

Norges miljø- og
biovitenskapelige
universitet

Master's Thesis 2017 30 ECTS

Department of International Environment and Development Studies

The Aesthetics of Teichopolitics:

Sense, Sensibility & the Return of the Border Wall in IR

An Exploratory & Comparative Study

Akari O. Izumi Kvamme

MSc International Relations

The Department of International Environment and Development Studies, Noragric, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU). The university hosts seven faculties and associated research institutions. Established in 1986, Noragric's contribution to international development lies in the interface between research, education (Bachelor, Master and PhD programmes) and consultancy assignments. Following a merger in 2014, Noragric is now one of three departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

The Noragric Master theses are the final theses submitted by students in order to fulfill the requirements under the Noragric Master programme "International Environmental Studies", "International Development Studies" and "International Relations".

The findings in this thesis do not necessarily reflect the views of Noragric. Extracts from this publication may only be reproduced after prior consultation with the author and on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation contact Noragric.

© Akari O. Izumi Kvamme, 2017
akarizumi@gmail.com

Department of International Environment and Development Studies (Noragric)
Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU)
P.O. Box 5003, N-1432 Ås,
Norway Tel.: +47 67 23 13 00
Fax: +47 67 23 13 91
Email: noragric@nmbu.no
Website: <https://www.nmbu.no/en/faculty/landsam/department/noragric>

To my mother.

Declaration

I, Akari O. Izumi Kvamme, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature:

Date:

Acknowledgments

They say it takes a village to raise a child. Well, in many ways, I feel like it has taken an entire global village to complete this thesis too. Despite the rather lonely task of writing a thesis and the countless hours spent alone, my desk overflowing with papers, books, post-it notes and highlighters in every neon-colour imaginable; the insights, advice and support generously bestowed on me by a wide collective of big ‘little helpers’ have been absolutely indispensable in the process. During this rather lengthy, intermittent and bumpy thesis-road, amid the most trying period of my life, those cheering me on from near and afar, have provided me with the courage and momentum needed to materialise what, at times, felt like an insurmountable task.

From the collective of genuinely caring individuals that I have encountered on- and off campus, I extend a special thanks to the following: Benjamin de Carvalho at NUPI for dauntlessly accepting the challenge as my thesis supervisor, providing me with scholastic expertise, direction, patience and reassurances at times when life events or my perfectionistic tendencies overshadowed progress. I also thank my co-supervisor Stig J. Hansen at Noragric for being a relentlessly energetic cheerleader and never ceasing to believe in my capacity as a student. Librarians Liv & Hilde who welcomed every library visit and query with uttermost friendliness. Ingunn & Tendai for always taking the time to help me deal with the dense jungle of university bureaucracy.

I am grateful to my colourful extended family: My global army of radiant sisters & brothers. Nadaradja Shanmugaratnam & Kristi-Anne Stølen who let me scavenge through their personal libraries. Mikuko-san & Kristin for being ever-so-caring guardians. I am particularly indebted to my ‘go-to person’ Elen Tandberg Meggison for providing strict yet insightful feedback on earlier drafts, in addition to boundless moral support.

Last but not least, to my caring ‘lighthouse keepers’: My loving parents Torstein Kvamme, Rolf Nergård, & Kaori Izumi, my eternal light source. My family in Japan. My younger siblings Linko & Kai who I cannot imagine life without. And my precious little trio, Kristoffer, Karlita & Boss <3

Takk.

ありがとう.

Tatenda.

Thank you.

Abstract

Despite the renewed interest in political barriers in a contemporary teichopolitical era and an expanding body of research on border-related matters, meagre academic attention has been directed at linking aesthetics with teichopolitics. By means of a pluralist, reflective and multidisciplinary document-based approach, this thesis seeks to address this knowledge gap by exploring the ways in which aesthetic aspects provide an important and valuable source of insight and alternate meanings. The argument put forth is, hence, that the intellectually longstanding yet largely neglected field of aesthetic can contribute to a more profound and nuanced understanding of modern-day teichopolitics. Furthermore, the paper examines the links between ‘aesthetic borderscaping’ and teichopolitical practices through a comparative study of the US-Mexico Wall and the West Bank Wall, the two most prominent *great walls* in present-day world politics. More specifically, the discussion focuses on the surge of creative resistance that have emerged in response to the erection of these two barriers. In so doing, it delves into the teichopolitical ‘spectacle’ that is played out in the global public ‘theatre’. It uncovers how walls, as historically intrinsic features of the human landscape, serve as both *sights* and *sites* in which complex politics is performed, contradicted, contested and negotiated by a multitude of actors across spatio-temporal and demographic dimensions.

Keywords: *teichopolitics, wall, border, aesthetics, space, borderscape, resistance, borderart, affect, sensibility; poïesis*

Table of Contents

Declaration	7
Acknowledgments	9
Abstract	11
Table of Contents	13
List of Figures	15
Abbreviations and Acronyms	17
Chapter I.	18
The Framework of Inquiry & Thesis Structure	18
1.1 Introduction. Walls, aesthetics & world politics: Exploring intertextual relations	18
1.2 Objectives & aims of the study	22
1.3 Thesis structure	24
Chapter II.	26
Research Design: Methodology, Methods & Theoretical Underpinnings	26
2.1 A ‘toolbox’ of academic inquiry	28
<i>2.1.1 Distinguishing ‘methodology’ and ‘method’</i>	28
<i>2.1.2 Reflexive pluralism in IR</i>	30
2.2 Theoretical underpinnings: An overview	31
2.3 Conducting a literature review	37
2.4 Studying teichopolitics through intertextual/intervisual document analysis	38
2.5 Comparative case study method	40
<i>2.5.1 The selection of cases</i>	42
2.6 Ethical considerations	44
2.7 Challenges & limitations	45
Chapter III.	49
Teichopolitics in the ‘New Age of Walls’: Central Concepts & Debates	49
3.1 A brief history of <i>walling</i>	50
3.2 Conceptualising walls, borders & the current teichopolitical status	52
3.3 Territoriality, sovereignty & the ‘exceptional’ security landscape	57
3.4 Walls & power	63
3.5 Politics that moves: Affect, aesthetics & creative resistance	67

Chapter IV.....	72
<i>Great Walls in the Contemporary Era: A Comparative Case Study of ‘Aesthetic Borderscaping’</i>.....	72
4.1 From ancient to contemporary <i>Great Walls</i>	72
4.2 <i>Offensive Great Walls: the U.S.-Mexico Wall & the West Bank Wall</i>	78
4.2.1 <i>Between peaceful neighbours: ‘The Great Wall of Mexico’ (1996-present)</i>	80
4.2.2 <i>Intractable conflict in the heart of a holy land: The West Bank Wall (2002-present)</i>	84
4.3 ‘Aesthetic borderscaping’, creative resistance & unintended consequence: The Case of the US-Mexico Wall & the West Bank Wall	89
4.3.1 <i>Walling as ‘aesthetic borderscaping’</i>	91
4.3.2 <i>Culture as power & creative resistance as aesthetic borderscaping: Art, affect & ‘ephemeral’ intervention</i>	93
4.3.3 <i>The US-Mexico Wall & the artscape of performative protest</i>	97
4.3.4 <i>Graffiti, the Walled Off Hotel, public choreography & songs across the West Bank Wall</i>	104
4.3.5 <i>Cracks in the wall: Poïesis, contradiction & unintended consequence</i>	114
4.4 Concluding remarks: Aesthetics, teichopolitics & the way forward.....	118
Appendix	122
Reference List.....	125

List of Figures

Fig.1	The Great Wall of China	pp.73
Fig.2	Hadrian's Wall	pp.75
Fig.3	The Berlin Wall, Brandenburg Gate	pp.77
Fig.4	Ecstatic crowds swarm the wall, Nov 9 th 1989	pp.77
Fig.5	When a fence is not 'secure enough'	pp.82
Fig.6	'Loch Ness' of the border	pp.83
Fig.7	Teichopolitical brotherhood	pp.83
Fig.8	No borderland left un-walled: Trump's vision	pp.84
Fig.9	The completed and planned wall	pp.87
Fig.10	Stark contrasts in a divided landscape	pp.87
Fig.11	A glimpse of horizon between 8 meters of concrete	pp.88
Fig.12	Activists breaking through the wall	pp.88
Fig.13	Ramírez & Asperas' mirage-dinner	pp.99
Fig.14	Fernandez erasing the border	pp.100
Fig.15	The final result	pp.100
Fig.16	Coffins on the wall	pp.101
Fig.17	Crosses on the wall	pp.102
Fig.18	Death of Liberty	pp.103
Fig.19	<i>US Visitors Centre</i>	pp.103
Fig.20	Graffiti on the West Bank Wall	pp.106
Fig.21	Message on the wall	pp.107
Fig.22	A peace dove in chains	pp.108
Fig.23	Aiming to kill peace	pp.108
Fig.24	Welcome to the <i>Walled Off Hotel</i>	pp.110
Fig.25	Flying feathers: The Arab-Israeli pillow fight	pp.110
Fig.26	Album cover: Song across WALLS of Separation	pp.113
Fig.27	Banksy's mural on West Bank Wall laden with contractive irony	pp.114

Abbreviations and Acronyms

9/11	Terrorist attacks at World Trade Centre, New York 2001
BAW/TAF	Border Art Workshop/Taller de Arte Fronterizo
EU	European Union
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IR	International Relations
GPE	Global Political Economy
NAFTA	North American Fair Trade Agreement
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
US	United States

Chapter I.

The Framework of Inquiry & Thesis Structure

<i>Je hais les murs</i>	<i>I hate the walls</i>
<i>qu'ils soient en dur</i>	<i>whether they are hard</i>
<i>qu'ils soient en mou!</i>	<i>let them be soft!</i>
<i>Je hais les haies.</i>	<i>I hate hedges</i>
<i>qui nous emmurent.</i>	<i>which envelop us.</i>
<i>Je hais les murs</i>	<i>I hate the walls</i>
<i>qui sont en nous!</i>	<i>that are in us!</i>

~Excerpt from the poem *Je hais les haies*
by Raymond Devos¹

1.1 Introduction. Walls, Aesthetics & World Politics: Exploring Intertextual Relations

Spatial practices are widespread, culturally diverse and have existed throughout history of Man. Subsequently, the international system of states as we know it today is constituted by borders, which act as delimiters of sovereignty and power in the modern world (Carter & Poast 2017; Newman 2006). The *border*, once regarded as rigid line of territorial separation, is today commonly understood in a much broader and intricate sense, as a *social space* (Lefebvre 1974). A revamped and more critical geopolitical scholarship now considers the border to be complex and socially contingent site with implications far beyond the mere geographical. Within this enhanced framework of global *borderscapes*, we witness the unfolding of

¹ Disclaimer: This English version of the lyrics by Raymond Devos has been translated from the original in French for the purposes of this thesis only. In case of a discrepancy, the French original will prevail.

multidimensional processes of *bordering*, “through which territories and peoples are respectively included or excluded within a hierarchical network of groups, affiliations and identities” (Newman 2006: p.101; Szary 2012). This renewed attention to the longstanding human preoccupation with production of boundaries has expanded the conceptualisation of borders as something that frames and shapes collective life. Within the borderscape, social relations, differences and representations are continually narrated, performed and negotiated through a diverse set of socio-spatial or aesthetic practices both within and beyond the associated territorial borderlands. This, in turn has unveiled a host of interconnections and opened up the opportunity to encompass aesthetic and abstract elements into the debates around bordering, securitisation and walling (ibid; Brambilla 2015).

A common strategy in demarcating and securing boundaries is the erection of barriers. As such, the *wall* represents an enduring feature in the delineated human landscape, its history arguably “as old as the history of settled human populations” (Chaichian 2014: p.1). Examples of walls are plentiful and geographically boundless: From the cities and towns built by ancient civilisations in the Greek, Roman and Chinese empires, to the Iron Curtain of Berlin, the sand walls of the Sahara, and the more recent expansions of border infrastructure along the US-Mexico frontier and the contested lines of the West Bank. Social history and psychology have long regarded humans as territorial creatures, driven by an innate desire for safety and resorting to the establishment and securing of boundaries (Silberman et al. 2012; Waxman 2017). The *Wall* disputably represents the most emblematic, powerful and notorious of all barrier manifestations. Even when a wall ceases to serve its original purposes, it may persist in its physical form despite changes in its functions and continue to hold social meaning. Some walls, such as the Chinese Wall and Belfast’s peace walls, embellished in vibrant murals, no longer function as political barriers per se, but remain artefacts of collective memory and have today become major tourist attractions (Silberman et al. 2012). History books also remind us that many famous walls of the past eventually fell, either at the hands of an opposition, invaders or other external factors, while others crumbled as a result of internal neglect, the lack of resources to uphold the structures or obsolescence as the socio-political landscaped evolved. Hadrian’s Wall, for instance, is one of many fallen walls that today continue to exist as mere imaginings encountered in our collective memory. In 2009, Ballif &

Rosière coined the term *teichopolitics* to embody “the politics of building barriers on borders for various security purposes” (cited in Rosière & Jones 2012: p.218). The term itself is rooted in the Greek word for “city walls”, namely *τειχος* (*teichos*) (ibid), and will be applied throughout the paper and the discussion on wall-related affairs conducted within global contemporary and ever-changing socio-political landscapes.

Shifting the discussion into the contemporary era of political life, there have been a number of important turning points in the history of *teichopolitics*, the most noteworthy event being the demise of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The fall of the Iron Curtain, where communism had previously ran adjacently up against capitalism, marked the end of the Cold War. Fuelled by a potent globalisation discourse, it gave rise to a wave of wishful thinking about the end of a global political arena characterised by territorial demarcations in the shape of walls and fences (Vallet 2014; Silberman et al. 2012; Brambilla 2015). The idea that the border barrier would become increasingly anachronistic was coupled with naïve predictions of the imminent emergence of a ‘borderless world’ (Vallet & David 2012; Rosière & Jones 2012; Paasi 2009; Anderson & O’Down 1999) in a global society in which the “spaces of places” was giving way to the “space of flows” (Anderson & O’Down 1999: p.594). Less than two decades later, at the turn of the millennium, a string of events began to transform and destabilise the international security landscape. One notable turn emerged following the World Trade Centre attacks on September 11th, 2001 (9/11), which prompted intensified debates around questions of national and global securitisation (Bergman-Rosamond & Phyntian 2011; Andreas 2009). Recent studies indicate an unmistakable spike in the *teichopolitical* trend in international borderlands. Today, the erection of barriers are once again on the rise, driven by justifications of imminent contemporary threats and fears, such as influxes of migrants, spill-overs from surrounding conflicts, and the looming threats posed by global terrorism (Granados et al. 2016; Carter & Poast 2017; Bergman-Rosamond & Phyntian 2011; Bleiker 2006). Indeed, in our purportedly globalised world, we are currently witnessing a relapse of structural border demarcations and the figures are clear: The year of 2015 saw the initiation of more border barriers around the globe than at any previous point in modern history (Granados et al. 2016).

Broadly speaking, political barriers exist in both the tangible and nontangible or conceptual realms of human landscape and experience, overlapping the political, the

collective and the personal. This thesis recognises the vast diversity of walls with regards to its form, shape and function - ranging from the ideological or imaginative realms to the material structures of the global political arena. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, however, the focus will primarily revolve around physical political barriers erected along international borderlines. It will explore the *wall*, which has come to represent the most obvious and potent symbol of conflict infrastructure erected along borders (Till 2013) and continues to be a salient and significant topic of study for researchers within and across academic disciplines². In this thesis I seek to explore a set of overlapping themes that together comprise this deeply intricate, multidimensional and contentious global teichopolitical project.

Moreover, in the light of the more recent 'aesthetic turn' in IR (Bleiker 2009) and a growing recognition of the relevance of the figurative, affectual and 'sublime' in the social sciences more generally, I deliberately break away from the limiting frameworks of traditional and mainstream theories. Instead, drawing primarily on insights from the realms of IR and Geo-politics through an aesthetic lens, I pursue an alternative approach that reintegrates political thought and action through a broader spectre of perceptive faculties, senses, symbolism and emotions. In so doing, this study is *explorative* and *interdisciplinary* in its investigation of political barriers and their significance in the social world and *comparative* in its in-depth discussion on aesthetic borderscaping in the contexts of the West Bank Wall and the US-Mexico Wall. As will become clear in the discussion in the final chapter, these two cases offer valuable insights when examined through a more *aesthetically sensible* lens. Amidst the complex realm of contemporary international teichopolitics, I argue that a critical aesthetic reading of border walling, and its associated conceptual and practical challenges, present researchers with an opportunity to expand the breadth and depth of the discussion, which, in turn, enhances the analytical framework within which we narrate, make meaning of and understand the multi-dimensionality of tangible and non-tangible borderscaping practices.

² Including but not limited to: International Relations (IR) and Political Science; Human Geography and Geopolitics; Visual Arts; Cultural Studies; Global Political Economy (GPE); History; Psychology and their respective sub-fields.

1.2 Objectives and aims of the study

Social researchers incessantly seek alternative vantage points from which to study social phenomena. Such quests for knowledge, informed by the integration of unorthodox and/or complementary perspectives, analytical themes and continual questioning, work to provide fresh insights, provoke debate and prevent intellectual stagnation. This also applies to the study of teichopolitics where, despite the expanding body of research conducted in the social sciences on border-related matter and a renewed interest in political barriers in a purported ‘new age of walls’ (Granados et al 2016), little academic attention has been directed at linking aesthetics with teichopolitics. Typically underappreciated (and at times altogether overlooked) by mainstream theorists, researchers and decision-makers across academic and political domains, I believe this knowledge gap has generated a negative spill-over effect into the realm of education. In spite of its longstanding intellectual tradition and relevance in social sciences, aesthetics is generally not included as an integral part of academic curricula today. Hence, I contend that the role of aesthetics in IR warrants greater consideration than has hitherto been granted.

Amidst the vast sea of philosophical and ideological *-isms*, databases, indexes and contending analyses, the dominant discourses on borders, walls and international relations are insufficient in grasping the scope, nuances, complexities and contradictions inherent in political matters recurrently emerging from the global borderlands. As aforementioned, this has inspired a renewal of more critical and creative efforts within IR and Geopolitics to reshape and update the previously obsolete and deficient framework for analysing borderscaping practices. This thesis seeks to build on these efforts and further showcase some of the inherent complexities by examining various aesthetics or contradicting dimensions of international teichopolitics. Accordingly, this exploratory study seeks to elucidate the relevance and value of non-traditional insights and promote a greater aesthetic sensibility and consciousness in the study of teichopolitics specifically, and world politics generally. In so doing, the study challenges many of the dominant theories and traditional approaches to produce and circulate teichopolitical stories, meanings and claimed

‘truths’ that, in turn, influence decision-making and action at every level of political life³.

Henceforth, in this thesis, I seek to interrogate the interconnections between walls, aesthetics and international politics. The study is underpinned by a guiding objective *to elucidate the nexus between teichopolitics and aesthetics by exploring ‘border-scaping’ practices* at the two most (in)famous Great Walls of contemporary times, namely the West Bank Wall and the US-Mexico Wall. I pursue this overarching aim by exploring *the ways in which greater aesthetic consciousness can contribute novel insights, alternative meanings and deepen our understanding of teichopolitics in contemporary IR*. More specifically, I also seek to understand *how ‘aesthetic border-scaping’ relates to the political practices at the West Bank Separation Wall and the US-Mexico Wall*.

As such, three central propositions are presented in the thesis: First, teichopolitics is best approached through pluralist, reflective and multidisciplinary methodologies that, above all, seek to expand the breadth and depth of knowledge and understanding. Secondly, as aesthetics undeniably offers valuable insights in the study of world politics in general and teichopolitics in particular, aesthetic aspects ought to be recognised in its significance and integrated into philosophical debates and political decision-making processes. And thirdly, the argument is put forth that walls, despite their intension to render the identified ‘other’ invisible through exclusive ‘policing’ mechanisms, on the contrary, may contribute to magnify the visibility and plight of the ‘other’, whence generating a number of unintended consequences, which expose the potentially self-undermining characteristic of walling practices and, in turn, underscores the contradictory nature of walls. The first two propositions are primarily covered in the first half of the paper whereas the third and most intricate query is elaborated in the second half of the paper. Within its limited scope, this thesis hopes to provoke and encourage further deliberation amongst students and established

³In this context, it refers to life that has been exposed to what Agamben (1998) calls the structure of exception that constitutes contemporary *biopower*. *Bare life* or *la nuda vita* denotes then to a conception of life in which the sheer biological fact of life (*zoe*) is given priority over the way a life is lived, by which Agamben refers to its possibilities and potentialities. This reduces the prospects of the life because it takes no interest in or account of the actual circumstances of their life. This fallacy is avoided by also including life as *bios*.

scholars alike, and make a contribution, if small, to the on-going efforts to deepen teichopolitical understandings.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This study addresses the aforementioned research objective and research questions through an exploratory and interdisciplinary approach. Following the abstract, acknowledgment, a list of figures and a list of abbreviations, the main body of the thesis is divided into four overarching chapters and organised in the following manner:

Chapter I includes the Introduction (1.1), which presents the topic and familiarises the reader with the intertextuality that exists between walls, aesthetics and world politics. Moreover, it establishes the framework for inquiry; identifies related knowledge gaps in the field; highlights the principal aim and questions that guide the study; and briefly outlines the central propositions that inform the remainder of the paper (1.2). The chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis structure (1.3).

Chapter II presents the theoretical and methodological framework within which the thesis is situated, taking on a pluralist, interpretative and reflexive approach (2.1). In turning to critical interventions in modern IR, the thesis draws on an amalgam of theoretical insights from critical theory, postmodernist and poststructuralist currents of thought, border studies and aesthetic theory (2.2). The special emphasis on the recent ‘aesthetic turn’ in I.R. and the ‘emotional turn’ in geopolitics is understood to contribute insightful dimensions to the theoretical discussion on teichopolitics. The chapter also includes an outline of the selected research methods: literature review (2.3), intervisual/intertextual document analysis (2.4) and comparative case study method (2.5). Lastly, various ethical considerations (2.6) as well as the challenges and limitations (2.7) encountered in the study are reflected upon.

Chapter III discusses the central concepts and interdisciplinary debates around teichopolitics and aesthetics (3.1) to establish a foundation out of which the ensuing analysis will unfold. First, it provides a brief overview of the history of *walling* (3.1), followed by a conceptualisation of walls as physical, conceptual or imagined

structures and social spaces (3.2). Thereafter, it examines the main debates and conceptualises various themes at the core of the teichopolitical discussion in a changing security landscape, including territoriality, sovereignty and exceptionalism (3.3), various dimensions of power (3.4), affectual politics and aesthetic experience (3.5), as well as symbolism, art and creative resistance (3.6).

Chapter IV provides a general history of great walls from ancient to modern times (4.1). The brief historic contextualisation of the US-Mexico Wall and West Bank Wall (4.2) sets the stage for the main discussion of the thesis, which focuses on ‘aesthetic borderscaping’, creative resistance and unintended consequence. The comparative case study approach places the US-Mexico and West Bank borderscapes at the heart of the discussion and deploys intervisual / intertextual document analysis to deliberate around the notion of walls as both *sites* and *sights* of contestation. In focusing on creative resistance, a realm often neglected or underestimated in teichopolitical discourses, I examine a diversity of aesthetic borderscaping practices and a number of intersecting themes, such as art, affect, cultural production and ‘ephemeral intervention’ in the context of the two selected cases. The final section of the thesis sums up the key points raised in the paper and calls for a more sensible discourse in the quest to deepen our understanding of teichopolitical phenomena.

Chapter II.

Research Design: Methodology, Methods & Theoretical Underpinnings

For as long as can be recalled, there have been arguments over ways of knowing. Gods, giants and even reasonable people cannot seem to agree about the nature of reality and how we can understand it. There are – quite simply – different ways of knowing.

~Jonathon W. Moses & Torbjørn L. Knutsen (2012: p.1)

Ah, well, perhaps from up here it looks different.

~Winnie the Pooh (Milne, A.A)

The process of selecting methods, approaches and establishing the theoretical bedrock is essential for researchers embarking on research projects, students and professionals alike. The methodological, epistemological, and theoretical choices made ahead of an investigation inform and impact the research process in its entirety. It is therefore important that sufficient time and attention is dedicated to the task of assembling a methodological ‘tool-box’ (Moses & Knutsen 2012). As is the case of the natural sciences, researchers in IR and other social sciences are faced with a vast array of possibilities in terms of research designs and practical methods. Many scholars underscore that there is no single way of conducting research, nor “a single set of methodological guidelines [that] can protect students from error and shepherd them towards the ‘truth’” (Leopold & Sears 2008: p.3). Authors such as Stephen M. Walt (2011) and Christopher Lamont (2015: p.13) warn us that, in striving to “produce methodologically rigorous research that meets the standards of inquiry within the methods and methodological traditions,” any attempt to impose “a single or theoretical perspective” would be detrimental to IR as it would only serve to limit the scope of the questions under examination. The task we are confronted with, according to Lamont, is

“to [reconcile] a field of study that welcomes methodological plurality while also adhering to rigorous standards in methods” (ibid). As such, in order to produce academic works of high quality, we ought to reflect on the methods that we select to be employed *ahead* of a research project and it is imperative that this is done attentively. Moreover, IR, like other social science realms, profit from the integration of self-reflexivity and a thorough questioning and unveiling of our assumptions, beliefs and biases. Despite our unwavering ambition to perceive and represent our discovered ‘truths’ as openly, candidly and accurately as possible, we as human researchers studying human phenomena only weaken our position as vigilant social observers if we deny and neglect our own subjective ‘baggage’ that inevitably colours the analytical lenses through which we envision, perceive and interpret the world. Hence, I believe that a reflexive approach is arguably the most honest approach as our capacity for *insight* ultimately leads to enhanced *outlook* in the research we conduct.

In designing this research project, it has been useful to approach the problems I seek to investigate from both scholarly and scientific standpoints. In general, all research projects require a thorough understanding of ethics, epistemology and methodology. This thesis is interpretative in nature and seeks to reflect on how the teichopolitical world is constituted and the social meanings that it gives rise to. This necessitates the elaboration of a theoretical basis at initial stages of the project, in conjunction with the development of its methodological elements. In short, methodology and epistemology work to inform ontology and together they help determine the most appropriate research methods for a given inquiry. This explorative study on various aesthetic aspects of international teichopolitics follows a pluralistic, interpretative, analytic and reflexive methodology. Subsequently, the study primarily deploys qualitative IR techniques that “allow researchers to examine contextually rich data on their selected research topic” (Lamont 2015: p.127), drawing on various resources and methods in the collection and analysis of non-numerical, spoken, visualised or written data.

Moreover, for this particular study a comparative approach, in which the analysis of a dual case study is considered useful and appropriate in enquiring about topical occurrences and themes relevant to teichopolitics. The study, hence, employs a combination of practical and pluralistic methods grounded in document-based research. This includes a literature review, intervisual/intertextual analysis and a comparative case study. Moreover, in pointing out the importance of being aware of the junction between

theory and history, political theorist Mark Philip (2008) maintains that “contemporary political theory is shaped by its past” and that the past “is one field on which theorists can draw for insights and evidence” (p.7). Thus, although some scholars argue that a descriptive approach based on historical event analysis is deficient in terms of clear methodology, it is nonetheless considered useful in this study because it helps contextualise the historical background of the two selected cases and set the stage for analysis and discussion. Although collection of primary data is not undertaken, the thesis engages with a vast body of academic literature, including both primary and secondary source documents. Lastly, because the two teichopolitical events analysed in this paper frequently appear in public media, by means of reports, news articles, documentaries, blogs and interactive communication platforms, the Internet has provided a valuable resources with regards to the research process (Lamont 2015: p.80). The ensuing parts of this chapter further clarify the methodology, practical methods and theoretical underpinnings that inform this thesis’ overall research design. Furthermore, the final sections include brief reflections on various ethical concerns and considerations pertinent to all researchers in the field, as well as the challenges and limitations encountered at various stages of this research process.

2.1 A ‘toolbox’ of academic inquiry

2.1.1 Distinguishing ‘methodology’ and ‘method’

Numerous scholars have expressed a common worry about the tendency within academia to treat ‘methodology’ and ‘method’ as synonymous (Waltz 1979: p.13; Sartori 1970: p.1033; Moses & Knutsen 2012: p.3). They observe that students often seem more concerned with the practicality of methods rather than with the “logic of their use” (Waltz 1979: p.13). Kenneth Waltz asserts, “it makes no sense to start the journey that is to bring us to an understanding of a phenomenon without asking which methodological routes might possibly lead there” (ibid). In seeking to clarify the distinction between the two terms, Moses & Knutsen (2012), propose a toolbox analogy to illustrate their relationship. The idea is that methodologies can be viewed as “well-equipped toolboxes” and methods as the tools, strategies or “problem-specific techniques” deployed in the conduct of research (p.3). Although the two are complimentary, ‘methodologies’ is

understood to be more comprehensive and as fundamentally impacting our view of the world. As the applied philosophy of science for the social sciences, methodology signifies a theoretical and conceptual examination as well as contemplations about the basic principles of reasoning of a subject. When dissected into its constituent parts it embodies the study of methods with the aim of determining the most appropriate methods to produce reliable knowledge (ibid: p.3-5).

John Hughes (1990) argues, “every research tool or procedure is inextricably embedded in commitments to particular versions of the world and to knowing that world” (cited in Moses & Knutsen 2012: p.4). Scholars generally agree that two traditions dominate the methodological debate in the contemporary IR and social science research, namely naturalism and constructivism, each promoting a radically different worldviews (Lamont 2015; ibid). Naturalism, a view of the world first articulated in the natural sciences was thereafter quietly adopted by social scientists. Driven by a quest for scientific legitimacy, naturalists believe in a so-called ‘Real World’ presumed to exist outside of our experiences of it (Bleiker 2001). Proponents of this methodology, claim that this ahistorical, neutral world can be accessed through the application of scientific methods such as systematic thinking, observation, and experiential recording. Naturalists contend that value-laden and factual statements are essentially distinguishable. It is through meticulous and controlled processes, which work independently of the observer, that patterns in the social realm - that would otherwise be “obscured by the complexities of life” - can be revealed (Moses & Knutsen 2012: p.9).

On the other side of the methodological cleavage, we find proponents of constructivism who reject and challenge the dominant naturalist perception of the world. As constructivists view many of the patterns that interest constructivists to be “ephemeral and contingent on human agency,” they view the naturalist preoccupation with ‘hard facts’ as utterly inflated (Moses & Knutsen 2012: p.9). Constructivists argue that the naturalist set of criteria for assessing reliability of knowledge is overly narrow and that the hierarchical naturalist methods limit the generation of social facts. Hence, patterns of interest as not viewed as firmly rooted in nature, but rather as “products of our own making” (ibid). Constructivists recognise the capacity of people to be intelligent, reflective and wilful, asserting that these characteristics impact how we see, extract meanings and understand the world and make more room for a diversity of perceptions. Both the observer and society are regarded as playing important roles in the construction

of social patterns; moreover, these perceived patterns are determined by an intricate set of presuppositions and contextual influences (ibid).

2.1.2 Reflexive pluralism in IR

This thesis is informed by a reflexive pluralist approach and rejects the dominant naturalist tradition and its push for positivism or empiricism. In so doing, it leans more towards a constructive approach, which allows for the recognition of the wilfulness exhibited by human agents. This is not to say that empirical research does not play a valuable role in IR research, but it supports the notion that social facts and human agency ought to be integrated ‘into the mix’ when studying social phenomena. The processes of producing and analysing teichopolitical knowledge are complex; it involves both reason and experience as valuable epistemological devices for research. The assumption that human researchers are able to phenomenally ‘experience’ the world both objectively and directly would not be fruitful for this type of teichopolitical investigation. Similar to the argument raised by Karl Popper (1957) in his seminal work, *The poverty of historicism*, Moses & Knutsen (2012) imply that various contextual layers ought to be uncovered and that this challenges the very possibility of capturing social phenomena in “simple, law-like terms” (p.10). Individual and social characteristics⁴ -which form the basis of human identity - can both facilitate and obscure certain perceptions held of the world. Such perceptions are, in turn, channelled through the human cognizance in often-elusive ways and the mind simply cannot be considered a strictly objective “transmitter of truth” (ibid). Therefore, I consider it important to integrate a multiplicity of experiences into social research, including the experience derived from bodily sense perceptions, as well as subjective, non-tangible “experience of the mind” (ibid). In recognising that social contexts are replete with diverse meaning, this thesis welcomes a broader set of epistemological instruments. As such, knowledge is understood as reflective and idiosyncratic in character and any attempt to understand teichopolitical motivations and actions ought to focus on “circular and hermeneutic terms ...within a wider context of conventions and assumptions” rather than causal, fact-based and positivist terms (ibid).

Furthermore, practices of ‘navel-gazing’ reflexivity and pluralism (Neufield 1991; Lapid 2003; Ferguson 2015; Jackson 2011; Sylvester 2013) are important methodological

⁴ Individual factors refer to age, gender and race; whereas social factors include the era we inhabit, cultural and lingual backgrounds.

questions in the post-positivist context because it breaks away from the idea that research in IR is best served by following a single methodological current (Eun, 2016: p. 93). As aforementioned, numerous social scientists both encourage and embrace “a broader, more pluralistic approach to knowledge” (Moses & Knutsen 2012: p.6). Parallel to the push towards a so-called ‘pluralist turn’ in IR, many scholars similarly make reference to a ‘reflexive turn’; consequently, many endorse an integrated methodological approach referred to as “reflexive pluralism” (Eun 2016: p. 93). Eun (2016) and his academic counterparts contend that pluralism ought to be integrated with a greater push for self-reflexivity. They call for greater openness towards a diversity of research practices and, in so doing, challenge the existing hierarchical system of knowledge in the discipline, instead advocating a kind of critical questioning that enhances self-reflection and self-awareness. In a world that has always been “far too complex to be understood through social scientific methods alone,” Bleiker (2015) maintains that we must turn to “the full spectrum of knowledge” to confront and better understand global political challenges (p. 875). As this thesis seeks to move beyond the “disciplining and constraining tools” commonly employed to judge ‘scientificity’ in IR, the aim is to reflectively and contribute to the pluralistic production of ‘sophisticated knowledge’ (Eun 2016) In so doing, I hope the ‘self-evident’ teichopolitical truths and a wider set of meanings and interpretations, as Alvesson & Skjoldberg (2009) remark, “may collide and bring inspiration” (p. 91).

2.2 Theoretical underpinnings: An overview

As elucidated in earlier parts of this chapter, the theoretical grounding for this thesis predominantly lands within the camps of those challenging traditional mainstream currents of political thought. Following the path of the preceding methodological discussion, this section considers some alternative theoretical perspectives in IR and identifies vantage points and analytical insights that they can contribute to the study junction between aesthetics and teichopolitics. The general approach of this thesis is one of pluralism, both in terms of its employment of multiple methods and with regards to the theories that inform the analysis. The theoretical terrain covered is relatively wide; whereas various insightful aspects are highlighted and integrated into the discussion, it understandably involves the risk of marginalising other theoretical elements that could

also be regarded as useful in approaching the international realm of walls. Nonetheless, a more pragmatic assemblage-model is considered to be a fitting approach because the thesis is *exploratory* in its nature and, thus, it makes sense to include a diversity of perspectives. Elizabeth Frazer (2008: p.171) discusses the importance of questioning the boundaries of political theory's subject matter. When studying political matters, she highlights the distinction between *theory of politics* and *political theory*; one seeks to establish theory, the other to *theorise*. This thesis does not seek to predicate a specific political theory, however it does draw on theoretical insights within IR and other intersecting fields. Hence, the inter-disciplinary approaches to theorise walls and barriers that underpin this thesis primarily include *critical theory*, *postmodernism* and *poststructuralism*, *border theory* and *aesthetic political theory*. In my view, these political currents of thought substantially widen the realm of teichopolitical inquiry because they recognise the constructed and elusive nature of social structures and power relations. In so doing, this set of perspectives open up the space for questioning the ways that themes such as power, the neoliberal logic, securitisation discourse and aesthetic dimensions interact with regards to the erection of international border walls.

The 'critical turn' of IR⁵ catalysed a unique milieu for social science research marked by the integration of knowledge stemming from a wide intellectual spectrum beyond IR, including sociology, psychoanalysis, philosophy, economics to aesthetics. Rather than promoting ideas about the universally fixed patterns and invariant predictabilities of social processes and relations, critical theorist turn to notions like universal principles, dialogue, and difference to seek clarification about the link between various contexts and their empirical, historical and social conditions within which complex relationships are developed, re-created and transformed over time. The general framework has provided an impetus to the emergence of other strands that critically approach questions of globalisation, security, feminism, postmodernism, postcolonialism and poststructuralism (Roach 2008; *ibid*), enabling important probing and insight into teichopolitical affairs understood as intersecting all these themes. The term 'critical theory,' coined by Max Horkheimer in 1937, is commonly referred to as a tradition within the social sciences that developed under the influence of the Frankfurt School (Alvasson & Skjoldberg 2009: p.144). Rather than produce a so-called 'systematic theory', it effectively interweaved many prominent themes drawn from other socio-political philosophical and

⁵ According to Roach (2008), these critical interventions reflected an important 'third debate' in IR.

normative strands (ibid; Roach 2008)⁶. This approach echoed aspects from the progressive platform of the Enlightenment and agendas of liberation from socio-political repression. Guided by a pronounced interest in the dialectics of emancipation of knowledge, self-consciousness and critical disputation of actual social realities, critical theory seeks to break rigid analytic frames by following a more fallibilistic, interpretative approach⁷ (ibid). Because critical theory is argued to be less more open-ended and less totalising than other theoretical systems that, according to Morrow (1994), had previously “filled the intellectual graveyard of Western thought” (cited in Alvasson & Skjoldberg 2009: p.144), it allows for another way of contemplating the ways in which ideological-political dimension of social phenomena. In the case of teichopolitics, hence, it opposes any assumptions that the underlying societal conditions that generate walling processes are natural or inevitable. Instead, it promotes a conception of walls as social constructs, historically contingent and profoundly influenced by asymmetric power dynamics between human agents with vested interests. As such, it opens up to the possibility that border walls may be the subjects of radical transformation (ibid).

Postmodernism and poststructuralism, two branches of critical theory, raise some themes that are significant to the study of borders and the walls erected along them. “The question of postmodernity”, David Lyon (1999) wrote, “is now central to any attempt to chart cultural change and [...] to understand contemporary social phenomena” (p.90). Discussions about the ‘postmodern’ society can be traced back to its roots following World War II “when a spirit of uncertainty, scepticism and pluralism” had begun to spread in the West (Alvasson & Skjoldberg 2009: p.179). Postmodern perspectives are heavily sceptical to any ideological claims of absolute and timeless truths. Postmodern theorists such as Jean-François Lyotard (1979) called into question proclamation of ‘metanarratives’ commonly encountered in conservative and liberalist camps. A metanarrative is described as “any system of thought that identifies its own explanation of reality as an undeniable truth having validation independently of the premises and

⁶ There is some disagreement amongst scholars with regards to the definition of critical theory. For example, Guba and Lincoln (1994 cited in Alvasson & Skjoldberg 2009: p.177) write, “critical theory is (for us) a blanket term denoting a set of several alternative paradigms (to positivism)”, but Alvasson & Skjoldberg maintain that quite apart from the risk of confusion involved in breaking with the dominating usage of the term ‘critical theory’ it is not helpful to lump together under the same label - as these authors do - a number of highly distinct schools, ranging from the neo-Marxism and feminism to postmodernism and poststructuralism.

⁷ Also referred to as critical hermeneutics.

structures that make up the system of thought itself” (Grigsby 2009: p.161). The teichopolitical arena is replete with metanarratives that make truth claims in a professedly ahistorical ‘Real World’. Wall builders commonly deploy absolutist language to establish a set of commonsensical labels that describe inescapable truths in a purportedly ahistorical and super-rational world as they were ‘simply there’ and to be observed through a lens of neutrality, clarity and objectivity without any involvement of subjective interpretation (Alvasson & Skjoldberg 2012: p.179; Grigsby 2009: p.161). Rather than resort to ideological claims of hard scientific facts, postmodernists follow constructivist lines of thought to argue that social ‘truths’ are ultimately and inescapably constructs of our own individual frame or reference (Grigsby 2009: p.161). Nietzsche, with his radical dissolution of dominant, rational discourses, was an important precursor to postmodernism and post-structuralism. Similarly, Derrida’s discussion on deconstruction and difference, as well as Michel Foucault’s conceptualisation of power, discipline and the knowledge production contributed significantly to the poststructural groundwork (Alvasson & Skjoldberg 2012: p.179). Today, postmodernism and poststructuralism have gained theoretical ground and have well-established repertoires within the social sciences.

In face of the longstanding human preoccupation with the production of manifest boundaries, the broader spatial framework of border studies, a subfield of the geopolitical realm, is a natural terrain for theorising and debating political architecture such as border walls. Revisiting early works about frontiers and borders by Julian Minghi and Victor Prescott⁸ in the 1960s, their insights remind us that, of all the geographical phenomena out there, “boundaries are perhaps the most palpable” and has been deeply embedded into the very core of past and current political geographical paradigms (van Houtum 2005: p. 672). Yet, the study of borders is far from a simple affair; researchers have increasingly become attentive of the complex and multi-layered nature of border studies. As a result, there has been a growing push for historical, cultural and spatial practices of inclusion and exclusion to be examined through a consolidation of interdisciplinary perspectives. Over the years there has been a gradual shift from *boundary* studies to one of *border* studies. Whereas the boundary, as a line of territorial demarcation, used to be the focal point, the revamped and more critical

⁸ Considered to be two of the key founding persons of boundary and border studies (van Houtum 2005: p. 672).

framework now contain rich and expanding discussions on boundaries, borderlands that resonate far beyond the geographical fields (van Houtum 2005; Parker & Vaughan-Williams 2009; Brunet-Jailly 2012). Moreover, the renewed understanding of borders as complex “site[s] at and through which socio-spatial differences are communicated” has opened up the platform for dialogue and catalysed a vast array of new approaches and insights. Geopolitical scholars like Foucher (2009) characterise borders as “indispensable markers of identity, self-consciousness and diversity [that] encapsulate societies and cultures, territories and international relations.” Thus, in academia, conversations around borderlands have moved beyond merely ‘geographical’ (Szary 2012; Brambilla 2015). A small body of scholars have begun to pay more attention towards the abstract and aesthetic elements that underscore the ideological, symbolic and performative nature of borders and barriers. However, it appears that this enhanced understanding of borders does not reach or significantly influence top-political circles. State policies pertaining to border stability and security more frequently reflect the obsolete and reductive view of borders as mere territorial markers or lines on a map. In lagging behind to integrate the analytical insights raised by schools outside the mainstream, government leaders prefer ‘the old ways’ of inherently overgeneralised and reductive discourses that effectively and persuasively rationalises and legitimises their teichopolitical aims. As such, applied politics largely disregards the notions of the border as a social space, comprised of divisive processes and ‘otherness’ that enforce and reinforce social dichotomies. This divergence between political theory and political policy contributes to the (re)production of *difference* and through exclusive political bordering practices that continue to shape collective life (Paasi 1998; Szary 2012; Brambilla 2015).

Furthermore, to understand the relationship between aesthetics and walls one must turn to the rich history of aesthetics and its longstanding tradition in the philosophical realm. Like the notion of the border, aesthetics is equally conditional, fleeting and shifting. Although aesthetic practices have existed for a long time, the field of aesthetics as a branch of philosophy only began to emerge in eighteenth century Western Europe (Korsmeyer 2004). With its roots firmly grounded in the realm of fine arts or *les beaux arts*, aesthetic inquiry originally sought to examine the nature of art and the human experience of it. Thus, philosophers began to contemplate questions of beauty, judgement, taste, and their relation to reason. Aesthetics, as an overarching field, is interdisciplinary by nature: it articulates themes that are relevant across all critical

disciplines, philosophies, artistic practices and political discourses. Albeit its broad relevance and utility, aesthetic features have been largely neglected as source of valuable insight into human experience and social life in the scientific field. As noted by Redfield, “in the literary and cultural criticism of our era, few notions cause more trouble, and more misunderstanding, than that of the ‘politics of aesthetics’” (Redfield 2006: p. 1). In mainstream approaches to teichopolitics, aesthetics is seldom reflected upon and, therefore, the aesthetic nature of walls and walling remains an under-acknowledged and highly ambiguous notion for many.

A growing number of scholars have begun to push for the validation and inclusion of aesthetics as an alternative, or at least supplementary, approach to social research. The observation of Nikolas Kompridis (2014), editor of *The Aesthetic Turn in Political Thought*, reflects this renewed attention, noting that “there is a widespread, ever-growing exploration of political life from an aesthetic perspective” (p.xiv). In seeking to bring aesthetics to the forefront of the discussion, this thesis contends that aesthetic dimensions have philosophical, analytical and practical relevance that transgresses disciplinary borders and offers a legitimate lens of inquiry in the study teichopolitics and IR. As pointed out by Rancière (1999) in his book *Disagreement*, it involves a “framing of what is given and what we can see” and, in so far, involves a partition or distribution of the “sensible” (p.58). Aesthetics, as a field, remains a complex site of shifting and figurative elements that intersect societal tensions, imagery, and metaphorical language, as well as an inherent unpredictability of meanings, effect and affect. Although these intrinsic dimensions have previously formed the basis of its rejection by many scholars in IR, I argue that it is *precisely for this reason* that aesthetics ought to be acknowledged and integrated into research on world politics. Thus, aesthetics ought to be considered as a favourable and important lens through which the volatile world of teichopolitics can be meaningfully studied, not as undercutting or invalidating scholarly analysis. Correspondingly, a true understanding of the nexus between teichopolitics and aesthetics can only be achieved by shifting away from the seemingly harmonious and naturalised models towards one that legitimises aesthetic insight and facilitates the production and flows of knowledge across the entire spectrum of faculties. It follows that, in analysing aesthetic borderscaping in the context of the US-Mexico Wall and West Bank Wall, it is only through the full *engagement of sense* that we can *make sense* under their respective conditions of possibility and intelligibility.

2.3 Conducting a literature review

Research conducted by scholars across disciplines is more than a mere assortment of disconnected monologues; rather, the body of literature that emerges from academic circles is better characterised as multi-layered and “always part of a wider dialogue” (Lamont 2015: p64). Awareness and recognition of the knowledge, ‘truths’ and meanings that have been uncovered, claimed and analysed by others before us is therefore a prerequisite for any student aspiring to partake or intervene in this dialogue (ibid). As defined by Lamont (2015), a literature review is essentially an “analytical overview of existing scholarly research on a certain topic of scholarly interest that establishes, organizes, and identifies gaps in existing concepts and theoretical frameworks” and “a concise snapshot or *state of art* of existing scholarly engagement with your research topic” (p.66). The principal endeavour underscoring a literature review is the daunting and often painstaking task to condense a potentially immense and multifarious sea of literature into an informative yet shorter and more concise text. In so doing, as outlined by Lamont (2015), a literature review enables both the researcher and the reader to (1) situate and contextualise the research question(s) within the already existing backdrop of scholarly literature on a given topic, and (2) support the justifications as to why the inquiry is central to on-going debates or of certain interest to policy-makers (ibid: p65).

Given the breadth of the teichopolitical discourse in IR and other intersecting realms, one is naturally confronted by many challenges and difficult choices because it is not always clear where to commence the often-overwhelming process or to know what to include or omit from the ‘puzzle’ and its implications on the scholarship. Even though literature reviews are sometimes underappreciated, it has been valuable in this study’s research and writing process. When thoroughly conducted, it can be a useful resource to solidify the knowledge foundation upon which new findings and analysis is presented. It can also help identify or making visible knowledge gaps, deficiencies or inconsistencies that could benefit from additional attention. It would simply have been impossible to write this thesis without turning to the extant body of literature in the initial stages research and in writing the discussion.

2.4 Studying teichopolitics through intertextual/intervisual document analysis

A diverse set of imagery⁹ and texts emerge from the analytical inquiry of teichopolitics and aesthetics. Images are not novel in political forums, nor have they replaced words as the principal form of communication; however, amidst the context of a transformed global media economy characterised by rapid and complex means of production, depiction and circulation of images to a global audience, it has become more important than ever to understand the “political nature and impact of images” (Bleiker 2015: p.872). Despite the numerous books in academic scholarship with an exclusive focus on visual elements or applied visual methods¹⁰, the majority of these works have rarely involved themes and questions regarding ‘the political’ and ‘the international’ (ibid: p.873). Reversibly, most literature covering issues of ‘the political’ and ‘the international’ make little mention of visual or otherwise aesthetic features in the conduct of IR research. Hansen (2011) observes that methods in IR typically “don’t mix” and Bleiker highlights an evident “gap” the in methodological framework for the study of images in global politics” (cited in Bleiker: p.873). Studying images, still or moving, overlapping the mental and physical worlds and the boundaries between communities and nation-states, pose some complicated methodological challenges. The political significance of imagery, then, is best understood through an interdisciplinary deployment of multiple intervisual and intertextual methods (Hansen 2011; Rose2007; Bleiker2015). Rose suggests such an approach can demonstrate how a combined set of methods enable researchers to access and assess diffuse images “across a range of sites and modalities, from the production, content and impact...to their technological, compositional and social dimensions” (Rose 2007). This framework can, of course, come across as controversial as giving up the traditional unitary standard of evidence implies the violation of social scientific conventions. In spite of this, however, Bleiker contends such a strategy to be indispensable because it provides researchers with a unique opportunity to evaluate the ways in which visuality works through socio-political constructions, contents and impacts. Bleiker counters widespread fear of relativism by arguing, “the hubris of indisputable knowledge is more dangerous than a clash of different

⁹ Understood as images such as pictures, photos, film, symbols, caricatures, art, visual structures, non-tangible imagery, architecture and often tied to feelings, emotional rhetoric, prompting political action and reaction.

¹⁰ For further reading, see: Bleiker 2015; Rose, G. (2007)

perspectives. As such, it is the very combination of seemingly incompatible methods that makes us constantly aware of our own contingent standpoints, thus increasing the self-reflectiveness required to understand the complexities of visual global politics” (Bleiker 2015: p.872).

Attentiveness towards images and their meanings is one of the important preconditions for understanding the links between aesthetics and teichopolitics. The ways in which we visualize our social landscapes of ‘the political’ and ‘the international’ “shapes the very nature of politics” (Bleiker 2015: p.872). Thus, images often work through various and often indirect or elusive modes. A multi-method approach is best-suited in examining the multi-disciplinary realm of wall-building because it allow for the nuances, layers and interlinkages in the various political (and counter-) “performances” to be teased out. The notion of intertextuality/intervisuality emphasises that analytic insight is acquired not merely by studying images and texts as freestanding entities, but rather as an integral component that emerges through discourses. Political content can never be read or observed in isolation from its underlying conditions, relations and contexts (Hansen 2011: p.1; Fox 1995). Barthes defines it as “the process whereby one text-plays upon other texts, the ways in which texts refer endlessly to further elements within the realm of cultural production (Barthes, 1977 cited in Fox 1995: p.13).

Moreover, visual and textual dimensions of teichopolitics often work through emotions, which have traditionally been seen as personal and internal phenomena that pose similarly thorny methodological challenges” (ibid). These reflections are significant for this thesis as the political world of walls is essentially one of imagery, whether physically observed, encountered through media and publications, or abstractly imagined. The evocative imagery of *the wall*, and particularly *great walls*, has implications beyond the realms of reason and rationality. As is demonstrated in the latter discussion, teichopolitical images play on an array of senses; they involve the entire range of perceptive faculties from the rational ‘little greys’ to the sentimental heartstrings, and in so doing, prompt complex meaning-making and political (re)action. Mainstream political philosophies not only impose inhibitive limits on what qualifies for inclusion in the realms of ‘the political’ and ‘the international’, but have also fallen short in providing theoretical insight and meaningful political analysis with regards to issues that appeal to the sensuous, artistic, representational and emotive realms. Moreover,

dominant approaches to politics have tended to ignore gendered aspects, something which has contributed to reinforcing unrepresentative assumptions and misleading ‘common sense’ discourses through the (re)construction, (re)fuelling and (re)application of divisive and reductionist categories, language, symbols and imagery. In the increasingly visual age that we live in, it is meaningless to ignore the importance of visual representations, imagery and other aesthetic sources if we are to enhance our understanding of the social world; how meanings and relations are constructed within in; and the various political questions that arise as direct or indirect consequences.

2.5 Comparative case study method

This thesis conducts qualitative data analysis presented in the form of a comparative case study; this informs the principal discussion of the paper. There are several definitions of case studies and this thesis adopts the definitions proposed by Gerring (2004) and George & Bennet (2005 cited in Gerring 2004). Gerring describes a case study as “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a large class of (similar) units” (p.32). George & Bennet have elaborated on this definition and consider a case study to constitute a “the detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events” (2005 cited in Lamont 2015: p.128). Moreover, Berg & Lune (2012: p.325) suggests that case study method, broadly speaking is “an approach capable of examining simple or complex phenomena” by employing various methods of data collection. A case study should therefore be judged based on its ability to generate theory based rather than ‘truth’ generalization. According to Lamont (2015), the aim of a good case study should be “to both produce knowledge about the case, but also provide some cumulative knowledge about the broader universe of cases” p.137). Similarly, authors Berg & Lune (2012) add, “the scientific purpose of the case study method lies in its ability to open the way for discoveries” (p.339). Case studies can provide a deep understanding of social phenomena, people, or organisations that can help observers, as well as people within the case, make sense of what they see and hear (ibid). This study seeks to highlight various complexities of two separate teichopolitical cases to attain a deeper understanding of the teichopolitics in international borderscapes and the political contestation it stirs.

A comparative case study is considered an appropriate and effective approach for this study. For larger research projects such as dissertations, Lamont (2015) states that “comparison can be a useful tool for strengthening the causal inference” and also emphasises that the case design should be tailored to reflect the research questions and theoretical propositions one seeks to explore (p.132). Because this is an exploratory study, it entails what Gerring (2007) refers to as ‘thick’ description of events” and seeks a greater breadth and depth of analysis through ‘holistic’ analysis. Hence, comparisons are not used with an aim to develop universal truths, but instead they help to “emphasise dilemmas and questions that straddle both cultures and time” (Moses & Knutsen 2012: p.253).

The two cases selected for this thesis are: (1) The West Bank Wall and (2) the US-Mexico Wall. These two political structures are treated as two single and separate, yet connected units of analysis. Although the thesis avoids making overarching truth statements about the state of global teichopolitics in general, the comparative discussion may contribute knowledge to a larger set of analogous cases of walls erected internationally. The case study discussion covers a defined period, following the turn of the millennium: the year 2000 for the West Bank Wall and 2006 for the US-Mexico Wall, up to the summer of 2017 when this thesis was completed. As none of the case studies are grounded in primary research in the field, the study resorts to the use of a wide variety of document- and internet-based sources. The case study method is widely used in IR, but is often criticised as being underdeveloped, “methodologically suspect” and lacking conceptual clarity with regards to what constitutes a *good* case study (Lamont 2015: p.125; Gerring 2004: p.341). As Lamont notes, in spite of the method’s apparent simplicity, these ambiguities make writing a good case study essay challenging, albeit not impossible. The aim of a case study research is “to move from generating specific knowledge about [a given] area of interest to general knowledge that impacts wider theory-oriented debates” (Lamont 2015: p.125). Interpretative researchers have used case studies to highlight the power of discourse or to highlight the use of narratives. Case studies offer contextually rich data and descriptions of particular historical events that can be explored in detail through a structured case design (Lamont 2015). The paper, thus, seeks to gain insights and a deeper understanding of the narratives and processes extracted and analysed from the discourse of teichopolitical foreign policy and the consequent counter-discourse, namely that of anti-teichopolitics discourse. “Case

studies are better at answering certain kinds of questions to generate rich and detailed understanding of how certain processes work, but less well suited toward making grand theoretical claims applicable across cases” (George & Bennet 2005 cited in Lamont 2015: p.126). This is not to say they only provide insight into particular cases. Carefully constructed case studies often provide illustrative insights into social processes that inform how we understand or explain IR more broadly (ibid), which is also the aim of this thesis.

2.5.1 The selection of cases

Many have cast doubt on case studies as a “proper” method of scientific inquiry in IR and one of the most common criticisms is that case studies contain biases on the part of the researcher, towards the selection of cases and the verification and reinforcement of the author’s preconceptions of the case. Consequently, it can “[make] any attempt at generalising findings beyond the limited number of cases selected by the researchers almost impossible” (Lamont 2015: p.126). Although it is possible to rid oneself of all predetermined viewpoints, it is important that researchers critically think about their case design and selection criteria in order to challenge their own preconceived beliefs about particular cases and reduce selection bias. In the following section, I explain the underlying rationale for the cases selection and why I regard the US-Mexico and West Bank walls as illustrative of the teichopolitical discourse and aesthetic borderscaping that this thesis explores.

Amongst the numerous walls situated around the globe, this thesis regards the West Bank Wall and the U.S.-Mexico Wall to be two fruitful case studies upon which to focus an analytical discussion of aesthetic aspects of incumbent teichopolitical world affairs. The main points underlying the selection rationale cases for this study are as follows: First, both the US-Mexico Wall and the West Bank Wall are global in nature, in terms of their physical location on international borders, as well as the socio-political impacts, human experiences and reactions they engender far beyond their own borderlands. This is evident through the worldwide proliferation of their ‘images’ as modern manifestations of *great wall* politics. The two cases are also useful in comparative analysis because, despite being located on opposite sides of the globe, they share a number of commonalities that will be elaborated on in Chapter IV of the paper. The cases, are not identical, but they share numerous variables despite being located in

different physical and historical settings. Although their contextual specificities must be acknowledged in any analysis, it is interesting to observe the comparative ways in which teichopolitics as a national security policy are rationalised, legitimised and manifested by political leaders in a multi-cultural and contentious socio-political landscape. Furthermore, their implication in a globalised, capitalist system are another shared feature, that in turn, impact the ways in which the contending actors produce and globally circulate meanings and justifications of action.

They are walls that are well known, something that of course could be considered a deterrent in selecting cases because there already exists a considerable body of literature focusing on these particular walls. In some studies, opting for the less famous cases help expand literature; however, this thesis posits that despite the cases being well-known, the aesthetic focus of the study is a road less taken and that a deeper discussion around aesthetic borderscapes at the contentious margins demarcating Israel/Palestine and US/ Mexico may contribute an additional layer of analysis, and generate insight that may be useful in theorising other cases of teichopolitics in the contemporary world. “One’s choice of research design is driven by the quantity and quality of information that is currently available, or could easily be gathered, on a given question (Gerring 2007: p.57). An “Environment-rich environment is one where all relevant factors are measurable, where these measurements are relatively precise, where they are rendered in comparable terms across cases, and where one can be relatively confident that the information is indeed accurate” (ibid: p.58). This increases the likelihood of the study, where in-depth analysis is possible and fruitful (ibid). This entails that the cases are also more readily accessible to the reader who is most probably already fairly acquainted with the general contexts in which these cases are situated and performed. As the historical and political documentation of these cases are so well developed, this ostensibly allows for the focus of the thesis to primarily revolve around the aesthetic nature of the walls. The West Bank Wall and the US-Mexico Wall, thus, represent interesting sources for insight into the aesthetic political practices that unfold in their respective borderscapes.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

There are a number of ethical concerns that anyone undertaking a research project must be aware of and consider in their work. Even when it seems highly unlikely that one will confront ethical dilemmas, the possibility nonetheless exists at any stage of the investigation and it is therefore important that ethical questions are “addressed at the very onset of [the] research” (Lamont 2015: p.51). A certain level of cautiousness around the potential emergence of ethical problems is required from researchers because it is important to understand that ensuing consequences of potential breaches may be severe and manifold. The borderlines between ethical and unethical research practices are something every researcher ought to keep in the back of his or her mind throughout the project. Hence, ethical reflections on how we conduct investigations and communicate our findings to a broader readership is the best strategy in preventing misconduct and avoiding the kind of academic sloppiness that may result in inadvertent plagiarism and other ethical breaches (ibid p.50-51).

In thinking and questioning about the purpose of our research it is important to be aware of “[privileging] certain groups while failing to give voice to others” (ibid: p.51). In studies that require research funding and interact with other human subjects in their data collecting processes, transgressions in terms of the principle of no harm, as well as transparent methods of collection, the issue of falsification or distortion, and, in the most extreme cases, the fabrication of data are all crucial ethical questions that must be cautiously and responsibly handled. Many of these issues are not directly applicable in this particular study, as no primary data collection, fieldwork or interviews have been conducted. However, the thesis does employ substantial secondary materials that, if mishandled, can equally invite distortion or falsification of information. Moreover, plagiarism is unfortunately an issue too commonly encountered in the academic arena from the undergraduate through to the level of professional researchers, particularly in the contexts of ‘desk research’ and the process of writing (Lamont 2015: p.50-51). Being aware of these ethical issues, I have tried to continually “evaluate and [...] reassess” the thesis in a critical manner to avoid misrepresentation of data or claims to originality and novelty that have been formerly discussed and published (ibid). Hence, the proper attribution of ideas, information and direct quotations in the form of citing and referencing is always imperative.

2.7 Challenges and Limitations

“Good scientists are keenly aware of the limits of their abilities” McDermott affirms (2008: p.28). As political scientists seeking to contribute to the overall project of cultivating human knowledge, we ought to approach our research mission with a sense of honesty and humility (ibid). Admittedly, it can be quite daunting to delve into an intricate research topic without an initial clear understanding of what it entails and lacking a secure sense of how to turn it into a successful research endeavour (Leopold & Sears 2008: p.9-10). A moderate sense of reassurance is attained when recalling the choir of scholars who assert that there is no one right way to conduct research, and that meaningful research ultimately hinges on our willingness to ask questions, explore and innovate. In this thesis, the principal challenge encountered in the research processes lies in the delimitations of the scope and data, not the least as a product of time constraints. I recall from high school that students would often prompt the teachers about *how long* a paper or assignment should be, to which one teacher teachers responded with the rhetorically question, “How long is a piece of string?” I still carry this in mind. What the teacher insinuated was the necessity to recognise one’s limitations and ability to draw the line. At some point, one also needs to acknowledge that a written work is long and detailed enough, and accept it as it is even though it ‘could have would have should have’ been better, richer, deeper. After all, a 30-credit thesis is inherently limited in its breadth and depth. Drawing both temporal and topical boundaries to set the perimeter for the thesis was, in other words, difficult. So, too, was the balancing act of indicating awareness of related issues beyond the scope, but without spiralling off on other tangents. For example, it is beyond the scope of this exploratory study of walls to include detailed deliberation of conceptual walls in world politics, although I find it to be a truly fascinating and pertinent topic that merits greater attention (maybe next time!). We tend to think of a thesis at a means to the end of a university degree, but perhaps it is better to regard it as a mere beginning, paving way for other opportunities down the line.

Having access to such an enormous quantity of literature is another challenge, because selecting material appropriate for the thesis was a painstaking endeavour. Although one is grateful that there *is* literature to delve into, it demands that one is selective because it is simply impossible to brief through all materials available. One article points you to another, and the cycle could go on endlessly. Whereas document-based research is a

commonly employed method of qualitative data collection, it does come with certain limitations. First, it is rare for a researcher to gain full access to complete archives or databases, whether digital or material, in a given field, organisation or institution. Furthermore, even with access to a comprehensive range of sources, documents as such only offer a mere ‘glimpse’ into publicised, institutional or collective memory; many aspects of social interaction remain invisible to the researcher. New knowledge depends on the kind of questions asked – and perhaps equally important, what questions are omitted from the conversation. As a researcher, one must be aware of the common presentation of *the* truth when it, in reality, is an interpretation that may inform *a* truth. As social scientists, we participate in these paradigms; biases are inevitable in research (Becker 1967: p.247) and inquiries about the social world are never void of subjectivity. Despite our cautious attempts at avoiding biases in our claims, we must also remain aware of the impossibility of true objectivity. As a researcher I have become acutely aware that the academic arguments raised in the thesis are not completely independent of, or distinct from, social and political arguments. Theorising about politics¹¹ “connotes a certain theoretical (contemplative or scientific) distance between theorist and her activity of theorizing, on the one hand, and the object of her theory, on the other” (Frazer 2008, p.171). This is compellingly illustrated in Ruth Behar’s evocative work *The Vulnerable Observer* (1996) and is the premise put forth by proponents of reflexive methodology as discussed earlier in the chapter. As we, in conducting research, are inevitably coloured by our own worldviews, beliefs, biases, value systems and experiences, we at once occupy the dual role as investigator and ‘vulnerable observer.’ Furthermore, this distance is magnified by my choice not to conduct fieldwork and enter the ethnographic field because I am physically removed from the very site that I am exploring.

Adding to the aforementioned challenge of drawing the line in the processes of background research, the Internet is simultaneously a gift and a curse. The privilege of access to limitless sources can quickly turn into an overwhelming feeling of drowning in a sea of literature. In *The Craft of Research*, authors Booth, Colomb & Williams (2008: p.3-4), we are warned about the flooding of so-called ‘facts’ and misinformation¹², in

¹¹ Elizabeth Frazer (2008) draws a distinction between the political locution of *theory of politics* and *political theory*.

¹² The discussion of how ‘facts’ are generated and what sources they are based upon remains a relevant discussion, especially after the deployment of the term “alternative facts” by the Trump .

which the Internet plays a central part. Some information is sound, a lot of it is not, which is why, as one learns the ways of conducting research, one also learns to value reliable clearly and accurately reported research. Unlike in academic literature, Internet-based research lacks “gatekeepers or peer-review processes” (Lamont 2015: p.86) prior to publication on the Web.¹³ This has resulted in an unprecedented proliferation of data that has concurrently created a rich resource, at the same time as it makes it more difficult to evaluate the accuracy of the facts and truths presented. Most documents are written with intention, with interest, and therefore constitute merely *one* aspect or perspective (Lamont 2015: p.86-87). Complimentary methods such as interviews, surveys or field observations often serve to support or verify the reliability of the information described in the documents, however, as no fieldwork was carried out for this study, this was all the more difficult. In dealing with this challenge, I have tried to expand the search, show caution in the selection of resources used and crosscheck references in order to ensure an adequate level of consistency in the information used. Furthermore, in drawing on news reports and other forms of journalism, I have tried to avoid extrapolation of wide truths by familiarising myself with diverse ideological or political groupings or association of the sources, be cautious of biases and not use media sources as the main basis for generating arguments (Lamont 2015: p.81-82). This thesis mostly draws on media sources from major global networks with a focus on international affairs.

It should also be noted that the research of this thesis was principally carried out in English. Some general briefing of documents in Norwegian, Spanish and French was conducted in the initial background searches, but these did not make their way into the literature review. Most sources were originally written in English, with the exception of the works by a handful of philosophers or authors in which English translations were used. A researcher’s lingual abilities, by default, limit the extent of the discourse coverage. I, therefore, acknowledge that much of the literature and primary documents in the local languages of the people living and affected by the teichopolitical affairs along the borderlands between Palestine and Israel, US and Mexico, particularly Spanish and Arabic, have not been deeply-incorporated into the thesis.

¹³ See: Booth et al (2008) note the increased circulation of bizarre claims around the world since 9/11 (p.3-4). For interesting reflections on truth, I recommend the podcast about ‘truth warriors’ [<http://www.radiolab.org/story/truth-warriors/>]

Another layer of difficulty added to the research project is that some of the materials covering teichopolitical aspects such as aesthetics, ‘the ephemeral’ and ‘sublime’, space, territoriality, biopower and borders can be intricate, sophisticated and rather abstract in their conceptualisation, academic language and style. Many themes discussed in the thesis lack a commonly agreed-upon definition and, despite being indispensable to research, the conceptual ambiguity, elusiveness and contentions encountered in social science scholarship are often quite difficult to work with. Even something as seemingly obvious, static and permanent as a *wall*, it turns out, is not so easy to pin down in a single, all-encompassing definition. However, the lack of definitional fixity means that many of these concepts can also provide rich sources of abstraction, allowing social scientists to approach topics from multiple vantage points. As such, it is essential to define the context, conceptual framework and perspectives through which a research topic is approached and studied. Accepting the social world’s contingent and constructed character rather than attempting to capture the social object in itself is, hence, considered useful to my exploration of aesthetic and teichopolitical discourses in world politics (Sylvester 2013; Bleiker 2015).

Chapter III.

Teichopolitics in the ‘New Age of Walls’: Central Concepts & Debates

“The border is no longer: long live the border!”

~Mohammad A. Chaichian (2014: p.199)

Scholars have long sought to understand why the practice of walling has come to represent such a prominent means and end of spatial management and security. The dawn of ‘a new age of walls’ (Granados et al 2016) is rooted in a general consensus that the resort to border barriers, as a feature of national security policies, is on the rise worldwide. Consequently, this notable trend has provided a strong impetus to revive wall-related debates and research across academic, political, journalistic and artistic realms. Before further engagement with the research questions at hand, it is necessary to establish an overview of the major teichopolitical conversations in IR and intersecting fields, establish a set of central analytical concepts with regards to the walling, aesthetics and ‘border-scaping’ practices, as well as identify lingering gaps in the literature. The literature review in Chapter III considers various currents of political thought and the diverse ways that scholars in the past have approached and engaged with the wider topic area and is intended to set the stage for the ensuing discussion (Lamont (2015)).

The themes highlighted in this literature review overlap a host of research areas in the humanities and incorporates material drawn from a diversity of disciplines. It should be noted that, as with rest of the thesis, I cite only works published in the English language and make no claims to have exhausted the literature. Moreover, due to the limited scope of the thesis, I focus the review on a limited set of central debates, trends and concepts. I also make a point to refer to further readings that are of relevance to the teichopolitical domain, but go beyond the scope of this thesis. In the next sections, I shall briefly revisit the history of walling, conceptualise walls and

borders in terms of social space and highlight a set of notions that are central to the discussion of international teichopolitics as elaborated in scholarly literature.

3.1 A brief history of *walling*

The French poets Glissant & Chammoisea (2007) wrote “*La tentation du mur n’est pas nouvelle*”, meaning the temptation of the wall is not new (cited in Szary 2012: 214). Over the course of the years, a considerable body of publications have been written on the history of borders, walls and other spatial practices in the contexts of imperialism, capitalism, globalism and a transformed world map. History is replete with teichopolitics of every kind: From defensive measures and great walls in the earliest known civilisations of Mesopotamia and other ancient empires, to longstanding spatial strategies to organise property, facilitate agriculture and manage domestic animals. Today the politics and practice of walling, encapsulated under the coinage *teichopolitics* (Rosière & Jones 2012), entails everything from domestic-level spatial tactics to mega-projects in the global political arena where the tradition of walling, driven by a multitude of proclaimed functions and justifications, persists like never before.

Mohammad A. Chaichian’s book *Empires and Walls* (2014) presents a meticulous examination of the rise and fall of walls that no longer exist and situates his discussion within the intricate and overlapping contexts of globalisation, migration and colonial domination. Like other scholars who have analysed practices of walling in great depth, including Kenyon (1970 cited in Chaichian 2014: p.1), Winter (1971 cited in *ibid*) and Marcuse (1994), Chaichian observes several functions of walls in ancient cities and towns: First, they “served to control in- and out-flow of townspeople and strangers” as ‘defensive’ measures. Furthermore, walls also provided “implicit yet clear” indications of the presence of social inequalities, socially stratified communities, or valuable objects and social surpluses that the barriers were intended to safeguard (*ibid*: p.1). Like the ruling elites of antiquity who ordered the construction of fortifications around their empires; the imperial powers that came to control much of the global political economy (GPE) in ensuing centuries were largely preoccupied with walls and barriers. The dawn of mercantile capitalism in the 15th

century and its development in subsequent centuries ushered in a new era of imperial development by means of aggressive territorial expansion. These periods, largely dictated by the logics of capitalism and marked by the scramble and partition of distant lands, and a tightening grip around the GPE by a handful of European states, generated what Hobshawn (1987) deems “its most spectacular feature”, namely the widening division of the world into “the strong and the weak, the ‘advanced’ and the ‘backward’” (cited in *ibid*: p.4). These growing social cleavages, intersecting the political, economic and cultural, generated an industry of wall building on a much larger, pervasive and more offensive scale than their teichopolitical forerunners. As we shall see, this widespread paradigm of *difference*, with its political instrument and evocative rhetoric of ‘othering’ and ‘otherness’, has always played a central role in walling practices and remains a key feature in understanding the international teichopolitics of the contemporary era.

Despite the committed efforts by staunch critics of the capitalist project¹⁴, the deep-seated capitalist notions advanced in the 19th century made its way into the 20th century in the resurgent form of *neoliberalism*. The demise of the Berlin Wall in 1989, perhaps the best-known teichopolitical project and the most extreme marker of ideology and sovereignty in modern times, indicated an important pivoting point for “the era of neo-liberal *Empire*” (Chaichian 2014: p.2). Following the end of the Cold War, the late eighties and early nineties saw a rise of renewed hope and naïve forecasts of the end of walls and the beginning of a ‘borderless’ world society. This wave of optimism was underpinned by the exponentially growing currents of globalisation and radical transformations in the GPE, marked by a proliferation of supra-state bodies and multilateral ‘zones’ of collaboration, as well as changes in social relations (Anderson & O’Dowd 1999: 593; Hastings & Wilson 1999; Paasi 1998; Colás 2005). In the contemporary GPE landscape, border stability and management remains a highly relevant issue in IR (Carter & Poast 2017). The social sciences are replete with academic literature on the issues of the international system of states, territoriality, sovereignty, border disputes, transgressions and security. However, in the context of an increasingly interconnected world, marked by ever-

¹⁴ Most notably by Karl Marx and his sympathisers, who defined capital in terms of socio-economic relations in which private ownership of production means worked to widen social cleavages and enrich the ruling bourgeoisie at the expense of the working proletariat. Marx argued that the capitalist machinery was replete with internal contradictions that would eventually stagnate the capitalist current and give way to socialism. For further reading, see: Marx, K. (1867); Marx, K & Engels, F. (1848)

changing spatial, cultural, economic and socio-political landscapes, as well as marked shifts in the global paradigms of *securitisation*, these discourses and the reading of them are in constant need of scrutiny, revision and upgrade. Furthermore, the digitalisation of popular and social media networks enabling instantaneous flows of information, coupled with an uprise of creative communities and politicised grassroots, have contributed to the intensified broadcasting of the ‘spectacle’ of walls and its reappearance in the global public agenda. In light of the developments witnessed over the last three decades, the study of contemporary borders, walls, aesthetics and IR theory are all fertile and expanding areas of research. The next section delves into the ways that the analytical conceptions of walls and borders have changed over the past decades. It will also look into recent walling trends and the current teichopolitical ‘status’ in the world.

3.2 Conceptualising walls, borders and the current teichopolitical status

There are extensive and ongoing discussions around *what* constitutes borders and walls, their respective roles and function, and not the least *why* they continue to represent such prevalent focal features in the current global political landscape. Consequently, a number of scholars from various fields have sought to conceptualise border barriers situated in diverse historical, spatial, cultural and socio-political contexts. The early sixties saw the emergence of border studies as an academic (sub)field with a pre-dominant focus on the notion of boundaries as lines of demarcation and geographical limits that could be drawn and identified on a map (van Houtum 2005; Paasi 1998; Newman 2006). However, as van Houtum (2005) and others have observed, this idea of the border has changed amidst important transformations in border studies and a broadened conceptual framework for studying border-related matters in the social world. The attention has gradually moved away from “the study of the evolution and changes of the territorial line to the border” to a more complex understanding of the border “as a site through which socio-spatial differences are communicated” (p.672). In this sense, we can study border barriers, such as walls, as human practices of *bordering* that constitute, represent and negotiate “differences in space” (ibid). As remarked by Lefebvre (1974) in *The Production of Space*, the notion of *space* can be physical, mental, symbolic or social and embraces a

multitude of relational intersections (p.11, 33). Furthermore, scholars such as Paasi (1998) and Newman (2006) emphasise that borders ought to be recognised as institutions and mechanisms of control, as social processes and expressions of political power to manage *flows*. As noted by Hastings & Wilson (1999), this opens up the framing of borderlands to signify more than mere territorial zones, but, moreover, as “sites and symbols of power” (p.1). These power dimensions constitute a recurrent theme in the literature on walls, as is illustrated in ensuing sections.

Next, we will turn to the ways border walls are conceptualised in academic literature. Rosière & Jones (2012) consider walls, together with fences, to be the most emblematic of artefacts situated in borderlands, more so than other barriers such as frontlines and closed straights. Adding to this, Carter & Poast (2017) argue that border walls erected along international borders, the focal point of this thesis, constitute the “most aggressive” strategy for securing borders (p.2). Walls can be physical or figurative: they can be tactile, tangible, hard, robust and palpable physical structures erected by an assemblage of materials; but also conceptual, symbolic, representative and non-tangible “figurative expressions” that exist in the imaginaries of individuals and collectives alike (Chaichian 2014). In line with this, other scholars have described walls as “symbolic and material manifestations of political boundaries” (Till 2013: p.52); as “time written in space” (Rupnik cited in Anderson & O’Dowd 1999) and, equally, as “place[s] of encounter” (Paasi 1998; Newman 2006). Commonly regarded as encapsulating a heavily dichotomised narrative marking and defending the limits for a given ‘community’ or ‘society’ against ‘outside’ forces (ibid), the *wall* as a construct of intention has become a manifest site of geopolitical, social and cultural struggle. As such, the erection of walls as an intentional act of politics ought to be understood as both a matter of ends and a matter of means.

As noted by Silberman et al (2012), borders and walls, as spatial practices have been fundamental to all human cultures and involve “contradictory yet simultaneous function[s]...to divide and connect, to exclude and include, to shield and constrain” (p.1). During the Soviet construction of the Berlin Wall, President Kennedy remarked that in spite of all its flaws and drawbacks, “a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war” (cited in Carter & Poast 2017: p.2). Many scholars have been occupied with understanding the rationale that underpins teichopolitical projects. In their article,

examining the links between political economy, security and border stability, Carter & Poast (2017) ask, ‘*why* do states build walls?’ They conducted a study to learn more about the underlying rationales and justifications that motivate states to build walls along their international borders. Using original data on man-made border wall constructions between the years 1800 and 2013, they were also the first to systematically test how *changes* in neighbourly relations across time are associated with the emergence and maintenance of border walls (ibid: p.4). In their article, they primarily outline a political economy theory of wall construction, arguing that substantial economic inequalities between two bordering states is an important factor driving their assertive measures to secure the border. The prevalence of significant economic disparities between states creates strong incentives for illegal flows of people and/or goods across international borders¹⁵. In the absence of a formal border dispute or military conflict, as is the case of the US and Mexico, Carter & Poast (2017) found that the pursuit for economic security constitutes a highly significant factor in the resort to physical teichopolitics.

Theories that emphasise economic determinants of walling overlap with discontents and critiques directed at neoliberalism and postindustrialism. Such critical analyses highlight the deepening socio-economic cleavages and diversion of essential resources associated with capitalist growth and advanced technologies for surveillance, control and domination (Colás 2005; Foucault 1975; Newman 2006). As such, the question of neoliberal development in the complex of ‘disaster capitalism’, elaborated by Naomi Klein in *The Shock Doctrine* (2007), cannot be sidestepped with regards to teichopolitics and its underlying rationales. Accordingly, although there are different historical reasons as to why walls are constructed, most of them seem to suggest one important commonality: They are built and maintained in order to fortify a rich world against a poorer (Carter & Poast 2017; Newman 2006; Colás 2005; Lyon 1999; Klein 2007).

There is also a large body of literature on what Newman (2006: p.103) calls ‘the protection function’, which regards military threats, interstate conflicts and security-

¹⁵ As noted by journalist Maxime Robin (2017) in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, cross-border flows is increasingly a combination of both people and illicit goods. Maxim points to Mexican migrants who illegally try to cross borders by means of smugglers, often being mules for narcotics as repayment.

preservation as underlying explanations for building walls.¹⁶ This theory focuses on the wall as a preventative barrier for imminent threats posed by invading forces or territorial conflict between neighbouring states as a common and plausible motivation for the erection of physical walls. Since states embroiled in territorial disputes are at increased risk of armed confrontation with rivals, physical walls, according to dominant realist lines of thought, become an attractive strategy to dissuade potential aggression. Historic examples of this include the Maginot Line between France and Germany, Golan Heights and the Great Wall of China (Carter & Poast: 2017, p.12). The focus on security as a chief determinant of teichopolitics is closely related to theories focusing on the perceived threats of terrorism and religion (ibid). Within international political circles today we see an intensified deployment of the rhetoric associated with this theory, particularly following 9/11 and the consequent shifts in the contemporary securitisation paradigm (Bergman-Rosamond & Phynntian 2011).

Other models highlight the trade conflict theory and the resort to ‘trade walls’ such as blockades and embargoes as another teichopolitical rationale (Simmons 2005 cited in Carter & Poast 2017). Similarly, the civil wars theory, as explored by Gleditsch, Salehyan & Schultz (2008 cited in ibid), regards border barriers to be a cost-effective strategy to prevent spill-over effect of internal conflicts across borders. This intrastate theory is, in turn, connected to migration theory whereby walls are understood as political structures aimed to halt the influx of refugees fleeing from neighbouring or regional countries embroiled in civil war. This perspective has returned to the political and media spotlight in recent years with the massive bodies of refugees, who in desperate attempts to escape the violent outbreaks in their home countries, embark on dangerous journeys, by land or sea, towards a hardening ‘Fortress Europe’. One can also argue that these theories related to civil war and migration, as well as terrorism and religion, are deeply implicated in cultural theories that underscore the need for border walls as a protective shield against the “infiltration of values” deemed as incompatible with “the hegemonic practices of the majority, be they social and economic status, religious affiliation, and/or residential homogeneity” (Newman 2006: p.103).

Correspondingly, Jones (2012) argues that in the majority of instances, these border barriers are product of internal politics of the very states that build them. He outlines

¹⁶ For further reading on this theory, see: Mitchell 2002; Park & Choi 2006.

three specific reasons for constructing a border wall, most significantly the desire to establish sovereign authority over ungoverned or unruly lands, but also the protection of state wealth/population; and the protection of cultural practices within the state from the possible influence of the value systems of the designated ‘others’ (p.70). Adding a layer to the discussion, Wendy Brown, author of *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (2010), theorises the rise of walls as symptomatic of the decline in sovereign power and authority prompting. All the perceived threats covered by this set of teichopolitical theories provide potent incentives and political opportunities for leaders to embrace walling as a purportedly legitimate and effective response to secure their borders. Although this response is unsurprising according to mainstream currents of political thought, many scholars also allude to the point that it is not a rationally obvious or appropriate strategy for national safekeeping. In contrast to these conventional, widespread, and seemingly commonsensical explanations, which understand the identified security threats to ‘naturally’ provide rational, legitimate and functional justifications for erecting border walls; the conduct of teichopolitics generally also constitute a costly endeavour that fails to tackle the roots of the problems (Chaichian 2014; Carter & Poast 2017; Silberman et al 2012). The “*raison d’être*” of border walling, as Chaichian (2014) states, remains “shrouded in mystery... in light of the fact that most of them have failed to serve the ‘defensive’ functions they were created for” (p.1-2).

Furthermore, the inherent ambivalent and fleeting categorisations of walls have also been examined by a number of scholars. Heather Nicol (2016) highlights that walls greatly vary in both character and construct: some walls are hard, robust and hurriedly erected, while others are of a softer character and developed over time; even when a wall is felt by one actor, it may be seemingly absent for others (ibid). Others such as Emily Regan Wills (2016) examine “the problem of discursive binary” (p.312), characterised by the selective use of language in debating teichopolitics. She illustrates the interconnection between discursive ambiguity, subjectivity and contestation. In the case of the West Bank, for example, supporters refer to the border structure as a security ‘fence’, whereas opponents speak of it as a separation ‘wall’. Others yet resort to the term ‘barrier’ in order to evade explicit affiliation with either side. The deployment of semantics, hence, does not merely reflect a neutral question of terminology; rather, it is part of a “broader interpretative schema” that underscores

the nature of relationships and the tactical political work conducted by all sides of the conflict (ibid). These discussions offer useful antidotes to the seemingly unambiguous and fixed references to the existence of the wall as a material object of division.

As borders and walls have once again become political buzzwords within the academic, institutional and public arenas, a number of studies focusing on empirical methods have recently been conducted in order to highlight the contemporary turn in teichopolitical trends. A closer look at different national policy regimes reveal the closing up of national spaces and the hardening of international borders by means of physical barriers, in particular walls and fences (Rosière & Jones 2012). According to a study by Rosière & Jones (2012), 26 new walls were erected along political borders worldwide since the fall of the Berlin Wall and 2012 (p. 70). Furthermore, the study revealed that contemporary walls are built by totalitarian regimes and democracies alike. Invariably, these barriers are declared justified through rhetoric of threat and security that necessitates national protection against terrorism, drug criminality, insurgents, and suicide bombers “lurking on the other side” (Jones 2012: p.70). Furthermore, by the year 2016, 63 borders were reported to have walls and fences serving as markers of separation between neighbouring countries (Granados et al 2016). The numbers from these empirical studies are indeed quite remarkable and suggest that the border wall have made an unprecedented return to international relations, contradicting the visions of the boundless world society so optimistically projected as the Cold War came to its end.

3.3 Territoriality, sovereignty & the ‘exceptional’ security landscape

“necessitas legem non habet” / “necessity has no law”
“nécessité fait loi” / “necessity creates its own law”

~adages, cited in Agamben (2005: p.24)

To gain a better understanding of the political environment that has fostered the recent turn in teichopolitical trend, we must take a closer look at the changes that the global security landscape and the securitisation discourse have undergone over the last

decades. The trajectory and continuous evolution of the international security landscape, particularly in the postmodern context of growing global interconnectedness has been a topic of scrutiny for many social analysts in recent decades. In 1945, the journalist Theodore H. White wrote, the world is “fluid and about to be remade” (cited in Ruggie 1993: p.139). Half a century later, this observation was still deemed true by John Gerard Ruggie (1993), Hastings & Wilson (1999) and others scholars who have highlighted the year of 1989 as a “convenient historical indicator” (Ruggie 1993: p.139) of the end of a post-war era. It is also widely seen as a turning point in the remaking of the modern system of states as we know it today, in which the play of power politics was transformed into a “truly postmodern international political form” (ibid). On one level, the continued focus on- and relevance of teichopolitics in the modern and postmodern era are reflections of these transformations and walling continues to be deeply tied into the neoliberal agenda. The societal transformations that have occurred on all continents has seen the number of states in the world rise at a rate not seen since the days of dissolution of the Great Empires after two world wars. Although these changes have been accompanied by a redefinition of their structures, functions and institutional integration, as noted by Hastings & Wilson (1999), they have done seemingly little to increase diplomatic talks and cooperation between nations. Rather, the authors argue that the transformations of the post-1989 world have brought with them a rise in the number, type and intensity of border disputes”¹⁷ (ibid: p.3). The two main cases in this paper, the US-Mexico and Israel-Palestine walls, in addition to the many teichopolitical projects along the external perimeters of the European Union (EU), are amongst the numerous disputes that have emerged in recent decades, intersecting questions of sovereignty and territoriality.

A second historical pivoting point that shook the international political paradigm in unprecedented ways 9/11. The attack and the events that followed played a central role in prompting the shift towards the global political economy (GPE) and current security landscape. In the aftermath of the event, Klein (2007) presented a piercingly persuasive account of the boom experienced by the American homeland security

¹⁷ Including, but not limited to conflicts over supposed sovereign territory; cross-border ethnic conflict; regional contests over self-determination and nationhood; local, regional and national efforts to support or curb cross-border movements of refugees, immigrants, illegal workers, smugglers, and terrorists (Hastings & Wilson 1999: p.3).

industry and its engagement in a 21st century warfare model driven by fear and funded by American taxpayer dollars (p.387). The mantra “September 11 changed everything”, Klein argues, “neatly disguised the fact that for free-market ideologues and the corporations whose interests they serve, the only thing that changed was the ease with which they could pursue their ambitious agenda” (ibid: p.377-378). The shifting global security landscape, a mounting sense of anxiety, as well as the upturn of populist politicians and their nationalistic rhetoric in various regions of the world has seen an array of nations, such as Israel and Turkey, resort to walling themselves in and others out, as part of their national security schemes. On the other side, its neighbours, such as Syria, are becoming increasingly delimited and excluded by barriers imposed on every frontier. The US-Mexico & Israel-Palestine borderscapes are comprised of an assemblage of disparate elements, bounded together by their implication in the processes of bordering and walling. In IR and geopolitics, this is perhaps most clearly exemplified by what Schimanski (2015) refers to as “the historical conditions and social effects of the border as a marker of territoriality, a delimitator of sovereignty and a barrier to mobility installed between different successive versions” (p.38-39). Borders and walls are diverse, imperfect and often contradictory products of a state-centric system. Moreover, walls are often justified by invoking what Giorgio Agamben (2005) has called a ‘state of exception’. Hence, in the context of the modern international system of states, global integration and a shift towards a post-9/11 security paradigm, contemporary teichopolitics cannot be separated from the discussions on territoriality, sovereignty and exceptionalism in the context of the current global security landscape, as will now be elaborated.

In 1754, the prominent French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau perceived an innately territorial and tragic instinct amongst humans, which he wrote about in his work, *Discourse on the origin and basis of inequality among men* (cited in Silberman et al. 2012: p.1). He stressed that the notion of ownership and *territoriality* was expressed in primitive man’s very first utterance of “*ceci est à moi*” / “this is mine” (ibid: p.1). Walls, as extensions of borders, ultimately derive their significance from territoriality, what Anderson & O’Dowd (1999) deem “the hallmark” of the modern state-centric system and “a general organising principle of political and social life” (p.593). Professor of geography and author of the book *Human Territoriality: Its theory and history*, Robert D. Sack (1986), argues that territoriality is often defined

too simply as “the control of area” (p.19). In arguing that this classification is neither precise nor rich enough to contribute to the debate, he suggests *territoriality* to be defined as “the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area” known as *territory* (ibid). As such, Anderson & O’Dowd (1999) describe it to be an enforcement strategy that assumes a permanence of geographical possession and sees bounded territories as held together by collective identity and spatial belonging. Accordingly, territoriality deploys geographic area to assign and classify social realities through the application of reductive economic, political and cultural labels. These symbolic and constructed markers simplify the ways that social boundaries are communicated, including issues of security and control, by means of distorting social phenomena, overgeneralising social categories and (re)producing discourses of otherness (ibid. p.597-598). In this sense, the erections of border walls are understood as forms of structural discrimination and domination, reinforcing biases and preconceptions.

Furthermore, territoriality is linked to sovereignty. These two notions are jointly embodied in the modern image of the *sovereign* and *territorial* nation-state and provide the basis of the states system in which countries claim sovereignty and immunity from outside interference within their own borders (ibid). Castellino & Allen (2003) write that “territorial borders performed precisely under the Westphalian state system, [under] the principle of *uti possidetis*¹⁸, ensure the maintenance of interstate order through the mutual recognition and acceptance of territorial integrity and, hence, the notion of territorial sovereignty” (cited in Newman 2006: p.103). In the face of globalisation and a changing world political map, many scholars have raised questions about the old-fashioned notions of territoriality, its functions and roles (Anderson & O’Dowd 1999; Newman 2006). Kahler (2006) states, “globalization may have produced changes in territoriality and the functions of borders, but it has not eliminated them” (p.1). Newman (2006) agrees with this statement; in his analyses of the historical “resilience of territory”, he argues that territoriality remains “a factor of major political and functional significance” (p.85). To support this claim, he ties the discussion into the issues encountered in the context of constructed “homeland” spaces, such as the Israel-Palestine conflict, in which

¹⁸ Latin for "as you possess under law"

statehood, national identity and territory are inextricably connected (p.86). Hence, territoriality and sovereignty as embedded in the political economy and linking space, place and time (Sack 1986; Newman 2006), are important questions of consideration within the broader teichopolitical debate.

Aligned with the Hobbesian concept of sovereignty, Carl Schmitt opened his *Politische Theologie* (1922) with the words: “Sovereign is he who decides on the exception” (cited in Agamben 2005: p.5). Half a century later, Walter Benjamin (1978) wrote about the theory of sovereignty and its relation to violence, the suspension of law and “the problematic nature of the law itself” (cited in Gulli 2009: p.23). Being sovereign, hence, means holding the privileges of a ruler and possessing the power to decide and to dominate (Gulli 2009: p.23). Several decades after Schmitt and Walter’s publications, Agamben (2005) became the first scholar to formulate a theory of ‘state of exception’. In his provocative work, written in the wake of 9/11, he describes one of the key features of government exceptionalism to be the “abolition of the distinction among legislative, executive, and judicial powers” (ibid: p.7). Even though it was initially intended as more of a provisional measure and a temporary suspension of democracy, exceptionalism has arguably become the twentieth century working paradigm of government (ibid: p.9). In theorising national ‘states of emergencies’ and the consequential extension of power outside the usual perimeters, he perceives a powerful and dangerous trend that potentially warrants democratic leaders the kind of power only matched by totalitarian authorities (Agamben 2005). Agamben warns that this invocation of the ‘exceptional’ is a potent, albeit under-examined, sovereign strategy situated in an “ambiguous, uncertain, borderline fringe, at the intersection of the legal and the politics” (Fontana 1999, cited in ibid: p1).

As an example, a declaration by the US Department of Homeland Security following 9/11 stated: “Today’s terrorists can strike at any place, at any time, and with virtually any weapon” (Klein 2007: p.379). According the logic of exceptionalism, this implied a necessity to defend the nation against “every imaginable risk in every conceivable place at every possible time” (ibid). As contended by Klein (2007), this invocation of a state of emergency conveniently implied that the conceivably looming threats did not have to be proven in order to merit a full-scale military reaction (ibid). In the anthology edited by Annika Rosamon-Bergman & Mark Phytian (2011), the authors illustrate the post-9/11 shift in “perceptions of ‘new threats’ and its unprecedented

effect on policy implications in the West. They specifically emphasise the controversial and radical relationship between traditional conceptions of civil freedoms, the transformed nature of imminent contemporary threats and calls for exceptional security measures necessary to deal with them. They state that, increasingly, “claims [are] made in favour of tipping the balance towards security and away from liberty”, reconfirming a heightened sense of exceptionalism that has endowed the homeland security apparatus with a set of executive and legislative powers outside the norm (ibid: p.4-9).

In the context of teichopolitics, the territorial system of borders works to link “violence, force, and the deployment of the logic of exceptionalism” (Parker & Vaughan-Williams 2009: p.585); as such, it has enabled the powerful appeals of exceptional rhetoric to become a tactic frequently used to justify the necessity to build a wall. The common argument presented by authorities, what Gulli (2009) refers to as “the hyperbolic truth” (p.23), is that the existing democratic order is under imminent external threat and must be preserved by any means necessary. Under such conditions, the concept of *necessity*, as essentially rooted in subjectivity, is understood as relative to the goal sought by the sovereign (Agamben 2005: p.30). This oscillating relation between norm and exception is illustrated by both the US as well as Israel who, in their attempts to legitimise and enforce their teichopolitical agendas, deploy exclusive and exceptional discourses, rhetoric and measures (Lloyd 2012; Dalby 2008; Sundberg 2015). David Harvey (2014) is unforgiving in his critique of exceptional forms of power enacted by political institutions and reinforced through intensifying techniques of policing. Surveillance and militarised force, he says, “[attacks] the well-being of whole populations deemed expendable and disposable [...] or outside the responsibility of the established perimeter of a nation’s sovereignty” (p.292).

3.4 Walls & power

“ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS”

~George Orwell, *The Animal Farm* (1945: p.97).

The preceding discussion on territoriality, sovereignty and exceptionalism in the context of border walls and world politics cannot be separated from questions of power. Power has been remarked as being one of the fundamental concepts in social science. Bertrand Russel (1938) asserted that power is like energy, “[it] has many forms, such as wealth, armaments, civil authority, [and] influence on opinion’ (cited in Divon 2015: p.17). Numerous scholars have elaborated the discussions of power and IR, and there are many conceptualisations and understandings of it. For example, in his seminal work on power, Lukes (2005) discusses the questions of power and governmentality as linked to domination; in other words, the “power over” and to a certain extent “power to” exercised for the purpose of securing compliance (p.109). He emphasises the elusive nature of power and outlines what he sees as its three-dimensions. Nye (2011) builds on Lukes’ three-dimensional idea of power by linking the discussion to foreign policy. Nye’s coinage of ‘smart power’ refers to the contextual combinations of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ power to achieve preferred policy outcomes (Nye 2004: p.32). Although there are numerous other authors who conceptualise and deliberate the theme of power in world politics, this thesis considers the Foucaultian concept of biopower, which will be reviewed next, as particularly relevant in teichopolitical analysis.

Teichopolitics and bordering processes as national security measures are intricately linked to different forms of power, biopolitics and practices of ‘othering’. These topics have been theorised by numerous scholars in the past decades. “Landscape results from power,” asserts Zukin (cited in Szary 2012: p.215). Walling implies an act of commanding the landscape; defining, making and moulding the space. Whether by imagining them or physically constructing them, walls constitute an agent’s projection of intention over a portion of the borderscape (ibid). Furthermore, there are elements of power and control of material and social reality and an aesthetic

representation of a visual order implicated in spatial practices. Schimanski (2015) states, “the borderscape adds to bordering the spatial and sensible components of power” (p.36-37). Analysing power in teichopolitics ought to integrate the power exercised to build the walls; the power to ‘scape’ the narrative and meanings; but also the disruptions in the borderscape generated by walling processes as “intervention[s] in the landscape” (Szary 2012: p.215; Schimanski 2015: p.36). It also requires the analysis of continual power negotiations characterised by the geopolitical relationships between hegemonic discourses and its counter-discourses / interventions, whether they emerge in the form of institutional opposition or resistance ‘on the ground’ from the margins (ibid; Weber 2005). Hence, the *wall* is regarded as a political instrument of power - material and metaphorical, tangible and non-tangible– that is situated within the wider and boundless “discursive landscape” (Brambilla 2015: p.21; Marcuse 1994) that constituted the teichopolitical borderscape.

Foucault’s concepts of *heterotopia* and biopower serve as useful lenses to analyse walls and other mechanisms for social division. Foucault first introduced heterotopias in *The Order of Things* (1970) as the alternate space to utopia: “Utopias afford consolation”, he wrote, “although they have no real locality there is nevertheless a fantastic, untroubled region in which they are able to unfold” (p.xviii). Utopias, however, are also inherently disturbing; they covertly undermine language and make it difficult to signify labels outside the established norm. Instead, they shatter or tangle common, familiar names within the hegemonic comfort zone (Zanotti & Stephenson 2012). Contrary to Utopias, we find Heterotopias, which constitute the “other spaces” that exist in society and represents diversions from the norm. As such, heterotopias are commonly conveyed as a threat to the utopian model or hegemonic status quo (ibid; Foucault 1970). The desire to achieve an envisioned Utopia, hence, gives rise to the question of the power, asserted through teichopolitical and national securitisation narratives, that work to claim, partition, confine or exclude bodies in an identified space.

Furthermore, in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), Foucault scrutinises the connection between power and the body; he illustrates that these two elements are essentially intertwined. “Docile bodies”, he argued, are manipulated through subjection to cultural practices of power and punitive practices within a “disciplinary machinery”, which works in a fluid and often elusive way to distribute individuals in space to

obtain particular ends (p.135-169; Oksala 2011: p.87; Rancière 2009) Discipline then is understood as a context-based instrument of power aimed at the body to make the body useful. In the context of walling and Foucault's notion of biopower, the 'regulation mania', 'policing' and 'coaching' of the biopolitical 'other' become effective strategies of inscribing the designated threat or bodies that inhabit the 'other side'. This analytical approach is useful in teichopolitical investigations. Faced with the desire to build a wall, the authorities impose systematic punitive and disciplinary means to explore the bodies of the populations it seeks to control, break down or rearrange in order to fit their political agendas (Foucault 1975; Dean 2010: p.109; 110; Oksala 2011: p.88; Rancière 2010). Thus, at the heart of Foucault's analysis of power we encounter social relations, which enable us to examine organised applications of power and privilege and the way they are used to define roles, values, knowledge within 'regimes of truth' and governance (Dean 2010 24-37). With regards to the underlying conditions and embedded relations in which sovereign states build walls, the notion of the biopolitical 'other' fuels the rationale that walling is a legitimate and appropriate strategy of governance within and across borders (ibid).

As we have seen, many authors have demonstrated that one of the primary roles of power in teichopolitics is to strategically establish, reinforce and deploy notions of *différance* for political gain (Derrida 1982). Gaston Bachelard, writes, "outside and inside form a dialectic of division, the obvious geometry of which blinds us as soon as we bring it into play in metaphorical domains" (cited in Walker 1993: p.1). Related to the aforementioned state of exceptionalism, the resort to walling is seen as an urgent defensive measure, as well as an ideological tool of control. According to Chaichian (2014), the mechanism of identifying the 'savage' or 'barbarian' pre-dates the modern era, but continues to heavily impact contemporary teichopolitics (p.5). This strategy of relativism and dichotomising is echoed by a host of other scholars. This includes Newman (2003) who states, "the essence of a border is to separate the 'self' from the 'other'. This has become even more explicit in the aftermath of 9/11 and its famous 'us versus them' semantic. As such borders and walls function as barriers, supposedly defending 'us insiders' from 'them outsider' in order to inhibit the influx of 'undesired elements' (cited in Newman 2006: p.102). As remarked by Marcuse (1994), "erecting walls on one hand signifies power and the ability of those who build them to dominate, but at the same time represents the builders' insecurity and fear of

the other” (p.43). As metaphors for boundaries of social difference, walls are, consequently, understood as reflections of hierarchies of wealth and power. Walls are rooted in deep divisions between people of assigned social markers such as race, ethnicity, religion; normative categories such as good and bad; and emotions such as fear, enrage and mistrust. Wall, Marcuse (1994) writes, “have become aggressive as much as defensive; they have imposed the will of the powerful on the powerless as much as they have protected the powerless from superior force” (p.42).

Binary divisions are also discussed in Edward Said (1978) elaboration of Occidentalism and Orientalism. He argues that the reliance of the Occident on the exotic Oriental discourse is a strategy for obtaining “flexible *positional* superiority” (p.7). Related to the human creation of the racial ‘savage’, the Occident and the Orient is substantially implicated in the discussion of the two walls under analysis. Although both the US and Israel have populations that are diverse and interracial, their political presentation and representation is largely Occidental in relation to the more Oriental or exotic, darker skinned Arab/Muslim Palestinian or Mexican ‘Southerner’. According to Said, “entire periods of the Orient’s cultural, political and social history are considered mere responses to the West. The West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor. The West is the spectator, the judge and jury, of every facet of Oriental behaviour” (p.109). Orientalism with its impulses of biopower and discipline and its paradigm of ‘othering’, thus, bear traces of power that has to be resurrected in contemporary culture. It creates the Oriental, exotic and threatening ‘other’ (ibid: p.121). Comparably, J.B. Hobson (2012) argues that international theory, rather than explain world politics in an “objective, positivist and universalist manner”, actually works to “parochially celebrate and defend or promote the West as the proactive subject of, and as the highest or ideal normative referent in, world politics” (p.1). Such Eurocentric conceptions, rooted in notions of what Quijano (2000) calls “the coloniality of power” (p.533) are unmistakably manifest in both US and Israeli homeland security policies and teichopolitical discourses where bordering and walling become explicit features of a constructed ethnoracial caste system, that obstructs and relegates a group or population to a ‘low’ rank in order to profit their own ‘needs’ and desires (ibid).

Lastly, we turn to the discussion on power and resistance. Today we see a renewed interest in resistance studies, partly as a result of the upsurge of various

poststructuralist strands and its elaborations on power, social relations and social change. As stated by Lilja & Vinthagen (2014), these two notions of power and resistance have traditionally been considered as “necessarily opposed” (p.111). Nonetheless, today this view is increasingly being abandoned and is, instead, conceived by a growing body of scholars as existing in a “mutually constitutive relationship” (ibid). The Foucaultian notions of sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower, what Dean (2010) refers to as the ‘triangle’ of power (p.122) play a central role in recent examinations of the entangled links through which existing power relations shape different forms of resistance and, in turn, (re)produces power relations (Lilja & Vinthagen 2014). Moreover, in their comprehensive investigation on civil resistance, Garton Ash & Timothy (2009) argue that although non-violent civil action, which confronts challenges such as authoritarian rule, discrimination or foreign military occupation, is a highly relevant in the study of world politics, its significance has hitherto been inadequately explored and understood. In their book *Civil resistance and power politics* (2009), the authors examine the questions of civil resistance and its interrelationship with other dimensions of power through rich and descriptive analysis of cases from around the world. Finally, the realms of art and visuality and culture also add interesting dimensions to the discussion on resistance. Creative initiatives prompt critical thinking around issues of power, social determination and the often-underestimated capacities of the ‘inferior’, ‘deviant’ or ‘defiant’ bodies. Thus, the final section of this chapter will examine the creative forms of resistance to highlight various aspects of a politics of *poïesis* that affectively moves domestic and global audiences.

3.5 Politics that moves: Affect, aesthetics & creative resistance

Influenced by postmodern notions, scholars have become increasingly attentive of the cultural domain’s transformation into an important political arena and the growing ease with which we combine politics with culture and entertainment. Public spaces have become platforms for alternate ‘political education’, marking a shift in “sites of political consciousness” to the contemporary realms of culture and art (ibid: p.314). Moreover, the human experience has become more visual and visualised in our daily lives and attention is being diverted away from “structured, formal viewing settings”

such as galleries and cinemas, to public spaces of everyday life, including digital and commercial environments. Although everyday engagement with aesthetic elements is commonly overlooked in analyses of politics and resistance, some scholars identify these *aesthetic experiences* as “significant sites where ideological struggles occur” (Darts 2014: p.315; Berrian 2000: p.8). Numerous philosophers have viewed the human experience of- and with art as a “fundamental encounter” rather than an act of mere observation (Bleiker 2001). In the *Emancipated Spectator*, Rancière (2009) transforms the audience for a political artwork into an active participant in its creation, placing the question “sensible experience” and the “the paradox of the spectator” at the heart of the discussion of the relations between art and politics (p.2). As such, an aesthetic experience must be understood as an emotive encounter whereby meaning and understanding is attained through a wide array of bodily faculties and senses, intuition, and a range of human feelings that arise as a result. Aesthetics, Duncum (1999) insists, must therefore be understood as a fundamentally important location that often works in elusive ways without our conscious knowing to shape our understanding, attitudes and belief-systems.

Walls, situated in international *borderscapes*, encompass spaces that intersect systemic powers, political architecture, symbolism, visuality and emotionality. Whereas walls may enhance feelings of security and protection, they are also commonly viewed as acts of transgression and oppression. This stimulates profound feelings of anger and fear, and can be a motivating factor for explicit as well as elusive acts of dissent. In James C. Scott’s book *Weapons on the weak* (1985) in which he examines the everyday forms of resistance carried out by marginalised Malay peasants working in the rice fields, the author describes the class struggle between the proprietors and the exploited labourers. He describes the continuous negotiation of power relations that simultaneously occur at the economic level and the ideological or symbolic level. Within this realm of contestation, each class seeks to rationalise and legitimise their vested interests in terms of the social and religious norms that are understood to bind the community together. Although the elite has overwhelming advantages in the economic and political power play and the peasants’ find themselves in the inferior position of political underdog, Scott observes the unrelenting deployment of what he calls the ‘weapons of the weak’. Although the peasants are faced with limited resources and disadvantaged bargaining power, the

study illustrates the ways in which these ‘weapons’ served as elusive, yet maligning tactics to confront and undermine the powers exercised over them by the elite and the State (Scott 1985; Esman 1987).

This can be tied to Rancière’s work *Dissensus* (2010) and other scholarly publications that examine artistic resistance. Parkin et al. (1996), for example, examines the ways in which constantly changing configurations of power are both communicated and created through cultural performances. He highlights that symbols can become a medium through which people control others (p.xv). Conversely, symbolism is also a powerful catalyst and medium employed by artists to counter status quo. In the political ‘theatre and spectacle’ (ibid. p.xix), art and cultural performance offer interesting approaches for exploring issues and contradictions in wider society. In this sense, art can be regarded as a kind of ‘weapon of the weak’ that undermines the teichopolitical agendas of dominant governments. In his short, but dense book *The Politics of Aesthetics* (2004), author Rancière urges the reader to rethink the relation between art and politics. He proposes a “specific regime for identifying and thinking the arts” in order to reclaim ‘aesthetics’ from its previously narrow confines and reveal its true significance.

According to scholars such as Planalp (1999), the theme of emotionality has, been cursed, ignored and cut off from the rest of social experience in much of the Western philosophical traditions (p.1). A relatively small, but wide interdisciplinary debate concerning the roles of emotions and aesthetics in the social world emerged across the social sciences and humanities in the nineties and into the new millennium. Today, these emotionally and aesthetically attuned scholars continue to call for heightened attentiveness towards emotional aspects of world politics and an enhanced understanding of emotion beyond its biological endowments (Planalp 1999; Bleiker 2001; Kompridis 2014; Rancière 2004). Hutchinson & Bleiker (2012) welcome the ‘aesthetic turn’ in IR in contending that aesthetic judgments should be better integrated into analysis of world politics because they recognise the power and complexity of emotionality and takes into account the role played by human perception, interpretation and representation whilst influencing cognition and action. Correspondingly, Laketa (2016) writes about the ties between emotions, affect and geopolitics. She considers affect to hold the key to rethink postmodern notions of

power and ideology. Moreover, she highlights the recent impetus for a so-called 'emotional turn' in the geopolitics field, which she claims emanated from an growing awareness of the intersubjective, relational and social nature of power, ideology, as well as emotion and affect (p.663). Laketa (2009), in citing Pain (2009), argues that the ultimate aim of emotional geopolitics is the "refocusing of attention on resistance, agency and action" (p.664). Political decisions and actions are coloured and motivated by emotions such as fear, anger, mistrust, humiliation and strong desire. As emotionality play a deeply embedded role in teichopolitics, affectual aspects ought to be regarded as a phenomena that "provide new frontiers for human understanding" (Planalp 1999: p.1).

Artists have a capacity to evoke profound emotion in their audiences. Scholars, such as Planalp (1999), argue that emotion constitutes a sophisticated capacity of human beings to coordinate with others. In the realm of art, creative productions, visual, textual, musical or performative, can "inspire, offend, and enrage audiences, to awaken the unconscious, and to communicate ideas and emotions otherwise difficult to articulate" (Darts 2004: p.318). History provides abundant examples of the enduring links between politics, power, art and culture. As David Darts (2004) writes, "rulers and conquerors of states, kingdoms, and empires of both the ancient and modern worlds have strategically employed the arts to venerate their victories, reinforce their power and intimidate and malign their enemies" (p.313). Similarly, communities and artists have for many years confronted the State's symbols of power by bringing political matters into their own symbolic landscape of negotiation Many artists consciously engage with issues of social justice and human rights by means of continually addressing and redressing issues in ways that have socio-politically and culturally significant implications. These socially motivated artists, local or transnational, resist with intention and employ aesthetic tactics in engaging with and affectively moving their audiences. By calling our attention to social, political, cultural and religious mechanisms and constraints that inform our actions and temper our beliefs, artists not only expose us to others but also to ourselves (ibid p.318, 319). What Darts (2004) refers to as an "artistic troubling of our identities, beliefs and actions and inactions" can often make audiences feel disoriented and uncomfortable. Thus, the role of art is not merely to elevate subliminal pleasures of beauty, but

equally to “[tremble] the ideological ground on which we are accustomed to standing” and “undermine our ability to function within a dysfunctional world” (ibid p.319).

Authors such as Roland Bleiker has written on artistic responses to 9/11 in the fields of literature, visual art, architecture and music, and considers some epistemological questions about the “status of art as a way of knowing political events” and argues that art “can help broaden understandings of contemporary security challenges” (Bleiker 2006: p.77). Resistance is understood as being both creative and disruptive, a “generative site of conscious-raising” (Darts 2004: p.315). It unfolds in the realm of the sensual and the affectual as an alternate form for recognition and becomes a site for meaningful interaction through reflective inquiry (Rancière 2010; Darts 2004: p.315). According to Rancière and other aesthetic political theorists such as Bleiker (2001), art constitutes one of the fields with the strongest tradition of evoking, provoking and *moving* populations and politics. Through artistic processes, artists can create considerable fissures in the sensible order / “the distribution of the sensible” and confront the established framework of thought and action with creative expression and alternate narratives of the ‘inadmissible’ political subject (Rancière: 2009: p.7-14). This is seen to provide an opportunity for “dissensus” by means of aesthetic opposition (Rancière 2010). With regards to the teichopolitical arena, the walls can be both the subject and the object of resistance. The wall, as the object of political contention, becomes the source of creative inspiration that, in turn, underpin aesthetic efforts to uncover, make meaning and respond to the conceived struggle against dominance. The wall and its borderscapes can become the target of the aesthetic expression of resistance, taking on a role as a canvas or stage on which the teichopolitical ideologies, implications and power of the repressor is negotiated. The artistic realm is one such place of conversation and exchange. Thus, enhancing aesthetic consciousness can potentially foster more profound and meaningful understanding of world politics.

Chapter IV.

Great Walls in the Contemporary Era: A Comparative Case Study of 'Aesthetic Borderscaping'

The final chapter of the thesis seeks to illustrate how aesthetic elements constitute important features in the realm of international geopolitics, providing useful and valuable sources of insight beyond mainstream scopes of inquiry. It shifts the hitherto general focus on international border walls to two specific cases of Great Walls in the contemporary era, namely the US-Mexico Wall and the West Bank Wall. These state-erected, political barriers of separation have been selected for the purpose of deepening the analytical conversation through a comparative approach. In so doing, the ensuing discussion in the context of the designated case studies draws upon theoretical perspectives and concepts outlined in preceding chapters. The comparative case study, hence, contemplates the significance of cultural power and narratives of creative resistance, as manifested through what I refer to as 'aesthetic borderscaping.' It is followed by a deliberation of inherent contradictions and unintended consequences encountered in the study of geopolitics and international relations.

4.1 From Ancient to Contemporary *Great Walls*

He only says, 'Good fences make good neighbors'

-Excerpt from *The Mending Wall* by Robert Frost (1914)

The most striking and infamous of border walls are so-called *Great Walls*. Various ancient and cross-continental civilisations resorted to the construction of walls. These immense barricades are generally described as having been defensive in nature and erected as efforts to physically define territorial borders, keep hostile adversaries at bay, and, at times, even with agenda to prevent the fleeing of their own citizens. However, many also served more *offensive* purposes as instruments intended to control population flows, particularly bodies of peripheral territories. The outcomes of

such teichopolitical management strategies were decidedly mixed at best and ill-fated or ruinous at worst; no wall has, in political terms, endured the course of history (Chaichian 2014; Andrews 2016). Of the many great walls constructed, the most famous is conceivably the ancient imperial defensive barrier known as the Great Wall of China. Initial northern sections of the wall are thought to have begun around 600th BC and thereafter expanded and rebuilt over the next 1700 years. Starting in the 3rd century BC, work on the wall was initiated by the Qin Dynasty and later continued by the Ming Dynasty (Chaichian 2014; Andrews 2016). This magnificent and gigantic wall spanned almost 9000¹⁹ kilometres and was so impressive that it birthed the widespread universal myth that it was the only man-made structure visible from space. As it turns out, this is a mistaken assertion; however, The Great Wall of China remains the longest wall ever erected and today the remainder of the wall provides a staunch reminder of its history, magnificence and architectural grandiosity. The wall is considered to be one of the world's 'Seven Wonders', is included in the World Heritage List (UNESCO) and serves as one of the most popular tourist destination in the world.



Fig.1 The Great Wall of China

¹⁹ A report released in June 2012 following an archaeological survey conducted by China's State Administration of Cultural Heritage announced that the Great Wall is more than double this commonly stated estimate. New measures indicate that the Great Wall of China extends over 21,000 kilometers across 15 provinces, but there is no complete consensus around this statistic (BBC 2012; Ho 2012).

Other examples of ancient imperial walls include the “Amorite Wall” in 21st century BC Mesopotamia, one of the earliest known human civilisations. The enormous fortification was built by Sumerian rulers to keep out nomadic tribal groups and is believed to have stretched 250 kilometres between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in modern-day Iraq (Andrews 2016). In his work on *Greek Fortifications*, F.E Winter (1971, cited in Chaichian 2014: p.1) writes about town barricades in Ancient Greece dating back to late 8th and 7th centuries BC. Around the same time period, Kathleen Kenyon (1970, cited in *ibid.*) notes that archaeological excavations revealed the presence of defensive fortifications around the biblical town of Jericho in Palestine, today known as the territories of occupied West Bank.

Furthermore, there was the almost-200 kilometre long Great Wall of Gorgan in north-eastern Iran, commonly known as the “Red Snake” and believed by historians to have been built and upheld by the Persians between the 3rd to 5th century AD to guard against the Hephthalite Huns and other threats from the north. Hadrian’s Wall in northern England and Scotland was a 120-kilometres-long defensive limestone barrier across Roman Britain built in 2nd century AD to keep out other ‘barbarian’ tribes inhabiting the region. The Byzantines, like the many empires before them, also resorted to wall-building with more than 20 kilometres of barricades surrounding their metropolis of Constantinople, today Istanbul. The wall served to fight off a host of aspiring conquerors, including the Arabs and Attila the Hun, but eventually the city was besieged by the Ottoman Empire in 1453 (Chaichian 2014; Andrews 2016). Lesser known, but worth a mention, is the fascinating Great Hedge of India, planted by the customs officers of the British colony in the 19th century for the purpose of collecting salt tax. This bizarre imperial “custom barrier” consisted of a four-meter high, 3700 kilometre long hedge “wall” of spiny Indian plum and thorny acacias that spanned the Indian subcontinent (Moxham 2001). These great wall structures and their numerous counterparts all constituted extensive public works in form of massive constructions erected at times embroiled in regional unrest, violence and insecurity. They demonstrate the longstanding tradition and historical prevalence of walling as a geopolitical strategy for attaining security and dominance.



Fig.2 Hadrian's Wall

Of all the great walls ever erected, the 20th century counterpart, the Berlin Wall, is perhaps of greatest notoriety and political significance to the overall context of this thesis. On the morning of August 13, 1961, the German people awoke to discover that what they had previously considered “an improbably possibility” had turned reality. *Operation Rose*, carried out by the East German side and endorsed by the Soviet Union’s military command, effectively cut a city of four million residents in two, its crossing lines sealed with concrete posts and barbed-wire fence. The underlying motivation was to construct a defensive wall to guard the socialist system of East Germany from external forces and the expansionist global capitalist economy spearheaded by superpower US. The initial and hastily constructed ‘first generation’ of the wall and its accompanying checkpoints eventually became the symbol of the Iron Curtain. Not long after, a second, third and fourth generation of wall-design ensued. The gradual work to improve the barrier’s practicality and effectiveness resulted in the Berlin Wall eventually comprising 45,000 concrete slabs, each measuring 3.6 metres in height and 1.2 metres in width, spanning a total of 54 kilometres and with a price tag exceeding \$3.6 million (Chaichian 2014: p.129-147). The social price of the separation, however, was immeasurable; during the following twenty-eight years, Berlin was truly a divided city, segregating families and friends

previously residing on either side of the sealed border between the East and West. As communities were torn apart, the entire world was left bewildered and surprised.

As with many of its great wall antecedents, the construction of the Berlin Wall represented an immense undertaking. Unlike its antecedents, however, the Berlin Wall represented a ‘short-lived’ barrier that endured less than three decades (ibid.). Despite its brief lifespan, however, the presence and symbolic might of the political structure reverberated across the globe. To this day, the Berlin Wall remains one of the best-known teichopolitical project ever witnessed and the most extreme marker of division between two competing world systems. The fall of the Berlin Wall served as an historic turning point that heralded the end of the Cold War and ushered in “the era of neo-liberal *Empire*” (Chaichian 2014: p.2). The consequent disintegration of the Soviet empire and the great promise of globalisation prompted a wave of optimism and invoked the vision of a ‘borderless’ world (Chaichian 2014; Brambilla 2015; Hastings & Wilson 1999; Paasi 1998). Nonetheless, as observed by Hastings & Wilson (1999), the historic turn in international relations was also characterised by a “reawakening of a long-quiescent nation-state paradigm” and the reinforced importance of the global system of borders (p.2).

Evidently, no discussion with regards to international contemporary teichopolitics is complete without acknowledgment of the many astounding and disconcerting modifications that the world has undergone since 1989. The sustained focus on - and relevance of teichopolitics in the postmodern era are reflections of these transformations. Walling, as largely driven by realist assumptions and a neoliberal agenda, continues to be a popular and widespread geopolitical strategy for dominance. This teichopolitical continuity is captured in Di Cintio’s reflections after travelling along global barricades, “the walls were supposed to come tumbling down, yet humanity continues to erect crude barriers out of razor wire, concrete, and stone” (2012: back cover). Almost three decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, world politics continues to be manifest in the predilection, the evocative rhetoric and the emotive imagery of walls: The US-Mexico Wall and the West Bank Wall best illustrate the continual ubiquity, complexity and aesthetic nature of contemporary teichopolitics.



Fig.3 The Berlin Wall, Brandenburg Gate



Fig.4 Ecstatic crowds swarm the wall, Nov 9th 1989

4.2 *Offensive* Great Walls: the U.S.-Mexico Wall & the West Bank Wall²⁰

A mere decade after the end of the Cold War, it was already becoming evident that the premature attempts of the late 1980s and early 1990s to discard the international paradigm of borders and walls, accompanied by naïve prophecies of a globalised world free of borders and full of flows, was indeed not materialising. On the contrary, more recent approaches in the study of borders and walls emphasise their continued relevance for politics and everyday life (Brambilla 2015: p.14-15). The decades following the fall of the Iron Curtain the world once again witnessed the commencement of two massive teichopolitical projects: The US-Mexico Wall (1993-present) and the West Bank Wall (2002-present) are the most remarkable political structures of the post-1989 period.

Like their counterparts before them, these two modern border walls exemplified a discernible biopolitics of ‘othering’ rooted in overgeneralisations and charged rhetoric of *difference*. These dichotomisations have worked to enforce and reinforce social labels and cleavages. In so doing, they serve to legitimise exceptional sovereign performance and exclusion politics by means of both conceptual and material manifestation of barriers (Jones 2012; Agamben 2005; Dalby 2008; Lloyd 2012). Whereas these neo-colonial great walls may be discursively underpinned by a *defensive* rationale, they are at the same time essentially *symbolic* and *offensive* walls. Considering the obsolete role of border walls as a mere demarcation of geographical sovereignty, I understand walling - not as a primarily-defensive act to physically seal off a border - but rather as a symbol of power, an inherently aggressive and violent instrument of peripheral control. The teichopolitical machinery operates to produce and uphold ethnic, racial, social, economic and other inequalities. The US-Mexico and West Bank walls, at once, function as a physical statement of America and Israel’s physical military might and asserted supremacy, as well as an ethno-cultural and “ideological shield” that prevents inclusion of the categorical ‘other’ into a given territory (Chaichian 2014: p.321-322). In the essay ‘We are all Israelis’, the author Lubin (2008 in *ibid* p.178) argues that a certain parallel is found between the

²⁰ Although there is much agreement over these land questions, for simplicity, these areas will be referred to as just “Israel” and the “West Bank”. The two countries do not officially recognise each other (Olberg 2013)

historical trajectories that brought about the recent constructions and intensified militarisation in the US-Mexico and West Bank borderscapes.

The teichopolitical quests for domination are, hence, seen as rooted in deep-seated cultural or racist ideologies of superiority or “manifest destin[ies]” and claims of the sole right to a ‘homeland’ and/or a Holy Land. As articulated by Erik Hillestad (2008), “there is a link between the walls inside our own thinking and the physical walls we build.” The representation of the ‘barbarian other’ - together with the heightened uncertainties, anxieties, fears, political turbulence and associations that teichopolitics effectively (re)produces - underpin a set of ‘conceptual walls’ in the minds of peoples and leaders. These figurative walls, in turn, evoke and provoke the contesting parties, eventually laying the political groundwork for the physical manifestation of the walls. The US-Mexico and West Bank walls, as Chaichian (2014) writes, “are built not for security, but for a *sense* of security [...] What [these walls satisfy] is not so much a material need as a mental one” p.245). Twenty years on, these border structures have neither alleviated the two conflicts nor increased the chances for lasting solutions; indeed, the political tensions, neighbourly relations and societal implications remain as tangled as ever.

The teichopolitical projects at the U.S.-Mexico and West Bank borders have ascended from an intricate history of problematic social relations, power struggles and enduring disputes, paired with a long-winded string of conflictual events. Connecting all the dots in the history of the walls at hand is, no simple endeavour; it is also outside the limited scope of this paper and therefore best left to the historians and experts in the field who continue to extensively research and produce in-depth literature on the topic.²¹ This section merely seeks to provide a brief background of the central events, to demonstrate the deep-rooted and complex nature of the two cases in an effort to set the contextual stage for the ensuing discussion.

²¹ These recounts of the histories and underlying factors of the U.S.- Mexico and West Bank walls do not do justice to the sheer range of complexities involved. Both walls have generated substantial academic interest and publications across a broad range of disciplines. For more extensive literature on the matter, see: Jones 2012; Chaichian 2014 on the U.S.-Mexico case. And: Smith (2010); Yiftachel 2006; Smith 2010; Chaichian 2014; Andreas (2009) on the Arab-Israel conflict.

4.2.1 Between peaceful neighbours: 'The Great Wall of Mexico' (1996-present)

The contemporary border between the US and Mexico was established and drawn on the map by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the end of the US-Mexican War and finalised with the Gadsden Purchase in 1854. Much of the lands that today are under US authority were previously populated by hundreds of thousands of Mexicans and Native Americans. Nonetheless, sovereign authority over these territories was gradually established by means of moving Anglo populations onto the land. In the following years, the US sought to quench any sign of resistance by means of extensive land surveying and the deployment of police forces and other violent strategies of suppressions (Reese 2012: p.70; Chaichian 2014: p.178). Although a Border Patrol was established in 1924, funding remained scant for many decades. The nineties, however, saw increased funding towards measures to reinforce national border security and a resultant acceleration of bordering processes. Whereas the US had just over 3,500 agents at its border with Mexico in 1992, these numbers had multiplied to over 20,000 by 2010 (Haddal 2010, cited in *ibid*; Andreas 2009). The early nineties saw numerous attempts to reduce border apprehensions and in 1993 the Clinton Administration passed a mandate that opened up for the escalated militarisation and initial construction of a border wall along the 'lines in the sand' between San Diego and Tijuana (Reese 2012; Parker & Vaughan-Williams 2009). In face of *Operation Blockade* and *Operation Gate Keeper*, however, cross-border activities sought alternative paths. The situation deteriorated following the signing of the NAFTA agreement in 1994. The trade deal between the neighbours had a devastating impact on Mexican agriculture, unable to compete with the low-cost American industrial agriculture. This, in turn, prompted a new wave of immigrants to set course into the US, swamping a border patrol already under great pressure (Chaichian 2014: p.210-213). Subsequently, President Clinton signed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act, increasing fines for illegal entry and approving funding for further fence construction and boosting patrols. In response, emigrants shifted away from the traditional crossing points into privately held land, causing American landowners to fence their properties.

In the last thirty years, there have been frequent reports of the US-Mexico Wall's high human cost. Estimated number hover at around 6,900 deaths among undocumented

migrants who attempted to cross the border between 1986 through 2012 (Massey 2016: p.178), a number likely to conceal many unaccounted cases. Despite ample concerns and critique voiced by numerous political actors and civilian grassroots, the US government has proven hesitant to roll back on their border control policy. Like so many other recent border barriers, the wall (sometimes dubbed as the *Great Wall of Mexico*) has been built along peaceful borders between trade partners. The series of events taking place over the last quarter of a century has continued to harden the border and the resultant implications are both practical and symbolic. The wall's construction reached its peak with the passing of *The Secure Fence Act* in 2006 under the Bush Jr. Administration. This Act truly brought the border "into being" by means of visual manifestation and physical inscription of a territorial marker onto the borderscape (Reese 2012: p.71, Chaichian 2014: p.218). If the incumbent Trump Administration gets its way, the US-Mexico Wall is projected to grow further in both length and height (see Fig.8).

The explanations generally cited in scholarly literature is two-pronged: First, it is taking place under the post-9/11 securitisation paradigm in which Mexican migration and its alleged association with criminality, drug trafficking and black labour is discussed through a discourse of imminent threats to national security and self-defence. The subsequent argument is that a wall is needed for the sake of guarding the identity, wellbeing and interests of the American people, in conjunction suggestions cultural superiority and currents of racism. A second factor driving the construction of a border wall is, according to many scholars, a result of Mexico being a poorer country. Accordingly, the barrier is understood as a demarcation that serves to both physically and symbolically segregate the rich and poor of the global economic system and reinforce wealth inequality across the borders (Reese 2012; Carter & Poast 2017). This fits the aforementioned suggestion put forth by many researchers, whereby teichopolitical structures in international borderlands no longer serve primarily military defensive purposes. Rather, it is seen to represent a political instrument of control and dominance, coloured by capitalist aspirations and economic privilege. Its severe implications cross into social, economic, cultural and emotional realms of political life (Reese 2012: 71; Chaichian 2014).

The rife social coding taking place, has created binary categories whereby the 'Mexican illegal immigrant', like the 'Muslim terrorist' is presented as unfit for

assimilation into US society and as incompatible with American values and identity. It creates a state of exception, in which a politics of explicit exclusion, barrier construction and control strategies are justified and legitimised as a normatively appropriate practice of a sovereign state seeking to secure its population (ibid; Agamben 2005; Dalby 2008). Thus, despite the common presentation of the wall as a response to drug-related violence and terrorism, the decision to build over 1000 kilometres of fortification - running across rocky deserts, flowing sand dunes and agricultural lands along US-Mexico border - is largely due to internal factors (Rosière & Jones 2012: 70; Blake & Baertlein 2016). The Princeton University professor, Douglas S. Massey (2016) describes this “misplaced obsession” and fascination with the US-Mexico border wall in the following manner: “In the American imagination, it has become a symbolic boundary between the United States and a threatening world. It is not just *a* border but *the* border, and its enforcement has become a central means by which politicians signal their concern for citizens’ safety and security in a hostile world” p.160). The violent and deeply aesthetic nature of the unfolding bordering practices is demonstrated through political *performances* on the public stage between territory, boundaries and political imagination.

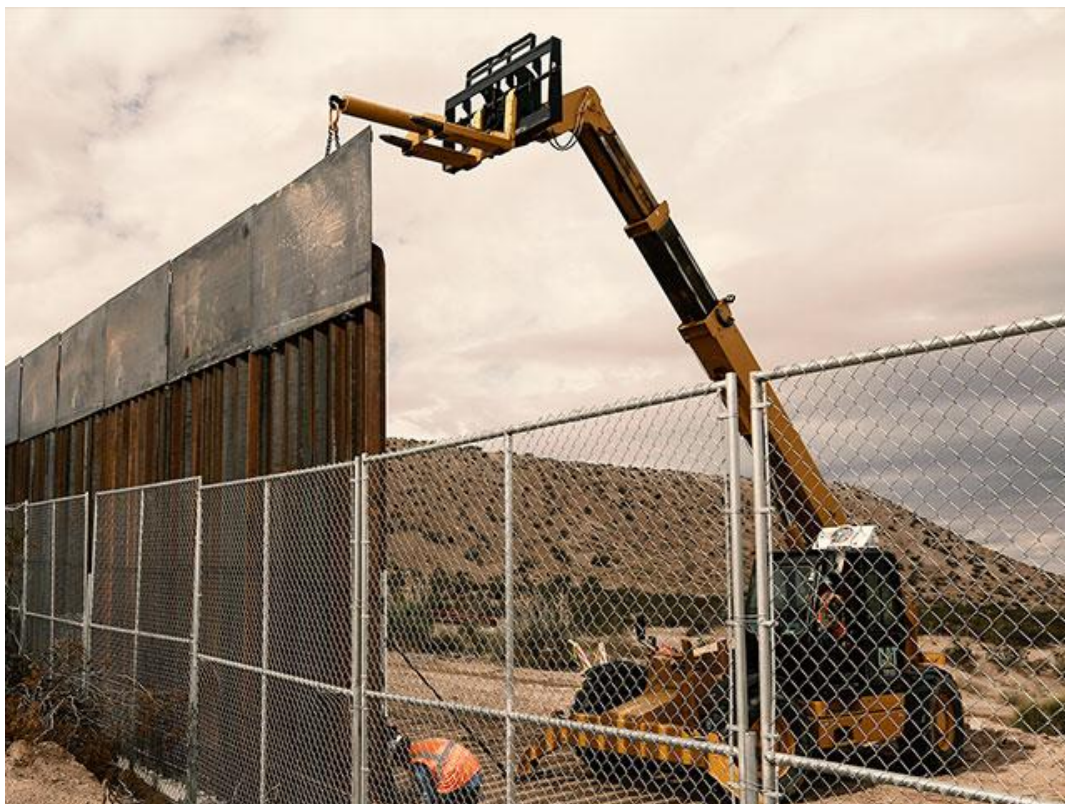


Fig.5 When a fence is not ‘secure enough’



Fig.6 'Loch Ness' of the border



Fig.7 Teichopolitical brotherhood



Fig.8 No borderland left un-walled: Trump's vision

4.2.2 Intractable conflict in the heart of a holy land: The West Bank Wall (2002-present)

The area known as the West Bank is a landlocked territory along parts of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. The contested area includes the historic cities of Jericho, Bethlehem, and Hebron to name a few. The West Bank Wall embodies an entire spectrum of issues associated with conflict infrastructure, occupation, division, spatial control and symbolic violence in the on-going and seemingly intractable ethnic dispute between Jewish Israel and Arab Palestine (Piquard & Swenarton 2011, p.1). Located at the very heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the holy city of Jerusalem, worshipped by Jews, Muslims and Christians alike. Jerusalem is depicted as “a city where walls [have] played a role to keep people apart from each other for thousands of years, and where Israel’s wall of separation was...built as a modern example of [a] medieval solution” (Hillestad 2008). The ancient city straddles the disputed borderline known as the Green Line, demarcating the occupied West Bank Palestinian territories from Israel Proper on the Western periphery of the West Bank (Chaichian 2014: p.246; Rosière & Jones 2012).

Whereas the US-Mexico Wall is situated in the peaceful borderscape between two neighbours and trade partners, the story of the West Bank Wall has unfolded along a considerably different historical trajectory. To properly grasp the Arab-Israeli conflict, however, one must revisit the 16th century and the times of Ancient Israel and Palestine's coming of Islam, the political fragmentation and rebellion to the Roman Period and Palestine under Roman and Byzantine Rule. Its history speaks of complex relations between Islam, Judaism and Christianity in a Muslim-ruled Palestine, regional strife, a series of imperial interventions under the Ottoman society, followed by the plight of the Jews of Western Europe, the origins and the rise of Zionism. Thus, turning to the accounts of Arab-Zionist relations prior to the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli War in 1948 unveil the basis of contemporary attitudes held by Arab-Palestinians and Israelis alike. Hence, the current political calamity ought to be evaluated against the complex backdrop of events extending back to pre-World War I.

The growing apprehension between Palestine and the Arab World and the involvement of Imperial Great Britain, followed by the Americans under the Reagan Administration, further complicated the situation. The region was situated between wars and conflicting aspirations. Faced with the thorny "Land Question" it was followed by great struggle over the historic Western Wall and revolts. These events had severe implications on Arab-Israeli relations and led to deeply divided visions over the future of the West Bank. The continuous scramble for regional influence and fragmented pursuits for peace were interrupted time again by peace gambits, terrorism, political strife and failed diplomatic peace accords. The Palestinians called for their own sovereign state and made claims of the territories comprising of the West Bank and Gaza (Chaichian 2014). The prospects of a peaceful two-state solution situation, however, were put to rest following the materialisation of the first Intifada of Islamic resistance, the Gulf Crisis, political assassinations and a Second Intifada (Smith 2001: p.ix-xvii). The Arab-Israeli War, which broke out in 1967, "thrust the Middle East into global consciousness as never before" as Israel resorted to the territorial annexation with the occupation of the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights (ibid; Rosière & Jones 2012). All these historical events fuelled a polarisation of images, exploitation of stereotypes and suggestions that a clash of civilisations was taking place (ibid). In 1992, the very same year as the American government began to accelerate measure to harden the border along its border with

Mexico, the then Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, conceived the idea of raising a physical barrier following the murder of young teenage girl in Jerusalem. Nevertheless it was not until a decade later, in 2002, that the Israeli Knesset approved plans to erect a security barrier to separate the occupied territories on the Palestinian side of the West Bank from Israel Proper (Chaichian 2014: p.246). The International Court of Justice (ICJ) challenged the legality of the structure in 2004 in concluding that the wall had been placed outside the officially recognised boundaries of Israeli territory and deemed a breach of International Law. Nonetheless, this has done little to change the course of its continuous expansion (Rosière & Jones 2012).

According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), an estimated 456 kilometres of the “part-wall, part-fence” structure (i.e. 64.2 per cent of its projected 710 kilometres) has been completed to date (OCHA; BBC 2005). The up to eight-meter-high structure (more than double that of the Berlin Wall) is a mixture of concrete walls and barbed wire estimated to cost an outrageous \$2 million per kilometre to build. The barrier has come to surround and cut through much of the West Bank of Palestine (Rosière & Jones 2012; Chaichian 2014: p.246; Toenjes 2015: p.55). Whereas both sides have undergone severe suffering due to the unrest, Palestine is reported by many international scholars to bear the brunt. The imposed wall has ruined the Palestinian economy and the wellbeing of its people as a consequence of severely impeded access to essential resources and services. As a result, it has unravelled the Palestinian social fabric, forcefully divided families and undermined their agriculture industries and other livelihoods (OCHA; Rosière & Jones 2012). The physical presence of the wall, its symbolic force and cultural implications have fragmented this *homeland* space characterised by a highly-emotive, longstanding and unresolved ethno-territorial conflict “[explicitly] linking between states, national identity, and territory” (Newman 2006: p.86; Rosière & Jones 2012; Yiftachel 2006). The West Bank Wall, as the symbolic emblem of the conflict, continues to disrupt the daily lives and practices of the inhabitants on both sides of the wall in a volatile geo-political climate filled with a constant sense of uncertainty and fear of the enemy ‘other’ (Piquard & Swenarton 2011; Rosière & Jones 2012).



Fig.9 The completed and planned wall



Fig.10 Stark contrasts in a divided landscape



Fig.11 A glimpse of horizon between 8 meters of concrete



Fig.12 Activists breaking through the wall

4.3 ‘Aesthetic Borderscaping’, Creative Resistance & Unintended Consequence: The Case of the U.S-Mexico Wall & the West Bank Wall

This thesis supports that, following the fall of the Berlin Wall, the US-Mexico Wall and West Bank Wall constitute the two most prominent *great walls* in the world today. Like their German forerunner, the two case studies are characterised by controversy, complexity and hyper-potent political symbolism that is felt across the globe. Although situated and constructed within different political geographies, the US-Mexico and West Bank walls share many commonalities²². Both structures have become well-known, international icons of disputed walling practices. They are rooted in political polarisation and closely tied to questions of territoriality, sovereignty, ideology, freedom and identity. Furthermore, the borderscaping practices at the US-Mexico Wall and West Bank Wall are replete with aesthetic elements and manifestations that add valuable dimensions to the discussion. Paying attention to these dimensions contribute a more profound understanding teichopolitical agendas and the emergent culture of counter-resistance in each case. The remaining discussion revolves around the concept of *aesthetic borderscaping*, creative resistance and unintended consequences observed in the selected cases.

As mentioned in the literature review of the previous chapter, the initial concept of *borderscaping* emerged out of the recent conceptualisation of *borderscapes* as social spaces in which bordering practices are conducted. “The combination of bordering and borderscape perspectives” - as noted by Chiara Brambilla (2015), editor of the anthology *Borderscaping: Imaginations and Practices of Border Making* - provides “a powerful link between processes of social and political transformation, conceptual change and local experience” (p.xv). There is an obvious parallel between the notions of ‘landscaping’ and ‘borderscaping’: ‘Landscaping’ refers to the intentional physical shaping of a land. Congruently, spatial ‘borderscaping’ practices - such as walling - constitute active attempts to modify a given borderscape by projecting a specific agenda over a portion of (social) space and the bodies within it (Schimanski 2015; Szary 2012). In this thesis, the notion of borderscaping is approached in two ways with regards to international teichopolitics: On the one hand, it represents the

²² The US is widely regarded as endorsing the Israeli government in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict. There is a large Israeli and Jewish population in the US, known to hold significant financial and political influence. Many scholars and political commentators have examined this link, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

processes carried out by wall-builders and their teichopolitical agendas to erect border barriers. On the other hand, borderscaping is regarded as ‘scaping’ practices that are manifested through a culture of civilian counter-resistance. The coupling of aesthetics and borderscaping in this thesis - through what I refer to as *aesthetic borderscaping* - aims to integrate various aesthetic dimensions to heighten the sensibility of borderscaping analysis. It is an approach that acknowledges aesthetics as a valuable feature of borderscaping and integrates multidimensional and often non-tangible elements such as visibility, imagery, symbolism, experience, performance and narrative into the discussion.

An examination of the aesthetic borderscaping, thus, offers a great opportunity to tease out and interpret the diverse ways in which wall-builders, its proponents and opponents act - and react - within the teichopolitical contexts of the US-Mexico and Israel-Palestine. Paradoxically, as is witnessed in the teichopolitics between US-Mexico and Israel-Palestine, the affective dynamic of the respective aesthetic borderscaping function to both offend and please, repulse and attract. It simultaneously represents a potential for violence and “pleasure in the sublime” (Schimanski 2015). As such, the *wall* simultaneously become a *sight* and a *site* of contestation, in which the visibility of border architecture, the affectual imaginaries they invoke, political intervention and artistic counter-intervention are played out and experiences in their respective borderscapes. According to Schimanski (2015), all forms of bordering practices constitute *borderscaping*, whether “through representations, through performative acts, through acts of narration, visualisation and imagination, including their interpretations” (p43). Creative resistance is a genuine embodiment of aesthetic borderscaping because it seeks to modify prevailing borderscapes, their embedded social relations and meanings. Provoked and inspired by teichopolitical projects, creative ‘transnational’ activities cannot be blocked by physical barriers. The metaphorical image of the Trojan Horse comes to mind; occupied by an army of ‘glocal’ artists, creative resistance initiatives permeate the physicality of the walls. By means of their artistry and advanced communication technologies, they effectively connect the iconic wall of their local borderland with the participant-spectatorship in rest of the world.

4.3.1 Walling as ‘aesthetic borderscaping’

Walls are, at the same time, territorial, architectural and social constructs (Di Cintio 2012) and aesthetic borderscaping is conducted by all parties engaged, both at the level of ‘high politics’ of international walling and ‘low politics’ of creative resistance. There are several reasons as to why the teichopolitical processes conducted by the American and Israeli governments can be considered as examples of borderscaping practices that are inherently aesthetic in nature.

First, one can argue that the very definition of walls, as “social constructs establishing symbolic difference” (Zanotti & Stephenson 2013: p.5), evoke deeply aesthetic connotations. As objects forcefully and violently erected within the borderscapes between neighbouring countries, it inevitably evokes ‘social imaginaries’ (ibid) on both sides of the borders. Although the imposition of tactile artefacts serves as a public display of sovereign might, the visual demarcation of territory between US-Mexico and Israel-Palestine also reflects more profound and conflicted narratives of emotion, constructed social binaries, personal and collective experience. These contemporary walls of separation, hence, constitute what Piquard & Swenarton (2011) refer to as reflections of “mental walls” that have become “physical embodiments of symbolic violence” (p.5). These walls are powerful emblems, not only within the parameters of their own conflicts, but for the erection of contested border walls at large (Wills 2016: p.1). The *framing* of discourse through selective semantics of *wall/fence/barrier* becomes a point of aesthetic contestation. It should be noted, however, that although many wall-builders resort to softer terms like *fence* to temper its offensive nature, others who overtly seek to exude political and military might may, on the contrary, resort to the use of the word *wall* for its seemingly robust and impenetrable nature. This is the case with President Trump who invokes typical ‘masculine’ rhetoric when describing his agenda to build a “great, great wall” that is “impenetrable, physical, tall, powerful, [and] beautiful” (BBC 2017).

Second, vested interests and political agendas become *aestheticised* and dispersed via frequent mention and appearance in international media and scholarly platforms. The highly ‘global image’ of the US-Mexico Wall and the West Bank Wall has turned them into the two most celebrated, hated and rigorously debated great walls of the contemporary age since the Berlin Wall. Walling constitutes a public spectacle of

power and an effort to preserve the values, identity, security and wellbeing of a people under imminent threat. It showcases political dominance, military might, proclaimed as heroic acts of self-defence in a 'last resort' to protect the 'homeland' / 'Holy Land.' It is also broadcasted as a political tragedy in the theatre of suffering - near or distant. Ironically, a wall can also be the ultimate sign of political failure, a marker of desperation. In this sense, it comes to represent a last-resort to get a political upper hand by violating freedoms and universal human rights and inflicting devastating implications on the bodily, ethnic and cultural integrity of the subjugated 'other' (Di Cintio 2012; Chaichian 2014). The dichotomised images and rhetoric is a recurrently deployed by all sides: the wall as a robust, strong, militarised and expanding institutional structure against the soft, vulnerable and 'docile' civilian body. These symbols, social meanings and stories all represent encounters with the wall, direct or indirect, underscoring an aesthetic experience, which in turn works to 'scape' both the geographical landscape and the social spaces of collective imagination.

Third, teichopolitical practices give rise to the imaginary of the wall as a societal illness and its consequential implications as the symptoms of this illness. As argued by Di Cintio (2012), "walls don't just divide us. They make us ill. They drive us mad" (p.11). This sickness and madness suffered by the body is an aesthetic dimension that is tied to the experience of living "in the shadows of a wall" a human existence whose essential freedoms are obstructed and whose eyes are robbed of the opportunity to witness the world's horizons. As such, the wall functions as a material reminder of segregation, a metaphor of repression and asymmetric power relations. Curiously, several studies conducted in in the seventies and eighties by East German psychiatrists revealed the emotional trauma and psychosomatic manifestations suffered by East Germans during the years of the Berlin Wall. The symptoms observed - including psychosis, schizophrenia, phobias, severe rage, depression, alcoholism and increased propensity towards suicide - were so severe that Dr.Hegemann referred to a syndrome called "Mauerkrankheit", *Wall Disease* in English. He noted a correlation between the proximity of the patients' home to the wall and the severity of their symptoms; the only cure to their condition, he argued, was the demise of the wall. Similarly, another psychotherapist, Dr.Maaz, described the "emotional liberation" that erupted on night that the wall finally crumbled (1990 in Di Cintio 2012: p.12). Although, I have not found reports of parallel studies in the

context of the two case studies, it is not difficult to imagine that the Wall Disease may be prevalent in the communities that live in the shadows of the US-Mexico and West Bank walls. Finally, although this discussion will not go into depth on the matter, walling also ties into neoliberal notions are also implicated in the teichopolitical imaginary and narrative of the wall as a machinery to primarily control the poor. The wall is a manifest symbol of the fanfare and failings of generated by ‘disaster capitalism’, marked by shocking privileges and wealth discontinuity that continue to widen the socio-economic cleavages between rich and poor both within and across national boundaries (Klein 2007; Newman 2006; Carter & Poast 2017; Harvey 2014, Colás 2005). Next I turn to the upsurge of artistic and political opposition inspired by the US-Mexico Wall and the West Bank Wall, and the ‘glocal army’ of artist activists who, in response to the conceived inhumane and unjust measures of bio-control, resort to other aesthetic tactics of borderscaping in the form of creative resistance.

4.3.2 Culture as power & creative resistance as aesthetic borderscaping: Art, affect & ‘ephemeral’ intervention

Like the aesthetic borderscaping practiced by the US and Israel governments, which serves to erect and sustain walls, there exists a worldwide community of artists that tactically and passionately employs aesthetic borderscaping as a means to resist and undermine border walls. In so doing, they generate an alternate teichopolitical culture. Scholars are increasingly investigating cultural production as more than a mere “side-issue” in the studies of borders, teichopolitics and IR (dell’Agnese & Szary 2015; Bleiker 2006). Bleiker (2006), for example, demonstrates the ways that art sheds new and revealing light on issues of contemporary security by focusing on art generated in the response to the 9/11 attacks. He regards art as an alternative mode of articulating defence policy and recognises the potential of creative works, as sources outside conventional forms of policy analysis, to contribute important insights. Along similar lines, Schimanski asserts, “Aesthetics has become a way of talking specifically about *artistic production*” (2015: p.42). Recent years have witnessed a multiplication of artistic artefacts and performances in borderlands, aesthetic borderscaping as a basis for creative resistance in a politicised domain. This is one of the reasons why, as asserted by dell’Agnese & Szary (2015), “It is important to take cultures of all kinds -

whether conforming with ‘popular’, ‘classic’, or ‘avant-garde’ categories -into account to understand bordering dynamics” (p.4). These scholars argue that a broadened conceptual framework from and within which bordering processes can enrich the spectre of insightful sources and, consequently, deepen comprehension of borderscaping practices such as walling.

Jutta Weldes (2003: p.7) emphasises the possibility for popular culture to both support and challenge boundaries of common sense and contest the taken-for-granted; this capacity exists also for the realm of art as a channel of socio-political resistance. Creative resistance comprises a significant feature in the domain of aesthetic-politic contestation, negotiation and meaning making. Hence, in a context where wall building is rooted in prevailing cultural and discursive practices of constraint and oppression, walls can also provide the inspirational and sometimes material resources to creatively contest teichopolitics. Whether a particular popular culture works to supports or undermines the existing social relations, examining the surge of artistic interventions can help us to elucidate such workings of power and its unintended consequences. Weldes (2003) reminds us that *culture* is a highly contested concept within academia, but it still comprises an undeniably fertile term in analysing social phenomena such as civil resistance to border walls (p.6). Tomlinson (cited in *ibid*) describes culture as “the context within which people give meaning to their actions and experiences and makes sense of their lives.” Culture in this sense, is understood not so much as a collection of artefacts, but rather as “a process or a set of practices” (*ibid*). Such practices may include representations through imagery or language, as well as customs and traditions that are “concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings. This is what Stuart Hall (1997 cited in Weldes 2003) deems as the “giving and taking of meaning” between members of society of group” (p.6). Artists, then, actively contest the meanings set forth by the traditional and prevailing teichopolitical discourse. The wall and its borderscape become the designated focus, canvas and stage in- or onto which politics is inscribed and performed. As such it is a space in which “battles over meanings are fought” (*ibid*). Aesthetic borderscaping, hence, unveils the contradictions of walls and the unintended consequences of teichopolitics in its confrontation with so-called ‘popular life’ (Hall, cited in *ibid*).

Creative resistance constitutes an expressive politics of affect; it stirs and it moves. In 1766, Lessing wrote, “the visual arts are particularly well-suited for expressing the

passion of a particular moment” (cited in Tanke & McQuillan 2012: p.100). More recently, Bleiker (2006) has described artistic engagements in world politics as embodying “the potential to capture and communicate a range of crucial but often neglected emotional issues” (p.78). Along similar lines, Giuice & Giubilaro (2015: p.79) observe a substantial capacity for artistic interventions and borderscaping to establish alternative spaces through which hegemonic imaginations and narratives can be contested and reframed. Consequently, the border is transformed into “an active site of resistance and struggle” (ibid: p.80). The aesthetic borderscaping practices seek to challenge and replace the dominant logic of the border wall with critical imaginations and performance. Hence, political border art essentially represents an “art of display” whereby artistic works and choreographed performances work to expose certain dimensions of biopower, otherness and violence, typically attempted repressed or hidden from the general purview of the wider public. As such, artists are able to impact the border through artistic and affectual strategies and practices in order to produce unexpected changes within a borderscape and also beyond it (ibid).

The political philosopher Hannah Arendt began to challenge the commonsensical notions of contemporary mainstream politics over half a century ago. She provides some interesting insights in her seminal work *The Human Condition* (Arendt & Canovan 1998) where she deliberates the notion of *vita activa* (meaning active life) or *political acting*, derived from theatrical performing in ancient Greece. Arendt’s overarching proposition argues that creative politics in form of ‘doing’ or ‘acting’ on the public stage offers a particular quality to life and fosters a richer understanding of politics. More recently, Marchart (2003) adds to this analysis with his emphasis on the vulnerable human body as the most important performative medium through which protest is staged in public space. Ratliff & Hall (2014) write that collective creative action often manifests in the form of “sociodrama”, performances or “literal aesthetic activism” by artists, writers, musicians, poets, filmmakers and the like (p.269). Sometimes it may also take the form of oppositional social concessions, marches, parades or festivities where the general public are invited to protest as interactive participants in the performance. The Occupy movement and vibrant Pride parades around the world are among the most widely broadcasted examples of such events in recent years (Marchart 2013). Similarly, the aesthetic borderscaping practices unfolding in the US-Mexico and West Bank borderscapes offer an analytical

opportunity to better grasp the engagement with- and deployment of aesthetic elements as part of a creative counter movement, whereby creative collectives intentionally and effectively orchestrate political contestation.

Lastly, I would like to highlight the ‘ephemeral’ nature of the artworks and performances as part of the discussion on aesthetic borderscaping practices and creative resistance. As outlined by Murphy & O’Driscoll (2015), the history of artistic resistance has been characterised by visual ephemera in public spaces. *Ephemeral intervention* signifies “an event in which people convene in public space, using ephemeral events such as image, text, sounds, dance, chants, and massed bodies, in order to effect political change through revisualization of that space” (ibid: p.328). It entails choreographed or improvised activities, rituals and interactions between bodies of actors and spectators in a collective confrontation against the *wall* and the political paradigms that it epitomises. These creative public displays of social resistance have a long tradition, although, as noted by Weber (2005), it has typically been relegated to the realm of unserious ‘low politics’. The culture of civil ephemeral resistance as a mode of resistance, therefore, remains an understudied aspect of public contemporary life. Ephemeral projects, thus, rely on rich visual, textual and *sensual* components, essentially forming a “multimedia demonstration” whereby the event’s ultimate political effect is coproduced by elements that exist only in the moment of action” (Murphy & O’Driscoll 2015: p.328).

Interestingly, the temporary character of much political border art mirrors the fact that borders and walls themselves are ephemeral in nature. As Nico (2008) reminds us, borders are essentially abstract lines that may shift from time to time requiring updated maps and walls eventually become obsolete or fall. Hence, a line on a map can never be truly transformed into a permanent line in the landscape, regardless of the enormous quantities of concrete and steel erected onto the landscape. The ‘ephemeral’ phenomenon in the US-Mexico and West Bank borderscapes is worthy of analysis because it represents something larger than the event itself and reveals the “complex interaction between space and time” (Szary 2012: 220). Through its interaction, problematisation and performance of an evocative socio-political question, it has the capacity to produce powerful impacts and mobilise political changes.

What has made ephemeral interventions in the political arena all the more effective is its *affective* potential coupled with the advent of a new era of communication technologies. As such, creative resistance intentionally deploys complex intertextual and intervisual mediums. These expressions and experiences of participants and witnesses are instantaneously put into global circulation where it is further shared, received, witnessed and interpreted by distant spectators. The digital media's significant role in rapidly 'distributing the sensible' has attuned us to the potential of ephemeral performative political acting to bring about fundamental and long-lasting societal transformations. Through a widespread 'imaginative leap' (Murphy & O'Driscoll 2015: p.329-331), artists can dazzle a worldwide audience and prompt awareness, solidarity and further mobilisation. Although we no longer have direct access to the event once it is concluded, its image in the collective memory has been eternalised through documentation and dissemination. Hence, border art and performance can permeate borders and continue to produce effects long after it has ended.

4.3.3 The US-Mexico Wall & the artscape of performative protest

"The fixity imposed by the line," Szary states, "requires a fluid creative answer" (2012: p.213). Following the discussion on cultural resistance through artistic, affectual and ephemeral interventions in social spaces, the next section of the chapter presents a collection of artworks exemplifying such 'fluid creative answers' to confront the on-going teichopolitical projects. It examines the US-Mexico and West Bank "artscapes" (ibid) and the various acts of creative resistance that have taken place in- or been inspired by each of the border walls.

The US-Mexico Wall and the borderscapes in which it is situated have provided highly fertile terrains for a transnational community of artists. It has enthused an unprecedented proliferation of artistic production, most of it in opposition to the enduring teichopolitics of 'otherness'. Issues revolving around national border security, migration and neighbourly relations have prompted artworks both on- and about the US-Mexico border wall for years. Nonetheless, in the current American political setting, where President Trump has declared an executive order to commence

the expansion of a colossal wall along its border with Mexico (coupled with a controversial Muslim ban, which has similarly sparked protests across the nation), the current impetus for cultural resistance and political art has perhaps never been more pertinent than today (Stromberg 2017; Mufson 2017). One project entitled “Borrando la Frontera” or “Erasing the Border” was carried out in 2011 in response to the expanding fortifications at the border. The artist Ana Teresa Fernández stated her felt necessity to contest the Wall “when they applied the third layer of mesh and didn’t allow people to touch anymore” (cited in Stromberg 2017). She selected a section on the Mexican side of the barrier close to the border crossing between Tijuana and San Diego, an area known as ‘Friendship Park’, a designated zone where people previously were allowed to gather on either side of the border to share meals, hold hands and embrace loved ones (but never kiss). The implementation of the mesh in 2011 meant that the only physical contact possible was by the touch of fingertips (BBC 2017; Stromberg 2017). In a powerful artistic performance, Fernandez has painted a consecutive series of the structure’s thick upright metal posts in a pale powdery blue colour, as to make the barrier disappear against the backdrop of the sky. The project was documented through photos and film footage that was later turned into a documentary and, thereafter, disseminated through the global communications network. Since the initial project, she has performed similar interventions and painted other section of the wall in Mexicali, Agua Prieta and Ciudad Juárez (Fernandez; Stromberg 2017).

Another artist, Marcos Ramírez, better known as ERRE, says “[he has] been working on the border for the past 20 years” (cited in Stromberg 2017). A mere stone throw away from Fernandez’ artistic undertaking, Ramírez, in collaboration with Margarita Garcia Asperas, staged another performative project. Running parallel with the title of Fernandez paintings, the work of Ramírez and Asperas was called “Re/flecting the Border” and involved the instalment of a large mirror, 4,8 by 1,2 meter in dimension, up against the barrier. It created a ‘mirage’ of the scenery of the Mexican side and re-created the view of an undisturbed, albeit illusionary, horizon. Thereafter, a communal dinner was organised constructing a semblance of “a cross-border meal” where the mirror made the dining table appear twice as long, with people seated on both sides (ibid). Other border-wall-related works by ERRE include a collaboration with photographer David Taylor called DeLIMITations, Repellent Fences and his

most recent work from 2016 entitled *A Very Long Line*, which will be exhibited at the 2017 Whitney Biennial. The work is a video installation intended to evoke a dizzying and disorienting sense of unease in its spectators (ibid).



Fig.13 Ramírez & Asperas' mirage-dinner



Fig.14 Fernandez erasing the border



Fig.15 The final result

A recurrent theme in the artistic portrayals of the US-Mexico Wall is death. Many works have been created to draw attention to the deadliness of the barrier, as additional fencing and buffering measures have diverted human smuggling traffic eastward, into more hazardous terrain posing greater risk of fatality. The border art projects function as a protest of the US government's bordering policies, as well as memorial works to honour the lives lost in the attempts to overcome the border. One such project sought to transform a section of the wall into a graveyard to memorialise the dead and the suffering inflicted by the wall. The collection of coffins are aligned and physically affixed to the wall as a protest to *Operation Guardian*, each coffin representing a year and the number of deceased. The installation, thus, becomes part of wall's material and lived reality, the vivid colours of the coffins inescapably demands the attention of those who encounter the work (Berestein 2009; Nicol, 2008).



Fig.16 Coffins on the Wall

The US-Mexico Wall serves as the political canvas for border art and has in effect become the face of death and sickness. Michael Schnorr, a San Diego-based artist and co-founder of an art collaborative for the border region called Border Art Workshop/Taller de Arte Fronterizo (BAW/TAF) (Giudice & Giubilaro 2015). Together with BAW/TAF, Schnorr's public artworks addressed the issues of inequality, migration and dislocation in response to the US border wall against Mexico. He produced a series of paintings called "La frontera es una llaga abierta"

portraying the border as a large, open fleshy wound. This relates back to Di Cintio's (2012) recount of the Wall Disease syndrome. The work can be seen as a visual confrontation with this societal illness, its ill-fated symptoms and wounds the landscapes and the people within them. Numerous other works paying tribute to the theme of death have been enacted in the contested borderlands. In the late nineties, for example, on the stretches of the wall intersecting the beaches of Tijuana, over 5000 white wooden crosses were hung along the fence in the late nineties by activists opposing the federal measure Operation Gatekeeper aimed at hardening the border (Berestein 2009). Another artist, Susan Yamagata, exhibited giant paper mâché boots decorated with the quintessentially Mexican motif of a skull. One of the shoes had the question *¿Cuántos mas?* / "How many more?" inscribed on it (Berestein 2009). The display, visible along the stretched towards the airport, served as a grim reminder of the hazards of crossing the border for all those who cannot afford the privilege of a planeticket.



Fig. 17 Crosses on the Wall



Fig.18 Death of Liberty



Fig.19 *US Visitors Centre*

The theme of death was also a central element in the political performances and art installations by the Japanese art collective Chim↑Pom. In 2016, the Tokyo-based artist known as Ellie and her collective arranged a funeral for Liberty on Mexican side the border. The symbolically laden installations of Ellie, who is also banned from the US, elucidate questions of the power structures and the assumptive discourse surrounding the immigration debate. The *Grounds of Libertad*, placed inbetween the two new and old walls represent the death of liberty in US politics on one side, and on the other side, serves as a commemoration for the dead migrants (see fig.18). The liberty grave can be observed from a scruffy little self-built tree house constructed alongside the border wall on the Mexican side. The house adorned with the ironic sign *U.S.A. Visiting Center* offers ‘unwanted’ locals and curious tourists a panorama view of both sides of the barrier, including the forbidden lands hidden behind the wall (Mufson 2017). (See fig.19)

4.3.4, Graffiti, Walled Off Hotel, public choreography & songs across the West Bank Wall

As established in earlier parts of the paper, moments of intense political conflict inspire cultural production. The Arab-Israel dispute is a notable example of this, as demonstrated by the walls in the West Bank and Gaza covered in illustrations and intertextual appeals by artists. There is of course great variation in the content and presentation of wall art. The term ‘graffiti’ is derived from the Italian word ‘sgraffiato’ meaning the “scratching or cutting stone” (Lockett 2010, cited in Waldner & Dobratz 2013: p.377). Klingman & Shalev (2001) define graffiti as “virtually anything that is drawn, painted, etched, scratched, or scribbled on any surface visible to the public” and can be produced with writing instruments, spray paint, or sharp instruments for etching (cited in Waldner & Dobratz 2013: p.377). The often-political nature of its messages have traditionally been understudied or underestimated by researchers, politicians and the public alike. Although graffiti is commonly understood as a kind of “micro-level politics”, there are many cases in which it ought to be considered as a serious and effective form of political participation and contention that potentially generates ample public attention around the specific issues raised in the works (ibid: p.377; Peteet 1996; Olberg 2013).

In the opposition of the West Bank Walls, graffiti has been used as an instrument of social expression, most notably in the late eighties and early nineties at the height of the Intifada. During this period, the cultural landscape of the occupied Palestinian territories took on a striking aesthetic feature with the proliferation of images and texts by local artists drawn on the wall itself and surrounding infrastructure. Palestinians deployed graffiti as a tactic to (re)produce new meanings and external linkages of solidarity and support. The “packaging” of their cause and messages in a certain manner and with a particular aesthetic became a strategy to elicit favourable reactions. As such, they demonstrated a form of ‘issue framing’, what Keck & Sikkink deem one of the most important qualities of transnational activism and (cited in Toenjes 56). According to Peteet (1996) wall art became an “easily accessible weapon of communication, assault, and defense” (p.139). In the streets of the West Bank or Gaza, the eye of bypassers were immediately drawn to the painstakingly drawn, painted, hastily stencilled, spray painted or inscribed texts and images. Graffiti hence, can serve an act of defence and defiance, but also a form of active agency; it *intervenes* and is *intervened*. Political messages by one side also prompted counter-measures by the other. Like the US-Mexico counterpart, the West Bank Wall has become not just a *sight* but also a *site* for contestation; layer after layer of paint, demonstrates how walls became a global canvases of political commentary on which rivalling civilian fought and negotiated by means border art to transnational spectatorships (ibid; Toenjes: p.57). There is also an ephemeral character to graffiti as institutional censorship and civilian counter-measures may seek to challenge the expressed narratives, erase or over-write works and interrupt the communication flow of Palestinians with the rest of the world. Peteet (1996) remarks, “the images lasted only as long as the tolerance of the occupier. That could be a few hours or a few days” (p.142).



Fig.20 Graffiti on the West Bank Wall

There are many different motivations to draw or write on a wall; moreover, graffiti is both local and transnational in nature and may be carried out by artists both near and far from a particular borderscape. In the case of the West Bank, graffiti on the wall has become a medium to articulate certain emotions such as grief, fear, hope and please for peace; experiences such as sense of exclusion or subjugation of social control mechanisms and other discontents with the ‘politics as usual’ (Peteet 1996). Because it is a non-institutionalised form of political engagement, it is often criticised as illegitimate and attempted alienated by those who seek to maintain their privilege or current status quo (ibid; Waldner & Dobratz 2013). Hence, graffiti as an artefact of cultural production and as a deployment of political resistance in the West Bank has developed within the social space of its borderscape, power struggles, restrictions and possibilities. The works are created with intent and underpinned by subjective experiences through the use of certain imagery and symbolism. They potentially reach multiple and dispersed audiences who, in turn, subjectively interpret the signs and attaches meanings to them. What is essential is that the reading of graffiti, as with any border art, seeks to go beyond the limiting binaries that have produced the conflict in the first place (Peteet 1996).



Fig.21 Message on the wall

The image of the dove carrying an olive branch is a particularly popular and prevalent image used by border artists. It makes reference to the Abrahamic tale of the great flood, a story that is central to the teachings of Islam, as well as Judaism and Christianity. Moreover, it has become a powerful symbol of peace. In the West Bank, this image is rarely portrayed alone; most commonly it is accompanied by a message or embedded into a larger piece. The depictions may carry evocative statements such as calls for unity and peaceful co-existence between Palestine and Israel or contempt and sense of abuse and oppression by a neighbouring Tyrant. Examples include the portrayal of a dove, with its wings stretched out and nailed to the wall, a reference to the crucifixion of Jesus and a strong message of betrayal and brutality. There is also an image of the dove wearing a khaki combat vest and with crosshairs painted over its heart (Toenjes 2015: p.61). The works are typically embellished with deep symbolism with religious, political and communicative sway.



Fig.22 A peace dove in chains



Fig.23 Aiming for the kill

Banksy is an international artist that has shown a great interest in the teichopolitics that has unravelled in the Israeli-Palestinian borderscapes. Inspired by local artists, he too has resorted to the imagery of the dove in one of his pieces. The dove wearing a bulletproof military vest is being aimed at, presumably, by a weapon of the opponent in the act of killing peace (see Fig.23). The anonymous artist working under the pseudonym Banksy, is best known for his politically-charged and provocative stencil images around the streets of the world from London to, most famously, the West Bank and Gaza. Banksy became somewhat of a street-art household name following his 2005 visit to the Palestinian occupied territories, where he created nine murals were on the highly controversial West Bank wall (The Guardian 2017). The images of Banksy's works have been circulated worldwide by means of every channel imaginable, from books and news reports to social media and documentaries. Banksy's latest artistic stunt is an interactive art installation in the form of a nine-room hotel, which overlooks the Wall that divides the historic city of Bethlehem. In collaboration with local operators, Banksy has turned an old pottery factory into *The Walled Off Hotel*, overlooking the border wall that separates the city. Throughout the hotel rooms and facilities, its interiors are elaborately decorated with the characteristic and politically laden artwork. Most of the artwork depicts the conflict in region (see fig.24 and fig.25).

Banksy is known to deploy frank messages and considerable amounts of humour in his works. This is also reflected on his homepage www.banksy.co.uk where explicitly instructing that "...all questions, complaints and threats [be] sent to faq@banksy.co.uk." and that "Banksy is NOT on Facebook, Twitter or represented by Steve Lazarides or any other commercial gallery". Banksy's interest, hence, lies in the political messages he articulates through his graffiti and now also an interactive hotel where he, in a tragicomic gest, invites visitors from all sides of the conflict to experience what it claims to be the "worst view of the world". On one of the hotel's walls, the artist has spray-painted, replicating a message used in one of his numerous murals on the streets of Gaza (see fig.21): "If we wash our hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless we side with the powerful - we don't remain neutral" (The Guardian 2017). Within short time of announcing the opening of the hotel, the news made headlines and quickly harnessed an array of comments, both in support and condemnation of the project.



Fig.24 Welcome to the *Walled Off Hotel*



Fig.25 Flying feathers: The Arab-Israel pillow fight

The fragile borderscape of the West Bank are constantly under risk of outbreaks of violence between rivalling parties in conflict. In contrast to the overtly anti-wall performances staged in the US-Mexico borderscapes, Public Movement is an Israel-based group that attempts to not take an overt political side, but still question and confront the historical and socio-political context at hand. Spearheaded by choreographer and co-founder Dana Yahalomi, the group was established in 2006 and first came to international attention after they were invited to the 2012 New Museum Triennial to participate in a series of staged performative public debates entitled *SALONS: Birthright Palestine?* In their confrontation with political and civilian life and their integration into the cultural fabric, the collective investigates difficult questions of national, social and political identities, making the political personal and vice versa. “I’m not for the boycott or against it. The question is how you work with it” Yahalomi asserts (ibid). The group acknowledges the distance between signifier and signified and rather than assert a certain political standpoint, their stated aim is to performatively reflect on historical and socio-political political frameworks in order to unveil emotions, anxieties, social relationship and open it up the imagination and a spectre of infinite interpretations. “Every detail is carefully orchestrated” Yahalomi says, “the aesthetic is clear” (cited in Tamir 2015). As Tamir (2015) states, the collective’s public projects, or “actions” as they themselves call them, are tailored to “specific social and geographic contexts, creating temporary zones of discomfort, arenas in which viewers are meant to feel ill at ease and react to a catalyst.”

The last form of artistic resistance highlighted in this thesis is the universal practice of music.²³ Whereas IR has largely treated music and emotions as purely subjective and irrational “involving neither thought nor meaningful knowledge” (Bleiker 2006; p.), there is a link between politics between text and music worth exploring. The “soft rhythms of musical tunes”, which often contain political content and holds a capacity to highlight emotional insights, can potentially enhance our understanding of security issues (ibid: 87-89). In the teichopolitical context, music epitomises aesthetic experience and engagements with the hard cement slabs and barbed-wire fences of the border wall, as well as its underlying political questions and dilemmas. For example,

²³ I am aware of film production as a form of political contention as significant in both case studies. There are short films, documentaries, fictional, artistic video installations, and even commercials that resist of mock the teichopolitics of both the US and Israel. However, this is such an extensive topic, that it is better left for another article.

following the events of 9/11, musical activities became amongst the most widespread and intensive engagements with politics. The artist rationale, regardless of whether they are “painters, actors, writers or musicians,” is often grounded in the idea that “[they] have a responsibility to reflect and interpret the world around them” (ibid: p.87). They unveil the emotional aspects of what they observe, feel and hear. Music, then, becomes an audible requiem of representation for conflicts in need of greater attention and those whose voices are not heard. As a form of instrumental expression, music can “be seen as a form of sensibility itself” (ibid: p.90). Like the other forms of art discussed in preceding sections, music, too, articulates a certain state of mind, attitude, feeling or emotion. It is purposely and evocatively layered and integrates performance with melody, rhythm and lyrics that are, in turn, perceived and experienced simultaneously through melody and lyrics. In this way, music is set apart from purely textual, oral or visual sources (ibid: p.91). Berrian (2000) writes about the inherent capacity of music to cross geographic boundaries. She also describes the continual struggle of artists “to be produced and heard, recreate themselves and their songs, and speak from an informed small physical space with a larger cultural consciousness while taking control of their own identity as it evolves” (p.9).

One example of transnational musical activism is the collaborative album, entitled *Songs across WALLS of Separation*, released in 2008 by Kirkelig Kulturverksted (the Norwegian Church Workshop) under the initiative of Erik Hillestad. The goal of the project was to bring together a group of international artist and use music as a communicative medium to shine a light on the widespread use of border walls across the world. The musicians share personal and collective stories, defy the dichotomising politics of exclusion, express hope and call for peace. “Songs are like birds”, Hillestad writes, “No walls can stop the songs” (2008). The compilation of songs is selected from countries where walls, in different ways, continue to divide peoples and cultures, including Mexico, Palestine, but also Morocco, Cyprus, Iran and Kashmir. Tactical use of song a tool of communication is evident through the evocative melodies and texts as means to bring into focus the conceived tragedies and implications of building of walls between people.

Numerous tracks on the album speak of the West Bank and US-Mexico walls. ‘Wind from distant places/Halalalayah’ by Palestinian artists Jamil El Sayeh and Rim Banna in collaboration with Sarah Jane Morris (UK) or ‘Memory lost/Gypsy horse’ by Rim

Banna and Jamil El Sayeh with Sheila Kay Adams of the US, are two such examples. Making explicit reference to the US-Mexico border wall are the songs ‘Lonely traveller/La enorme distancia’, by Amalio Martinez and Leonor Almanza from Mexico and Mimi Goese from the US, and ‘Sorrow of my eyes/Amor eterno’ by Daniel Bujord Delgado and Nidia Edith Lorea from Mexico and East Hill Singers of the US. Like many other artists activists, these musicians who are themselves immigrants, inhibited by walls or having experienced involuntary separation from their relatives, take their lived stories of aesthetic experiences and their personal encounters with the walls and transform them into a political works of art. In troubled times and with the availability of so many creative tools and platforms for global communication, the practice of creative resistance represents an alternate form of aesthetic borderscaping: The artworks, performances and songs situated on or inspired by the border, thus, become “extension[s] of a longing soul” (Hillestad 2008) and serve to unveil the hidden alternatives and possibilities that exist in the borderscape but are concealed or constrained by *the wall*.

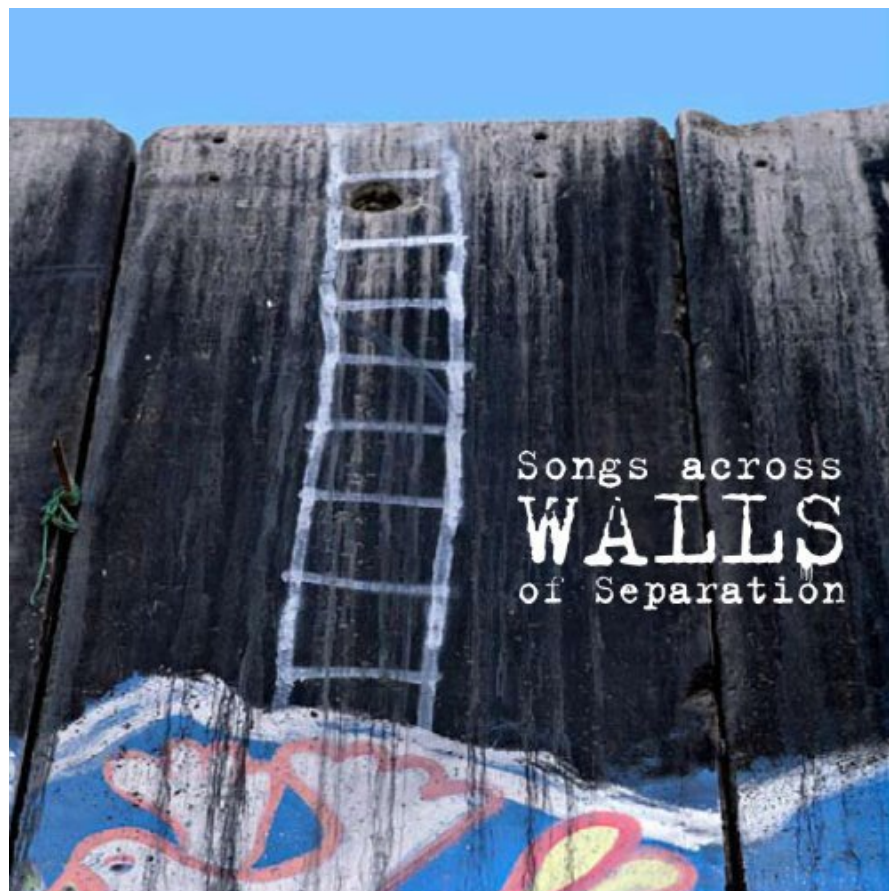


Fig.26 Album cover: Song across WALLS of Separation

4.3.5 Cracks in the Wall: Poïesis, contradiction & unintended consequence

*Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack, a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in*

-Leonard Cohen (1992) "Anthem" (The Future)



Fig.27 Banksy's mural on West Bank Wall laden with contractive irony.

Works of border art are inscribed and performed in the borderscapes of the US-Mexico and Israel-Palestine walls in an attempt to “[reframe] imaginaries that cope with the growing securitization of international limits” (Madsen, cited in dell’agnes & Szary 2015: p.9). The aesthetic borderscaping carried out by local and transnational actors through a diversity of art forms demonstrate the ambiguous yet politically potent nature of cultural production and the performative power of aesthetic artefacts.

The great border walls contain metaphorical and material power that has triggered the wave of cultural production and countless initiatives inspired by teichopolitics. As such, these artworks constitute aesthetic re-appropriations that escape the traditional processes of territorial negotiation in the realms of ‘high politics’. The two border walls analysed in this chapter have sparked an unprecedented upsurge of *poiësis*, which signifies ‘creative power’. Hence, border aesthetics becomes an alternative mode of political commentary, which addresses the relational dimensions of socio-spatial interfaces, political compositions, contradictions and consequences. It confronts the hegemonic discourses and situationist tradition in the fields of IR and Geopolitics, which typically denounce the political spectacle (Giudice & Giubilaro 2015; dell’agnes & Szary 2015: p.9). By actively seeking out opportunities for public intervention, or *dissensus* as Raincière (2010) calls it, artists (re)structure the conditions for creative opposition and (re)claim social space through the power of the aesthetical relation between politics and *poiësis*.

Cultural production and its continual negotiation around the discourses of international limits and politics of otherness has, in both the case of US-Mexico and the West Bank, transformed the original meanings of the barrier itself. Spatio-political disputes often see authorities resort to the hardening of its barriers in frantic attempts to extinguish the issue by ‘shutting out the world’. Unsurprisingly, it hardly ever works (Anderson & O’Dowd 1999: 596; Chaichian 2014). Szary (2012) perplexedly asks, “one can wonder what kind of Promethean representation of the world led the instigators of such projects to believe that such artifacts –as high and technological as they may be- will be able to contain global flows?” (p.217). Indeed, it places wall-builders around the world in a paradoxical position, their intention to control space and inscribe a physical limit on a landscape in an attempt to exclude and hide the other, in many cases, appear to have prompted the opposite. On the contrary, the attempts to physically conceal the ‘other’, by erecting hundreds of kilometres of border fortifications up to 8 meter high, has ironically enough led to the glaring spotlights of the global spectatorship to shine on the ‘other’ side. There is a parallel in the reasons that has seduced a leader to build a wall and the reasons that it arouses artistic production of the magnitude we see at the US-Mexico and West Bank walls today. The very same theatrical qualities deployed in pushing through teichopolitical ideas in the imaginaries of a seemingly and imminently threatened people and the

physical building of the wall are, on the other hand, also used by creative collectives who oppose the projects. In many ways, the border walls have provided artists with a symbolically and materially powerful impetus for staging their own performance in the global public theatre. Thus, it appears that the wall-builders have unintentionally created a most fertile ground for an artistic boom, inspired an aesthetic renewal, which has provoked artists and prompted the transformation of a political borderscape into a creative 'artscape' (Szary 2012).

Moreover, wallbuilders have not succeeded in their attempts to impede this momentum of poiesis. The attempts to make the designated 'other' invisible have, on the contrary, made the border, the wall and the 'other' - including the plight and undesirable's cause - more visible. Hence, one contradiction seems to be that much of the groundwork to undermine the teichopolitical project is carried out by the wall itself. In planning and building the walls, the leaders have underestimated the evocative aesthetic, symbolic and affectual aspects of the wall as a violent structure in the social space that constitutes the borderscape. Creative resistance on the US-Mexico Wall and the West Bank Wall has become a 'weapon of the weak' (Scott 1985). The integrity and legitimacy of the wall is increasingly challenged from both inside and outside the barrier.

The striking manifestations of aesthetic borderscaping hitherto discussed constitute a significant example of unintended consequences of teichopolitics. Moreover, there is also a serious neoliberal contradiction that ought to be emphasised. Naomi Klein (2007) provides a piercingly critical account of the unimaginable measures of wealth that is today being generated by 'the disaster complex' and its inextricable relation with the growth of the homeland security industries, particularly in the US and Israel (p.387). Walls dig deep into the national budget and taxpayer money. What is worse, they represent "a new kind of corporate synergy" and an extremely profitable capitalist project firmly entrenched in an economic system that demands constant growth. As such, teichopolitics, as one of many facets of 'disaster capitalism' breeds a steady stream of disasters that create the very cataclysms on which the system feeds (ibid: 540).²⁴ In this unsettling sense, geopolitical stability and perpetual peace,

²⁴ Klein (2007) argues that there is "plenty of evidence that its component industries work very hard indeed to make sure that current disastrous trends continue unchallenged" (540). For further reading, see: *The Shock Doctrine*

according to Klein, become “the only prospect that threatens the booming disaster economy on which so much wealth depends on” (ibid: 541). She notes that although Israel’s political situation has been devastating, the country’s economy was enjoying unprecedented prosperity despite waging costly wars with its neighbours; its economy had never been stronger by the time her book was published. Amidst the mounting brutality and political chaos, Israel, the author claimed, had “crafted an economy that expands markedly in direct response to escalating violence” (ibid: 541-542). If anything, the case of Israel’s national securitisation politics reveals the peril in orchestrating an economy based on the premise of continual war and deepening tragedies (ibid). Nonetheless, following 9/11, the US home security industry hurriedly followed suit, and soon enough it was spearheading one of the largest teichopolitical projects that the contemporary world has ever seen, underpinned by a security boom marked by an “unprecedented convergence of unchecked police powers and unchecked capitalism” (ibid: 386).

Walls exist both within the conceptual and physical-, domestic and international realms: they are physical, political, cultural, economic, digital and ideological. In the physical world, teichopolitics is the most powerful expression of territorial demarcation, manifested both spatially and symbolically. Walling practices go far beyond traditional geo-political questions and discussions on threat and a security. Walls continue to appear, seduce, offend, contend and fall. This cycle is imbued with complexity, multiplicity, nuances, continuities, contradictions and consequences. The ‘wall paradox’ - its inherent incongruity and conceivable senselessness - is aptly illustrated by Albert Camus’ philosophical essay where he so poignantly recounts the myth of the Greek legend Sisyphus (1942). As Chaichian (2014: p.xxiv) observes:

Like Sisyphus, the Greek mythological character who was condemned to push a boulder up a mountain in perpetuity only to witness it in despair to roll back down again; wall builders in human history have also engaged in exercises in futility. But unlike, Sisyphus who eventually acknowledged the absurdity and futility of his task, wall builders have never come to that realization and have instead always stubbornly justified their rationale to erect these barriers.

4.4 Concluding Remarks: Aesthetics, teichopolitics & the way forward

Humankind has a longstanding history of walling, both as a means and as an end of control. The *border wall* has come to represent the most emblematic symbol of conflict infrastructure erected along international borderlands. As illustrated in the preceding chapters, the unprecedented return of the border to the contemporary political arena has emerged in the context of a series of striking transformations in international relations, the global political economy and the security landscape. Heavily dictated by the logics of neoliberalism and ‘hard’ power politics, the claimed necessity for walls is tactically invoked under conditions of exception. Scholars and the public alike are becoming increasingly aware of this disconcerting teichopolitical trend that is currently showing no sign of slowing down. As a consequence, the ‘wall question’ has been thrust back into the global agenda and media limelight. The politics of building border barriers, conveniently captured in the neologism *teichopolitics*, hence, continues to be a salient and significant topic of study for researchers in the field of IR and intersecting disciplines. Indeed, this thesis has merely touched the very tip of the iceberg.

Despite the renewed interest in contemporary practices of walling and an expanding framework for research on border-related matters, meagre academic attention has been directed at linking aesthetics with teichopolitics. This perceived knowledge gap has prompted the first argument presented in the thesis. Through a pluralist, reflective and multidisciplinary document-based approach, this thesis has addressed the need to bring the longstanding tradition of aesthetics into the political realm. As is emphasised by a growing body of scholars, there is a vast set of knowledge in world politics that cannot be attained, verified or adequately grasped through the traditional and causality-oriented methodological techniques proper to science and elevated by dominant IR scholarship. Aesthetically- attuned inquiry into intricate social phenomena enables valuable analytical insights into themes otherwise unobserved or rejected by the dominant approaches driven by a quest for empirical ‘facts’ and scientific ‘truths’.

The potency of aesthetic aspects such as imagery, symbolism, experience and affect inescapably demands analytical attention. Furthermore, the aesthetic perspective has been a most useful approach in this exploration of modern manifestations of *great*

wall politics and the human experiences they engender. An aesthetic experience entails a fundamental encounter between a subject and the object that is politics. All political walls are, hence, aesthetic embodiments. The design of technocratic wall architecture, underpinned by political intention, both understands and embraces its political effects on bodies. As pointed out by Lambert (2015) and others, this symbol/function link is a fundamentally aesthetic feature. At the same time as it works to conceptually defer and signify meaning, the *wall* is physically and materially designed to most effectively challenge and obstruct physical mobility. It is an artefact of power, exercised over populations and the bodies belonging to the estranged ‘other.’ Hence, a wall essentially constitutes a social construct, embedded in asymmetrical power relations that serve to enact violence and dominance by means of tangible and non-tangible embodiments and readings of teichopolitical meanings and narratives.

The time is ripe, or overdue rather, to rethink how we approach political walls in IR and other social sciences. This thesis, hence, is a plea for a more sensible teichopolitical discourse. As demonstrated through the ‘aesthetic turn’ in IR and the ‘emotional turn’ in geo-politics, the realms of academic inquiry are gradually steered towards the *realm of sensibility*. The result is a marked push to expand the intellectual and theoretical dialogues to include non-traditional sources of insight that appeal to the other sensory faculties beyond logic, rationality and phenomenology. In this study of walls as an instrument of power in the realm of world politics, I have tried to move the discussion beyond the mere *sensical* to include the aesthetically *sensible*. Returning to the title of this thesis then, if ‘sense’ is broadly understood as good judgment or prudence and ‘sensibility’ refers to dimensions of sensitivity or emotionality, then it is insufficient to only turn to *sense* in our inquiries about social phenomena. It is, thus, imperative to break out of the confining boundaries of ‘proper’ research that has previously rendered sensibility an invalidating component of knowledge production. Aesthetics should not be treated as a threat to social inquiry, but as an opportunity. Including aesthetics into the teichopolitical realm of research may not put an end to walling as a violent and contradictory instrument of power and dominance. Nonetheless, it does invite a diversification of perspectives, broadens the discussion and enhances the prospects for constructively dealing with the difficult questions of demarcating boundaries in the contemporary socio-political world.

Furthermore, a critical and aesthetic reading of teichopolitics opens up the possibilities for analysing creative practices that confront prevailing teichopolitical mechanisms of ‘policing’ and exclusion. The final chapter of the thesis has focused on political border art as manifestations of *poësis* and *dissensus*. The case-specific examples of *aesthetic borderscaping* and *ephemeral intervention* presented in the discussion reveal that art - as a ‘weapon of the weak’ - is a potent channel for socio-political resistance. The comparative case study demonstrated that the US-Mexico and West Bank walls simultaneously constitute a source of artistic inspiration, a symbolic target of resistance, as well as a material canvas on- or through which creative opposition is performed.

In conclusion, the international system of borders is still alive and well; it continues to be a central feature in the global geo-political landscape. However, as postmodern beings living in an age of global interconnections that defy geographical borders, we have become all too aware that the boundaries oriented towards old-fashioned ideas of politics and markets have become obsolete and ineffective under current conditions. Although there is a strong tendency to discuss borders and walls in overgeneralising, binary, and reductive terms, they are, quite on the contrary, complex and multi-faceted: They are at once gateways *and* barriers to the ‘outside world’. They simultaneously function to protect *and* imprison; as areas of opportunity *and* insecurity; as points of contact *and* separation; prospects of peaceful co-operation, competition or conflict. Moreover, they are embedded in socially contingent relations and identities that give rise to assertions of *difference*. Excluding others from ‘your’ world entails secluding yourself from ‘the rest’ of the world. In effect, you run the risk of building a prison around your guarded space and strip the very people whom you claim to defend of the opportunity to gaze into the horizons beyond the border. Hence, contradictions abound around border walls. They are inherently paradoxical, problematical and give rise to a range of unintended consequences.

The teichopolitical agendas pushed by the US and Israel authorities have led scholars like Massey (2016) to denounce the projects. “The misplaced obsession with border security”, he asserts, “might simply be written off as another tragicomic example of human folly were it not for the fact that border enforcement is itself so wasteful, harmful, and counterproductive” (p.177). Rarely, if ever, do walls solve the underlying political problems. On the contrary, they sever communities and are likely

to escalate tensions, violence, illicit activity and alienation. Moreover, as highlighted in the comparative case study, they invite vandalism, intrusion and resistance rather than efficiently deter them. The remark of one migrant aptly illustrates the teichopolitical failure to quench the aspirations to cross into ‘forbidden lands’: “No matter how many barriers they may place, they won’t stop us” (Granados et al. 2016). Thus, border walls not effective as dissuasion for human movement. Rather, they work to augment the risk of the attempts to move and severely undercut our ability as humans to co-exist. *The wall* may stand in the way of flows of people and goods, but it does not hinder the dissemination of ideas, information, solidarity networks, art and other non-tangible dimensions of borderscaping. As illustrated by anti-wall rallies played out in the global political and artistic realms, the determination to overcome or dismantle border wall is greater than ever. “The walls admit our defeat”, Di Cintio (2012) observes, “when governments resign themselves to failure, the walls go up” (p.258). As an exceptional measure of last resort, they can in many ways be read as signs of political failure, the crumbling of diplomatic relations and the vanishing of political motivation or goodwill to develop mutually peaceful solutions. The inherent limits of *the wall*, it seems, are caught within its own contradictions.

Appendix

Appendix 1. *Je hais les haies* by Devos, R.

<i>Je hais les haies</i>	<i>I hate hedges</i>
<i>Je hais les haies</i>	<i>I hate hedges</i>
<i>qui sont des murs,</i>	<i>Which are walls.</i>
<i>Je heis les haies et les mûriers</i>	<i>I hate hedges and mulberry trees</i>
<i>qui font la haie</i>	<i>who make the hedge</i>
<i>le long des murs,</i>	<i>along the walls.</i>
<i>Je hais les haies</i>	<i>I hate hedges</i>
<i>qui sont de houx.</i>	<i>which are holly.</i>
<i>Je hais les haies</i>	<i>I hate hedges</i>
<i>qu'elles soient de mûres</i>	<i>whether they are of blackberries</i>
<i>qu'elles soient de houx!</i>	<i>let them be holly!</i>
<i>Je hais les murs</i>	<i>I hate the walls</i>
<i>qu'ils soient en dur</i>	<i>whether they are hard</i>
<i>qu'ils soient en mou!</i>	<i>let them be soft!</i>
<i>Je hais les haies.</i>	<i>I hate hedges</i>
<i>qui nous emmurent.</i>	<i>which envelop us.</i>
<i>Je hais les murs</i>	<i>I hate the walls</i>
<i>qui sont en nous!</i>	<i>that are in us!</i>

Appendix 2. *The Mending Wall* by Frost, R. (1914)

Something there is that doesn't love a wall,
That sends the frozen-ground-swell under it,
And spills the upper boulders in the sun;
And makes gaps even two can pass abreast.
The work of hunters is another thing:
I have come after them and made repair
Where they have left not one stone on a stone,
But they would have the rabbit out of hiding,
To please the yelping dogs. The gaps I mean,
No one has seen them made or heard them made,
But at spring mending-time we find them there.
I let my neighbor know beyond the hill;
And on a day we meet to walk the line

And set the wall between us once again.
We keep the wall between us as we go.
To each the boulders that have fallen to each.
And some are loaves and some so nearly balls
We have to use a spell to make them balance:
'Stay where you are until our backs are turned!'
We wear our fingers rough with handling them.
Oh, just another kind of outdoor game,
One on a side. It comes to little more:
There where it is we do not need the wall:
He is all pine and I am apple orchard.
My apple trees will never get across
And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him.
He only says, 'Good fences make good neighbors.'
Spring is the mischief in me, and I wonder
If I could put a notion in his head:
'*Why* do they make good neighbors? Isn't it
Where there are cows? But here there are no cows.
Before I built a wall I'd ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offense.
Something there is that doesn't love a wall,
That wants it down.' I could say 'Elves' to him,
But it's not elves exactly, and I'd rather
He said it for himself. I see him there
Bringing a stone grasped firmly by the top
In each hand, like an old-stone savage armed.
He moves in darkness as it seems to me,
Not of woods only and the shade of trees.
He will not go behind his father's saying,
And he likes having thought of it so well
He says again, 'Good fences make good neighbors.'

Appendix 3. Anthem by Cohen, L. (1992)

*The birds they sing, at the break of day
Start again, I heard them say.
Don't dwell on what has passed away
Or what is yet to be.*

*Yes, the wars, they will be fought again
The holy dove she will be caught again
Bought, and soul, and bought again
The dove is never free.*

*Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack, a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in.*

*We asked for signs. The signs were sent
The birth betrayed. The marriage spent
Yeah, the widowhood of every government
Signs for all to see.*

*I can't run no more, with that lawless crowd
While the killers in high places say their prayers out loud
But they've summoned, they've summoned up a thundercloud
They're going to hear from me.*

*Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack, a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in.*

*You can add up the parts; you won't have the sum
You can strike up the march, there is no drum
Every heart, every heart to love will come
But like a refugee.*

*Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack, a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in.*

Reference List

Documents:

- Agamben, G. (1998) *Homo sacer: Sovereign power and bare life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Agamben, G. (2005) *State of exception*. Trans. Attell, K. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Alvasson, M. & Skjoldberg, K. (2009) *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications.
- Anderson, J. & O'Dowd, L. (1999) Borders, border regions and territoriality: Contradictory meanings, changing significance. *Regional Studies* 33(7), pp.593-604.
- Andreas, P (2009) *Border games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico divide*. 2nd ed. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Andrews, E. (16 Feb. 2016) 7 Famous Border Walls. *History.com* [Online] Available from: <http://www.history.com/news/history-lists/7-famous-border-walls> [Accessed: 17 July 2017].
- Arendt, H., & Canovan, M. (1998) *The human condition*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BBC (6 June 2012) China's Great Wall is 'longer than previously thought.' [Online] Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-18337039> [Accessed: 10 July 2017].
- BBC (6 Feb. 2017) Donald Trump's Mexico wall: Who is going to pay for it? [Online] Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37243269> [Accessed: 17 July 2017].
- Behar, R. (1996) *The vulnerable observer: Anthropology that breaks your heart*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Becker, H. (1967) Whose side are we on? *Social Problems*. 14(3), pp.239-247.
- Berg, B. L., & Lune, H. (2012) *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. 8th ed. Boston: Pearson.
- Berestein, L. (30 Nov. 2009) An openness to border fence. *San Diego Tribute*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-an-openness-to-border-fence-2009nov30-story.html> [Accessed: 10 June 2017].
- Bergman-Rosamond, A. & Phyntian, M. (2011) Introduction: war, ethics and justice. New perspectives on a post-9/11 world. In: Bergman-Rosamond, A. & Phyntian, M. (eds.) *War, ethics and justice: New perspectives on a post-9/11*

- world*. New York: Routledge, pp. 1-8.
- Berrian, B.F. (2000) *Awakening spaces: French Caribbean popular songs, music, and culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Blake, M. & Baertlein, L. (7 Nov. 2016) Along the U.S.- Mexico border fence. *Reuters*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-mexico-border-idUSKBN1321A6> [Accessed: 29 July 2017].
- Bleiker, R. (2001) The aesthetic turn in international political theory. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 30(?), pp. 509- 533.
- Bleiker, R. (2006) Art after 9/11. *Alternatives* 31(1), pp.77-99.
- Bleiker R. (2009) *Aesthetics and world politics*. Bleiker R.(ed.) In: *Aesthetics and world politics* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.1-17.
- Bleiker, R. (2015) Pluralist methods for visual global politics. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 43(3), pp.872-890.
- Booth, Colomb & Williams (2008) *The Craft of Research*. 3rd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Brambilla, C. (2015) Exploring the critical potential of the borderscapes concept. *Geopolitics* 20(1), pp.14-34 [Accessed:12 Oct 2016].
- Brown, W. (2010) *Walled states, waning sovereignty*. Brooklyn: Zone Books.
- Brunet-Jailly, E. (2012) Theorizing borders: An interdisciplinary perspective” *Geopolitics* 10(4), pp.633-649.
- Carter, D.B. & Poast, P. (2017) Why do states build walls? Political economy, security, and border stability. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(2), pp.239-270.
- Chaichian, M.A. (2014) *Empires and walls: Globalization, migration, and colonial domination*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Cohen, L. (1992) Anthem. *The Future* [CD Album]. Columbia.
- Colás, A. (2005) Neoliberalism, globalisation and international relations. In: Saad-Filho, A. & Johnston, D. (eds.) *Neoliberalism: A critical reader*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 70-79.
- Corner, J. & Pels D. (2003) *Media and the restyling of politics*. PLACE: Sage.
- Dalby, S. (2008) Imperialism, Domination, Culture: The Continued Relevance of Critical Geopolitics. *Geopolitics* 13(3), pp.413-436.
- Darts, D. (2004) Visual culture jam: Art, pedagogy, and creative resistance. *Studies in Art Education*. 45(2), pp.313-327.

- Dean, M. (2010) *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications.
- dell'Agnese, E. & Szary, A-L.A. (2015) Borderscapes: From border landscapes to border aesthetics. *Geopolitics* 20(1), pp. 4-13. [Accessed: 29 Apr. 2017].
- Devos, R. Je hais les haies. [Online] Available from: http://www.professeurphifix.net/poesie/je_hais_les_haies.htm [Accessed: 10 Feb. 2017].
- Di Cintio, M. (2012) *Walls: Travels along the barricades*. Fredericton: Goose Lane.
- Divon, S.A. (2015) Exceptional rules: U.S. Assistance Policy in Africa. Phd Thesis. Norwegian University of Life Sciences.
- Derrida, J. (1982) Excerpt from *Différance*. Trans. Alan Bass. In *Margins of Philosophy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.3-27.
- Duncum, P. (1999) A case for an art education of everyday aesthetic experiences. *Studies in Art Education*. 40(4), pp.295-311.
- Esman, M.J. (1987) *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*, by Scott, J.C. (1985). Reviewed in: *The American Political Science Review*. 81(1), pp.310-313.
- Eun, Y-S. (2016) *Pluralism and engagement in the discipline of international relations*. PLACE: Palgrave MacMillan. Available from: https://books.google.no/books?id=eIkSDQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbg_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false [Accessed 18 June 2017].
- Ferguson, Y.H. (2015) Diversity in IR theory: Pluralism as an opportunity for understanding global politics. *International Studies Perspectives* 16(1), pp. 3-12.
- Foucault, M. (1970) *The order of things: An archeology of the human sciences*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. Trans: Sheridan, D. (1977). London: Penguin Books.
- Foucher, M. (2009) "Border, security and identity" Interview June 2009. Exploring Geopolitics 05/01/2015 by Leonhardt van Efferink http://www.exploringgeopolitics.org/interview_foucher_michel_borders_boundaries_frontiers_globalisation_security_identity_europe_central_asia/
- Fox, N. (1995) Intertextuality and the writing of social research. *Electronic Journal of Sociology* 1(2). [Online] Available at <https://www.sociology.org/content/vol001.002/fox.html> [Accessed: July 5, 2017]. [Accessed: 15 June 2017].
- Frazer, E. (2008) Political theory and the boundaries of politics. In: Leopold, D. &

- Sears, M. (eds.) *Political theory: Methods and approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp171-195.
- Frost, R. (1914) The Mending Wall. *Poetry Foundation*. [Online] Available from: <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44266/mending-wall>
- Garton Ash, T. & Roberts, A. (2009). *Civil resistance and power politics: the experience of non-violent action from Gandhi to the present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (ebook).
- Gerring, J. (2004) “What is a case study and what is it good for?” *American Political Science Review*, 98 (2), pp. 341-354.
- Gerring, J. (2007) *Case study research: Principles and practices*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Giudice, C. & Giubilaro, C. (2015) Re-imagining the border: Border art as a space of critical imagination and creative resistance. *Geopolitics* 20(1), pp. 79-94.
- Granados, S., Murphy, Z., Schaul, K & Faiola, A. (12 Oct. 2016.) Raising barriers, episode 1. *The Washington Post*. [Online] Available from: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/world/border-barriers/global-illegal-immigration-prevention/> [Accessed: 18 Oct. 2016].
- Grigsby, E. (2009) *Analyzing Politics*. Belmont: Wadsworth. [Online] Available from: <http://www.nicat-mammadli.narod.ru/b1.html/b35.pdf> [Accessed: 20 July 2017].
- Gulli, B (2009) The sovereign exception: Notes on Schmitt’s word that sovereign is he who decides on the exception. *The Glossator*. 1, pp. 23-30.
- Hansen, L. (2011) Theorizing the image for security studies: Visual securitisation and the Muhammad cartoon crisis. *European Journal of International Relations (EJIR)* 20(10), pp. 1-24. [Accessed: 17 March 2015].
- Harvey, D. (2014) *Seventeen contradictions and the end of capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hastings, D. & Wilson, T.M. (1999) *Borders: Frontiers of identity, nation and state*. Oxford: Berg.
- Hillestad, E. (25 Aug. 2008) Song across walls. Songs across WALLS of separation. *Kirkelig Kulturverksted*. [CD album].
- Ho, E. (22 July 2012) Is the Great Wall of China Longer Than Previously Thought? *TIME*. [Online] Available from: <http://newsfeed.time.com/2012/07/22/is-the-great-wall-of-china-longer-than-previously-thought/> [Accessed: 10 July 2017].
- Hobson, J.M. (2012) *The Eurocentric conception of world politics: Western international theory, 1769-2010*. PLACE: PUBLISHER.
- Hutchinson, E & Bleiker, R. (2014) Art, aesthetics and emotionality. In: Shepherd, L.

- (ed.) *Gender matters in global politics: A feminist introduction to international relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 349-360.
- Jackson, P.T. (2011) *The conduct of inquiry in international relations*. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, R. (2012) Why build a border wall? *NACLA Report on the Americas* 45(3), pp.70-72.
- Kahler, M. (2006) Territoriality and conflict in an era of globalization. In: Kahler, M. & Walter, B.F. (eds.) *Territoriality and conflict in an era of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-21.
- Klein, N. (2007) *The Shock Doctrine: The rise of disaster capitalism*. New York: Picador.
- Kompridis, N. (2014) Introduction: Turning and returning: The aesthetic turn in political thought. In Kompridis, N. (ed.) *The aesthetic turn in political thought*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. xiv-xxxvii.
- Korsmeyer (2004) *Gender and aesthetics: An introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Laketa, S. (2016) Geopolitics of affect and emotions in a post-conflict city. *Geopolitics* 21(3), pp. 661-685. [Accessed:
- Lambert,L. (2015) The Politics of Narrowness: When Walls Tighten on Bodies. *The Avery Review* 11. Available from: <http://averyreview.com/issues/11/the-politics-of-narrowness-when-walls-tighten-on-bodies>. [Accessed: 10 June 2017].
- Lamont, C. (2015) *Research methods in international relations*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Lapid, Y. (2003) Through dialogue to engage pluralism. *International Studies Review* 5(1), pp. 128-131.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974) *The Production of Space*. Trans. Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Leopold, D. & Sears, M. (2008) Introduction. In: Leopold, D. & Sears, M. (eds.) *Political theory: Methods and approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp.1-10.
- Lilja, M. & Vinthagen, S. (2014) Sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower: resisting what power with what resistance? *Journal of Political Power*. 7(1), pp.107-126.
- Lloyd, D. (2012) Settler Colonialism and the State of Exception: The Example of Palestine/Israel. *Settler Colonial Studies* 2(1), pp.59-80.
- Lubin,A. (2008) ‘We are all Israelis’: The politics of colonial comparisons. *South Atlantic Quarterly*. 107(4), pp.671-690.

- Lukes, S. (2005) *Power: A radical view*. 2nd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lyon, D. (1999) *Postmodernity*. 2nd ed. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lyotard, J-F. (1979) *The Postmodern Condition: A report on knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Marchart, O. (2013) Dancing Politics Political Reflections on Choreography, Dance and Protest. In Gerald, S. & Hölscher, S. *Dance, Politics & Co-Immunity*. Diaphanes. [Online] Available from: <http://www.diaphanes.net/titel/dancing-politics-2126>
- Marcuse, P. (1994) Walls as metaphor and reality. *Managing Divided Cities*, pp.41-52.
- Massey, D.S.S. (2016) The Mexico-U.S. Border in the American Imagination. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 160 (2), pp.128-149.
- McDermott, D. (2008) Political philosophy for Earthlings. In: Leopold, D. & Sears, M. (eds.) *Political theory: Methods and approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp.11-28.
- Milne, A.A. Winnie the Pooh quote. Available from: <https://www.acc.umu.se/~coppelia/pooh/stories/ch1.html> [Accessed: 10 July 2017].
- Moses, J.W. & Knutsen, T.L. (2012) *Ways of knowing: Competing methodologies in social and political research*. 2nd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moxham, R. (2001) *The Great Hedge of India*. London: Constable & Robinson.
- Mufson, B. (10 Feb. 2017) A Japanese art collective had a funeral for Liberty on the US-Mexico border. *Creators – VICE*. [Online] Available from: https://creators.vice.com/en_us/article/pgq73b/a-japanese-art-collective-had-a-funeral-for-liberty-on-the-us-mexico-border [Accessed: 10 June 2017].
- Murphy, K.D. & Driscoll, S. (2015). The art/history of resistance: Visual ephemera in public space. *Space and Culture* 18(4), pp. 328-357.
- Newman, D. (2003) On borders and power: A theoretical framework. *Journal of Borderland Studies* 18(1), pp.13-25.
- Newman, D. (2006) The resilience of territorial conflict in an era of globalization. In: Kahler, M. & Walter, B.F. (eds.) *Territoriality and conflict in an era of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 85-110.
- Nicol, H. (2016). Beyond walls and cages: prisons, borders and global crisis. *Journal of Borderland Studies*. 29(4), pp. 527-528.
- Nicol, S. (28 Sept. 2008) Art against the wall. *No Border Wall*. [Online] Available from: <http://notexasborderwall.blogspot.no/2008/09/art-against-wall.html> [Accessed: 10 June 2017].

- Nye, J.S (2004) *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Nye, J.S (2011) *The future of power*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Oakley, J. 1992. *Morality and the emotions*. London: Routledge.
- OCHA. West Bank Barrier. [Online] Available from:
<https://www.ochaopt.org/theme/west-bank-barrier> [Accessed: 10 June 2017].
- Oksala, J. (2011) Freedom and bodies. In Taylor, D. (ed) *Michel Foucault: Key concepts*. Durham: Acumen. Pp, 85-97.
- Olberg, S.T (2013) *Political graffiti on the West Bank Wall in Israel/Palestine*. Edwin Mellen Press.
- Orwell, G. (1945). *Animal Farm*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Paasi, A. (1998) Boundaries as social processes: Territoriality in the world of flows. *Geopolitics* 3(1), pp. 69-88. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].
- Paasi, A. (2009) Bounded spaces in a 'borderless world': Border studies, power and the anatomy of territory. *Journal of Power* 2(2), pp. 213-234. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].
- Parker, N. & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2009) Lines in the sand? Towards an agenda for critical border studies. *Geopolitics* 14(3), pp. 582-587.
- Parkin, D., Caplan L. & Fischer, H. (1996) *The Politics of Cultural Performance*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Peteet, J. (1996) The writing on the walls: The graffiti of the Intifada. *Cultural Anthropology* 11(2), pp. 139-159.
- Philip, M. (2008) IPolitical theory and history. In: Leopold, D. & Sears, M. (eds.) *Political theory: Methods and approaches*. New York: Oxford University
- Piquard, B. & Swenarton, M. (2011) Learning from architecture and conflict. *The Journal of Architecture* 16(1), pp. 1-13. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].
- Planalp, S. 1999. *Communicating Emotion: Social, Moral and Cultural Processes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Quijano, A. (2000) Colonialities of power, eurocentrism and Latin America. *Views from the South*. 1(3), pp.533-580.
- Rancière, J. (2004) *The Politics of Aesthetics: The distribution of the sensible*. Trans. Rockhill, G. London: Bloomsbury.
- Rancière, J. (2009) *The emancipated spectator*. Trans. Elliott, G. New York: Verso.
- Rancière, J. (2010) *Dissensus: On politics and aesthetics*: Trans. Corcoran, S.

- London: Bloomsbury.
- Ratliff, T.N. & Hall, L.L. (2014) Practicing the art of dissent: Towards a typology of protest activity in the United States. *Humanity and Society* 38(3), pp. 268-294. [Accessed: 10. June 2017].
- Redfield, M. (2003) *The politics of aesthetics: Nationalism, gender, romanticism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Roach, S.C. (2008) Introduction. In: Roach, S.C (ed.) *Critical theory and international relations: A reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Robin, M. (Aug. 2017) In Arizona, Trump's Mexico wall already exists. *Le Monde Diplomatique*. [Online] Available from: <https://mondediplo.com/2017/08/03arizona> [Accessed: 10 Aug. 2017].
- Rose, G. (2007) *Visual Methodologies*. 4th ed. London: SAGE Publications.
- Rosière, S. & Jones, R. (2012) Teichopolitics: Re-considering globalisation through the role of walls and fences. *Geopolitics* 17(1), pp. 217-234. [Accessed: 10 Aug. 2017].
- Ruggie, J.G. (1993) Territoriality and beyond: Problematising modernity in international relations. *International Organization* 47(1), pp. 139-174.
- Sack, R.D. (1986) *Human territoriality: Its theory and history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin.
- Sartori, G. (1970). "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Review* 64(4): 1033-1053.
- Schimanski, J. (2015) Border Aesthetics and Cultural Distancing in the Norwegian-Russian Borderscape. *Geopolitics* 20(1), pp.35-55.
- Scott, J.C. (1985) *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. Yale University Press.
- Silberman et al. (2012) Introduction: Walls, borders, boundaries. In: Silberman et al. (eds.) *Walls, border, boundaries: Spatial and cultural practices in Europe*. Berghahn, pp.1-22.
- Smith, C.D. (2010) *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents*. 7th ed. Boston: Bedford/St.Martin's.
- Songs across Walls of Separation. 2008 Kirkelig Kulturverksted, www.kkv.no. Oslo. In cooperation with Strømmestiftelsen, stromme.no.
- Stromberg, M. (6 Mar. 2017) The U.S.-Mexico border is fertile territory. *Artsy.net* [Online]. Available from: <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-mexican-artists-threat-trumps-wall-fuel-inspiration> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].

- Sundberg, J. (2015) The State of Exception and the Imperial Way of Life in the United States—Mexico Borderlands. *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space* 33(2), pp. 209-228.
- Sylvester, C. (2013) The elusive arts of reflexivity in the ‘sciences’ of international relations. *Millenium Journal of International Studies* 41(2), pp. 309-325.
- Szary, A-L.A (2012) Walls and border art: The politics of art display. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 27(2), pp.213-228.
- Tamir, C. (14 Apr. 2015) Dana Yahalomi/Public Movement by Chen Tamir. *BOMB-Artists in Conversation*. [Online] Available from: <http://bombmagazine.org/article/8295330/dana-yahalomi-public-movement> [Accessed: 20 July 2017].
- Tanke, J. & McQuillan, C. (2012) Early modern aesthetics. In: Tanke, J. & McQuillan, C. (eds.) *The Bloomsbury anthology of aesthetics*. New York: Bloomsbury, pp.97-100.
- Till, K.E., et al. (2013). Interventions in the political geographies of walls. *Political Geography*. 33(1), pp.52-62.
- Toenjes, A. (2015) This wall speaks: Graffiti and transnational networks in Palestine. *Jerusalem Quarterly File*. 61(1), pp. 55-68.
- UNESCO. The Great Wall. [Online]. Available from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/438> [Accessed: 10 June 2017].
- Vallet, E. & David, C-P. (2012) Introduction: The (re)building of the wall in international relations. *Journal of Borderland Studies* 27(2), pp. 111-119.
- Vallet, E. (2014) Introduction. In: Vallet, E. (ed) *Borders, fences and walls: State of insecurity?* Vermont: Ashgate Publishing.
- van Houtum, H. (2005) The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries. *Geopolitics* 10(4), pp. 672-679.
- Waldner, L.K., & Dobrat, B.A. (2013) Graffiti as a form of contentious political participation. *Sociology Compass* 7(5), pp. 377-389.
- Walt, S.M. (21 July 2011) International Affairs and the Public Sphere. *Academia & the Public Sphere, Institute for Public Knowledge*. [Online] Available from: <http://publicsphere.ssrc.org/walt-international-affairs-and-the-public-sphere/> [Accessed 10 June 2017].
- Waltz, K.N. (1979) *Theory of international politics*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Walker, R.B.J. (1993) *Inside/outside: International relations as political theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Waxman, O.B. (30 Jan. 2017) The history of walls is long. Here’s where Donald Trump fits in. *Time Magazine*. [Online] Available from:

<http://time.com/4652770/donald-trump-immigration-walls-history/> [Accessed: 10 June 2017].

- Weber, C. (2005) *International relations theory: A critical introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Weldes, J. (2003) Popular culture, science fiction and world politics: Exploring intertextual relations. In *To seek out new world*. Weldes, J. (ed). New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.1-30.
- Wills, E.R. (2016) Constructing a “wall”: Discursive fields, social movements, and the politics of the [wall/barrier/fence]. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* VOL(NO), pp. 1-14. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].
- Yiftachel, O. (2006) *Ethnocracy: Land and identity politics in Israel/Palestine*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Zanotti L. & Stephenson M. (2013) *Building walls and dissolving borders*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Åhäll, L. (2009) Images, popular culture, aesthetics, emotions: The future of international politics? *Political Perspectives* 3(1).

Figures:

- Fig.1 The Great Wall of China. *National Geographic*. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.nationalgeographicexpeditions.com/assets/images/3489/itinerary-header.jpg> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.2 Hadrian's Wall. *BBC*. [Online]. Available from: http://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/976/cpsprodpb/16B2A/production/_93807929_gettyimages-566428835.jpg [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.3 The Berlin Wall, Brandenburg Gate. *CVCE.EU*. [Online]. Available from: https://www.cvce.eu/obj/le_mur_de_berlin_1961-fr-89f9c976-5103-40bd-980a-ba88b45d8a63.html [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.4 Ecstatic crowds swarm the wall, Nov 9th 1989. [Online]. Available from: <http://lordsofuniverse.com/tag/berlin-maurer/> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.5 When a fence is not 'secure enough.' *CBN* [Online]. Available from: http://www1.cbn.com/sites/default/files/styles/image_xl_640x480/public/us-mexicoborderwallap_si.jpg?itok=8TX4Sr8y [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.6 'Loch Ness' of the border. *New York Times* [Online]. Available from: <https://static01.nyt.com/images/2016/05/26/upshot/26UP-Walls-9/26UP-Walls-9-superJumbo.jpg> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.7 Teichopolitical brotherhood. *Toronto Sun* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.torontosun.com/2017/08/04/graffiti-artist-paints-trump-murals-on-west-bank-barrier-yards-from-banksy-hotel> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.8 No borderland left un-walled: Trump's vision. *BBC* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/38743252/how-trumps-wall-compares-to-other-famous-walls> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.9 The completed and planned wall. *Global Research* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.globalresearch.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/westbank.gif> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.10 A glimpse of horizon between 8 meters of concrete. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.jpost.com/HttpHandlers/ShowImage.ashx?id=289846&w=898&h=628> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.11 Stark contrasts in a divided landscape. [Online]. Available from: <https://i.ytimg.com/vi/uRYaNRvFSAQ/maxresdefault.jpg> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.12 Activists breaking through the wall. *Haaretz* [Online]. Available from: http://www.haaretz.com/polopoly_fs/1.625531.1415560035!/image/461449825.jpg_gen/derivatives/headline_857x482/461449825.jpg [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].

- Fig.13 Fernandez erasing the border. Fernandez, T.F. *Borrando la frontera*. [Online]. Available from: <http://anateresafernandez.com/borrando-la-barda-tijuana-mexico/> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.14 The final result. Fernandez, T.F. *Borrando la frontera*. [Online]. Available from: <http://anateresafernandez.com/borrando-la-barda-tijuana-mexico/> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.15 Ramírez & Asperas' mirage-dinner. Stromberg, M. *Artsy.net*. [Online]. Available from: <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-mexican-artists-threat-trumps-wall-fuel-inspiration> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.16 Coffins on the wall (2008). Nicole, S. [Online]. Available from: <http://notexasborderwall.blogspot.no/2008/09/art-against-wall.html> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.17 Crosses on the wall. [Online]. Available from: <https://cherokeegothic.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/border2.jpg> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.18 Death of Liberty. *VICE* [Online]. Available from: https://creators.vice.com/en_us/article/pgq73b/a-japanese-art-collective-had-a-funeral-for-liberty-on-the-us-mexico-border [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.19 US Visitors Centre. *VICE* [Online]. Available from: https://creators.vice.com/en_us/article/pgq73b/a-japanese-art-collective-had-a-funeral-for-liberty-on-the-us-mexico-border [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.20 Graffiti on the West Bank Wall. [Online]. Available from: https://cloudlessness.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/dsc_98711.jpg [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.21 Message on the wall. [Online]. Available from: <https://mic.com/articles/111430/a-powerful-new-banksy-video-shows-a-side-of-gaza-the-press-can-t#.zv88Q57eg> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.22 A peace dove in chains. [Online]. Available from: <https://cloudlessness.wordpress.com/2012/04/10/banksy-and-the-graffiti-of-the-west-bank/> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.23 Aiming to kill peace. Majno, S. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.stefanomajno.com/west-banksy/> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.24 Welcome to the Walled Off Hotel. Awad, A. *The Guardian* [Online]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/gallery/2017/mar/03/the-walled-off-hotel-by-banksy-in-pictures> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].
- Fig.25 Flying feathers: The Arab-Israeli pillow fight. Awad, A. *The Guardian* [Online]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/travel/gallery/2017/mar/03/the-walled-off-hotel-by-banksy-in-pictures> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].

Fig. 26 Album cover: Song across WALLS of Separation. *Amazon* [Online]. Available from: <https://www.amazon.com/Songs-Across-Separation-Various-artists/dp/B001GH1HXU> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].

Fig. 27 Banksy's mural on West Bank Wall. *Complex* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.complex.com/style/2013/10/banksy-art-evolution/west-bank-wall> [Accessed: 1 Aug. 2017].



Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelig universitet
Noregs miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Postboks 5003
NO-1432 Ås
Norway