57. Stephen Roper, *Cross-border and Local Cooperation on the Island of Ireland: an Economic Perspective*

Cross-border and local co-operation can foster local learning and contribute positively to business performance and social cohesion. This paper considers firms’ economic motivation for both types of co-operation around the Ireland-Northern Ireland border. This area, while inevitably impacted by civil unrest in Northern Ireland, shares many of the economic and developmental characteristics of border areas throughout Europe. Simultaneous probit models are used to examine the determinants of co-operation. Overall, around a third of firms in Ireland and Northern Ireland engage in local co-operation of some form; around one in six in Northern Ireland and one in twelve in Ireland also engage in cross-border cooperation. Proximity to the border, perceived barriers to cross-border co-operation and country uncertainty reduce the incidence of cross-border co-operation rates below that of local co-operation. Cross-border co-operation in Northern Ireland is more common because of small region size and fewer perceived barriers to cross-border co-operation.

58. Jennifer Todd, *A Puzzle Concerning Borders and Identities: Towards a Typology of Attitudes to the Irish Border*

State borders are typically held to shape categories of national identification. This paper explores this interrelationship in the light of empirical evidence drawn from research in the Irish border area. It begins by outlining a schema, drawn from the literature, which posits a movement from contestation of borders, to institutionalisation, to transgression. It then proceeds to show how this is reflected in scholarly and political interpretations of attitudes towards the Irish border. However, the paper argues that the typology which this schema suggests is not supported by the research, which has found little impact of state borders on categories of national identification. It concludes by arguing for a reinterpretation of the relationship between the character of states, borders and identity formation.


Cooperation and exchanges across the Irish border between schools, teachers and youth groups have seen an extraordinary growth in the past decade, involving nearly 20% of all schools on the island of Ireland in 2000. Major programmes such as the European Studies Project, Dissolving Boundaries and Civic-Link have been sustained over periods ranging from six to 18 years with the participation of hundreds of schools and youth groups in a range of programmes, with Wider Horizons (involving work experience abroad for mixed groups of young people) as the largest in scale. Medium-term sustainability is still a key issue, given most initiatives' dependence on non-exchequer funding (over 80% of funding comes from non-British or Irish government sources). Evaluations have spoken highly of the achievements of these programmes, both pedagogical and in terms of greater mutual understanding, but have also stressed that these are long-term initiatives, requiring secure funding and great patience and effort. Similar programmes to bring together young people in France and Germany after the Second World War took a generation to have a discernible impact.

60. Cormac Ó Gráda and Brendan M Walsh, *Did (and does) the Irish Border Matter?*

This paper examines how the two parts of Ireland were affected by the partition of the country in 1922. It examines the post-partition evolution of living standards north and south, and patterns of trade, migration, and road and rail traffic between the two since 1922. A separate section looks at the effects of living near the border on population trends. Bearing in mind the difficulty of establishing a relevant counterfactual—what would have happened in the absence
of partition—we conclude that while it is possible to discern a “partition effect”, it is smaller and less significant than is widely perceived. The evidence we present is a salutary warning against great expectations about the possible economic gains from the dismantling the barriers erected between the two parts of Ireland after 1922.

61. Liam O’Dowd, Cathal McCall and Ivo Damkat, Sustaining Cross-Border Cooperation: A Cross-Sectoral Case Study Approach
This paper is based on a set of case studies of cross-border co-operation, and focuses in particular on four of these: youth training, health, economic development and electricity generation. While each sector raises specific issues of its own, our aim has been to identify the generic factors which shape cross-border co-operation. One such factor is the question of sustainability—an issue which is now looming large for many practitioners as funding sources decline and the political momentum engendered by the Good Friday Agreement has diminished, if not stalled. The threat to the EU funding of cross-border co-operation is not specific to Ireland and is being experienced even in some advanced cross-border regions in western Europe. The paper highlights some key dimensions of sustainability in this context.

62. Kevin Howard, Diasporas and Ambiguous Homelands: A Perspective on the Irish Border
This paper proposes a diaspora framework as a useful way of conceptualizing the relationship between the kin-state and northern Irish nationalists. The formation of diasporas is generally understood as being a consequence of migration. People migrate across borders and construct communities in their host states while maintaining a strong sense of linkage with the nation’s homeland. The homeland is central to diaspora. However, homelands are political constructs the parameters of which fluctuate. I argue that members of the northern nationalist community are outside the political homeland of their Irish co-ethnics as a result of boundary drawing rather than emigration. The paper highlights the rapidity with which the southern political elite consolidated southern statehood reflecting and further reinforcing a clear sense of north-south differentiation. Decades of divergent state building has further reinforced the rhetorical nature of calls of re-unification.

63. Eoin Magennis, Patricia Clarke and Joseph Shiels, Funding Support for Cross Border and North-South Cooperation on the Island of Ireland, 1982-2005: an Overview
This paper provides a brief outline of the findings of the much larger mapping study of funding support for cross-border cooperation which is based on Border Ireland and has been written as part of the wider Mapping Frontiers, Plotting Pathways project. It details the scope of the mapping study, some elements of the funding programmes and ideas about future mapping of cross-border cooperation. The paper finishes with some conclusions about the end of one phase of funding support and where cross-border cooperation may get support from in future.

64. Alessia Cividin, Rich Cross-Border Cooperation: the Case of the Northwest Region.
Traditionally grasped as a division, the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland is increasingly understood as forming an individual unit made up of multiple connections. This paper analyses this border as assumed, and tries to develop its meaning within a European setting. The academic focus is on regional studies, political geography, spatial planning and border literature, and the paper puts forward an approach to national and regional borders as whole entities to be planned for and managed. The paper analyses variation in the impact of cross-border cooperation in the Northwest region on regional development and the spatial perception of it. The role of stakeholders and of local institutional relationships is considered, and the importance of government and institutional policies, and cultural factors, for the growth and success of cross-border activity is examined. The paper focuses, in particular, on recent cross-border projects in the Northwest region.

65. Elizabeth Meehan, Borders and Employment Opportunities and Barriers
This paper considers the impact of borders on employment opportunities or barriers on the island of Ireland. In that context, it is about several senses of “border”: the creation of two borders on the independence of Ireland, east-west and north-south; disputed understandings of nationality; Commonwealth membership as the source of this dispute, yet also enabling east-west freedom of movement; conversely, the regulation of movement into the north; the complicated impact of common membership of the EU; and inward migration to the two countries, bringing new “borders of the mind”. The paper begins with the nationality and citizenship considerations lying behind the “bridging” of the two new political borders brought about by Ireland’s independence. It outlines the experience of workers freely crossing the east-west border and the regulation of movement into the north. It then turns to the perverse impact of the EU. After that, it deals with new patterns of crossing borders—the growth of migration into both north and south of a new range of peoples and the manifestation of new “borders of the mind”. In conclusion, it outlines new efforts to cross the border through cooperation to combat employment and other forms of discrimination against the new migrants.

66. Kevin Howard, Nationalist Myths: Revisiting Heslinga’s ‘The Irish Border as a Cultural Divide’.
This paper offers a critique of MV Heslinga’s argument that the geographical structure of these islands has for millennia served to funnel interchange in an east-west direction, resulting in a deeply embedded cultural cleavage between the northern and southern regions of both Ireland and Great Britain. This form of geographical determinism lends itself to contemporary British/Ulster nationalism’s case for the naturalness of partition. In this way, it mirrors the geographical determinism of Irish nationalism. Both deploy geography in the service of political projects that are fundamentally grounded in recent political events the outcome of which was neither predictable nor inevitable.

The circumstances concerning the partitioning of Ireland do not fit easily with patterns observed in other examples. The evolving bases of partition between 1912 and 1925 varied significantly with regard to geography, political status, and function. Also, the presence of the third party in partitions is not strictly applicable to Ireland as Britain was both an external and internal party in the Irish equation. Partition is an intrinsically abstract and simplistic blunt instrument applied on a complex mosaic of peculiarities that constitute reality. There are very few modern states that are ethnically or culturally homogenous. In this context, partition is a subjective territorial tactic that treats symptoms of historical, political, and geographical difficulties. Hence, isolating politics, economics, history, or any other single perspective for analysis is likely to yield only limited insight, as they are not isolated in reality. The paper concludes that ultimately, notwithstanding the definitions and categories of partitions that have been devised, not only is each case of partition unique but subject to differing interpretations. In this regard, Ireland is a prime example.

68. Brian Ó Caoidealbháin, Citizenship and Borders: Irish Nationality Law and Northern Ireland.
Depending on its underlying principles and scope of application, citizenship law can impact on territorial borders in varying ways, ranging from their reinforcement to their active subversion. In this paper I develop a schema of possible relationships between borders and four common principles of citizenship with the aim of assessing their compatibility. I then apply this schema to pre-1998 Irish citizenship law to illustrate an instance of subversion of a territorial border. While highly distinctive in Europe, the formerly irredentist nature of Irish citizenship law calls attention to the potential for conflict between certain citizenship criteria and territorial boundaries, a potential which has increased in recent decades with the reform of citizenship regimes in Central and Eastern Europe.

69. Katy Hayward, Contention, Competition and Crime: Newspapers’ Portrayal of Borders in the North-West.
This paper analyses three local newspapers in the Derry-Donegal region for their presentation of cross-border issues in a two year period (2004-5). The border is portrayed in all three papers as a locus of political contention, competition for trade, and even of criminal activity. This paper highlights four important points for understanding the perception of partition in a border region. The first is the vast differences between the papers in the way they present the border and the “other side” of it. The second is that cross-border issues are rarely featured, and the work of north-south bodies is barely mentioned at all. The third point is that the EU is linked to virtually all stories of cross-border cooperation. Finally, local territorial divides appear to be far more important for identification of community and difference than the actual state border. Overall, the results of this brief study implies that increased cross-border mobility in and of itself does not necessarily give rise to a shared discourse around the border—and can indeed have contrary effects.

70. Kevin Howard, *Community and Change in a Partitioned Civil Society: Whyte Revisited.*
This paper revisits John Whyte’s seminal 1983 article “The permeability of the United Kingdom-Irish border: a preliminary reconnaissance” (Whyte, 1983). The objective is to explore hypotheses Whyte put forward as to why some private organisations are all-Ireland while others follow the international boundary. He suggested that two variables are crucial in explaining this: the nature of the organisation’s activities and the date of its foundation. He also identified a lack of readily available information on foundation dates. To overcome this lacuna we carried out a survey of private organisations to ascertain their foundation date, area of activity and what if any territorial reconfiguring they have undergone. Using the same functional categories as Whyte our research is generally supportive of his initial findings. Civil society can act as a counter-force to the boundary reinforcing dynamics of separate state developments.

71. Kevin Howard, *Territorial Politics and Irish Cycling*
This paper explores a particular sporting activity in which the complexities of the relationship between the two parts of Ireland, and between Northern Ireland and Great Britain, are vividly illustrated. Originally, cycling in Ireland was organised by two internationally recognised bodies, the Irish Cycling Federation (founded 1954) in the Republic and the Northern Ireland Cycling Federation (founded in 1949) in Northern Ireland. Alongside these was a third body, the National Cycling Association (founded in 1932), which operated on an all-island basis. Tensions between the three organisations were overcome in 1979 by a tripartite agreement, under which a new, internationally recognised all-Ireland body, the Federation of Irish Cyclists, appeared five years later. But this did not end the matter, and the paper discusses the failure of Northern Ireland Cycling Federation members to endorse this solution, the resulting split, and continuing efforts by that organisation (both before and after the 1998 Good Friday agreement) to define itself as a British- rather than an Irish-linked body.

This paper examines economic progress in the island of Ireland in the context of its modern history, but with particular emphasis on the post cease-fire and post Belfast Agreement period, inquiring whether or not policy makers and businesses on the island have been able to build a more robust economy, benefiting from cross-border synergies as civil conflict faded into the background. In what way has an “island” economy emerged in the aftermath of internal Northern Ireland conflict, in the sense envisaged by business leaders such as Sir George Quigley and Liam Connellan in the early 1990s? In the absence of a strong “island” focus for the economies of North and South, are the two regions of the island likely to drift further apart and relate to the newly enlarged EU market in different ways? If an island economy does not emerge, has Northern Ireland any future other than as a lagging region of the UK? On the other hand, can Ireland sustain its role as an EU success story in the face of increasing competition from the new member states and from Asia?
73. John Bradley, *Industrial Development in Ireland, North and South: Case Studies of the Textile and Information Technology Sectors.*

This paper follows from another study, which showed that the industrial structures in the Republic and Northern Ireland are very different—the former with a cluster of modern high technology sectors, the latter retaining its nineteenth-century specialization in more traditional sectors. However, the most important dynamic promoting increased intra-EU trade in the single market of the EU is associated with inter-firm trade in similar product areas rather than trade in finished goods. This two-way trade cannot easily take place between North and South, given contrasting production structures. In this paper we explore the history and the nature of this dichotomy, using two case studies as illustrations: the clothing and textile sector, which is mainly a northern area of specialization, and the computer sector, a primary focus of specialization in the South. We suggest that both regions face challenges that could be used to promote North-South links on the island for the first time in modern history.


This paper discusses some of the general problems of differentiating between the effects of state borders and the effects of related ethnonational identity differences, and particularly between the combined effects of ethnicity and borders and the effects of all sorts of other influences on behaviour and attitudes in border communities, including class, gender, age and geographical circumstance. It examines how borders and ethnicity interact with other such influences. Reflecting on the pitfalls in rushing to judgement on territorial and ethnic factors, and on perceived shortcomings in Irish border research, it attempts to avoid these various problems in elaborating a research design for a questionnaire survey of border households in Northern Ireland and the Republic. It devises a basic questionnaire with adaptations for different sides and sections of the border, and a random sampling framework which is stratified by distance from the border, with equal numbers on either side, and equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants—traditional markers of Irish and British national identity, though this too is questioned. Highlighting factors such as age, gender and class, it points to asymmetries across the territorial and religious divides which may significantly influence the behaviour and attitudes of the different groups.

75. Michael Kennedy, *The Realms of Practical Politics: North-South Co-operation on the Erne Hydroelectric Scheme, 1942 to 1957*

North and South co-operated to enable the Irish Electricity Supply Board to build the most effective power plant possible on the River Erne in southern territory by ensuring that, through dredging and various civil engineering works in northern territory, the Erne lakes were able to provide sufficient water flow to power the turbines. This project offered significant attractions to interests on both sides of the border: electricity to the South, and drainage of the Erne catchment area to the North. It took from 1942 to 1950 for Dublin and Belfast to come to an agreement on the manner of co-operation over the Erne. Finally, in May 1950, parallel legislation introduced in the Dáil and in Stormont on the same day led to the Erne Drainage and Development Act which allowed the Electricity Supply Board and the Northern Ireland Ministry of Finance to sign an agreement to facilitate co-operation in September 1950. This paper argues that, for the 1940s and 1950s, and given the strongly anti-partitionist mood in Irish foreign policy, the agreement over the Erne scheme marked a major step forward for relations between Dublin and Belfast and provided a workable template for co-operation.

76. Hastings Donnan, *Fuzzy Frontiers: The Rural Interface in South Armagh*

Many Protestants in South Armagh believe that cross-border relationships potentially muddy the distinction between “us” and “them”, between longstanding supporters of the state and its opponents, and claim that these relationships deliver benefits unevenly, sometimes to those who are thought to least deserve them. Long seen as safeguarding such differences, the border has progressively become the setting for new forms of uncertainty and ambivalence for many border Protestants who, as the border becomes more porous, mark such boundaries in other ways. This paper examines a rural interface in South Armagh, where communal division seems as sharply drawn as ever at a time when the “visibility” of the state border itself is beginning to disappear.
77. Brendan O’Leary, Analysing Partition: Definition, Classification and Explanation.
Political partitions should be carefully distinguished from secessions, de-colonisations and disengagements—though they may accompany these phenomena. Political partitions involve a fresh cut, an at least partially novel border, ripped through at least one national community’s homeland. Partitions of national and multinational polities may be distinguished, as may external and internal partitions. External partitions have been rarer than suggested in conventional accounts, and explanations of their occurrence are evaluated.

78. Brendan O’Leary, Debating Partition: Justifications and Critiques
Political partitions—fresh political borders cut through at least one community’s homeland—have been regularly commended to resolve national, ethnic and communal conflicts. The strongest five political arguments in their favour are presented in this article. The neglected question of how partitions may be implemented is also considered. Then the seven most powerful political arguments of anti-partitionists are treated. Partition should only be considered when there is a high degree of confidence that genocide or mass expulsions will occur, and its proponents should consider that preparing for partition may precipitate the awful outcomes it is nominally intended to prevent.

79. KJ Rankin, The Provenance and Dissolution of the Irish Boundary Commission
The abortive saga of the Irish Boundary Commission has largely been dismissed as a minor footnote that warrants little elaboration in Ireland’s partition discourse. This is unsurprising considering that its final report, having been pre-empted by an inspired newspaper forecast, was hastily suppressed so as to prevent the destabilisation of the fledgling regimes in the newly created Northern Ireland and the then Irish Free State. However, the concept of the Irish Boundary Commission derives from the intensifying controversies of Irish Home Rule and partition with specific reference to how and where a boundary was eventually drawn as well as to the creation of Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. The Commission was legally conceived in article 12 of the controversial 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty but confusion over its wording protracted a sequence of events that ensured that the Commission did not actually meet until almost three years later. The eventual restrictive interpretation of the article came to expose inherent flaws that were either ignored or naively underestimated when originally drafted. Furthermore, the complexities of evidence were inadequately scrutinised by a small and under-resourced panel that operated under considerable political pressure to delimit a precise line that satisfied the terms of reference. Nevertheless, the Boundary Commission served as a crucial catalyst in defining the Irish Free State’s relationship with the British State and Empire as well as in entrenching the territorial framework of Northern Ireland’s six counties that exists to this day.