CONTINENTAL ISLANDS: CEUTA AND GIBRALTAR
A typological research into transactional and partially autonomous territories

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CONTINENTAL ISLANDS: CEUTA AND GIBRALTAR
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MIT SMArchS Thesis
Architecture and Urbanism

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ABSTRACT

Continental Islands (CIs) are a geomorphologic formation of land disconnected from
the mainland while sharing the same continental shelf. This characteristic of connectivity and
remoteness blurs the CIs identity and its relation to the geopolitical territory of the ‘mainland’. The
geographical constraints and geopolitical ambiguity set the CI in an important infrastructural role in
national strategy and global economy. Although various urbanization theories study the effects of
global economy and politics on urban form, few have proposed potential design strategies for the
Deleuzian CI definition. This thesis explores the CI as a typology of an operational, transactional
and militarized space, proposing a new urban morphology that addresses the essence of its spatial
form.

The CIs I explore are located in the Strait of Gibraltar: Ceuta, a Spanish territory in Africa
surrounded by Morocco; and Gibraltar, a British autonomy in Europe surrounded by Spain. Both
territories are separated geographically, from their hinterlands, while acting as frontiers for a
greater geopolitical power – the EU. As a result of their remoteness, both exclaves have extensive
military presence and economic incentives. Whereas both CIs have a glorious past as imperial
posts, today they are marginal within their national context, merely representing the geopolitical
relationship between the EU and its edges. In this research I examine the unique urban form of
both Ceuta and Gibraltar as derived from their militarized history and their operational function as
places of transport, storage and transactions.

The thesis presents a new design strategy to synthesize the dynamic nature of the CIs with
its intense defensive infrastructure by drawing from Rossi’s "urban artifact" theory and utilizing
three spatial concepts: field, void and module. This design proposal will concentrate on the case
of Ceuta, a city with one of the highest poverty rates in the EU and unique social complexity.
Subsequently, the design strategy emerges from the need for a new scenario that posits a future
where global geopolitical forces change the intensity of operation. This proposal highlights the
conditions of local inhabitants, legal and illegal economic infrastructures and existing spatial forms.

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1. Objectives, hypothesis and methodologies

2. Gibraltar and Ceuta - Personal narrative

Figure 1.
The bay of Gibraltar
Edmund Patten, 1829
"View from the Queen's Chair"
1.1 Introduction

OBJECTIVES, HYPOTHESIS AND METHODOLOGIES

This thesis emerges from an interest in the way geopolitics; geographical perceptions, territory and economic flows synthesize into spatial form, specifically in the form of Continental Island (CI). Continental islands are a geomorphologic formation of land disconnected from the mainland, while maintaining the same continental shelf. As an urban model the CI is different from the ever expanding and dispersed metropolitan and other known settlements. It is a condensed spatial form subjected to influences and changes, from great economic and geopolitical forces. This thesis addresses the concept of the CI as a territorial definition of an urban model and demonstrates the uniqueness of the CI among other similar urban and economic forms.

The territorial Continental Islands are remote exclaves; spaces of cultural and economic cross boundary flows with an element of militarization embedded within their DNA. The distance from the sovereign nation, i.e. the mainland, is expressed by economic incentives, development of strategic
Continental Islands

military infrastructure, geopolitical ambiguity and cultural hybridity. These are places of transactions, transportation of goods, tourism, labor trafficking and tax exemption. As the CIs serve the planetary economic nexus and do not expand into an agglomeration, they are effectively infrastructural territories. Therefore, the hypothesis of this thesis frames the CI as an urban typology of Operational Landscapes\(^2\), urbanized territories that serve the economic growth of contiguous urban agglomerations.

The thesis is a study of two small territories that are the remote exclaves of historically imperial nations. These territories are bounded by different, and at times conflicted neighboring nations. The Continental Islands I will explore are located on both banks of the Strait of Gibraltar (Pillars of Hercules) in the Mediterranean. They are divided between Europe and Africa, one for each pillar: Ceuta, a Spanish territory in Africa surrounded by Morocco; and Gibraltar, a British autonomy in Europe surrounded by Spain. Thus both territories are separated geopolitically and geo-morphologically from their hinterlands. Furthermore, as a result of this remoteness, both exclaves have special economic incentives: Ceuta has been duty free since 1868 and Gibraltar has a favorable tax regime. Therefore this thesis will explore the mechanism of urbanization inherited and developed throughout history, proposing a new morphology that fulfills their potential as CIs.

There are several voices which express a new understanding of the world and its systems as omnipresent

Ibid. (for example the planetary urbanization theory\(^3\)), at the same time they present the necessity of finding the place of design and architecture in relation to these concepts of ubiquity. I propose that while in the planetary scale it is possible to assume a boundary-less field, that in order to generate form for some of the operational landscapes, we must acknowledge the necessity of bounded infrastructural spaces that process undisclosed activities and transactions in a gray zone of the planetary nexus. In this context the purpose of this thesis is to identify the unique morphology for Continental Islands.

In order to determine the nature of the urban morphology which befits the CI, the thesis followed three stages of analysis: first I defined and determined their shared characteristics; second, I conducted an urban and geopolitical analysis of Ceuta and Gibraltar and finally I propose a design for Ceuta that addresses: urban development patterns in condensed and bounded spaces, urbanization process as derived from military infrastructure and developing a generic, universal and dynamic urban morphology that transcends geography and politics. These main concepts are derived from an analytical proposal of a geopolitical scenario that will allow the fulfillment of the CI potential for both Ceuta and Gibraltar.

The thesis will begin with defining Continental Islands from the philosophical and territorial perspective. Starting with Gilles Deleuze\(^4\)’s description of CIs as a disconnected part of the mainland, which is able to survive in new context. This philosophical definition will be the background to a territorial rationale and the attributes of the CI as a product of geopolitical,
Continental Islands

economic and geographical conditions. These characteristics bring forth an important discussion regarding territory in general and cross border territory in particular, while taking in account economy, military and the nation state. In addition, the thesis will address Antoin Picon's inquiry into the relationship between the “New territorial dimension” and designers, which will be the stepping point towards the main objective of this thesis: identifying a typo-morphology for Continental Islands. Moreover, in the pursuit for urban form as a space of transactions and infrastructure, the CIs will be examined by the planetary urbanism theory. The hypothesis is that those remote exclaves, spaces that accommodate cultural and economic cross boundary flows, with a component of militarization are an urban typology of Operational Landscapes. With this assumption we can begin to examine various existing territories and start to understand the morphology and mechanisms of CIs.

Chapter three explores the dialectic relation between strategic defense and civic marginality in Ceuta and Gibraltar, resulting from their remoteness to their respective mainland. This study aligns the current condition of the cities with the intensity and importance of their geographic contexts - the strait of Gibraltar. I conclude this chapter with and analytical examination of the conspicuous absurdity in the marginality of Ceuta and Gibraltar, geographic history, geopolitical conditions and national status.

Chapter four attempts to test how the concept and urban form of the CI could deal with the issues of

marginality through urban analysis and mapping of historic development. This chapter explores the way urban form in Ceuta and Gibraltar expresses the dialectic relations between civic marginality and military significance. The mapping of existing patterns and mechanisms is used as a tool to propose a new urban morphology for Ceuta. This new urban morphology is based on the reading of the city as an archipelago of encampments, and proposes a connecting fabric with three main concepts: camp (field), market (Khan and void) and barrack (module). This intervention will create solid and permanent public spaces for the use of local residents and transactional trajectories.

Chapter five explores the complex geopolitical condition of both Ceuta and Gibraltar in order to examine both national and global forces shaping the territories, and to emphasize how nations exploit the remoteness and marginality of the CIs for opportunism. By unraveling and deconstructing the geopolitical relationships between the European Union and its margins I conceive a geopolitical scenario that would challenge and fulfill the potential of Ceuta and Gibraltar as CIs.

Chapter six, which concludes this thesis, describes the generic universal principles underlying the urban morphology of the CI. This urban morphology, based on the architectural concepts previously developed in the Ceuta urban design proposal: field, void and module. These new principles will form a generic and universal morphology that is suitable for a wide range of CIs. I strongly believe in the importance of
articulating the necessary components that will allow this strategy to be fully embedded, a comprehensive method inspired by the local complexity of each city. This issue is addressed by the negotiation between global influences and elements of locality.

1.2 Introduction

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

Gibraltar, British overseas territory | Travelogue

I began exploring small exclaves from a belief that they entail the secrets for condense and intensive urban forms. I imagined utopian spaces idiosyncratic in nature, yet to be seen in the commonly familiar urban patterns. However, I found them burdened by the bounded space, which imposes upon the residents and the complexities latent in the dependency on that same boundary.
Continental Islands

It was difficult to know what to expect from the place I was going to visit. I visualized the scale and the spatial structure of the city by its maps and photos, but I could not have anticipated the intensity of the personal and the experience. Arriving in Gibraltar on the AP7 highway from Malaga, the hills and mountains of Andalusia retreat and unravel the sea, the plateau of the shoreline, to allowing ‘The Rock’ to emerge in all its greatness. Indeed the rock is foreign in its location, an autonomous remnant of the southern Mediterranean riff, claiming its independence from the surrounding shoreline.

“...they saw Gibraltar, not simply separated from Spain, but already at a considerable distance, like an island abandoned in the middle of the ocean, transformed, poor thing, into a peak, a sugarloaf, a reef, with its thousand cannons out of action.”

Entering Gibraltar from the land is similar to entering a house through the back door and service corridors.

First we encounter La Línea de la Concepción, the Spanish city bordering Gibraltar, overwhelmed by the struggle with its neighbor over recognition in this physically and perceptually marginal location. Moreover its identity is imprinted on the border, starting with its name. Next is the border, a peculiar piece of infrastructure. Here the Spanish and British-Gibraltarrian border police check passports of visitors in a thin linear space. The Airport’s landing strip beyond is the real detaining element of the entrance, another infrastructural space in this linear sequence.

Figure 3.
Grand Casemates Square, Gibraltar

Figure 4.
The beach of La Línea de la Concepción

Figure 5.
Ocean Village, Gibraltar
At brief distance from the airport, the city is chaotic. We are enclosed by variety of relatively high and low rise public housing projects from the 1980's and a variety of supporting infrastructures: a gas station, a supermarket, a fortifying wall and a football field. Contemporary infrastructure condensed in the space outside the old town, yet another boundary line to enter through the back door. The Reclamation road and The Line Wall road mirror in their names the visible contradiction between the masonry world of the colonial rule and the glass and concrete towers of what I can be call the city’s “partial autonomy” under the influence of lucrative offshore practices. Along the way polished black cannons are lurking mysteriously and exposing yet another location of concealed fortification.

The topography of the city is surprising, when I read about the plateau the city was built on, I did not expect such steep slopes and extended sequences of staircases. As a result, I did not predict the extent of the development to the west. As the only possible “land” for construction, the waterfront and the space of the bay is the city’s greatest asset. Along these four kilometers, which are densely occupied by military, industrial facilities and housing, real estate development with expectations of open sea views will be out of place; since there is always an option that at some point another structure will be built in front of the window. In this dense context, parking is a luxury; cars move only when people leave the city and on a daily basis they travel throughout the city by the free public transportation.
Figure 6.
View west from Line Wall St.

Figure 7.
Gibraltar Bank court yard.

Figure 8.
Stairs inside the walled city.
Continental Islands

The paradoxes of Continental Islands are parallel to the paradoxes of Gibraltar and construct its unique nature at all levels of its existence. Here the sun rises relatively late (around 8am) as the rock casts its shadow on the city up until the sun finally rises above its 400-meter elevation. The city moves slowly at this time of day, shaking off the morning haze. One might imagine that the late morning and active street life are due to its Spanish culture. The identity and pace of life in Gibraltar is in fact a synthesis of its inherited influences, a combination of British earnestness and Spanish casualness. Among the 32,000 Gibraltarians, most are native to the place, belonging to families that have endured for a number of generations. They speak fluent Spanish, English and a local combination, Llanito. Regardless of how complex and religiously diverse the social fabric is, the community is unified and intertwined.

While sitting in one of the main street cafes and restaurants one may notice how everyone in the city knows one another. Each man passing casually stops for a friendly conversation with the café inhabitants. At times the communal daily life may feel too close, as the bounded nature of the site created this small town charm of collective companionships, but also a slight sense of asphyxiation. This feeling was emphasized among the residents during the years of the closed border. The memory of the fifteen years during which passage to the geographical mainland of Spain was disconnected endures as a collective trauma of enclosure, creating a tight sense of community, and making
it impossible to escape into the vast plains of Andalusia for a little solitude.

Indeed, this specific local sense of definition drives the pursuit for sovereignty. A local, Israeli expat I met while traveling has taught me that I “shouldn’t say ‘city’ when referring to Gibraltar - it’s demising, it should be addressed as “an autonomy- a state”. Paul Origo, Gibraltar’s town planner emphasized in our conversation the attempts for independent development regardless of the British assistance or in some cases lack of such, and regardless of the Spanish attempts to interfere. According to Mr. Origo the optimal national condition for Gibraltar would be a city-state under the EU, an aspiration many of the locals share. After the first referendum in 1968 and the decrease of MOD (Ministry of Defense, UK) activity Gibraltar had to act by an opportunistic set of moral measures. Since the public is very well involved in the political discussion, they are aware of the importance of the association to the UK and therefore emphasize their ‘Britishness’ and difference from the Spanish. They are proud of their British dullness in appose to the Spanish life of reckless celebration, as one of the people we talked to mentioned. They have had time associating themselves with the Spanish, a resentment enduring since the enclosure years and centuries of wars.

Today Gibraltar is almost completely self-sustained with the help of the old infrastructure, such as electricity and water to supply all of their needs. This infrastructure is dispersed throughout the territory and in order to acquire land for new infrastructure the city must exchange it with
the MOD. The MOD is still a defining force in Gibraltar, it still holds a large percentage of the lands in the peninsula and obligates the planning authorities to interact with them in most new developments. Gibraltar, caricaturized its militarized history for the sake of tourism. The layers of military infrastructure, tunnels, cannons and batteries are accessible to the common visitor and accessorized with installations are blurs the presence and current involvement of the MOD (British ministry of defense) in the territory. One of the interesting examples concerning this aspect is the re-use of WW2 military tunnels inside the rock for a new private, multimillion-dollar high end Data Center. Mr. Garcia, the general manager of Continent 8, the company operating this data center, gave us a tour inside the highly secure facility. Some spaces at this highly technological and intrinsically engineered place have historical significant, and are showcased by Mr. Garcia to new clients and investors, presenting the near history of the technical space. Among the dozens of server farms, one room is a mold and mildew infested ‘war room’ that still presents the nuclear threat maps on its walls and the other room is a recreation of Eisenhower’s office.

The extreme conditions, years of war and economic deficit created an internal culture of opportunism. At one occasion Mr. Origo sincerely mentioned how thankful he is for any type of investment in Gibraltar “even if some of the employees in the city are living in Linea, they still come here for lunch and have family members visiting” he said. This is in the most basic and significant level of investments he is
referring to. The small structure of Gibraltar’s government makes it easy to avoid complex bureaucratic process and increase the public involvement in the city’s development and investment processes. Due to this unique condition it appears they are able to take advantage of any opportunity in the fastest most efficient way. From the first Danish investment in the land reclamation project to the offshore banking period, the online gaming industry and most recently, after the establishment of tax treaties with various nations, as the foremost gate to the EU.

My personal impression of Gibraltar is that it is constructed by a fascinating system of opportunism driven development, conceived in order to survive within the expectable moral boundaries. It will always be marginal, as its drive and motivation feeds from this marginality. However it cannot really operate without its access geographical hinterland of Spain.
Figure 9.
View of reclaimed land to the north west

Figure 10.
View of reclaimed land to the north west

Figure 11.
View of reclaimed land to the north west
Figure 12.
View of the port - south west.
Figure 13. Airport at the entrance to Gibraltar

Figure 14. View of military barracks
Even before arriving at Ceuta, looking over the strait of Gibraltar we could see the vague outline of Ceuta’s Monte Hacho, beyond the morning haze. It appears as though Ceuta reflects the constant presence of Gibraltar, isolated image in its horizon. It’s a unique experience to be in this mythological passage, to see the other side and imagine crossing at the age when the Pillars of Hercules were perceived as the edge of the world. As Ceuta and Gibraltar see each other’s Silhouette in the distance, they are aware of each other, more than people in other parts of their mainland’s. People from Gibraltar and Ceuta are different, mirroring their respective geographic and geopolitical conditions. The one thing they have in common is the aspiration to leave the territory once in awhile for air, solitude and space.

The only way to reach Ceuta from within Europe is by ferry. These days, when people move across Europe so easily, it is intriguing to explore a place within the statutory framework of Europe that is physically disconnected. Alberto, our host from the local municipality points out the absurdity of their current situation by describing the city’s aspirations to develop tourism, while the entry process is as difficult as it is. This is the result of bureaucratic miscalculation by the municipality, the city built an expensive heliport on reclaimed land (there is no physical space for a full size airport), but did not arrange in advance for a contracted company to operate the flights - and since it is not a profitable trip, no one would agree to finance the daily flights to and from Ceuta.

The ferry to the city leaves from the port of Algeciras,
located on the western side of the bay of Gibraltar. While cars lineup to enter into the hull of the ship, we are exposed to a complex social fabric: large Moroccan families, men with densely packed pickup trucks and young European travelers in trailer homes. The local police force seemed highly alert. If in Gibraltar the border was the only time we encountered a man in uniformed, this ship was an entirely different story - occupied by a small military unit and several search dogs. One can only assume that among the vast amount of goods that is loaded on this ship, something is most defiantly being smuggled one way or another. Indeed, it is difficult to grasp that this daily one hour strait crossing is the main supply and support line for the city.

The ferry ride itself was once an impressive and luxurious experience, however the intensive use of the vessels eroded its glossy veneer. The main hull is lined with wide leather armchairs; some of which are still operating properly. Large suitcases, shopping bags and packages are spread across the passages and between the chairs. It is possible to sense the cultural difference in this enclosed vessel, men are sitting on the upper deck, out side, and the women rest with the children among the armchairs and other valuables. Once you have entered the ferry, you are no longer in Spain, but in a new territory - the extensions of Ceuta's hybrid frontier. To us it seems that no one is really excited from the Strait crossing; only one father and his young children are on the upper deck, taking multiple selfies with the background of Ceuta and Gibraltar - the rest seemed almost jaded from the ordeal. In essence this is nothing but a routine crossing, a
Continental Islands

Figure 16.
Northern promenade, Ceuta

Figure 17.
Southern beach, Ceuta

Figure 18.
Plaza de Los Reyes, Ceuta
bus ride from the big city to the remote small town.

Almina, the historic city center is a thin stripe of land between seas and mountains. The topography on the south edge is significantly higher than the northern shoreline, as it is turning its back to Africa and embraces Europe and its territorial extension of the Mediterranean Sea. At any point within the city there is at least a one-way view towards the sea, and a views of both bays in the most ceremonious sites, as the one in the main Africa Square. Moreover the concaved shape of the peninsula offers a view from the promenade to within the city.

The streets were empty when we arrived at an early afternoon, during the siesta. Kings Square, the main public space is empty and its only occupier is a Moroccan child selling lottery tickets. The main street is an assemblage of cafes, bakeries, electric appliances shops, jewelry and cosmetics. At sun down, as if by some magical hidden force, the streets fill up rapidly with a remarkable number of children, playing soccer in one of the main square, their families, shopping and conversing in the nearby cafes. The number of children in the city is very uncommon for a typical European or common Spanish city, as they comprise 21% of the population. It is mostly a result of the traditionally larger families in the Moroccan community.

The city of Ceuta celebrates its aesthetics- the streets are being constantly cleaned and the structures are preserved and
Continental Islands

Figure 19.
View from the wall

Figure 20.
Military drill

Figure 21.
Children playing in one of the squares
renewed. We strongly suspect that in the attempt to resolve the high unemployment rate the city is providing people with jobs in its own elaborate preservation and restoration procedure - at times to the absurd extent of three landscape workers attending one well-maintained shrub. However strange this vision may be, these employees are devoted to their obscure mission. During our visit there were daily gatherings of different municipal maintenances crus in the form of one hour-long demonstrations in front of the main governmental building and as soon as the hour was over they were back to their positions across the city.

Attempting to develop tourism with funds from the EU Community cohesion policy, the city redesigned and renovated the historic fortification canal into a park and museum. While it is possible that because the gloomy winter day (Mediterranean winter), during our visit the park was unoccupied - we were the only ones wandering among the wondrous walls and cannons. Perhaps we really were the only tourists in town that day. Waling there, at the tranches of the old forsaken castle there was this presence of perpetual neglect; while the space was rebuilt with concern to landscaping and detail restoration certain elements were in advanced stages of decay. For example, cannons staged to recreate the fortifications, were in advanced stages of corrosion, leaking rust on the new pavement and setting limits to the investment in aesthetics and history.

The city museum and archive works with the architectural department of the municipality on documenting historic and
continental structures. Mr. Wiel, the Architect currently in charge of the city's public housing projects, worked on the city's master plan in 1992 and 2008 – at which time he conducted an in-depth analysis and mapping of the city's urban evolution with the Ceuties Studies Institute. These master plans purposed several developments and changes, in the 2008 master plan a number of the military bases were designated for relocation or reduction, since the obligatory military service of Spain ended in 2001. However, these suggestions were not accepted by the military. In our meeting with Alberto Weil, I tried to understand what are the main objectives of the new master plan, what exactly is the municipality trying to achieve after failing to fulfill the previous plans. It seems, as apart from the regular maintenance of renewal and expanding infrastructures in order to adjust to the EU regulations, there is no real vision or motivation for the city to develop. The best two examples are that the only financially lucrative industry in the city is a chocolate factory and the most significant recent development project was a prison.

Sonia Weil, the wife of Alberto, mentioned two local interesting anecdotes, which exemplify border transcending movements. The first is the story of the German Supermarket chain Lidl, which opened a store in Ceuta and very quickly became the best selling branch in the EU. It was very peculiar to the management of the store that a small city such as Ceuta exceeded sales of larger metropolitan areas. The CEO of the company decided to visit in order to personally congratulate and learn from the local success, thus encountering the very
basic arbitrage economy system: merchants from Morocco enter the city and buy products in bulk and head back to Morocco in order to resell the products at a substantial margin. This transaction is highly profitable not necessarily because of the prices of the products, but due to the quality and diversity of products, which add the most substantial value. The second example is the use of the new hospital by the border; people from Morocco come to the hospital for better emergency care (especially women in labor) and are then being smuggled back into Morocco in order to avoid charges. While the local Moroccan community adopted the Spanish identity after residing in Ceuta for more than a century, the Euro-Spanish community did not assimilate the Moroccan-Arab culture and language. I was surprised to find out that the children do not learn Arabic at school, the language almost a third of their friends speak at home.

The way I read the situation, since the empowered social layer of residents are employed in governmental and public service positions, they have no special interest or motivation to reduce the bureaucratic barriers for any type of new initiatives. And even though the city is autonomous, each level of infrastructure is entangled with institutions and administrations back in the mainland. The weaker communities operate within the grey layer of the local economy - integrated within the informal transactions.

The military is a very present force in the city - from the walls and fences of the operating military bases within the city fabric to the leftover fences scattered around. Especially
noticeable at the time of our visit the military was having a large drill evolving various units and battalions.

In order to summaries my experiences in Ceuta I assume that the difference in the cultural and geopolitical association between Ceuta and its geographic hinterlands makes it very difficult for the city, in its essence, to depend on Morocco. Since Ceuta as a Spanish entity did not fully accepted the Moroccan culture and language, the closest place to escape from the density of the city is the mainland. In a way the Spanish core always looks out to the north and very rarely to the south. Consequently, it has not yet embraced the informal flows and transactions to and from Morocco. Socially and structurally, the city is it's Spanish center and has not yet integrated the western periphery in its operation.

Figure 22. Demonstration of city employees
Figure 23.
View of the port - south west.
Continental Islands

Figure 24.
View from north

Figure 25.
View of public housing in western periphery, Ceuta
"Continental Islands are accidental, derived islands. They are separated from a continent, born of disarticulation, erosion, fracture; they survive the absorption of what once contained them."

Quote:
2 Continental Islands (CIs)

1. Conceptual definition
2. Urban space and territory
3. CI is part a typology of operational landscapes
4. Examples of possible CIs
5. An urban artifact with a distinct morphology
2.1 Continental Islands

CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION

Continental Islands are a geomorphologic formation of land disconnected from the mainland while maintaining the same continental shelf. This position of connectivity and remoteness blurs the island’s relation, and identity with the geopolitical territory of the ‘mainland’. In the territorial context this blurriness expressed many times by economic incentives. At the same time the geopolitical association to the mainland separates the CI from its geographical hinterlands. The geographical constraints and geopolitical ambiguity set the CI in an important infrastructural role in national strategy and global economy. Consequently, the competition over the CI’s political and economic resources is resulting in extensive military infrastructure and spatial re-organization. This spatial form is the synthesis of geological constraints, geopolitical influences and economic forces.

The example for the geographic interpretation of CIs include islands that are contained within larger geo political entities such as Sicily and Long Island and autonomous states such as Trinidad, Singapore, Malta and Madagascar.
that became independent entities in the post-colonial age. All once were or currently are intense intersections of commercial and transactional flows and endure cultural hybridity.

In his essay ‘Desert Islands’, Gilles Deleuze describes ‘Continental Islands’ as an expression of the relationship between earth and water and their constant struggle: water covers the earth and uses it structure to overflow it. The water surrounding the island creates the notion of the ‘desert island’. Inhabitation on this island will not change its geographic notion, as it derives from the distancing movement that originated it. Resulting the separation from the origin the island emerges as a ‘re-origin’ for the new inhabitants, its mythological movement evokes the imagination of a new beginning on the ground of ‘immemorial material’. In a similar way the territorial CI experiences spatial re-organization as a result from the competition over its political and economic resources.

One of the examples of a CI as Deluze’s ‘immemorial material’ is expressed in the ‘Singapore’ essay by Ram Koolhaas9. He describes the island as an inherited process of clearness and renewal. Urban objects embedded in the ‘artificial’ operational process of spatial form construction. Singapore’s form synthesized a new ideology with limited space and demographic growth. The island’s creation of its re-origin emphasizes the messiness and homogeneously of its surrounding. The fragility and threat increase the urgency to define it's own rules of modernity, which are a melting pot

"As an island - its territory is known - it is endowed with indispensable elements for the construction of a mythology: it is small, it is threatened, it has to be protected, it is finite - and enclave. it is unique."

Figure 26.
Singapore
Source: Google Earth.

Quote:

Thirty years of Tabula
Koolhaas, Rem, Bruce
Mau, Jennifer Sigler, and
Hans Werlemann. Small,
Medium, Large, Extra-large:
Office for Metropolitan
Architecture, Rem Koolhaas,
and Bruce Mau. New York,

48
of ideologies and forms and set's it a testing ground for the 'mainland'.

Inciting from Deleuze's idea of the inhabitants must have knowledge of the lands stability and the end of the struggle with water; we can understand the necessity of geography to define territories of dryland by static limits. This division establishes two ideas of space: the controlled drylands – Terra Firma and the marginal free space of the sea. One of the relevant maritime metaphors Keller Easterling\textsuperscript{10} presents in her book 'Enduring innocence' is the 'multiple seas'. Those seas are internal to various ambiguous territories, they are operational seas for the accumulation of power and space in the contemporary economic landscape. Offshore zones for lucrative economic advantage on the base of blurred international legal definitions –“avoid taxes, engage inexpensive labor, or launder an identity”\textsuperscript{11}. She emphasizes the connection between the emergent space of the CI and the political ambiguity possessed by its surrounding, the sea. Consequently it can be conjured that operations of blurred definitions can be fostered in the space that emerges from the incongruent relations between land and sea. Continental Islands are pawns in that metaphoric system of seas; they are places of tourism, labor trafficking and tax exemption. However their part as a marginal (extraterritorial) landscape is exactly their operational position in the system of seas.


11. Ibid. p. 69
Therefore, the sea is the true hinterland of the CI, surrounding the insole with shifting and contested political space. In fact the condensed national object separated by those temperamental waters is a monument to the margins of the nation. This monument is an 'Ephemeral Island'; a flexible social institution that emerges from the sea of homogeneous practices surrounding it\textsuperscript{12}. It is the physical expression of partial autonomy, an ephemeral sovereignty.
Indeed the constant exchange and activities inhabiting the cross border territory are accumulated on the CI and creating a new cultural, religious and social hybrid. It is a new hybrid of both local and mainland - culture and identities. A good example can be the port cities of the Mediterranean, as described by David Abulafia: “its opposing shores are close enough to permit easy contact, but far enough apart to allow societies to develop distinctively under the influence of their hinterlands as well as one another.” \(^{13}\)
Military

The investment in remote infrastructure and a special and attractive economic system sets the CI as a strategic infrastructural asset. On the national level the divide evokes the necessity to protect it with a military force - an action that attracts the establishment of vast supporting administrative services. For the CI the enhanced military infrastructure allows the loosening of national regulations, which enables a civilian informal transactions system.
Flow

Indeed the CI is the terrain between the incongruent lines of the sea and a neighboring nation. While the cross boundary territory is confined to the inconsonant space between national interactions, the CI characterized by the motion that runs through it; this economic motion is driven by military presence, local services, small-scale goods transportation and legally ambiguous transactions. Moreover the CI is an economic extension of the nation to the global network. A gradient of contrasting heterogeneous situations forming one territory: An Extraterritorial gateway. The CI has an internal paradox between control militarized space and the porosity of transactional flows.
In the text “What happened to territory?” Antoine Picon discusses the relationship between engineers, architects and construction of territory along with the changes in the idea of territory through history. The concept of territory began developing between the 15th-18th century as a tool for transactions and social mobility, with the definition of the nation state territory became a space for resource extraction. Although in the 19th and 20th century the concept of environment contradicted the remoteness of territory, architects still wished to be part of the construction of territory. In the last decade the environment became omnipresent and space stopped being perceived as the “geometrical extent”, but as an “auto organizing process, hence the success of Deleuzian-inspired notions such as emergence.” In the contemporary understanding of environment and “techno nature” it is difficult to define territorial boundaries and “there is also no clear-cut boundaries between man and environment”. Since there is no more difference between territory and landscape, it is curious to see what will design produce. This “New territorial
dimension” stages a new ambiguity in the political aspect. Since territory was an administrative tool in the creation of the nation-state, Picon inquires “what are the political forces at work in the new fields explored by designer today?” and urges not to lose the human characterization and see only “processes of emergence”. Moreover the concept of “deterritorialization” as used “to describe globalization, when at most what is being observed is a remaking of spatial relations” illuminates the problem of complete elimination of territory. As Stuart Eldan elaborates, “Globalization does not refer the end of geography, but rather to its configuration with existing terms”.

Picon, discusses territory through remoteness, at first it is the driver for creation and subjection to political power, later the distance was eliminated and subjecting the space to ubiquitous emerging forces. Considering the remoteness from the mainland as one of the main attributes of the continental Island it is interesting to take on Picon’s question and explore the role of remoteness and political forces on the emerging territory of the Deleuzian CI.

Being an extra national space the Continental Island is the border, frontier and margins. In the article “Frontier Margins: Border Spaces in Flanders Fields” Els Verbakel explores these spaces as a particular urban model – “laboratories for urban“. Since beyond the boundaries of one state there is another, the Aristotelian model of the Polis can no longer represent the space beyond the border. The space in-between the frontier of two states is a “zone of heightened ambiguity”.


16. Ibid. 30


18. The polis is the space where human nature thrive, beyond the walls of the polis law it’s the wilderness filled with monsters and mythological creatures.
She adopts Foucault’s ideas of space in the interpretation of the margins inception, as the situation and event are the mechanisms in the creation of this space. In addition to Foucault’s interpretation of landscape and the human activity as inscribing the space, she cites Lefebvre’s process of space production through the movement of bodies.

The territory of the CI is the end of one territory and the beginning of other. It is a complex gradient of contrasting situations overlaid in a small geographical space. The condition on emergence creates a new hybrid different from anything else. Attracting the global economic flows, in order to redirect them into the mainland it is a nation’s tentacle to the global system. The CI is the “Ephemeral Island” in the seas of operations. Although, it’s distinct geography what perhaps seem as a visual disconnect from the environment is superficial and the connection to the surrounding hinterland endures. That being said the CI border is physical and present it is still the administrative tool used to overcome the remoteness.
2.3 Continental Islands

**CI IS AS OPERATIONAL LANDSCAPE**

The planetary urbanization theory frames all existing landscape as urban and divided into Clusters of agglomeration without territorial boundaries and the boundary less infrastructural and operational field that serves the agglomeration's capitalist growth. “Operational Landscapes” in the settings of the planetary urbanization theory by the Professor of Urban Theory Neil Brenner frames: all of Earth’s landscapes and inhabited spaces as globally connected through economy and data, and as varying between operational and consumers (agglomerations). More specifically, this theory illuminates the reciprocal relations between agglomerations and operational landscapes, and emphasizes how the competition over political and economic position results in a social and spatial re-organization.

In the state of maximal potential the CI is a transactional space feed global economic systems and capitalist forms of agglomeration. From the inception of the CI the remoteness and strategic importance creates the need to protect it with a defensive force, the establishment of vast defense system is


"Just as importantly, the urban age concept fails to illuminate the wide ranging operations and impacts of urbanization processes beyond the large centers of agglomeration, including in zones of resource extraction, agro-industrial enclosure, logistics and communications infrastructure, tourism and waste disposal, which often traverse peripheral, remote and apparently 'rural' or 'Natural' locations."

21. Ibid. p.20
followed by the creation of supporting administrative services. For the CI, the enhanced military infrastructure allows the loosening of national regulations, which enables a civilian informal transactions system. Thus all layers of inhabitation on the territory are operational and consequential to the geopolitical condition.

However bounded the territory is, its operation is a result of the boundless system in the planetary scale. The economy of the CI is based mainly on service spaces for transport of goods, capital, people and a territorial, geopolitical currency and less as an expanding urban agglomeration. This infrastructural nature of the CI frames in the dialectic planetary. Additionally its inability to expand stops the transformation to an agglomeration. Indeed the combination of both conditions sets the CI in Brenner’s definition of ‘operational landscapes’ in the setting of planetary urbanization. Therefor the CIs is a typology of ‘Operational Landscapes’ and an urban artifact that can accumulate geopolitical and economic interventions and at the same time regenerate and clear itself in order to adjust to new conditions as part of it intrinsic dynamicity within its condense space.
Figure 30.

The boundary-less infrastructural and operational field and clusters of agglomeration without territorial boundaries.

Source: NASA. https://www.flickr.com/photos/nasaexplorer/14797031062/in/photostream/
The boundary-less infrastructural and operational field and clusters of agglomeration without territorial boundaries.

Source: NASA. https://www.flickr.com/photos/nasa2explore/14797031062/in/photostream/
2.4 Continental Islands

EXAMPLES OF POSSIBLE CIS

The association of the territorial CI as a typology of operational landscape exposes a variety of possible examples that will develop further this category. As the CIs are components of a wider boundary-less planetary field of operational landscape and are mainly infrastructural spaces for transport of goods, capital, people and a territorial, geopolitical currency. The possible examples for what has the potential of becoming a CI or already is, are places that are geographically bounded and with geopolitical ambiguity, mostly post-colonial territories, that allow special economic incentives, or with extensive military infrastructure, edges of geopolitical forces, or with extra national activities. Most are small territories that have in common high density; high services in the GDP % and present GDP growth.

The first possible category, which can be addressed is the offshore military bases. These remote and bounded spaces in many cases constructed to serve strategic geopolitical goals. They duplicate in within the bounded space the extension
Singapore – independence from the UK 1963

Size 719 km²
Population 5.5 million
Population growth 1.6%
GDP 3.9% annual change (2013)
GDP sector: Agriculture 0%, Industry 25%, Services 75% (2014)
Density 8,000/km² (3rd in the world)

Ceuta - Spanish since 1669
Morocco – Protectoral abolished 1956
Size 18.5km²
Population 85,000
Population growth 0.6% | Spain -0.2%
GDP Growth -1.2% annual change (Spain 2013)
MALTA - independence from the UK 1964

Size 316 km²
Population 445,400
Population growth 0.9%
GDP Growth 2.9% annual change (2013)
GDP sector: Agriculture 1.4%, Industry 25.3%, Services 73.3% (2013 est.)
Density 1,282/km² (8rd in the world)

Gibraltar
UK last battalion left 1991
Size 7km²
Population 30,000
Population growth 0.3%
GDP Growth 7.8% annual change (2012)
GDP sector: Agriculture 0%, Industry 0%, services 100% (2008 est.)
Density 4,328/km²
Continental Islands

of the national power they belong to. Various types of the U.S. military base have different scales of infrastructure and permanency.²² These bases can house tens of thousands of soldiers and their families and to provide them with all necessary facilities. Furthermore, another version of the remote military base, is the base under control of a greater geopolitical power than a nation state – a multinational organization such as the UN or NATO. This category is problematic under the definition of the CI as it creates an isolated spaces, mirroring and grafting their nation or organization into a remote location without the process of social and cultural immersion. While the UN claims to employ an integrated approach in its locations the design and development of their infrastructure fails to do so, as Malkit Shushan explains “Defense is still the priority, so the physical footprint of these bases does not reflect this integrated approach, which should also encompass development and diplomacy.”²³

Bounded Infrastructural spaces with economic incentives can be defined as special economic zones (SEZ); they are second category for possible CIs. These infrastructural territories are formed and shaped by logistics and extra national circumstances; their operation is called “extrastatecraft”²⁴ by Keller Easterling. In these territories, various conditions of sovereignty overlap and the national jurisdiction intersect with the planetary. As a concept these zones developed from the historic free ports into a world city, enclaves of incentivized urbanism that is also the form and the product. The SEZ category is extensive and diverse, it can be divided into subcategories according to


the relationship between the territories, host nation and the mainland. In order to consist with the search for remoteness, only territories with geographic or geopolitical separation was considered.

This taxonomy presents categorization of SEZ and similar territories as follows: Exclaves, Enclaves, Operational, foreign investments and strait economy.

**Exclaves** are mostly a postcolonial remnant in current stages of economic and social stagnation. Due to their geographic location these are territories of operations, strategic significance and military infrastructure. The disconnection from their hinterlands and lack of autonomy leaves them fully dependent on the mainland and the government’s will to invest. (Ex. Kaliningrad)

**Enclaves** are microstates that serve as operational retreats to their neighboring nations. These territories linger in between continues stability and stagnation. The examples of Monaco and Andorra demonstrate the variety and differences between such nations as they are opposites in the economic aspect.

**Strait economy**

These are territories located in geographic passages within the global shipping routes that are usually accommodated by important ports and flourishing economies. These ports endure the historic concept of free ports as places of intensive transactions and exchange. The level of economic activity


Continental Islands

EXCLAVE

French Guiana
Overseas region of France
South America

Kaliningrad District
Russia
Europe

EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY
_In the EU
_Dependant on France

SEZ
_Manufacturing hub
_Military post
_Sea port
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Principality of Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monaco</td>
<td>Microstate</td>
<td>Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius Islands</td>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>Special Administrative Region of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macao</td>
<td>Special Administrative Region of China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish Island</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Asia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tourism & Finances**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>Tourism 80% GDP, Tax haven, 39% of GDP, Duty free, Not an EU member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monaco</td>
<td>Luxury Tourism, Personal banking, No income tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius Islands</td>
<td>Ebene CyberCity Center for Information technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macao</td>
<td>Tax haven, Free port, Undisclosed activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish Island</td>
<td>Tax exemption, Easy access and Opportunities for Undisclosed activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FREE PORT & RESORT ISLAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>Luxury Tourism, Offshore finances, Tax haven, Free port</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macao</td>
<td>Undisclosed activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish Island</td>
<td>Gambling - 40% of GDP, 8 Million tourists a year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Export Processing Zone (EPZ)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>Export Processing Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macao</td>
<td>Export Processing Zone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Free Port & Resort Island**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andorra</td>
<td>Free Port &amp; Resort Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macao</td>
<td>Free Port &amp; Resort Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kish Island</td>
<td>Free Port &amp; Resort Island</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Continental Islands

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

+ + +

Lekki Lagos
Nigeria Africa

Yachay Ecuador
South America

Singapore Strait of Malacca
Asia

FREE ZONE & PORT
Chinese investments
Deep sea port and warehouses
4 Million tons of cargo

City of Knowledge
S. Korean investment
$1.04 Billion initiative
Research university
Labs & industrial parks

_SEZ since 1960's
2nd busiest Port in the world
Intersection of many Underwater cables
Malaysia multimedia
Super corridor

Panama Canal
Panama Central America

STRAIT ECONOMY

FREE PORT

Panama (the Colon FTZ 1948)
Atlantic entrance to the canal
**EXCLAVES**

**KALININGRAD**

Russian exclave – before 1945 German Königsberg

Size 223 km²

Population 448,548 (in the city) almost 1 million in the district

Population growth 0.7%

GDP Growth -10%

Density 1,900/km²

Before the fiscal crisis of 2008 the GDP growth was 10%.
The current percentage of unemployment is 10%.
It is defined as Special Economic Zone by Russia since 1996, this signification will soon be altered since Russia joined WTO and the zone’s incentives do not comply with the WTO’s rules.
Kalinigrad is a manufacturing hub for automotive plants Cadillac, Hummer and BMW.
Military post and sea port.
emphasizes the sensitivity and importance of the geographic form of the Strait. (Singapore, Panama)

Operational infrastructure labels shadow islands for undisclosed activities. Places of enhanced tourism, services & extra national behavior. Often it is an island with softer rules connected to a strict mainland. (Macau a gambling center in China, Kish Island touristic destination in Iran)

Foreign investments create the essence of SEZ. These are territories build and created by foreign interests and capital. This is a new type of consensual colonialism, invited colonialism for opportunistic reasons (a port in Lagos, Nigeria is funded by China; a technological city in Yachay, Ecuador funded by S. Korea)
ENclaves

ANDORRA

Sovereign landlocked microstate - Independent since 1278
Size 467.63 km²
Population 85,400
Population growth 1.1%
GDP Growth -1.6% annual change (2012)
GDP sector: Agriculture 14%, Industry 79%, services 6% (2011 est.)
Density 179/km²
9 million tourists - 80% of GDP (main industry)
Continental Islands

MONACO
Principality of Monaco - Constitution 1911
Size 2.02 km^2
Population 37,800 (2014)
Population growth 0.7%
GDP Growth 7.2% annual change (2014)
GDP sector: Agriculture 0%, Industry 10%, services 90% (2011 est.)
Density 179/km^2
Gambling, tourism, conventions - 55% of GDP taxes from hotels, banks and tourism (278,000 a year). No income tax and no company registration
Independence from the UK 1963
Size 719 km²
Population 5.5 million
Population growth 1.6%
GDP 3.9% annual change (2013)
GDP sector: Agriculture 0%, Industry 25%, Services 75% (2014)
Density 8,000/km² (3rd in the world)
Benefiting from the Malaysia multimedia super corridor.
SEZ since 1960's Second bossiest port in the world
Intersection of many underwater cables
Continental Islands

OPERATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

MACAU
Macao Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China
1967 Chinese regime – 1976 Portuguese territory under Chinese rule
officially transferred from Portugal 1999
2005 UNESCO world heritage - historical center
Size 23 sqkm
Population 443,000
Population growth 1.7%
GDP Growth 11.6% annual change (2012)
GDP sector: Industry 5.9%, services 94.1% (2014 est.)
Density 18,568/km² (1st in the sovereign territories)
Expanding territory by drying land
was 15 km² in 1972
Gambling 40% of GDP
8 million tourists a year
New master plan 2012
FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

LEKKI FEZ

LAGOS NIGERIA
Chinese investments (under construction)
Deep sea port and warehouses
4 million tons of cargo
Lekki 165 km² in four areas
China issued $1.1bn low-interest loan for infrastructure
100 percent tax holiday,
Custom duties and levies,
Foreign ownership of investments
No restrictions on the hire of foreign employees
Complete waiver on import and export licenses
Nigeria's growing manufacturing and oil and gas industries in need for global transportation and logistic infrastructure
As the CIs are bounded territories with a level of geopolitical ambiguity and special economic incentives they can provide infrastructural spaces that process undisclosed activities and transactions of goods in a gray zone of the planetary nexus. It is implied that enclaves cannot be CI’s since they have a complete level of sovereignty and autonomy, strait economy is specific to a geographic location that does not necessarily comply with all existing CIs and foreign investments are artificial enclaves within the mainland’s territory. Therefore, the conclusion is that the appropriate categories for the CI are the exclave and operational islands.

Since the CI and SEZ are constantly overlapping, there is a need to expand on the difference: SEZ is usually a bounded artificial zone within a larger geographical territory, planned to absorb investments and later dissolve back into the mainland.27 Whereas the CIs are necessarily disconnected by geography and have extensive military infrastructure to sustain its bounded form and division from the surrounding. While all CIs have attributes of the SEZ, not all SEZ’s are CIs.

These can be places of storage for global, local & private capital; a corridor for laundering and reemergence; and nearby shadow extra state activities.

SEZ vs. Continental Islands

SEZ typology: bounded phase - attracts foreign investment

SEZ typology: distributed investments into the mainland

SEZ typology: optimal phase border dissolves, mainland receives investments

SEZ typology: realistic final phase border grows, mainland invests more into the zone
Continental Islands

SEZ vs. Continental Islands

CONTINENTAL ISLADS - attracts foreign investment and mainland private capital

CONTINENTAL ISLADS - attracts undisclosed shadow activities

CONTINENTAL ISLADS - Launder and transports people, currency, goods
2.5 Continental Islands

AN URBAN ARTIFACT WITH A DISTINCT MORPHOLOGY

Subsequently to the examination of existing CIs, there is a need to define its urban form. The exclave is a constrained space set within the planetary limitless field of infrastructural space. Therefore in order to develop a normative approach towards the design of its spatial form the lineage axis overlays two characteristics of its condition and context: limits and transformation through time. Bounded – Boundless | Enduring, Dynamic & Ephemeral.

The boundless is a framework, which contains new forms of inhabitation that eliminate territories and sets a uniform field of development and prospect. While the extreme edges of the transformation scale present the immaterial atmospheric urbanization of cleared earth (Air architecture - ephemeral) and the monumental installations of parasitical inhabitation on the Alps (Alpine – Enduring), the central axis refers to dynamic fields that accept various adaptable possibilities in the planetary distribution of form (planetary, no-stop city).
The bounded framework contains defined spaces and the architectural object the define them as an internal system of cells. The most enduring formation of the bounded space is the ideal fortified city of Palmanova, a solid frozen form. While Palmanova is both space and boundary, the second level of bounded space is the boundary between the urban and the wilderness as an architectural object (Edge of a city, No-Stop city and Metafort). On the other edge of the time-transformation line located the ephemeral and immaterial Temple Island. Temple Island defines the extreme situation for the category of the constrained Islands with ephemeral programs that must be cleared and regenerated for their existence (Singapore and David’s Island). Finally in the intersection with the dynamic axis the bounded form emerges as a transformative and adaptable space that is able to respond to external forces (the Captive Globe, Extrastatecraft, Time Will Tell and Geopolitical borders).
List of projects from left to right (clockwise):

- Palmanova, Giulio Savorgnan
- Atlantropa, Herman Sorgel
- Metafort, Nicolas Michelin
- Stop City, Pier Vittorio Aureli and Dogma
- Edge of a city, Steven Holl
- Geopolitical Borders, Adrian Lahoud & Samuel Szwarcbord
- Extrastatecraft, Keller Easterling
- Captive Globe, Rem Koolhaas
- Davids Island, Perry Kupler
- Singapore, Rem Koolhaas
- Time will tell - Carlsberg 2008, Maria Mallo, Manuel A Monteserin, Ana Zazo, Alberto Agea
- Temple Island, Michael Webb
- Air Architecture, Yve Klein
- No Stop city, Archizoon
- Planetary Urbanism, Neil Brenner
- Alpine Architecture, Bruno Taut
- Ecumenopolis, Doxiadis, Constantinos A.
Continental Islands

Figure 32.
Normative Axis
3

Ceuta and Gibraltar

1. Background - The Strait of Gibraltar, Ceuta and Gibraltar
2. Regional condition - Geography and Geopolitics

Figure 33:
Engraving by A.C. Poggi 1781
Depicting the British Garrison during the Sortie

References to the Spanish Works, Sec.

1. BRIMA TISTA - the Head Quarters
2. Church Hospital & Stables
3. Great Arsenal of Artilly
4. The Town of Newgate

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Figure 34.
The strait of Gibraltar
3.1 Ceuta and Gibraltar

BACKGROUND

The Strait of Gibraltar

The Strait of Gibraltar has an intrinsic value of motion that sustained various geopolitical and perceptual transformations. While the Strait of Gibraltar remained in its predominant role through human history, the iconic state of its monumental components have changed. The iconic Pillars of Hercules are the small and mountainous peninsulas of Ceuta and Gibraltar, which are located on both sides on the strait in Africa and Europe, respectively.

It was always a contestant space the Strait of Gibraltar, the cities in its shores Ceuta, Gibraltar, Tangier, etc. changed a number of rulers during the last two millenniums: from the Phoenicians, Byzantine, Muslim, Visigoth, Spanish, British, Moroccan to lastly NATO.


Today, the Strait of Gibraltar is intensively active in the East-West direction as a main transportation route of commodity, data, people and fauna. Moreover, approx. 120,000 vessels cross the strait annually; five international underwater data cables transport hundreds of Gbps of data daily and thousands of maritime species. Ceuta and Gibraltar are located on the edges of this constant flow, oscillating between the suspended (always open) East-West gates and the North-South fortresses.
Morocco by Phoenicians -950BC
Gibraltar by Phoenicians -660BC-600BC
Ceuta first settled -500BC -50BC
Roman empire -460BC -390BC
Iberia
Islamic conquest -711AD
Islamic conquest of Iberia
Time Line - the Strait of Gibraltar

1. French protectorate on Morocco
2. Spanish protectorate on Morocco
3. Moorish Castle
4. End of Muslim rule
5. Conquered Duke of Medina Sidonia
6. Captured by British Empire
7. Ceded by British Empire
8. Ceded to Spain
9. Ceded to the French
10. British occupation
11. Spanish occupation
12. Spanish protectorate
13. End of British occupation
14. New constitution
15. Spanish autonomy
16. End of status
17. New constitution

Figure 35.
The following diagram presents the inquiry into the migrational character of the Strait of Gibraltar intend to identify the dominant axis of movement through the strait in the new planetary geographical notion of Earth. Furthermore this examination acknowledge the Strait as an operational stratified environment that is no longer an aperture to the edge but a node in a wider nexus of motions. The representation is divided to two columns (Pillars) of migration East to West and North to South.

The layers are arranged according to elevation from the lowest to the highest:

- Terrain, The strait cuts the Betic fault between Europe and Africa. Its geological formation prescribe the direction of flows in the Mediterranean Sea, with the persistent Camarinal Sill.
- Consequently the water flow east on the southern end and west on the northern.
- The area is rich in fisheries and under Sea Spices, resulting in another subject of dispute between Morocco, Spain and Gibraltar.
- Within the same space the underwater data cables reside, five cables from Australia to Colombia and two of them have direct connection to Gibraltar.
- Twenty two ferries cross the strait daily from Spain to Ceuta and Morocco, moving approximately 100,000 passengers and 180 freight vessels cross the strait west to east.
- Surrounded by reservoirs and wetlands the strait is an active migration route for birds.
The Levanter wind is a unique phenomenon during the summer months.
**Fish - Migration routes**

- **Atlantic bluefin Tuna**
- **Marine Turtles**

In the central Mediterranean, the loggerhead turtle breeds and migrates to western Atlantic, numbers a few thousand individuals.

**Data - Under water cable**

- **Europe India Gateway (EIG)**: 3.84 Tbps, 15,000 km
- **FLAG Europe-Asia (FEA)**: 10 Gbps, 20,000 km
- **Atlas Offshore**: 120 Gbps, 15,000 km
- **SeaMeWe-3**: 960 Gbps, 3,000 km
- **Columbus-III**: 40 Gbps, 3,000 km

**Ships | Boats**

- **Ferry**
  - MSC "Turris Jet": 772 passengers + 153 cars
  - MSC "Oceania Jet": 1,155 passengers + 185 cars
- **Tangier Express**: 1000 passengers + 1,200 cars

**Freight vessels**

- **November**: 360 ships a day
- **December**: 12,200 ships a day
- **January**: 7,200 ships a day

**People**

- **Travel data**
  - Sub-Saharan Africans and North Africa
  - Tourists and visitors

**Birds**

- **Red Knot**
  - Travelling 30,000 km from its Arctic breeding grounds to South Africa

- **Black Kite** (Milvus migrans)
  - Travelling from South Africa to northern Europe and Asia
  - Most of movement southward is through Strait of Gibraltar

- **Ortolan Bunting**
  - Autumn migration from northern Europe to Mali and Guinea through Iberian Peninsula (30 day stop)
  - Spring migration, 8 days stop in Morocco or Spain

**Air traffic**

- **International traffic**
  - From western Africa and Canary Islands to Western Europe
  - Morocco to Europe

- **Internal traffic**
  - UK: mainland
  - Tangier and Tetouan to Casablanca, Morocco

**Wind**

- **Mediterranean winds**
  - Poniente wind
  - Seirocco wind
  - Levanter wind

- **Levant wind**
  - At the western exit of the wind can be at Gdei May to October
  - 60-74 km/h
Tourists annually:
- Gibraltar by land: 50,000
- Ceuta by sea: 30,000
- Morocco: 4,000,000

Red Kite migration along the East Atlantic flyway:
- 6 subspecies: 600,000

Black Kite migration:
- 40,000 spring 2009 and 80,000 autumn 2008
- February - March; early October
- Most migrate across the strait during southerly winds

Gibraltar Airport: UK and Tangier
Tangier Airport: Casablanca and Al Hoceima, Internal Morocco

Journeying area:
- Sweden: May - August
- South Sahara - West Africa: October - April

Wind conditions:
- Vendaal wind: W to E
- Strong blueey wind, follows the Levant, November 10 to April
- Poniente wind: NW to SE
- Hot, clear and dry weather
- Stress wind: SE to NW
- Dry air from the Sahara, peak in March and April

The straits force

Max of 50,000 passengers per day for each direction
Gibraltar, British overseas territory with the population of 32,000 is no longer serves as a major military base for the UK (since 1991) and no longer supported financially by it. In the past it functioned as a tax haven and a 'Western' business center for companies operating in Africa. Today approximately to 25% of Gibraltar's GDP is from the online gaming industry. After the establishment of the local constitution in 2006, Gibraltar started legitimizing its economy through income tax, tax information exchange agreements and in 2011 tax treaties.

Its condition of partial independence debated recently in the discussion between Spain and the UK on the sovereignty of the territory. The territory is on the UN's list of territories to be decolonized and as such its inhabitants have the veto power to decide on their sovereign future. Consequently the residents voted for sustaining the ambiguity. Gibraltar's area is 7sq km with the minimal population growth of 0.3%.

In 1462 the Duke of Medina Sidonia concurred Gibraltar on his way to Portuguese Ceuta, shortly after he resettled the city with new diverse population of 4,350. The peninsula was occupied by the British military from Spain at 1704, and grew and developed as an important military base for the MOD. It was officially ceded to the UK on 1713 with the signing on the Utrecht treaty. The military base for the MOD protected the strategic location during the war over the rock against the Spanish in the 18th century and later on as an important assembly point for the Alleys convoy during WW2. During WW2 Gibraltar's residents were evacuated from the city until 1951. After the war and during the years of UN's decolonization agenda a civilian movement
Figure 36.

Gibraltar

Source: Google Earth
among Gibraltarians started a call for emancipation and self-governance. Leading to the constraining of power from the British governor of Gibraltar and expanding control for local council.

The Spanish opposed the strive for independence as it was against the Utrecht Treaty, which resulted with the Gibraltarians referendum at 1967, in which they voted to stay with the UK and lead to worsening of the territorial dispute with Spain. As a result Spain closed the land border with Gibraltar and disconnected the communication lines, a siege that continue for fifteen years. This extreme situation created the need for self-sufficiency and drove the development of the unique local identity of the Gibraltarians. At 1985 the border officially opened and Margaret Thatcher decided to decrease the military involvement on the Island and the financial investment. Since 1988 Gibraltar seized to receive any funding from the British government (except from military and defense for the decreasing MOD bases) and developed as a self-sufficient economy. First as a tax haven and more recently as a center for online gambling companies and a bridge for technological companies willing to register and operate in Europe. Using its geopolitical situation as an advantage, on the one hand access to European and British market and on the other hand short and easy bureaucratic processes resulting the size and partial autonomy.
UK last battalion left 1991
Size 7 km²
Population 30,000
Population growth 0.3%
GDP Growth 7.8% annual change (2012)
GDP sector: Agriculture 0%, Industry 0%, services 100%
(2008 est.)
Density 4,328/km²

Figure 37.
Rosia Steps, Gibraltar
Ceuta is thickening its walls towards Morocco in order to prevent passage of refugees and immigrants to the EU since it Spain joined the Schengen agreement in 1991. In 1995 in order to stop migration from Africa the city and the EU erected double six-meter high fence. In 1995 the Spanish government assigned the Autonomic status of Ceuta. The specific implications of this new status are in regard to the regional association of the city. If previously Ceuta with its bureaucratic and municipal administration was assigned to the region of Andalusia and Cadiz, under this new definition it is its own region. Despite the autonomous status the city receives one of the highest welfare support in Spain.34

The city is more than a transportation hub, its economy relying on visitors from Europe entering Morocco and a commodity market for material flows in both directions. Additionally, the special duty-free taxation (since 1868) has created a large black market. The flows are informal and do not presence in the official GDP data and employment of most of its 85,000 residents. The most significant employer and economic force are the military and the governmental services. Until 2001 the city was a significant military base for new recruits in the obligatory military system of Spain. Furthermore, before the 2008 fiscal crisis the city was a hub for seasonal migration to Andalusia’s agricultural zones and a tool for consensual colonialism35 in the discussion between Morocco and Spain about the future of this territory.

Ceuta was ceded to Spain in 1669 after being under control of the Portuguese. At 186836 Moroccan visitors were allowed to reside in the city. After the establishment of the Spanish protectorate and expansion of Spanish control to
Tétouan, a wave of migration started towards the city, the population grew from 13,000 residents at the beginning of the 20th century to 50,000 in 1930. Some of these migrants were Moroccan establishing the future Muslim community. Some of these Moroccan migrants, approximately 15,000 people, received Spanish nationality in 1985, until that moment they were not allowed to purchase land in the city.

One of the neighborhoods that best express this historical development is, El Principe37. With 90% unemployment, most of the current residents are Muslims from Moroccan origin, has no Spanish citizenship and therefore have limited civilian rights. Officially the neighborhood houses 12,000 residents but it’s possible the real number with illegal immigrants and refugees it’s even 20,000. Due to the informality of the neighborhood it has no social or public infrastructure. In the beginning of 1980 most of the Christian population left to social housing (1978 constitution change regarding housing Spain), and the neighborhood was neglected by the government and became a drug trafficking center.
Spanish since 1669
Morocco – Protetoral abolished 1956
Size 18.5km²
Population 85,000
Population growth 0.6%  |  Spain -0.2%
GDP Growth -1.2% annual change (Spain 2013)

Considering the intensity of the Strait of Gibraltar and the recent growth and development of the two neighboring port cities: Algeciras and Tangier. The present state of the cities as described and presented by the data of population and GDP growth, it can be conjectured that both peninsulas are operating as infrastructural spaces for transport of goods, capita, people and a territorial geo political currency. While in some cases the local governments are attempting to develop their economic and civic agendas, their mainland is concentrated on the military and defense aspect. Consequently both Ceuta and Gibraltar linger between stagnation and stability in a marginal area of the global geographic perception.
3.2 Ceuta and Gibraltar

REGIONAL CONDITION - GEOGRAPHY AND GEOPOLITICS

The geographic and territorial space

In the long and documented history of the Mediterranean the strait of Gibraltar had a role in the definition of the edge and aperture to the west. The various empires in control of the territory depicted their limits in graphic documents, eager to leave an eternal trace of their greatness for future generations and form a territorial perception for their subjects.

The territory and perception of the geographical space exists only in its image as created by the empire as Jean Baudrillard describes in his text “The precession of simulacra”38. Baudrillard defines the “Hyperreal” as the replication of the territory without its context, a new reality that endures while the ephemeral present fades into thin air. Consequently, periodical maps of the Mediterranean constructed this world and reality in which the Strait of Gibraltar and the Pillars of Hercules move on this imaginary surface and reorganize the context and themselves. Moreover the action of projecting reality in a perspective that cannot

be seen with the human eye distances the boundaries and mythologizes the symbols depicted. In his book "Apollo's eye: A cartographic genealogy of the earth in the western imagination", Denis Cosgrove defines this view as Apollo's eye, the gaze of the gods (Cosgrove 2001). Furthermore he emphasized how knowledge and the projected “cartographic representation” expand and change the limits of the perceived empire.

In fact, the embedded characteristic as passage and gate of the Strait of Gibraltar was established through geography and drawn in maps during the last millennia. From the western edge and periphery of the Roman Empire which was represented by a linear road between both edges to the T/O maps that placed it in the bottom as the end on the world and the opposite to the Eden above. Subsequently, expansion of the geographic space westwards reestablished the Pillars of Hercules as passage to a destination and not the final exit to the wilderness. As Cosgrove mentions the initial mythology of the Pillar of Hercules was “‘Non Plus Ultra” – a warning that there is nothing further beyond, it was the gate that separated the Mediterranean from the Ocean Sea. The change in geographic perception in the 15th century resulted in the change and appropriation of that phrase to "Plus Ultra" as the new Spanish motto by Charles V. Indeed the pillars are no longer the fortified limit but the point of inception for the journey further beyond.
Continental Islands

Figure 39:
Blue Marble. 1972
By NASA

Tabula Peutingeriana, copy of a map of the Roman public way from the 3rd-5th century by monk Colmar in the 13th century.

al-Idrisi’s world map, 1154 AD

al-Idrisi, the Tabula Rogeriana for Roger II of Sicily in 1154

Portolan chart by Albino de Canepa 1489

8th-century map of Iberia, Kingdom of Spain under James II
Figure 40:
Atlantropa by Herman Sörgel

Source: http://jill-hazel.blogspot.com/2006/08/atlantropa-europe-africa.html
Continental Islands

Resulting the new added value of a passage the geopolitical space bounding the Strait started to aggregate and to change its meaning the fortifications are no longer stopping the passage but monitoring it and as history advances the passage was stripped of its duties and change the direction of the gate from East-West to North-South. In the contemporary planetary geographical notion of “Spaceship Earth” it is necessary to acknowledge the Strait as an operational stratified environment that is no longer an aperture to the edge but a node in a wider nexus of motions.

The view of the earth one system invites the reading of it as an archipelago, however it creates the situation as suggested by Marc Shell “to see the world as one archipelago, then, is also to see only one archipelago in the world”.42 Within the extent of this one archipelago, utopian proposals for the bridging of the strait started to foster. For example, Atlantropa, Herman Sörgel’s proposal for the construction of a dam in the Strait and the draining of the Mediterranean Sea in order to produce electricity and cultivation space. These proposals eliminate the Mediterranean from its frontier state and strip down from its inherited “liquid continent” state of political fluidity and diversity. Moreover they reduce the mythological essence of the Strait to its physical formation of a geological neck.

41. Ibid. p.13
Colonial and post-colonial context

While both Ceuta and Gibraltar are located within the perceived boundaries of their geographic empire, they are remote and disconnected from their controlling mainland. Gibraltar was officially ceded to the British Empire in 1713, its autonomy established by a new constitution as British overseas territory in 2006. While it is still listed on the UN’s list of territories to be decolonized its citizens vote to stay under the British rule in all previous sovereignty discussions. Ceuta was ceded to Spain at 1668 and Morocco had French and Spanish protectorate until 1956. Spain and Morocco still have interdependent relations on various levels of service, infrastructure and military assistance. Moreover Ceuta used as a territorial currency for different Spanish projects and investments in Morocco as a type of consensual colonialism. The demography in Ceuta is projected to change; today Moroccan Muslims are 50% of its population and will be the majority by 2020 and even with their mixed identity they prefer to stay under the Spanish rule for economic and geopolitical reasons. As Cosgrove illuminated the notion of Europe as a continent relies only on its historical geographical definition and its limits at the east are not clear. Therefore its definition as a continent on appose to other land formations of the same size is a tool in its imperial construction of the ‘Eurocolonial world’.47

Is Ceuta, the small peninsula distanced only by 23km from the Europe’s mainland a colony or the part of the mainland? This question is important because it emphasizes


the dialectic relation between local and cultural nationality in connection to the mainland and the lack of fear of cultural absorption from the larger and nearby nations. The inhabitants of Ceuta and Gibraltar are excepting and proud with their mainland nationality. Furthermore the cultures on Ceuta and Gibraltar are intertwines with their neighboring nations and are not threatened by them.

As “Fortress Europe” the reinforced border of Ceuta defines the hard boundary of the Schengen area, the inherited spatial continuity between the cultures on both sides of the borders endured in different patterns. Ceuta became one of the Icons for the fortification of Europe against immigration waves. During 2005 increase in entry attempts resulted in reinforcement of the “securitization apparatus”. Moroccan military units assisted it the process of securitization.

Ceuta and Gibraltar are both geographically defined and geopolitically ambiguous territories, their post-colonial condition created their urban form that synthesized all surrounding cultural influences. In this context of bounded territory Kenneth Frampton refers to Heidegger’s critique of ‘universal placelessness’ in his essay about critical regionalism. For Heidegger true being can only exist in a defined space. But how can it happen in the non-geologically defined Europe? Perhaps Ceuta and Gibraltar with their bounded nature are the fortress of Europe, they are not a post-colonial remnant but the essence of the current ‘Eurocolonial world’?

48. Ibid. P.32
50. Ibid.
The military post as the fragile monument

The ideal fortified city of Palmanova, a solid frozen form that is both space and boundary designed by the military architect Giulio Savorgnan. Similarly before Ceuta and Gibraltar became cities and ambiguous geopolitical territories they were established as military posts and forts: at first in order to protect the passage and later to defend their own land. However the relation between both Ceuta and Gibraltar is not dialectic as opposite posts (only in the European context) they are a dualist projection that mirrors their mainland and its geopolitical disputes.

Over two centuries Gibraltar was the target of intensive military campaigns, sieges and diplomatic manipulations. The process of defending and constructing Gibraltar as a fort and a military post was the means and the end. Stones and aggregates dug out of the Rock of Gibraltar for the defense tunnels became an addition to the solid ground of the peninsula. While through two hundred years of fighting over the Rock the greater end was controlling the strait, this utilitarian process of defense transformed ‘in order to’ to ‘for

Figure 41.
7th Rosia Battery beach, Gibraltar
the sake of” as Hanna Arendt wrote.

Even though Ceuta did not experience the same turmoil Gibraltar had during those years, for the last 50 years it was used as a transition point for agricultural workers from Morocco. Most of this movement stopped after a governmental decision to bring workers from Eastern Europe and the fiscal crisis of 2008. This flow merged with massive immigration and passage piracy, which led to the extent fortification of Ceuta’s land boundary.

Could it be that the marginality of the enclaves in contemporary times is a result of their utilitarian role? Once the control over the strait was transferred to NATO and there is no longer need to fight over it or to defend Gibraltar – there is no more meaning to it as Arendt defined “utility established as meaning generates meaningless”.

In the attempts to reestablish the threat on Gibraltar heard from several political voices in the UK, with the decrease in British involvement and MOD activity in Gibraltar. One of these attempts is to push the US to acknowledge in the necessity of strong and technologically advanced military base in Gibraltar. Luke Coffey argues that there is an increasing threat from North Africa, and the US has to insist on retaining the sovereignty over Gibraltar in British hands, since it is it’s closes ally and uses the navy base frequently.

Another approach can be the idea of both Ceuta and Gibraltar as icons – the Pillars. Are they the monuments of a nation or maybe a disappearing empire of the Eurocolonial world? In her book “Fragile Monument: On Conservation and Modernity” Arrhenius establishes the framework for the creation of national monument. She states there is


interdependency between the destruction and rescue of the object, once the monument loses its utilitarian role it must be threatened in order to receive the memory value. Since nor Gibraltar or Ceuta have not been assigned with a new national memorial value in relation to their mainland or continent, are they destined to fade into insignificance?

Today NATO controls the strait of Gibraltar today, the border of Ceuta is shaped by the Schengen agreement and the EU slowly adopted the Mediterranean. Hence, what the association of Ceuta & Gibraltar should be? Is it their mainland or a greater geopolitical power such as the EU? In these cases this double association and specifically the marginality can be a driver for opportunism and claims of sovereignty.
The Urban Form

1. Urban Historic Analysis - Gibraltar and Ceuta
2. The Case of Ceuta - Urban analysis
3. The Case of Ceuta - Urban Design proposal

Figure 42: Map of Ceuta. 1850. Part of Francisco Coello’s “Poseiciones De Africa” - Maps of colonial settlements in Africa

Source: https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/39681?view=print
Figure 43: Gibraltar, view to the west (Algeciras).
Moorish Castle and new development on reclaimed land.
Figure 44:
Ceuta view to the west.
Military Barrack reused as university.
4.1 The Urban Form

URBAN HISTORIC ANALYSIS
GIBRALTAR AND CEUTA

Urban Historic Analysis - Gibraltar and Ceuta

This urban and historic analysis and mapping of Ceuta and Gibraltar will illuminate the dialectic relations between the military and the civic and the way it is rendered in the morphology. Due to their strategic location both Ceuta and Gibraltar are active military posts and have been throughout most of their history. The military constructed the cities and infrastructure and still controls the planning mechanisms. Thus the embedded mechanisms of urban development and design within both territories can appropriate opportunism and resolve the civic marginality.
Gibraltar historic development

On the relics of the Moorish city and the Spanish city in 1704 the peninsula was developed as an important military base for the MOD by the British. It served as protection for the strategic location during the war over the rock against the Spanish in the 18th century and later on during WW2.

During the 1960’s the decolonization agenda was common in the UN and among old imperial forces. Thus the Gibraltarians started an operation towards sovereignty and independence. Since no clause in the Utrecht Treaty suggested the option of emancipation the Spanish opposed to the move and after the referendum in 1967 Spain closed the land border and disconnected the communication lines. These fifteen years of isolation left the residents traumatized until today. In 1985 the border officially opened and Margaret Thatcher decided to decrease the amount of involvement in Gibraltar. The city almost did not grew outside the walls until WW2 and until 1985 the MOD was the owner of most of the available land on the CI. Consequently for every development project the MOD had to give land to the local council, resulting in land deficit. The local council initiated a new land reclamation project with Scandinavian companies and investors. In order to create a land bank, ever since most of the new urban development in the city was on that land. Most of this development was incremental and opportunistic, therefore there is no organizing urban structure.
Due to years of siege and harsh relationship with the neighboring Spain, Gibraltar and to become self-sufficient. Therefore it has a unique sea-water sewage system, water reservoirs within the rock, and electricity generating water desalination plants. Today in order to follow EU environmental regulation the city has to renew its infrastructure and progress towards clean energy and complete energetic self-sufficiency.

Among the vast amount of unused military infrastructure, Gibraltar re-appropriated some of it for lucrative economic usages and additional lands for various development is exchanged with the MOD or reused in the old city. There is one new project of land reclamation at the east with recycling of old construction debris.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politic and economic forces timeline</th>
<th>British occupation 1704</th>
<th>WWII evacuation 1940-1951</th>
<th>Referendum + Spanish close border 1969-1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban transformation</td>
<td>new ruler within old city walls</td>
<td>civilian infrastructure reused for military use</td>
<td>disconnected enclave</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban transformation</td>
<td>Scandinavian land reclamation project 2000</td>
<td>Reuse of WWII tunnels for Data Center 2003</td>
<td>Master Plan reuse land reclamation 2009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mechanism that define Gibraltar's urban fabric are economic Opportunism and land exchange. Gibraltar utilizes its geopolitical situation as an advantage, on the one hand access to European and British market and registration and on the other hand short and easy bureaucratic processes resulting the size and partial autonomy of the city. The city form is dynamic due to the need to reuse military infrastructure, for each needed program there is a negotiation process for the land. For example, the city built a university building in Europa point in the southern edge, because it had the opportunity. Despite the fact that there is no university, professors or students.
The most fascinating thing about the 2009 master plan\textsuperscript{57} of the city is how fast everything drawn in the plan and beyond was built. As a territory in it steps for legitimate economy the city is in the search for spaces that can accommodate diverse economic activities from small industries, workshops to storage for large scale data centers. Moreover the city is determent to make the land access easier as the 26,000 daily visitors go in through the land. For that reason they are planning to connect the main road with a tunnel to the border crossing in order to eliminate the airport traffic jams.

Since the structure and size of the average household changed, there is a need to provide a new range of public housing. Therefore most of the residential project constructed are public housing projects and reorganization of the interiors in the old city buildings.

Figure 49.
Economic entrance to the EU
Ceuta

The city center is the walled historic city called in the past Almina. The expansion of the city was unregular, with organizing principles in the periphery. In the west the disordered urban fabric follows topography and historic military roads. Within the limited territory of the city the north western mountains are a natural reservoir and the rest of the development is a range of encampment from permanent military bases to the vernacular neighborhoods of the border.

In mid-17th century the city originated from the fortified center, built on the ruins of previous Portuguese and barber cities on a topographically mild area between mountains and grew eastwards to the establishing farm lands.

Around 1860 the military reinforced its activities in the area and establishes camps on the west side over the canal. The development was similar to the historic roman camp and the ottoman city dispersal outside the walls. Many migrants from morocco came into the city in order to work with the military and were allowed to settle in 1868.

Fortification in the west constructed in order to define the edge and roads to gates were established. As migration increased the population of the city increased by 300% in 30 years. Establishing the need for residential areas outside the walls. The settlements were developed around military camps on Military land and in wooden army shacks. Since the migrant residents were not nationalized they could not buy land and acquire housing temporal the informal neighborhoods developed without organization and public infrastructure.
Public housing construction resumed 2,011
Spain canceled mandatory military service 2,001
Autonomic city status 1,995
Construction of Schengen borders 1,991
15,000 Moroccans obtained Spanish nationality 1,986
Spanish constitution - public housing 1,978
Population of 50,000 residents 1,930
Population of 13,000 residents 1,900
Moroccans allowed to reside in the city 1,868
Camps outside the walls 1,860
Ceded to Spain 1,668
End of Muslim rule 1,415
Islamic conquest of Iberia 711
Ceuta first settled -500BC
Figure 51.
Ceuta urban plan 1770

Figure 52.
Ceuta urban plan 1860
Legend

- Fortification
- Roads
- Structures
  - Military and Governmental land for development
  - Military
  - Planned military zone

NATURE RESERVE - EU
The final map shows the urban condition in 2016 with the military bases and military owned land. The darker blue is territory suggested for relocation in the 2008 masterplan — into the red zone (a new military territory according to 2015 in works masterplan).

In Ceuta the masterplans are absurd, either by the time they are approved the issues are no longer relevant or they are produced in order to approve something that is already there. While the 2008 master plan, assigned new residential areas, tourism development locations, relocation of the military bases and connecting roads. The more advanced, not yet approved 2012 version decreased its intervention to minimum by assigning a large expanded territory on the west for the military and smaller infill areas for residential development.

4.2 The Urban Form

THE CASE OF CEUTA - ANALYSIS

Ceuta is a city in economic and social stagnation, it is a place with a complex cultural and social fabric and with high unemployment. Being a cross border territory the city is a gradient of influences, with enclosed insoles of defense. It’s cross border flows and connections between Spain, the EU and Morocco are predating its current condition as Schengen territory, “fortress Europe”. The influences and flows continue to trickle despite the enclosed boundaries and heavy militarization. It is porous and also confined and seeded with enclosed insoles.

The border in Ceuta allows the entrance of Moroccan residents from the Tetouan region into the territory of the city, without special visas as a continuation of historic territorial relations. This condition of special access creates a unique “fracture” in the rigid Schengen fence. The most influenced are by the Moroccan border is the western periphery, with several spaces of intense interaction and synthesis between the influencing nations. The spaces of intense immersion are the hospital, the border market, the main street of the old city and the port.

60. Buoli, Alice. Beyond the border: exploring cross-scalar socio-spatial dynamics of conflict, resistance and encounter at the Ceuta–Morocco border-escapes, Regional Studies, Regional Science. 1:1. 301-309. 2014. DOI:
Figure 56.
Ceuta -
Cross border influences
Continental Islands

Figure 57.
Ceuta - South East view
Existing urban morphology

Historical development created various typologies of encampments, an archipelago of neighborhoods from ordered and controlled to disordered and vernacular. The morphology follows two types of camps the permanent and temporary when the permanent is the solid military infrastructure and public housing and the temporary encampments are the vernacular neighborhoods.

The military base is a walled territory, separated from its surrounding, with the barrack typology structuring the building complexes. The barracks inside the camp, can be organized in a variety of forms.

The public housing project, it is a compound, a territory connected by limited number of entrances to a main road. Within the irregular form of the designated zone, the module defining the housing is organized in multiple sequences. Therefore morphological point of view, the difference between the public housing project and the military base is merely the wall.

The historic city grid, is another form of confined urban morphology. Defined by the exterior walls and roads, the grid is an extremely dense urban fabric, comprised of various 18th century condominiums.

The contemporary vernacular grid, is the neighborhood constructed after the influx in population. Despite the
organized morphology, the module is not coherent and be any type of housing and there are no consistent public spaces.

The vernacular neighborhood, is the temporary encampment overgrown it’s time frame – dispersing boundless into the valleys, overlooking harsh topography in its expansion.
Continental Islands

Figure 58.
Ceuta - Urban Morphology map
DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
DISCONNECTED
20TH CENTURY PUBLIC HOUSING

COMPOND
ONE UNIT 15MX12M
4 STORIES HIGH
Continental Islands

DENSE URBAN BLOCKS
19-18TH CENTURY
60MX50M

SMALL URBAN BLOCKS
20TH CENTURY
60MX25M
Public Spaces

Most of the public spaces are in the old city center and enclosed by the dense grid. In the Periphery there are sports field and rare enclosed squares within public housing projects.

The streets in the city center are defined and active in the dense fabric, whereas in the periphery the street comply with the topography and traffic and become roads.

There is a continuous promenade along the southern shoreline, developed for access and public use in only some of the beaches. On the northern shoreline most of the waterfront occupied by infrastructure and ports, and the promenade along the old city is elevated and disconnected from the sea by a road.
The socio-economic condition is expressed spatially throughout the city, especially in the western periphery. The areas with the highest numbers of non-citizens - above 10% of population (migrants from Morocco and small number of refugees from South Sahara) are the southwestern neighborhoods by the border and the small informal neighborhood on the topography of the walled city.

The areas with the highest risk of poverty are most of the western periphery and the small informal section of the walled city. The risk of poverty is consistent with certain communities and neighborhoods, in 2012 the number of people increased by 10% to the number of 28,369 residents. This spatial division between center and periphery are strong indicators of social exclusion. The difference in numbers between these areas and the center is extreme – in the center it is 17% and the periphery it is between 37%-71%. The risk of poverty is greater among the Arab-Muslim households and is approximately 60% of population, whereas in the European-Christian community it is 13.5%. 20% of households in the city have someone unemployed, thus the governmental welfare system provides to 78% of the city’s households an average amount of €526.
Figure 60.
Economic data

- High percentage of people in situation of poverty
- Home ownership percentage
- High foreign residents percentage

The risk of poverty for households:
- Moroccan origin: 68% - 69%
- European-Spanish: 53% - 64%

Members per household:
- In Costa: 3.58
- In Spain: 2.86

Figure 61.
El Principe - neighborhood by the border
Homeownership - 67.4% of the households are owned by their residents, it is lower than the national Spanish parentage (73.56%). The same spatial segregation between center and periphery can be seen here as well, in the center homeownership is 85% and in the periphery it is reduced to 54.1%.

The City Economy

Among the 84,963 (2014) residents of the city 32% are unemployed and 41.05% are younger than 36. 90% of the city’s GDP is from services when 50.34% out of it is public service (national - 17.13%). The most curious data is the amount of registered companies, which 92.5% of them have less than 5 employees or none and 41% of companies in the service sector (90% of total) providing domestic and household services. From the economic statistics of the city it can be conjured that the city is a service city – with emphasize on public, municipal and governmental services. The statistical data illuminate the condition the city is in, it is a governmental and military post that serves itself and have
Continental Islands

- Population: 84,963 (0.3%)
- Local GDP: 90.06% Services
- Registered Companies: 3,748 (4.43%)
- SPANISH GDP: 0.14% of Spanish GDP 2014
- SPAIN UNEMPLOYMENT: 26.9% (2015-2016)
- Highest % of unemployment in whole of Spain: 30.43% Under 30
- 67.71% Man of unemployed
- 41% Household work employers of domestic staff
- 40.01% Under 6 employees
- 52.49% No employees
- 20% Trade, hotels, restaurants, transport, storage companies
- 21.02% Under 15
- 50.34% Public Services
- 4.01% Construction
- 4.01% Industry
not utilize the cross boundary position as part of its 'official' economy. Moreover, while it does not produce anything it also does not contribute any operational services in the planetary scale and fails to fulfill its CI and operational landscape potential. In the most simplistic and illustrative description of it - Ceuta is a gate with its supporting services that consumes welfare and support from the mainland. The statistical data illuminate the condition the city is in, it is a governmental and military post that serves itself and have not utilize the cross boundary position as part of its 'official' economy.

Informal transactional flows

Flows of good and people from both direction cross the western periphery of the city between the entrance to Morocco and the port to the EU. These operational flows\(^{63}\) are informal as a result from the specific tax and customs regulations, therefore they have little influence of official data. The illegality of the trade flows troubles the Moroccan authority and simply overlooked by the Spanish. However as an important part of the regional economy the Moroccan authorities choose to overlook it in order to avoid hurting the weak community of the north. In a more constructed and gradual way of treatment the Moroccan government plans to reconstruct and invest in the regional economy.

The visa exemption\(^{64}\) for the residents of Tetouan was integrated into the Schengen agreement, with the condition that passports will be checked upon travel to the rest of the EU. This step was made due to the understanding that “the
consolidation of a cross border labor market is fundamental indicator of territorial continuity within the border region.”
Around 25,000 daily commuters from Morocco enter the city for work, most are employed in household work (cleaning and construction).

In the border structure the Biutz Bridge connects directly to the Tarajal trade area to Morocco. This bridge is the porous boundary that allows the permeability of the border. Goods and products purchased in the trade area, can be transported back through the bridge on the merchant’s body without tax. Consequently this informal trade can accumulate up to €6 million each daily.

65. Ibid.
7,164 Refugees annual crossing
(Ceuta and Mellila 2015)

25,000 Moroccan citizens
enter daily to work

6 Million € cross border
flow of goods a day (2013)

Morocco

Tarajal trade area

Hospital
1,134,214 tons of goods is 80% of annual goods from Spain to Ceuta flow to Morocco - and 12% of the city’s traffic (2005)
Figure 64.
Gates
The gates

The vectors of flow are connecting between the three gates of the city, from the rigid border with Morocco to the open entrance into the walled city. The roads connecting the gates emphasize the similarities of the city to the Roman camp and its components: Decumanus and Cardo.

While the south eastern connector is the existing transportation route, the design proposal adds the north western visual connector between EU and Morocco. It is a theoretical connection established to intertwine the impoverished neighborhoods of the western periphery with the flows and the city center.
4.3 The Urban Form

THE CASE OF CEUTA - URBAN DESIGN

Section through the visual connector path

The vector will sustain a sequence of public spaces to bridge the social gaps and to provide formalized infrastructure for the informal flows. In order to accommodate the topography - the sequence is a series of nodes connected to the main road systems.

In the framework of the encampment typology, the proposed intervention is a dynamic field diffused in the archipelagos and structured around permanent elements (public spaces). The sequence of public activities constructed within enclosed voids in order to provide a defined space in the messy urban fabric. This framework is the center for the CIs transactions.
Site selection

Although the system can expand across the field, three specific sites are proposed for design interventions at the intersections of intensive transactional flows. The northern two are operating military bases planned to move into the new zone (2008 masterplan – see appendix), and the southern is an area with informal structures and a public housing development for the residents of el Principe.
Figure 67.
The main sites for intervention
Three basic concepts for intervention

The new urban morphology is based on three historically embedded ideas in the latent military form of Ceuta: The camp, The Market (Bursa) and The Barrack.

The camp appears in the city in its permanent and temporary state. The military camp is the permanent infrastructure. The temporary encampment is filling the extent of the urbanizeble territory around the permanent objects. Both camp categories are operating within the fabric defined by the gate connecting vectors, roads and topography.

The Market frames the typology for the public space and the sequence. The optimal example is the Turkish city, Bursa. Bursa was a service city for Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire, with high cultural complexity and an active central market area. The commercial essence of the historic typology stages the void and its sequence as an economic urban infrastructure. Thus the form of the void, inspired by Bursa’s Khan, represents the cultural and programmatic diversity – it defines the public space – a political space, regardless of the disordered surroundings.

The proposal combines the market, a significant element in the Arabic city, with the Spanish colonial military infrastructure. And expresses the conflict between the rigid boundaries and the penetrating transactional streams.
The Camp
Military

Figure 68.
Timgad, Algeria
Roman camp

Temporary

Figure 69.
El Príncipe, Ceuta
Temporal encampment
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Khan & Market complex

Bursa, Turkey

Figure 70.
City nuclei - economic center

Barracks

Cuartel del Rebellin, Ceuta

Figure 71.
Historic inner city barrack
The Barrack is the form is constructed in the field. This development within the field can be generic and flexible based on the existing typology of the barracks. Hence various combinations of the barrack can form the layers of the field, resonating the streets and public spaces. The barrack module is a formal definition of volume, a functionless skin that operates in rhythm with the public space and economic flows.

More over the barrack is a dynamic and temporary typology and can be structured of a number of open floors and serve various functions from housing to administration, storage etc. Within this simple technological solution to a historical structure from the essence of the CI typology embedded the particularities of the surrounding and ways of use.

Program flexibility – of the barrack

This module ought to be flexible and generic to be occupied by any type of program, which is necessary for the affecting economic forces and public activities. The module of 40*9m can have the following programs: residential, commercial, administration, education etc. Each combination will have a completing public space.

Infill principles

The system of voids and public spaces works in tandem with the surrounding and responds to the existing edges.

Residential – the void will serve as a public space with an open ground floor towards the neighborhood.
Walled compound – the new structure will be a double active layer to the wall.

Main route – the void will expand towards the line and will create pockets of activities.

Topography – the form will transform in combination with topography, to a leveled structure accessible from all ends.
COMMERCIAL

Restaurants and Bars
300 People
3 business per a floor
Per restaurant 120m2

Shops
12 Shops
Minimum size per shop 12m2

Market
12m2 shops
Storage, booths and carts

EDUCATION

Community center
Various class rooms and spaces
(library, computers etc.)
300 People per a floor
Class size - 45m2

School
Various class rooms and spaces
(library, computers etc.)
4 Class rooms
Class size - 45m2

Sport - playground

Food

Parking
Design proposal

The first phase of the proposal provide edges to the streets, and bound the spaces along the public sequence. Each of these spaces will have an accessible connection to the existing neighborhoods. In place of the military bases the central spine will be constructed and the rest of the space will be reused with some of the existing infrastructure.

In order to proceed to phase two the defined spaces and surrounding structures will resonate the existing streets and axes. As a result a collection of spaces and street will be able to accommodate a diverse combination of programs.

The full sequence of spaces contains the same basic programmatic elements for each site. These spaces and programs serve the residential neighborhoods with public facilities and add a CI program for the transactional space according to their location. Moreover the liner flow of the sequence contains various activities in diverse scales. By defining each space as a platonic form this new intervention will be able to operate as a whole in its initial phase as in the final.
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Figure 72. First phase
Total built area: 24,940m²
Total built area: 8 floors
one courtyard floor: 2,400m²

Conference Center: 2,750m² (complete building)

Retail and office: 500m²
Exhibits: 500m²
Scape: 120m²
Display: 100m²

Total: 1,400m²
Parking: 400m²
Community + education: 150m²

Figure 73.
Second phase
Figure 74.
The full sequence of spaces
Southern area

This site is the one closest to the border with Morocco, it is located in the intersection between the informal flows and local Moroccan communities. In the bounds of this site, the first phase will provide an active street front for the public housing project, combine it with three layers of public spaces and bridge the topographic gap. Additionally the form of each structure will readjust to the topography and the environment of the site. The three public space are a community space for the locals, market square aligned with the main road from the hospital and an internal public events space. The spaces around the public space will be occupied by the following functions: workshops, classrooms, playground, Cafés, market and public events. Serving the diverse social structure.

Figure 75.
Southern area, view from road to Morocco
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Figure 76.
Southern area

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Figure 77.
Southern area with active program
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Community public Space

Market

Figure 78.
Southern area
Public event space
Continental Islands

Figure 79. Southern area
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Figure 80.
Southern area - view to upper communal space
Figure 81.
Southern area - view to lower event space
Figure 82.
Southern area - section through the possible residential and touristic area
5 The Future Scenario

1. Frontier Attributes
2. Geopolitical Forces Operating in the Area
3. Relationship between forces and CIs
4. Regional Scenario Proposal

Figure 83: Strait of Gibraltar. nautical map 1762
5.1 Future Scenario

**FRONTIER ATTRIBUTES**

Three geographic conditions interact within the continental island: **cross boundary territory, the sea and national margins.** The overlap of all three conditions is a fundamental attribute of the CI.

While the cross boundary territory is confined to the inconsonant space between national interactions, the CI is the terrain between the incongruent lines of the sea and a neighboring nation. In fact the CI is a spatial expression of cross border exchange and culture. “The border” characterized by the motion that runs through it; this economic motion is driven by military presence, local services, small-scale goods transportation and legally ambiguous transactions. The space of the CI absorbs that motion and expands the territory of inception for the journey to the other side. Indeed the constant exchange and activities inhabiting the cross border territory are accumulated on the CI and creating a new cultural, religious and social hybrid. On the national level the divide evokes the necessity to protect it with a military force
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- an action that attracts the establishment of vast supporting administrative services. For the CI the enhanced military infrastructure allows the loosening of national regulations, which enables a civilian informal transactions system. Thus all layers of inhabitation on the territory are operational and consequential to the geopolitical condition.

The second condition - the sea is the true hinterland of the CI, surrounding the enclave with shifting and contested political space. Certainly, the sea in its geographical context and as a metaphor for socio-political conditions allows the better understanding of the CI’s operational function. In the metaphorical sense the sea “works in tandem as a regulatory device” as the local population of the CI is in a state of struggle - trying to resist and respond to the effects of territorial and economic changes accruing in the sea. The unofficial maritime territory bounded as the nation’s margins by UN’s law of the sea, which expends the margins and appropriates the sea as the frontier. In fact the condensed national object separated by those temperamental waters is a monument to the margins of the nation. This monument is an ‘Ephemeral Island’; a flexible social institution that emerges from the sea of homogeneous practices surrounding it.

Finally the margins area constructing element of territory, which by defining the bounded space they enable true being to occur and to create resilient architecture. Europe as a continent relies only on its historical geographical definition as its limits due east - are not clear. Therefore its definition as a continent on appose to other land formations of the same size was a tool in its imperial construction of the ‘Eurocolonial world’. Nowadays, the EU expands and redefines its edges

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69. Ibid. P64


Figure 84.
Gibraltar, View to north east

Figure 85.
Gibraltar, View to La Línea de la Concepción

Figure 86.
Gibraltar
Figure 87. Ceuta port

Figure 88. Ceuta waterfront

Figure 89. Ceuta, road to Morocco
and margins by various policies and economic agreements. Europe as a center forms in relation to its marginal nations and the way these nations sees the center. In the pursuit for relations with the center the margins depend on their ability to communicate an identity (and alter it if necessary) that coincide with elements in the European identity and values. With that said those margins have a certain amount of power over their center, embedded in the center's need for the binary definition. Moreover the power over the center, the margins possess, results from the ability to structure or join a new center or claim for autonomy.
5.2 Future Scenario

GEOPOLITICAL FORCES OPERATING IN THE AREA

Recognizing the importance of the margins, the European Union (EU) established special relationships with its margins and southern periphery by initiating the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (1995 - EMP) and the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). Moreover, the Mediterranean Sea was inserted in the process of EU’s expansion and questioned the role the southern Mediterranean nations have in relation to this geopolitical center. The application of this partnership with southern and eastern Mediterranean was a challenge for the EU due to questions of loyalty and local national values. In this context, one of the first steps of the union was the Rome treaty (1957 - EEC) defining the idea of Europe in an ambiguous way and open for interpretation, however when in 1987 Morocco applied for the EEC it was rejected for not being European. Despite the rejection, Morocco continues to benefit from its marginal position by participating in other initiatives and interaction derived from the ‘association’ section in the treaty.

Both Gibraltar and Ceuta are margins framing the western Mediterranean edge of the EU geographically and

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75. Pace, Michelle. *The Politics of Regional Identity: Meddling with the Mediterranean*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 200

76. Ibid. p. 162. “According to 2001 data, the then EU-15 share of Moroccan exports amounted to 72.4%.”
geopolitically. This marginal position is also formed by the geopolitical state of dependency on a remote nation – 'mainland'. Gibraltar is constrained by the 1713 Utrecht treaty, which assigned the control over the peninsula to the UK. Spain, Gibraltar’s previous ruler, never seize searching for opportunities to regain sovereignty over it. In 2002 the UK discussed joint sovereignty with Spain over Gibraltar, however the Gibraltarians voted against it. The other possibilities discussed were integration with the mainland (Gibraltar is still in UN list of territories awaiting to be decolonized) 39% voted for it. As a British overseas territory - Gibraltar is a special member state territory of the EU: it is part of the EEC under the UK, it is not part of the Schengen

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territory and exempt from the EU customs, agricultural policy and VAT. While Ceuta is a Spanish territory since the 17th century, the city’s extensive border construction started in 1995 after Spain joined the Schengen agreement. During the years before the Schengen borders, Ceuta had intensive cross border relations with its surrounding. Consequently there is a large Moroccan and Muslim community in the city, which forecasted to change the demographic equilibrium and be the majority of the city by 2020. Despite the demographic change and cultural association to Morocco the residents of Ceuta prefer it to remain under Spanish sovereignty and not Moroccan.


5.3 Future Scenario

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FORCES AND CIS

Nowadays Gibraltar and Ceuta are in the center of two geopolitical controversies. The first is the UK Brexit referendum\(^{80}\), scheduled for June 2016 to decide whether the UK will stay in the EU. Consequently some members of the Spanish parliament released comments threatening the sovereignty of Gibraltar if the UK will leave the EU\(^{81}\). Disconnecting between Gibraltar and ‘Europe’ may create a challenging economic situation for the peninsula\(^{82}\). Since it's in the process of transformation from an offshore-undisclosed activities economy to a legitimate investment and initiative center that serves as gate for Europe. **In the case of that scenario what will be the possible arrangement that will allow Gibraltar to remain part of EU’s economic agreements, while it’s ‘mainland’ is no longer a part of it?**

The second major political controversy is related to Ceuta: since 2010 there were registered 58 port visits by Russian navy vessels, when 13 of them occurred during 2014\(^{83}\). Ceuta’s port functions as the important logistical point in the western Mediterranean for the Russian Navy, this collaboration has a great contribution to the local economy and often mentioned...
in local media. Spain, being a NATO and an EU member puts those institutions in an uncomfortable political position, since NATO set obvious restrictions on military cooperation with Russia and the EU imposed economic sanctions on it as a result of the Russian invasion into Ukraine. The objectives for Spain’s actions are economic, by accommodating the maritime agreement with Moscow they promise a cash flow to Ceuta and sustaining trade agreements for companies like Repsol, Talgo and Iberdrola. Beyond the absurd situation that Spain houses military bases for two conflicting geopolitical forces (Rota – NATO base in Spain), the question that might be asked is what kind of economic incentive NATO and the EU can offer Spain in order to compensate it over the loss of Russian money in case of agreement abolition with Russia?

For the non-geologically defined Europe the bounded nature of Ceuta and Gibraltar, according to Heidegger and De Certeau, could be the essence of ‘fortress Europe’ of the contemporary EU and not remnants of previous colonies.

5.4 Future Scenario

REGIONAL PROPOSAL

I propose a scenario in which the EU decides to render the marginal essence of Gibraltar and Ceuta and utilize it as the ultimate cross boundary territory; within the framework of continental Europe and its margins - in order to settle the current geopolitical controversies.

The EMP will assign Ceuta as its main administrative center for the Eu-Med partnership. In this marginal location of Europe it will give purpose to the city as a significant post of the Eurocolonial world. In addition it will provide services for mutual initiatives with one of the constant and loyal participant in the partnership – Morocco. Furthermore, the EMP will progress the city to its CI status by defining regulations and incentives for development of lucrative economic opportunities. On the conceptual level this intervention will associate the CI with a new ‘formless’ mainland, the EU, and to a sub-organization that utilizes marginality and remoteness. From the cultural aspect, as part of the greater EU’s purpose to establish similar values.

85. While understanding that there are no possible scenario where Spain’s claim over Gibraltar and Morocco over Ceuta will be answered.

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in its margins it will enable investments in tourism and undisclosed activities in order to enhance accessibility on the Mediterranean south to liberal values.

Gibraltar, which is currently, brands as the technological, industrial and economic gateway to the EU will receive spatial support from its neighboring city La Línea de la Concepción. With the encouragement of the EMP and the EU, the territory of the border between Spain and Gibraltar will be developed as a cross boundary territory for cooperation. Technological initiatives that lack the infrastructure and manufacturing space in Gibraltar will use the designated space in La Linea. This step will provide access of both sides to the airport and to employment.
Possible final phase

The proposed scenario assigns Ceuta as an administrative center for the Euro Mediterranean partnership and a development center for collaborative initiatives with Morocco. Since the program is incremental - in the beginning the newly constructed area will be the EMP administration and the rest will be developed with investments.

The universality of the generic morphology will be able to accommodate various scenarios. In a way the potential fulfillment of the CI is the acceptance of opportunism as driver and a larger geopolitical force as a mainland. Just as it can be the EU-EMP, it can be the competing geo-political territorial organizations that Morocco, Spain and the UK are associated with. It is possible that with the increase in opportunism and internal geopolitical conflicts (NATO-Spain-Russia) the CIs will have to assume a certain higher level of autonomy.

Figure 90. Possible program for Ceuta, with new scenario
Figure 91.
Possible final plan for Ceuta, with new scenario
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6
The CI’s Spatial Manifesto

1. Latent military influence
2. Constructive elements in the CI typology
3. (Critical) Regionalism in a universal typology

Figure 92: Ceuta.
Published by Jan Peeters in ca. 1664
6.1 The CI's Spatial Manifesto

LATENT MILITARY INFLUENCE

As presented in the urban analysis of Ceuta and Gibraltar, it is evident that both CIs have accumulated their urban form through centuries of defense and administrative infrastructure. These influences and interventions are layered and intertwined within the CI's fabric. In his book “The Spirit of Mediterranean Places”, Michel Butor describes Istanbul as a juxtaposition of cities: “Three cities are superimposed on one another, and as one wanders one unravels them, three cities of profoundly different structure, three cities born of three invasions.” 87

The prolonged history is present and manifested across the territory of exclaves, complying with Rossi’s “Theory of permanence” 88. In his manifesto “The Architecture of the City”, Aldo Rossi defines an urban evolution model, as comprised of ‘urban artifacts’ architectural objects of catalyzing nature. “Theory of permanence” is relying on the city as a manmade object, which has to be studied with the knowledge of its history. In this theory, the past is present and experienced within the city – it is persistent in the fabric’s layers, axis of development and attributes – it is permanent. The permenancy is read through the urban artifacts,
which are either the drivers of development or the objects disturbing the fabric of the city.

Within the layers of the CI, the military infrastructure unraveled as the defining spine of its development. Walls with administrative infrastructure bound the previous military post, and surrounding encampments protects it. The civic layers of the city sprout around this infrastructure. While with time this military infrastructure may change function, its formal memory is embedded within the fabric. Inspired by these mechanisms, the new design strategy of the CI inherits these principles and projects them onto a dynamic fabric, which emerges from a series of bounded public spaces, with expansion potential around them. In this strategy the public space represents characteristics similarity to the military infrastructure and evolves into a dynamic system, which follows Aldo Rossi’s reading of the city. Furthermore, drawing from the historical concepts inherited in the CI, Rossi’s theory and the unique social - economic essence of the CI, the proposed urban morphology is structured on the basis of three urban and architectural concepts: field (camp), void (urban artifact and Khan) and module (barracks). Indeed the principles at the base of the new form frame a generic and universal morphology that is suitable for the wide typology of the CI. Consequently, there is a need to propose the necessary elements and attributes that will allow this strategy to be embedded and inspired by the local complexity of each city. This issue will be addressed with Kenneth Frampton’s approach to ‘Critical Regionalism’ at the end of this chapter.
6.2 The Ci’s Spatial Manifesto

CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS IN
THE CI TYPOLOGY

Field as a form of the Camp

Just as the roman military camp developed from an imperial post into a city, so the CI developed from a military post. However the CI’s restricting geography and geopolitical boundaries blocked the process. Moreover the camp as an urban morphology sets a framework for development on a logic of geometric division and distribution of space. Furthermore for the full territory of the CI, this framework allows the future expansion and mergence of new interventions with the existing fabric. Another attribute of the camp is its ephemerality and endurance, a paradox that ought to be expressed through the new morphology. Since the CI is defined as ambiguous.

More specifically, the site of the CI houses a settlement before it is established. The first step of the new colonial force was to redefine the boundaries by a wall in order to embrace its current condition as an extraterritorial space of a remote mainland. The remote military post is assumed as a fortified encampment within the bounded territory of the exclave. With time, the
site appropriates its natural role of a trade and exchange center, motivating the military to expand the infrastructure and camps to the edges of the territory.

Correspondingly to the development of the Roman Castra, where some of them are now great metropolitan areas, the CI grew from a military post into a frontier settlement within its bounded geography and the geopolitical boundary. Consequently, the new urban principles of the CI will define the extent of its urbanizable territory as a camp typology. In the same way as the Decumanus and Cardo roads connect the gates on either side and their echoing trajectories create the grid, the structure of the new CI is a field of insoles following the resonating trajectories of roads and gates.

While enduring, the form of the camp depicts the forces that created it and continue to shape it. Subsequently, the camp typology is not consistent with one pattern. Despite the variety of available forms and programs, the camp has a familiar feeling of temporality. Indeed this familiarity is paradoxical since camps can be ephemeral, enduring and eventually become a unique environment. The space of the camp is multilayered and transitions back and forth from permanence to temporality. This transition occurs at various scales oscillating from the utilization of mobile vessels as permanent residents and to the transformation of military structure to other functions (while preserving their form in the collective memory as an urban artifact). For example, in his extensive study of camps, Hailey illuminates Campo Marzio as a diverse environment - a field of activities, objects and events and within this environment these activities and flows are defining spaces.
Figure 93. Defense infrastructure, base of the CI morphology

Figure 94. Defense infrastructure, base of the CI morphology
Politics as the essence of the camp

The CI is an artificially created “state of exception”\textsuperscript{92}, draws various settlers into the territory of the frontier. In his analysis of the camp’s political condition Agamben argues that the appropriated geography of the camp is physically and legally external to the mainland. According to his theory the camp is the expression of sovereign power, created in this “state of exception” and in which it is realized accordingly. Within that space the laws do not apply and as a result all is possible. This lawlessness allows the “Homo Sacer”\textsuperscript{93} to be viewed as a citizen. Following Agamben’s political and philosophical interpretation of the camp’s nomos, Hailey presents an extensive examination of camps as a typology based on its being a result of “exceptional circumstances of conflict, natural disaster, and marginality with frequency and ever greater facility.”\textsuperscript{94} Although the CI is not a creation of extreme circumstances and disaster it is a “space of exception” artificially imposed by the sovereign power in control of the territory.

The question of autonomy and sovereignty has always been present in the context of the CI’s remoteness from the mainland. This overshadows the permanence of the city and nourishes it with a sense of ephemerality and temporality. Therefore the camp as a basic understanding of the CI space can expose mechanism of control and autonomy. As Hailey expands on the transformation the camp’s module from civil to military in his epilogue “Here autonomy serves the interests of national security, and control exists for the double protection of national leaders...”\textsuperscript{95} He describes a situation in which an object operating in a field characterized by openness transforms into a controlling element.

\textsuperscript{92} Agamben defines the state of exception in the chapter “The camp as the nomos of the modern”, as an extended state of emergency. The territory of the frontier can house both citizens and foreigners and the state of exception. Agamben, Giorgio. Sovereign power and bare life. p. 166-180. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press. 1998.

\textsuperscript{93} Man banned from the roman city.


\textsuperscript{95} Ibid. p. 426
Figure 95.
In fill between clusters or instead of military infrastructure.

Figure 96.
Voids - urban artifacts and local catalyst.
Therefore with the spatial expression the field can be a platform for the allowing for national statuses and gaining autonomy. The territory of the CI controlled as one environment, a frontier to a greater territory. For example, as the European nations signed the Schengen agreement and softened the internal borders it created harder exterior borders and edge encampments, creating what is known as fortress Europe.

Growth patterns

In a similar way to the historical Pax Romana, settlements and camps developed around and within the urban artifact beyond the fortification wall. The CI grew outside the historic walls, using the existing military infrastructure: roads, camps, and barracks. Although the forces leading the growth and development alter, the fabric follows the rules and trajectories set at inception. In his travel accounts, Butor characterize the Citadel of Cordova as a powerful solid that all foreign interventions had to change in proximity or reduce to ornament. Thus the walled area of the CI is the solid, an urban artifact, and the essence of permanence that echoes to the exterior. In the new CI morphology the fabric, that is located beyond the wall, organized around urban artifacts according to the logic of encampments. In a similar way to how Butor depicts Istanbul in his text “without solidifying completely...” the expansion of the city “was made comfortable, but without ever losing their ephemeral feeling.”

The effects of the camp embedded well within the
existing cities and the proposed CI morphology. While the camp and field define the trajectories and geometric armature, the growth method follows Rossi’s inceptive ‘urban artifacts’. In order to preserve the oscillation between ephemerality and permanency, the solid urban artifacts are the permanent objects, while the field that surrounds them captures the flows and affecting forces.

The operational field

The field defining the extent of the possible bounded urbanizable area attracts action. It is comprised of surfaces defined by the trajectories, landscape and urban artifacts. There is no compositional imposition on the form of the field, resulting in operational surfaces and affective framework for a dynamic development. James Corner defines the “field of action” as all surfaces and public spaces in continuous sequence as urban infrastructure. It is an infrastructure for future possibilities and seeds of potential, an environment and a network.

The commercial and communal public space

the Void

Bursa, the Ottoman city and the Khan

As the CI overlays the strategic defensive interests and the active commercial transactions, its urban morphology
Figure 97.
Resonating trajectories

Figure 98.
Operational field
exposes the dualist relation between the physical expression of both forces. While the military infrastructure is solid, stagnant and introverted the lucrative commercial activity penetrates the fabric of the city and draws the civic life into its trajectory. Inspired by these two opposing typologies, one of the integral attributes of the new design strategy is the urban artifact of the contained void. The void is an open public space encapsulated within walls and an open ground floor. Furthermore it resonates the typology of the Ottoman city’s Khan with its containing sequence the Çarşı (Bazaar) and the internal courtyard of the military barrack. Indeed the contradicting forms are integrated into the void, which serves as the main constructing element of the CI’s new urban morphology – the dynamic public space. Moreover the commercial essence of the historic typology stages the void and its sequence as an economic urban infrastructure. Thus a good spatial expression of a morphology based on flows of goods and transactions.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, Bursa (in Turkey today) was a main operational city, defined as ‘service town’ for Istanbul. Since Bursa’s location on the Silk Road evoked the development of an intensive trade center. Notably, the diversity of population passing through the commercial city was high and developed a society with high tolerance to cultural differences and complexity.

The Ottoman city was developed on the bases of previous byzantine city, expanding outside the fortification walls as Pinon describes in his essay. While the walled city was the
residency of military and administration personnel, the city center (market) was built outside the walls establishing a connecting axis to the main trade routes. The nuclei included administration, mosque, madrassa, school, zaviyas, and spice and textile markets. Moreover new Külliyes, monumental royal and bureaucratic complexes, were built outside the walls in uninhabited areas in order to expand the urban development of the city. According to Pinon while this dispersed morphology was typical to the ottoman city it was very rare at the time for other settlements. Despite being described as nonhierarchical and anarchic the structure of the city with its economic and commercial center and residential areas in the periphery.

According to Raymond's research the market, was one of the most consistent and constructing among the divergent geography of Arab cities and its public space still holds an important role in the local civic life. The commercial activity in the central area of the market ranged from money changers to clothes. Despite the disperse nature of some of those cities the central economic district was well connected to the street network. The market areas was stable in economic activity through history resulting from the connection to other major functions such as the great mosque. When the zone expanded it would dissolve into the residential districts.

While Pinon frames the ottoman city as not necessarily the creation of society according to the societies' beliefs, and emphasizes that in most cases people adapt to the city they inherited. Raymond concludes that the urban morphology of the city as it was after the expansion beyond the inherited


walls “...owes much to the organization of the economic life that unfolded there; in certain respects one might say it is the product of this organization.”

Thus the economic system and flows of the operational city inscribe and shape its spatial form. In the case of the CI, the space of economic activity and public life will serve as the expression of a transactional operational landscape. However in appose to the separation of urban functions, economic and residential, and its expression in dispersal - the CI intertwines the various functions as a characteristic of its cultural complexity and cross border hybridity and avoids the dispersal within its condensed and bounded territory.

Voids

The voids as the architectural expression of the Khan can be also tied back to the military infrastructure of the CI through the imperial and administrative functions of the public space of the market center. And while the basis of the CI structure lays the military infrastructure, its artifacts and connections are the spine of the city. The military’s monuments are enclosed structure and spaces, they endure while the city grows in between them and they define the myth and nature of the CI. The voids are the propelling monuments and are the primary elements of the new CI morphology. These monuments are the ‘urban artifacts’ and catalysts of urbanization and spatial transformation. Rossi related to the propelling attributes of the urban artifact as a bound space by stating: “Only the preexisting condition of a closed and stable
form permitted continuity and the production of successive actions and forms." Located within the preexisting urban space, the new monuments and fabric is bounded by the built edges, roads and topography, all combining into a field of coherent urban landscape.

The architectural component of the field

Function and module

When an urban artifact depleted its form remains, this form is a signification for the city and a possibility of a new artifact. The exhausted urban artifact is the myth of the site and the city, as defined by Barthes - the myth is “a signification, a form not an object” 105, waiting to be appropriated by society. This appropriation can be of any function that will sustain the form active. Moreover the typology of the urban artifact is responsive to time, society and function. According to Rossi the complexity of the artifact overcomes any possible programing. “An urban artifact determined by one function only cannot be seen as anything other than an explication of that function.” 106

Since the void is assumed to catch and redirect the trajectories of commerce and transaction passing through the CI. Its surrounding structure is not assigned a specific enduring function, because the dynamic changes in the necessities of the city will prescribe its program. Moreover as for the surrounding possible forms that could fill in the field the new strategy proposes a well-known module from the existing urban morphology of the CI. The dominant military


infrastructure of the CI is expressed in two main architectural forms: the first is the urban block barrack and the second is the composition of barracks within an enclosed wall. Both forms are essentially a composition of the linear open structure, which is the barrack. As a dynamic and temporary typology the barracks can be structured of a number of open floors and serve various functions from the initial soldier housing to administration, storage etc. moreover the barracks can be built of wood as temporary camps or as a masonry enduring military encampment. In his chapter of the camp as an overseas military facility, Hailey describes a situation in which bases of nations in host ally countries considered temporary although they designed and built to sustain up to 75 years.
One example for the block type enduring barrack is the administrative headquarters revellin\textsuperscript{108} in Ceuta. Built at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century to provide accommodation to soldiers, built in place of the Portuguese military residences. This was a unique situation of a military structure embedded in the urban fabric and not as isolated buildings and walls. A French engineer named Balidor suggested this typology, grouping four sections and bounding a courtyard. The complete block is in 150mX75m and the courtyard size is 45mX25m. Alvaro Siza was invited to design a public cultural complex in place of the barrack on 1997. The design follows the urban topography, previous barracks and the fabric of the city. Siza created an internal courtyard penetrated by trajectories of streets and alleys, while the surrounding buildings have opaque facades. Although the architectural style of the complex attracts critique from local residence, this transformation expresses to important points in the CI's new morphology. First the complete transformation of the structure while maintaining the form of the urban artifact is the combination of the interchanging function and solid form. The second is the inversion of the enclosed spaces within the urban artifact from bounded private space to a perforated public space.

Figure 99.
Military Barrack
Administrative barracks
city center Ceuta 1762 - 1982

Figure 100.
The barrack can be arranged in a variety of configurations
6.3 The Ci’s Spatial Manifesto

(CRITICAL) REGIONALISM IN A UNIVERSAL TYPOLOGY

The CI is an archipelago of its cultural influences, a diverse assemblage of architectures divided across its small territory. The mechanism of development and land exchange governed by the military formed this archipelago. For example, in Gibraltar the city is a combination of 16th century Spanish architecture, Moorish fortifications, 19th century British architecture and contemporary housing typologies. It is nearly impossible to define one dominant local cultural, since the CI’s neighboring geographical culture is just another one of the influences and cultural levels assimilated within its genius. The development of the CI is not chronological and historical, it is abrupt and incremental. Therefore, within this complex and stratified cultured framework - how can the proposed CI universal morphology be accommodating for sensitive architecture and urban morphology to a sense of locality and relevant to the geography and environment?

In the essay ‘towards a critical regionalism: six points
for an architecture of resistance"\textsuperscript{110}, Frampton expresses his concern with the affects of technological developments on architecture and urbanism as an expression of culture. He defines 'Critical regionalism' as the negotiation between global influences and elements of locality. The inspiration of locality can be found in light tectonic or topography. Moreover according to Frampton this critical practice had to deconstruct ideas of world culture - avoiding eclecticism, and develop a critique against global civilization – limit technology, a process of “self-conscious synthesis". Furthermore he emphasized the importance of defined and bounded spaces in the scale of the city and the public space. He quotes Heidegger’s\textsuperscript{110} phenomenological need in a bounded space for ‘being’ and Arendt’s "The space of human appearance"\textsuperscript{111} as a political space of expression.

"Arriere garde" is the position Frampton suggest architecture should assume, in between the universal culture and the nostalgic reaction. It is the selective combination between both the global technology and the specificity of the local culture that will yield “a resistant, identity giving culture..."\textsuperscript{112} while he describes the cultural element as a structural component of the design, in the case of the CI morphology – it is the activities that house it. The barrack module is a formal definition of volume, a functionless formless skin that operates in rhythm with the public space and economic flows. Within this simple technological solution to a historical structure from the essence of the CI typology embedded the particularities of the surrounding and ways of use. It can be ornamented in any way the city or residences in proximity will choose, but its locality will derive from the way the local flows create its level of porosity and accessibility.


The situation of the frontier is in between definitions, the CI is a settlement that will never reach to formal placelessness as Frampton describes it, only because it is already bound by geography. However it is in a constant state of placelessness as a result of its geopolitical condition and economic activities. Therefore the topography, geography and environment of the site are the most influential attribute in the localization of the universal morphology. Views within the fabric expose the geography of the site, as in the example of Ceuta there ought to be an understanding of the location between north and south.

The new urban morphology is first and foremost the sequence of public spaces intersecting trajectories of transactions and the daily life of the people in the CI. Consequently it is inseparable from the current condition and the fabric of the existing city. The public spaces are the element that is able to sew together the local culture and environment of the site as James Corner wrote: "Public spaces are firstly the containers of collective memory and desire, and secondly they are the places for geographic and social imagination to extend new relationships and sets of possibility." ¹¹³

Figure 101.
Permanent void adaptable to topography
7 Conclusion

Figure 102: Gibraltar. Engraved by Pannekeur in 1846.
The design for Ceuta

The design proposed in this thesis attempts to combine the formal aesthetics of military structures with the natural growth patterns associated with Ceuta's ecosystem. Allowing the rigid forms to flexibly respond in fragmentation to the changing conditions that would probably arise in the near future. The vision of Ceuta as a CI, is a multi-cultural community capable of capitalizing its unique territorial properties – at the junction between east and west.

I order to develop an enduring and ephemeral urban framework for Ceuta, I had to understand the mechanisms that construct the city. The mechanisms emerged through the process of unraveling the latent layers of the city's form. The design proposed for Ceuta inverts the isolation of the common military artifact and transforms it into a public space that preserves its permanence. Due to the platonic formal expression of the void may seem aggressive and inorganic, it is in fact formed to emphasize the difference between the permanencies of the political space on the background of the dynamic open-ended field, and to allow in its presence to be occupied by transformative trajectories.

From specific to generic

Once the plan was set in place, it was easier to extract the generic concepts of the typo-morphology and to imagine how this space is transformed under various geopolitical scenarios. This typo-morphology in its programmatic core is communal, residential and first and for most devoted to the
local residents. Whereas the open-ended part of the program can alter according to scenarios and flows. Positioning the basic social program as the anchor of the typo-morphology, turns the situation of designing without a concrete program into a manageable mission.

The geopolitical scenario

The proposed scenario is one of many possible; it does not imply of going back to the historic power division between North and South, but rather proposes new opportunities. It exposes the necessity Europe has in the definition of its boundaries in order to sustain its significance and centrality. Moreover it opens up the option for the territory of the CI to take advantage of its certain level of autonomy. In the case of Ceuta, by proposing to make use of the proximity and common ground with Morocco, the scenario empowers Ceuta's Moroccan community as a mediator between the south and north in order to compel the Euro-centric government of Ceuta to look south.

The new morphology

The proposed new urban morphology is a combination of dynamic flows, confining geography and geopolitical framework. The new morphology seeds opportunities across the continental island, which draws in transactional trajectories. Furthermore the thesis envisages the mythological image of the CI, as a cross boundary territory within the context of the global economy and culture. A territory that integrates two or more cultures, accepts the dynamics of the

planetar economic system, and provides it with services that cannot be obtained in the boundaries of recognized nations.

Territorial discourse

This thesis is established in a larger discourse, which attempts to predict and propose the future of urban design with a contemporary understanding of the world as a planetary nexus and the environment as continuous. Indeed the question that remains and keeps rising is - are there still boundaries left? Can a territory be operational and not administrative? How can a territory be redefined without eliminating the human characterization and political elements? Is the “new territorial dimension” can take in account the Lafebvrian social and spatial re-organization of space? Both Picon and Lefebvre leave it to architects and designers to interpret these fluid conditions and decide how to formalize this new geographic paradigm. In that context the model of the CI, is an attempt to do so, as it presents a new understanding of territory. A concept that is able to contain the paradox of rigid and enduring while being porous for transactions.

Furthermore within the search for a new paradigm, the synthesis between all contemporary aspects of geography (social, economic and physical) must be evoked through design. Moreover as Hashim Sarkis argues “Within this scale, the marks of the urban centralities would be diffused and can identify new spatial patterns that transcend the limitations of cosmopolis and help us to imagine a better city world.”
For these reasons, I aspired to illuminate the transition of historic transactional territories into this new geographic context of planetary urbanization and to question the known definitions of sovereignty, nation and city through form.

**Place vs. non-place**

The new morphology created in this thesis is a combination of inherited mechanisms of order and control with the dynamic temporality of transactions and encampments. Despite its placeless association to its frontier state it is definitely a place – a political space of expression – resulting from the phenomenological existence within a bounded space defined by Heidegger\textsuperscript{120}. Moreover if one would insert the territorial CI in Marc Auge’s\textsuperscript{121} deliberation regarding the supermodern non-place, it is necessarily a place since it has the inherited history of the cross boundary territory. More specifically on the comparison between Gibraltar and Ceuta, Gibraltar transformed into an anthropological place once it created its own unique local identity, whereas Ceuta’s identity is still associated with the mainland and it has not gone through the complete process of cultural immersion.

Yet in the discussion regarding the relationship between the territories, emergence and forces I’m still left with the question of dominancy. How influential is the new morphology in incepting change towards the potential fulfillment of the CI? For example, some of Gibraltar’s opportunistic economic acts were placeless. Its function, as tax haven had no physical urban form or impact on that form. A similar question came up in Raymond’s\textsuperscript{122} analysis of


123. It refers to Giorgio Agamben's state of exception in relation to the CIs political space. Agamben defines the state of exception in the chapter "The camp as the nomos of the modern", as an extended state of emergency. The territory of the frontier can house both citizens and foreigners and the state of exception. Agamben, Giorgio. 1998. Sovereign power and bare life. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press. p. 166-180

Bursa, when he deliberated if the economic forces create the form of the city or the form of the city attracts the economic forces? And lastly I would like to pose this important question regarding whether the significant element in this discussion can be reduced to the boundary of the territory? - Although the CI is not a creation of extreme circumstances, it is a "space of exception" artificially imposed by the sovereign power in control of the territory. Thus the spatial and legal exception can be a platform for opportunism and partial autonomy.
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Chapter 2 - Continental Island


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Chapter 3 - Ceuta and Gibraltar - regional context


Chapter 4 – Urban form


Chapter 5 - Future scenario


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Chapter 6 - The Cis Urban morphology


Chapter 7 – Conclusion


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Appendix
Compilation of the planes designated for the zones of the city.

Development plan awaiting approval
2012

Source: http://www.ceuta.es/ceuta/revisi%C3%B3n-y-adaptaci%C3%B3n-del-pgou/aprobaci%C3%B3n-inicial

Ceuta Masterplan 2012
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Ceuta Masterplan 1992
Sections through Northern area

Sections through Southern area