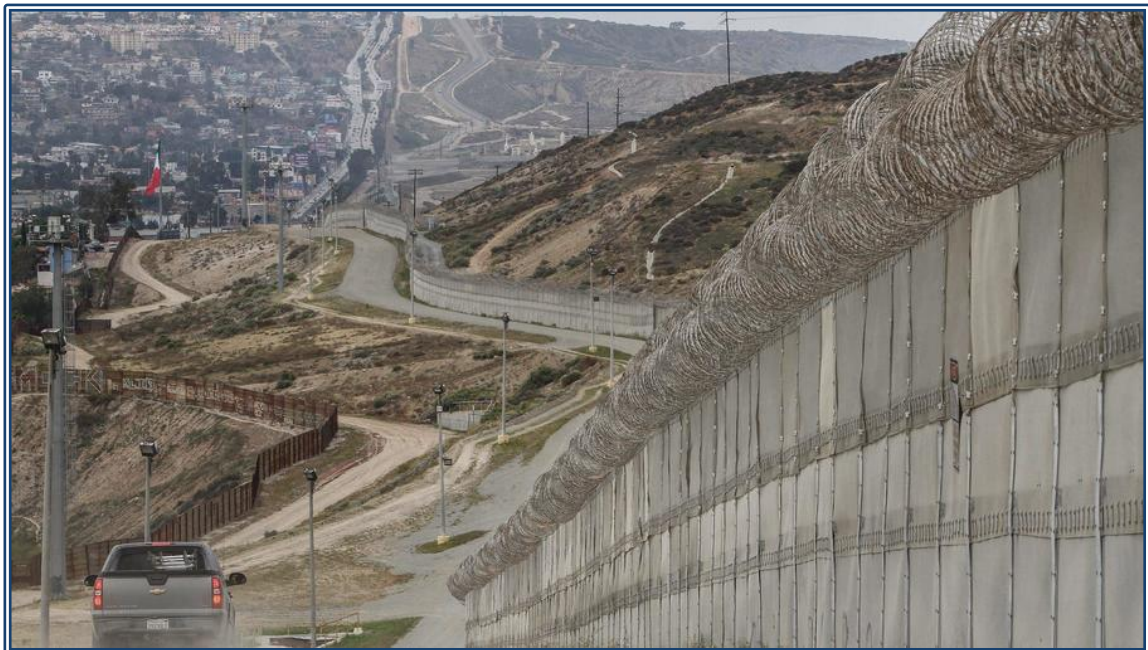




Universiteit  
Leiden

# WALLED FRIENDS?!

THE PECULIAR CO-EXISTENCE OF  
NAFTA AND THE UNITED STATES –  
MEXICO BORDER WALL



## **MASTER THESIS**

*International Relations*

*Faculty of Humanities*

*Leiden University*

Student: Mathilde van Meeuwen

Student number: S1255576

Supervisor: Dr. M. L. Wiesebron

Submission date: March 1, 2017

Word count: 10.951 words

# Table of Contents

---

Table of Contents .....	1
List of abbreviations .....	2
Introduction.....	3
Border walls: for what reason?.....	3
Research question.....	4
Chapter I.....	6
The Building Bricks of a Wall.....	6
The nature of borders and border walls.....	6
Building the bricks of a wall: a literary analysis.....	8
Conclusion.....	11
Chapter II.....	12
Borders and Walls: The Context.....	12
Introduction.....	12
The history of the United States – Mexico border.....	12
The border wall between Mexico and the United States.....	15
Conclusion.....	17
Chapter III.....	18
NAFTA and the border region.....	18
Introduction.....	18
The rise of NAFTA.....	18
NAFTA’s impact on the border region.....	19
NAFTA and the border wall.....	21
Conclusion.....	22
Conclusion.....	24
Appendix.....	27
Bibliography.....	29

*Front page image: A part of the wall separating Mexico, left, and the U.S., right, near San Diego.  
Source: Wechter, B. (2017). AFP. Digital Image.*

# List of abbreviations

---

ABS	Association of Borderland Scholars
BP	Border Patrol
BRIT	Border Regions in Transition
CBP	Customs and Border Protection
CBR	Centres for Cross Border Research
CUSFA	Canada – U.S. Free Trade Agreement
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
IBDP	Integrated Border Development Plan
IBRU	International Boundaries Research Unit
IBWC	International Boundary and Water Commission
NAAEC	North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation
NAALC	North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
U.S.	United States

# Introduction

---

“When do we beat Mexico at the border? They’re laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they’re beating us economically. They are not our friends, believe me. But they are killing us economically. (...) I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I’ll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall. Mark my words” (Trump’s Presidential Announcement Speech 2015). The words of Donald J. Trump, the new President of the United States of America, have become inevitably famous and led to much contest and debates. The anti-establishment and populist tone underlying this statement is remarkable and brings the topic of this thesis to the core centre of actual world politics.

## **Border walls: for what reason?**

Governments are building walls around their countries instead of tearing them down, which seems surprising in this age of globalisation and free trade agreements. Most governments argue that building a wall is an effective tool to protect their homeland. The controversy of a border is that it is not only meant to keep unwanted foreigners out of the country, but it also serves the purpose of keeping the inhabitants within the borders of that country. In this way, borders divide and walls exclude. In today’s world, there are more than thirty border walls and barriers that divide countries and people from one another. One can think of the much-debated border wall between Israel and the West Bank or between Greek Cyprus and Turkish Cyprus. There are also less well-known borders with walls, such as between Malaysia and Thailand, or Botswana and Zimbabwe. Not all of those borders have real walls, some are constructed of barbed wire or other materials. In essence however, all of those obstacles at borders are meant to separate two groups of people. The border between Mexico and the United States is a distinct one in this regard. Every day, around one million people legally cross the border between the two countries, and with forty-eight places to cross this makes the U.S. – Mexico border the busiest border-crossing in the world (Weintraub 2010: 116). There would however be no issues with the border if all border crossings were legal. Nonetheless, the border between Mexico and the United States is particularly characterized by its illegal border crossings. One of the estimates is that “more than half of the estimated 7.3 million Mexican immigrant entries into the United States between 2000 and 2007 were

unauthorized” (Weintraub 2010: 116). Next to that, there is a growing number of illegal immigrants coming from several parts of Central America as well.

There are some intriguing issues with borders around the world. To be clear, it should be said that in most cases, border crossings do not cause any issues as they are fully legal and happen between almost every country. Many people nowadays for instance live in one country and work in another, or they cross the border weekly to visit their family. Therefore, when we talk about issues here, it is about issues caused by anything not legal. In this research, the border therefore is not only the geographical line that divides two countries from each other, it is the actual wall that is central here. The border between Mexico and the United States is much like other borders, even though it is a highly controlled border. What is remarkable however, is the fact that there is a border wall between two befriended countries that aims at preventing illegal border crossings. This situation gives reason for further investigation, which brings us to the research question.

### **Research question**

The field of International Relations is widely characterized as a discipline of and about borders. However, the discipline does not offer a significant problematisation about the concept of the border within the discipline (Chatterjee 2013: 1-2). Moreover, the border wall between Mexico and the United States as the subject of this thesis seems contradictory in light of transboundary trade arrangements. The Border Patrol and surveillance technologies at the border wall have reached unparalleled levels of enforcement during the past years, but at the same time NAFTA also caused unparalleled levels of economic growth and integration within the border region. As said before, the border itself as a geographical line would in general not cause problems for a government, unless there are issues about territory. The border research here however focuses on the wall that is present at this geographical line. This gives reason to further investigate the issue. NAFTA is a trade agreement focusing on the trade of goods, capital and services, and there is no agreement on the free circulation of people across the U.S. – Mexico border. Nevertheless, why would the United States build a wall at the border of a trade partner country? What is the need for a wall, would border control when crossing the border not be sufficient?

There are three main layers when it comes to the border, the border wall and NAFTA that need to be considered for this research and that will be further developed along the course of the thesis. First of all, NAFTA as a typical trade agreement focuses on the trade of capital,

goods and services, and thus does not refer to anything concerning the free circulation of people. Secondly, most border crossings between Mexico and the United States are fully legal through the normal border checkpoints where people enter either Mexico or the United States. Nevertheless, and this is the third layer, there is the wall between Mexico and the United States. This seems to be peculiar, because what would be the need of a wall when there are normal border checkpoints where people can cross? Those three layers outline the foundation of this study. Building on this, the central research question is as follows: To what extent does the United States – Mexico border wall have a negative impact on the working of NAFTA? The underlying question here is: how can one explain that the United States has built a wall at the border with an economic trade partner? The hypothesis in this regard is that there is little impact of the border on the working of NAFTA, because NAFTA as a trade agreement focuses on the free circulation of goods, capital and services, and not on the free circulation of people. Besides, illegal border crossings will not be stopped by a wall, because people always find a way to pass it, for instance by using tunnels or ladders.

This research is structured as follows: the first chapter provides an analysis on the theoretical framework, by focusing on the nature of borders and border walls, the academic debate on borders and border research in international relations. The second chapter sketches the historical context of borders, the U.S.-Mexico border and the border wall between the two countries. Building on this, the third chapter will analyse the case study on the North American Free Trade Agreement and its relation to the U.S. – Mexico border and the border wall. The conclusion reviews the main arguments made in order to articulate an answer to the research question.



*Reichbach, M. . “Pearce: No ISIS Camps across the Border”. Digital Image. NM Political Report. Web. January, 2017.*

# Chapter I

## The Building Bricks of a Wall

---

This chapter will lay out the theoretical foundations necessary for the development of the thesis. In order to do this, firstly the nature of borders and border walls will be discussed, followed by an overview of the existing literature and academic debate on borders. Substantive literature has been written on the concept of borders, from different standpoints and academic backgrounds. In this section several authors and thoughts will be grouped and analysed. The concepts and ideas focus on the very idea of borders and border studies in general, and on the way in which (international relations) scholars perceive borders.

### **The nature of borders and border walls**

In this section, an overview of the nature of borders and border walls will be provided, in order to distinguish between the variety of walls and fences present at borders. Throughout the course of this thesis, several concepts concerning obstacles on borders will be used and analysed. There are countless terms to characterize any type of border, fence, wall, line, strategic defence or fortification, and every author uses a different concept, often to describe the same thing. The difficulty is that unless one is physically being on the ground examining the place, one cannot be completely sure which type of obstacle the place has. The border wall between Mexico and the United States for instance, is made of various materials such as barbed wire, stoned walls and other sorts of man-made obstacles. Besides, there is a virtual fence containing cameras and sensors monitoring all activities along the border.

In essence, the word ‘border’ here refers to the actual existing geographical borderline that separates the two countries from each other. Polanyi noted “what we call land is an element of nature inextricably interwoven with man’s institutions. To isolate it, and form a market out of it was perhaps the weirdest of all undertakings of our ancestors” (Polanyi 1957: 178). According to him, borders were a form of isolation and used for economic purposes by governments (Polanyi 1957: 178). Others have stated that “borders are neither natural nor fixed phenomena; they come and go in response to political and economic transformations” (Fernández-Kelly & Massey 2007: 98). When looking at history, state borders show a diverse pattern during the past decades. Sketching the main events, state borders were “relatively ‘open’ in the era of imperialism before World War I; then relatively ‘closed’ with the growth

of ‘national’ economic ‘self-sufficiency’ and a closer identification of the state, particularly in the inter-war period; and subsequently there was a progressive ‘re-opening’ of borders, and this has become especially marked with the growth of transnationalism or intensified globalization from the 1970s” (Anderson 2001: 3, Anderson and O’Dowd 1999b). While borders are thus universal, when it comes to border walls the situation is more complex.

The term ‘border wall’ in this thesis points towards the wall constructed by the United States between their own country and Mexico. This border wall is the overall description of a series of walls and fences made of divers materials along the U.S. – Mexico border. In general, it is important to make this distinction. Throughout history, different kinds of walls, fences and other barriers have been constructed for various reasons, such as war or to demonstrate a country’s powerful position in the world. As said before, there are many borders in this world that divide countries or populations from each other by a border fence, which is not necessarily a real wall. There are innumerable ways and concepts to describe “man-made security obstacles”, as Sterling typifies any kind of wall, line, border, barrier or defence (2009: 4). Sterling also refers to the historian John Keegan, who outlined three main categories for walls, being refuge, stronghold and strategic defence (Keegan 1993: 139-142). Refuge means a place of “short-term safety”, stronghold to “a place not merely of safety from attack but also of active defence”, and strategic defence, which may be “continuous”, and “never easy to align with natural frontiers and always costly to build and maintain” (Keegan 1993: 139-142). Likewise, Anderson and O’Dowd have noted that walls are built for different reasons. Some walls are built in response to conflict, often internal, civil or ethno-national conflict. This can be within states or within cities. Other walls are established because two different groups are going at each other, such as in Belfast, where Catholic and Protestant groups quarrel among each other. Lastly, there are walls that run along state borders, when two neighbouring states are at stake (Anderson & O’Dowd 1999). As we will see, what makes the border wall between Mexico and the United States unique in this regard, is the fact that it is a wall built between two friends. Though both countries are at stake, there are for instance no quarrels about territory, there is no fighting at the border and the countries are not in a state of war together. The opposite is true, they are economic friends and trade partners. This distinguishes this border wall from others in the world, which will be shown in the next section.

The appendix shows an overview of border walls and border barriers around the world. Border walls in this division refer to walls constructed to separate two areas and/or groups of people/populations, which are made of for instance stones or high steel, and monitored by



cameras and border patrolling. Those walls are mostly not temporarily, whereas border barriers, made of barbed wire or other materials, are easy ways to construct a provisional border barrier. To illustrate this, let us look at two examples. The wall in Cyprus, also known as the Green Line, stretches for 180 kilometres across the country. The wall is constructed of wall segments, barbed wire and watchtowers for instance. It is a demilitarised buffer zone, established in 1964 and patrolled by the United Nations, dividing Cyprus into a Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot region (UNFICYP 2015). The barrier constructed lately between Hungary and Serbia for instance, is more of a provisional barrier to stop the flow of refugees and migrants. Mainly, the difference between barriers and walls is that most of the border barriers listed in the appendix are aimed at preventing the flow of refugees or undocumented migrants, whereas structural walls are often constructed in times of war, or aim at separating two areas on purpose. Taking that into account, the situation at the Mexico-U.S. border still stands out as a unique border wall that is constructed between two befriended countries, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

### **Building the bricks of a wall: a literary analysis**

When focusing on the theoretical debate of borders, it is important to zoom into the way in which borders can be placed in academia. There is a great diversity of scholars from all kinds of disciplines that have been writing about borders, such as geography, sociology, international relations and political science. However, the study of borders has undergone a “major renaissance” (Newman 2006: 144) during the past 25 years, which “may be explained in terms of different historical phases in the shaping of states and territoriality” (Anderson 2001). Various organizations have emerged, such as the Association of Borderland Scholars (ABS) in the United States, the International Boundaries Research Unit (IBRU) in the United Kingdom, several Centres for Cross Border Research all over the world and the Border Regions in Transition (BRIT) network (Newman 2006: 144). Besides, the content of the border research itself has also severely changed during the years, as noted by several authors (Foucher 1991, Paasi 1996 and Newman 1999). Around and after World War II, studies mainly focused on the classic, descriptive study of borders. These studies analysed the political and historical processes behind the border, the process of border allocation and the positioning of the border in the geographic environment (Boggs 1940, Kristoff 1959 and Minghi 1963). This research does not deny these contributions; in fact, it would state that scholars need these researches to build on, because people “always react to lines and borders, by either contesting them, accepting them, draw new ones or find ways to get around them” (Spener and Staudt 1998: 6).

When concentrating on the border research in the field of international relations, it becomes clear that authors are critical about the way in which borders are being perceived and studied in international relations theory. Most research according to Sterling has been focusing on for instance the “offence-defence theory” instead of the walls representing the most defensive structures (Sterling 2009: 3). That is to say, there is a critique towards the lack of theorizing borders and walls, and walls are simply seen as offence or defence. This criticism towards a lack of theorizing borders is also more generally addressed, for instance by Chatterjee (2013). “The fact is that the state is taken for granted by most scholars of international relations, though there is wide difference over its meaning and significance. The point is not whether states remain central in world politics; there is little work that theorizes the boundaries of state, whether weak or strong” (Chatterjee 2013: 2). He calls for a discussion of borders as “conceptions of space” in international relations, as there is currently no agreement in international relations theory on the basics of borders (Chatterjee 2013: 2). Building on research by Bajpai, Chatterjee develops this by defining borders as “geo-strategic references perceiving them as lines of conflict arising from the distribution of power and the patterns of enmity and amity” (Bajpai 1995: 31-32, Chatterjee 2013: 2-3). This brings him to the question why international relations scholars do not theorize whether boundaries of states are weak or strong, and why borders are viewed as theatres of operations of the past, present and future (Chatterjee 2013: 3). This thus comes back to the argument that there is a lack of theorizing borders and border walls.

Jones is another author that writes critically about international relations scholars and their state-centric view on borders. In 1995, Jones argued that the international society approach of the International Relations discipline takes state boundaries to be the primary determinants of international political space, and therefore it focuses on states, their borders and the norm of non-intervention (Jones 1995: 225). This is now seen as a traditional approach, as humanitarian intervention should be placed in broader framework, rejecting state-centric international society approaches and incorporating both state and non-state actors in the analysis (Jones 1995: 225-226). Similarly, Newman provides a detailed and comprehensive overview on the studies of borders by for instance geographers, sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists and international lawyers (Newman 2006: 144). The conclusion is that it is impossible to create one single theory of borders. For geographers for instance, the traditional boundary was understood as a physical and visible line of separation. “Only more recently have we began to understand that it is the bordering process, rather than the border per se, which

affects our lives on a daily basis” (Newman 2006: 144, Newman & Paasi 1998). For Newman, it is important to focus on the common ground for all scholars of border research, by focusing on both the relevance of physical and territorial case study boundaries, as well as the more abstract ideas and concepts brought forward by the non-geographic disciplines (Newman 2006: 144), which also is the theoretical layer of this research. During the past years, globalization theory has been advocating a ‘borderless’ and ‘deterritorialised’ world (Kuper 2004, Caney 2005). This bold statement is difficult to maintain. Undoubtedly, it is not possible to imagine a world without borders, and even the most convinced globalization purist would acknowledge that the basic order of society requires categories, and that borders create order (Newman 2006: 143, Albert et al. 2001, van Houtum & van Naerssen 2002).

The debate on border walls and fences around the world can be characterized by discussions on the rationale behind their existence or disputes around the border. Border disputes frequently appear when two opposing powers battle for their own interests, as “great powers have often defined borders by the imperatives of national power, or by understanding space as power” (Chatterjee 2013: 3). In several cases, the solution for two countries can be to build a wall by means of protection, security or other political reasons. As Chaichian argues in his book on ‘Empires and Walls’, the construction of protective walls “is as old as the history of settled human populations” (2013: 1). Walls are constructed not only for defence, but also to control the flow of people, or as an “indication of the presence of social inequalities” (Chaichian 2013: 1). As one of the authors states, “the one thing all these walls have in common is that their main function is theatre” (Di Cintio 2013). That is to say, walls do not provide real security, but they try to provide a sense of security to people, or even the opposite, when people do not feel safe at all by the existence of a wall. Possibly, they also provide a sense of fear to those opting to cross the border wall, but, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, given the data of people crossing for instance the U.S.-Mexico border, this does not seem to be very successful. Moreover, history has shown that a wall does not prevent people from entering a country, because there are countless other ways to cross borders. The wall did not stop the 9/11 terrorists from entering the United States. Hence, a wall mostly functions as a theatre, trying to provide a sense of security without being a real deterrence. Therefore, “erecting walls on one hand signifies power and the ability of those who build them to dominate, but at the same time represents the builder’s insecurity and fear of the other” (Marcuse 1994: 43). Marcuse in that sense tried to make sense of border walls, both physical and conceptual, and exactly points at

the focus of this thesis, that building a wall is ambiguous because it both signifies power and powerlessness (Marcuse 1994).

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this chapter has given a theoretical overview on borders, border studies, and border walls. The remainder of the thesis will build on this and take the more specific aspects of the study and the three layers indicated in the introduction into account. The next chapter will present the historical context of borders in general, and specifically of the United States – Mexico border wall.

# Chapter II

## Borders and Walls: The Context

---

### Introduction

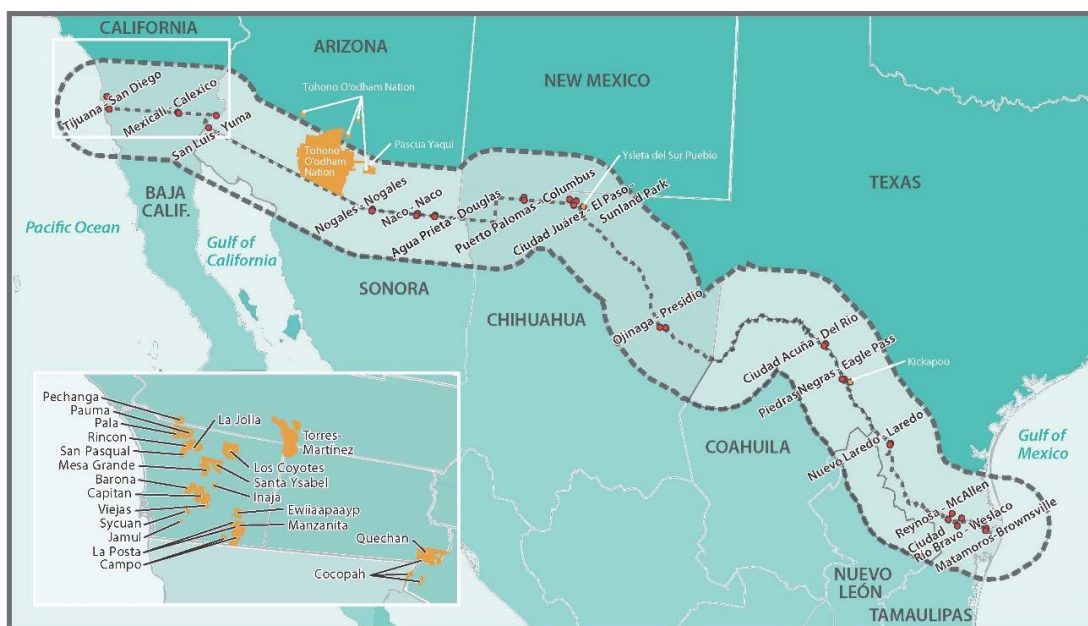
Around the second half of the twentieth century, the value of walls, barriers or other boundaries at borders between countries can be characterized by a “general disdain”, because the “improved precision and destructiveness of weapons as well as the enhanced mobility of militaries appeared to render physical works obsolete” (Sterling 2009). “No modern country can surround itself with a wall”, as one of Israel’s military heroes Yigal Allon stated in 1950 (qtd. in Yaniv 1987: 17). It is roughly a couple of decades later however, that a wide range of countries have been surrounding themselves with a diversity of physical barriers, including Allon’s Israel, and for instance Afghanistan, India, Saudi Arabia and Thailand (Sterling 2009: 1, Donaldson 2005). Still, the border wall between Mexico and the United States is a distinct one, because there is no war or clash between the two countries. This chapter will shortly discuss the historical context of the border between Mexico and the United States by focusing on the main historical events concerning the border. The second part will be dedicated to the border wall between the U.S. and Mexico, by reviewing how the wall evolved during the years and which main actors are involved.

### The history of the United States – Mexico border

When looking at the geographical line or border dividing Mexico and the United States, it is important to keep in mind that this borderline has been changing several times during the years. According to Sepúlveda, the history of the border between Mexico and the United States is fascinating and has a long historical record. “En realidad el problema puede centrarse alrededor de la Luisiana, porque esta vasta provincia, constante causa de discordias, agudizó el apetito de agrandamiento territorial del pueblo sajón de América del norte” (Sepúlveda 1976: 11). Sepúlveda traces the history of the border back to the ending of the “Guerra de Siete Años (1756-1763), also known as the French and Indian War, when the Treaty of Paris (1763) divided the countries and territories (Sepúlveda 1976: 12). Mexico however, was only born after the Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821) when the country became independent from the Spanish occupiers. There have been border disputes with the United States since Mexico became independent from the Spanish occupiers in 1821.

Since 1824, the landscape of countries has changed significantly, and the natural border between Mexico and the United States is now estimated at a total length of 3,201 kilometres, running from the Gulf of Mexico, following the Rio Grande, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, El Paso, Texas, New Mexico and all the way to the west via the Colorado River Delta, Arizona, via the main cities of El Paso, Nogales, San Diego, Tijuana, to California and Baja California, finally reaching the Pacific Ocean (see figure 3). Because of its length, the U.S.-Mexico borderlands cannot be disciplined with one way of knowing: their map cannot be drawn from any single vantage point” (Spener and Staudt 1998: 24-25). The U.S. – Mexico border is “a bottleneck”, made up by four American states (Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas) and six Mexican states (Baja California Norte, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Sonora and Tamaulipas) (Weintraub 2010: 117). Many disputes about the border concerned the area of the Rio Grande or Río Bravo del Norte. In 1889, the International Boundary and Water Commission (IBWC) was established by Mexico and the United States. The international body has to determine the location of the natural boundary between the two countries, also when meandering rivers cause changes in the landscape and thus in the border between Mexico and the United States. The IBWC is composed of both a Mexican and American section (Convention on Water Boundary 1889). In 1970, Boundary Treaty between Mexico and the United States tried to settle all pending disputes and ambiguity around this part of border. Figure 3 shows the actual border region and border cities between Mexico and the United States.

### U.S.-Mexico Border Region – Región Fronteriza México-Estados Unidos



U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Digital Image. Web. January 2017.

Currently, the U.S. – Mexico border is the most frequently crossed controlled international border in the world, with approximately 350 million legal crossings each year (Golson 2008: 75) and around one million legal crossings each day (Weintraub 2010: 116). Most of them are Mexican workers with so-called ‘green cards’, which function by means of a visa and allow them to enter the U.S. to work there. The estimates of illegal crossings are diverse, but when it comes to Mexican immigrant entries, the estimate is that around “half of the entries into the United States between 2000 and 2007 were unauthorized” (Weintraub 2010: 116). In addition, there is an increasing number of people from other countries – primarily Central America - illegally entering the United States, which goes beyond the scope of this research, but would be interesting for further analysis as well.

During the years, the border has primarily been the interest of the United States. Mexico had to relinquish several parts of what formerly belonged to Mexico, but is United States nowadays. Examples of this are shown when looking at Spanish-named cities such as Las Vegas, Los Angeles and Albuquerque. According to Sterling, a “growing sense of vulnerability has prompted considerable interest in strategic defences in the United States” (Sterling 2009: 2), the primary reason being the threat of international terrorists. The recent political, military, economic and social challenges have been elevating those perceptions of vulnerability, for instance illegal immigration, drug trafficking, ballistic missiles and terrorist attacks (Sterling 2009: 2). “Whether through solid physical structures or virtual walls employing detection sensors, proponents have touted barriers’ potential to control population and material flows along the approximately two-thousand-mile border with Mexico” (Sterling 2009: 2). When analysing this standpoint of the United States, it appears somewhat peculiar to fight terrorism and other threats by controlling the two-thousand-mile border with Mexico. Why would the United States focus on the border with Mexico while the real threat comes from international terrorists? Above all, the border functions as a paradox of a “gateway to economic opportunity” on the one hand, and as “a barrier that creates and maintains unequal power relations” on the other hand (Chacón 2010). When looking at the movement of people and capital, there is a difference for Mexicans and Americans. “For American capitalists, investors, tourists and retirees, the border provides access. For Mexicans moving north, the border imposes exclusion” (Chacón 2010). This imbalance at the border “offers portable sovereignty to the American and the stigma of illegality to the Mexican when each crosses the border” (Chacón 2010). The border wall in that sense even furthers that stigma, by segregating all those who pass the border,

while the economic cooperation between the countries aims at eliminating barriers. In order to gain more insight in this, let us focus on the border wall in the next section.

### **The border wall between Mexico and the United States**

According to the CBP, there are three types of border walls or fences (Maril 2011: 56). “Primary fencing is constructed directly on the borderline to discourage individuals, pedestrians, from crossing into the United States. Secondary fencing is constructed behind primary fencing. Finally, the third kind of fencing is vehicle-barrier fencing” (Maril 2011: 56). The first type of fence accounts for around 90 percent of the total fencing line along the U.S.-Mexico border. The secondary fencing exists in both the San Diego and El Paso area, and between the first and second fence there is a road for the U.S. agents to patrol the area by car (Maril 2011: 56). For the third fencing, the vehicle-barrier fence, two types exist, permanent vehicle barriers and temporary vehicle barriers, with its main goals to combat drug traffickers traveling across the border (Maril 2011: 56). Accordingly, how did these three types of border walls evolve and develop during the years?

Following the historical events, the establishment of the border wall brings us back to 1991. After the end of the Cold War in 1991, “a ten-foot-high wall extending seven miles along the Chula Vista – Tijuana border” (Weintraub 2010: 128) was erected following the instructions of the government. The U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) was made responsible for the organization and patrolling at the border wall, envisioned to “control the borders of the United States between the ports of entry, restoring our Nation’s confidence in the integrity of the border. A well-managed border will enhance national security and safeguard our immigration heritage” (Strategic Plan 1995). In 1992, the Integrated Border Development Plan (IBDP), under the Clinton administration, is established by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the Mexican secretariat of urban development and ecology (Weintraub 2010: 128). This is because the border region is rich of natural resources and the environment was one of the main issues from the side of Mexico for the building of the wall. In September 1993, Operation Hold-the-Line or Blockade is enforced by the United States, to “curb the flow of undocumented immigrants in the El Paso, Texas area” (Weintraub 2010: 128). Successful as it was according to the U.S. Customs and Border Protection, this operation was followed up by other areas on the border, such as Operation Gatekeeper in San Diego and Operation Safeguard in Nogales (Maril 2011: 94). For the purpose of this thesis, it is interesting to note that “while the compelling forces of regional integration yearn to make two parts whole, the



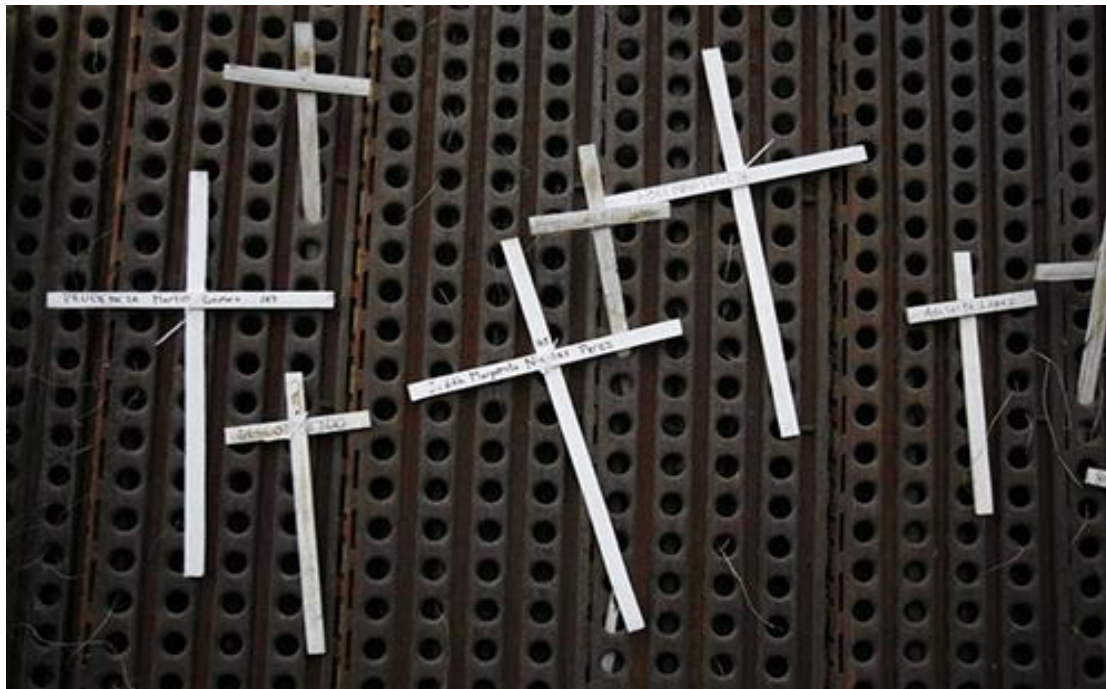
border wall forces them apart” (Chacón 2010). Put differently: the wall between the U.S. and Mexico was partly built before the establishment of NAFTA in 1994, but Operation Gatekeeper and Safeguard for instance were conducted at the very same time as the construction of NAFTA.

It should be clear that the establishment and justification of the U.S.-Mexico border wall belongs to the United States. Mexico never opted for the wall; neither does it have any patrolling agents at the border area. For the United States, the border wall was based upon three politically convenient principles: the threat of international terrorists, the control of undocumented workers crossing the border and stemming the flow of illegal drugs (Maril 2011: 283). In essence then, the border fence was nothing less than a new immigration policy for the United States, though the United States would never state that (Maril 2011: 283). There is more critique towards the major role of the United States in this border wall issue. Nevins for instance has described the role of the United States on the border issues as a “gatekeeper state”, referring to ‘Operation Gatekeeper’ established on October 1, 1994 (Nevins 2002: 2). The enforcement was established to reduce unauthorized migrant crossing of the U.S.-Mexico boundary into southern California. As a strategy, Operation Gatekeeper is a “territorial denial” or “prevention through deterrence” strategy, attempting to thwart migrants from entering the United States (Nevins 2002: 2). In order to do so, the Border Patrol was employed, together with the increased use of surveillance technologies and support infrastructure. As Nevins argues, the gatekeeper state “delivers extraterritorial opportunities for national territory-based capital (thus intensifying the process of globalization) while, somewhat paradoxically, providing security against the perceived social costs unleashed by globalization” (Nevins 2002: 178).

Summed up, the role of the United States and the rationalization behind the border fence is paradoxical. Even more so, because the real situation at the border wall does not reflect the intentions and rationalisation of the United States concerning the establishment of the wall. Stopping migrants with the creation of a border wall has not proven to be successful, as people always find another way to cross borders, for example by *coyotes*, smugglers that escort migrants in crossing the border, for instance by building tunnels to get around the border patrol. There are many cases in which this illegal border crossing leads to migrant deaths in the desert of the border region. Nevertheless, successful cases once and again stimulate others in crossing the border illegally, be it at high risk and costs.

## Conclusion

When coming to a conclusion for this chapter, its main aim was to provide an overview of the historical context of borders and the border wall. The first part of the chapter discussed the history of the geographical border between Mexico and the United States, and the second section further built on this by focusing on the border wall at the boundary. Being a U.S. problem, the border fence was initiated and controlled by the Customs and Border Protection and other institutions from the U.S., mainly driven by the goal to prevent illegal migration, drug trafficking and to provide a sense of security. Nevertheless, until today this has not proven to be very successful, as many Mexicans and others still find their way to illegally enter the United States. In order to find an answer how this situation at the border may or may not cause problems for the working of NAFTA, the next chapter will assess the case study on NAFTA.



*Crosses at the border wall between Mexico and the U.S. representing migrants who died crossing the desert. Source: Meneghini, A./AP, The Guardian, 19 November 2013.*

# Chapter III

## NAFTA and the border region

---

### Introduction

One of the key questions being discussed in this thesis is why Mexico and the United States would cooperate economically by means of NAFTA, while at the same time curbing people to cross borders. Why is there free circulation of capital, goods and services, but not of people, especially Mexican people? Why are the border checkpoints between the two countries not sufficient for crossing borders? How is it possible that the United States strives for economic integration with Mexico while at the same time building a border wall that politically and socially segregates the two countries? To find an answer to these questions, this chapter will analyse the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In doing so, we will focus on the formation of the agreement, on NAFTA and the U.S. – Mexico border region and on the relation between NAFTA and the border wall. In this, the aim is to analyse this paradoxical relation between economic versus political and social issues.

### The rise of NAFTA

The negotiations for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) started in the 1990s and came into effect on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January of 1994. NAFTA was the largest free trade region in the world at that time, consisting of the three North American countries; the United States, Canada and Mexico. The main goal was to generate economic growth, to increase jobs, and helping to raise the overall standard of living for the population of all three member countries. Moreover, NAFTA aims at eliminating “tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade; and providing preferential treatment to North American products so as to fare better against the unified European competition” (Vega 2000: 139). In other words, NAFTA’s function was to create a free trade zone between the three North American countries. Soon after its existence, two supplemental agreements were added to NAFTA, being the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC) and the North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation (NAALC).

The negotiations for NAFTA started in 1992, and the combination of the economic power of the United States, alongside with the vast resources of Canada were of considerable importance. The incorporation of Mexico made the agreement even more unique, as it was the

first case of a developing country joining an agreement with developed states on a fully equal basis (Floudas and Rojas 2000: 372). In order to achieve an integrated market for goods and services, the countries decided to expand on the pre-existing GATT obligations, the results of the Uruguay Round and the Canada – U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CUSFA). Moving on to the next section, the focus will be on how NAFTA acted in the U.S.-Mexico border region.

### **NAFTA's impact on the border region**

In 1999, six years after the implementation of NAFTA, very little studies have been written on the effects of NAFTA on the urbanized communities of the U.S.-Mexican border region (Clement et al. 1999: 55). What it did show, was the increase of both the “population and income of Mexico’s border states more than any other region of the country” (Weintraub 2010: 117). The gross domestic product (GDP) grew by “57 percent from 1993 to 2004, compared with GDP growth of 30 percent for the rest of the country” (Weintraub 2010: 117). Hence, growth in income is considerably higher in the border region than in the rest of the country, and looking at the growth of population the same can be said. “From 2000 to 2005, Mexico’s population grew by 1.1 percent, while that of Baja California Norte grew by 2.7 percent, Tamaulipas by almost 2 percent, and Nuevo León by 1.7 percent”, being three of the border region states (Weintraub 2010: 117, Barajas 2007).

There is more evidence that the border between Mexico and the United States is not only a barrier, but also facilitates economic opportunities by means of NAFTA. “Beginning in the 1960s, rapid industrialization and population growth have occurred in the border area” (Nevins 2002: 4-5). When NAFTA went into effect in 1994, the “transboundary region’s economic integration and growth” has only strengthened the border region (Nevins 2002: 5). A concrete example of the transboundary economic relationship is the increase of trucks crossing the border. In the early 1990s, the trucking dispute caused great disputes between Mexico and the United States. There were two regulations that allowed Mexican truckers to cross the border to the United States. The first regulation “specified that within three years after NAFTA was signed on December 17, 1992, Mexican trucks would be allowed access to the four U.S. border states – Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas” (Weintraub 2010: 122). However, in 1995, the U.S. delayed this regulation, followed by heavy lobbying. “The delay in giving Mexican trucks full access to the four U.S. border states meant that trucks could carry cargo only into a ‘commercial zone’ extending about twenty miles on either side of the border, where the cargo had to be transferred to a U.S. truck” (Weintraub 2010: 122). The second

regulation was that “six years after the agreement went into effect, Mexican trucks would be allowed to carry cargo to destinations throughout the United States” (Weintraub 2010: 122). Those regulations would decrease the inefficiency and costs of the transport. This again was being refused by the United States. Many disputes and lobbying between Mexico and the United States followed along the years, but without a proper solution for both sides. Ineffective and costly as it may be, they finally agreed on a system where “a Mexican truck brings the goods to the border, where it is inspected by Mexican authorities and then brought into the border commercial zone. At that point the trailer is picked up by a drayage truck, a short-haul vehicle, and brought to the U.S. side of the border to a drop lot, where the trailer is picked up by a U.S. long-haul driver to be brought to its destination” (Weintraub 2010: 123-124). In 2011, a new agreement was reached between Mexico and the United States, seeking an end to the nearly “20-year ban on Mexican trucks crossing the U.S. border, a violation of NAFTA that subjected \$2.4 billion of U.S. goods annually to punitive tariffs by Mexico” (Williamson 2011). Nevertheless, though the system may be ineffective and a violation of NAFTA, its economic outcomes were not. In 1999 for instance, the truck trafficking had increased by 170 percent from 1994 onwards, with more than 4.2 million truck crossings in that year (Nevins 2002: 5). Hence, though the border causes inefficiency and delay when it comes to cargo trucks crossing the border, the economic advantages seem to substitute the positive impact of NAFTA in the border region.

As a counter example, NAFTA’s supplemental Labour Agreement shows the negative impact on workers in the border region. As one of the articles of NAFTA claims, the goal is to “protect, enhance, and enforce basic worker rights” (NAFTA art. 102, at 297). This concerns both Mexico and the United States, and specifically the border area. The debates preceding the establishment of NAFTA focused on many concerns regarding the possibility that NAFTA would mean losing jobs in the United States to Mexico, it would lower the labour standards in the United States to those in Mexico and it would fail to provide effective protective labour standards for Mexican workers (Vega 2000: 139). During the negotiations, Mexico refused any interference of other countries to its own domestic labour laws, violating its territorial sovereignty, but the United States insisted on a supplemental labour agreement (Guerra and Torriente 1997: 14). Therefore, the North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation (NAALC) was being added to NAFTA, stressing countries’ sovereignty and labour issues. One of NAALC’s main objectives is to expand the market for goods and services, to create jobs, to improve working conditions and to enhance workers’ rights (NAALC at 1499). Furthermore,

NAALC promises “minimum wage standards” (Vega 2000: 141, NAALC arts. 27, 38, 39), but in fact NAALC has had minimal impact on the labour laws in Mexico and the situation has not improved for Mexican workers. NAALC did not help American workers either, because as NAFTA fostered the increase of goods and capital, some companies moved to Mexico to profit from the low costs and workers, leaving the American workers behind. Hence, NAALC did not help to strengthen the situation for workers in the border region, neither Mexican nor American. That being said, it is time to look at the relation between NAFTA and the border wall.

### **NAFTA and the border wall**

As noted before, there is a paradox when looking at NAFTA and the border wall between Mexico and the United States. While NAFTA’s intentions are to broaden and deepen trade ties (Weintraub 1992: 507) and to eliminate barriers to trade, the border wall, which was built at roughly the same time as the construction of NAFTA, serves the opposite function. In part, this can be explained by saying that NAFTA has economic purposes only, while the border wall mainly serves political and social purposes. NAFTA does not provide ways to ease border crossings for people, neither does it aim at eliminating the border wall. The Schengen area in Europe is a unique example of this kind of free circulation of people in economic befriended countries. Unlike Schengen and the EU treaties, “NAFTA is not designed as an instrument to support further integration, and is quite simply a regional agreement to foster economic relations between regional neighbours while disregarding other capabilities that could potentially benefit all members, such as information sharing, criminal investigation and environmental protection” (Arnett 2015). Building on this, even if it is true that NAFTA is marked by economic and not necessarily political dominance, “which arguably leads to different motivations among potential immigrants as well as a different pattern of migration” (Arnett 2015), it does influence labour migration for instance. “The U.S. has demonstrated at least an intermittent need for an inexpensive labour force, and it is likely that this market will continue to exist for the foreseeable future due to the demand in the agricultural, service and construction sectors of the economy” (Arnett 2015, Andreas 2009: 33, 38). Nevertheless, because of the interdisciplinary nature of foreign policies, governments never act solely on economic, social or political purposes. This is currently shown by the new ideas of the U.S. President Donald J. Trump, who wants to renegotiate NAFTA and at the same time wants to build an even bigger wall all across the border with Mexico. Moreover, the wall according to Trump will be built with Mexico paying for it, and he declared to do so by imposing “a 20-

percent fee on imports from Mexico” (Ratcliffe 2017). This is radically different from for instance the statement of George W. Bush in 2001, who declared that Mexico and the U.S. are friends, and therefore the wall needed to be torn down. In a speech to the Hispano Chamber of Commerce he expressed:

*“Mexico is a friend of America. Mexico is our neighbour, and we want our neighbours to succeed. (...) And that’s why it’s so important for us to tear down barriers and walls that might separate Mexico from the United States. And that’s why it’s so important for us to stand strong when it comes to free trade with our neighbours to the South. NAFTA has been good for New Mexico, and it’s been good for Mexico. And that’s an important relationship that I pledge to continue on. (...) Oh, I know there’s some voices who want to wall us off from Mexico. They want to build a wall. I say to them, they want to condemn our neighbours to the South in poverty, and I refuse to accept that type of isolationist and protectionist attitude”.* (Bush 2001)

This is also different from the rhetoric used by the 45<sup>th</sup> U.S. President Donald J. Trump earlier this year, which was quoted at the introduction. Bush stressed the importance of economic integration, rather than separating the two countries by a wall. Notably, Bush said this in 2001, when NAFTA and the border wall existed for over ten years already, and thus the consequences were apparent. This again underlines the idea that economic and political purposes go hand in hand for the government’s policies, which was shown by analysing NAFTA and the U.S. – Mexico border wall.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter on NAFTA has sought to provide an overview of the principle ideas and outcomes of NAFTA, in relation to the border region and border wall between Mexico and the United States. One of the interesting findings related to the research question is that NAFTA caused economic advantages for Mexico and the United States in general, but specifically at the border. Though the explanation of the trucking dispute for instance displayed a delay and inefficiency of cargo truckers crossing the border, their returns seem to be outweighing these disadvantages. Nevertheless, as the example of NAALC showed, NAFTA has not been effective in improving the situation for Mexican or American workers, especially at the border region. Lastly, the discussion on NAFTA and the border wall showed the correlations between

economic, social and political purposes in foreign policies of the U.S. and Mexican government. This brings us back to the main question in this thesis and the focus of the final conclusion: how can two economically befriended states encourage the free circulation of capital, goods and services while at the same time the U.S. built a wall to stop Mexicans from entering the U.S. and prevent illegal migration?



## Conclusion

---

“Under NAFTA, businesses, their property and their money can travel back and forth across national borders with relative ease, while workers who try to do the same are dubbed illegal, and are snatched off the streets and off factory floors, and are carted back over the borders they crossed” (Gibler 2009: 273). This statement by Gibler is articulated somewhat dramatically; nevertheless it does bring the situation of NAFTA and the U.S. – Mexico border wall to its core centre. The complexity around the border and border wall between Mexico and the United States in relation to NAFTA has been the central topic of this thesis. In this final conclusion, the focus will be on answering the central research question: To what extent does the United States – Mexico border wall have a negative impact on the working of NAFTA? In answering this, some main arguments from the academic debate and the background chapter on borders and walls will be used to test the case study on NAFTA.

As became clear, many authors such as Andreas (2000), Weintraub (2010), Coleman (2005) and Nevins (2002) have been sceptical about the role and rationalisation of the United States at the border. The policing of the border according to Andreas mainly is an “audience-directed performance” and “part of the political project of turning the border into a more expansive economic bridge has also involved making it at least appear to be a more formidable police barrier” (Andreas 2000: 11, 141). Nevertheless “the performance of the border as a blockade ensures that the larger process of economic integration will not be derailed by domestic and bilateral politicking over drug trafficking and migration issues” (Coleman 2005: 187). In the end, when it comes to the border wall and NAFTA, it mainly “signals that the United States wants separation even as it talks about integration” (Weintraub 2010: 126).

When looking at history, Flynn has noted that great powers often “have been building walls throughout history – China’s Great Wall, the Maginot Line, the Berlin Wall – and all have met the same dismal fate” (Flynn 2003, Weintraub 2010: 126). The United States – Mexico border remains fundamentally unchanged, it “is a chaotic stew of illegal crossers, drug smugglers, common criminals, and others playing cat and mouse with a Border Patrol backed by an antiquated system of sensors” (Maril 2011: 131). Following from this, Cornelius stated that a wall is not the solution to security issues in the United States. He mentions more emphasis on workplace enforcement such as guest-worker programs in the agricultural sector, more green card allocations and the legalization of most of the illegal immigrants already living in

the U.S. Subsequently, the funding of development programs for the poor regions with Mexico would help to stimulate the situation, rather than the physical border fence (Cornelius 2007).

Hence, the border wall might be of less importance in this age of global economy, multinationals, eliminating trade barriers and the free movement of goods, services and people. Especially when history has shown that the old walls rarely functioned the way they were designed for. People always seem to find a way to sidestep the wall. Former U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano once stated: “Show me a 50ft wall, and I’ll show you a 51ft ladder” (Henley 2013). As we see in Mexico nowadays, tunnels used for smuggling by *coyotes* for instance are common sense, and thus a border wall seems not realistic. Therefore, there is a need for a (re-) construction of a theoretical framework for understanding state borders and border walls in today’s world. The neo-liberal ideology of globalization and the vision of a ‘borderless world’ (Ohmae 1991) is exaggerating the recent developments, and “directly contradicted by trends towards ‘Fortress Europe’” (Anderson 2001: 2). Nevertheless, it does point to a trend of lowering state borders as direct barriers, and it increases the flow of capital, goods, services and people, or at least of some people in this world (Anderson 2001: 2). There is a growing tendency towards transnational social and economic borders that are delinked from the territorial borders of countries and even regions. Furthermore, as a framework to understand the U.S.-Mexico border it should be said that while economic production has become significantly more transnationalised since the 1970s, political democracy still lags behind, being largely confined within national borders (Anderson 2001: 4). In other words; the United States is politically not yet conformed to the current situation on the border, and adheres to the border wall, trying to keep all unwanted people out of the country. At the same time they do strive for economic cooperation and the free circulation of goods, capital and services. Because of this imbalance between economics and politics, there is no easy solution to the U.S.-Mexico border situation, which underscores the hypothesis that the border wall does not impact the working of NAFTA nor the other way around.

One of the counterarguments towards the hypothesis of this thesis could be that you cannot compare trade and border actions of two different countries, as border issues deal with a geographical region where two countries face each other rather than with specific programs such as free trade agreements. However, this thesis made use of these two aspects because they both deal with economic and political reasoning of a country. Even given the fact that the nature of a border wall is different from trade, the idea that the United States as trading partner of

Mexico builds a wall between the two countries is inherently linked to both economic and political reasons.

Finally, NAFTA caused economic advantages for both the United States and Mexico, but specifically in the border region in Mexico. The border wall does not hinder the working of NAFTA in that sense. This was one of the arguments of proponents of NAFTA, as they argued that the agreement “would decrease motivation for Mexican nationals to illegally enter the U.S. in search of employment, as the agreement would exponentially expand economic opportunity in Mexico” (Weintraub 1992: 508). This is interesting, because if this would be one of the consequences of NAFTA, there would be no need for a border wall at the border, as there would be no incentive for Mexicans to illegally cross the border. Nonetheless, there still are illegal border crossings, and the border wall allows “for the casting of Mexican and Central American economic migrants as a threat to the nation” (Chacón 2010). “The emerging border wall and the militarization of immigration enforcement strategies have become internalized manifestations of the “containment” strategy first elaborated during the Cold War” (Chacón 2010), and since then it has been further developed on the war on drugs and war on terror, for instance. As said before, when the Cold War ended in 1991, the border containment strategy gained a new aim, the drug smugglers, combined with a link to economic migration. Under Clinton, the National Strategic Plan was implemented in 1994, concluding “that drug smuggling was an increasing threat in the region of the Southwest border, which was also being overrun by undocumented migrants” (Chacón 2010). Based on this, the border wall has been built, at the very same time NAFTA was being established. In the end, “while the different epochs of geopolitical conflict have changed the nature of the “external threat,” the policy of “containment” has continued to determine the function of the border. The (...) increased regional economic integration through NAFTA, has created a zone that combines conflict with cooperation, war with peace” (Chacón 2010). In sum, while there is no real war going on at the border, the fact that there is a border wall makes this situation atypical. The future will reveal how this peculiar co-existence will continue, but until now the border wall has not had serious consequences for NAFTA in a negative way.

# Appendix

---

**List of border walls** (constructed to separate two areas and/or groups of people/populations, mainly or partially made of stone or high steel, with monitoring cameras etc.)

China	North Korea
Egypt	Gaza Strip
Georgia	Russia
Greek Cyprus	Turkish Cyprus
India	Bangladesh
Iran	Afghanistan
Iran	Pakistan
Iraq	Kuwait
Israel	West Bank
Israel	Gaza Strip
Lebanon	Palestinian Refugee Camp
Morocco	Western Sahara
Northern Ireland	Belfast (Catholic and Protestant areas)
United States	Mexico

**List of separation barriers** (constructed to separate two groups of people/populations, or to limit the movement of people across a line or border, mainly or partially made of materials such as barbed wire, razor wire, electric fence etc.)

Botswana	Zimbabwe
Greece	Turkey
Hong Kong	China

Hungary	Serbia
India	Pakistan
Israel	Egypt
Macedonia	Greece
North Korea	South Korea
Norway	Russia
Pakistan	Kashmir
Saudi Arabia	Yemen
Saudi Arabia	Iraq (Islamic State)
Slovenia	Croatia
South Africa	Mozambique
Spain	Morocco (Ceuta & Melilla)
Thailand	Malaysia
Turkey	Bulgaria
Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan
United Arab Emirates	Oman
Uzbekistan	Kyrgyzstan
Zimbabwe	South Africa

*Sources:* Chaichian, M.A. (2013). *Empires and Walls: Globalization, Migration and Colonial Domination*. Leiden: BRILL.

Henley J. (2013). Walled World. *The Guardian*. Available at:  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2013/nov/walls#outro>.

Newman, D. (2006). "The Lines that Continue to Separate Us: Borders in our 'Borderless' World". *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 143-161.

# Bibliography

---

- Ackleson, J. (1999). "Metaphors and Community on the U.S. – Mexican Border: Identity, Exclusion, Inclusion, and 'Operation Hold the Line'". *Geopolitics*, vol. 4, pp. 155-179.
- Ackleson, J. (2004). "Constructing Security on the U.S. – Mexico Border". *Political Geography*, vol. 24, pp. 165-184.
- Aguilar Barajas, I. (2007). "Frontera Norte de México: Agenda de Desarrollo e Integración Económica. Reflexiones sobre el Noreste de México-Texas". *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*, no. 81, pp. 125-155.
- Albert, M., D. Jacobson and Y. Lapid (2001). *Identities, Borders, Orders: New Directions in International Relations Theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Anderson, J. and L. O'Dowd (1999). "Contested Borders: Globalization and Ethno-National Conflict in Ireland". *Regional Studies*, vol. 33, no. 7, pp. 681-696.
- Anderson, J. (2001). "*Theorizing State Borders: 'Politics/Economics' and Democracy in Capitalism*". CIBR Electronic Working Paper Series, WP 01.
- Andreas, P. (2000). *Border Games*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Arnett, C. (2015). "NAFTA and Schengen: A Comparison". *Musing and Points of View*. Available at: <http://musingspointsofview.blogspot.nl/2015/02/nafta-and-schengen-comparison.html>. Last accessed on February 8, 2017.
- Bajpai, K. (1995). Introduction: International Theory, International Society, Regional Politics, and Foreign Policy. In: Bajpai, Kanti, and Harish Shukul (eds.), *Interpreting World Politics: Essays for A.P. Rana*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications, pp. 11-42.
- Boggs, S. (1940). *International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- "*Border Patrol Strategic Plan: 1994 and Beyond*" (National Strategy) (1995). U.S. Border Patrol, U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. July 1995. Washington D.C.
- Bush, G.W. (2001). "Remarks to the Hispano Chamber of Commerce in Albuquerque". *The American Presidency Project*. Peters, Gerhard and John W. Woolley, August 15, 2001.

Available at: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=73384>. Last accessed on December 12, 2016.

Caney, S. (2005). *Justice beyond Borders: a Global Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chacón, J.A. (2010). “The U.S. – Mexico Border: Free Trade without Free People”. *International Socialist Review*, no. 73.

Chaichian, M.A. (2013). *Empires and Walls: Globalization, Migration, and Colonial Domination*. Leiden: BRILL.

Chatterjee, S. (2013). Borders. In: Chadha Behera, Navnita and Achin Vanaik, *Political Science: Volume 4: India Engages the World*. Oxford University Press, pp. 1-83.

Clement, N., S.J. Rey, N.A. Fuentes, and A. Brugués (1999). “The U.S. - Mexican Border Economy in the NAFTA Era: Implications for the Environment”. *Network of Border Economics (NOBE)/Red de la Económica Fronteriza (REF)*, pp. 55-69.

Coleman, M. (2005). “U.S. Statecraft and the U.S. – Mexico Border as Security/Economy Nexus”. *Political Geography*, vol. 24, pp. 185-209.

Cornelius, W. (2007). “Introduction: Does Border Enforcement Deter Unauthorized Immigration?”. In: Cornelius, W.M. and J. M. Lewis, eds., *Impacts of Border Enforcement on Mexican Migration: The View from Sending Communities*. San Diego: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. University of Nebraska. SAGE Publications.

Di Cintio, M. (2013). *Walls: Travels along the Barricades*. Soft Skull Press.

Di Cintio, M. (2013). *Walls: Travels along the Barricades*. Available at: <https://marcellodicintio.com/walls-project/>. Last accessed on: January 18, 2017.

Donaldson, J.W. (2005). “Fencing the Line: Analysis of the Recent Rise in Security Measures along Disputed and Undisputed Boundaries”. In: *Global Surveillance and Policy*, ed. E. Zureik and M.B. Salter. Portland: Willan Publishing. Pp. 173-193.

- Floudas, D.A., and L.F. Rojas (2000). "Some Thoughts on NAFTA and Trade Integration in the American Continent". *Review of International Affairs - International Problems*, no. 4. Pp. 371-389.
- Flynn, S.E. (2003). "The False Conundrum: Continental Integration versus Homeland Security". *The Rebordering of North America: Integration and Exclusion in a New Security Context*. Pp. 110-127.
- Foucher, M. (1991): *Fronts et Frontières*. Paris: Fayard.
- Gibler, J. (2009). *Mexico Unconquered: Chronicles of Power and Revolt*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.
- Golson, B. and T. Golson (2008). *Retirement without Borders: How to Retire Abroad – in Mexico, France, Italy, Spain, Costa Rica, Panama, and Other Sunny, Foreign Places*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Guerra, M.T., and A.L. Torriente (1997). "The NAALC and the Labour Laws of Mexico and the United States". *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 503, 504.
- Henley, J. (2013). "Walls: an Illusion of Security from Berlin to the West Bank". *The Guardian*. November 19, 2013. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/19/walls-barrier-belfast-west-b-ank>. Last accessed on: January 17, 2017.
- Huntington, S.P. (2004). "The Hispanic Challenge". *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2004. Pp. 1-14.
- Jones, B.D. (1995). "'Intervention without Borders': Humanitarian Intervention in Rwanda, 1990-1994". *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 225-249.
- Keegan, J. (1993). *History of Warfare*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Kristoff, L. (1959). "The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 49, pp. 269-282.
- Kuper, A. (2004). *Democracy beyond Borders: Justice and Representation in Global Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marcuse, P. (1994). "Walls as Metaphor and Reality". In: Dunn, S., ed. *Managing Divided Cities*. London: Keele, Staffordshire, Ryburn Publishing.



- Maril, R.L. (2011). *The Fence: National Security, Public Safety, and Illegal Immigration along the U.S.-Mexico Border*. Texas: Tech University Press.
- Michaelsen, S., and D.E. Johnson (1997). *Border Theory: the Limits of Cultural Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Minghi, J. (1963). "Boundary Studies in Political Geography". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 53, pp. 407-428.
- Nevins, J. (2002). *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. London: Routledge.
- Newman, D. (1999). "Into the Millennium: the Study of International Boundaries in an Era of Global and Technological Change". *Boundary and Security Bulletin*, vol. 7, pp. 63-71.
- Newman, D. (2006). "The Lines that Continue to Separate Us: Borders in our 'Borderless' World". *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 143-161.
- Newman, D, and A. Paasi (1998). "Fences and Neighbours in the Post-Modern World: Boundary Narratives in Political Geography". *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 22, pp. 186-207.
- North American Free Trade Agreement (1994), *supra note 3, article 102 & pmbl.*
- North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation (1994), *supra note 5.*
- Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries, and Consciousness*. New York: Wiley.
- Polanyi, K. (1957). *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- "Presidential Announcement Speech Donald Trump", *The Wall Street Journal*, Full Transcript. June 16, 2015. Available at: <http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2015/06/16/donald-trump-transcript-our-country-needs-a-truly-great-leader/>. Last accessed on November 15, 2016.
- Purcell, M., and J. Nevins (2004). "Pushing the Boundary: State Restructuring, State Theory and the Case of the U.S. – Mexico Border Enforcement in the 1990s". *Political Geography*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 211-235.
- Ratcliffe, R.G. (2017). "R.G.'s Roundup: Border Wall, NAFTA and Media Fatigue". *Texas Monthly*, February 3, 2017. Available at: <http://www.texasmonthly.com/burka-blog/r-g-s-roundup-border-wall-nafta-and-dallas-minority-leadership/>. Last accessed on February 8, 2017.

- Sepúlveda, C. (1976). *La Frontera Norte de México: Historia, Conflictos*. Editorial Porrúa.
- Spener, D., and K. Staudt (1998). *The U.S. – Mexico Border: Transcending Divisions, Contesting Identities*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Sterling, B. L. (2009). *Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbours?* Georgetown University Press.
- “*Treaties between the United States and Mexico*” (1889). International Boundary and Water Commission. Convention of March 1, 1889, Treaty Series No. 241.
- United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (2015). “About the Buffer Zone”. *UNFICYP*. Available at: <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/about-buffer-zone>. Last accessed on February 16, 2017.
- Van Houtum, H. and T. van Naerssen (2002). “Bordering, Ordering, and Othering”. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, vol. 93, pp. 125-136.
- Vega, G. (2000). “Maquiladora’s Lost Women: The Killing Fields of Mexico – Are NAFTA and NAALC Providing the Needed Protection?” *The Journal of Gender, Race & Justice*, vol. 4, pp. 137-158.
- Weintraub, S. (1992) “North American Free Trade and the European Situation Compared”. *International Migration Review* vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 506-524.
- Weintraub, S. (2010). *Unequal Partners: the United States and Mexico*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Wielemans, S. (2015). “Connected Walls: U.S.-Mexico”. *Connected Walls*. Available at: [www.connectedwalls.com](http://www.connectedwalls.com). Last accessed on January 17, 2017.
- Williamson, E. (2011). “U.S., Mexico Agree to Settle Truck Feud”. *The Wall Street Journal*, March 4, 2011. Available at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703300904576178511087875924>. Last accessed on February 1, 2017.
- Yaniv, A. (1987). *Deterrence without the Bomb: The Politics of Israeli Strategy*. Lexington MA: Lexington Books.