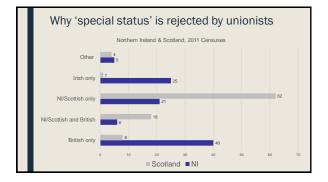
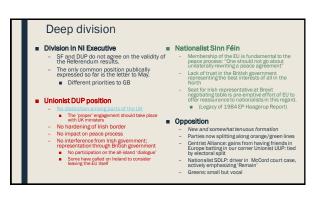


Deep division In Division in NI Executive SF and DUP do not agree on the validity of the Referendum results. The only common position publically expressed so far is the letter to May. Different priorities to GB In Unionist DUP position No matriction among parts of the UK The proper engagement should take place No hardening of Irish border No impact on peace process No impact on peace process No interference from Irish government; representation through British government; representation through British government No participation on the all-lisation dialogue Some have called on Ireland to consider leaving the EU itself





'Constitutional moment' of Brexit

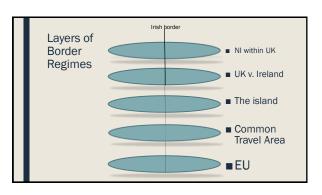
As seen from the Irish border

- [Other than the re-emergence of the constitutional question]
- Where does the 'hard border' lie?
 - What form will it take?
- Internal UK relations/cohesion
- Undifferentiated goal does not mean an even outcome
- Peace Process
 - 1998 Agreement in EU context
- Fundamental division within NI
 - System unable to adequately represent a cross-community majority
- Irish citizens in UK
 - All* born in NI are eligible.



Border regimes

- * "a system of control, regulating behaviour at the borders" and within them (Berg and Ehin, 2006: 54)
- * Hierarchies
- Governance
 - · Laws, jurisdiction
 - Institutions
- Flows
- 'Four Freedoms'
- Information
- Interaction
- Citizenship
 - Rights (duties)
 - Inclusion/exclusion
- Security
- - Maintenance • Threat/challenge



Border regimes: implications for the Irish border					
		Governance	Flows	Citizenship	Security
EU		Aquis Communautaire; EU institutions	Four freedoms of movement	Common citizenship rights outside state territory but based on MS nationality	Information sharing
Commo Area	on Travel	British-Irish institutions	Additional freedom of residence; different visa regimes	Special recognition of each others citizens	Closer pre-travel sharing of information
North/	South	N/S institutions, implementation bodies; Border region bodies	Unfettered; different taxes and duties	1/5 residents in NI are Irish citizens	Cooperation not dependent on EU; could be closer, partitionist
UK/Irel	land	Separate states	Close ties, inc institutionalised; Currency and tax difference	Different citizenships	Military checkpoints removed by 2002
NI with	in UK	Devolution	Additional cost of air/sea transport; plans for different tax regime	Special status of NI being able to choose either or both	Border monitored via information sharing; No passports needed

Assuming 'hard' Brexit... Which points may yield and which may fracture? Yield Tenuous Fracture ■ Crime/ Agri-food ■ Energy security ■ North/South ■ British/ Irish ■ Fisheries institutions ■ EU ■ Labour ■ Local programmes markets authority cooperation



Freedom of movement: Means of maintaining flows even with a hard Brexit Privileges currently enjoyed – issues for Irish border post-Brexit: 1. Citizenship 2. Visa-free 3. Passport-free 4. Work 5. Hard border but soft monitoring The EU border regime is characterised by exceptions, often dependent on relations between states and their neighbours

1. Citizenship

Moldovans and EU citizenship

- Many EU member states have granted citizenship to persons residing permanently abroad if descendants of emigrants or persons with close cultural affinity
- E.g. Former citizens and descendents of Romanians living in Moldova and Ukraine are eligible for Romanian citizenship (and thereby EU citizenship)
- Non-resident Romanian citizenship was suspended during negotiations for EU accession but has been reintroduced
- Despite fears of other EU states, no overwhelming tide. A national issue.

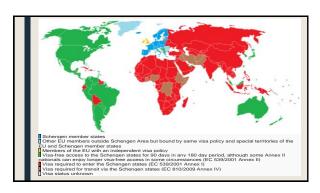
Irish border case

- Issue: Retention of EU citizenship rights for (future) Irish citizens in NI
 Potential obstacles to N/S movement if CTA undermined by Brexit
- Freedom of movement and privileges retained
- Decision is up to the Irish state rather than the EU – and up to individual residents in NI
- BUT introduces new differentiation between citizens in NI/on island

2. Visa-free travel

EEA and Schengen

- Many countries have visafree access to Schengen
- Permanent residency depends on the state



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Irish border case

- Issue: will visas be necessary for UK/Ireland movement?
- Common Travel Area means independent visa policy is still possible (Ire and UK distinct as is)
- UK needs to make a decision about visafree travel for EU citizens. If not possible, where will checks take place?
 - Can be automated for those coming in from outside the island (e.g. PNR)
 - On island, depends on status of CTA
- BUT what status of CTA be post-Brexit?
 - Is Ireland going to remain outside Schengen?

Passport-free travel

Nordic passport union

- Can have freedom of movement without ID checks between EU and non-EU states
- Pre-dated EU membership
- Members except Faroe Islands signed up to Schengen acquis
- Harder rules apply for movement from Faroe into Schengen than other way around
- Reimposition of some checkpoints and requirements in response to terrorist threats

Irish border case

- Issue: will there need to be ID checks on the Irish border?
- On the ground checks are less important than the pre-screening that
 - Much less possible on land border
- Reasonable risk assessment from EU as to likelihood of NI as a backdoor into the EU...
- Again, critical player here is the UK -will it want to harden border with Ireland more generally (not just Irish border) as EU frontier?
- Faroes shows it is possible to have checks on flows in one direction

4. Local regime

Local Border Traffic Regime

- For residents/workers within 30km each side of the border
- Special permits and mobility
- Bilateral arrangement for EU/Non-EU countries
- Must have Commission approval of
- Entry/Exit checks should still be performed
- May have exceptional border crossings, outside hours and crossing points
- E.g. Small Border Traffic zone Poland/Russia

Irish border case

- Issue: what about cross-border workers?
- If border itself is hardened, local border traffic regime is possible
 - Crossing the border would be eased for pre-registered
- Arrangements are bilateral
- Could extend beyond 30km
- BUT need agreement with EU
 - Doesn't relieve hard border for

5. 'Light touch' hard border **Automated Border Controls**

Two settings:

- Closed, e.g. airport, prior information
- Open, e.g. unpredictable flows

Technologies

- Biometrics (e.g. facial recognition,
- fingerprints [Eurodac])
- RFID (tags)
- Intelligent Video Analytics
 - Verification of number plates
- Breach detection

E.g. Sweden/Denmark and Denmark/Germany

Use of Photo ID and smartphones by police inc. in train stations

Irish border case

- Issue: how to monitor a 450km land
- Much talk of electronic border controls as easy solution for checks
- Q. Is this for monitoring of movement or prevention of entry?
- If these are to work effectively, need pre-registration of persons/vehicles
- BUT Not likely to put off or prevent cross-border crime or illegal migration
- Already problems in cross-border police
- Willingness of people to divulge more personal information?

Conclusions

- Experience of the EU external border regime shows that there is flexibility and
 - Depends on negotiating relations between the two states concerned
- Remember that the trend on the external border is towards hardening borders and restricting freedom of movement
- This is a particularly bad time for the UK to decide it wants to be on the outside of that border
- With every 'solution' to a problem for Northern Ireland there are implications for the Republic of Ireland and for the rest of the UK