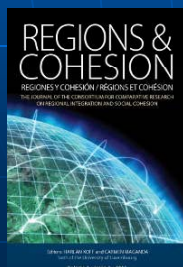


***Are territories at the service of
their communities or are
communities at the service of
their territories?: Cross-Border
Governance and Democracy in
the Americas***

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Research Question



- ***Are territories at the service of their communities or are communities at the service of their territories?:***
- Sub question: How do we define « transfrontier metropolis »?
- Sub-question: What explains social impacts of integration?

Literature Review

- Focus on Governance
 - **Multi-level governance** (Maganda, Perkmann, Martinez, Brunet-Jailly, Blatter, Schulz, Papademetrious, Alper, Clarkes, Erie, Hanson, Herzog, Linares, Ramirez and Cadenas)
 - « **Borderless World** » (Ohmae, Hofmeister, Rojas and Solís, Walsh and Santacruz, Cátedras de integración Andrés Bello, Alvarez and Fuente)
 - **New Regionalism** (Keating, Kopinak, Brooks and Fox, Williams, Bonilla et. al., Bray, De Frantz)

Project History

- 1) Local Impact of Regional Integration in Border Communities (2007)
- 2) Local Power Structures (2008)
- 3) Quality of Democracy (2010)
- 4) Citizen Participation in Policy Networks (2011)
- 5) Power, Citizenship and Quality of Democracy (2011)

Key Term: Transfrontier Metropolis

- Transfrontier Metropolis:
- Herzog (1991): "an urbanized area fused into a single **functional** spatial domain that transcends the international border"
- Alegría (2009): interdependent development and symmetrical development models
- Koff (2008): Symmetrical Power Structures



Theoretical Approach: Democracy versus Governance

- Democracy is, in fact, a politically charged term which includes “pragmatic,” “ethical” and “moral” dimensions (see Requejo).
- Governance only focuses on “pragmatic” (implicit focus on growth, efficiency, etc.)



Research Design



- 1) Bari, Italy-Durres, Albania
 - 2) Eurométropole (Northern France-Southern Belgium)
 - 3) San Diego, USA-Tijuana, Mexico
 - 4) Cúcuta, Colombia-San Cristobal, Venezuela
- All cases are sites of cross-border integration
 - All cases have shared histories/cultures
 - All cases faced economic transformation since early 1990s
 - All cases are sites of criminal markets
 - All cases are characterized by population movements
 - Institutional variance: Three models of regional integration (European Union (internal and external), NAFTA, Andean Community of Nations)

Border Integration Compared



	Market Integration	Economic Institutions	Local Government	Civil Society
Bari-Durres	High	High	High	High
Euro-métropole	Low	High	High	Low
San Diego-Tijuana	High	High	Low	Low
Cucùta-San Cristobal	High	Low	Low	High

Expected Outcomes

- Eurométropole: most stable border combined with freedom of movement and EU investment = most positive impacts
- Bari-Durres: External EU border = divisions
- San Diego-Tijuana: neoliberal integration = marginalization
- Cúcuta-San Cristobal: Symmetrical integration plus shared history = positive impacts

Summary of Social Impacts Compared

Summary of social impacts of border integration- Europe

	Eurométropole	Bari-Durres
Cohesion between border communities	Negative (-)	Positive (+)
Cohesion within border communities	Negative (-)	Mixed (0)
Employment	Positive (+)	Positive (+)
Informal Sector	Mixed (0)	Positive (+)
Investment	Positive (+)	Positive (+)
Tourism	Positive (+)	Mixed (0)
Poverty/marginalization	Negative (-)	Mixed (0)
Crime	Negative (-)	Positive (+)
Migration	Negative (-)	Positive (+)
Political Stability	Positive (+)	Positive (+)
Summary impact relative to existing situations	-1	+7

Summary of Social Impacts Compared

Summary of social impacts of border integration- America

	San Diego-Tijuana	Cúcuta- San Cr'stobal
Cohesion between border communities	Negative (-)	Positive (+)
Cohesion within border communities	Negative (-)	Mixed (0)
Employment	Negative (-)	Mixed (0)
Informal Sector	Negative (-)	Negative (-)
Investment	Positive (+)	Positive (+)
Tourism	Negative (-)	Mixed (0)
Poverty/marginalization	Negative (-)	Negative (-)
Crime	Negative (-)	Negative (-)
Migration	Negative (-)	Negative (-)
Political Stability	Mixed (0)	Negative (-)
Summary impact relative to existing situations	-7	-3

Conclusions



- Good Governance and Bad Democracy can coexist (confirmed).
- Citizen Participation alone cannot be considered the key to equity in governance structures (Cúcuta-San Crístobal)
- Leaders should not only address « pragmatic » aspects of democracy but also « ethical » and « moral » ones.
- Soft power and hard power are important elements
- Lessons for Integration Processes at the Regional Level

Quality of Democracy in Cases (Diamond and Morlino)

Ratings for Quality of Democracy of Border Integration Processes

	Eurométropole	Bari-Durres
Rule of law	1	1
Participation	0.5	1
Competition	0	1
Vertical Accountability	0	1
Horizontal Accountability	0	1
Freedom	1	1
Equality	0	0.5
Responsiveness	1	1
Overall Rating	3.5	7.5

Quality of Democracy in Cases

Ratings for Quality of Democracy of Border Integration Processes

	San Diego-Tijuana	Cúcuta-San Cristobal
Rule of law	0.5	0
Participation	0.5	1
Competition	0	1
Vertical Accountability	0.5	0
Horizontal Accountability	0.5	0
Freedom	0.5	0.5
Equality	0	1
Responsiveness	0.5	0
Overall Rating	3.0	3.5

Conclusions



How can we promote regional governance that pursues equity as an objective of cross-border development?

Focus on intermediate institutions (party systems, structure of civil society, etc.)

Governance needs to include: cross border institutional cooperation, cross-border civil society, and strong government-civil society relations

Thank You

