

# Neither Here nor There



## Table of Contents

3	<i>Introduction</i>
5	<i>The Highway and the Country</i> Context Thematic
18	<i>Site</i> Information Drawings Photographs
26	<i>Discourse</i> Precedent Studies Visualized Evidence Architectural References
39	<i>Project</i> Description Outcomes and Deliverables
70	<i>Expert Interviews</i>
72	<i>Bibliography</i>
74	<i>Afterword</i> Reflection: Project in Relation to Discourse

## Introduction

The Irish border, runs for 499 km separating the Republic of Ireland from Northern Ireland. Since its implementation in 1912, the border fluctuated in its permeability and meaning, for there it witnessed great periods of instability, quietness, denial and insignificance. When the “Good Friday agreement was signed” the common ground of the EU helped blur the choice between a united island of Ireland and a united kingdom. Today, the Irish border, is just another Irish landscape that is only relevant because of its location, and that seamless transition, is once again to be debated in the aftermath of Brexit. Given the glacial pace of the Brexit negotiations, the issue of the Irish border might not be resolved by 2020, in fact it might not be resolved by 2040. Borders are never resolved, they change...

Hence, instead of designing a border, the project designs borders. In this moment of uncertainty, what is/ are the future(s) of the Irish border? Like all borders, the Irish border was designed, drawn like a sharp line on the map, splitting the spaces hindering its precise cut through the territory. But how come we don't design borders in relation to what is actually happening on the ground? Can we think of the borderwall as a device? An infrastructure? A place? A passage? A landscape? A home?

The focus on a specific aspect each time, and the resulting exaggerated visions, guides the discourse into an intended direction. From trade, to issues of identity, memory, war and immigration, the borderwall is designed through different lenses. In this uniquely contested site in Ireland, this speculation not only raises questions about the design and presence of the borders themselves, but also provide a framework in which to investigate pressing matters for architects: issues of politics, agency, compliance, resistance, longevity, materiality and symbolism.

In the spirit of Perec and Queneau, the project is a collection of different borders: infrastructural, public, domestic, hard, soft, optimistic, pessimistic, past, present and future.



Policing the Northern Irish border in the 1970s

## The Highway and the Country

In taking Ireland as a starting point to Ireland—an island in the Northern Atlantic Ocean—is separated from Great Britain by the Irish Sea, whose upper half is also a part of the United Kingdom. Located on the edge of Europe, Ireland has been largely peripheral to the continent's history at least through its industrialization and economic success. However, in purely cartographic terms, the island can be considered the center of the world. If one were to locate a pin in the middle of a world map, it would most likely land at Ireland. The Republic and Northern Ireland are separated by a border—the result of sectarian conflict—dividing the minority of the north from the majority of the south. If the border is de facto invisible due to the British membership of the European Union, the plausible new reality of a “Hard Brexit” questions the necessary relationship between the two parts of this island.

The country's population achieved its numerical maximum of eight million inhabitants in the nineteenth century; however, since then, the country has been unable to recover from such demographic strength. The Great Potato Famine of 1845—which claimed the starvation of one million people and resulted in three million emigrating abroad—can be considered as the beginning of a trajectory of steady population loss. Two centuries later, Ireland's current population consists of merely six million inhabitants. The distribution of its population is unequal across the island with up to 60% of the population concentrated in the urban centers of the east, most notably Dublin and Belfast. Consequently, these cities have attract-ed multinational companies like Google, Facebook, and Apple, contributing to highly developed eastern and southern parts of the country—operating in a stark contrast to the west which remains rural and depopulated. In this regard, the small island is divided from north to south by political and religious differences, and from east to west by economic and demographic disparity.

To mediate these divisions, the Government of the Republic of Ireland has proposed the construction of an “Atlantic Corridor,” a series of highways running from north to south along the western region of the island, aimed at stimulating economic growth. Furthermore, the Republic's Project Ireland 2040 National Planning

Framework, directed towards a future date of 2040, anticipates an influx of one million non-Irish migrants. Approached as an opportunity to redistribute both population and development across the island, both proposals allude to the possibility of a permanent economic route through Derry/Londonderry, thereby establishing a new set of relationships between Ireland and Northern Ireland. By imagining a new north-south link, both plans effectively seek to establish a new relationship between the east and west of the island. Although the Project Ireland 2040 National Planning Framework anticipates a widespread transformation, it lacks a clear articulation of a spatial agenda for these changes. While the Atlantic Corridor is a clearly delineated construct spanning 430 kilometers, its effect on the country remains uncharted.

One of the island's peculiarities is that the Republican South extends further north than the Unionist North. This uppermost region, both north and south, Irish and British, more than any other region in Ireland will concentrate the effect of Ireland's future redevelopment plans. This significant terrain, known as County Donegal, is where this collection of eleven projects is sited. Located between the towns of Sligo in the south and Derry/Londonderry in the north, it is one of the most economically fragile counties of the Republic. This fragility is further highlighted by its geographic position, surrounded on either side by the sea and Northern Ireland, and connected to the Republic by a narrow strip of land that makes it susceptible to the effects of a possible hard border with Brexit.

Characterized by pastures, woodlands, small villages, peat fields, and a dispersal of innumerable one-off houses, the remote County Donegal is exemplar of the coexistence between rural countryside, housing estates, and urbanized towns in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> These settlements represent the architecture of the region; and yet historically this region has existed without any real relationship to the profession or the culture of architecture.

The following architectural project is one of eleven that speculates on County Donegal's possible architectural futures in relation to the Project Ireland 2040 National Planning Framework, the construction of the Atlantic Corridor, and the indeterminacy of Brexit—creating necessary encounters between north and south, between infrastructure and environment—or in short, between the highway and the country.



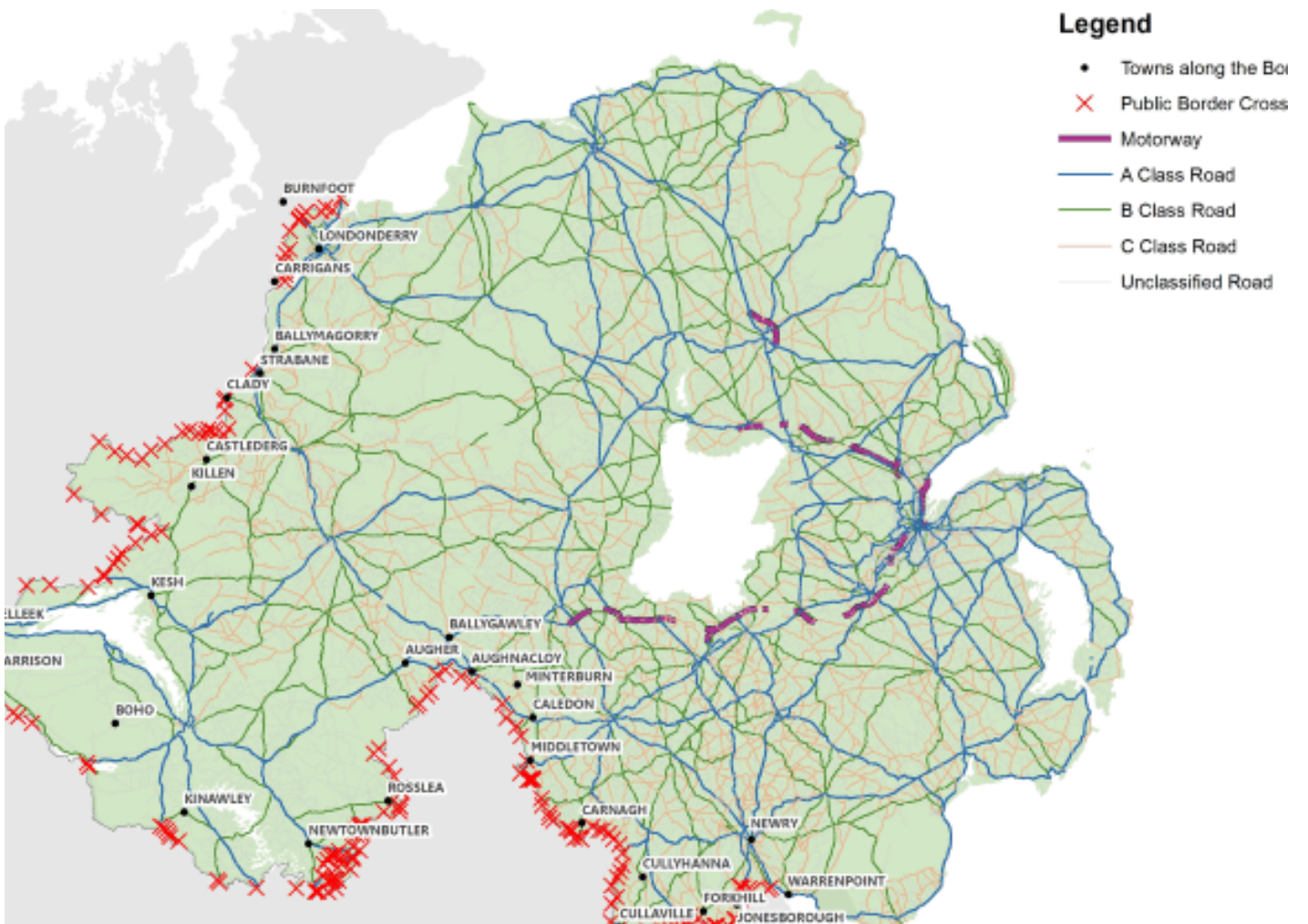
As Found Photograph

Barricades in Belfast, 1972



As Found Photograph

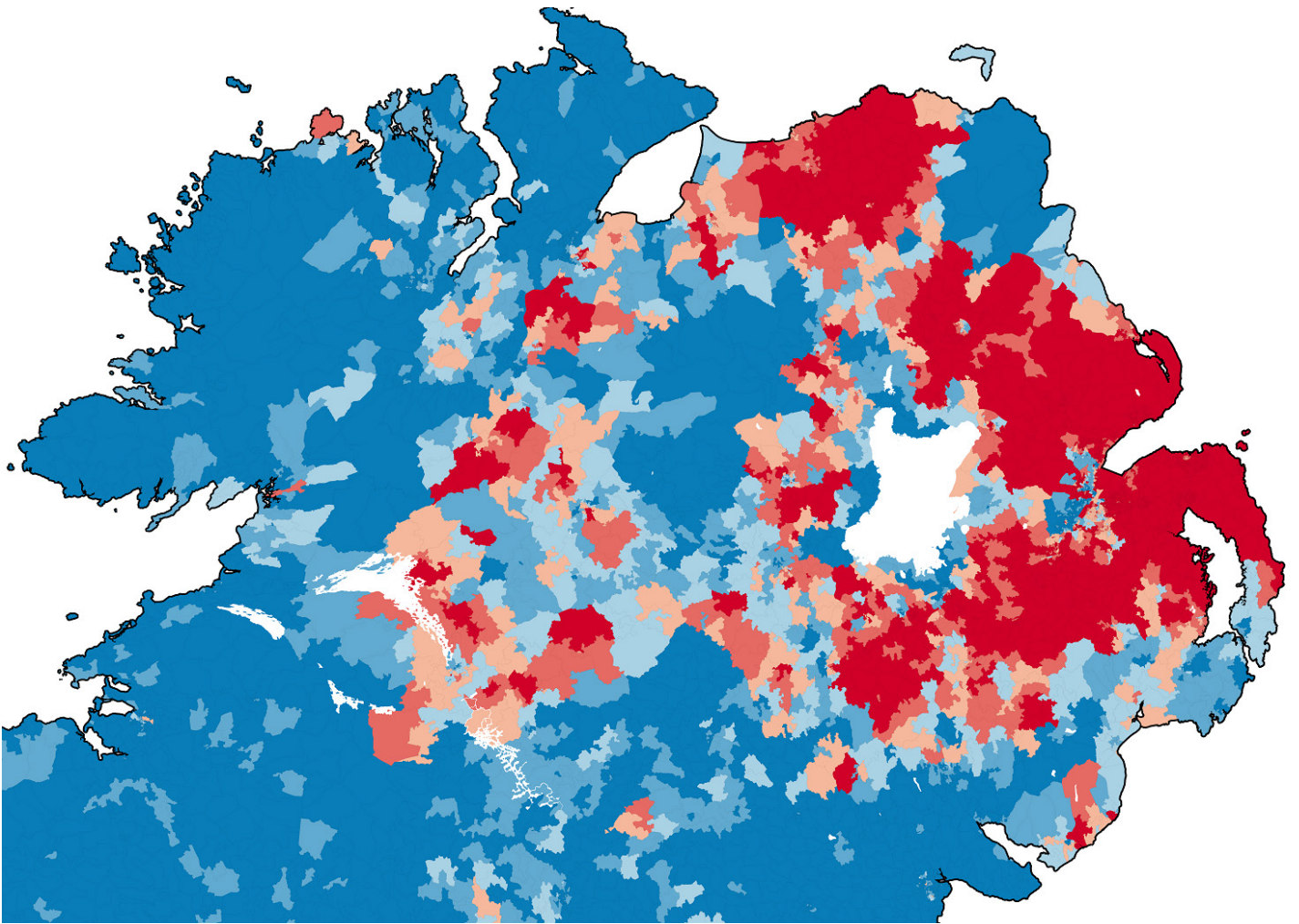
Mural in Belfast, 2017



As Found Objects

Public border crossings map, GADM database

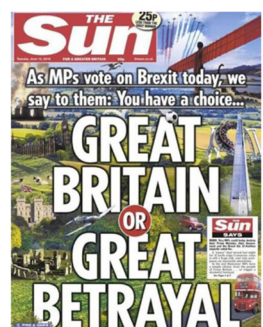
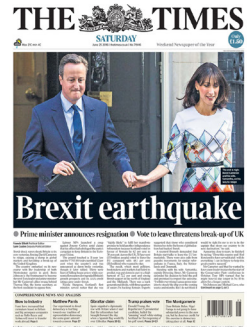




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As Found Object

Map showing Protestant (red) and Catholic (blue) distribution along the Irish border.



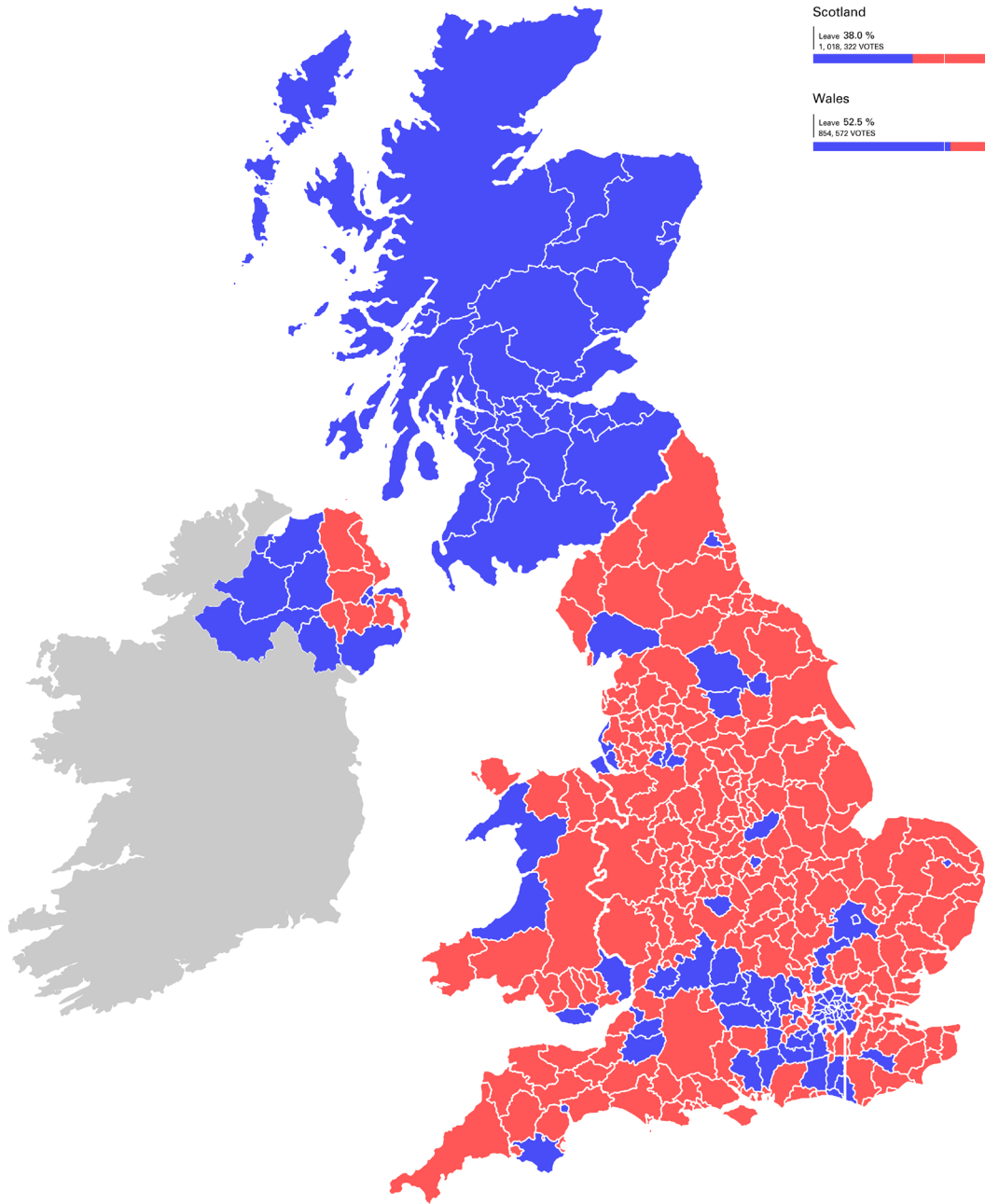
As Found Pictures

How journals around the world covered Brexit



As Found Photograph

Border communities protesting against Brexit, 2016



England		
Leave 53.4 %	15,188,406 VOTES	Remain 46.6 %
		13,296,966 VOTES
Turnout 73.0 %		
Northern Ireland		
Leave 44.2 %	349,442 VOTES	Remain 55.8 %
		440,437 VOTES
Turnout 62.9 %		
Scotland		
Leave 38.0 %	1,018,322 VOTES	Remain 62.0 %
		1,661,191 VOTES
Turnout 67.2 %		
Wales		
Leave 52.5 %	854,572 VOTES	Remain 46.6 %
		772,347 VOTES
Turnout 71.7 %		

Brexit Referendum turnout

OPTION 1 : NO BORDER



EU single market  
CTA/GFA  
UK territorial integrity  
~~UK out of the single market~~

OPTION 2 : NI-IRL BORDER



EU single market  
~~CTA/GFA~~  
UK territorial integrity  
UK out of the single market

OPTION 3 : IRISH SEA BORDER



EU single market  
~~CTA/GFA~~  
UK territorial integrity  
~~UK out of the single market~~

OPTION 4 : CHANNEL BORDER



~~EU single market~~  
~~CTA/GFA~~  
UK territorial integrity  
UK out of the single market

## Walls & Fences

The reasons for building a fence or wall along a border are manifold.

In Thailand and Malaysia, it is all about combating transnational crime and smuggling, which is also the case for most of the walls between Afghanistan and its neighbors as well as those between India and Bangladesh. The barriers built very recently in southeastern Europe are predominantly meant to stop illegal immigration. The fences in eastern and southeastern Europe were erected out of fear that “little green men”—disguised Russian soldiers, wearing unmarked green army uniforms but carrying modern Russian military weapons—could stage a coup similar to the annexation of the Crimea.<sup>1</sup> Matters in northern Africa and the Middle East are predominantly ignited by radical Islamic groups such as ISIL.

The most-discussed of all barriers is the one along the border between the United States and Mexico, whose stated segment, the “territo wall,” was built in 2004. Due to the very diverse landscape it passes through, its relatively long construction period, and the strong local influence on its materialization, the US-Mexico border barrier is the most diverse of all. According to government reports, it consists of 287 km of primary fencing, 88 km of secondary fencing, and 281 km of additional fence for fencing between the two countries.<sup>2</sup> This adds up to more than 600 km of fencing—about one-third the length of the 2007 km border.

The United States is also busy helping to separate nations states along the fences and barriers along the Jordan-Iraq and Jordan-Syria borders (2005–2014)<sup>3</sup> were financed by the US, as was the wall between Egypt and Gaza (2008).<sup>4</sup> Gaza is the world’s most severely fenced-in territory. Its 2.5 million inhabitants, or more accurately prisoners, are kept out of their neighboring states of Egypt and Israel. The West Bank is very close to following this fate.

Its prison guard Israel, is achieving the same through self-enclosure: since construction of the wall between Israel and the West Bank began in 2000, Israel has fortified about 60% of its land borders. The country is using its walls and fences not only for self-protection but also for other goals: In the West Bank, only 45% of the wall follows the Green Line, the demarcation line set out in the 1949 Armistice Agreements between the armies of Israel and those of its neighbors, while 50% of it cuts at times 10 kilometers deep into the West Bank.<sup>5</sup> The International Court of Justice found the barrier to be a violation of international law and the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution that condemned the barrier by a vote of 156–6 with 50 abstentions.<sup>6</sup>

1. [www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/11/russia-ukraine-crimia](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/11/russia-ukraine-crimia)  
 2. [www.dhs.gov/xgov/about/press/20140106a.htm](http://www.dhs.gov/xgov/about/press/20140106a.htm)  
 3. [www.usaid.gov/pressroom/record.cfm?id=142423](http://www.usaid.gov/pressroom/record.cfm?id=142423)  
 4. [www.nytimes.com/2008/02/27/world/middleeast/27gaza.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/27/world/middleeast/27gaza.html)  
 5. [www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/RighttoLife/Pages/IsraelWall.aspx](http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/RighttoLife/Pages/IsraelWall.aspx)



### Legend

- International borders
- Walls under construction
- Walls built after 2000
- Walls built before 2000
- Other international borders

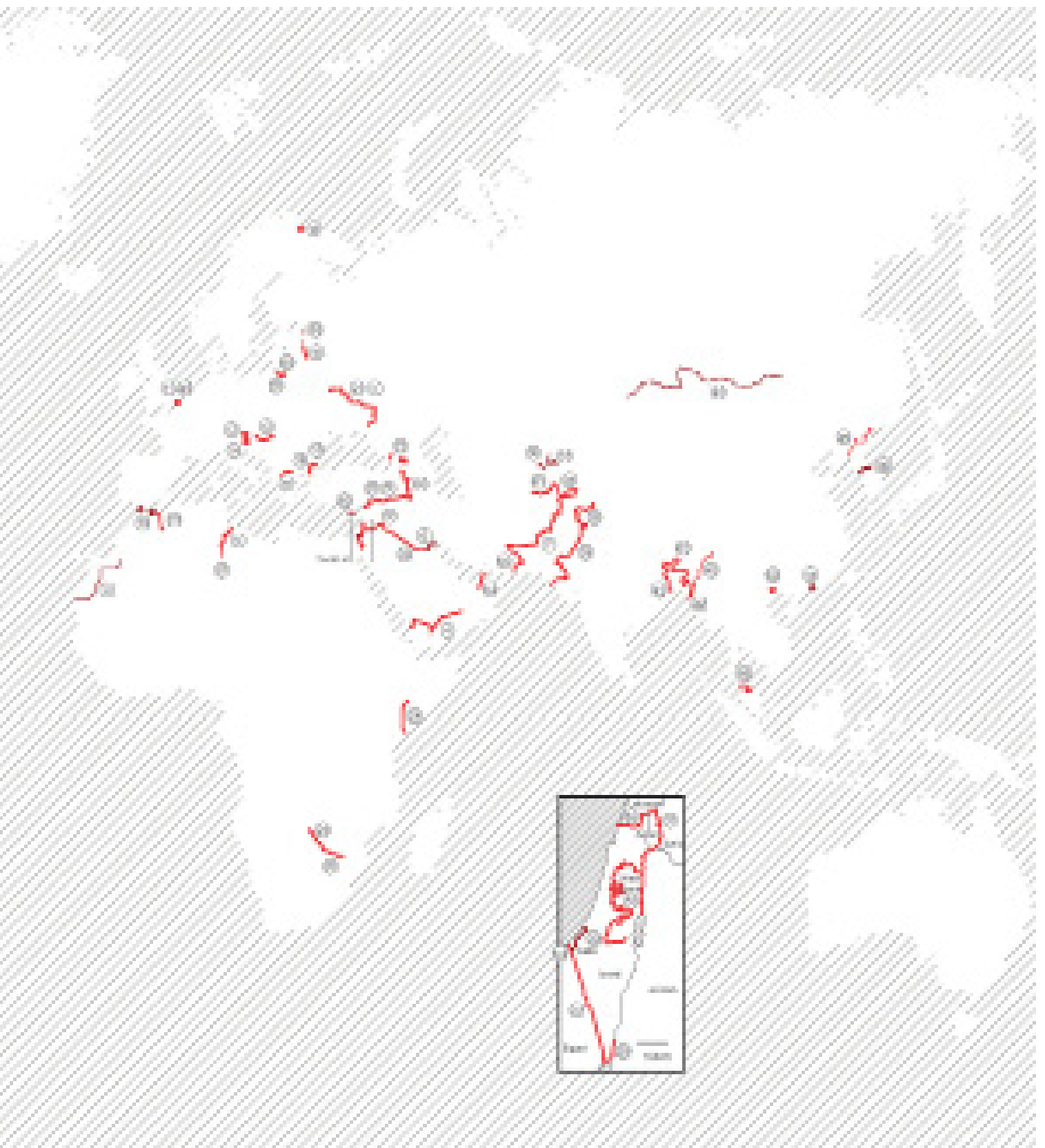
### Anti-Vehicle Barriers

- Iraq-Jordan
- Jordan-Syria
- Mexico-US
- West Bank-Israel
- Turkey-Libya
- Russia-Ukraine
- Russia-Ukraine

### Fence Barriers

- Libya-Tunisia
- Libya-Gaza
- Spain-Morocco (GRCM)
- Iran-Pakistan (Gaza)
- Austria-Hungary
- Hungary-Ukraine & Serbia
- Bosnia-Croatia
- Bulgaria-Turkey
- Greece-Turkey
- Macedonia-Greece

- North Korea
- North Korea
- Russia-Poland
- Serbia-Croatia
- Russia-Ukraine & EU
- Georgia-Azerbaijan
- Israel-Syria
- Israel-Egypt
- Israel-Jordan
- Israel-Egypt



- 📍 Turkey
- 📍 West Bank
- 📍 Iran-Iraq
- 📍 Iran-Pakistan
- 📍 Jordan-Palestine Barrier
- 📍 North Korea-China
- 📍 UAE-Oman
- 📍 Turkish-Syria
- 📍 Myanmar-Thailand
- 📍 Vietnam-Lao

- 📍 India-Pakistan
- 📍 India-Pakistan
- 📍 India-Bhutan
- 📍 India-Bangladesh
- 📍 Myanmar-Burma
- 📍 Laos-Vietnam
- 📍 China-Korea
- 📍 North Korea-China
- 📍 China-Taiwan

**Wall Barriers**

- 📍 Israel-Lebanon
- 📍 West Bank Barrier
- 📍 Golan Heights
- 📍 Cyprus via Buffer Zone
- 📍 Taiwan
- 📍 South Korea
- 📍 Israeli West Bank Barrier
- 📍 Egypt-Israel
- 📍 North Korea
- 📍 Russia-Ukraine

**Other Barriers (various materials)**

- 📍 North Korea
- 📍 China-Russia
- 📍 Myanmar-Thailand
- 📍 Thailand, Armenia & Iraq
- 📍 Myanmar-Lao
- 📍 India-Pakistan



*Yuanpeng Zhang, photograph of Border  
on the road between Ireland and  
Northern Ireland, 2018*

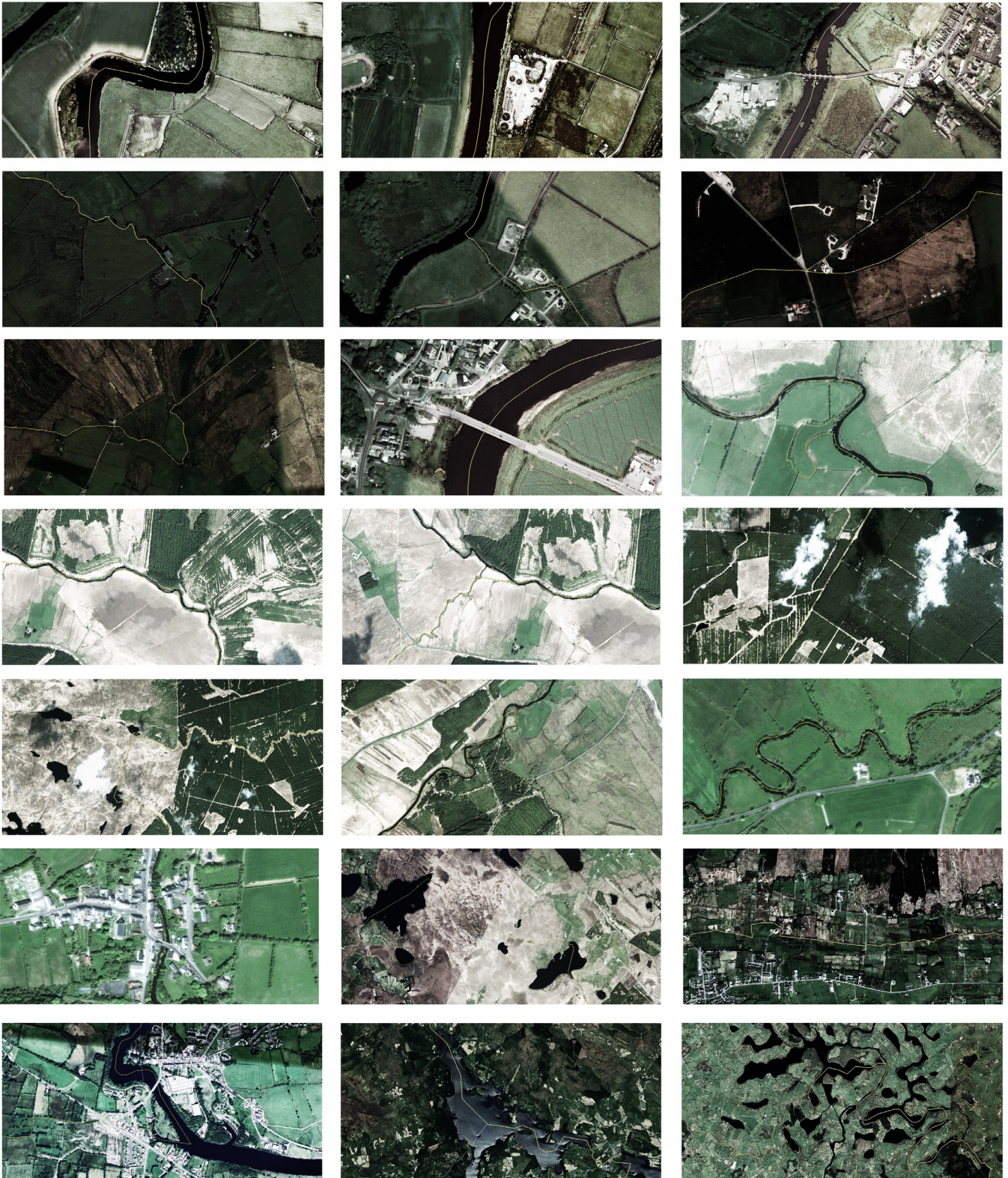


## Site

The question of a border, might be one of the hardest to grasp, nevertheless answer. It is an abstracted idea of a long strip of territory, represented by a two dimensional line on the map, a white lie in every atlas and geography book, that camouflages by its simplistic nature the complexity of the situation. The international border, by default of its implication, assembles a large spectrum of conditions into the common ground of the frontier, and those conditions can never regain their original definition. The broader definition of the border, from which the question steams, might mean that we were asking the wrong question all along. Should we still be talking about the border as one entity? Do all the border conditions have the same answer? Is there such thing as a "right answer"?

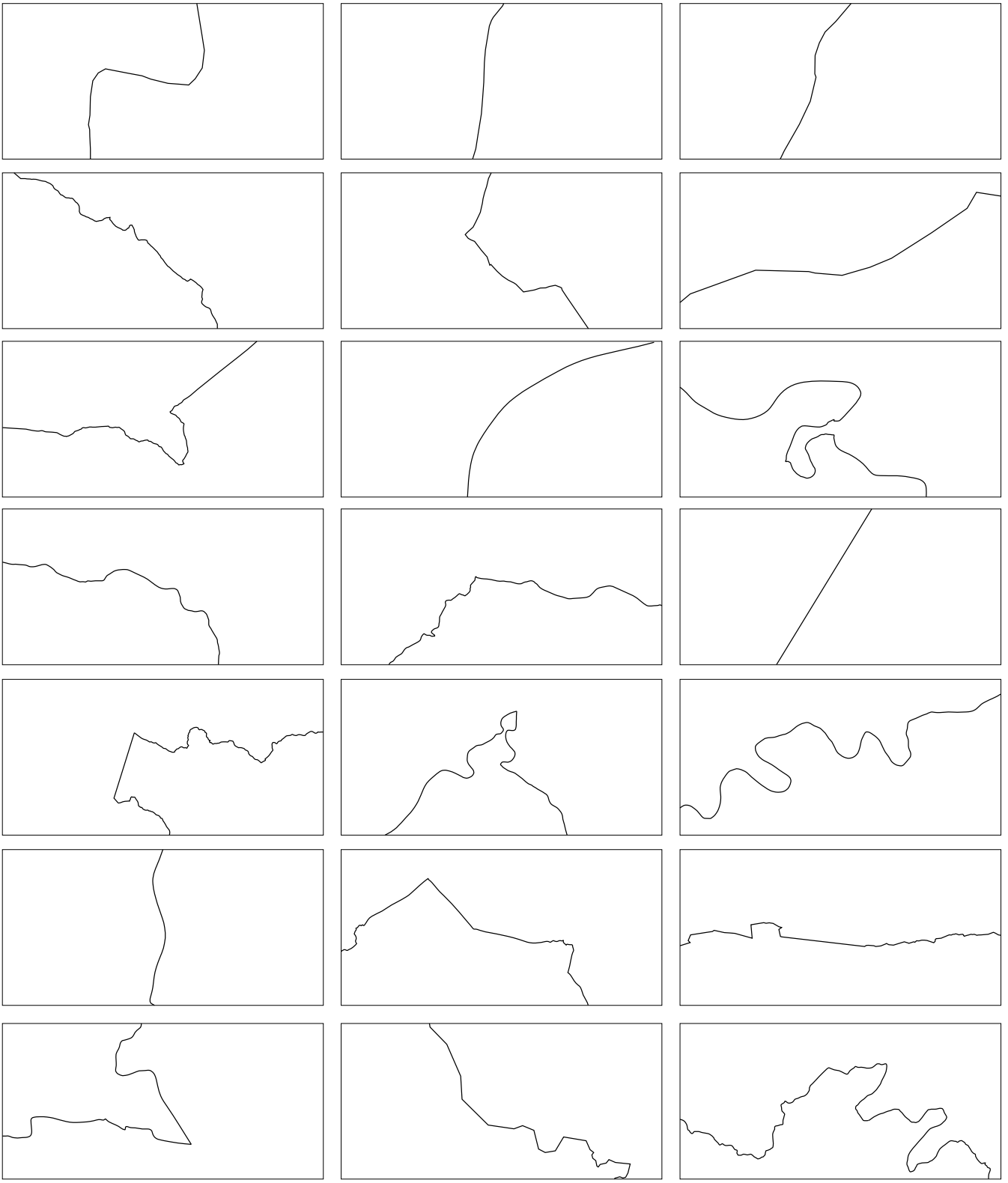
In this context, architecture has been given the tough task to mediate those various answers that range from seamless transitions, to short or tall fences, concrete walls, checkpoints and so on. Architecture here, in its most simple forms, is ought to answer a political question rather than a spatial one. Can the spatial conditions along the Irish border, paired with the evolution of events in time inform the answer that border is assigned? If the island of Ireland is ought to be divided by a wall, what would that wall be?

Specific events and spatial conditions generate different answers for what the border is and how it performs as a filter with mutating permeability.



Irish Borders

Data from Google Earth, 2017



Irish border lines



FIELD



TWIN CITIES



DIVIDED CITY



LOUGH

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Site Information

Territorial border conditions in Ireland



BRIDGE



ROAD



FENCE

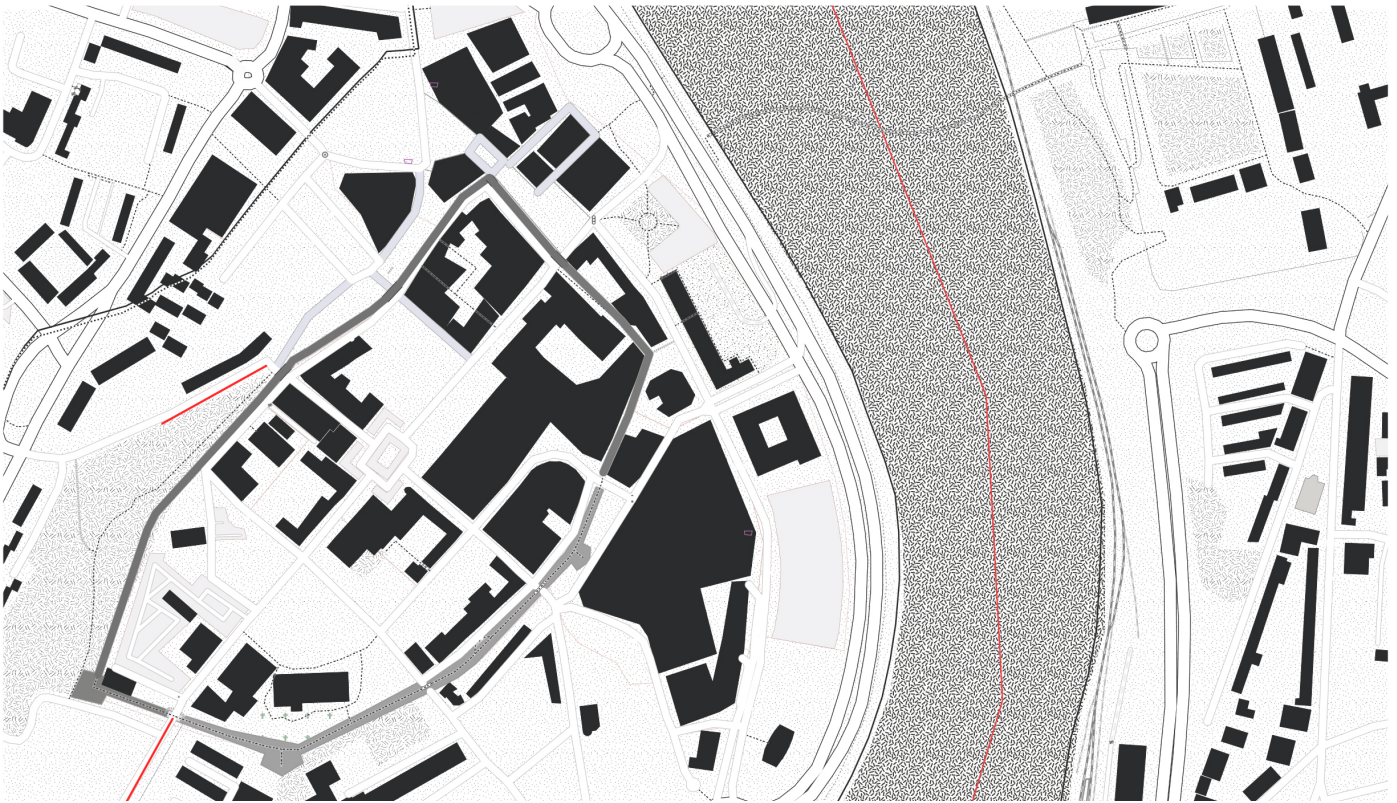


WATER

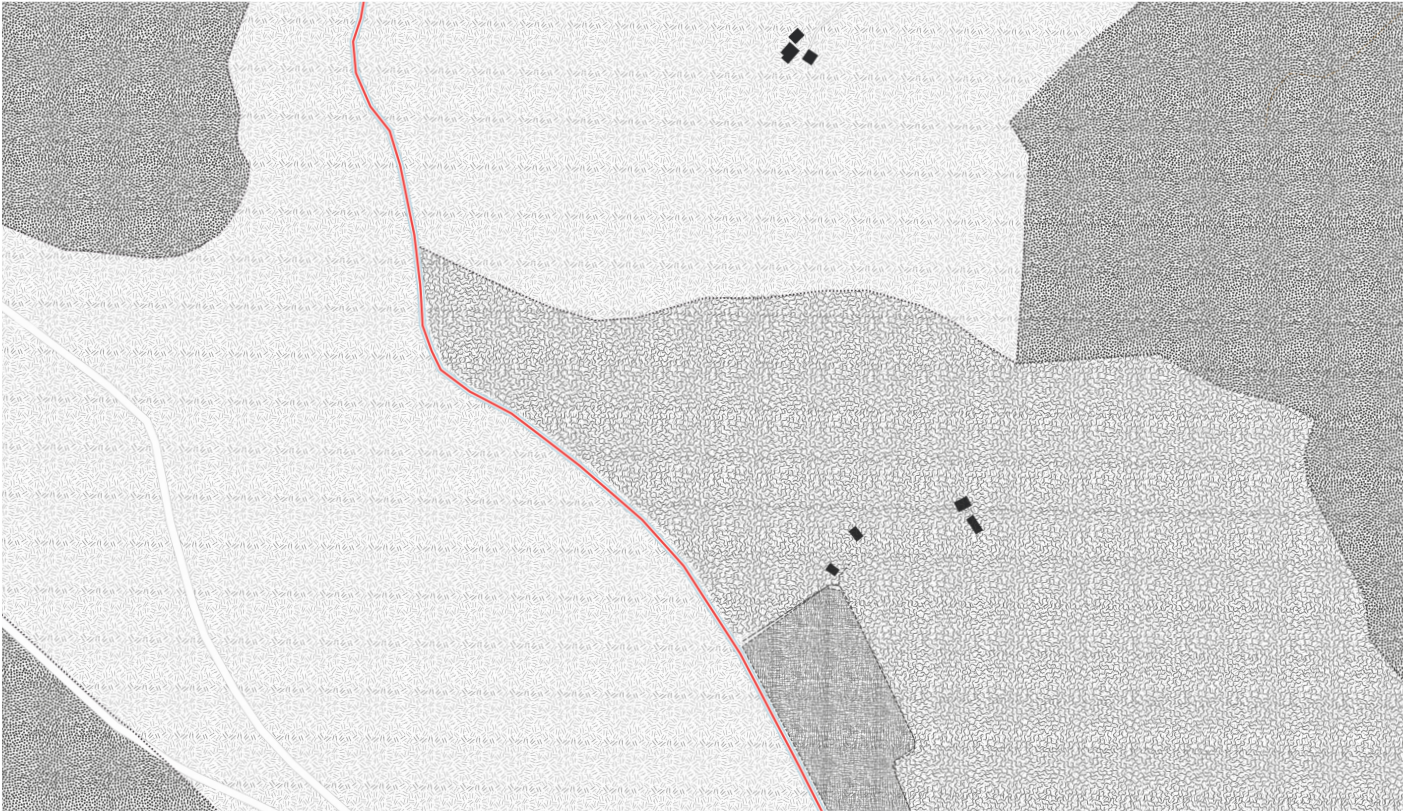
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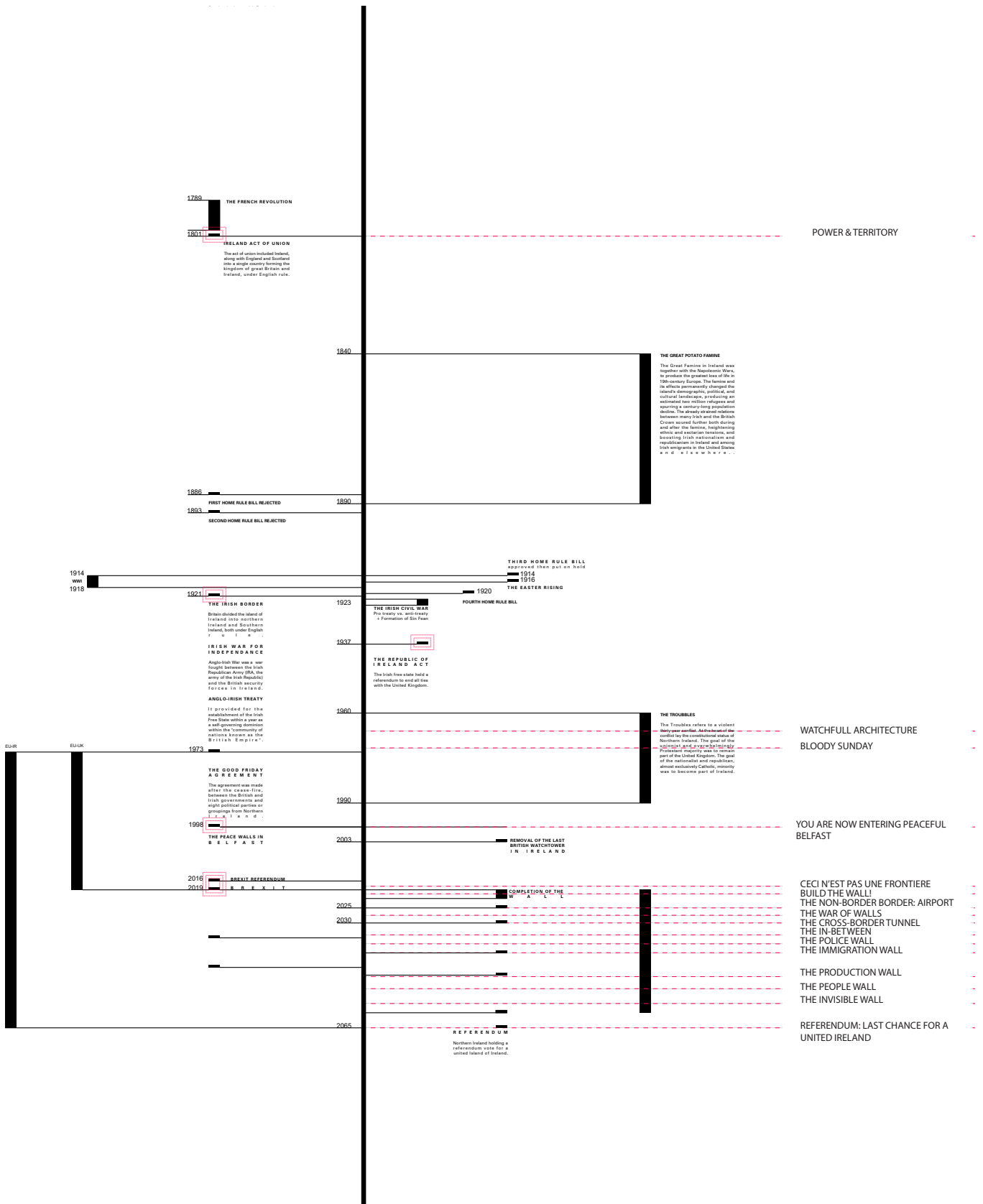
Ground truths on the Irish Border



Ground truths on the Irish Border

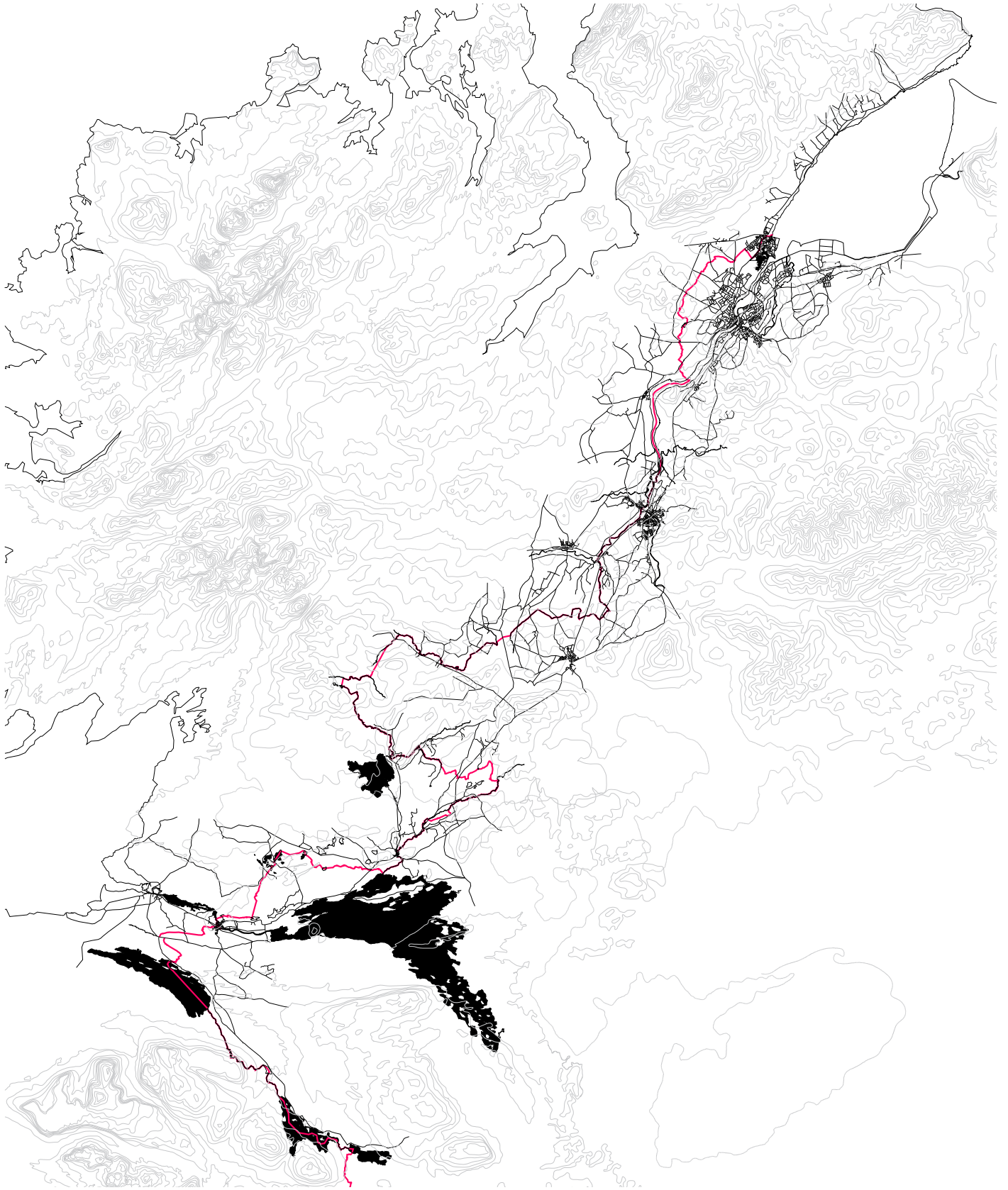


Ground truths on the Irish Border



Timeline Drawing





Site Drawings

Irish border in Donegal

## Discourse

“Political questions always involve decisions, which require us to make choice between conflicting alternatives. This incapacity to think politically is due to the uncontested hegemony of liberalism, which is unable to adequately grasp the pluralistic nature of the social world, with conflicts that pluralism entails: conflicts for which no rational solution can ever exist.”  
—Chantale Mouffe

## Precedent Studies

The wall, the border, the border wall:

The wall is the primary tool of the creation of space.

The border is often abstracted to a line on the map. The generation of borders have for long ignored some ground truth.

The border wall is the association of the two previous notions. It is a concrete manifestation of the set boundaries, and the most extreme form of spatial divisiveness.

The line, the circle, and the circles in the line:

The line creates two sides.

Case study: The Peace lines in Belfast. These walls hold the status of “peace-keeper” as they draw the line in areas of tensions, where the Protestants and the Catholics become the voluntary prisoner of either side.

The circle creates enclosure

Case study: The Berlin Wall by Rem Koolhaas. In “Fieldtrip” he writes, “I now realise that the wall encircles the city, paradoxically making it “free”... Also, the wall is not stable; and it is not a single entity, as I thought. It is more a situation, a permanent, slow-motion evolution, some of it abrupt and clearly planned, some of it improvised”

The circles in the line, or ground truth of the borderlands, reveal that the boundaries set on a territorial scale are constantly negotiated, compromised, or re-enforced. A closer look on what is happening on a graspable scale reveals the instability of the border condition through space and time.

Case study: The house that sits in both countries.



Exodus, Rem Koolhaas



Exodus, Rem Koolhaas



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Peace Lines in Belfast

## Visualized Evidence

In March 2019, the border between Northern Ireland and the republic of Ireland will become the only land border between the United Kingdom and the European Union. This new status is set to challenge the definition of the Irish border.

The border in Ireland runs through streams of inland water, undulating rivers, cutting through towns, mountains, splitting the occasional field into two fundamentally uneven parts. And where the common ground of the EU had permitted the convenient forgetfulness of that division, the new status of the Irish border will inherit a split in the laws, regulations, and authorities that govern each of the two countries. If one attempts to define the Irish border, to clearly articulate the depth of its implications, one would be faced by a complexity of tangled layers. From matters of governance, history and identity, surveillance, production and trade, migration and mobility, the Irish border is rooted in a complex dynamic of local and global spatial relationships.

In 1801, following the act of union, the island of Ireland was proclaimed as part of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, an act that was later repealed drawing a final line in 1921 with a border that divided the island into the republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

A troubled history still hunts the island, where deviating tensions between Protestants and catholic left marks on the territory. The watchtowers that stood along the border were a constant reminder of the hostility of each side towards the other.

The peace lines that divide Protestants and catholic neighbourhoods in cities like Belfast, and Derry/Londonderry, impose a hypothesis of a peace that can only be achieved once the other side is isolated behind the wall, forming a "good" side and "bad" side.

And where the border today is a mere difference in the shade of asphalt on the road where the two countries meet, the reality of Brexit has yet to restructure a new set of spatial relationships on the Irish border.

What are the implications of the new border on the everyday life? How does this change articulate itself in the spaces we walk through?

How does one create an identity for

oneself if not conforming strictly to one side?

In the midst of uncertainty, is there space for resistance? Could the tunnel answer the question of hard border as well as the bridge answers the reality of a soft one?

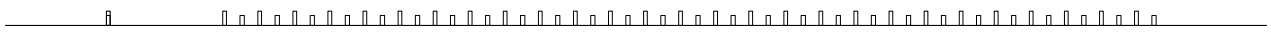
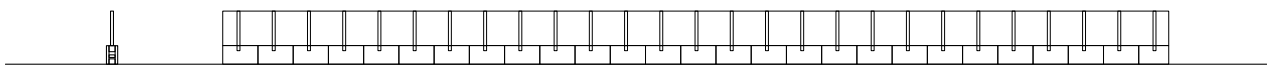
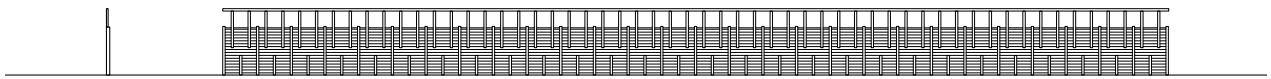
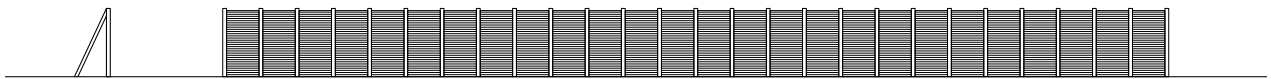
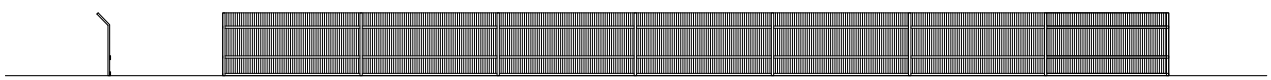
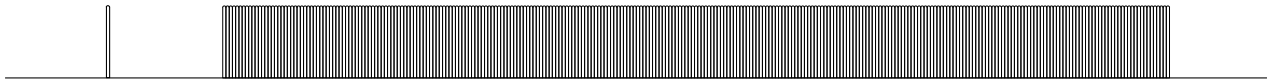
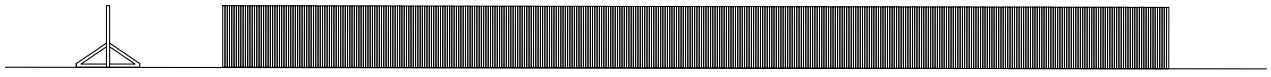
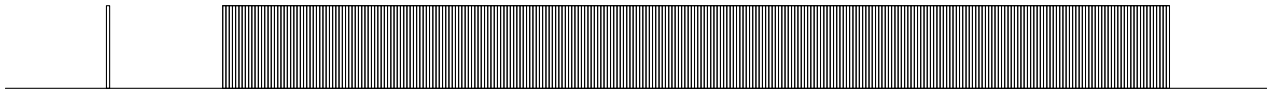
Could Irishness be preserved, stored? Could new comers conform to an idea of Irishness?

Could there be a space that is neither here nor there?

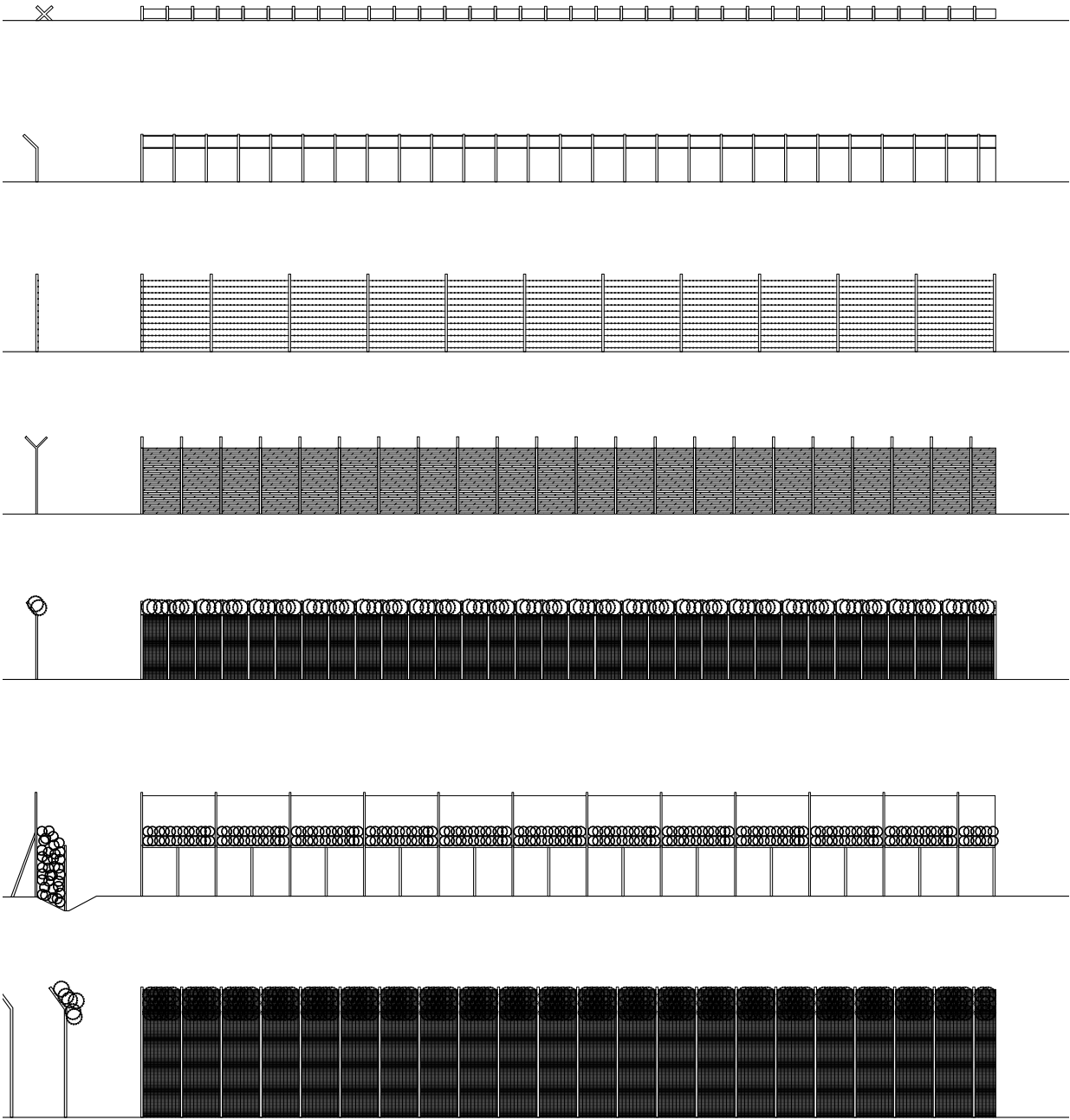
Can a wall perform an alternative function to mere division and limitation? How soft can the border be?



Photograph of Border on the road  
between Ireland and Northern Ireland,  
2018







Border wall types

## Architectural References

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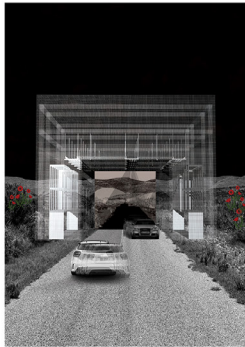
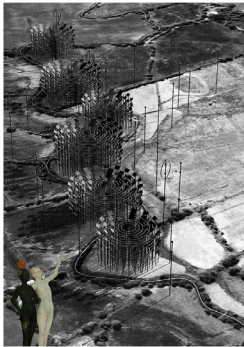
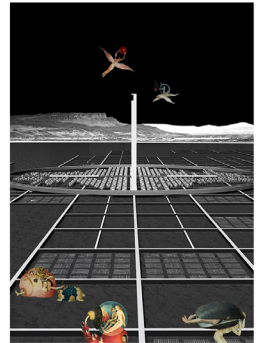
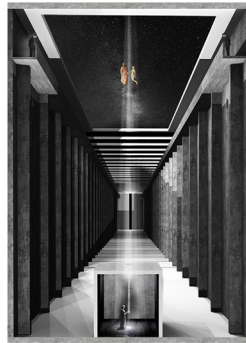
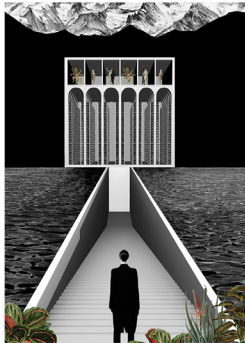
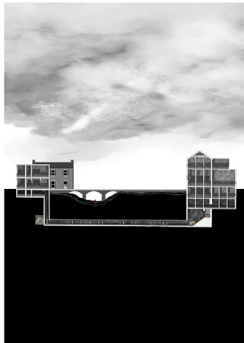
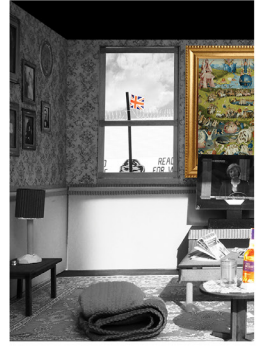
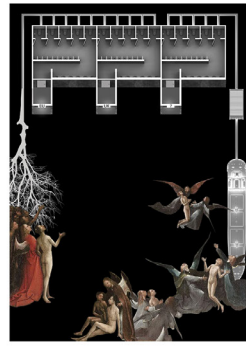
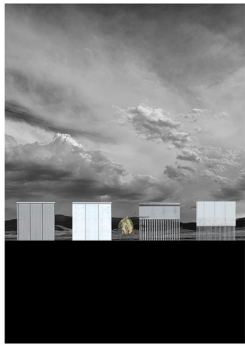
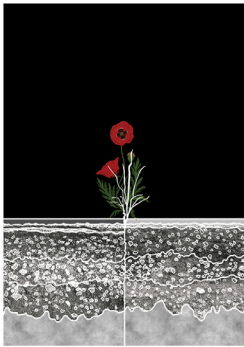
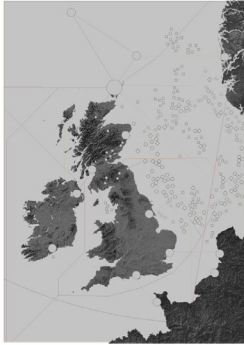




US-Mexico border Project, TU delt



US-Mexico border Project, TU delt



## Project

Sixteen moments, three answers  
Three architecture interventions, three moments in time, three rhetorical answers to the same question: the question of the Irish border. Following the examination of a series of ground truths along the border in Donegal, the story of the Irish border is narrated through a sequence of sixteen scenarios that are anchored in four historical moments, the current condition, while utilizing the uncertainty of Brexit as a momentum to propel that line of progression into the future. The result is a collection of different borders: global, local, infrastructural, public, domestic, hard, soft, optimistic, pessimistic, past, present and future. The three architectural interventions embedded in this sequence, capture different aspects of the Irish border where the architecture oscillates between degrees of transition, oppression and resistance; utopia, dystopia and heterotopia. Beyond the one-dimensionality of the line and the two dimensionality of the wall, the three scenarios are animated by processes of exchange and/or negotiations that unfold through a set of designed spaces, establishing a relationship to issues of governance, identity, surveillance, trade and immigration.

The first scenario, located in Lough Foyle , in 2034, takes into account the vast number of unlegislated activities on its shore, this found reality is then scale out and translated into a form of unlegislated settlements on water. The designed oyster farmers island with its inhabitable structures is a gateway, an escape for those who don't want to conform to the newly imposed rules of a divided Ireland, a form of resilience, a utopian resistance where the outlaws become the protagonists. In this realm of "in-betweenness" the notion of identity on the Irish border is put into question. The second scenario, intended for 2040, is based on the promise of the 1 million immigrants of the Irish 2040 plan . The project is a spatialized process of evaluation and integration of these new comers. Located on the border in-between two mountains, the quarantine-like structure, is an imposed trajectory, an assimilation test for those who claim access to an idea of "Irishness". The third scenario, is designed as a component of a system for a virtually monitored border. The unit designed is a scanning machine, and a data collector and a control chamber, placed on the roads that cross the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland. The implementation of these machine

on specific intervals of distances on the borderland form a virtual wall that protects the free mobility of people and goods while monitoring it without inconvenience.

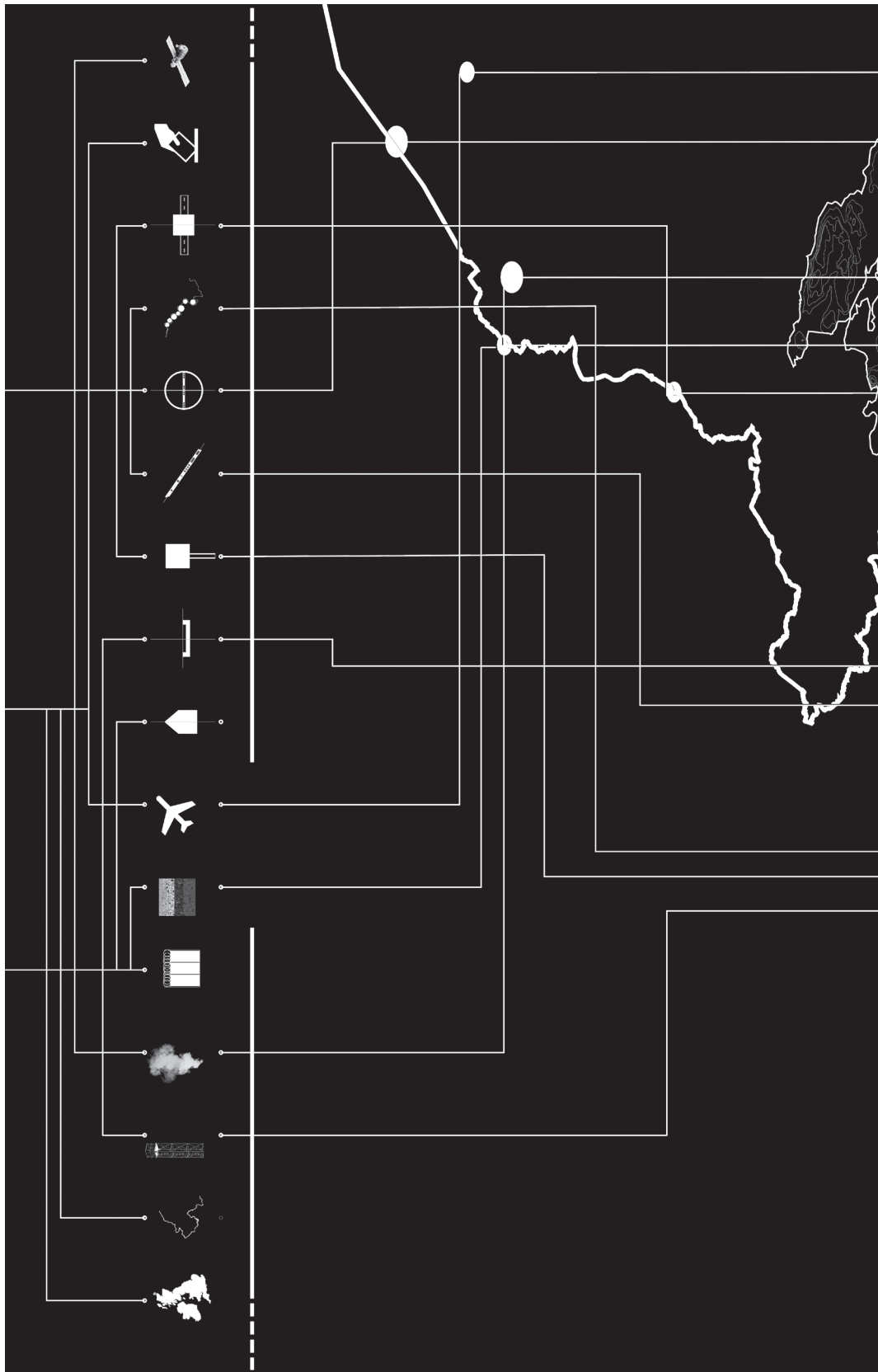
In space and time the question of the border, might be one of the hardest to grasp, nevertheless answer. It is an abstracted idea of a long strip of territory, represented by a one dimensional line on the map, a white lie in every atlas and geography book that camouflages by its simplistic nature the complexity of the situation. The international border, by default of its implication, assembles a large spectrum of conditions into the common ground of the frontier, and those conditions can never regain their original definition. In parallel, the physical manifestation of a border, cannot be read in isolation from its social, political, local, and global context, and interpreted without taking into account the events surrounding not only its emergence, but that outline the attitude towards it. Should we still be talking about the border as one entity? Do all the border conditions have the same answer? Is there such thing as a "right answer"?

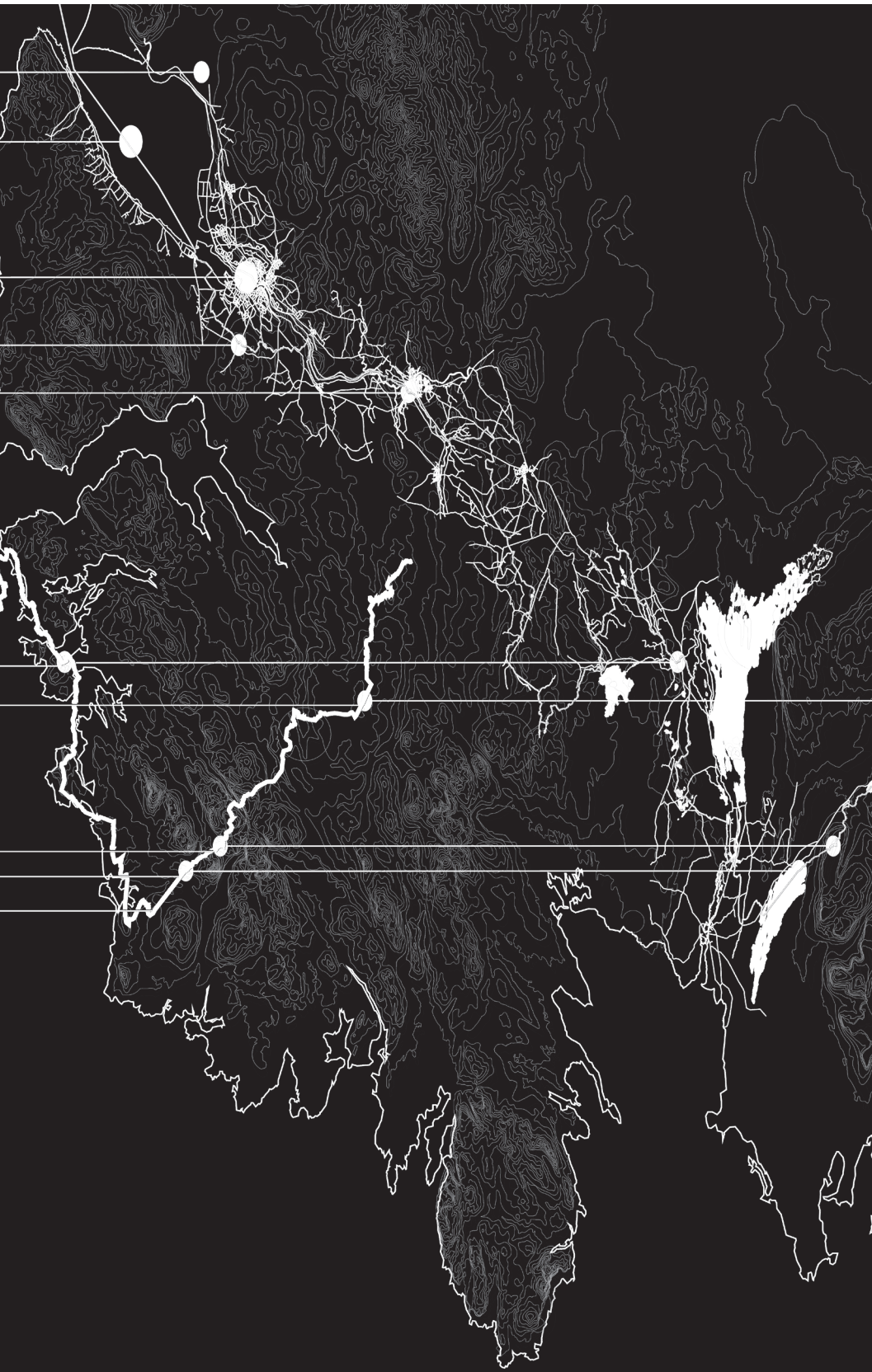




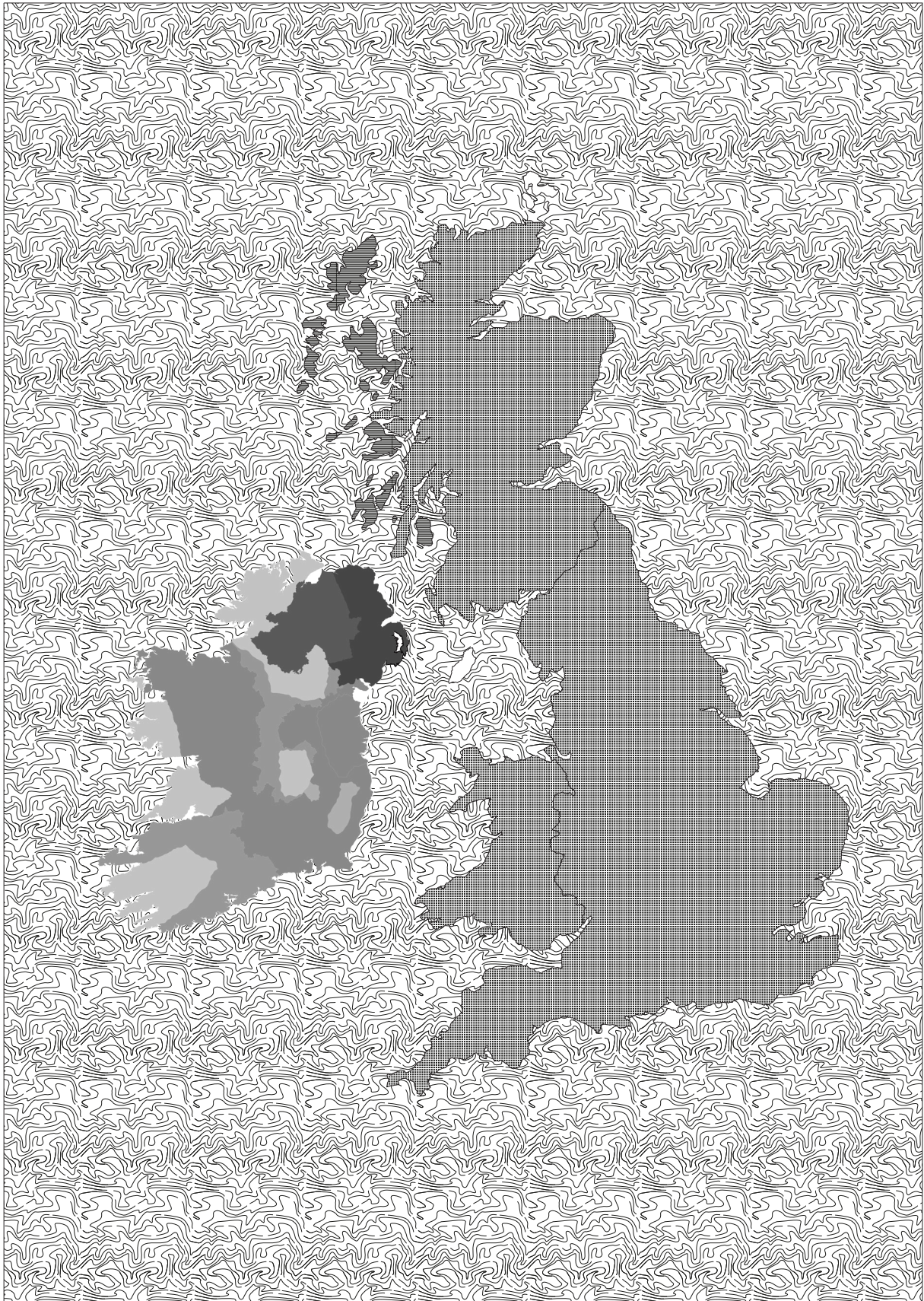


Garden of Earthly Delights by Bosch





Panorama Drawing





2 Watchtowers 1969



3 Bloody Sunday 1972

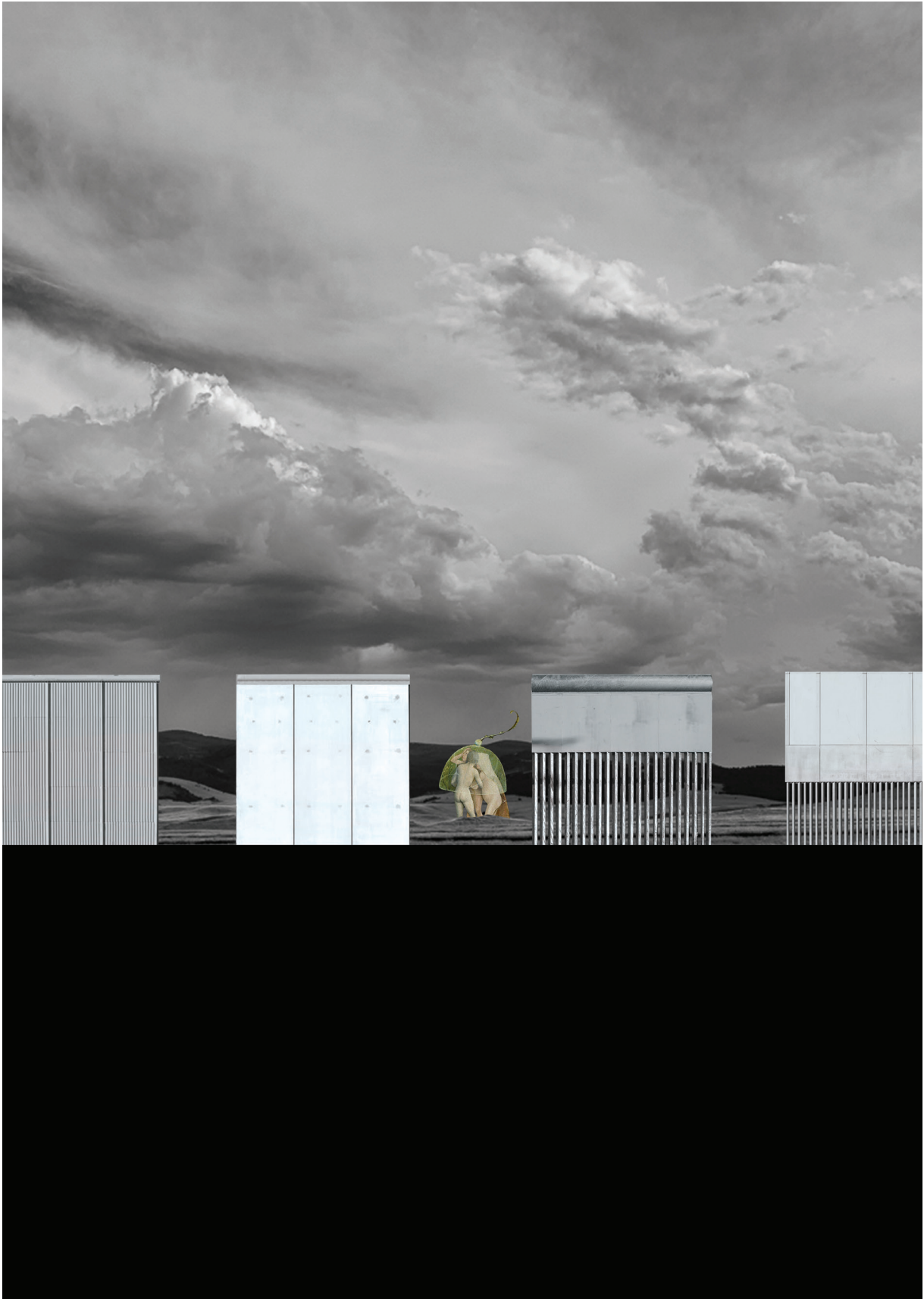


4 Peace Line 1998

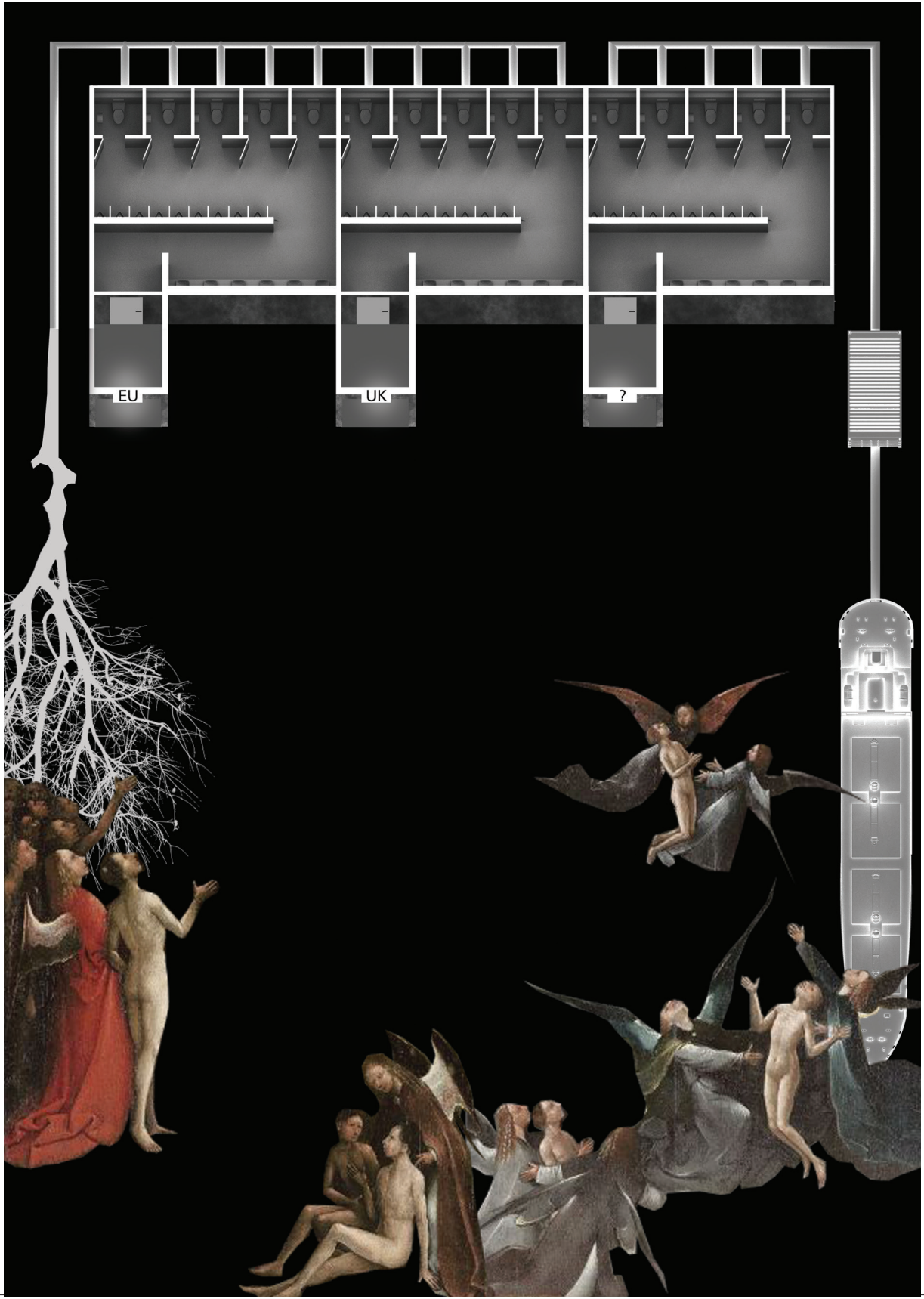


5 Asphalt Border 2018





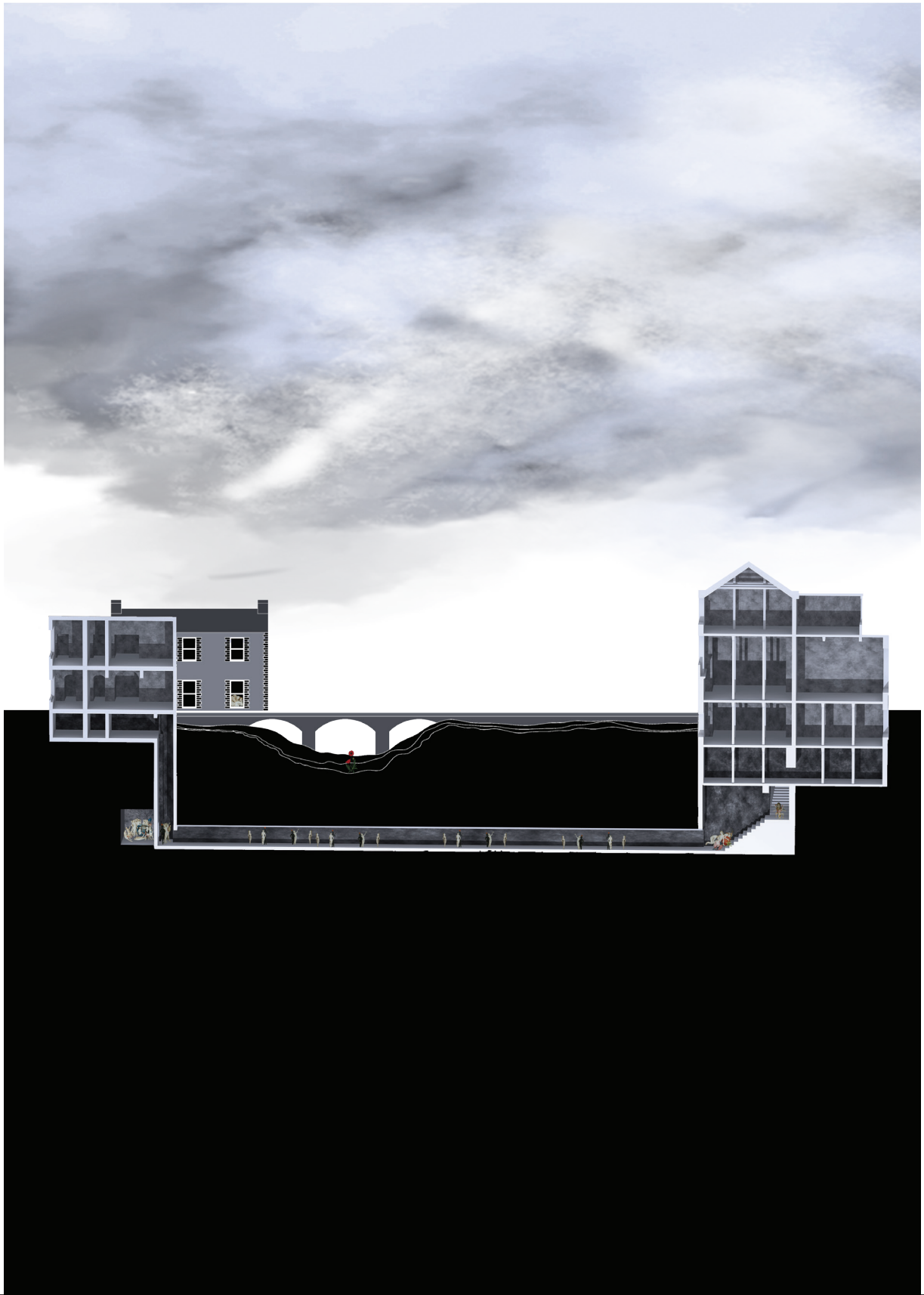
6 Build that wall ! 2019



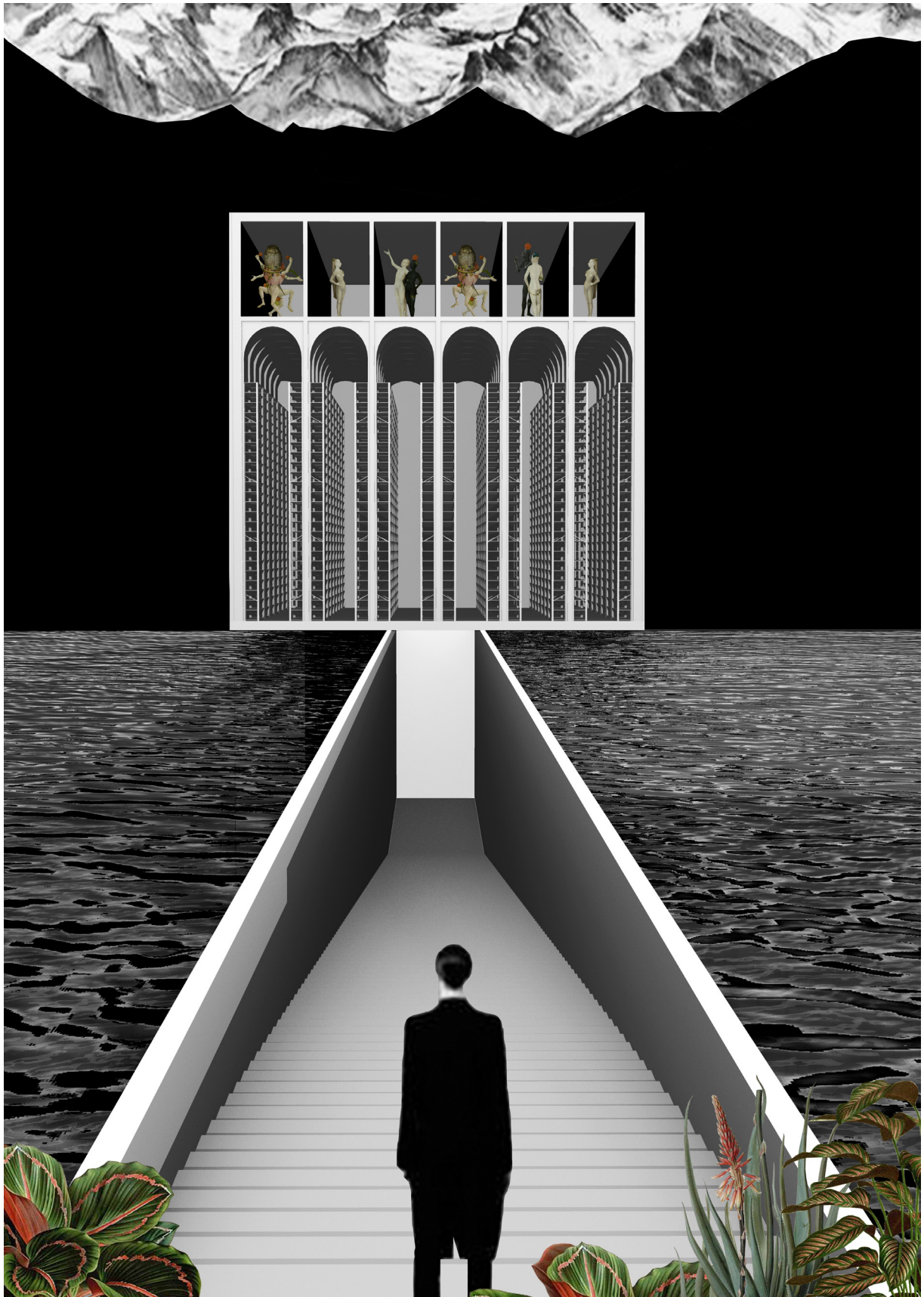
7 The non-border Border 2025



8 The war of walls 2027



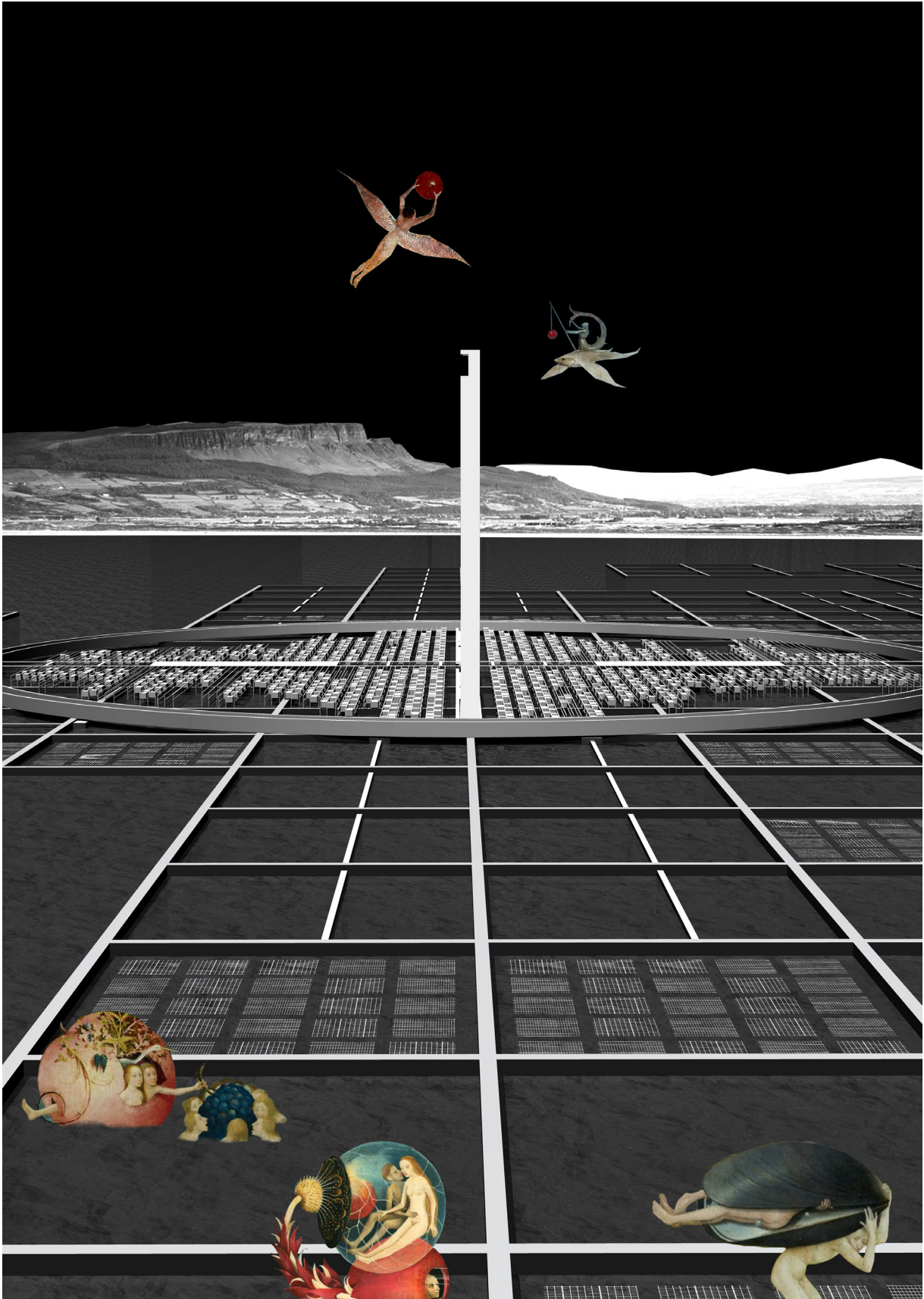
9 the cross border tunnel 2030



The vault 2037



11 The immigration wall 2040

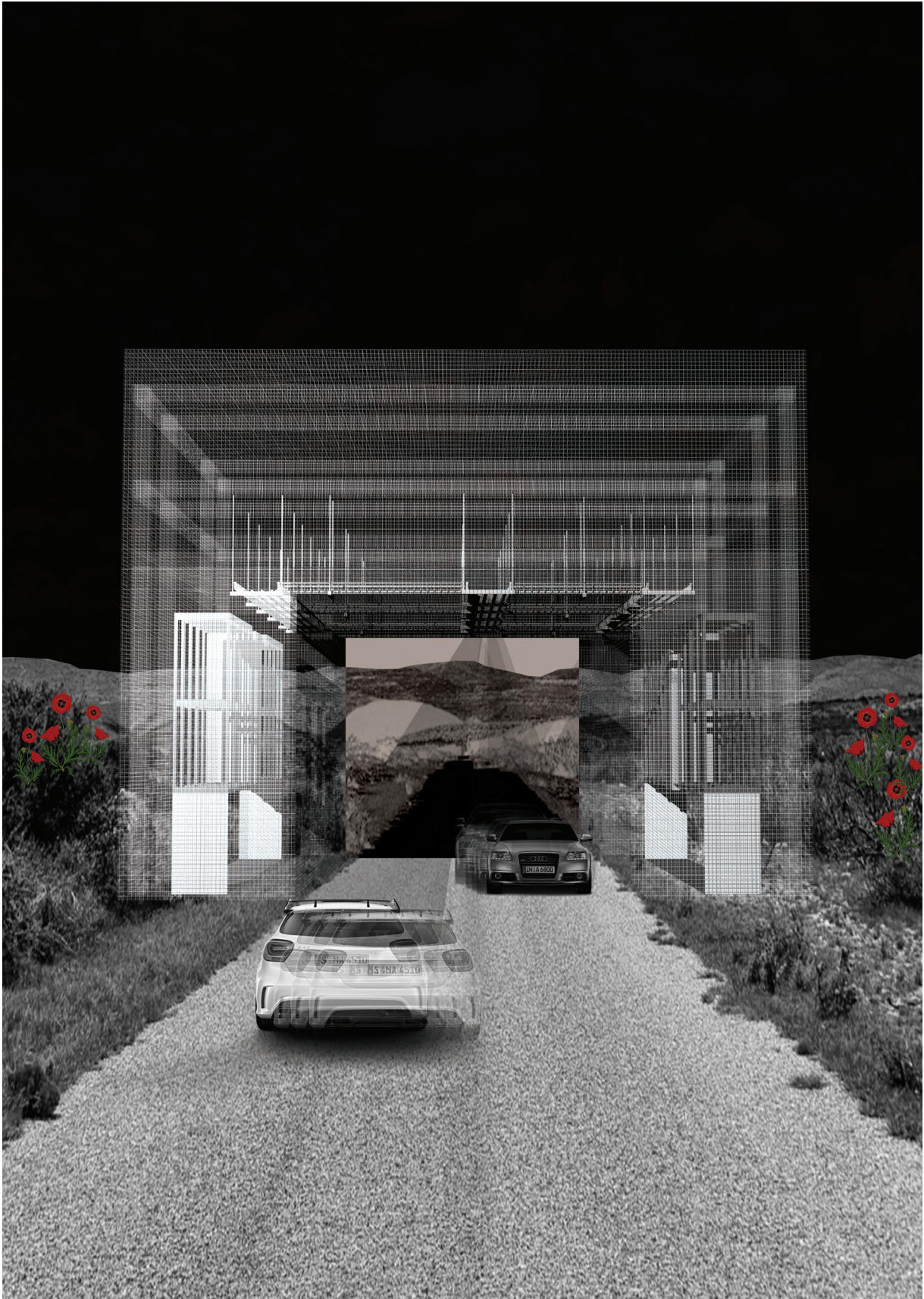


12 The in-between 2045



13 The Production wall 2048





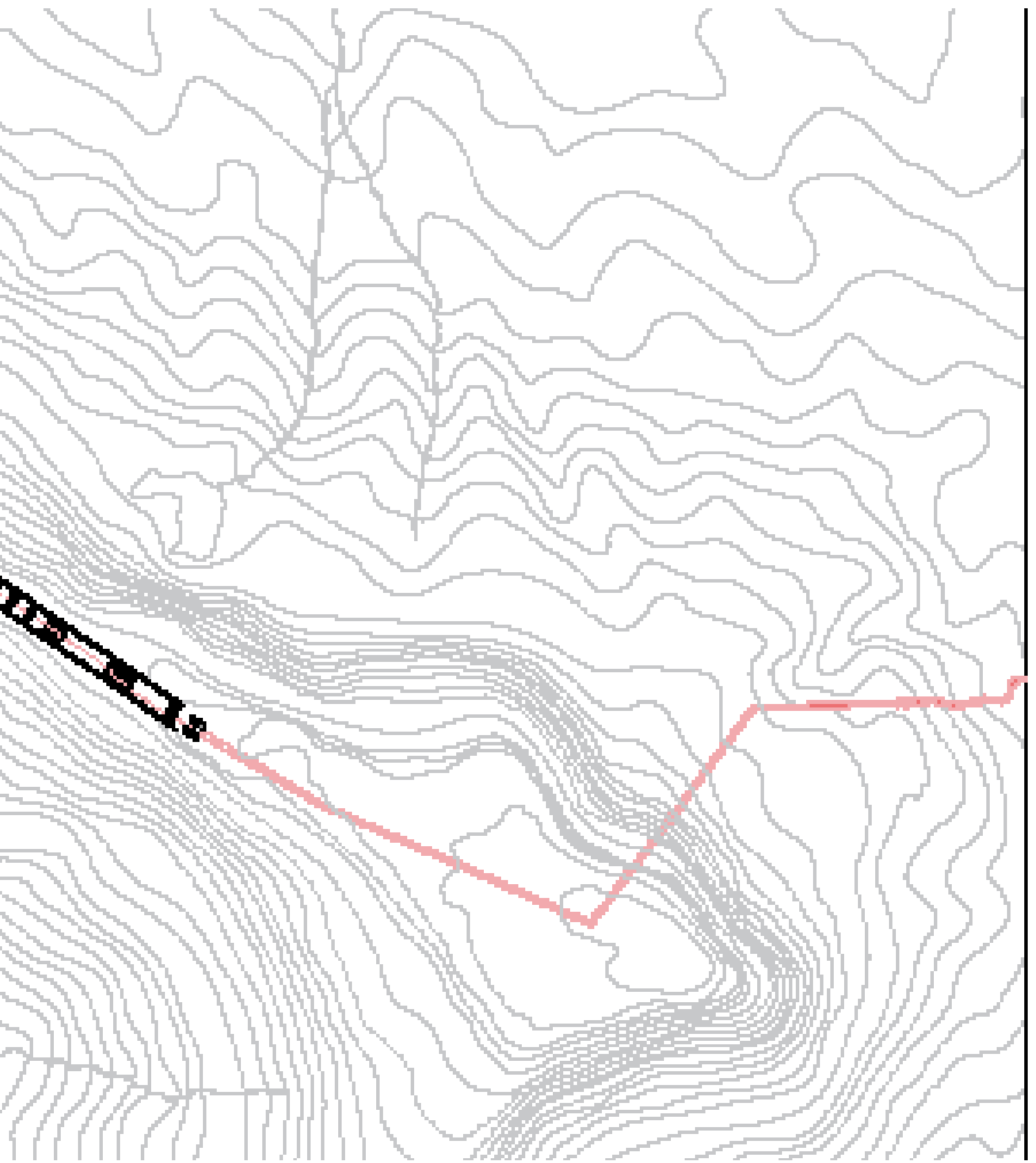
14 The border machine 2052



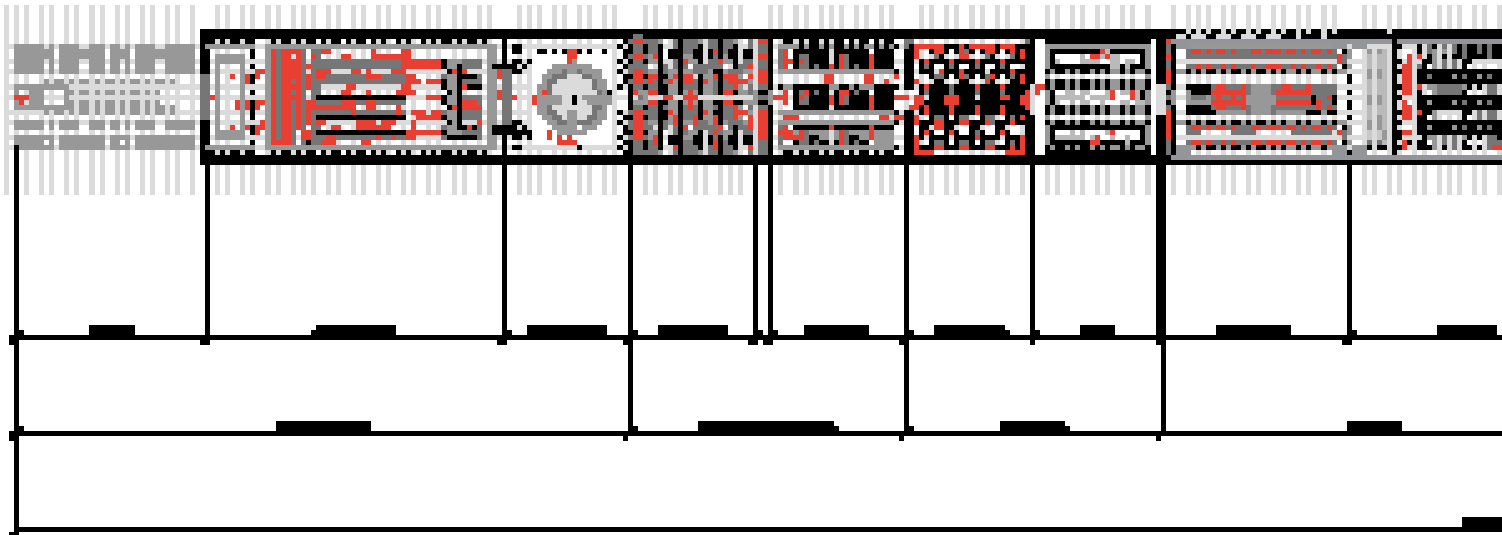
15 The referendum 2060

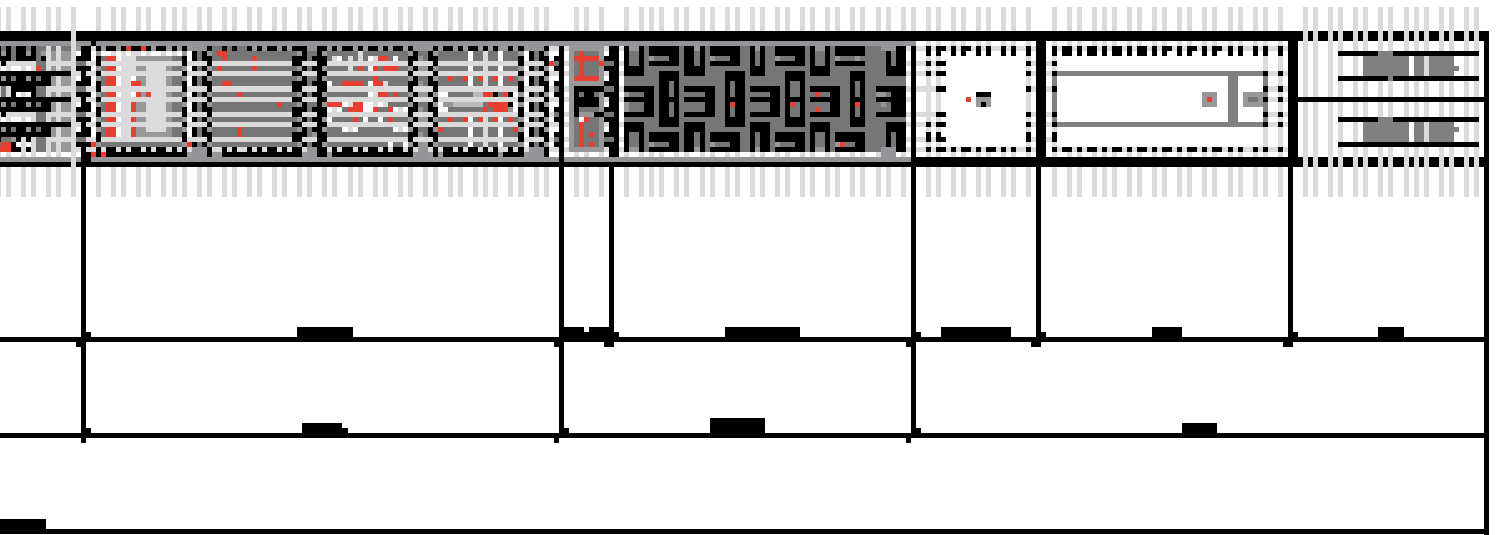






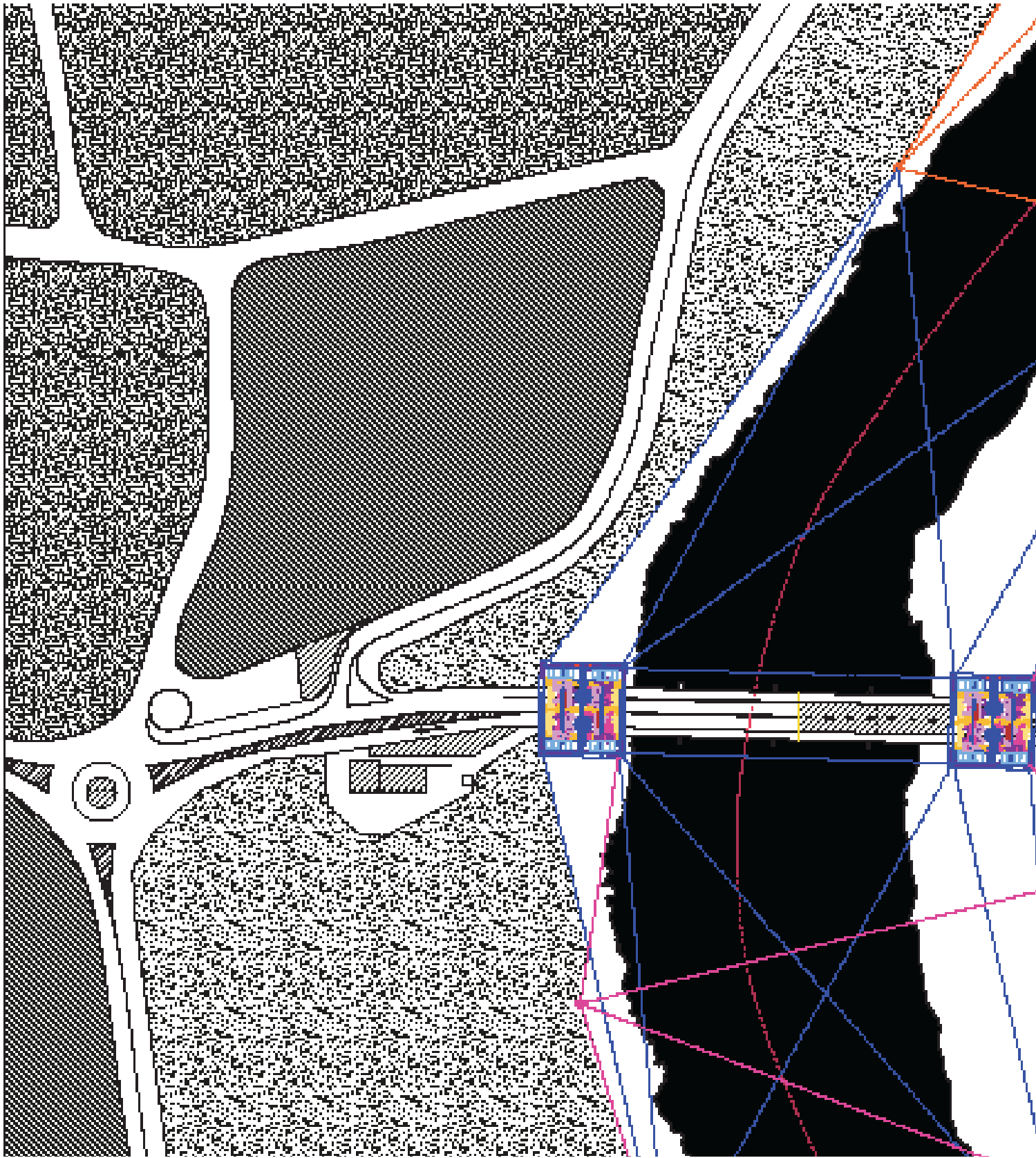
Immigration wall site drawing



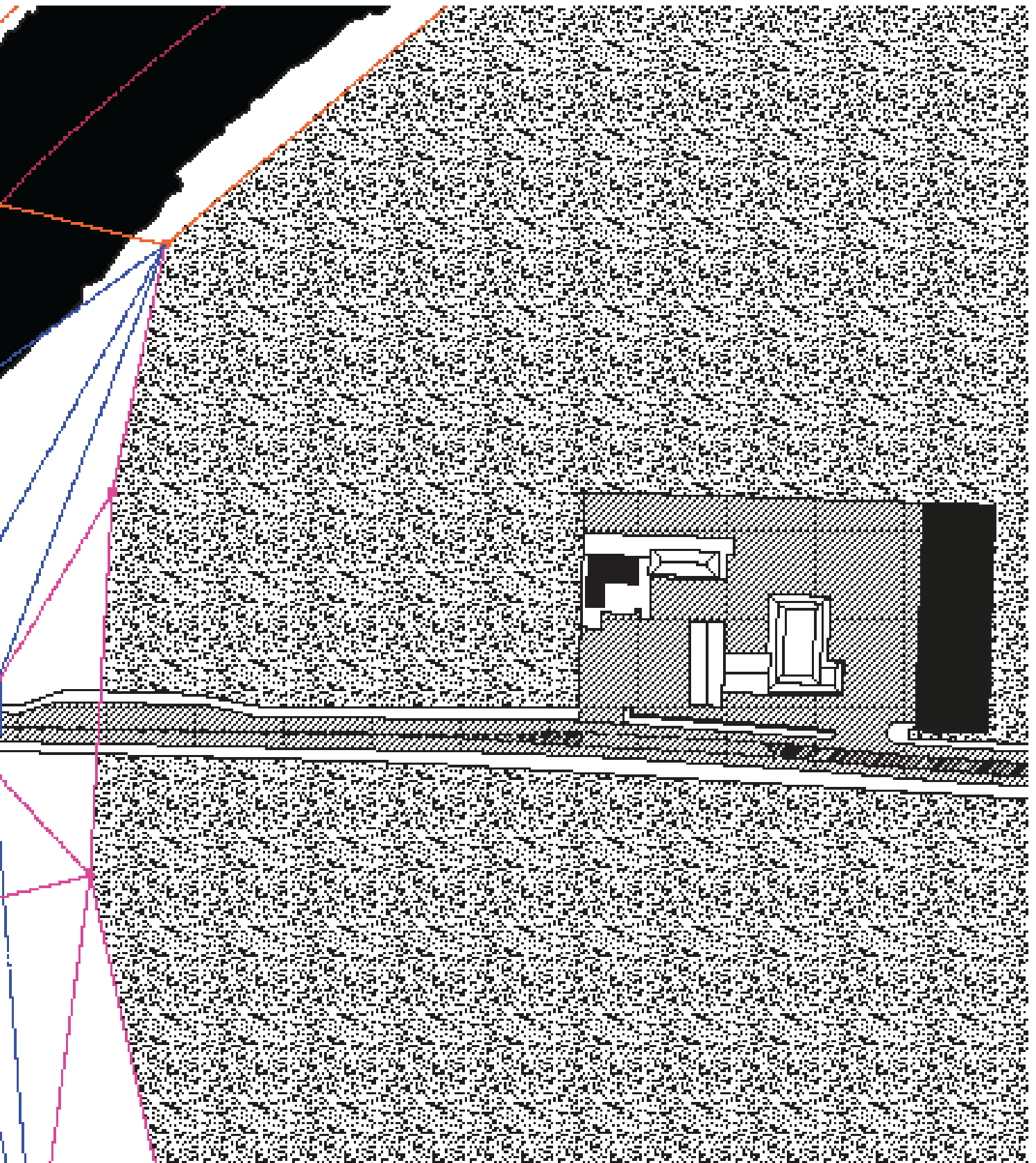


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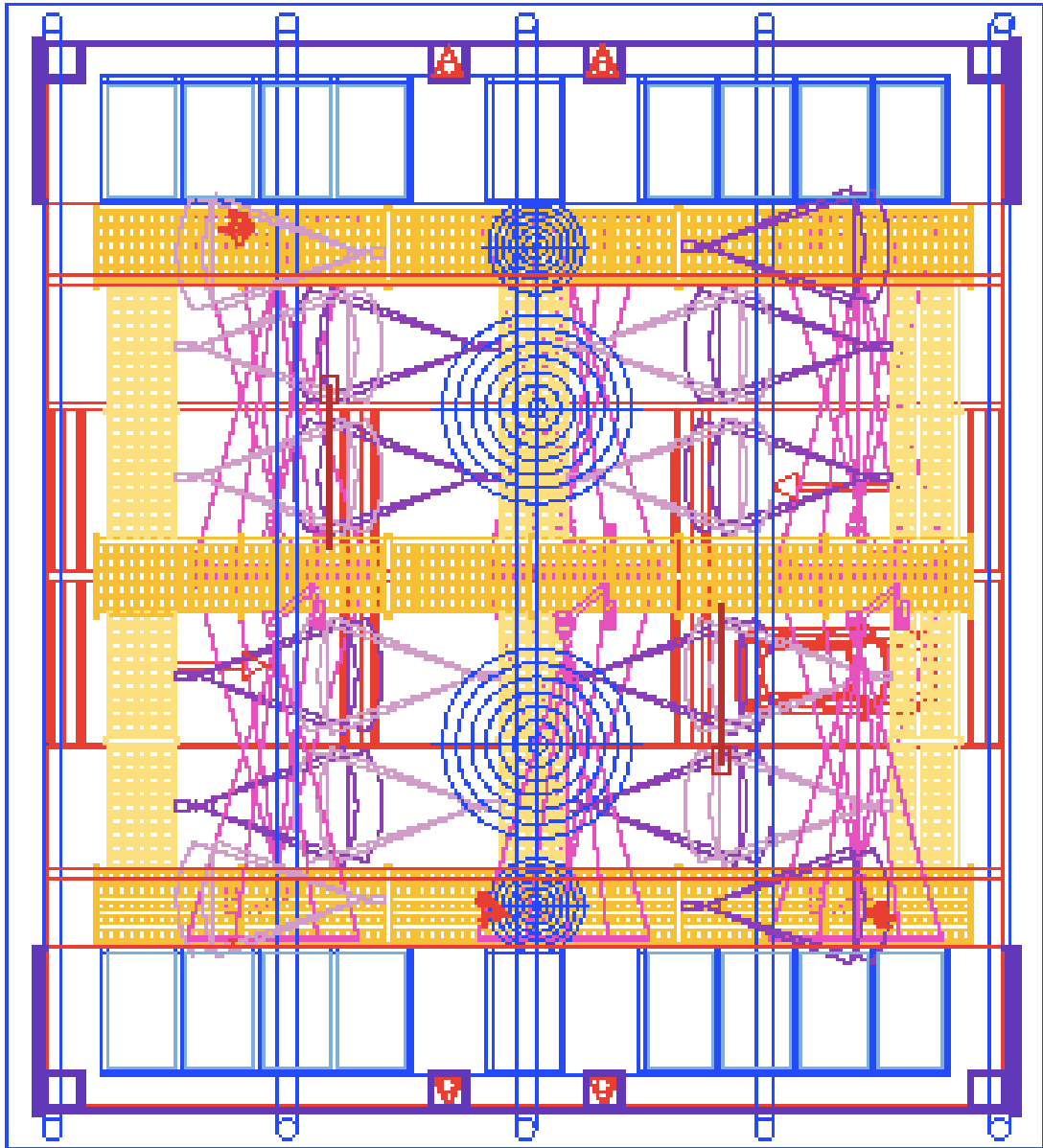
the immigration wall



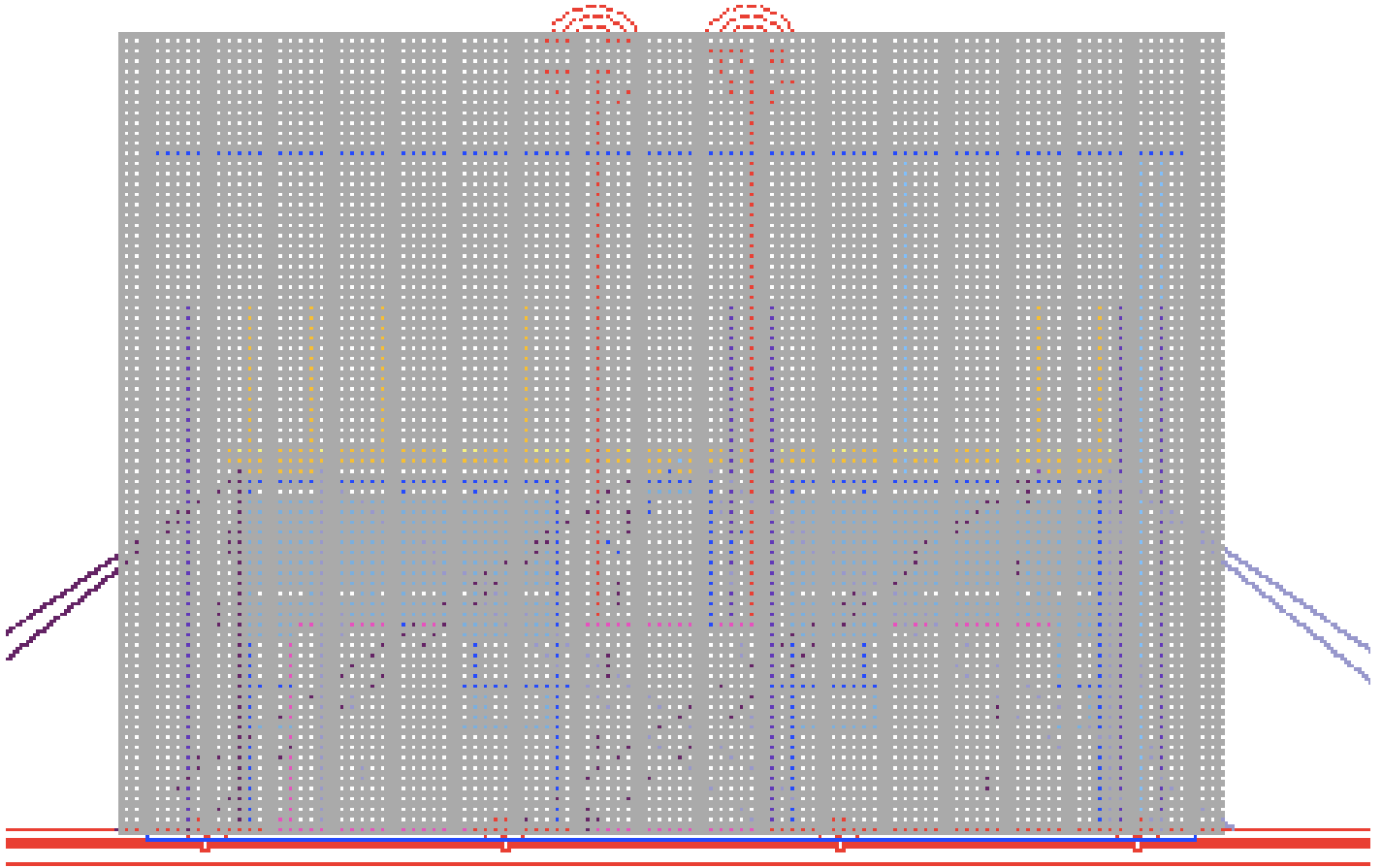
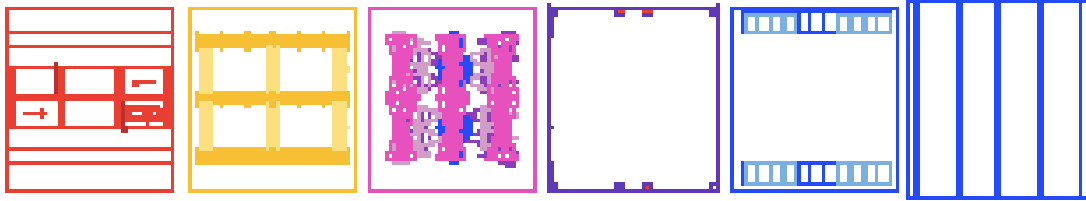




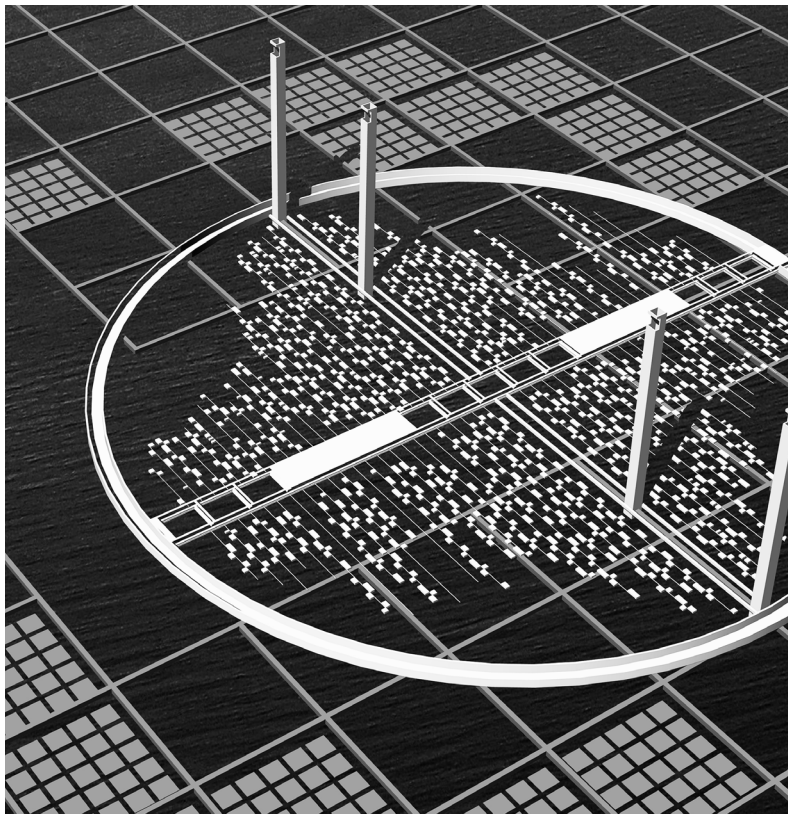
the border machine site drawing



border machine plan



border machine section



The in between: Lough Foyle island



Oyster farmers Island

## Expert Interviews

Conversation with Garrett Carr, author of *Walking the Irish Border*

*You mention in your book some of the strange things you encounter “walking Ireland’s border”, what would be the most interesting phenomenon you took out of that experience?*

There is this area in Lough Foyle, that has always been debated between the two countries, a while ago people started to grow oysters there, at first no one paid attention to it, it was a small business, but now there are thousands. No one knows if it’s an Irish or UK business, and quite frankly, no one wants to, as the delicate situation might turn into a diplomatic matter. So there a lot of these unclear situations and unlegislated businesses happening around the border.

Lough Foyle is an interesting moment on the border, because no one really knows where the line is anymore.

*A lot of the writings about the border, talk about the people living there, as a “third nation”, people who belong to the two countries at once.*

I was talking to a statistical expert recently, who pointed out that there is not yet a clear definition of what it is to be “northern Irish” people have broad interpretations of that. Some people live in Northern Ireland and have their farm in the republic of Ireland, someone might be living in London with Northern Irish parents, so it depends.

In the book I talk about houses that are in Northern Ireland but that can only be accessible through the republic of Ireland, there also the case of Pettigo, where the boundaries between the two countries are really blurred. For these people, living along the border Brexit could actually turn into a good situation, where they could end up acquiring both nationalities.

*It is true that today the border is seamless, especially in the countryside.*

Yes that’s very true nowadays, but for some people it is already a hard border, it happens a lot that some tourists cross the border without knowing it because it is so seamless. If you can enter the UK doesn’t necessarily mean that you can cross to the republic of Ireland, and a lot of people are not aware of that. On the other hand, you have people from the EU, the U.S. and the U.K. who feel free to roam the world, backpacking at 21, and that is taken as a right, that other people might not have.

*What do you think is the most likely scenario for Brexit, or perhaps the most adequate one, and how do you think people’s lives would be affected?*

I mean at this point, my guess is as good as yours. But I think since it will mostly affect trade, cargos and goods would have to be reported, maybe the people in their cars would not be affected. It could also mean the occasional checkpoint, but it is nothing new, buses that go from Belfast to Dublin are checked when they enter the republic of Ireland. One other consequence could be, that people from either side will be required to carry identification documents when crossing to the other country, which is somehow a return to the past. I think people’s life patterns would have to adapt to the new situation.



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Michael Dear

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Matthew Carr

*Partitioned Lives: The Irish Borderlands*  
Catherine Nash

*Agonistic Democracy and Radical Politics*  
Chantal Mouffe

*Time Travels of an Irish Psychic*  
Sheila Lindsay

*Conflict, Space, and Architecture*  
Marc Shoshan





## Afterword: Reflection of Project in Relation to Discourse

Borders are a necessity. They are part of an established system of demarcation of limits. Limits of power, territory, laws and regulations, religion and history, sometimes even language and currency. Borders are more often than not where two or more systems meet, they operate as filters with variable permeability. And although this transition on a territorial scale looks sharp and unquestionable by the effect of the line on the map, the reality is that there is often overlap, dismissal, resilience, ambiguity and tension where it comes to ground truths of the border. Those ground truths gain specificity in space and time and need to be observed in order to understand and dissect the phenomenon of bordering. In a global context where borders are at the center of a heated debate, there is a need to untangle the complex relationship of borders with economics, mobility, security, identity, governance...