslo Interim Agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, which held several linguistic formulations with a special order of conditional arrangements. According to Said (2000) and Christison (1999), the Oslo Interim Agreements as rules and accords in the form of officially signed documents led in the end to several disputes in the implementation phase some few years later due to the different understanding of the written paragraphs of the agreement. Such sensitive issues tend to occur intentionally or in an ad hoc manner, forming an ideal environment for rationalizing facts by the powerful entity.

It is worth focusing here on the meaning of 'rationalize' as a verb, which holds a total different, yet negative meaning than 'rational'. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2006), rationalizing means:

> *"the justification of behaviour to make it appear rational or socially acceptable by ignoring, concealing, or glossing its real motive; an act of making such a justification" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

Consequently, power relations through means of communication such as the protocols and agreements can be a source of transforming rational facts into rationalized facts, which suits the aims of the powerful.

Information and Misinformation

This section will not attempt to go into details on the issues of how the cross-border partners function individually, their negotiation strategies and internal norms, since this is per se dependant on singular experiences and on the particularity of a case. Instead, more concentration is placed on information as the main imbalance which affects the way groups act within the group's own structure of individuals and representatives. Moreover, this part discusses how groups use power through misinformation as a strategy to achieve their personal benefits and aims.

Again, Flyvbjerg reflects on the notion of combining power relations with relationships of communication as a strategy used by the powerful:

> *"power may very well see knowledge as an obstacle to the change power wants"* and *"in modern societies the ability to facilitate or suppress knowledge is in large part what makes one party more powerful than another" (Flyvbjerg, 1989: 36).*

The basic structure of communication is to pass information, and such information determines the form of understanding, agreement or disagreement between partners. Accordingly, the role that information can play in planning for cross-border development is clarified in the following:

– Information is a main factor in shifting the balance of power towards the interests of those who possess it or who can process it and (re)use it at the right time against (or alongside) the right people.

– Information is a main factor that influences drastically decision-making processes in cross-border co-operation.

– Information defines the understanding of different actors of the characteristics of the space and the dimension of its existing potentials and problems.

Hence, lopsided information, misinformation and incomplete information that decision-makers might encounter through the planning process surfaces in different shapes and forms, and such misinformation can be either systematic or ad hoc, instigating in some cases inevitable or unnecessary distortions. The problem of such negative information, in all its forms, is that it is used eventually as a basis for constructing other information and formulating decisions that influence the development of spaces.

Subsequently, the following discussion will target systematic and structural distortions of information which have a more solid impact on the planning and development processes of the common border space.

Systematic misinformation in cross-border development is divided into three categories:

– The first form is a complete set of hidden or 'unrevealed information', which aims at hiding facts with the intention of distorting the process of decision-making regarding a space.

– The second form of misinformation is partially unrevealed or 'selectively revealed information', which aims at directing and leading the process of analysis and decision-making regarding a specific spatial issue towards certain desired results, benefiting the interests of specific groups.

– The third form of information is totally 'distorted information', misrepresenting costs, benefits and risks, which in turn leads to results that do not match or fit the spatial conditions of a certain space.

Some of the stakeholders may find the actual direction of planning or development as a cause of disadvantages to their personal interests; therefore they tend to use rationalization, facilitated by the power status (power relation) they possess, to distort or hide information. Spatial outcomes are thus shifted towards different ends.

As was stated before, such a misuse of information can manipulate the actors' understanding of their spatial status, and consequently of the political arguments and the prominent spatial needs.

Forester (1989) vividly discussed the sources and possibilities of misinformation in planning practice. However, in cross-border development the causes of misinformation originate from several factors:

– Technical limitations and timing, associated with the working atmosphere of planners, managers, administrators, designers, decision-makers and implementers.

– Cognitive limitations normally lead to a faulty or unclear comprehension of various spatial issues and problems, causing anomalies that are ramifies through the several stages of spatial development.

– Systematic misinformation used as a strategy for conflict resolution and negotiations, viewed as a strategic mediation tool, which assists in reaching more desired outcomes and solutions. For example, gradually disclosing sensitive information on phases rather than revealing it at once and causing extreme overreactions.

– Pressure generated by power relations might force the generation of systematic misinformation, which eventually shifts the outcomes of the planning development to fulfil the needs and interests of particular groups.

Another domain where misinformation can persist is at any point of the development process where options are laid out on the table for a joint process of selection. The process of evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of options can be used as a chance to re-shift the process of option selection towards a desired end, through rationalization, for example. This can also be achieved by evaluating the advantages of the desired option and magnifying the rewards it brings, while ignoring the

disadvantages, which could be greater than the perceived advantages. On the other hand, other options tend to be evaluated regarding their disadvantages, without weighing the ratio of existing advantages in return. As elaborated in Flyvbjerg (1998), advantages are then completely ignored, though they might be more feasible and greater than the disadvantages and the advantages of the desired option.

Returning to the issue of the Jordan Rift Valley, it is very hard to predict or determine the type of misinformation which exists in the co-operation. However, juxtaposing the project information with the political situation in the Palestinian Occupied Territories, one can refer to the exclusion of the Jordan Rift Valley from the Israeli peace proposals and negations as misinformation created by power relations and power as in 'objective capacity' (violent force) through occupation.

Participation

Participation as a process of communication allows equal comprehensive settings of the basis and the form of development in a cross-border co-operation. Participation is very vital and necessary to convey the needs and expectations of all the groups and individuals who use and live in the border space. On the other hand, the basic principle of democracy is based on the fact of the participation of the governed in their government through the redistribution of power between the actors involved.

If all or some of these processes are malfunctioning due to ad hoc or systematic reasons, the form of development of the border space will drift from fulfilling the needs and expectations of all of its users towards a more non-comprehensive and oppressive development. Therefore, non-participation can be an oppressive tool to certain groups and actors towards a unilateral approach in planning for cross-border development.

The degree of involvement of participants on the different levels is divided into three levels, as adapted from the work of Arnstein (1969): (1) non-participation, (2) tokenism and (3) empowerment

– In the case of non-participation, the powerful participant, as explained above, tends to fully control the process of development from the setting of plans, controlling information exchange and quality, setting its own goals and objectives, allocating finance and sponsorship, defining and controlling the implementation settings, and, finally, determining the from of development and the distribution of development outcomes.

   This sheds light again on the personal observation, where the Palestinians were totally prevented from participating in the steering committee as well as development in the Jordan Rift Valley Project.

   Moreover, at this level of participation the role of the powerless participant is restricted to advisory committees and boards. The input of the powerless participant is engineered and manipulated by the powerful participant.

   Among many factors which might force, in an ad hoc manner, a situation of minimum participation on the part of some of the partners of cross-border development is the differences in technological and scientific advancement. This leads to a situation where:

   · The major scientific and technological contribution is pushed by the powerful participant.

   · The role of the powerless participant is limited to one-way, automatic ratification of what the powerful participant proposes.

   · After the implementation phase and the realization of the outcomes of cross-border development, the powerless participant (eventually) realizes the injustice

in distribution and, accordingly, becomes aware of his ineffective involvement in the co-operation.

- Furthermore, there might be a case where the less powerful participant is involved in so many activities in cross-border co-operation, and yet his participation is still considered to be 'non-participation'. This is due to the intention of the powerful participant of changing the thinking pathology of the less powerful participant through misinformation, and similarly changing the values and basis on which the decision-making process is based.

– As for 'tokenism', the less advantaged participant formulates and communicates his views and visions about planning for cross-border development to the powerful partner without having enough power and mechanisms to influence decision-making. In this case, the powerless cannot obligate the powerful participant to heed and consider his views and visions.

Arnstein (1969) suggests a higher level of tokenism referred to as 'placation', where the role of the less powerful partner is promoted to an unbinding advisory role.

> *"Placation is simply a higher level tokenism because the ground rules allow have-nots[10] to advice, but retain for the power holders the continued right to decide" (Arnstein, 1969: 217).*

In this case, the powerless participant has the capacity to contribute scientifically and technologically to cross-border development. Furthermore, the powerless ultimately has a significant input to various development processes, but, nevertheless, with no proper mechanism and power to communicate it effectively to the powerful partner. The one-way communication in this case (from powerful to powerless) ranges between dictating without listening and listening while nonetheless dictating.

In tokenism, cross-border co-operation processes are structured in the following manner:

- The co-operation protocols are completely prearranged by powerful participants, and then passed to the powerless for bureaucratic ratification.

- Meetings between participants and joint committees are undemocratically based and one way steered and headed by powerful participants.

- Different types of systematic misinformation are used as part of the mechanism of limiting the less powerful participant and directing the decision-making process towards an inequitable distribution of outcomes by eliminating more equitable options.

- The percentage of representation of the powerful participant exceeds that of the less powerful participant. Subsequently, the heavier load in voting and ruling in the process of decision-making is in favour of the powerful participant to determine the feasibility and legitimacy of the advice and options of the less powerful.

- Less powerful participants can also play a role similar to that of consultants; however in this case of tokenism there is no assurance that the input of the less powerful participant in the planning process will be considered.

- The influence of the less powerful partner is only limited to marginal and insignificant issues within the cross-border development process.

Therefore, the degree of 'tokenism' depends on the following issues:

- The ratio of ruling between the powerful and less powerful participant.

- The structure of the joint committees and the level of representation.

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[10] Have-nots are defined by Arnstein as the participants or groups, which have less power.

·   The scientific and technological capacity and the level of knowledge (information).

·   Group organization and negotiation ability of the less powerful as a tool of stressing personal demands and options.

Finally, tokenism in its 'placation' form is commonly the most feasible mode of cross-border co-operation in a case of imbalanced power relations. However, where the level of participation on the part of the less powerful is controlled, the less powerful is still seen as functioning in a marginal manner within the co-operation processes. What counts in this case is the amount of representation of the less powerful participant, the level of technical organization and expertise of its negotiation groups, as well as the negotiation skills acquired, and the quality and quantity of information possessed.

–   'Empowerment' in participation occurs when the relationship between co-operation partners is shaped into an equal 'partnership'. In an equal partnership, both partners have equal powers in negotiation and decision-making, with a transparent flow of information within all planning and development processes, and, moreover, equally shared managerial powers.

Nevertheless, the possibility of 'empowerment' is rare in the case of unbalanced power relations, as it assumes equality between partners as well as the limited influence of power relations in planning for cross-border development.

An important aspect in reaching empowerment is the creation of an efficient partnership where there is a mutual willingness on the part of partners to contribute to the well-being of the other by complementing each other and using the common resources that both have to promote common development in the border space. The primary goal of an equal partnership (empowerment) would be aimed at a cross-border development designed to enhance primarily the border space and the living standards of people living within its boundaries. Moreover, another aim would be gaining a balanced economic benefits for each of the partner states.

Reflections

Ultimately, if applied to the Jordan Rift Valley Project, participation has been used in its two forms: 'tokenism' and 'non-participation'. The Palestinians were deprived of their right to participate in the steering committee (non-participation), as clarified by the personal observation in *Chapter Two*. While if one analyses the Jordanian role in the Jordan Rift Valley Project, it is evident that it belongs more to an advisory tokenisms form of 'placation'. This can only be deduced from the distribution of development outcomes in the Jordan Rift Valley Project, due to the fact that the protocols and minutes of the Jordan Rift Valley co-operation are not available, and nearly impossible to acquire, as explained in *Chapter One*. Accordingly, the Jordan Rift Valley Project contributes more to the Israeli economy and national planning schemes than to Jordan's. Moreover, the distribution of the impure products of development affects the Jordanians more than the Israelis.

Finally, 'empowerment' is the form of co-operation where the participation of both partners in the burdens of co-operation is somehow just. Empowerment also contributes to the notion of distributive justice where burdens of co-operation are a measure of the performance of co-operation and its distributive outcomes, as discussed earlier in Chapter Three.

Therefore, the final product of this doctoral dissertation should promote participation towards a form of greater 'empowerment'.

1.3   Objective Capacity

Objective capacity, or the reservoir of knowledge, experiences, potentials and capabilities is a basic determinant factor that governs several characteristics of the cross-border development. Capacity as defined at the end of *Chapter Three* affects co-operation in several ways:

– Agreement on the form and shape of development.

– The manner of using resources in the border space.

– The conceptual and technical framework of development schemes.

– The distribution of spatial products.

– The form of co-operation.

– The implementation processes.

– Negotiations and treaties.

Support for thriving scientific research, multidisciplinary expertise in development issues, as well as the transparent flow of information in governance and political administration are among the basic ingredients of a more optimal form and output of cross-border co-operations.

From the discussion of power relations and relationships of communication, it was concluded on several occasions that scientific and technological capacities are basic to achieving a better position with regard to both burdens of co-operation and the distribution of the outcome of cross-border development. Nevertheless, in this section the weight is placed on a more socially oriented discussion, which goes beyond the technical, infrastructural, economic and military capacities addressed by most of theories and literature.

Accordingly, this section discusses objective capacity from four different angles: (1) cognition, (2) culture, (3) the right to participate, and (4) technical capabilities.

Cognition

An important basic factor which elaborates on the issue of value and priority is knowledge as a 'cognitive potential' in the meaning of the level of consciousness that each group has about the inabilities that are contained within the available resources as well as the gains generated from using these resources, and equally the manner of handling the usage of resources. The meaning of resources here goes beyond natural resources, as it includes all kind of physical and non-physical assets.

As Harvey (1973a, 1996) formulates it by uncovering the behaviour of different groups, there is an interesting pattern arising from observing the relationship between education and income rate against the development of spaces. The higher income and level of education a group tends to have, the better capabilities this group has to handle its own spaces. However, less productive communities with lower income alongside with poor education tend to have less control over their spaces.

However, this could be handled somehow over the course of time if the public and private institutions realized the need for multileveled reforms as an investment in building the different sectoral capacities of the country. David Harvey supports this argument by stating that:

> *"cognitive skills are learned and it is possible to learn how to handle a great diversity of environments" (Harvey, 1973a: 82).*

Cognitive differences also generate another important factor which plays a major role in spanning the level of differences between participants. To be more precise, it is the basic level of 'pre-information' that actors should have in order better to understand the processes around them, and hence their potentials.

For example, take the case of a farmer who owns a big farm, has been provided with a personal computer and told that this apparatus would help him in managing and enhancing his production management, marketing and household financial scheming. Yet, what if the farmer is illiterate and is not able to understand the meaning of numbers and letters? Moreover, what if he cannot even read? What if the farmer can read and has good language skills, but is not capable of understanding computer language and the use of programs? Alternatively, what if the farmer knew how to use computers, but had no detailed knowledge providing him with any idea about which program to use and in which way the use of the computer can help him in managing his production and his farm? In this case, the computer is useless too!

Therefore, when such groups are engaged in a development project with their counter resourceful partners, even if information was equally spread and interacted within an equal and just development opportunity; the latter would drastically benefit from what is given more than the former.

This leads to the conclusion that the difference in cognition affects the following, among other issues:

–   The partners' participation and burdens of co-operation.

–   The formulation of partners' needs and priorities, where recent needs might not be the real and actual needs; eventually recent needs are changed when a level of basic information is provided.

–   Difference in the use of available resources.

–   Inequivalence in negotiation and political abilities.

As a conclusion, the difference in cognition creates gaps where various forms of relationships of differences interplay, leading to imbalanced burdens of co-operation and distribution of cross-border development, as well as planning of the different development processes.

Culture

In the works of Harvey (1996, 1973a) culture refers to the ethnographical understanding and criteria for evaluating different processes, things, activities and structures. The cultural difference between participants eventually generates considerable dissimilarities in evaluating the context and processes of cross-border development. Moreover, culture defines the value and meaning of the common border space itself.

Both cross-border partners attach different meanings to the border space, both see different potentials in the existing resources and the development of the space, therefore both have dissimilarities in prioritizing their needs (keeping in mind that the discussion concerns two countries with different history, culture and in most cases different power status).

The cultural development of spaces on both sides of the common space might be vastly different due to the non-parallel line of historical development, and consequently a dissimilar social, political and economic progression. Such cases of cross-border development where borders show cultural differences between countries such as:

–   Eastern and Western Europe

–   EU and its bordering developing countries

– USA and Mexico

– Israel and its Arab neighbours, etc.

However, the case of Central and Eastern Europe differs completely in terms of the eventuality of both being partners in the EU bloc; therefore the aims and intentions sought from transnational planning is different and tend to hover around a mutual vision, although considerable relationships of differences exist in between.

Right to participate

In this section, and unlike the discussion of participation in the relationships of communication, participation is discussed here as knowledge about the processes of how to participate and the right to participate as a capacity.

It was previously discussed that it is important to possess a degree of pre-information in order to enable oneself to engage and make the best out of the processes one is about to encounter. The same applies in relation to citizen participation and knowledge, how one participates, if one has no knowledge in the subject of discussion, and not enough knowledge to assess projects in relation to one's current and future interests. Moreover, if one has also a limited view about one's own future.

To many social scientists such as Arnstein (1969), this comes as a projection of the political system and bad economy over social norms and consecutively individuals' norms.

The degree and effectiveness of public participation in the development of their own spaces is then manipulated largely by their understanding of the meaning and the goals of 'participation' and their rights as citizens to contribute to the processes of planning for their spatial development.

Juxtaposing this fact with the wide-ranging power and difference in capacities in a cross-border co-operation, the contribution of people living on the core country's side of the border space is eventually more effective and more relevant to the local needs. While those who live on the less powerful side of the common border space contribute inefficiently to the process of development, not only because of pre-knowledge and cognitive skills, but also because of the weak traces of citizen participation within the existing political and social systems.

Another factor is 'participation' in terms of rejecting or criticizing development plans. If cross-border development projects are opened to the public, an expected public reaction regarding the different projects and schemes is expected to be demonstrated, supporting or not supporting the direction and manner of development.

No resistance means carrying out the development project in its published fashion with no change, presuming that it is publicly approved (by people, private and governmental institutions and so forth). However, resistance is a knowledge-based reaction, meaning that one resists because one 'knows' that these plans or parts of these plans might or would cause a major devastation of one's interests. Moreover, the resistance is obtainable only with the availability of needed social and political mechanisms to express resistance.

Therefore, if information about cross-border development is not available, and moreover, the social and political system does not support appropriate mechanisms for protesting as an act of resisting through different legal measures, then people in that part of the border space suffer. This might lead to a situation where the published incomplete or misinformation does not show a conflict of interest; therefore, this bestows an act of non-protest, no resistance or no measures to change or hinder the published plans.

Accordingly, this would minimise the outcomes and benefits of development and cause future unpredicted spatial problems for people living on that side of the border space.

Technical capabilities

Flyvbjerg (1998) again clarifies in his thorough discussion of the Aalborg project[11] that a failure in financing and administering the implementation of development projects with an appropriate degree of professionalism forces a change in the initial plans and designs designated for an optimal design solution. The changes force the planned development to be modified in order to abide by the new time interval needed for implementation within the existing financial and administrative capacities (time and money).

Among other impacts, administrative and managerial failures could lead to:

– Several parts of the original plan and design being lost or ignored.

– A complete modification to several parts of the planned development.

– Reduction or merging of parts of the original plans with other parts during the implementation phases.

– What can be manageable within the existing financial resources and administrative capacities becoming the priority.

– The state where rational bases of planning for cross-border development are anchored on achieving the best possible benefits to the space no longer having priority .

– Such a phenomenon being related particularly to large-scale development, which includes a diverse range of small projects, planned to be implemented over the longer term.

Reflections

Finally, if objective capacities as a relationship of differences are reflected onto the observations of the Jordan Rift Valley Project, the following issues become apparent:

– It is very obvious that Israel beholds the merits of the technological and economic advancement in the region.

– The Israeli governance and social structure of the society (mainly for Jewish Israelis according to Yiftachel (1995)) allows more local participation with legal definition of rights and freedoms than the Jordanians.

– The cultural differences between the two sides of the Jordan Rift Valley (the Jordanians and the Israelis) allow a different understanding of the meaning and values of a joint cross-border development.

– Both sides locally and nationally have different priorities, needs and expectations from the outcomes of the Jordan Rift Valley cross-border development.

– The impact of the Jordan Rift Valley over the border space will be different on both sides of the river; moreover, the impact will create different processes of reaction and interaction on both sides of the border space.

Therefore, it is essential to find the right mechanisms to overcome the knowledge capacity lag in less powerful and noninformation societies, especially in terms of the

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[11] Aalborg Project is an attempt to reshape the downtown area of the Danish city of Aalborg. The project is envisioned to address issues of urban renewal, land use, traffic and environment. The project aims at incorporating increased priority to the urban environment, the more vulnerable road users, that is pedestrians and cyclists, and public transportation. Moreover, another major aim of the project is to downgrade automobile traffic (especially commuting motorists) where this causes conflict with other types of transport.

role and rights of individuals, public and different institutions in the processes of planning for development ultimately to promote their welfare.

Accordingly, the final product of this dissertation is to accommodate spatial mechanisms that:

> *- Work on elevating the cognition, and education of the less powerful people.*
>
> *- Find a mechanism so that the powerful partner holds a share in promoting the knowledge and cognition of the peripheral partner in order to enable the less powerful partner to run his own share of the cross-border cooperation and development.*
>
> *- Discuss ways of monitoring cross-border development.*

2. By-products of Differences

After analysing relationships of difference in cross-border co-operation, this section highlights some configurations where the influence of the three relationships of differences can be used to generate an unjust cross-border development in terms of distribution and burdens of co-operation.

It is worth stating here that there are many other strategic mechanisms which might be formulated through the relationships of differences within a cross-border co-operation and development. However, this research will not investigate all these strategic mechanisms for the following reasons:

– As explained in the analyses of power relations in cross-border co-operation, there are huge number of actors involved in a cross-border co-operation in all three discussed levels: global, national, and local. Accordingly, the different combinations of relationships of differences from power relations, relationships of communication as well as objective capacity that might be used to affect both distribution and burdens of co-operation (distributive justice) are huge in number.

– There are a large number of informal mechanisms that cannot be analysed in a cross-border co-operation.

The following text demonstrates some of the most common strategies that are constructed through relationships of differences: (1) rationalization, (2) timing, and (3) replacement of actors.

Rationalization

Rationalization: rationalization in planning is defined as an opposite to the conception of 'rationality' and it is a way of producing a fake, non-scientific rationality, which is described by Habarmass (1990) and Flyvbjerg (1998) as being:

> *"actively formed by the power relations which are themselves grounded and expressed in processes that are social-structural, conjunctional, organizational, and actor related" (Flyvbjerg, 1998: 27).*

> *"The force of a better argument is replaced by mere force" (Habermas, 1990: 198).*

Rationality aims at seeking scientific facts and numbers regarding spatial issues, and then refers to theoretical and practical experiences to obtain the optimal scientific solutions for a given problem. Rationalization is used through power relations to shift development goals towards personal interests. Using misinformation as a form of relationships of communication in addition to power relations, rationalization through

power, changes the meaning and value of facts. According to Flyvjerg, facts are diverted to wrong or incomplete information, replacing the rational scientific truths and figures.

> *"The freedom to interpret and use "Rationality" and "rationalization" in the service of power is a key element in enabling power to define reality. It is this freedom that structures the rationality of power" (ibid: 98).*

For example, to set site-selection criteria for one of the cross-border projects, one refers to the scientific spatial requirements, such as social needs, environmental prerequisites, economic conditions, physical and functional circumstances and so forth. The concluding criteria which are obtained and supported by facts and figures would be the rational measure to select the optimal site for the specific project in the border space. However, if one of the powerful actors benefits on the personal level from a specific site, this actor refers to several methods to rationalize the facts and criteria:

– One is through magnifying the advantage of the desired site and minimizing or trivializing the disadvantages and, on the other hand, magnifying the disadvantages of other rational choices of sites and trivializing the advantages.

– Another mechanism would be changing the priorities and weight of each criterion in such a way as to rationalize the selection process and guide it directly to fit the specificities of the desired site.

Finally, the more power, the more freedom an actor would have in redefining reality, then, as Flyvbjerg (1998) framed it, the greater the power, the less the rationality.

Timing

Timing is a very important factor in the strategies followed by several actors involved in the planning process of cross-border development. According to Forester (1989), tactical timing of events, such as when to allow negotiation and exchange of views, and when to ignore them, can be used for achieving particular ends for certain actors. It is a means of switching power on and off. The following text will demonstrate two forms of timing: (1) strategic timing, and (2) timing in implementation.

– Strategic timing: when an actor is approached at a certain point in time to reflect upon a certain issue, it is a switch-on for this actor to use what power he has. The actor has to show either compliance or opposition and consequently elaborate on the process of decision-making of cross-border development as long as his power status in relation to other actors allows him to do so. However, if the case was totally the opposite, meaning the actor was not approached for his reflection and even ignored through the articulation of power relationships between other actors – for example participation – then the actor's power stays in a switched-off mode marginalized by the main power formation.

  This all depends, as was explained before, on the actor's organizational, structural and personal traits and conditions, and moreover, on the coalition and opposition state of the involved actors.

– Timing in implementation: strategically, the division of the implementation of a development project might not be based ultimately upon limited financial resources, but also could be planned to reduce the effect of possible deficiencies or controversial one-sided measures on public opinion.

As observed from the Jordan Rift Valley Project, the first phases contain projects which are guaranteed, to a certain extent, not to provoke public opinion, and not to generate uncontrollable public resistance. That is also recognized by Flyvbjerg (1998). However, the following phases, especially the last phases, may contain parts which might generate massive public resistance. Consequently, the time between publishing the plans of the

first phases to the public and publishing the plans of the last phases of the project, leads to the impact of project as a whole on the public being reduced if compared to the impact of the project if not partitioned into phases. This strategical division of projects into phases is somehow a strategic way of using information and relationships of communication to overcome public opinion.

Replacement of actors

The different levels of power relations between actors in a cross-border co-operation are not always stable. Actors' relationships could be reformulated into new combinations of allies and adversaries. In other cases, actors can be totally dismissed from the cross-border co-operation depending on their capacities, communication skills as well as their power relations.

According to many 'game theory' theoreticians such as Dowding (1996), as well as in the work of Flyvbjerg (1998) and Forester (1989), replacing and displacing actors within the planning process of cross-border development is another mechanism of practising power which is used by stronger coalitions to terminate opposition and replace it by approval. And through this process, the right to participate in decision-making through one's official position and the freedom of expressing scientific concerns is taken away and moved to another person who can ratifythe major interests of the strong coalition.

3. Summary

Relationships of differences in its three forms – power relations, relationships of communication and objective capacity – exist in many forms and between a complex plexus of actors. Relationships of differences shape the cross-border co-operation, and exist in all of its development processes (e.g. accords and agreements, planning, design, research and studies, etc). The various relationships of differences affect the distribution of the cross-border development products (e.g. projects, services, impure products, infrastructure, etc) as well as the burdens of partners in cross-border co-operation processes (e.g. participation, decision-making, formulation of agreements, design, planning, etc). Accordingly, the definition of justice in the case of cross-border development is influenced in the ways described in the theoretical discussions on justice and power in *Chapter Three*.

Actors can be in groups or individuals, forming alliances and adversaries with each other. Actors can be directly involved in cross-border co-operation forming directly visible relations with each other; however, informal actors can generate hidden mechanisms that can indirectly influence the course of cross-border development.

Furthermore, as long as there is contact between the different actors and an exchange of information, different 'relationships of differences' can exist and there is no way to remove totally the negative effect of these relations; however, they may be reduced and minimized.

The degree of impact of the relationships of differences on cross-border development varies depending on many factors, among them:

– the level of the relations: global, national, or local.

– the form of the 'relationship of differences', whether formal and publicly noticed or informal and hidden.

– the system from which the relation has been created (e.g. individual, institutional, popular, political, global economy, governmental, etc)

– the alliance that is supporting the eruption of this 'relationship of differences`.

– the adversaries and the potentials they have to reduce it, change it or terminate it.

– the existing regulatory structures between actors (e.g. laws, agreements, political and social structure, etc).

– norms of ethics and morals of individuals, and groups (e.g. religion, culture, social norms).

– time and space of the 'relationships of differences'. As different timing could produce a different form of relation or prevent the relation from being produced.

Finally, retreating to the *Prologue* and especially to the research aims and questions, the final product of this dissertation is mainly structured by the following aim and research question:

– *End-product aim*: the dissertation aims at not only analysing the negative influence of power and justice as relationships within the cross-border processes of co-operation, but also – and most significantly – the dissertation aims at finding a solution in the form of a conceptual model that reduces the influence of negative influence of power and brings more justice to cross-border development.

– *Solution-oriented* question: How can we reach a just regional development in a cross-border co-operation within a case of imbalanced power relations?

Accordingly, in analysing the relationships of differences in cross-border co-operation, several conclusions were derived in a step to contribute to the construction of the final product of this dissertation:

– As the state is seen as a hub for infiltrated global and national power relations, decentralization of the power of the state in the cross-border space minimises the influence of these power structures on cross-border development.

– Minimising the state forces on the border space, towards a more effective fulfilment of the needs and expectations of the border space inhabitants.

– Promotion of participation in decision-making between all involved groups and actors towards greater 'empowerment' regarding the form of development.

– Find mechanisms to reduce the capacity gap in knowledge and cognition between cross-border partners. Accordingly, promoting mechanisms that elevate cognition, and education of the less powerful partner.

– Promotion of mechanisms that obligate the powerful partner to act responsibly in promoting the knowledge and cognition of the peripheral partner.

– Provide certain mechanisms for monitoring cross-border co-operation.

– Bridge the gap, in terms of social and cultural differences, between the two sides of the border space.

After reviewing the relationships of differences in a cross-border co-operation as the main case of influencing the distributive meaning of justice, the next chapter elucidates how the relationships of differences can be reduced to maintain a just cross-border development.

A New Common Border Space

Elijah taken into heaven, by *Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld*,
copied from *Das Buch der Bücher in Bilden*.
Source: World Mission Collection, 1997.

Chapter Five

A New Common Border Space
`A universal model for a more 'just' cross-border co-operation'

"If you stand, today, in Between Town Road, you can see either way: west to the spires and towers of the cathedral and collages; east to the yards and sheds of the motor works. You see different worlds, but there is no frontier between them; there is only the movement and traffic of a single city"
Raymond Williams

I f distributive theories of justice relate distribution and burdens as a measurement of the existence of justice in a certain co-operation, and if both distribution and burdens of co-operation are highly influenced by relationships of differences, then utopian, idealistic and just cross-border co-operation is that co-operation where the negative influence of the relationships of differences is zero.

However, and as has been discussed in the last chapter, one cannot escape either the existence of the relationships of differences or their impact on any co-operation as long as there exists any kind of communication between actors. Moreover, one cannot dream about a cross-border co-operation with zero influence of relationships of differences.

Therefore, the intention of both this chapter and the following chapter is to present an abstract model for cross-border co-operation called by the author 'New Common Border Space' (NCBS), which strives to reduce the negative influence of the relationships of differences towards the promotion a more just cross-border co-operation. The construction of the abstract model will be based on the different recommendations which have been concluded from the theoretical analysis of justice and power as well as the analysis of relationships of differences.

It is worth explaining at the beginning the connection between this chapter and the following chapter before going into the details of the New Common Border Space.

This chapter explains the idea of the NCBS and establishes its territorial concept, while *Chapter Six* attempts to operationalize the NCBS by constructing its different spatial processes (e.g. social, economic, political and juridical).

Accordingly, this chapter is divided into two main parts: (1) an introduction to the NCBS, and (2) the territorial concept of the NCBS.

1. Introduction to the NCBS

This section tackles four main clarifications as an introduction to the territorial concept of the NCBS: (1) what is meant by abstract model, (2) the main divisions of the NCBS, (3) the model's presumptions, and finally (4) the aims of the NCBS.

1.1   An Abstract 'Universal' Model

The term 'abstract model' is used by the author following a semantic analysis of the meaning of the word 'model' with reference to the author's desired way of representing the findings of this doctoral dissertation.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, these set of meanings of 'model' shape the way the abstract model in this dissertation was constructed:

> *"A description of structure; a conceptual or mental representation of something; A simplified or idealized description or conception of a particular system, situation, or process" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006).*

Accordingly, the abstracted model of NCBS is a conceptual representation of the author's personal notions about a more just cross-border development, based on analysing justice and relationships of differences in cross-border co-operation. Moreover, relating to the theories of abstraction and theorization that have been explained in 'Methods' Chapter Two, the model not only draws a conceptual framework for a more just cross-border co-operation, but also operationalizes the concept within the framework of Merton (1968) '*Middle Range Theories*', as was explained earlier in *figure (2.2)*.

> *Moreover, the abstraction of the NCBS is aimed at providing a 'universal' model that fits all cross-border co-operation cases, where the relationships of differences between cross-border partners are wide-ranging, such as in the case of the Jordan Rift Valley Project.*

1.2   NCBS Core Divisions

To simplify the notion of the NCBS, it is helpful to compare the basic idea of NCBS with that of free-trade zones or cross-border industrial zones.

It is worth stating here that it is not the purpose of this thesis to exemplify and discuss free-trade zones and cross-border industrial zones due to the following reasons:

– Free-trade zones and cross-border industrial zones are formulated in terms of a limited functional aim, namely trade or industry, while the NCBS is a complex of multicultural functions including social aspects.

– The NCBS might contain within its borders areas of human settlements (rural and urban), while the built-up areas in free-trade zones and cross-border industrial zones are limited to fulfilling the function of these zones.

– The NCBS is a model that changes the economic, social and political processes inside its territories, and affects the development of the nearby territories. While the free-trade zones and cross-border industrial zones are established with a view to only limited change in production and economic processes.

– The scale of the NCBS is very much larger of that of a free-trade zone or a cross-border industrial zone.

– Free-trade zones and cross-border industrial zones are mostly created in uninhabited areas, while cross-border development touches upon different land uses (built-up areas, agrarian, natural reserves, etc).

Accordingly, in the cases of free-trade zones and cross-border industrial zones, a territorially defined area exists between two states where the national borderline, generally speaking, is transformed into a border area, as abstractly shown in figure (5.1). The hatched area 'A' is defined by a border; in the case of figure (5.1) it is in the shape of a circle. Area 'A' is operated under new regulations between the two states in order to reach and achieve a joint and specific functional aim. For example, in the case of free-trade zones, the functional aim is free-trade interactions and all their implications for tariffs cuts and the free movement of goods. Area 'A' would be under special administrative and managerial organization that manages the different processes

within the area and ensures the optimal fulfilment of its aims and function. Moreover, the built-up areas of area 'A' provide spaces hosting the different functions needed to realize the function of area 'A'.

Consequently, the NCBS – in relation to the abstract idea of free-trade zones and cross-border zones – is composed of: (1) a special territorially defined area, and (2) special processes that operate the different functions of the territorially defined area.
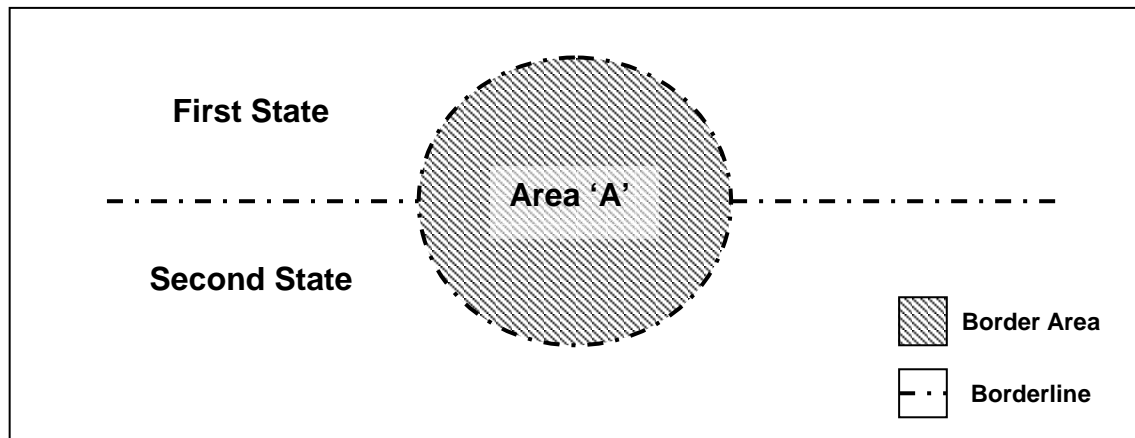

Figure 5.1: Abstract illustration of a free-trade zone (Anani, 2006)

The NCBS model is divided, therefore, into two parts: (1) abstract territorial concept, and (2) operationalized spatial concept.

– The abstract territorial concept re-conceptualizes the different type of borders (e.g. national, regional) in the cross-border space in a setting that achieves the *End-product Aim*, explained in *Chapter One*. The abstract territorial concept will be discussed thoroughly within this chapter, as mentioned earlier.

– The operationalized spatial concept of the NCBS builds the different spatial processes inside the NCBS, reducing the influence of the relationships of differences towards more justice in cross-border development. The operationalized spatial concept of the NCBS is constructed on the findings and recommendation derived from the theoretical analysis of power and justice as well as the analysis of the relationships of differences. Furthermore, the operationalized spatial concept of the NCBS is to fulfil the *End-product Aim* and *the Main Research Question*. The operationalized spatial concept will be discussed in the following chapter.

The NCBS model comes as a vision for bringing new justice in cross-border co-operation in cases where wide-ranging differences between co-operation partners prevail.

Consequently, the author associates the notion of the NCBS with that, for example, of the 'Ville Contemporaine'[12] or Contemporary City of the Swiss architect Le Corbusier, where the city was not implemented in practice; however with its advantages and specifically its 'disadvantages', it was able to stimulate centuries of discourse in urban and city design.

The author does not claim that this model is the only solution to promote more justice in cross-border co-operation. Moreover, the NCBS may be viewed by some scientists as an inapplicable dream. However, the author believes strongly that allowing a chance for new thinking on cross border co-operation in the way formulated by the NCBS can indeed establish more justice for the less advantaged and more benefits for both cross-border partners. The NCBS offers a foundation for practical and theoretical

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[12] 'Ville Contemporaine' is a model of a city for housing three million inhabitants designed by Le Corbusier in 1922.

discourse in cross-border development; moreover, it initiates a new direction of thinking about 'justice' and 'power', not only in cross-border development, but also in spatial planning as a discipline. Finally, the author's vision of the NCBS is based on his personal observation and his personal experience living under occupation within a system of oppression articulated by the relationships of differences.

1.3   NCBS Presumptions

In order to adopt the NCBS model, there are various required presumptions that should be present in the cross-border co-operation. These presumptions are elaborated based on the UNCRD (2000).

– A cross-border co-operation that takes place between two countries with wide-ranging differences in power relations, relationships of communication and objective capacity (e.g. Jordan and Israel or USA and Mexico, etc).

– An initial agreement between cross-border partners that shows the willingness of both partners to co-operate in return for foreseeable personal and joint benefits that aim at raising the well-being of both partners and especially of the inhabitants of the border space.

– Both partners officially accept the NCBS as a model for the foreseen cross-border co-operation; moreover, both partners agree to fulfil the concept of the NCBS as a framework for cross-border development.

– Both partners commit to the significance of the NCBS, not only in promoting justice and stability in the cross-border area, but also in raising the competence of the region in terms of productivity and spatial qualities.

– Both partners undertake a joint initial study aimed at defining the framework of cross-border development. The study is to be carried out jointly with an internationally known and competent neutral specialist agreed upon by both partners.

– The two partners agree on a defined cross-border area where cross-border development is to occur. The cross-border area should display relatively stable political and social conditions and not to be within a currently hostile and violent environment (e.g. war, revolution).

Finally, in the case of the NCSB model being adopted to promote peace in a cross-border area currently witnessing political and social instabilities, cross-border development is not to take place until all hostilities have ceased.

1.4   NCBS Aims

The formulation of the aims of NCBS is based upon all the conclusions arrived at through the theoretical analysis of justice and power, and by referring to the investigation of the 'relationships of differences' in cross-border co-operation and development. Accordingly, the NCBS aims at:

– Providing a new framework for cross-border development and co-operation based on promoting more justice in both burdens of co-operation and the distribution of development products.

– Promoting a spatial cross-border development, and not only a project-oriented development, as has been observed in the Jordan Rift Valley Project.

– Looking at cross-border spaces in a dialectic manner as an interrelated complex of different social, economic and political processes that are generated within a territorially defined space.

– Therefore, the NCBS aims at re-conceptualizing both the territorial dimension of cross-border spaces as well as the spatial plexus of social, political and economic fluxes of process.

– Developing the cross-border space as 'one space', minimizing the influence of border divisions.

– Reducing the negative influence of prevailing 'relationships of differences': power relations, relationships of communication and objective capacity, by promoting mainly:

   · Decentralized sustainable development processes.

   · Power-sharing governance.

   · Regulatory monitoring frameworks for cross-border co-operation.

   · Participatory development.

   · Shared decision-making.

   · Free transparent flow of information and interchange of knowledge and expertise.

   · Elimination of internal borders (see territorial concept).

Finally, both the territorial concepts as well as the operationalized spatial concepts were developed based on the NCBS aims.

2. NCBS: Territorial Concept

This section draws upon established aims for the NCBS along with the theories of abstraction and theorization discussed earlier in *Chapter Two* in order to formulate the territorial concept. However, a brief background about 'borders' as a basic spatial element in the definition of territories is illustrated as a basis for the NCBS territorial concept. Therefore, this section is divided into three main parts: (1) borders and differences, (2) re-conceptualizing national borders and (3) re-conceptualizing regional borders.

2.1 Borders and Differences

Since borders are a significant component in defining territorial boundaries differentiating areas from each other (e.g. social, economic, political, cultural), as well as particularizing different functions within the boundaries created by borders, it is necessary to understand the meaning of borders and their association to relationships of differences.

Borders as categorization

To create borders means to create perimeters for different categories. These parameters display different qualities, such as accessibility, blockage, semi-blockage, and selective permeability. Moreover, according to Hume (1999), Locke (1994) and Asmervik (2002), it is part of human nature to categorise in order to make it easier for oneself to understand complex phenomena.

> *"Because the mind's first function is to reduce the ambiguity and overlap in a confusing situation, and because, to this end, it is endowed with basic intolerance for ambiguity" (Asmervik, 2002: 4).*

Therefore, the mind categorises using borders. There could be so many possibilities to categorize a group of things, which can depend for example on:

– physical qualities: colour, shape, race, dimensions, weight, etc.

– behavioural qualities: referring to dominant behaviours and actions of objects such as vibrating (object), decent (humans), believers, friendly, evil, dangerous (objects and living things) along with other social behaviours or actions.

– utility category: referring to the outcome or services they provide, for example: architects, doctors, drugs, sewage system, telecommunications tools, woodwinds, criminals, prostitutes, etc.

– needs category: (important to spatial planning) such as poor (need money), workers (need work), homeless (need homes), sick (need medication), illiterate (need to read and write), etc.

Consequently, categorization as a basic activity in spatial planning originates from our need as humans to simplify our comprehension of space, and reduce the complexity of the diverse and high number of objects within it, as well as the interactions and bonds between these objects.

Decision-makers, as well as spatial planners, combine all these above-mentioned categories in different weights and representations into their daily spatial decision-making and plan preparations. Eventually, these decisions are physically transformed into spatial borders with different parametrical properties.

Many of the borders which we as individuals use to categorize in our daily activities are intuitively formed by our own preferences, representing who we are, our background and the mixture of emotions and thoughts we have accumulated since our infancy.

Therefore, there will always be a degree of prejudice and bias in the process of categorizing that cannot be eliminated, though it may be reduced through consciousness, and awareness of this problem. As clarified in the work of Hume (1999) and Locke (1994), this degree of prejudice and bias in the process of categorization sometimes comes as an aftermath to the habituation of our minds to the process of categorization. This is also confirmed by Asmervik (2002), who stated:

> *"Working with borders is so essential that we soon do things more or less subconsciously" (Asmervik, 2002:5).*

Moreover, the act of diminishing borders by creating new ones can be very crucial and can bring about different problems which did not exist before. This is because changing borders means changing the interaction between the areas where the border exist, whilst changing the processes within the areas created by borders. Dialectically, this has a spatio-temporal effect (negative and positive) on the elements, events and systems within the border areas.

Transitional character of borders

In geopolitical theories, there is a clear distinction between border as a zone and border as a line. This distinction is used in formulating the territorial concept of the NCBS, as previously explained.

According to Hunter (1983), Friedrich Ratzel, a well-known German geographer, was one of the first geographers at the beginning of the twentieth century who pointed out in his work the behaviour of borders as zones and lines. Ratzel understood the linear characteristic of a border as a pure abstraction to "Grenzraum" or border zone, as formulated in the German language. Hunter (1983) explains how Ratzel related areas with borders – such as states and regions – to living organisms and borders as the

peripheral organ with a function of protection, isolating useless and harmful substances, allowing useful substances to pass through to the core of the organism and so forth.

Subsequently, Strihan (2005) states that the elaboration of the British geographer C.B. Fawcett was based on the work of Ratzel, by building a theory about the transitional character of borders, articulating the different interpretation of the meaning of borders when surveyed and when experienced on maps. Consequently, Strihan (2005) defines borders as:

> *"Transition areas-zones in which the characters and influences of two or more different regions or states come together. Yet, all regions are in some sense transitional; and it is only where the transitional character is a dominant fact of life in the area that we have a true frontier" (Strihan, 2005:3).*

In the literature, there is a substantial number of concepts that directly and indirectly relate to the transitional character of borders, as in Welchman (1996), Prescott (1978) and Anderson (1997). Therefore, in this dissertation borders are related to the phenomena of transition (transitional character of borders). Accordingly, there is a distinction between the physical construction of borders as elaborated in *Definitions – Chapter One*, and the reflection on the transitional character of borders on the social, economic, and political construction of societies.

The transitional character of borders creates ample differences between the two sides of the border, including legislation and laws, governance, spatial organization, institutional structure, economic system, etc., and these differences expand even more between core and peripheral countries, while decrease between two core countries or two peripheral countries.

> *Consequently, borders hold stronger transitional characters in the case of imbalanced power relations (particularity of this doctorate research).*

Borders and cross-border development

If the transitional character of borders persists in the NCBS model, then the following predicaments will affect the shape of cross-border development in the border space:

- The development in the border space will be restricted to the development projects and will not rise to being a spatial development where these projects are stimulants for a comprehensive, integrative spatial development.
- The cross-border development will be limited to the sectoral economic outcomes and benefits from the planned joint projects (e.g. water, industry, tourism) with little intention of contributing to the general well-being of the inhabitants on both sides of the border space.
- The exchange of knowledge and cognition between the two sides of the border space would be reduced to the persons (experts and institutions) involved in the particular projects.
- The relationships of differences will strongly affect planning for cross-border development (as in the Jordan Rift Valley Project) because each one of the co-operation partners want to achieve more benefits to their own side of the border space.
- Besides the imbalanced distribution of the outcome of cross-border development between partners, the distribution benefits will be greater on a national level and less so on the border-space level.

– Moreover, besides the imbalance in the burdens of cross-border co-operation between the two partners, the local level (border-space) participation in planning for cross-border development will be minimal.

Accordingly, the territorial concept of the NCBS model considers the following:

– Cross-border development along with its different sectoral projects is a comprehensive spatial development for the entire defined area of the border space (two sides of the border space).

– Elimination of the national borders when planning for cross-border development in reference to the abstract idea of the NCBS discussed earlier in *NCBS core divisions* and illustrated in *figure (5.1).*

– Using the abstract idea of free-trade zones and cross-border industrial zones to transform national borderlines into a border area.

The transitional character of borders goes beyond the physical attributes of borders. Therefore, the elimination of national borders (physically) does not mean the elimination of other characters of borders (e.g. social, mental, cultural, etc). The diminishing of national borders eliminates only the territorial differences between the two sides of the border space. Accordingly, the NCBS is only unified territorially, while other processes remain disjointed and non-contingent.

Thus, it is the role of the operationalized spatial concept of the NCBS to adjoin and harmonize the other non-physical borders between the two sides of the border space.

2.2   Re-conceptualising National Borders

Relating to the idea of free-trade zones and joint industrial areas, the territorial concept of NCBS is assembled from the unison of border areas from the two states as agreed upon by the political entities (explained earlier in the *NCBS presumptions).* The elimination of national borders will be in the form of transforming the borderline into a border area that surrounds the already defined area of cross-border development between the two states.

However, before re-conceptualizing national borders, it is necessary to study the performance of border areas in terms of the location and direction of development.

Performance of cross-border regions

Many studies have tackled the issue of development in border areas, such as in the work of Anderson (1997, 1983), Sassen (2002) and Sagan and Halkier (2005).

These studies demonstrate that the degree of cross-border development and co-operation in border spaces depends highly on the transitional character of borders. The fewer economic, social and political barriers the border upholds, the more co-operation and networking between the two sides of the border space. Moreover, the difference in the institutional and juridical systems between the two sides of the border affects the performance of the cross-border areas.

According to Nelson (2000), Caracostas and Soete (1997), there is a certain level of disconnection in the institutional systems, laws and policies between border areas in comparison to the continuity and compatibility of the national institutional infrastructure, laws, financial institutions, educational system, trade policies and general economic ambience. Therefore, the performance of cross-border areas in terms of innovative cross-border co-operation and networks depends largely on the compatibility of both national systems and the flexibility of institutional infrastructure to foment and sustain cross-border dynamics.
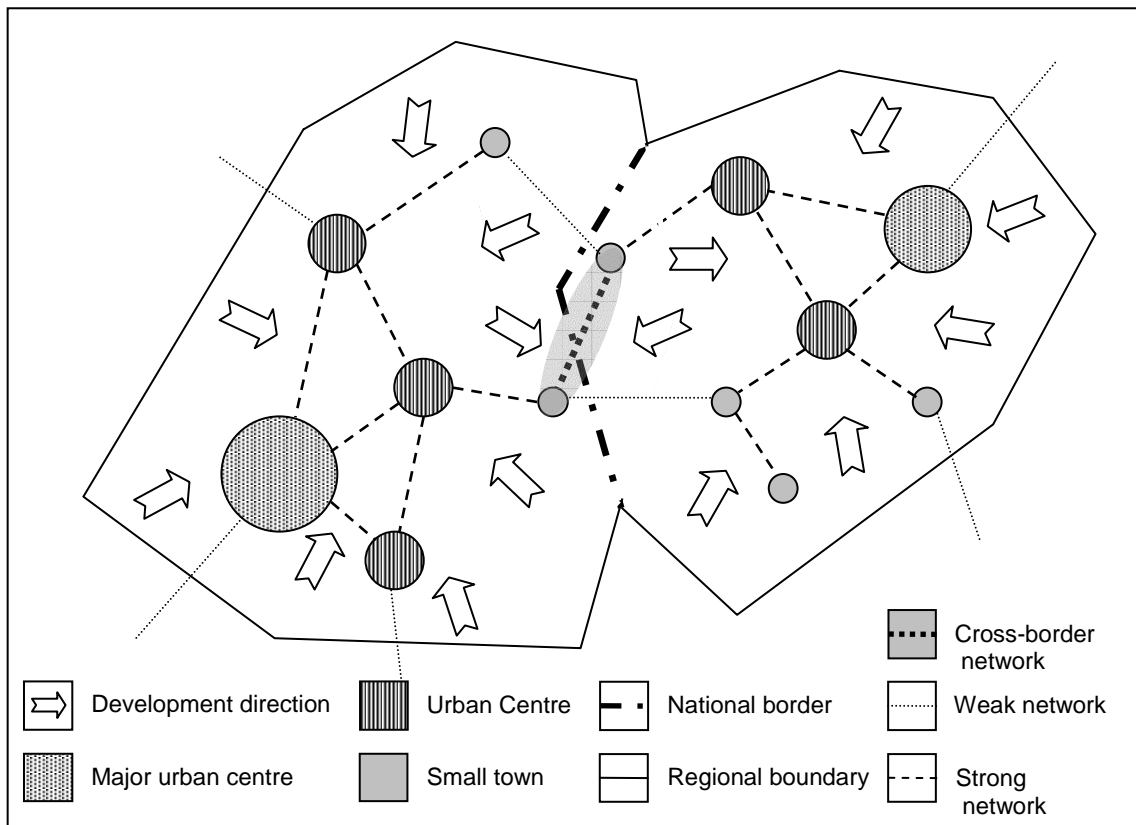
Figure 5.2: Performance of cross-border areas (Anani, 2006)

Consequently, in the case of imbalanced power relations and wide-ranging differences on both sides of the border space, cross-border dynamics in terms of networks of development and co-operation are limited due to the high transition between the two sides of the border space and the difference in the national intuitional and juridical systems.

Figure (5.2) illustrates in an abstract manner the dynamics of cross-border co-operation between two border regions in two states with wide-ranging differences. Cross-border networks are frail and the direction of development and growth tends to be higher towards the core areas of the regions (e.g. decentralized agglomeration or main regional urban centre).

Therefore, in the territorial concept as well as in the operationalized spatial concept, the NCBS should stimulate and sustain the following:

– Reduction of the transitional character of borders towards a dynamic cross-border co-operation.

– Stimulation of networks of innovative co-operation between the two sides of the border space.

– Bridging of the difference between the two national juridical and institutional systems through reforms.

– Strengthening of the direction of development towards cross-border networking.

These considerations are validated in the upcoming redefinition of the NCBS.

Re-conceptualizing national borders

Accordingly, the re-conceptualizing of the NCBS national borders is clarified in *figure (5.3)* within two stages:

– (1) Before the creation of cross-border co-operation in an NCBS model, where the national border dominates the area agreed upon by the two states for cross-border development.

– (2) After the creation of the NCBS space for cross-border development, where the national border is eliminated and transformed into a border area shaping the boundaries of the NCBS. The eliminated borderline is still shown in faint grey to distinguish between the two parts of the border space for further elaboration.
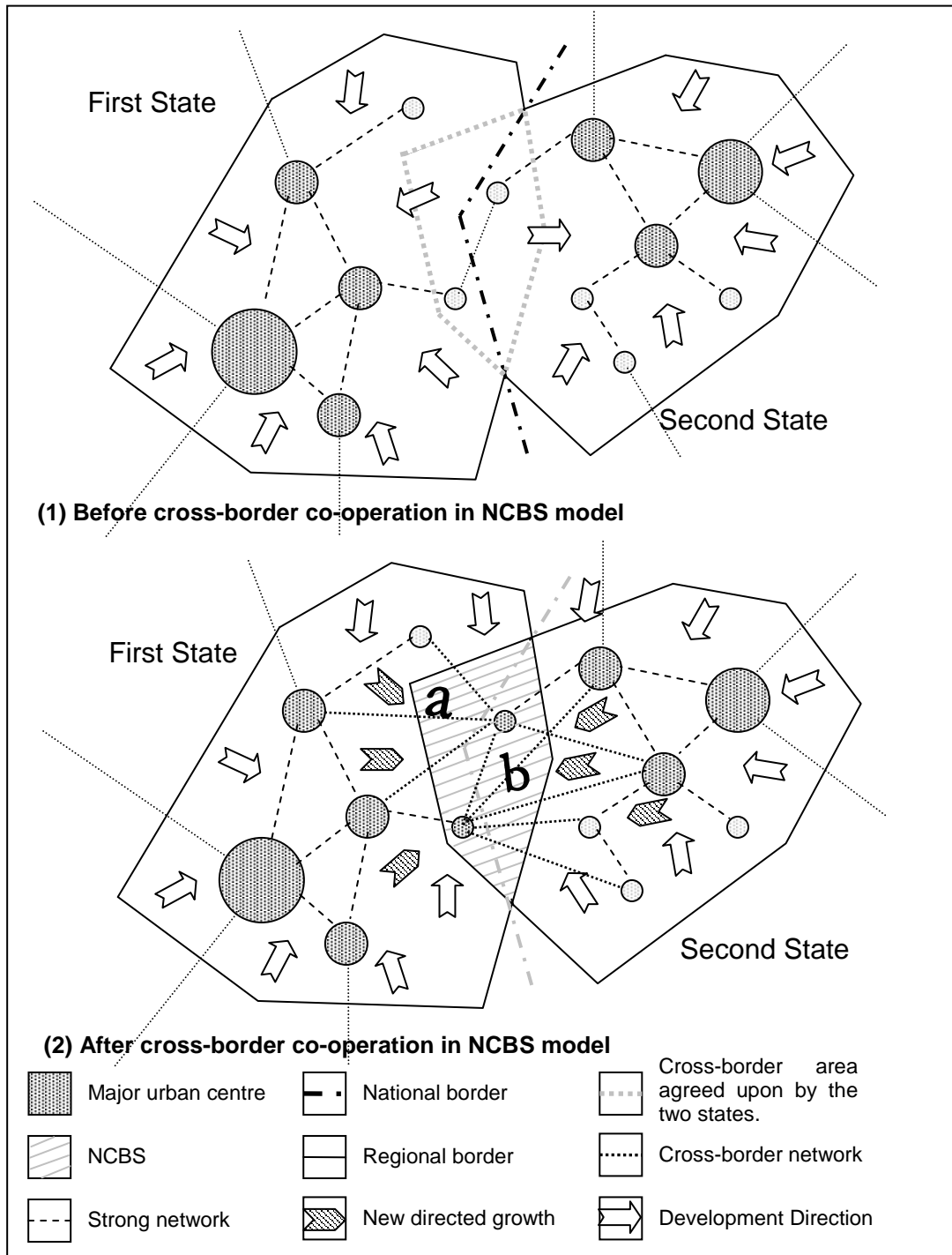

Figure 5.3: Territorial re-conceptualizing of the NCBS (Anani, 2006)

The (faint grey) national political border, as shown in *figure (5.3)*, divides the NCBS into two areas: "a" belongs to the first political entity, and "b" is affiliated to the second political entity.

Each one of the spaces "a" and "b" is planned and administered from different regions and communes, depending on the size of the NCBS and the fashion of governance and district planning in the political entity. Spatial development potentials and problems within "a" and "b" are varied and relatively imbalanced, presuming that there is a wide-ranging imbalance between the two states due to the fact that this dissertation is dealing with the case of imbalanced relationships of differences in cross-border co-operation. Hypothetically, space "a", for example, belongs to a peripheral entity, while "b" is part of a core country. The NCBS comprises both spaces "a", and "b", which will presumably join a comprehensive cross-border spatial development.

The national border is transformed from a line, as in *figure (5.3) (1)*, to an area enclosing areas "a" and "b", and into a unified space as in the abstract idea of free-trade zones. The perimeter of the NCBS, nevertheless, still works as national borders, securing and controlling the flow of people and goods.

Subsequently, the aftermath of the territorial formation of the NCBS will shape stronger cross-border networks that are established between the two sides of the border space, as seen in *figure (5.3)* (2). Moreover, new directions of development towards the NCBS are encouraged.

Border administration between area "a" and the first state is administered by the first state, on the other hand; the second state administers the border between area "b" and the territory of the second state. The normal institutional border procedures before the cross-border co-operation in the NCBS model are still viable in the context of the new border formation, including controlling and securing the traffic of people and goods.

Accordingly, the national border between the two sides of the NCBS is shifted to the perimeter borders of the NCBS. Therefore, the territorial effects and obstructions of political borders between "a" and "b" are drastically reduced and eliminated.

The physical infrastructural facilities of the eliminated national borders are preserved for further future bilateral agreements. Among other resolutions, the bilateral agreements will either conclude a complete dissolution of the national border and its institutional representation or a total retreat to the political status before the NCBS. Furthermore, new infrastructural border facilities are planned on the new borders of the NCBS, where the traffic of people and goods from the two states going into the NCBS or vice versa is controlled by the administration of the first state on the borders between "c-d-f", as shown in *figure (5.4)*, while the second state controls the borders between "c-f-e".

Figure (5.4) shows an enlarged detailed illustration of the NCBS in which border settlements in the form of cities or towns (in the abstraction case 'x' and 'y') have stronger possibilities of establishing urban networks in terms of multi-sectoral co-operation. Moreover, regardless of the location of the planned cross-border project (whether on side 'a' or side 'b' of the NCBS), all cross-border projects are incorporated within the spatial development of the NCBS as a whole through decentralized co-operation networks between the different urban centres and the sectoral projects.
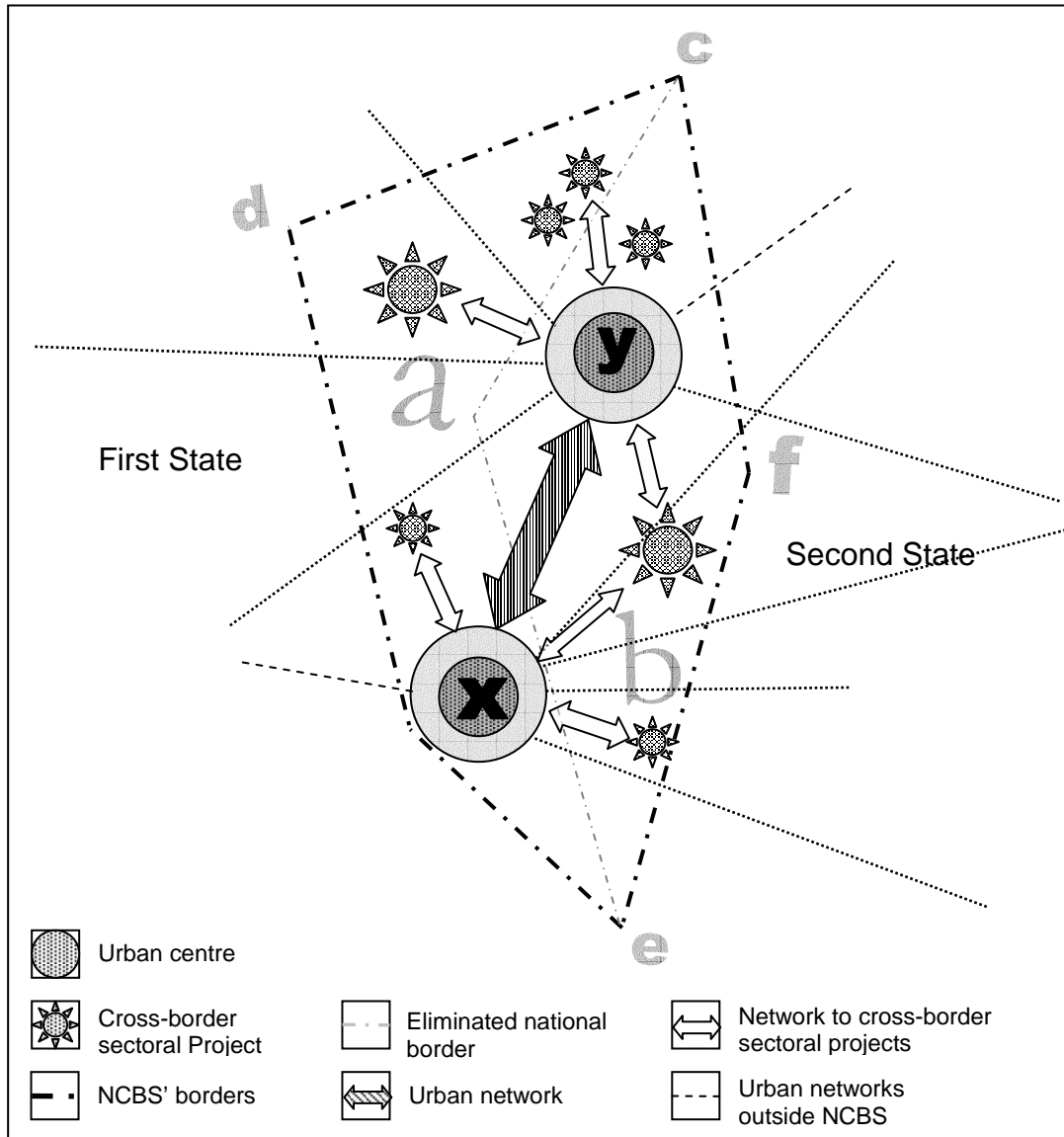
First State

Second State

⊙ Urban centre				
✷ Cross-border sectoral Project	— · — Eliminated national border		⬌ Network to cross-border sectoral projects	
▬ · ▬ NCBS' borders	⬌ Urban network		- - - Urban networks outside NCBS	

Figure 5.4: New common border space (NCBS) (Anani, 2006)

However, it is worth noting here that the territorial concept of the NCBS is still abstract and does not function without its operationalized spatial concept, which (as mentioned earlier) is discussed in the following chapter.

2.3   Re-conceptualising Regional Boundaries

After formulating the outer territorial boundaries of the NCBS by reference to the idea of free-trade zones and cross-border industrial areas, it is important to study the sub-administrative boundaries that mark regional territorial administration.

Accordingly, the NCBS in this occurrence is divided into a number of regions depending on the arrangement of urban centres within its boundaries.

However, if the regional boundaries of the NCBS are drawn according to formerly existing ones, then regional territorial boundaries will still emphasise the transitional character of regional territorial boundaries, leading in this case to continuing differences between the different regions.

Habitual tendencies of interactions between the different regions will be bounded by the former boundaries and perhaps enhanced slightly by decentralized policies of spatial development in the NCBS.

Performance of regions within the NCBS

In the literature, many regional studies have addressed the issue of the performance of regions in terms of the direction and concentrations of development within the region and with neighbouring regions on the other side of the border. These studies, such as Armstrong and Taylor (2001), Florida (1995), Ohmae (1995) and Morgan (1999), have verified that the different institutional and regulatory systems between regions from different countries represent the biggest obstacle in the face of efficient regional co-operation and networking.

According to the latter studies, the territorial jurisdiction of these institutions and regulatory systems tends to direct development and investment towards the core parts of the region (e.g. major city or decentralized agglomeration). Consequently, as shown in *figure (5.5)*, the edges or borders of a region are attract little development and investment in comparison to the core parts. Moreover, networking between urban centres within the same region is stronger that that between urban centres in two regions.

Development generally fades towards the borders of regions, as shown in *figure (5.5)*; however, it strengthens towards the inner core of regions where the major urban centres are located (decentralized or monocentric).
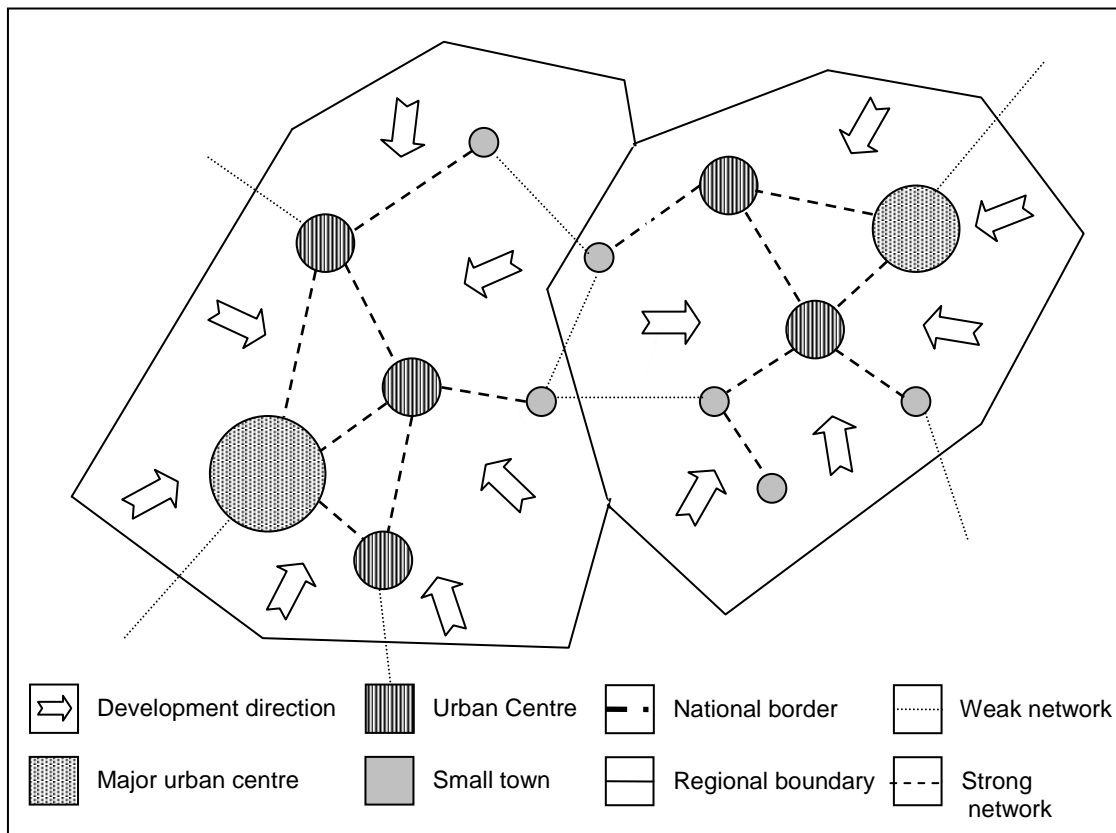

Figure 5.5: Regional boundaries and regional performance (Anani, 2006)

Therefore, regional borders within the NCBS should be reconsidered, especially the borders between two regions where each belongs to a different state. Ultimately,

differences in the latter case between the two regions are highly wide-ranging and the spatial development in each of them is based on a different cognitive, knowledge, and power structure, evident in different national institutions and juridical systems.

Thus, rearranging the regional boundaries of the NCBS should consider the following:

– Reducing the transitional character of regional boundaries and their hindrance to dynamic regional co-operation.

– Harmonizing spatial development between regions, especially in border areas between regions from different states.

– Considering the difference in the base of cognition, knowledge and power structures between regions from different states, especially in spatial decision-making regarding burdens of co-operation and the distribution of development products.

Accordingly, these considerations are adopted in the following section for rearranging the regional boundaries of the NCBS.

Re-conceptualizing the regional borders of the NCBS

The regional boundaries in the NCBS are rearranged in a manner to create new regions with new boundaries following the latter considerations. Each new region includes parts of the two sides of the border space. In other words, the new regional boundaries enclose two parts, one from the first political entity and the other from the second.

Figure (5.6) illustrates the concept of re-conceptualising regional boundaries of the NCBS in an abstract manner. Accordingly, the NCBS is composed from the unification of areas "a" and "b", each belonging to a different country, as explained in previous examples. Prior to cross-border co-operation as shown in *figure (5.6)* (1), spaces in area "a" belonged hypothetically to the administration of two regions "R1" and "R2" (first state), while the spaces of area "b" belonged administratively to regions "R3" and "R4" (second state). Subsequent to cross-border co-operation, the regional boundaries in the common border space are redefined to include areas from both sides of the NCBS "a" and "b".

 Consequently, two new regions are defined in the NCBS: Region1 and Region 2, as shown in *figure (5.6)* (2), considering again the spatial distribution of different settlement structures. For example, in the abstract configuration of *figure (5.6)* (2), one major urban centre is included in each one of the newly created regions (Region 1 and Region 2), avoiding the problem of confining the two main urban centres to only one region.

 By redefining regional boundaries, spaces and actors from the two sides of the border space (different states) are adjoined. This leads to a new constellation of actors in each of the newly created regions who will be involved in decision-making regarding the newly defined region of the NCBS. Area "a" belongs to a core country and "b" is eventually part of a peripheral state, assuming that "R1" and "R2" which belong to area "a" have fewer spatial disparities, an information society, higher social welfare, is economically and technologically well established, and spatially highly developed in comparison to the region disparities in "R3" and "R4" which belong to "b". In other words, area "b" has the advantage of using the relationships of differences not in favour of area "a".
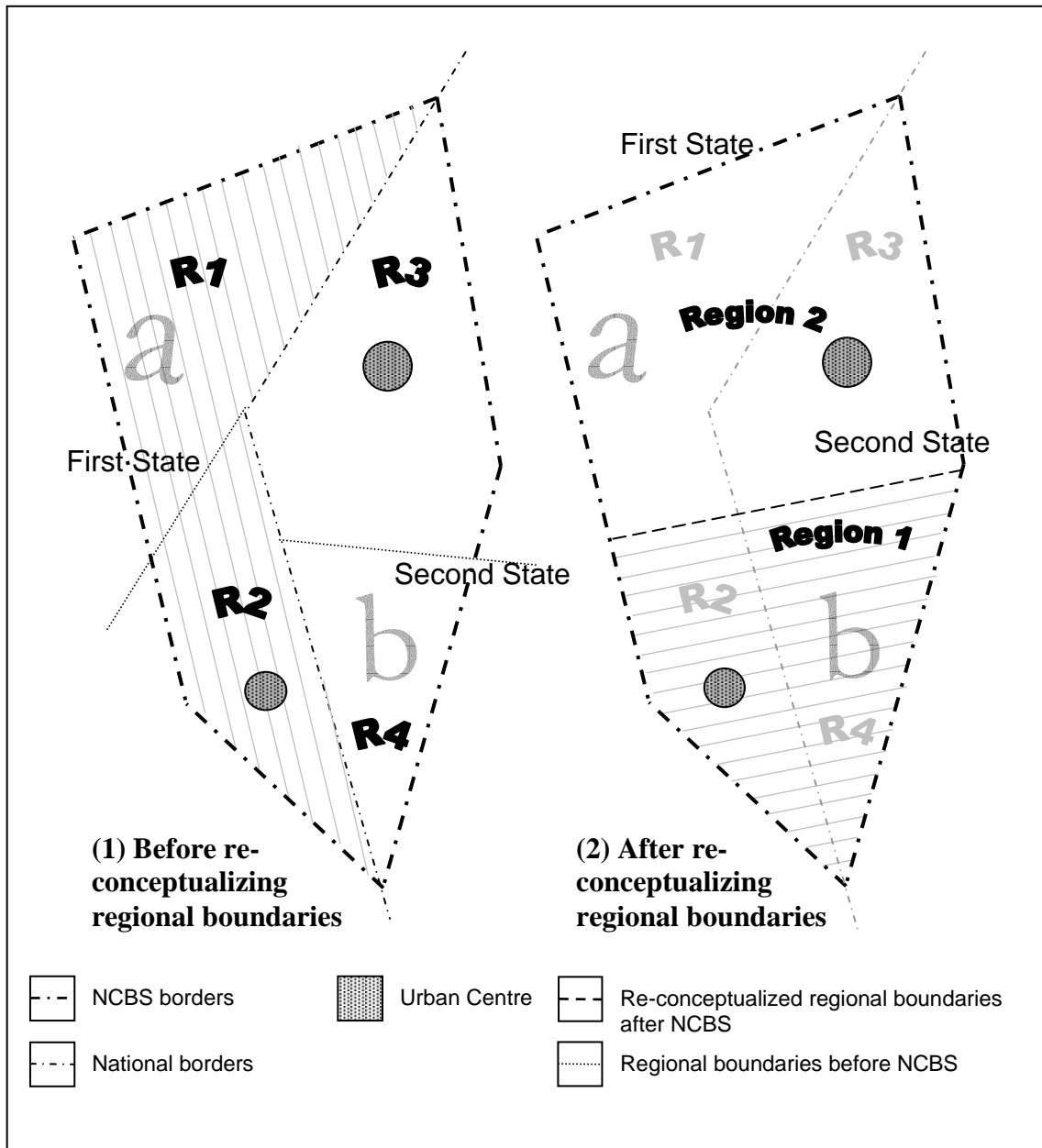
Figure 5.6: Re-conceptualizing regional boundaries (Anani, 2006)

By redefining the regional boundaries in the manner explained earlier, the following occurrences are expected to affect the regional spatial development of the NCBS:

–   Newly defined groups of actors in each region comprising actors from both states, with differences in power relations, cognition and communicative abilities, belonging to different social and political groups. This newly jointly defined structure of actors in each region holds different needs and expectations. Eventually, all these structures will be involved in decision-making regarding the development of the newly defined regions.

–   Accordingly, power relationships are redefined, some actors lose power and some coalitions collapse; however, new competitors surface and new alliances are formed. The change in actors, coalition and interface is also based on the change in the resources of the space and the new goods and services which can be distributed, as well as the new orders and regulations which are formed.

–   Actors who are used to higher standards of spatial services coming from area "b", and who are acquainted with certain goods, find themselves in the same basket with actors accustomed to lower standards coming from area "a"; thus, the new services provided by the newly defined regions should cover both expectations.

–   A process of information and cognition exchange between actors changes the overall needs and expectations of the newly defined region.

–   People from area "a" with weaker political representation and less social services will be mixed with groups from area "b" which are more powerful; hence they will benefit from their political, social and economic interactions and resources.

–   Decision-making regarding the joint space will also be influenced where stronger groups from area "b" within the newly defined region depend on the endorsement of weaker groups in defining joint needs, which brings us back to the issue of information exchange and the promotion of cognition level and basic spatial knowledge within weaker groups.

–   The redefinition of boundaries and borders alters the relationship of the location of resources within a space in relation to its demographical distribution and the different societal activities.

–   Each newly defined region will involve a combined spatial organization from both states, including all spatial problems and advantages. Subsequently, the new spatial administration, for example, of "Region 1" is obliged to deal with the spatial disparities that were adjoined from "R2" contributing indirectly to the advancement of "R4" through a new set of decision-making system.

There is a risk that if the NCBS has not undergone any redefinition of regional boundaries, then the NCBS will comprise two regions: one in the boundaries of area "a" from the combination of "R1" and "R2", and the other one on the territory of area "b" from the union of "R3" and "R4". In this case, the regional disparities of the peripheral country remain under the administration of the peripheral regions, and cross-border development in this case will not succeed in contributing to the reduction of relationships of differences in its territorial spatial definition. Moreover, borders will still persist with regard to their transitional character, as explained above.

The redefinition of regional borders gives a faster pace to spatial development on both sides of the border space, by mixing the different social spheres as well as spaces in an effort characterised by exchanging experiences, joint development and problem-solving, eliminating differences between the two sides of the space, and finally setting a more optimal basis for economic and social development.

Finally, the results of redefining regional boundaries will take decades to be seen. Physical changes in these spaces might take place at a faster tempo compared with the consequential changes in the social cohesion of the spaces, which in turn takes more time.

3. Summary

The NCBS is a cross-border spatial model that borrows its basic territorial, abstract idea from free-trade zones and cross-border industrial areas. However, the NCBS differs in size, function, process and aims from free-trade zones and cross-border industrial areas. The basic aim of the NSCB is to reduce the influence of the relationships of differences on cross-border co-operation and development.

One of the NSCB main aims is promoting cross-border development in a spatial manner discarding the tendencies of project-based cross-border development (e.g. Jordan Rift Valley Project) that emphasise the benefits and outcomes of cross-border projects rather than using these projects to enhance the border space as a whole.

Consequently, the NCBS aims at creating a more just cross-border space where the burdens of co-operation as well as the distribution of the products and outcomes of cross-border development and co-operation are conducted in a fair manner.

The NCBS model is composed of two main parts: (1) a territorial concept that defines the boundaries and borders of the cross-border space, and (2) the operationalized spatial concept where the different sectoral processes of the NCBS are formulated to achieve the previously stated aims of the NCBS model. Furthermore, this chapter has discussed the formulation of the territorial concept, while the operationalized spatial concept is tackled in the next chapter.

As the territorial concept deals with re-conceptualizing of cross-border territorial demarcations, then understanding the meaning of 'borders' as spatial elements is absolutely crucial for developing the territorial concept. The brief theoretical review of borders reveals a very important characteristic that plays in extending the differences between the two sides of the border space. The transitional character of border creates not only a physical border as in the case of 'national borders', limiting mobility of people and goods between the two countries, but also creates social, political, cultural differences in the spatial arrangement and processes of the two sides of the border. The territorial concept as well as the operationalized concept aims at reducing the transitional character of borders in order to reduce the differences between the two sides of the space in a step towards achieving more distributive justice in cross-border development.

The territorial concept re-conceptualizes national borders by transforming the borderline into a border area as in free-trade zones. The border area bounds the area agreed upon by both cross-border partners, where cross-border sectoral projects are supposed to take place. Border administration and security are transferred from the national border to the boundaries of the NCBS.

Moreover, the territorial concept rearranges the regional boundaries as they also contribute to the persisting transitional border character that extends in turn the differences between the different parts of the border space. Therefore, the re-conceptualizing of the regional boundaries is formulated to adjoin parts of the two sides of the border space under one regional administration in the NCBS.

In a step to fulfil the aims and objective of this dissertation, as well as to answer part of the research questions, the re-conceptualizing of national and regional borders brings about the following rewards:

– it transforms cross-border development from being a project-based development (e.g. Jordan Rift Valley Project) that depends mainly on the economic benefits of the different cross-border sectoral projects, to a spatially oriented cross-border development that promotes the entire cross-border area.

– It reduces the transitional character of regional and national borders and their hindrance to dynamic co-operation between the two sides of the border space.

– It directs the development towards the cross-border area as a whole, rather than to the decentralized agglomeration or major urban centres of regions by establishing new foundations for cross-border networks.

– It bridges the socio-cultural gap between the two sides of the space and reduces the differences in capacity, knowledge and cognition by bringing together communities from both sides of the border space in decision-making regarding the newly defined regions within the NCBS.

– It considers the difference in the base of cognition, knowledge and the power structure between regions from different states, especially in spatial decision-making regarding burdens of co-operation and the distribution of development products.

– It bridges the difference between the two national juridical and institutional systems through adjoined regional administration.

Finally, the territorial concept of the NCBS provides a new framework for cross-border development and co-operation based on promoting more justice in both burdens of co-operation and the distribution of development products through the re-conceptualizing of national and regional borders. However, the territorial concept alone is like clapping with one hand as it does not explain the social, political and economic processes that will support the re-conceptualizing of the national and regional boundaries. Moreover, the territorial concept has rearranged only the external and internal borders of the NCBS; how the NCBS will function is the task of the operationalized spatial concept, which will complement the territorial concept , as will be explained in the next chapter.

Operationalized
Spatial Concept

Noah builds the ark, by *Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld*, copied
from *Das Buch der Bücher in Bilden*.
Source: World Mission Collection, 1997.

Chapter Six

Operationalized Spatial Concept
"Operationalizing the territorial concept of NCBS"

"A new concept that of the production of space, appears at the start; it must "operate" or "work" in such a way as to shed light on processes from which it cannot separate itself because it is a product of them. Our task, therefore, is to employ this concept by giving it free rein without for all that according it, after the fashion of Hegelians, a life and strength of its own qua concept"
Henri Lefebvre

After the re-conceptualising of national borders and regional boundaries, this chapter embarks upon operating the territorial concept of NCBS by formulating and then explaining how the political, social and economic processes within the territorially defined NCBS will function. The operationalized spatial concept will not only convert the abstract idea of the NCBS into a more functional model, but it will also embark upon reducing the relationships of differences between the two sides of the border space towards a more just comprehensive cross-border spatial development.

After defining the external borders of the NCBS as well as the internal regional boundaries, it is important to explain how cross-border development will function inside the NCBS and what are the relevant economic, political and social atmospheres within the boundaries of the NCBS that will support the fulfilment of the aims of the NCBS.

Therefore, this chapter is divided into four main parts: (1) an introduction that discusses the importance of the adoption of strategic reforms by the peripheral partner as a foundation for a more successful NCBS; (2) the form of governance and political structure within the NCBS; (3) re-establishing decentralized spatial policies in the NCBS, and, finally, the social implication of the unification of the two parts of the border space.

1. Introduction

Referring back to the different cross-border development studies, such as in the work of Armstrong and Taylor (2001), Ohmae (1995), Morgan (1999), Nelson (2000), and Caracostas and Soete (1997), the difference in the institutional and juridical systems between the two parts of the border space limits the potentials of cross-border networking and, accordingly, the overall rate of cross-border development.

Furthermore, as this dissertation limits the investigation of cross-border development to the case of partners with wide-ranging differences (e.g. Jordan and Israel), the institutional incompatibilities as well as the differences in national economic and social policies between cross-border partners is a persisting problem in the face of cross-border development in the NCBS. Therefore, an affective solution to this problem is the adoption of strategic economic and social reforms by the peripheral partner.

In the literature, there is abundant material about the benefits of reform to developing countries, such as in OECD (1996), World Bank (2000), UNS (1997) and Morales-

Gómez (1999). Through juxtaposing the latter studies, the aims of these reforms are to achieve sustainable economic growth aimed at increasing income-earning opportunities and reduce poverty through the development of national strategies, including efficient macroeconomic and structural policies, which promote:

– A gradual studied transition from a centrally planned economy to a free-market economy, committed to a juridical regulatory framework, competitive markets and democracy. This transition will contribute to:

  · increasing foreign investments,

  · streamlining the public sector in the economic growth,

  · reducing inflation,

  · bringing about a significant level of stability and prosperity.

– Effective 'privatization' where the government creates and maintains a legal and regulatory environment for private ownership and fair competition, which provides protection from market failures and ensures economic stability, law and order.

– The development of human resources, particularly through broader access to education, health and family planning services.

– Improvements to the health and education sectors by using public financial resources.

– A sound 'deregulation' by removing restrictions on business and individuals in order to encourage the efficient operation of markets.

– Restructuring of governmental institutions by enhancing their financial management capacities in terms of: public expenditure planning, budgeting, performance evaluation and accountability.

– Enhancing resource mobilization of foreign financial resources (e.g. foreign aid, loans, and direct investments) and domestic financial resources (e.g. government revenues, private 'business and personal' savings) and ensuring their use in the most efficient and productive way possible.

– Reforming public enterprises by means of restructuring, liquidation and/or privatization; developing private enterprises, aiming at improving the institutional performance and management capabilities in corporate planning, performance contracting, financial accounting and information systems.

The reforms will boost the performance of the peripheral partner, not only in dealing institutionally and technically with cross-border development, but also in raising the capacity and communication skills of the peripheral partner. The elimination of differences between the two sides of the NCBS will lead eventually to a more just and effective cross-border co-operation.

2. Political Environment of the NCBS

As has been observed earlier, in the Jordan Rift Valley Project a project-oriented cross-border co-operation focusing on the establishment of several sectoral projects with higher possible outcome and production rates does not represent the will of all the social and political factions inhabiting the border space. Thus, the NCBS handles cross-border development in a spatial approach aimed at reducing differences and creating more justice in the border space. Therefore, the NCBS respects the different existing values, cultures and lifestyles and embarks with its social and political milieu upon bridging the differences between the various spectrums of political and social groups.

In the literature, the relationship between the state and the subjects has been formulated in different political models with various governance structures, such as autocracy[13], oligarchy[14] and democracy. In this dissertation, democracy is the ceiling of the formulation of the political structure of the NCBS. However, there are many conceptions and interpretations of democracy, such as minimalist democracy and deliberative democracy, aggregative and direct democracy. Consequently, the author will not discuss democracy or the democratic state, but will rather elaborate on the configuration of governance and administration in the NCBS

This section discusses both administration and governance in the NCBS in the sense of what kind of governance and administration is needed for a more just cross-border co-operation and fewer relationships of differences. Moreover, this section discusses mentoring as an important tool in operating a democratic and less politically oppressive NCBS.

2.1 Political System of the NCBS

After defining the territorial boundaries of the NCBS through the territorial concept, which re-conceptualized the existing national borders and the internal regional boundaries of the NCBS, the NCBS eventually contains on either side two different political systems of governance and administration, as seen in *figure (6.1)*.
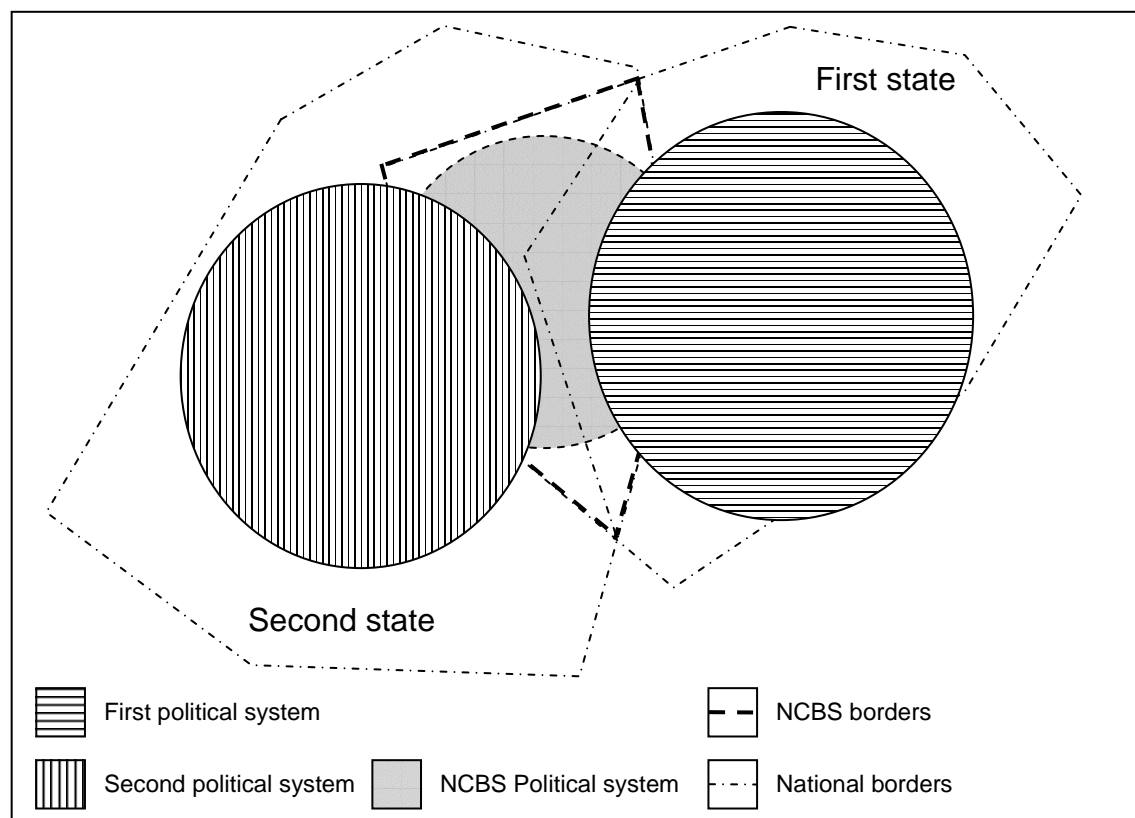
Figure 6.1: Political status of NCBS (Anani, 2006)

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[13] Autocracies are governments where one individual ultimately holds all power. This category includes absolute monarchies as well as republican dictatorships with an all-powerful president or other central figure. Source: www.wikipedia.com, viewed on 1st November 2006.

[14] Oligarchies are governments where political power is held by a small group of individuals who share similar interests with each other. A common type of oligarchy is plutocracy, where the small group of powerful individuals is composed of the wealthiest members of society. Source: www.wikipedia.com, viewed on 1st November 2006.

Figure (6.1) shows in abstract terms the political status in the NCBS, which after re-conceptualizing the national and regional borders is left with two different political systems, each related to one of the cross-border partner states. These political systems can be in harmony if they have a similar political structure, institutional mechanisms, and regulatory systems, or they can clash, for example in the case of a decentralized and a central political structure.

Therefore, as has been concluded in several chapters of this dissertation, especially in the analysis of power relations in *Chapter Three* and the strategic reforms earlier in this chapter, the decentralization of the role of the government at many levels and in many sectors in the NCBS is vital to a sustainable and more just cross-border co-operation. Consequently, a new decentralized political system for the NCBS is formed as a central regional administration with the intention that the NCBS should perform as a self-governing region with a structure that allows political input from both states.

> *The amalgamation of the two political spheres is represented in an NCBS assembly (parliament), which is entrusted with the political representation of the NCBS. The political governance of the NCBS assembly is based on demographic representation; thus representation of the national politics of the two states is indirectly represented in the political structure of the NCBS.*

Neither the formulation of the NCBS governmental assembly nor the governmental institutional structure will be discussed in this dissertation. However, the benefits of a decentralized governmental model in the NCBS will be tackled in the next section.

To this end, the governance model in the NCBS considers the following:

– By adjoining the different regions and localities of the NCBS through the re-conceptualizing of the regional boundaries, and in order to overcome the limitations of the transitional character of borders, a system of cooperative co-decision-making is to be adopted by the two sides of the NCBS, which eventually needs the establishment of new joint institutional formation.

– As the NCBS is created between countries possessing imbalanced power relations, the mechanism of decentralized power-sharing is applied considering mandatory horizontal layering, where powers are shared between different local administrations from both sides of the border at one level and between different levels.

– In the case of the existence of ethnic conflicts (deeply divided society) in the NCBS areas, a power-sharing governance model is recommended as a subordinate political structure, based on Lijphart's (1977), Horowitz's (1985) power-sharing models. The power-sharing model aims at a just distribution of power and authority, along with a wide range of forms of social and political participation in decision-making, with consent for the just distribution of services and products of spatial development.

> *"Ostensibly, power-sharing solutions are designed to marry principles of democracy with the need for conflict management in deeply divided societies"* (Sisk, 2003: 1).

– In (Webber, 1974) a relevant elaboration on the administrative role of the governmental model of the NCBS suggests that practising the concept of purposive rationality by the administrative bodies of the NCBS would add a sense of selecting the most effective means of reaching pre-set ends, where the tasks are subdivided and implemented deductively leading to a more resourceful implementation of tasks. Nonetheless, decentralized governance in the NCBS contributes eventually to the practice of purposive rationality (see *section 2.2*).

– Nonetheless, the decentralized structure of local and regional administrations should also rely on structures of norms and legislations which bind the whole decentralized administrative body of the NCBS and work as a shield in reducing the by-product

differences. The administrative body of the NCBS is divided functionally on an equal basis between cross-border partners, with job formations, which allows composite decision-making.

– The executive power is amalgamated institutionally and administratively with a joint representation of power; however juridically, citizens of the NCBS follow the juridical conventions and system of the country they originally come from. In other words, citizens originally coming from one part of the NCBS before unification retain the same juridical stature after unification.

Finally, the government structure is divided into a joint central administration of the NCBS, as a joint region between the two states, and joint sub-regional and local administrations, as representation of the new regional boundaries. A democratic and decentralized governance model is practised within the NCBS, based on decentralized governance and power-sharing. What the benefits and rewards of such a decentralized governance model are is explained in the following section.

2.2   Decentralized Governance

A great deal of literature has tackled the virtues of decentralization in good governance for it merits of providing openness, transparency, fairness and probity. Authors like Blair (1997), Adam and Mistry (1992), Litvack and Bird (1998), Rondinelli (1981) and Estache (1995) stressed the essentiality of decentralised governance in developing spaces, and effectively curbing the influence of relationships of differences that has been discussed in *Chapter Four*.

Besides the justifications that have been discussed in previous chapters, and by juxtaposing the different decentralized studies that have been done by the latter authors, a decentralized government formation in the NCBS can be seen as contributing to the following:

– Decentralization, as explained before, is an effective means to curb the central concentration of power in a central state, through which other levels of power can also prevail and affect justice in the cross-border development of the NCBS. *(burdens of co-operation and distribution)*

– Decentralization allows for many sub-centres in the NCBS from which decision-making is exercised, it reduces accordingly the amount of resources that are controlled and influenced by central authorities, and hence reduces the extent to which central government is able to exercise relationships of differences over all aspects of public affairs (especially the government of the core country). *(burdens of co-operation)*

– Decentralization allows each region and locality in the NCBS to articulate its own development interests and perspectives, which might differ from those of the central government or other regions and localities. This leads to the creation of a plurality of interests and perspectives. Both states will no longer monopolize public policy formulation in the NCBS, and the decentralized government structure of the NCBS will serve to promote and protect the regional and local interests. *(burdens of co-operation)*

– Decentralization allows a better division of roles in the management of public affairs. The creation of decentralized local governments with an effective capacity to manage local affairs enables the central governments of both states to concentrate on other levels of national affairs. *(burdens of co-operation)*

– Decentralizing power to local jurisdictions in order to manage their local affairs makes it more difficult for single groups and individuals (governmental or private) to dominate the national scene. This will also increase the chances of different ethnic and minor groups to occupy positions in the decentralized government of the NCBS (more representation). *(burdens of co-operation)*

– Decentralization facilitates the participation of people from both sides of the NCBS in governance through their local and regional governments, which are closer to the people than that of a central government. This will enable a better relationship between citizens and local government and easier communication (better informed about rights and roles). Moreover, this reduces the alienation of citizens from the political process and eventually makes it easier for them to get their concerns addressed, or taken into consideration. *(burdens of co-operation)*

– Accordingly, decentralized participatory processes will contribute significantly to the re-conceptualizing of regional boundaries and the newly established localities of the NCBS in the following ways:

- Bringing various stakeholders from both sides of border space together and helping to foster better understanding of each other, thereby reducing differences and mistrust and creating a framework for collaboration and exchange.

- Providing an environment for reconciling conflicting interests generated from differences which have served as barrier between the two sides of the border.

- Facilitating the recognition of mutual interest, as the realization of the goals of each group will only be achieved and sustained with the support of the other groups; therefore, co-operation is recognized as the key to mutual interests.

- Helping to highlight the commonality of interests, values, goals, and aspirations which are shared by the different groups, and which usually far outweighed by differences.

– Decentralization facilitates and stimulates the empowerment of civil society institutions and networks, due to the fact that citizens from the core side of the NCBS perceive the benefits of working in collaboration with local government to promote their needs and expectations, and this is transmitted to the peripheral part of the NCBS through the re-conceptualizing of regional boundaries. This will eventually allow more co-operation between civil society and local government, as the latter will be more accessible to the former, and will have the resources and authority to respond to representations. Communities will find it easier to pursue their development objectives – and obtain support from local government – through their participation as a full partner in the local governance process. *(burdens of co-operation)*

– Fiscal decentralization provides a framework which facilitates and stimulates local sustainable development throughout all regions and localities of the NCBS, due to the following:

- Fiscal decentralization will reverse the process and the central practice of extracting resources from the periphery and concentrating them for the use of the centre.

- More resources will be retained at the local level, which will help to enhance and stimulate local economies and support local development initiatives.

- More resources will be available for functions to be performed at the local level, thus creating opportunities for local human resources with technical, managerial and leadership skills to remain in the region, and in turn reducing the rural-urban migration and enhancing local capacity to manage local affairs and lead local development.

– Decentralization increases the efficiency of service provision through the decentralized participatory system, in which citizens can influence decisions about service provision through mechanisms which enable them to communicate their expectations and needs regarding the resources available or the price which they are prepared to pay for the services desired. *(burdens of co-operation and distribution)*

– Since each region and locality is empowered to manage its own affairs, decentralization allows an environment with a more innovative approach to tailoring solutions for local problems and conditions reflecting the special circumstances or

preferences of their respective regions or localities. Moreover, this enables the pool of talent, innovativeness, creativity, problem-solving capacity and leadership qualities which was previously latent but unreachable by central government to find expression through local participatory mechanisms.

Finally, reflecting back to the theoretical analysis of power in *Chapter Three*, especially the Habermasian communicative democracy where communicative power is transformed into administrative power, a decentralized governmental model based on democracy will empower communication between all the different groups and actors in the NCBS towards a sustainable and just cross-border development.

2.3   Emerging Risks and Disadvantages

Although the NCBS is governed through a decentralized democratic administrative model, this model of governance does not come without some potential disadvantages or risks.

According to the literature on decentralized governance, such as in Blair (1997), Rondinelli (1981) and Estache (1995), as well as power-sharing theorists such as Lijphart (1977), Horowitz (1985) and Sisk (2003, 1996), a decentralized democracy would still be at risk and susceptible to limitations especially from political structures of powerful groups from both sides.

It is therefore very important that clear consideration should be given to such disadvantages and risks through monitoring mechanisms (e.g. international observers, international mediators, international binding agreements and treaties, an efficient juridical structure, etc) in order to locate such disadvantages or risks so that appropriate safeguards or preventive measures can be taken or put in place. Among these disadvantages and risks are the following:

– Cross-border and inter-regional inequalities may increase, and thus widen differences between the two sides of the NCBS or between different regions and eventually foster politically destabilizing forces. This spatial problem might occur due to the fact that different regions and localities are differently endowed in terms of natural resources, level of economic activities, land values, etc. This leads to an unequal generation of regional revenues, and similarly an unequal quality in services provision in the different jurisdictions of the NCBS.

The need for equitable distribution of available resources in order to avoid such disparities is one main aim of the NCBS; therefore, it is necessary to put in place efficient spatial mechanisms to safeguard against extreme disparities between regions.

– One of the risks of decentralized governance in an NCBS is the possibility that resources and power might be captured by local elites or special interest groups. Without appropriate measures and mechanisms, the powers conferred on local authorities can be abused by elite groups to gain benefits and serve their own interests. It is, therefore, essential that in formulating the decentralization arrangements, provisions are included to prevent the likelihood decentralized processes and incentives being taken over by any single group or small elite.

– Decentralization provides greater efficiency and is more cost-effective than centralization. However, there are situations in which some degree of centralization leads to greater efficiency. The ideal approach in the NCBS is to identify aspects of different sectoral activities which could benefit from central management (e.g. bulk purchasing, high-level expertise, research and development) and separate them from those that are more efficiently managed at the local level (e.g. choice, implementation and service delivery).

– Another risk of decentralized governance is the misuse of authority due to ineffective decentralized supervision and weak accountability mechanisms. This can

happen in peripheral areas of the NCBS where central government supervision and accountability functions are removed due to the new empowerment of local governments whilst no alternative mechanisms for accountability are put in place. It is essential that special attention is paid to the issues of accountability measures in awarding greater empowerment to local governments.

Such measures could include legislation to ensure transparency and openness in the conduct of local affairs, as well as the empowerment of civil society to undertake monitoring functions. It is worth stating here, however, that within the framework of participatory local governance, the risk of weak accountability is minimized, due to the active role of civil society in providing efficient monitoring mechanisms.

– Inadequate implementation of decentralization in the NCBS can lead to a discrepancy between the available revenues and the responsibilities and functions of local government, leading to the formation of ineffective, disrepute or discredit localities. Therefore, it is necessary to initialize local government reforms as a key requirement of decentralization along with careful planning and implementation arrangements within a pilot approach.

– Conflicts in interests between the local level and the NCBS region level, moreover, conflicts between the NCBS region level and both states national levels are a possible aftermath of decentralization. Each of these levels is empowered to identify and articulate its particular interests; thereafter, differences in interests between local, NCBS and national levels are certain to emerge. Such conflicts can be positive in the sense of ensuring that in arriving at any policy or course of action, the interests and concerns of all levels are taken into consideration and suitably addressed. However, if such conflicts are not adequately managed, they could lead to instability in the NCBS and between the partner states, and therefore an important aspect of any decentralization arrangement must be an appropriate framework for resolving such conflicts.

– The creation of several levels of government between different political systems brings complexities with regard to roles and functions, relationships of differences, revenues of development and power sharing. The most controversial issue is usually related to financial. The definition of roles and functions of, and relationships between, the different levels of government or operations is critical to a successful decentralization exercise.

Finally, it is essential also to employ both strong and efficient jurisdictions in the NCBS along with international treaties and accords (e.g. human rights, sustainable development, environment, etc) as a ceiling and umbrella for decentralization and the performance of local governments. furthermore, these risks and advantages can be reduced and eliminated in a particular case.

3. Decentralized Spatial Policies

Besides monitoring mechanisms, strong jurisdictions and the adoption of binding international accords and treaties, it is necessary to overcome the previously discussed risks and disadvantages, as well as supporting effective decentralized governance through the formulation of sound spatial policies for the NCBS.

Planning for decentralized sustainable spatial development in the NCBS is undertaken through a participatory process through which all localities forge a collective vision for the spatial development of the NCBS. On the local level, all the actors agree on common goals, and on strategies and plans for achieving these goals and realizing a collective vision. Decentralized spatial policies are essential to the vision of the NCBS, enabling each region to take initiatives for their own spatial development needs. Eventually, the regional blend from core and peripheral parts (re-conceptualizing

regional boundaries) will have the opportunities, indigenous resources and comparative advantages on which a joint spatial development can be based.

Therefore, decentralized spatial development is driven locally, rather than by external agents (central states, global actors) who know little about local potential for development and have a different agenda of needs.

The utilization of decentralized spatial policies in the NCBS as a form of cross-border development is a means towards producing public goods which are more capable of satisfying people's needs, and using existing resources in a more efficient and sustainable manner, along with a more just distribution of these products and services, as stated in various places in the literature, such as in Faludi (2004), Davoudi (2004), Healy (1997) and Jensen and Richardson (2004). One of the basic goals of decentralized spatial policies is:

> *"forging new connections by overcoming historical barriers, such as those caused by national boundaries, local rivalries or distance/poor communications" (Hauge and Kirk, 2003: 12).*

As has been elaborated previously, the transitional character of borders in all their forms and variations, along with relationships of differences, are basic hindrances which can limit interactive communication within the NCBS cross-border co-operation. Consequently, applying decentralized spatial policies will reduce the effects of the transitional character of borders through communication and improving co-operation between spaces and allow different sorts of interactions that turn the differences between spaces into partnerships and complementary support.

Therefore, referring to the European model of polycentricism, and moreover considering the aims of NCBS and the risks and disadvantages of decentralization, this section recommends different spatial development strategies that are to be transformed into binding spatial polices on the different levels of jurisdiction in the NCBS.

Furthermore, it is worth stating that the European model of polycentricism will not be analysed by this thesis as a comparative spatial model for the following reasons:

– The NCBS as a decentralized spatial model aims at reducing relationships of differences within the NCBS territory, and not between the two partner states, while the European model of polycentricism has a different aim, namely to reduce the differences between EU member states (spatial cohesion) in a step towards a joint vision of a greater Europe.

– The NCBS is applied in a case where there are wide-ranging relationships of differences between partner countries and there is no joint interest or future vision of a national union or federalism between the two states. By contrast, the differences between European states are less wide-ranging in comparison with the suggested case of the NCBS.

– The European model of polycentricism is formulated at the level of the EU in general and then applied nationally in each county fitting with the country's distinct spatial needs and problems, including cross-border policies. The NCBS, on the other hand, is only a model for cross-border co-operation and cannot be applied at a level such as that of the European Union.

Nonetheless, the NCBS's decentralized spatial development strategies (corresponding to the decentralized model of governance) are explained in the following bullet points:

– Spatial equity: an issue dealt with in several places in planning literature is that of spatial equity, especially at the level of the EU. Davoudi (2005), Faludi (2004) and Kunzmann (1998) acknowledge the importance of having efficient spatial policies that would develop a more effective spatial balance between spaces in a sense of diminishing welfare differences and reducing persisting disparities between different spaces.

Accordingly, people living in any area of the NCBS should have equal opportunity of finding employment, social services, infrastructure for investment, etc, without the need to travel to other areas. In addition, spatial equity brings stability and more justice to disadvantaged spaces, promoting security, especially in potential conflict regions. Spatial equity as a policy objective, in an abstract sense, provides more possibilities for equal opportunity for development and better welfare in all localities and regions of the NCBS by:

- encouraging investment in the peripheries and relocating investment from already dense central urban centres or agglomeration areas.

- the planning and development of cross-border sectoral projects and the budgetary arrangements being channelled towards equal economic growth and the urgent support for poorer areas or regions within the NCBS.

- establishing co-ordination between the different regions of the NCBS and a system of regional compensation between rich and poor regions. This comes as a step towards more investment in regional spatial equity.

– Competitiveness of regions and urban centres: space-related factors such as geography, and location from other active productive regions and urban centres, influence the potentials of competitiveness of regions and cities, as explained by Porter (1990) and Lall (2000).

The entire NCBS as a unit should compete with other regions on both the national and global levels; moreover the regions and urban centres within the NCBS should not only compete with each other but also with regional and international urban centres and regions.

This cannot be achieved only through the decentralized reforms, but also through the redefinition of the functions of the different regions and urban centres within the NCBS (e.g. gateway city, cultural metropolis, tourism centre, etc).

This implies that the NCBS will comprise different classes of regions and urban centres, each competing on a different level (e.g. global, national, level of the NCBS and local level).

Among many other subordinating strategies which work on empowering different levels of competition between urban centres and regions of the NCBS are:

- administrative reforms that enhance the competencies of regions and cities.

- increasing the local and regional organization capacity of urban centres and eventually of the NCBS by fostering inter-municipal co-operation.

- providing incentives to business and investors to relocate in designated potential economic areas within the NCBS.

The competitiveness of the NCBS as a region in its own right is an essential strategy which will bring about a flow of global investment and promote the NCBS in the global economy.

– Establishing urban networks: one of the main aims of decentralized spatial policies is to establish co-operation between urban centres and their hinterlands. The advantages obtained from such a network of co-operating centres or clusters of agglomeration are diverse.

- Hauge (2003) and Douglass (1998) for example, suggest that urban networks provide a larger pool of labour, varied links with suppliers, diverse infrastructure, experts and specialists, larger markets, access to knowledge, etc.

- The creation of urban networks allows two or more adjacent cities or towns to form a complementary, coherent functional entity by fostering multileveled co-operation. These networks are promoted to be complementary and interdependent, comprising towns as alternatives to large metropolises or big cities, and small and medium-sized towns and their hinterlands, thus helping to bring about the integration of the countryside.

- On the regional level, the focus is moved from one or two dominant regional centres to several small and medium-sized centres in which new regional services are provided through urban strategic alliances and rural urban partnerships.

- The decentralized urban networks approach combines both economic and conventional urbanization; furthermore, a distinction is made between the different types of urban networks: those that have a national and international significance, and those, which are valuable on the regional level.

- It allows not only unsystematic social interaction between different groups and actors from both sides of the NCBS, but it is also economically valuable as it saves redundant and duplicated investment in infrastructure, and in other sectors, through the sharing of existing resources.

Finally, the different urban centres within the NCBS will eventually utilize the urban networks to connect with regions and cities outside the territory of the NCBS.

– Counterbalance over concentration: this is a complementary strategy to the spatial equity strategy, creating a counterbalance between the different urban centres and their hinterlands, as well as between the different regions of the NCBS. This strategy aims at achieving social and economic cohesion by spreading economic growth to other areas (other than main urban centres or agglomeration areas) in order to attain equal development opportunities, income, employment and economic growth.

Moreover, this brings about multiple benefits to the NCBS, including:

- utilizing the potentials and resources of remote areas where development is not centralized.

- decreasing the pressure on already productive areas and urban centres.

- reducing internal immigration to big urban centres within the NCBS as employment and investment opportunities will be located in the peripheries.

- reducing the energy consumption on transportation and the environmental pressure on concentrated areas.

- reducing the threat of disorderly urbanization and sub-urbanization at the local and regional level, especially in parts of urban areas with high population densities .

Any fear of mass migration from one side of the NCBS to the other can eventually be thwarted by allocating equal development opportunities in all areas of the NCBS.

– Empowerment of rural areas: by allocating economic growth to rural regions and eventually increasing the employment opportunities and the income per capita, the above-mentioned decentralized spatial strategies mitigate the on-going deterioration of rural areas in terms of their being potential resources with important landscape and cultural values. Among the other advantages that decentralized spatial policies would bring to rural areas are:

- Rural areas will not only have the function of production but also, within the global trend towards alternative tourism, rural areas would be a major attraction for local and global tourism providing services for sustainable tourism.

- Opportunities for employment and investment help in the long run to prevent internal migration to urban centres, and exploit the potentials and resources of rural regions.

- Revitalizing the role of rural regions through the creation of infrastructure for investment, providing services such as education or the relocation of certain governmental agencies and amenities.

The notion of decentralized spatial development in border spaces is based on creating various decentralized zones of economic integration and social cohesion to

counterbalance the central concentration of the economic core in major urban centres and agglomerations. Thus, the NCBS could be a combination of different possibilities for joint regions with different regional characteristics such as:

– large metropolitan regions.

– densely populated urban regions with decentralized or dispersed economic development.

– regions with a high density of population in urban areas but containing rural areas with decentralized or mono-centric development,

– regions dominated by rural areas under the influence of a metropolitan area.

– regions predominated by rural areas with small and medium-sized towns.

– regions dominated by remote rural areas or natural areas.

Therefore, it is worth mentioning that the establishment of the decentralized policies and the vision for the NCBS should have regard for the existing spatial arrangements and the type of regional characteristics of the NCBS.

4. Social Implications and Considerations

After establishing the decentralized spatial strategies in the NCBS within a decentralized model of governance, social differences between the different parts of the NCBS will tend to be the last to be reduced, due to their temporality of change, which takes longer than in the case of other physical or economic processes. Consequently, this section explains the social spatio-temporal differences and their implications for the NCBS; the section ends with a discussion of the identity of the NCBS.

4.1 Spatio-temporal Differences

The NCBS – with both its territorial concept and its operationalized spatial concept – brings together two different social and political structures from both sides of the border space in order to create a new cross-border space aimed at justice in co-operation and development.

Let us assume at the beginning that both sides of the NCBS, prior to the re-conceptualizing of borders, were composed of several social spheres of different social groups, as illustrated in abstract terms in *figure (6.2)*. These social spheres are used to a particular spatio-temporal definition, meaning, according to Harvey (1996), that different societies produce different ideas about space and time.

> *"there is a good historical-geographical evidence for the thesis that different societies (marked by different forms of economy, social and political organization, and ecological circumstance) have "produced" radically different ideas about space and time" (Harvey, 1996: 207).*

Therefore, different societies evaluate their spaces through time in different manners, and this generates a social notion of different needs and spatial priorities regarding their spaces. Subsequently, the development of spaces in time, which is spawned by the changes in the social, economic, and political processes through time-constructed intervals, dispenses a process of perpetual change in local needs and expectations. The cultural differences between societies are as well projected upon the social comprehension of the construction of space and time.

The re-conceptualization of borders in the context of the NCBS means a change in the social and political relationships between the different spaces within the NCBS. A

sudden and abrupt change in the habitual flow of social, economic and political processes leads to the attribution of different values to spaces, and eventually to a change in the local methods of time and space construction

The decentralized model of governance, as well as the decentralized spatial policies which accompany economic and social cohesion strategies, are means of bursting the boundaries of the social spheres, as illustrated in *figure (6.2)*, allowing the exchange of people, knowledge, and capital. This exchange assumes a greater acceptance of differences and tolerance for others, besides the objective of enhancing the status of spaces in the NCBS.
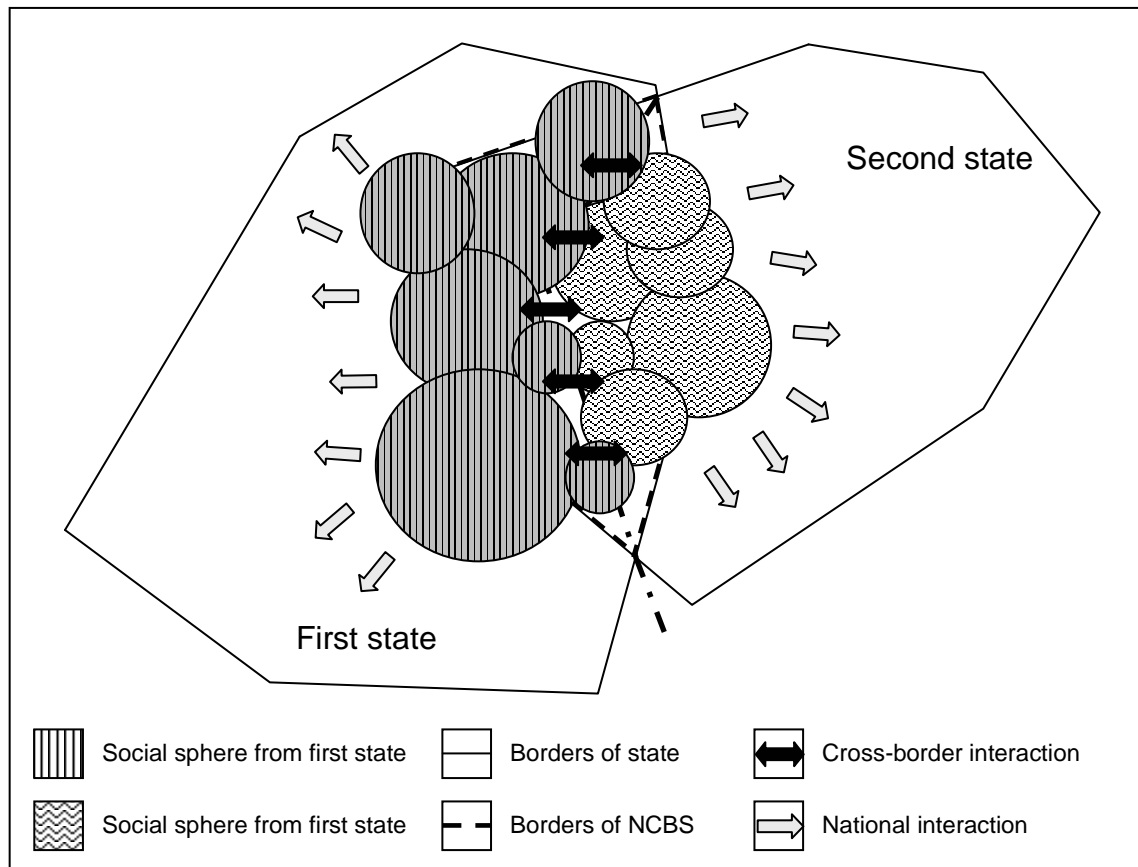
Figure 6.2: Interaction of social spheres in NCBS (Anani, 2006)

The interaction of the different social spheres from the two parts of the NCBS leads eventually to several possible social clashes as a by-product of differences, such as class and gender struggle, in addition to the social meaning of the 'environment', such as in the level of balance between the market and environment as a spatial and temporal definition.

However, the most crucial impediment is reaching a consensus and an overall level of equilibrium (equilibrium is not equality) between the different cultural definitions of the space-time construction between the social spheres of the two sides of the NCBS. The Marxist and Foucauldian debates argue that the shape of equilibrium in this case would be shaped rather by the powerful – information, demography, technology, capital, etc. Nevertheless, the natural flow of the social processes regarding the definition of the space-time construction within powerful social spheres will eventually be altered by the definitions from the less advanced and less powerful social spheres.

To illustrate this idea, the following discussion gives an explanation referring to: (1) the working-time clash, and (2) the gender clash of the space-time construction of the

NCBS, among other social clashes that might occur in the NCBS, such as environmental and market definitions and the clash of social classes.

Working time

Harvey (1996) describes one of the possible cultural clashes in the context of 'time' and 'work' by stating that:

> *"The working day, the working week, and the working year (vacation with pay rights) and the working lifetime (retirement and pension rights), has subsequently been writ large in the whole historical geography of class struggle" (Harvey, 1996: 225).*

Consequently, Marx (1967) argues that the market forces are the main shapers of the new form of work-time definition, and that the cultural struggle (concerning definition of time vs. work) will end up eventually being recreated and reformed to satisfy market needs. Nonetheless, the decentralized governance and spatial policies tend to reduce the differences between social values of working time, thus minimising the intensity of any social clash.

Gender roles

Another space and time struggle between the different adjoined spaces is the gender definition of space and time, which can also be transformed into a cultural clash in the NCBS. Forman and Sowton (1989) indicate that the restraints on the role of women in defining the collective space goes back to the confinement of women to the 'cyclical times of nature', which have excluded women from the 'linear time of patriarchal history'.

Women, as seen from the historical perspective of men (who are destined for social production processes), are a flow of sexuality and a symbol of birth. By laws of nature (historical chronology of male interpretation), women were confined to the basic spaces of the social spheres, which means the home, where marriage (the simplest form of social institution) is located. It is worth accentuating the fact that such definitions have the tendency to exist in some parts of the peripheral side of the NCBS.

In such definitions, the flow of women's sexuality (which is manly viewed as an obstruction of the flow of social production and as a natural hindrance and impediment for women to contributing to the collective spatial arrangement) is confined to the arrangement of home spaces. However, Harvey (1996) explains that since the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the improvement of women's status in social co-operation in terms of allowed space (male-defined) for the feminine contribution to the collective production of collective goods has grown in different ways within multicultural Europe.

The cultural specificity and the local degree of women's emancipation are defined differently in the social spheres within one national space. Consequently, the spatial-temporal difference regarding of the role of women and their degree of participation in social production between the different social spheres in each of the adjoined spaces of the NCBS can turn into a cultural clash. Here we see again the role of decentralized spatial policies and decision-making mechanisms in reducing the differences in defining the role of women towards empowerment within the NCBS.

Reflections

Furthermore, in addition to decentralized spatial policies, the NCBS needs decisive decentralized social policies that aim at real social cohesion, not only between the two sides of the NCBS, but also for all of its social spheres. Such decentralized social policies should consider several sectoral dimensions, such as:

– equal gender opportunities in employment, which can be merged within the local formulation of decentralized fiscal policies, especially in the peripheral segment of the NCBS.

– employment opportunities should be diffused and not confined and localized to certain geographical, ethnic or gender employment.

– academic exchange on all educational levels between the two sides of the border space, where students and teachers within a special cross-border exchange programme are swapped for a specific period. The exchange programmes encourage not only a pedagogical exchange, but also a cultural and lifestyle exchange, reducing the level of differences between the different social spheres and promoting acceptance and tolerance.

– Languages as a vital means of communication should be rooted in school education, with both sides of the NCBS being equipped with tools of communication with the other, providing a space for social dialogue and exchange and raising the level of acceptance and cohesion.

– The exchange between civil society organizations working on social welfare issues is an important step towards coherent social cohesion. Such organizations should combine efforts in their specific domain and extend their services between the two sides of the NCBS.

Finally, the basic objectives of decentralized social policies are to facilitate a strong social exchange between the two sides of the NCBS, to raise the level of social equity between the different social spheres, as well as between the two sides of the border space, to combine both governmental and civil institutional frameworks on both sides of the border space in order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives.

4.2   Cultural Identity of the NCBS

The issue of decentralized cultural identity has been addressed by several authors, such as McGuigan (1997) and Katunarić (2003), who referred to the fact that, with decentralism, the centralized cultural identity and its national policies are eventually diffused autonomously among the different regions, with the great advantage of formulating individual regional cultural policy frameworks, independently of the national central administration. Such a turning-point provides a joint definition of a collective cultural identity for the NCBS as a composite of all its particular regional and local identities.

The central administration and the political power are no longer entitled to define a mono-national cultural identity, which is confined to the central needs of the major urban centres in the country. By contrast, each region defines its own cultural policies depending on its own spatial particularities. The decentralized regional cultural identities allow a larger spectrum of geographical and social contributions to the definition of the cultural identity coming from many ethnic groups and cultural landscapes, whereas such diverse and wide-ranging contributions are marginalized and neglected within the controlled central national definition of cultural identity. Katunarić (2003) elaborates further by stating that:

> *"The result of that might be a working concept of culture that really decentralises the old cultural meanings and functions, ceasing with exclusive links between culture and political power, culture and administration, culture and expert power and, eventually, culture and business that is interested only in converting cultural goods into commercial markets (mass culture) by fostering the populist notion of the "sovereignty of consumption", McGuigan (1997), with no public standards for culture insight." (Katunarić, 2003: 2).*

The promotion of cultural diversity is a step towards accepting the fact that a NCBS is a multicultural space, and diversity is a norm even within the same region. Accordingly, the course of development of the region is based upon the promotion of the cultural identity of the region (e.g. tourism). Consequently, the decentralized policies in the NCBS are to promote cultural activities via a network of institutions that promote and finance the representation of the diverse culture of spaces, through local and regional projects based on social and cultural activities and events.

5. Summary

After defining the territorial traits of the NCBS with the re-conceptualizing of both the national and the regional borders, the NCBS takes the shape of a region (oasis) that lies on the border of two states. However, the territorial concept is not enough to explain how the NCBS works or how it will help as a model for cross-border co-operation to reduce the relationships of differences between the two states.

The operationalized spatial concept is complementary to the territorial concept, explaining how the different social, political and economic processes are forged in the NCBS and how these reconstructed processes will help in reducing the relationships of differences between the two states. The operationalized spatial concept explains three main facets of the NCBS: (1) political environment, (2) spatial perspective, and, finally, (3) the social implications of uniting the two sides of the border space in the NCBS.

A decentralized political model of governance is proposed as a means of managing the NCBS territories with a joint political and administrative assembly based on demographic representation at the level of the NCBS.

Among many advantages, the decentralized model of governance aims at reducing the influence of both states as hubs for other levels of power (e.g. national and global). Moreover, decentralized governance empowers cross-border spatial development, rather than a project-based development as in the case of the Jordan Rift Valley. Localities have the power to undertake decision-making on their own regarding their needs and aspirations; thus, decentralized governance approaches the development of spaces from the inhabitants' perspective rather than from that of the needs of other actors from other levels.

The decentralized model of governance also harbours risks and disadvantages, which has been taken into consideration. Among the many risks and disadvantages, decentralization might lead to an increase in inter-regional inequalities where resources and power are captured by local elites. This might happen due to ineffective decentralized supervision and weak accountability mechanisms in comparison to centralized governance. Furthermore, conflicts in interests between the local level and the NCBS region level might occur, as well as potential conflicts between the NCBS level and the national levels of both states.

Consequently, decentralized spatial strategies are formulated in the NCBS to complement the decentralized model of governance and to curb its possible

disadvantages and risks. The decentralized spatial strategies aim at sustainable cross-border spatial development in the NCBS by means of :

– strategies of spatial equity that reduce the disparities between different localities and regions in the NCBS.

– strategies of two levels of competitiveness: (1) the competitiveness of the NCBS as a region in the global level, and (2) the competitiveness of several regions and urban centres inside the NCBS.

– strategies for establishing urban networks and co-operation between different localities.

– strategies to counterbalance the concentration of economic growth in main urban centres and agglomeration areasin favour of the peripheries and other potential areas.

– strategies to empower rural areas.

The creation of an NCBS can lead to potential social clashes because of differences in the definition of the spatio-temporal construction of space. The difference in culture and social structure can lead to many social clashes in the NCBS, such as the working-time clash and the gender clash over space-time construction, a clash due to the difference in the perception of the environment and market conceptions in different societies. Subsequently, several measures are suggested to reduce these clashes; moreover, decentralism in both the governance and spatial development of the NCBS reduces these conflicts by eliminating differences between the two sides of the border space.

Finally, if governance and the spatial development of the NCBS are based on decentralism, then the cultural identity of the NCBS is also decentralized. The collective identities of all localities and regions of the NCBS are ultimately the "collage identity" of the NCBS.

Thoughts for an Epilogue

Michael and angels fighting dragon, by *Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld*, copied from *Das Buch der Bücher in Bilden*.
Source: World Mission Collection, 1997.

Chapter Seven

Thoughts for an Epilogue
'Outlook'

"The parts are ontologically prior to the whole; that is, the parts exist in isolation and come together to make wholes. The parts have intrinsic properties, which they possess in isolation and which they lend to the whole. In the simplest cases the whole is nothing but the sum of its parts; more complex cases allow for interactions of the parts to produce added properties of the whole"
Richard Levins

This chapter, as the concluding part of this dissertation, is dedicated to providing a closing summary of what has been discussed and tackled in this thesis; the chapter closes with an elaboration on the use of the NCBS as a model for cross-border development in the case of imbalanced power relations. Therefore, the epilogue is divided into two parts: (1) a conclusion in which a summary of the arguments and findings of this thesis will be presented, (2) and an outlook on the utilization of the NCBS in other contexts.

1. Conclusion

The Jordan Rift Valley Project, like other cross-border development projects between countries with wide-ranging differences has a great regional development potential in fields of technology, science, economy, social structure, politics, etc. The author's review of the project stimulated the idea behind this dissertation, as the review ended with several observations questioning justice in cross-border development between countries with wide-ranging differences. The main question raised by the observations was: What is a cross-border development model that can bring more justice to cross-border co-operation?

Justice and power were examined theoretically and were connected to an influential domain labelled by the author 'relationships of difference', which includes power relations, relationships of communication and objective capacity. All these three branches of the relationships of difference influence (on different levels) the different processes of planning for cross-border development. From analysing the relationships of differences at the cross-border level, several results have been concluded and eventually transformed into objectives and aims for the construction of a model for just and equitable cross-border co-operation.

The model was named by the author the 'New Common Border Space' (NCBS), and was divided into two main parts. Firstly, a territorial concept, where the borders (national and regional) of the cross-border area are re-conceptualized. The territorial concept is then complemented by an operationalized spatial concept that explains the different social, political and economic processes of the NCBS. The operationalized spatial concept adopts decentralism as a paradigm to be followed in governance, spatial policies and development of the NCBS.

The NCBS is eventually a cross-border region that lies on the borders of two states with a territorial notion similar of that of free-trade zones. However, the NCBS

promotes a spatial approach in dealing with cross-border development, rather than a project-based approach as observed in the Jordan Rift Valley Project. With its territorial and operationalized spatial concepts, the NCBS is a space where cross-border development and co-operation provide more justice in the spatial development of the border space between countries with wide-ranging relationships of differences.

2. Outlook for the NCBS

This section will propose different uses of the NCBS in different regional contexts within different social, political and economic milieus. However, the discussion will be brief and presented in the form of ideas about using NCBS, as ample empirical analysis is required before applying the NCBS model to a real situation on the ground.

Security

Border regions in core countries have (at a growing rate) the tendency to perform the function of providing security for the country itself, especially if the neighbouring country is peripheral and displays political and social instability and insecurity. Border regions in this case take on the role of a barrier that shields the core country from the spillover of insecurities and instabilities and allows the other regions to concentrate on production and spatial development. Such examples can be found, for instance, in the regions between Spain and Morocco, where Morocco is considered to be the resort for African immigrants wishing to cross into EU territory via Spain in pursuit of a better life and future.

Therefore, transforming the national border into a zone (such as the NCBS) is a great incentive for a core country, not only for economic co-operation and for production benefits, but also to assign the security measures and duties to this intermediate zone, where the two countries share responsibility. The peripheral country will undertake serious efforts to protect the NCBS from instability because it will affect its production processes, and in turn, economic rewards will be gained. On the other hand, the core country, with its border region, will spend less on securing the borders and shielding instability, and in turn can concentrate on productivity.

Conflicts

A clearer and more exemplary application for the NCBS is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Israel on the one hand insists on high levels of security guarantees from the Palestinian Authority. Moreover, some sensitive areas were taken by the Israelis from the lands of the West Bank under the claims of security. These areas are known as 'no man's lands' functioning as security buffer zones and are administered by the Israelis. Palestinians have no control over these no-man's-land areas and have no prospect of a beneficial spatial development in those spaces. It is worth mentioning here that such security buffer zones have consistently appeared in many of the Israeli proposals for a land settlement with the Palestinians. The NCBS, with the notion of the re-conceptualizing of borders, can be applied flexibly in this case where the common space, as discussed above, provides security for the Israelis and does not wrest more land from the Palestinians. The NCBS (in this case 'no man's land') would be mutually secured by both authorities; moreover, the land would be used with its potential resources for production and development, bestowing benefits for both administrations.

Economy

Furthermore, cross-border co-operation in the NCBS is a means of dispersing the load from core productive areas in the core country and eventually reduces all the social and economic pressure on main urban centres by diffusing employment opportunities and investment potentials as well as providing infrastructure for business and cultural activities in the peripheries. Such a notion of cross border co-operation in the form of a redefined common border space enhances the development potentials for partner countries and allows more space for laid-back economic growth and advances in social welfare. Moreover, the NCBS, with its spatially competitive conception, strengthens the position of partner countries in the global system by promoting competition with other regions by attracting foreign investments and providing means of global competence in cultural, institutional, scientific and business arenas.

Nevertheless, the promotion of different types of sectoral development within the NCBS also provides potential for developing the same sector within the partner states on both urban and regional level through networking, and through the polycentric policy objective of urban networks, which will certainly not be confined to the common border space but extend to different regions and urban centres in the partner countries. Moreover, the NCBS will communicate new forms of social, political and economic norms and patterns to other regions and urban centres in the peripheral country. This will eventually lead to endeavours in other areas and regions within the peripheral country to adopt the spatial concepts of the NCBS and follow the same pattern of development in unilateral or bilateral regional co-operations.
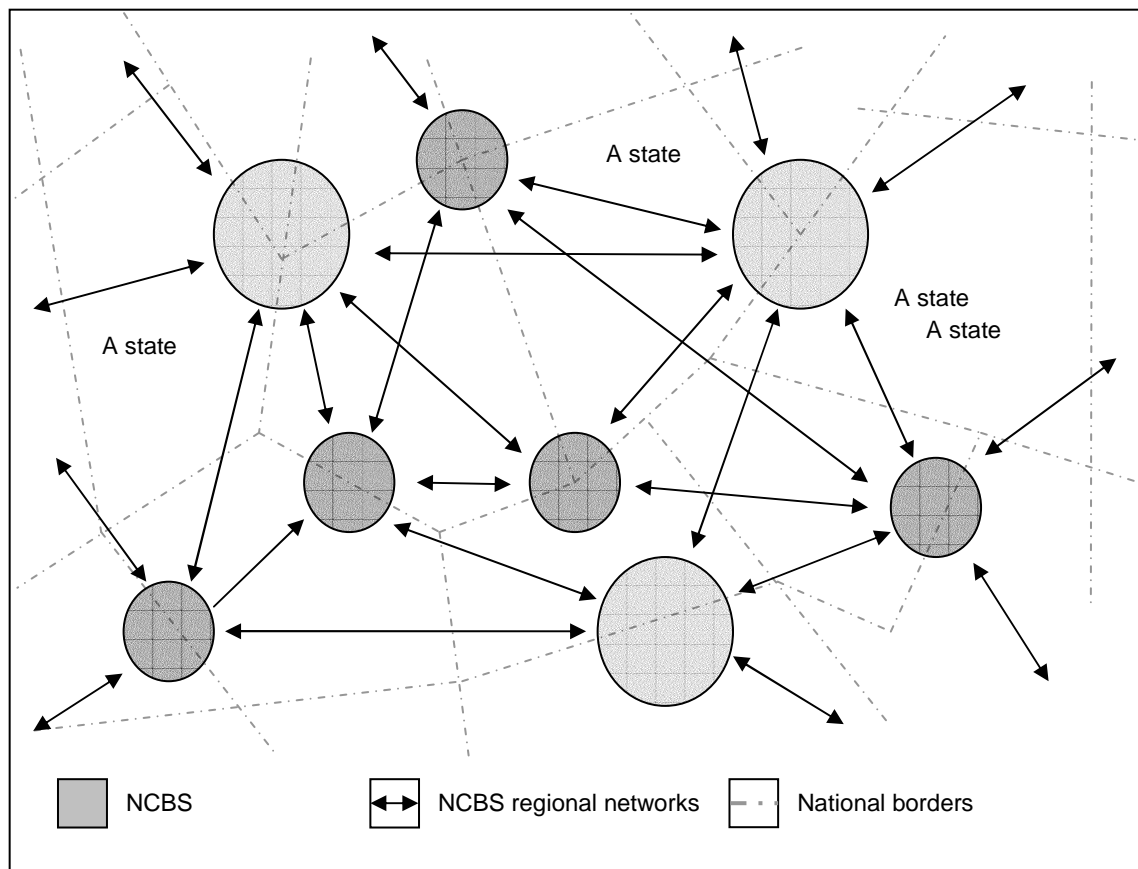

Figure 7.1: NCBS: application on a larger scale (Anani, 2006)

Larger-scale Application

The bigger view of the NCBS concept can be projected onto a larger regional scale between several countries such as MENA or the Middle East regions. As was mentioned above, cross-border co-operation in the form of NCBS with redefined borders has the quality of diffusing centrality and promoting decentralism with multileveled social and economic rewards.

A system of agglomeration of multi-NCBSs within a peripheral region (MENA and Middle East), as shown in *figure (7.1)*, can also be expected to reform the centralized authoritarian political systems in these countries, which have the effect of impeding development, as observed, for example, in the UN development report for the Arab world. The system of common border spaces will create an alternative supplier of governmental services at the regional level with transnational urban and regional networks creating centres of economic competence and social welfare. Consequently, it is worth contemplating a network of NCBSs in developing regions as an alternative model of spatial development.

Finally, this dissertation is formulated as a foundation for future research, either in the form of focused research on certain topics, such as power analysis and spatial planning, or borders and border regions, etc. Otherwise it could provide the basis for a project for a post-doctoral study where the NCBS model for cross-border co-operation and development would be applied practically to a real case, such as the Jordan Rift Valley area between Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

The End

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