



## Knowledge Exchange Seminar Series (KESS)

*...is a forum that encourages debate on a wide range of research findings, with the overall aim of promoting evidence-based policy and law-making within Northern Ireland*



# Brexit and the Border

Managing the UK/Ireland Impact

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**BORDERS IN  
GLOBALIZATION**

# Border Regimes: Concepts

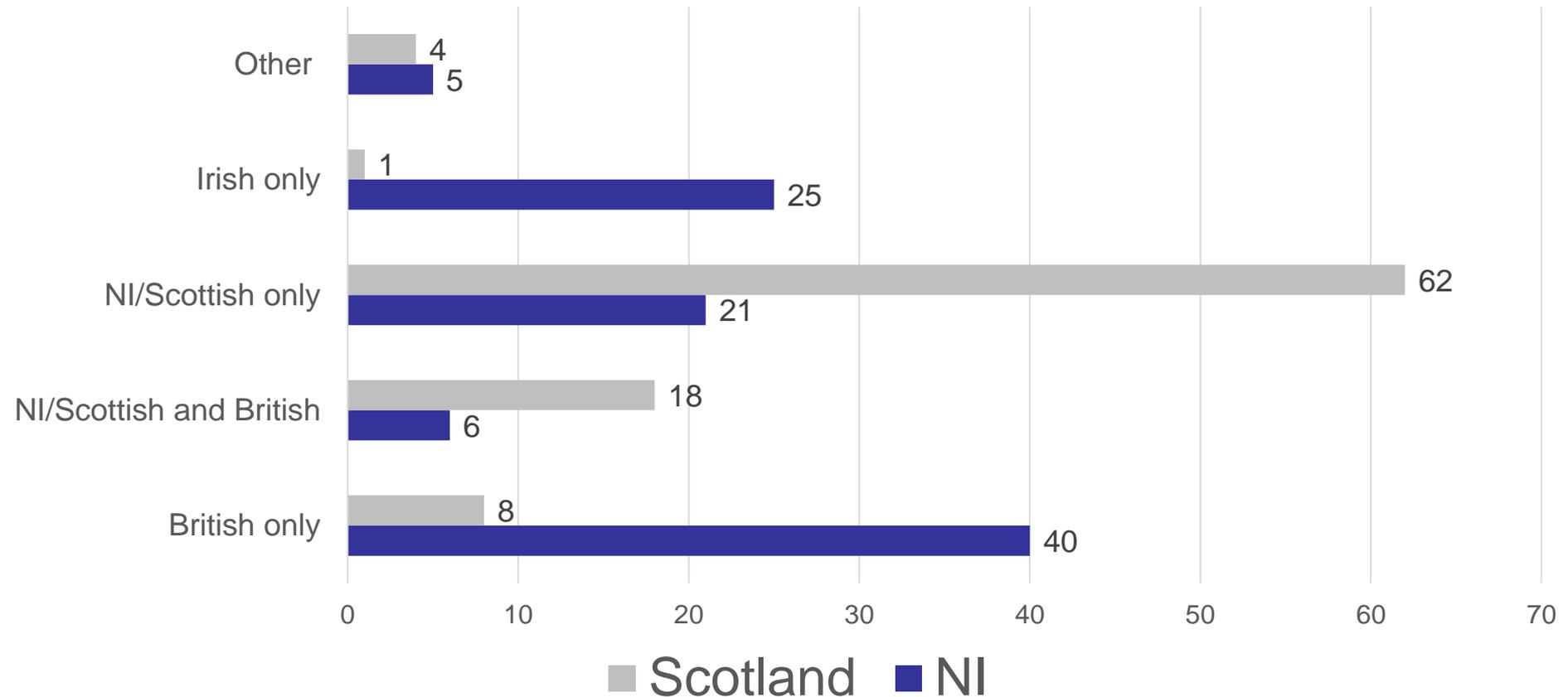
- Governance
  - Laws, jurisdiction
  - Institutions
- Flows
  - ‘Four Freedoms’
  - Information
  - Interaction
- Citizenship
  - Rights (duties)
  - Inclusion/exclusion
- Security
  - Maintenance
  - Threat/challenge

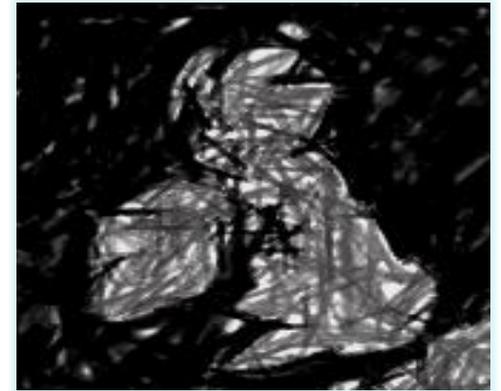
# Border Regimes: Layers

- European Union
  - Shared 'external borders'
  - Supranational governance
- Common Travel Area
  - Different types of flows treated differently
  - Distinction from Schengen
  - British-Irish Agreement
- UK/Ireland differences
- All-island
  - North/South governance, cooperation
  - Symbolic and pragmatic
- Northern Ireland/GB differences
  - Devolution
  - Flows
  - Differences vis-à-vis citizenship
  - Security

# National Identity %

Northern Ireland & Scotland, 2011 Censuses

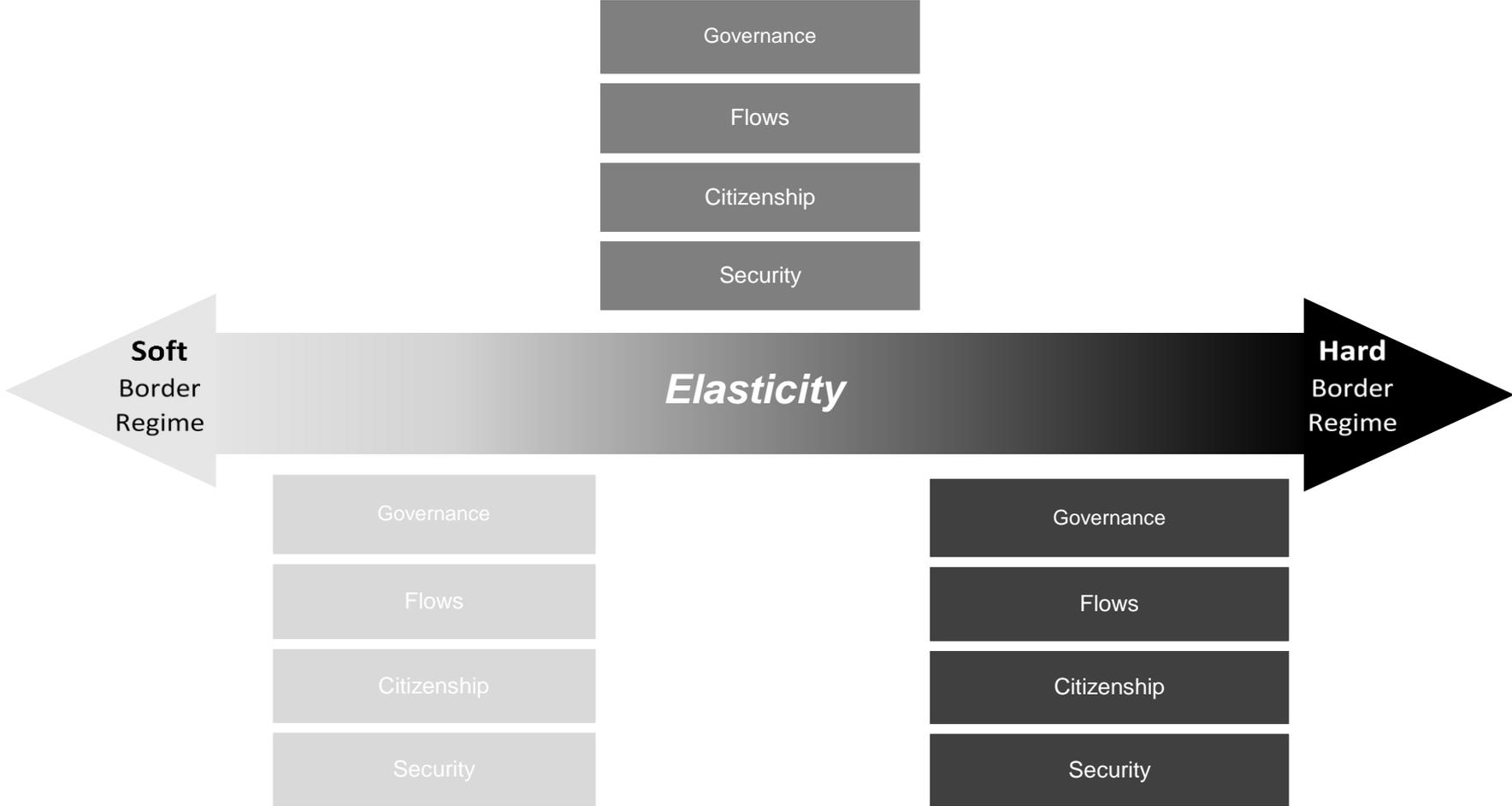




# ELASTIC BREXIT?



# BORDER SPECTRUM



# Soft Brexit

- Governance
- Flows
- Citizenship
- Security

## Implications

### Pros

- Less (immediate) change to internal political divisions/alliances
- No major party in Northern Ireland wants to see the re-imposition of a hard border on the island
- Implications for trade north/south and east/west

### Cons

- For pro-Brexit unionists: Strain due to continued compliance with EU law and the four freedoms?
- Less control over EU policymaking
- More interest in FDI going to Ireland?



# Hard Brexit

- Governance
- Flows
- Citizenship
- Security

## Implications

### Pros

- Addresses primary EU-focused concerns of Leave voters
- Greater control over immigration
- Clean break, rewriting rules

### Cons

- Most economic models predict that this will result in greatest trade destruction N/S
- Expected reduction in bilateral trade flows between NI and ROI
- Likely to cost the UK economy more than is gained from lower contributions to the EU budget;
- Stresses on the Union because of imposing overall will on the wishes of different constituent parts



# Elastic Brexit: Some Possibilities

*Special status for NI* agreed in negotiation with the EU and the UK (and Ireland?), such as:

- NI remains in EU but others leave
- Or UK remains (inc NI/Scotland) and England/Wales leave
- New status for NI as overseas territory
- New status for NI as member of the customs union.

*Reconfiguration of state of Ireland*

- Possibility of federation
- But Northern Ireland can only 'choose' Irish unification; other forms of association with Ireland would require British government approval
- Ireland could join Schengen Area.

*Differentiated treatment of different aspects of the four freedoms*

- Hard borders for people and soft for goods, capital, services
- Or gradients of 'hardness' for different groups of citizens (exists already to some extent), along lines of work permits and skills rather than nationality
- Or quotas.



# Elastic Brexit

## Implications

### Pros

- Secures future of the UK for medium term by giving recognition of different needs/interests of devolved regions
- Addresses cross-border concerns and particular needs of Irish border regime and border region

### Cons

- Highly complex negotiations
- Complex institutional and constitutional redrawing
- Irish government will need to be incorporated as an interested party (mechanism for this?)
- Unionists wary of risks of further differentiation within the Union



# Conclusions

- Priorities & Possibilities





Northern Ireland  
Assembly



Queen's University  
Belfast



The Open  
University



Ulster  
University

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