Separation Barriers: Is Building a Wall Harmful or Helpful?

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Thesis written for the degree: Master of Science, International Relations and Diplomacy

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10 June 2015
Word Count (Excluding Prefaces and Appendices, Including Footnotes and Tables: 16,992)

This thesis is dedicated to all those brave individuals living in societies divided by conflict and hatred.

Abstract

Throughout the world today, there is a growing trend of protecting one's borders through walls and fences. These separation barriers, though hardly new historically, are part of a new realm of international relations. This thesis seeks to answer the questions: Do separation barriers increase or decrease relations between two groups of people? Are conflicts mitigated or exacerbated? Using the theories of constructivism and human security, separation barriers are put to the test. After a brief background and literature review, a theoretical framework is given, followed by an in-depth analysis of two cases: Northern Ireland and the West Bank. Following these analyses, a conclusion is drawn regarding the effects of these walls.

"Before I built a wall I'd ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offence.
Something there is that doesn't love a wall,
That wants it down. I could say 'Elves' to him,
But it's not elves exactly, and I'd rather
He said it for himself. I see him there
Bringing a stone grasped firmly by the top
In each hand, like an old-stone savage armed.
He moves in darkness as it seems to me~
Not of woods only and the shade of trees.
He will not go behind his father's saying,
And he likes having thought of it so well
He says again, 'Good fences make good neighbors.'"[1]

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[1] This is a portion of Robert Frost's famous poem, "Mending Wall." I determined it necessary to include more than the oft-quoted last line, which is often taken out of context, to provide a more complete picture of what this poem is trying to say.

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1. Introduction

"Nobody has the intention of building a wall." Walter Ulbricht, head of the GDR, on 15 June 1961, two months before the erection of the Berlin Wall

Border control has always been an area of political and social contention. Many states see the designation and control of who is and is not allowed inside their borders as an indication of state sovereignty, and world leaders have often turned to the building of a wall for security. The Great Wall of China sprung up as a defense against invasions, and Ancient Rome demarcated itself with "Limes," or border walls protecting its empire. However, the recent trend of globalization and an increasingly smaller world has called the future of borders and the concept of the "state" into question. This is in conjunction with an increase in the use of the wall. A new trend of walls has cropped up, which one scholar calls "the fault lines of globalization."[2] In the past century, walls have become more and more commonplace. In 2013, Turkey announced it would begin construction on a wall on its Syrian border,[3] making it the fourth country to announce such a wall in two years.

This trend may have begun in 1961, when growing tensions between the Soviet-occupied East Germany and Western-occupied West Germany resulted in the GDR-built Berlin wall, which it stated was a security measure.[4] Reactions to this wall were two-fold – those who built it insisted it was necessary for security; those who did not insisted it decreased diplomacy and increased tensions in the conflict. The wall remained in place for nearly the duration of the Cold War. Today, there are many similar walls throughout the world. Their existence is justified by a range of problems – some exist for the purpose of preventing crime, such as the Saudi-funded wall between Saudi Arabia and Yemen, which the Saudi government argues is for the prevention of illegal smuggling, and as a response to ISIS.[5] Increasing illegal immigration from Central America to the United States resulted in the U.S.-Mexico border fence, which many people have died attempting to cross.[6] This is not the result of a conflict between the U.S. and Mexico, but

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[2] Ritaine, Evelyn. "Le Barrier et le Checkpoint." *Cultures and Conflicts.* 2009.
[3] Afanasieva, Dasha. "Turkey builds wall in token effort to secure border with Syria." *Reuters.* 5 May 2014.
[4] "Draft Instructions to Chuikov and Seminov." *Wilson Center Digital Archive*. 25 September 1953.
[5] Spencer, Richard. "Revealed: Saudi Arabia's Great Wall to keep out ISIL." *The Telegraph.* 14 January 2015.
[6] Paraemeswaran, Gayatri and Gaedtke, Felix. "Identifying Mexico's many dead along U.S. border." *Al-Jazeera.* 17 May 2015.

the result of illegal border crossing and migration. Similarly, the wall between Israel and Egypt was built to protect Israel's Southern border from African immigrants attempting to enter the country.[7] The number of walls worldwide decreased from 1945 to 1991. However, many assumed that the end of the Cold War marked the beginning of globalization, and the trend quickly reversed. The number of walls worldwide has been growing ever since. Many walls in existence today are significantly larger than the Berlin wall, in both height and length.

This thesis will examine those walls intended to provide peace, security, and/or diplomacy to those behind them. It will seek to answer whether these walls improve relations or not, and whether violence and conflict is reduced or increased by walls. These walls exist in areas where two groups have been in conflict with one another, and attempts at reconciliation have failed. In these cases, their existence is meant to reduce violence and improve security. However, there may be unintended consequences of such measures. It is possible that such barriers do reduce violence and fatalities. Alternatively, it is possible that they do not provide security at all. Furthermore, it is possible that such barriers prolong a conflict by altering the course of diplomacy. This thesis will seek to examine the impact of separation barriers on conflict. Do good fences make good neighbors? Through a survey of violence, security, popular culture, diplomacy, cultural cooperation, and public opinion, this thesis will examine the effect these walls have upon a conflict, using the cases of the Peace Walls in Northern Ireland and the Separation Barrier in the West Bank of the Palestinian Territories.[8]

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[7] Sherwood, Harriet. "Israel fence construction cuts off migration from Egypt." *The Guardian.* 31 December 2012.

[8] The wording used to reference this area is highly contentious. Those living in the West Bank call themselves Palestinians, and usually refer to the area as simply "Palestine." Israeli authorities, as well as many national governments worldwide, refer to the area as either "Palestinian Territories" or simply "Gaza" and "the West Bank." United Nations official reports and other international bodies refer to this area as the "Occupied Palestinian Territories." All three of these terms imply bias. "Palestine" implies the statehood of the area; "Palestinian Territories" implies the lack of statehood and the lack of occupation; "Occupied Palestinian Territories" implies occupation and other illegalities. This thesis will not seek to address the question of either statehood or occupation, but merely the impact of the separation barriers upon both sides. The language used is not meant to imply a stance on either of these issues, nor to be inflammatory or prejudiced in nature.

2. Theoretical Framework

Several theories attempt to explain conflict and conflict resolution. Some of these theories are based in realism, or ideas about the inherent nature of human beings and a desire to protect one's own statehood. Others determine institutions to be more important in the cooperation of countries. *Constructivism* is a theory about how actors in conflict perceive one another and respond to their counterpart's actions, or how actors "construct" one another's worldviews. *Human security* is a theory about indirect violence and its role in conflict. This may include poverty, lack of access to resources, and social inequality. This thesis' framework will center around constructivism and human security. Each case study will be tested using variables related to diplomacy and security, with human security heavily examined. Diplomacy will be examined in the context of constructivism. The ways in which the walls have influenced the variables (or vice versa) will be analyzed. This will be necessary to determine whether the walls have affected these variables, or if the variables have changed regardless of the separation barriers. Human security will determine the extent of violence outside of the most obvious statistics, and will illustrate the extent to which the walls have increased instability and conflict.

The theoretical framework is expanded upon in the following section. This section consists of a review of existing literature regarding separation barriers, constructivism, and human security, an outline of research design and methodology for gathering information, applying theories, and analyzing the data, and case selection.

2.1. Literature Review

"A wall is a hell of a lot better than a war." –Former U.S. President Kennedy, following the construction of the Berlin Wall

Regarding Walls

In her book, *Borders, Fences, and Walls,* Elisabeth Vallet reviews the walls that exist today through a series of articles about individual walls, overall trends in international relations, and historical context.[9] In her introduction, she argues that the purpose of walls is different today

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[9] Vallet, Elizabeth. *Borders, Fences, and Walls.* Ashgate Publishing, August 2014.

than it was before the Cold War, and is the result of globalization. These walls are no longer simply for security purposes, but a statement regarding borders and state sovereignty, a kind of backlash against integration. According to Vallet, these walls are more about asserting control and maintaining identity than about security. This would support a realist view, that walls exist to protect sovereignty. Protection from migration and terrorism may be a primary factor in what motivates a country to build a wall, she argues, but the growing sense of needing autonomy existed prior to the extreme terrorism of 9/11 or the migrant crisis. Walls may not be entirely effective in protection from these things, but that is really not the point: "optics seem to take precedence over reality and domestic politics over foreign policy and diplomacy: the image of a fortified border becomes more important than its actual effectiveness." How a state is perceived, however, is a more constructivist explanation.

Others have found that walls are motivated more by economics than by conflict. In their paper, "Why Do States Build Walls? Political Economy, Security, and Border Stability," David Carter and Paul Poast review border walls from 1800-2013, and find that in most cases, border divisions correlate with economic inequalities, and therefore, borders will invariably be threatened by those attempting to increase their own economic wellbeing through the resources of a bordering country.[10] Their paper states that most literature overlooks economic disparity.

Examples of this include the U.S.-Mexico border, which utilizes a series of security fences, drones, and military operations intended to stop the flow of human traffic from Central America. The fence has been highly criticized by scholars, who assert that the wall is not particularly effective, and that security has actually decreased. The Economist published an article 2013 called "Secure Enough: Spending billions more on fences and drones will do more harm than good," which discusses how true figures of the effectiveness of these border fences are very difficult to come by, and that they may range from 30%-87% (of illegal immigrants intercepted at the border).[11] Furthermore, the number of deaths of people trying to cross the border has increased dramatically (illustrated below). This potential increase in human security of U.S.

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[10] Carter, David and Poast, Paul. "Why Do States Build Walls? Political Economy, Security, and Border Stability." Princeton University, 5 April 2015.

[11] "Secure Enough (Spending billions more on fences and drones will do more harm than good)." *The Economist.* 22 June 2013.

citizens is not worth the decrease in security of those in Central America, they argue.

Fewer crossings, more crosses

South-west border
Illegal alien interceptions, m
Mexicans Non-Mexicans   Deaths —

Immigration enforcement, m
Turned back near border
Deported from within US

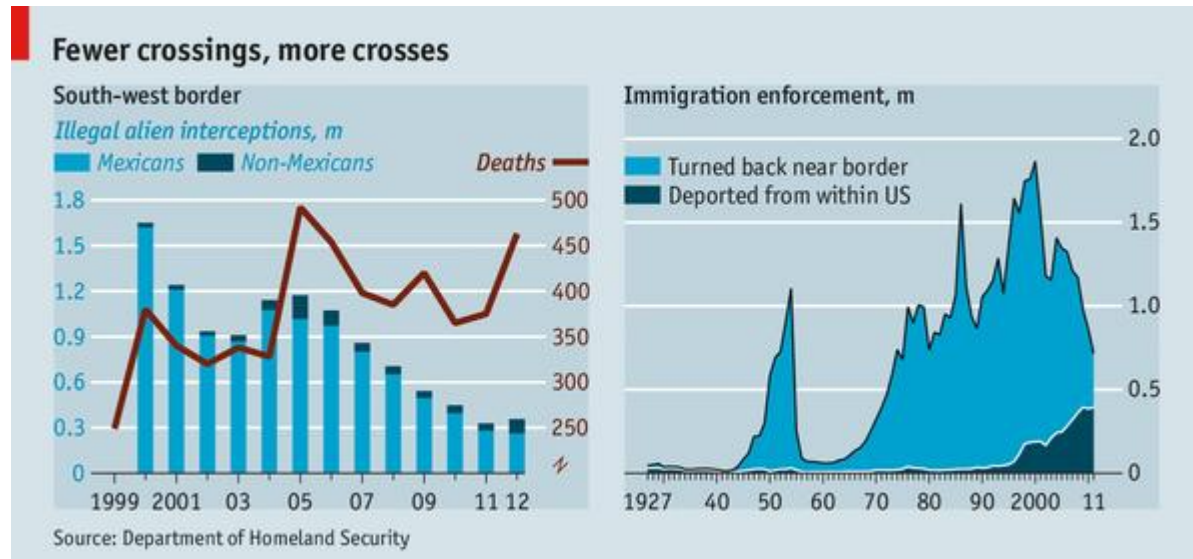Source: Department of Homeland Security

Figure 1: U.S. Mexico Border Crossing and Fatalities

They theorize that increased border security means greater economic disparity and higher crime rates in Mexico, which will make immigrating to the United States more appealing, and therefore creates a "pushback" factor, which ultimately decreases security. This supports a constructivist view, that the actions of Mexican and non-Mexican migrants has "pushed" the U.S. into creating these measures to protect their borders, and that these actions by the U.S. have "pushed" migrants into having incentives to try harder still to immigrate.

Effect of Walls on Popular Culture

Regarding the effects walls have after they come down, the most classic example is Berlin. Many scholars, historians, sociologists, and regular citizens have made assessments of the impact of the Berlin Wall, the most iconic wall in recent history. Most of the assessments in the past two decades have examined its legacy in Berlin. For example, in his book, *Berlin Now,* Peter Schneider describes a city still deeply divided culturally, where very few people marry those from the other side, where East Berlin is still considered more culturally relevant (as opposed to before the wall went up, when West Berlin was more so), and where residents have little interest in promoting unity.[12] My own time spent living in Berlin illustrated such a rhetoric immediately – when

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[12] Schneider, Peter. *Berlin Now.* Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux Publishing, 5 August 2014.

describing events, residents frequently state that a restaurant, club, art gallery, etc. is "in the West." Events taking place in East Berlin are described by their borough, such as Prenzlauerberg or Friedrichshain. The former city centers of East Berlin and West Berlin, Alexanderplatz and Zoologischergarten/Wittenbergplatz, are still more or less the busiest parts of the city. There have been attempts to create more unity, by making the center district Mitte the true city center, neither East nor West, but residents have not acclimated to this. Many of these residents did not even live through the occupation, being either younger generations or transplants from other cities in Germany or from abroad, but still align themselves with either East or West. While this doesn't necessarily suggest conflict or lack of diplomacy, it may illustrate that a wall can influence popular culture and public opinion, either deepening pre-existing divides or creating divisions that were not there before. This strongly supports a constructivist theory that there was no inherent need to protect East Berlin or West Berlin, and it was only the actions of occupying powers that created this dynamic of cultural difference.

Regarding Security

The concept of "human security" has recently become popular amongst international organizations and scholars alike. The traditional view of security and conflict has been physical violence. It is often assumed that physical peace means that a conflict has been resolved. However, some scholars are beginning to believe that there are other forms of violence, including those targeting individuals rather than states.

The United Nations Development Programme first popularized the idea in a new, post-Cold War program aimed at alleviating suffering worldwide. Kofi Annan, at the time Secretary General of the UN, stated:[13]

> "Today, we know that 'security' means far more than the absence of conflict…We know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as education and health, democracy and human rights, protection against environmental degradation, and the proliferation of deadly weapons. We know that we cannot be secure amidst starvation, that we cannot build peace without alleviating poverty, and that we cannot build freedom on foundations of injustice."

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[13] Annan, Kofi. "Forward." *Human Security and the New Diplomacy.* McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Some scholars have already theorized a link between walls and human security. In their article, "Effects of the Separation Barrier on the Viability of a Future Palestinian State," Daniel Arsenault and Jamie Green identify a growing water crisis primarily exacerbated by the wall, and how it imposes restrictions on access to water in the Palestinian territories.[14] This is largely ignored when discussing the conflict, they assert, although it is a serious effect of the wall. In *New Perspectives in Human Security,* authors Adrian Hodges, Malcolm McIntosh, and Alan Hunter discuss Northern Ireland at length, postulating that the walls have not led to a decrease in violence, but an actual increase in intercommunal violence.[15] This is accompanied by factors in human security, such poverty, lack of education, and an increased sense of fear and uncertainty of the "other." They then seek to answer what role the walls have had in these factors, and whether immediate relief from violence is worth long-term consequences, which may mean a lack of communication and a barrier to coexistence. Their conclusion regarding the case is that the walls were intended to increase a feeling of safety and security, but have actually made people feel less safe and more afraid of the "other." In the book *Religion and Human Security,* authors James K. Wellman, Jr. and Clark Lombardi propose an alternative theory, that when religion comes to power as a political party or other authority, it can threaten human security.[16] This may be the case in Northern Ireland.

In 2007, UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) Commissioner-General Karen Koning AbuZayd gave a speech in Tokyo entitled "Palestine refugees: changing circumstances and prospects for human security."[17] She outlined ways in which human security is threatened, including threats by the separation barrier. The wall has caused extreme restrictions in movement, including the walling off of East Jerusalem, where many Palestinians rely upon work, medical treatment, education, etc.

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[14] Arsenault, Daniel and Green, Jamie. "Effects of the Separation Barrier on the Viability of a Future Palestinian State." *Water Resources in the Middle East, Part V.* 2007.

[15] Hodges, Adrian (Ed.), McIntosh, Malcom (Ed.), and Hunter, Alan (Ed.). *New Perspectives in Human Security.* Greenleaf Publishing, 1 January 2010.

[16] Wellman Jr., James K. and Lombardi, Clark. *Religion and Human Security: A Global Perspective.* Oxford University Press, 2 August 2012.

[17] AbuZayd, Karen Koning. "Palestine Refugees: changing circumstances and prospects for human security." *University of Tokyo Public Forum.* 5 October 2007.

Regarding Northern Ireland

There is some literature discussing Northern Ireland's "Peace Walls," most of which seeks to answer the question of whether or not the Walls can be removed. In April of 2015, David Cameron called for the walls to come down.[18] These comments followed a poll in Belfast that showed rather bleak views of Northern Ireland's future.[19] A majority of residents did not see peace or even themselves in its future. The majority of literature regarding this issue consists of news reports, opinion pieces, and editorials, without much social scientific analysis. There are some tentative plans in place to remove the Walls, but popular opinion seems to indicate great concern and fear among civilians. Many who have grown up under the Peace Walls have never interacted with members of the other sides, according to the literature.[20] It will be necessary to examine literature written by Catholics, Protestants, and those who have lived with and/or observed both to fully understand this impact.

There is one very useful article entitled "Peace maintenance and political messages: The significance of Walls during and after the Northern Irish 'Troubles,'" which seeks to analyze the role the walls themselves play in the conflict.[21] The conclusion drawn by the author, Laura McAtackney, is that the walls are painted with murals and graffiti in an attempt to communicate political messages. This is a particularly interesting point for the question of increased or decreased diplomacy and communication, as it shows the walls themselves to be both a form of communication and a forum for further discourse.

Israel and the West Bank

Existing literature regarding Israel mainly addresses the legality of the wall. There are many scholarly articles and legal documents criticizing the wall as violating international law or international human rights. However, little literature exists that examines the effect the wall has had on relations between Israel and Palestine. In 2004, the International Criminal Court of Justice

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[18] Black, Rebecca. "David Cameron: Let's Take Down Northern Ireland Peace Walls and Build Shared Future." *Belfast Telegraph.* 12 April 2014.
[19] Ibid.
[20] O'Hagan, Sean. "Belfast, divided in the name of peace." *The Guardian.* 22 January 2012.
[21] McAtackney, Laura. "Peace maintenance and political messages: The significance of Walls during and after the Northern Irish 'Troubles.'" *SAGE Journal of Archaeology, Volume 11, Issue 1.* February 2011.

published a press release describing the legal consequences of building such a wall.[22] It states in no uncertain terms that construction of such a wall violates international law, and that Israel must desist building it. Sarah Williams has written an analysis of international law with regard to Israel's wall, and argues that it is driven by realism, by Israel's inherent need for self-defense.[23] This does suggest realism is more important than constructivism. Williams does not account, however, for the Holocaust, or the 1500 years of persecution against Jews preceding it, which might have "constructed" Israel's intense fear of being attacked.

After the International Court of Justice published an Advisory Opinion stating the wall was illegal, many scholars responded to this Opinion. Some state it will have little impact upon Israel or Palestine, while others state that it shows Palestine has the right to self-determination. This may be important to the question of how the wall impacts relations, by inadvertently encouraging Palestine to assert itself. Israel responded with a rejection of the Opinion, and has continued to claim self-defense.[24] Yuval Shany, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, analyzes Israel's reaction. In his article, he criticizes the reaction using legal theory rather than diplomatic impact.[25] Other scholars insist the wall has improved relations by decreasing the possibility for violence.

2.2. Research Design and Methodology

Using several specific cases (identified below), this thesis will seek to gather both qualitative and quantitative data to test the hypotheses. It will be necessary to identify key independent and dependent variables in order to assess data regarding changes or lack thereof. The independent variables will be the walls themselves. Dependent variables will be aspects of countries or regions separated, including their citizens and infrastructure. However, as the

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[22] "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory." *Press Release: International Court of Justice.* July 2004.

[23] Williams, Sarah. "Has International Law Hit the Wall – An Analysis of International Law in Relation to Israel's Separation Barrier." *Berkeley Journal of International Law: Volume 24, Issue 1.* 2006.

[24] Ibid., page 10, 25.

[25] Shany, Yuval. "Head Against the Wall? Israel's Rejection of the Advisory Opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territories." *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law, Volume 7.* 2004.

purpose of this study is to determine the relations between persons on either side of the wall, the focus will remain on citizens. Specific case studies will be listed below.

How does one measure relations between two groups of people? These dependent variables will include representations of international relations, diplomacy, and security, as well as "negative" relations variables, including conflict and violence. These can be broken down into two categories, positive variables and negative variables. Gathering of data will be explained by variable.

Because both of the case studies involve a wall that is still existing, the focus will be on differences before and during the wall. Overall evidence will be examined to answer the following questions: Since the building of the wall, are relations between actors better or worse? Is violence higher or lower? Is diplomacy higher or lower? Is public perception of one another higher or lower? Has there been no difference in any of these? What else could have caused this change? Is the change universal across the case studies, or is each case different? And can this response be explained by realism or constructivism? In other words, did the wall cause these changes, or were these changes inevitable?

The positive variables are those demonstrating active relations between groups. This means that simply a lack of violence is not a demonstration of cooperation, as it could be an indication of a more "cold war," regardless of relative physical peace. These variables will illustrate whether actual relations are moving forward, staying the same, or decreasing in frequency. In this first category, the variables will be diplomatic talks, cultural exchanges, popular culture, and public opinion, with the possibility for more variables if necessary. These variables will test the following hypotheses:

H(1): Separation barriers improve relations between two groups of people.

H(2): Separation barriers diminish relations between two groups of people.

H(null): Separation barriers do not affect relations between two groups of people.

Diplomacy: Meetings between officials from government can be found in news sources, historical documents, and government records. This will measure the number of diplomatic

exchanges, including telegrams, visits, meetings, and treaties during the years. Furthermore, how easy is travel between the two sides? Are there education programs, or programs in which members of each side visit the other? This information can be attained from government records and scouring the literature.

Popular culture: This is a more difficult variable to measure. It will involve examining literature, including fiction, magazines, and other publications. How is the other side referred to? Is the language derogatory or inaccurate? It will also involve music, television, and radio programs. Do these broadcast propaganda that portrays the other side negatively? Are these broadcasts the only exposure civilians have to those on the other side of the wall?

Public opinion: This is perhaps the most difficult variable to measure, and will require extreme diligence and creativity. There are of course opinion polls, but these are often difficult to find from multiple years. Social media can be utilized to conduct opinion polls. The main difficulty will be ensuring accuracy and honesty. Therefore, this particular variable will be taken into account along with popular culture, in order to form the most accurate possible vision of how different actors are perceived by one another.

I designed a survey to be distributed to people living on either side of a wall. The survey distributed to Israelis was translated into Hebrew, while the survey distributed to Palestinians was translated into Arabic. The survey featured 10 questions:

1. Where were you born?

2. Where do you live?

These questions are meant to determine any bias that might arise from foreign nationals or expatriates living in the area. It might also determine if those living in close proximity to the wall have difference experiences than those living far away.

3. How do you view the walls?

     A. Very Positively

     B. Positively

     C. Neutral

     D. Negatively

     E. Very negatively

4. Do the walls make you feel safe or unsafe?

    A. Very safe

    B. Safe

    C. Neutral

    D. Unsafe

    E. Very unsafe

5. How often do you meet with [Israelis, Palestinians, Catholics, or Protestants] for business or social purposes?

This question is meant to determine the level of cultural exchange and everyday communication between those living in the area.

6. Are you afraid of [Israelis, Palestinians, Catholics, or Protestants]?

With this question, respondents are given a choice between answering "yes," "no," and "sometimes." The question is meant to determine if there is a sense of security with regards to the other side, or if there is continuing distrust.

7. Have your answers to these questions changed after the wall was built?

There is a possibility that different groups do not meet with one another regardless of whether or not there is a wall. It is also possible that people already feel afraid of one another. This question is meant to determine what role the wall plays in these variables, if any.

8. Is there anything you'd like to add regarding the topic of the walls?

I determined an open-ended question to be invaluable when conducting interviews, as it allows for those sharing their experience to tell me anything I might have missed or forgotten, and to expand upon their answers if they feel a short response is not enough.

The negative variables will illustrate incidences of active conflict. As it is unclear whether physical violence or simple distrust is more paramount, this category may explain the role of direct violence. Variables will include violent attacks and conflict, as well as issues of human security. These variables will test the following hypotheses:

H(3): Separation barriers increase violence between two groups of people.

H(4): Separation barriers decrease violence between two groups of people.

H(null)(2): Separation barriers do not affect violence between two groups of people.

Violence and Security: Using news sources, official government reports, and other primary sources, various conflicts can be listed and measured regarding numbers of casualties, length of conflict, and perceived perpetrators and victims. In cases such as these, it is often the case that each side will present a different account of a conflict, sometimes attempting to portray themselves in a more favorable light and their opponent in a less favorable one. It will be necessary to look at both sides, as well as any third party account, and any data gathered by an international body, such as the United Nations.

Human security: To what extent have elements of human security changed, such as employment, education, medicine, and supplies? Has access been increased or decreased?

Variables such as popular culture and public opinion are qualitative, and will be examined to determine how the opposition is portrayed and perceived by each side. Variables such as diplomatic talks, cultural exchanges, violent attacks, and conflict are quantitative, and can be measured by hard numbers. Have the numbers gone up, down, or remained the same? Furthermore, as previously mentioned, this is a time to examine any possible outlying factors which could also explain any changes in numbers or public perception.

2.3. Case Selection

There are essentially two categories of separation barriers. One is related to economics or crime, the other is related to international relations. Each involves security, but due to the nature of the research question, only the latter category will be analyzed. For example, the U.S.-Mexico border is meant to prevent illegal immigration and other criminal activity, not to improve relations or end violent conflict between the two nations.[26] The purpose of this thesis is to explore the effects of such a wall in cases where relations are already strained, and such a wall is created with greater peace and relations in mind.

As the latter category will be utilized, case selection within this category must be narrowed down. Within the category of those walls built for the purpose of ending or mitigating

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[26] "U.S.-Mexico Border Fence/The Great Wall of Mexico." *Global Security.* 2015.

violent conflict, there are several subcategories. This case selection will involve representations from two subcategories.

The first subcategory is those separation barriers still in existence, but fully constructed. There are several examples of this throughout the world today. The case of Northern Ireland is a perfect example. Throughout "the Troubles," in which thousands of people were killed, it became imperative to promote cooperation between the two sides that participated. These were mainly nationalists, or those who favored Irish separatism and were Catholic, and unionists, or those who favored remaining under British rule and were Protestant.[27] These Troubles began in the 1960s, and lasted for several decades. The first of the walls, known as "Peace Walls," was built in 1969 as a temporary solution, meant to last six months.[28] However, it started a trend in various neighborhoods. The Peace process involved a series of talks and ceasefires, but such measures did not have lasting impacts.[29] There are many Peace Walls now throughout Northern Ireland, varying in length and height. This sets the case of Northern Ireland apart from other cases, because it is not made up of one contiguous wall, but many throughout the country. Furthermore, these walls can be up to 7 meters high, significantly higher than the Berlin wall.[30] There are plans to remove the walls by 2023, but as the original wall was meant to stand for only six months, it is unclear if this will happen or not.[31] Therefore, this case will be treated as a separation barrier still in place. This case is invaluable when examining the effects of segregation through walls, as members of each community (Protestant and Catholic) are often unexposed to one another for significant periods of their lives.[32]

The second subcategory is those separation barriers either under construction or planned. In other words, walls not yet complete, but possibly already influencing international relations, diplomacy, and/or security. There are several walls currently under construction in the world today, most of them in the Middle East. The majority of these walls fall into the first category of walls (that is, those built to prevent criminal activity), such as the Egypt-Gaza border,

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[27] "The Troubles: 1968-1998." *BBC History.*
[28] Alvarez, Ignacio. "Peace Walls." *Northern Ireland Foundation.*
[29] "The Troubles: 1968-1998." *BBC History.*
[30] "Forty Years of Peace Lines." *BBC News: Northern Ireland Interfaces.*
[31] Henderson, Deric and McHugh, Michael. "Vow to Remove Peace Walls by 2023." *Belfast Telegraph.* 9 May 2013.
[32] O'Hagan, Sean. "Belfast, divided in the name of peace." *The Guardian.* 22 January 2012.
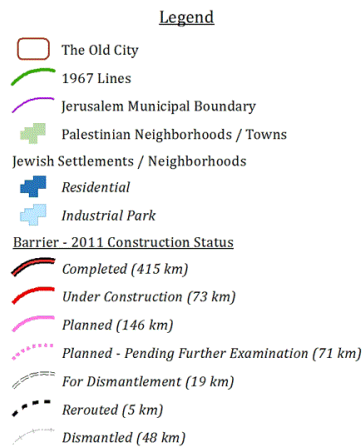
which is already in existence, but has a large expansion currently planned to combat smuggling of weapons.[33] Therefore, the case for this sub-category will be Israel and the West Bank. This case is highly sensitive and controversial, and subject to many scholarly and legal examinations. It will be imperative to focus solely on the question of how these barriers have affected relations between Israel and the West Bank. It is also important to note that there is a complete wall between Israel and Gaza. While this wall may be mentioned to some extent, the case will focus on the partially completed wall in the West Bank. A "Green Line" was established in 1949, long before the physical barrier was built. A great deal of the wall is already complete, while more is under construction. Below is an illustration of the wall as it existed in 2011.[34] It is currently more than twice the height of the Berlin Wall, and upon completion, it is planned to be approximately 708 kilometers, four times the length of the Berlin Wall.[35]

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[33] Barzak, Ibrahim and Daraghmeh, Mohammed. "Egypt Tightens Gaza Restrictions." *Huffington Post.* 24 July 2013.
[34] "What is the Israeli Fence/Wall/Barrier?" *Israel-Palestinian Conflict Pros and Cons.* July 2011. Accessed from: http://israelipalestinian.procon.org/view.answers.php?questionID=000514.
[35] Ibid.

**Israeli Barrier
2011 Status**

Legend

☐	The Old City
╱	1967 Lines
╱	Jerusalem Municipal Boundary
▨	Palestinian Neighborhoods / Towns

Jewish Settlements / Neighborhoods

▪	Residential
▫	Industrial Park

Barrier - 2011 Construction Status

▬	Completed (415 km)
▬	Under Construction (73 km)
▬	Planned (146 km)
┈	Planned - Pending Further Examination (71 km)
▨	For Dismantlement (19 km)
▬	Rerouted (5 km)
╱	Dismantled (48 km)

East of Barrier

Settlements	74
Jewish Population	69,800

West of Barrier

Settlements	66
Jewish Population	420,600
Palestinians	240,000

Source: "Israeli Barrier Status, 2011," www.shaularieli.com (accessed Nov. 14, 2011)   1:700,000
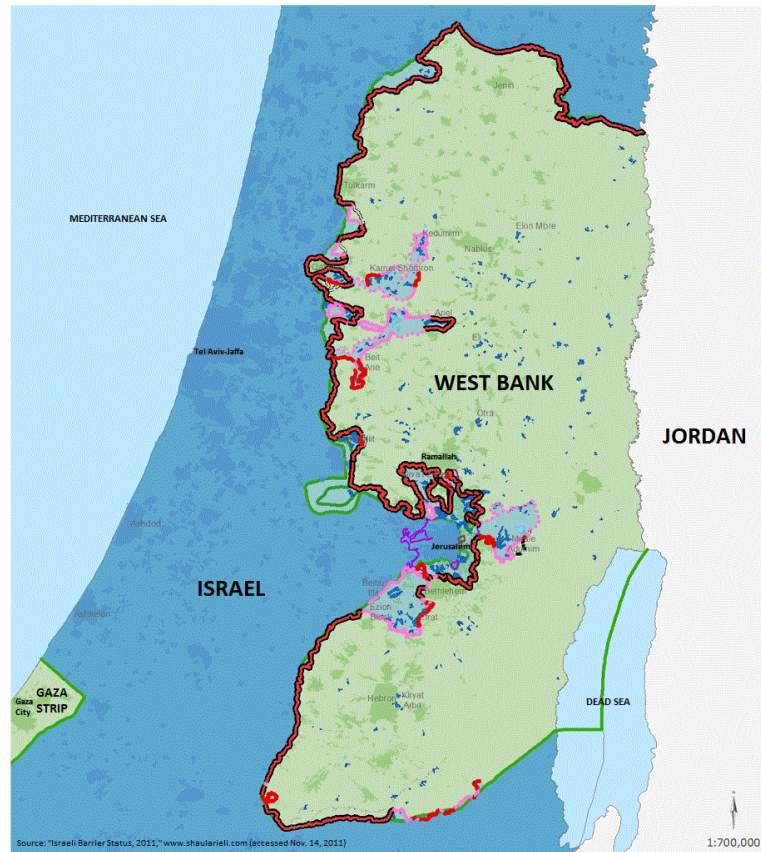
Figure 2: Map of Separation Barrier and Border Demarcations

This case is extremely important because of its political sensitivity. Those in support of the wall insist that it has increased security and decreased violence. Those opposed insist that it violates international law and human rights of those living the West Bank. The data collected with respect to this case will focus on the relations between Israelis and Palestinians, and whether the barriers have affected them in any way, positively or negatively.

Implications and Analysis

Theoretically, the numbers gathered will result in conclusions regarding the hypotheses. These conclusions may be conflicting in nature. However, each conclusion drawn will be analyzed, and will contribute to overall conclusions regarding the impacts of a separation barrier. As the discourse and political conversations currently underway mainly reflect human rights issues and legal repercussions, this thesis may offer a unique perspective – it will seek to answer the question of whether or not these walls actually work. Since their proponents insist upon

their effectiveness, this thesis may determine whether or not this is true. Furthermore, those who insist they must be taken down in order to unite countries, bring peace, or eliminate what they may see as arbitrary borders, may have their perspective either confirmed or challenged. Findings may indicate it is better for both parties that a barrier remain in place; they may also indicate that its removal may be the best course of action.

3. Case 1: The Peace Walls: Northern Ireland, Catholics, and Protestants

Background to the Northern Ireland Divisions

It is important to explain the actors in this conflict. Politics, religion, and ethnic lineage are all part of the same conflict, and the area is divided into only two groups. Historically, a citizen of Northern Ireland has either been a Catholic, of Irish descent, in favor of Irish nationalism, or a Protestant, of British descent, in favor of British unionism. For the sake of brevity, the religious and political identities will be used interchangeably throughout this narrative.

Ireland was colonized by England for several hundred years. People of British and Irish descent both lived in the country, and there were several unsuccessful attempts at Irish Revolution before the Irish War of Independence, in which most of Ireland gained independence from the British Empire.[36] The Treaty that was signed in 1922 created the state of Northern Ireland, which was separate from the state of Ireland, and became the only portion of Ireland to remain under British Commonwealth.[37] However, Northern Ireland faced the same problems, with a divided class of people, some of whom wanted independence, and some of whom were loyal to England. In 1969, these disagreements escalated into full blown conflict, which lasted until 1998. It mainly involved intercommunal violence, between Catholics and Protestants. The British Army supported the Protestants, which monopolized the government but also used paramilitary tactics, and the Catholics often relied upon guerilla tactics and paramilitary attacks. This period of time in history is now referred to as the Northern Irish "Troubles."

The Walls

In an attempt to end the violence, the British government constructed the first "Peace Wall" between Protestant and Catholic neighborhoods. Meant to stand for six months, the wall was the first in a decades-long trend of building walls between the neighborhoods.[38] The following diagram shows a brief timeline of the walls as they were built throughout Belfast.

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[36] Hopkinson, Michael. *Green Against Green: The Irish Civil War.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988.
[37] "Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6 December 1921 signed by the British and Irish delegates at 10 Downing Street, London." *National Archives of Ireland.*
[38] Alvarez, Ignacio. "Peace Walls." *Northern Ireland Foundation.*

Owner	Total	Central	East	North	South	West
Unknown	34	11	4	9	1	9
1969	2					2
1970-1979	18		4	9		5
1980-1989	12	2	1	4		5
1990-1994	12 (3)			5		7 (3)
1995-1999	14 (2)	1	1	12 (1)		(1)
2000-	7 (16)	(1)	(6)	5 (7)		2 (2)
Total	**99**	**14**	**10**	**44**	**1**	**30**

Figure 3: Table of Walls in Northern Ireland

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  As illustrated by this chart, the number of walls built was not significantly higher by decade. However, it is important to note that 7 walls were built after the Troubles officially ended. Correlation between walls and violence will be discussed further in the section "Violence and Security."

3.1. Diplomacy

  The role of diplomacy has changed drastically since the first Peace Walls went up in 1969. When the physical violence first erupted, there had been virtually no representation of Irish nationalists in political discourse.[40] They were simply an unrepresented minority. Shortly before the Troubles began, they commenced to make slight gains in public office.[41] Throughout the course of the Troubles, diplomacy was something unionists relied upon heavily to achieve peace.[42] Nationalists were frequently appealed to in an attempt to end the uprising.

  According to some, diplomacy is the only thing that has truly been effective in Northern Ireland. In 2008, the Ulster Defence Association stated it would no longer be a paramilitary group, laying aside all weaponry and relying only upon political cooperation and diplomacy.[43]

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[39] "Interfaces Map and Database – Overview." *Belfast Interface Project.* 2013.
[40] Feeney, Brian. *A Short History of the Troubles.* Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2004.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] "A History of the UDA." *BBC News.* 6 September 2011.

Former British Prime Minister Tony Blair made the peace process a primary focus of his presidency, visiting Northern Ireland 37 times during his presidency, and hosting many peace talks among opposing groups.[44] These talks led to the disarmament of paramilitary groups.[45]

This does not address the role of the walls, however. The diplomatic process existed in the sense that there were appeals to each side for peace, by both unionists and nationalists. Civilians often took to the streets to march for peace, advocating neither side, but simply cooperation.[46] These marches often followed extreme violence, not the building of the walls. The final demilitarization of the region happened after the walls had been standing for a significant number of years. Therefore, it is difficult to determine a link between diplomacy and the walls. The evidence shows an increase in talks in recent years, and an increase in calls for peace following the building of walls, but this could be explained by the violence itself.

3.2. Popular Culture

Popular culture is slightly difficult to measure, and is not a simple variable. The rhetoric espoused by Unionist forces often depicts nationalists as being primarily responsible for the violence. As the instigators of sectarian uprising and rebellion, they are often seen as causing the Troubles. Similarly, the rhetoric of nationalists is that their cause is the most righteous, and that the unionists are colonialists and oppressors. For example, there was a campaign in 1976 that called for an end to the violence which stated: "Isn't seven years enough?" This suggested that the seven years of the Troubles had caused enough violence and damage to Northern Ireland. The nationalists began marking graffiti underneath these campaigns, writing: "Isn't seven hundred years enough?"[47] This suggested seven hundred years of British rule and oppression dwarfed their uprising. In both cases, as in many wars, each side saw themselves as being noble in their cause, while seeing the other side as barbaric and unnecessarily violent.

Most depictions of the Troubles in popular culture are not of Northern Irish making. Documentaries, films, poems, songs, etc. have been written by outsiders, such as U.S. Americans.

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[44] Delaney, Brigid. "How Diplomacy Brought Peace to Northern Ireland." *CNN.* 17 March 2008.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Lehmann, Hannah. "Peace People March Against Violence in Northern Ireland, 1976." *Global Nonviolent Action Database.* 8 October 2011.
[47] Feeney.

One scholar points out that these are nearly all told from an Irish Nationalist perspective.[48] Nationalists are portrayed as the "plucky underdog" or the noble revolutionaries, rising up against an authoritative and oppressive regime. This is especially true with those media marketed towards U.S. Americans – one documentary even focuses on the plight of the Irish Republican Army as parallel to the American Revolution, as fighting for its freedom from England.[49] Such films and literature are highly sympathetic to nationalists, while portraying unionists as evil overlords. In fact, such popular culture is often more about the American identification with Irish nationalists than Northern Irish Catholics themselves. Still more films use the IRA only as side characters, such as in *The Long Good Friday,* which merely shows the group as perpetrating underground crime,[50] or center around a former IRA member's life, such as *The Boxer*[51] or *A Prayer for the Dying*.[52] Alternatively, when the Troubles are talked about in public discourse, those who fought in Irish paramilitary are referred to as "terrorists." In these cases, unionists are shown as the legitimate government and police force of Northern Ireland, while nationalists are shown as criminals, responsible for instigating the violence of the Troubles. From a constructivist perspective, the government forces who built the walls on behalf of the unionists could contribute to the image of a repressive regime, but could also contribute to the image of needing to suppress the violent nationalist terrorists.

There are many films, novels, plays, songs, and poems that demonstrate this. In the 1980 film *The Outsider,* an American director who had never been to Northern Ireland adapted a novel about an Irish-American who travels to Northern Ireland to fight in the IRA.[53] The film was met with strong reactions from unionists, and was dropped from the 1979 London film festival.[54][55] In the 1989 short film *Elephant,* director Alan Clarke shows the Troubles as the elephant in the

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[48] Bazin, Cecil. "Images of the Protestants in Northern Ireland: A Cinematic Deficit or an Exclusive Image of Psychopaths?" *In Media: The French Journal of Media and Media Representations in the English-Speaking World.* 2013.

[49] The accuracy of this assessment is outside the scope of this thesis. This thesis does not take a stance on British rule versus Irish independence.

[50] Keeffe, Barrie and MacKenzie, John. *The Long Good Friday.* Paramount Pictures, 1980.

[51] Sheridan, Jim and George, Terry. *The Boxer.* Universal Pictures, 1997.

[52] Hodges, Mike. *A Prayer for the Dying.* The Samuel Goldwyn Company, 1987.

[53] Luraschi, Tony. *The Outsider.* Great Britain: Paramount Pictures, 1979.

[54] Officially, the film was dropped because it was not up to technical standards, but this is often seen as pretext.

[55] Melaugh, Martin and McKenna, Fionnuala. "Movies with 'the Troubles' as a Theme (1968 to Present)." *CAIN Web Service.*

room, the problem that people in Northern Ireland refuse to discuss.[56][57] "Bloody Sunday" has become a popular phrase to refer to the incident in which British police killed 13 Irish protestors in 1972, including the U2 song "Bloody Sunday,"[58] the film *Bloody Sunday,*[59] and various other accounts that perpetrated cultural portrayals of British unionists as brutal and violent, and Irish nationalists as peaceful victims.   Once more, popular culture may have a strong role in constructivism, by shaping how outsiders view the Troubles.

Novels have a similar tone. Many novels have been written that are set in the Troubles without directly being *about* the Troubles. For instance, the Tom Clancy novel *Patriot Games* and Ian Rankin novel *Watchman* are both action-thriller novels that trace fictional journeys of assassins through high-speed chases, etc.[60][61] In the 1973 play *The Freedom of the City,* a doomed group of Irish Civil Rights protestors are mistaken as violent, are trapped by British police, and are eventually executed.[62] Playwright Brian Fiel originally wrote the play ten months before the events of Bloody Sunday, but altered the play to reflect these events after they happened. The 1994 play *A Night in November* is about the inner struggle of an Irish Protestant who comes to sympathize with Catholics and let go of his own discrimination against them while still maintaining a Protestant identity.[63]

Songs are similar to films in that they are often written by English or American artists, such as Elton John ("Belfast"),[64] James Taylor ("Belfast to Boston [God's Rifle]),[65] and Paul McCartney ("Give Ireland Back to the Irish").[66] Even less mainstream groups that often sing about Northern Irish issues, such as the Pogues, the Angelic Upstarts, and Flogging Molly, are either from the United States or England. The English group Skrewdriver, one the most prominent Neo-

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[56] This unwillingness to discuss the Troubles is expanded upon in the section "Public Opinion."
[57] Clarke, Alan. *Elephant.* BBC Northern Ireland, 1989.
[58] U2. "Bloody Sunday." Island Records, 1983.
[59] Greengrass, Paul. *Bloody Sunday.* Paramount Classics, 2002.
[60] Clancy, Tom. *Patriot Games.* Putnam Publishing, 1987.
[61] Rankin, Ian. *Watchman.* Bodley Head Publishing, 1988.
[62] Friel, Brian. *The Freedom of the City.* Premiered at Abbey Theatre, Dublin, 1973.
[63] Jones, Marie. *A Night in November.* Premiered in Belfast, 1994.
[64] John, Elton. "Belfast." Rocket Records, 1995.
[65] Taylor, James. "Belfast to Boston." Columbia Records, 2002.
[66] McCartney, Paul. "Give Ireland Back to the Irish." Apple Records, 1972.

Nazi bands in history, wrote a song called "Smash the IRA!" which spews pro-British, pro-Ulster rhetoric, calling for the "hanging" of IRA members.[67]

The emerging themes are multifold: that Irish nationalists are "the good guys," that the IRA are violent criminals, that Protestants do not have a voice in popular culture, and that Northern Ireland does not want to discuss the Troubles. It is possible that lack of popular culture written by Northern Irish people themselves could be due to a smaller population than the United States or England, or a smaller overall production of arts, films, and literature in general. It is also possible that the positive portrayal of Irish nationalists can be accounted for by the United States' own complicated history with Britain, as well as a strong Irish-American diaspora. Constructivism might suggest that the existence of walls limits interactions nationalists and unionists have with one another, and this popular culture might contribute to further division.

In fact, popular culture may be a citizen's only exposure to members of the opposite side. Many Catholics and Protestants who grow up in segregated neighborhoods are only exposed to their counterparts through such media. There are two possible explanations for this. One is that neighborhoods would be segregated regardless, and that the wall is only there to provide security between these segregated neighborhoods. The other is that the wall adds to the segregation, and makes dialogue which was once difficult completely impossible.

Furthermore, the rhetoric espoused on the walls themselves can be viewed as popular culture and is often highly influential on political climate. The walls are covered from top to bottom with murals and graffiti, praising and mourning those who were killed by the other side, or with various political discourse regarding Catholic and Protestant ideals, respectively. This may mean that those growing up near the walls are only exposed to the opposite side by being told by the walls that they killed their friends and relatives, and that one must be protected from them. It is possible that this may prolong the conflict by delaying diplomacy and dialogue, and by promoting strongly anti-nationalist and anti-unionist rhetoric, respectively.

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[67] Skrewdriver. "Smash the IRA!" Rock-O-Rama Records, 1987.

3.3. Public Opinion

There were several avenues through which I attempted to measure public opinion. As this is perhaps the most difficult variable to measure, and certainly the most subjective and controversial one, I wanted to look at it from as many angles as possible. I read books and articles by those from both communities, scoured popular culture, including TV, film, radio, and literature, and conducted interviews with those living in Northern Ireland.

The first thing apparent when attempting to interview people from Northern Ireland is that they are very reluctant to discuss the Troubles. Nearly every social media group, whether for the purpose of business (such as selling and buying things) or pleasure has a specific note in their community guidelines that prohibits any political or religious discussions. When asked to describe growing up in Belfast, those surveyed responded with answers about their family, their hobbies, or perhaps their food choices. Not one person responded with stories about the Troubles. Those who participated in the survey were also reluctant to add anything personal about the Peace Walls. This may reinforce the news columnist who stated there was reconciliation but no peace. It appears that the new philosophy is to keep living life as if the Troubles had never happened, in an attempt to maintain physical peace. However, the fact that public meeting groups and social media groups formed for people living in Northern Ireland invite all people to join, regardless of religion, and that religious or political discussions are banned may suggest that many people (especially those amongst younger generations) are interested in a united Northern Ireland, and either do not hold prejudice against their counterparts or no longer wish to.

Even those personal accounts written as documentation, such as books, magazine articles, and poems, rarely give any personal narratives or opinions. In fact, when reading such literature, it was very difficult to even ascertain whether the author was a Catholic or a Protestant. These articles and books maintain an objectivity unparalleled in other historical subjects. While this is admirable, it is not useful in determining how the walls have shaped people. The only emerging trend was that the Troubles have shown people that peace cannot be attained through propaganda or slander towards the other side. How much influence the walls have had upon this is unclear.

My visit to Belfast in 2013 yielded more information than these accounts. Upon arriving by ferry from Scotland, tourists are instantly greeted with drivers offering to take them on "Black Cab" Tours, which show them the Peace Walls, the unionist neighborhoods, the nationalist neighborhoods, and the murals that decorate each. The driver who took me on my tour began with the most Protestant street in Belfast, where each home is adorned with Union Jacks. Following this, we are shown the unionist murals. The murals proclaim messages about how "our friends died to save us," and how "'they' killed our friends." In this respect, the walls appear to play the role of both political forum and propaganda. The people who are reluctant to speak directly about their experiences express them through this public art, and those who pass by are constantly reminded of who the enemy is. Constructivism might suggest that this exacerbates the conflict, by constantly reinforcing separate identities, a sense of victimhood, and a dislike of the "other."

The tour continues past some of the peace walls, and it is quite staggering how high they are. The original walls have been built upon – one can clearly observe the first wall, the second wall, and the third wall, all piled up upon one another. The tour guide explains that this is due to residents throwing things at one another over the wall. Pictured below is a taxi cab parked next to a three-tiered peace wall in Belfast.[68]

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[68] "Belfast on the Rise." *Wordpress.* Accessed from: https://kkiiikkoo.wordpress.com/belfast-on-the-rise.

As with the unionist neighborhoods, these walls are completely adorned with art and graffiti expressing the pain and suffering of the Troubles. They are decorated with protests against oppression. For example, one particularly famous piece of graffiti states, "Berlin 1961-1989/Belfast 1969-?" This illustrates a sentiment of frustration and unease that the walls even exist. In spite of the fact that people on the street seem averse to discussing this, it clearly exists. The walls then provide a forum for expressing these opinions or experiences.

The cab driver goes on to explain that people who grow up in these neighborhoods may not meet a person of the opposite religion until they are an adult, and in fact, some never meet a person of the opposite religion. These neighborhoods are completely segregated, including public services, such as school and hospitals. Therefore, children are only educated with members of their own religion. Public meeting places, such as bars and cafes, are mainly segregated as well.

Throughout the tour, the driver interjects at each street corner stories about violence. He tells how on one corner, a Catholic was walking home from the pub when he was killed by three Protestants. On another street, two Protestants were on their way to work when they were ambushed by a group of Catholics. The stories appear balanced in terms of violence from each side.

As with the literature described above, at the end of the tour, it was impossible to determine if the cab driver was Protestant or Catholic. I conducted a brief interview with him.

Q: I have noticed throughout this tour that you have been mentioning things of great emotional weight. Is it difficult for you to be objective?

A: No.

Q: I honestly can't tell if you are Catholic or Protestant. Are you willing to tell me?

He refused to answer.

There is a possibility that the peace walls have encouraged this type of rhetoric, as those who have grown up without ever meeting someone of the opposite religion may never have been faced with political discourse or discussion. However, this segregation may have happened whether or not the walls were there. Therefore, it can only be concluded that walls and lack of discussion have correlation. Furthermore, the evidence from individual stories and interviews is overwhelming: people are not happy about the peace walls, and are even unhappier about the Troubles, but they simply do not wish to discuss it. The walls themselves are the only place where people feel free to publicly express their views.

In 2008, the U.S.-Ireland Alliance conducted a poll of residents living in the Falls and Shankhill areas, where the first Peace Wall went up in 1969. 81 percent stated they were in favor of the walls coming down, but only 21 percent stated they could come down now.[69] The remaining 60 percent stated they could be taken down when it was safe enough. Researchers concluded, from the data, that the walls provided a feeling of security.[70] However, a constructivist perspective of this data may suggest that the walls reinforce a feeling that security is necessary. Referring again to the book *New Perspectives in Human Security,* the authors suggest that communities become attached to the walls, relying upon them in ways they may not have if they had never existed.[71] Because actual violence has not decreased with each barrier, the only thing it has done, they argue, is create attachment to needing security.

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[69] "Belfast Residents Asked if Peace Lines Could Come Down." *U.S.-Ireland Alliance.* 2008.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Hodges, McIntosh, and Hunter.

The Northern Ireland Foundation has a special page dedicated to the walls, or "interfaces," as it calls them.[72] The reason it uses this terminology is because some demarcations are smaller than others, including a three meter fence that runs through a public park and has a gate that opens during the day. On this page, it explains some of the consequences of the walls. The first is that violence has often persisted in spite of them; they have not been entirely successful in improving security. Those on either side often see the walls as a reinforcement of their identity, and in fact, the walls can provide further demarcation of whose land the neighborhood is. This may mean increased investment in one's identity as either Catholic or Protestant, further alienating the other community. Constructivist theory might suggest that the walls actually increase divisions in identity, by reinforcing who belongs where. Furthermore, the separation and inability to see one another reinforces the idea that the other community is different and unknown. There is an increased fear: before the walls, there was fear of the other community; now, there is also fear of the unknown. In fact, the foundation suggests that the walls may actually *incite* violence, or "recreational rioting," which occurs out of excitement or boredom.[73] For example, young people may be looking for something exciting, and see the wall as an invitation to incite a riot or violence towards the other side. In this case, constructivist theory suggests that the wall provides a constant reminder of an enemy on the other side, and may incite further distrust and violence.

3.4. Security and Violence
The following is a diagram of physical deaths related to the Troubles by year:[74]

Year	Civilian	British Security	Republican Paramilitary*	Loyalist Paramilitary	Irish Security*	Totals
1969	12	2	1	1		16
1970	17	2	6		1	26
1971	89	60	20	2		171

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[72] "Peace Walls." *Northern Ireland Foundation.*
[73] Ibid.
[74] "Deaths in Northern Ireland Conflict Since 1969." *The Guardian.*

1972	249	148	70	11	1	479
1973	119	82	37	15		253
1974	191	73	23	7		294
1975	174	35	24	27		260
1976	207	61	17	9	1	295
1977	49	50	6	6		111
1978	40	35	7			82
1979	38	76	7			121
1980	34	37	6	2	1	80
1981	42	51	18	2		113
1982	36	58	10	5	1	110
1983	34	39	8	2	2	85
1984	22	32	13	1	1	69
1985	17	31	7	1	1	57
1986	27	25	7	2		61
1987	41	29	24	4		98
1988	38	46	15	5		104
1989	30	40	3	3		76
1990	36	34	8	3		81
1991	52	24	15	5		96
1992	58	11	17	3		89
1993	62	18	6	2		88
1994	48	7	3	6		64
1995	6	1	1	1		9
1996	6	1	8	2	1	18
1997	12	5	2	3		22
1998	46	2	2	5		55
1999	5		2	1		8
2000	8		1	10		19

Year						Total
2001	9			7		16
2002	9			2		11
2003	4		1	5		10
2004	3			1		4
2005	6		1	1		8
2006	3					3
2007			2			2
2008						0
2009		2			1	3
2010			1			1
TOTAL	**1,879**	**1,117**	**399**	**162**	**11**	**3,568**

This diagram illustrates no significant drop in violence following the building of a wall. As walls were built throughout this conflict, every year illustrates violence in conjunction with a new wall. The years with the highest number of casualties, 1971-1976, and especially 1972, with by far the highest number, are those years following the first Peace Walls. The first significant drop in violence comes first in 1977, then again in 1995. These eighteen years level out between 57 and 121 deaths, as compared with 171-479. Following 1995, the number drops all the way down to the single digits with 9 deaths, with a high surge in 1998 of 55. Following 1998, the number drops off again, and continues to decline. 1998 symbolized what many people recognize as the end of the Troubles. As the construction of the walls do not precede any significant drop in violence, constructivism may suggest that the walls do not affect actual physical violence, and exist only in response to perceived violence, not out of any practical reason. In other words, the walls are built because people believe they will provide security, but the evidence shows that they do not.

An alternative way of analyzing this information is to consider the distribution of deaths. While civilians account for the highest number, when broken down into British/republican and Irish/nationalist, the former group has suffered far more casualties. The combined numbers are

1,516 and 173, respectively. The British numbers are nearly nine times the Irish, and it was the British who first built the walls.

3.5. Human security

It is difficult to say whether or not the walls have had any effect on human security. As previously discussed, human security may have contributed to the start of the Troubles, as minority Catholics did not have adequate representation, and had higher levels of poverty and unemployment. However, because the walls were built between neighborhoods that were predominantly either Catholic or Protestant, they did not necessarily limit the amount of public services or goods going in or out of neighborhoods. However, human security of Catholics has greatly increased, and Protestants are now in fact a minority in Belfast (only very recently).[75] There is a greater balance of public representation, distribution of power, and rates of poverty and unemployment. Therefore, there is a correlation, but due to factors discussed, it is unlikely the walls actually caused this.

In recent years, there has been a distinct change in the dynamic. While for most of history, Catholics were the minority, and faced extreme poverty, staggering rates of unemployment, and had little to no political representation in public office, the balance has recently shifted. Unionists are now a minority, especially amongst younger generations. Nationalists have made major gains in public offices, and many sense a shifting political climate.[76] This may be dangerous for the peace process, as unionists have organized many protests against these changes, and violence could erupt once more, this time instigated by a unionist minority. According to one Irish news columnist, "All the unionist politicians know these statistics quite well. They know exactly where it is heading and they know the only outcome can be accommodation and reconciliation. And as it points out in the report, there is peace, but no attempt at reconciliation whatsoever."[77]

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[75] Purdy, Martina. "Catholics Now Outnumber Protestants in Belfast." *BBC News.* 3 April 2014.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Feeney, Brian. Quoted in "Catholics Now Outnumber Protestants in Belfast." *BBC News.* 3 April 2014.

3.6. Summary of Findings

H(1): Separation barriers improve relations between two groups of people.

H(2): Separation barriers diminish relations between two groups of people.

H(null): Separation barriers do not affect relations between two groups of people.

The information provided above has overviewed popular opinion, diplomacy, and popular culture. The findings have illustrated that people do not like the walls, but feel attached to them and are still afraid of taking them down. The evidence suggest that the walls may create a false sense of security which increases people's need for security. It also suggests that the walls create a stronger sense of separate identity and distrust of the other community. The walls make it more difficult for different communities to communicate or interact with one another. Therefore, the evidence in this case supports H(2), that separation barriers diminish relations between two groups of people.

H(3): Separation barriers increase violence between two groups of people.

H(4): Separation barriers decrease violence between two groups of people.

H(null)(2): Separation barriers do not affect violence between two groups of people.

The survey of violence and human security have shown that violence has almost always increased following the construction of a wall. However, the Troubles officially ended after many walls had been built. The information shows an improvement in human security for Catholics throughout the construction of the walls, although there is little evidence to show a direct causation. Therefore, H(null)(2) will be accepted, that separation barriers do not affect violence, as the overall evidence does not show effects on violence significant enough to support either H(3) or H(4).

4. Case 2: The Separation Barrier: Israel, the West Bank, Jews, and Arabs

The history and politics of this case are far too vast to be explored in this thesis, especially considering that this thesis is examining separation barriers, not necessarily conflict. A very brief background will be given, for the purpose of understanding the actors in this case, as well as the walls.

The state of Israel was created in 1948, following international reaction to the Holocaust.[78] 700,000 Palestinians were forced into exile and homelessness, and Jews from both Europe and Middle Eastern countries were given a homeland.[79] Here is a brief timeline of the change in borders:[80]
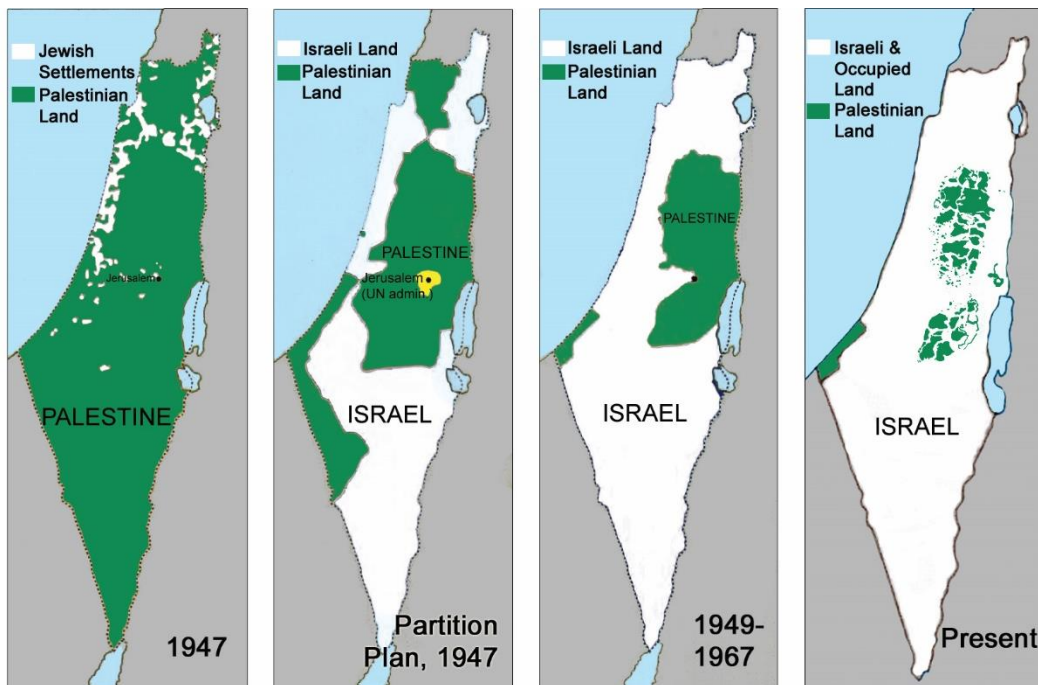
Figure 5: Changing Borders of Israel and Palestine, 1947-Present

There were many violent clashes between existing Palestinians and newly arrived Israelis throughout the years. In 1967, the Six Day war took place, in which Israel acquired the capitol of

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[78] "Milestones: 1945-1952." *U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian.*

[79] Alkhateeb, Firas. "The Nakba: The Palestinian Catastrophe of 1948." *Lost Islamic History.* 23 April 2013.

[80] "Palestine." *Teach MidEast: An Educational Initiative of the Middle East Policy Council.*

Palestine, East Jerusalem, and the new Green Line was established.[81] However, Israel continued to build settlements and send rocket fire into Gaza and the West Bank. Because Israel had economic support (and still does) from the United States, it had very strong military power.[82] Palestinians often reacted with terrorist attacks, using more guerilla-style tactics.

The idea of a separation barrier was proposed by former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who stated: "This path must lead to a separation, though not according to the borders prior to 1967. We want to reach a separation between us and them. We do not want a majority of the Jewish residents of the state of Israel, 98% of whom live within the borders of sovereign Israel, including a united Jerusalem, to be subject to terrorism."[83] There had been a series of "suicide bombings," in which members of the Palestinian paramilitary group Hamas walked into public places, such as cafes, and detonated bombs. Public opinion was that such persons should not be able to walk in, so the separation barrier was created to increase security.

4.1. Diplomacy

Between 2000 and 2005, there were several diplomatic meetings, exchanges, or talks each year between Israeli government officials and Palestinian authorities.[84] There were several talks with third party states, such as the United States, Egypt, and the Arab League.[85] Agreements were made towards a truce and the end of the conflict. In fact, Israeli settlements were being evacuated in 2005, reducing the illegal occupation.[86] However, following the announcements of truces, rocket fire continued. Following the construction of the wall, there has been no significant change in the number of talks conducted between the two authorities and outside actors.

In 2012, upon construction of more of the wall inside the Green Line, further conflict broke out. This conflict was mainly between Hamas in Gaza and Israel,[87] although there were consequences for the West Bank. Egypt, the United States, and the United Nations have all

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[81] "Jerusalem." *The Six Day War.* The Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America.
[82] Sharp, Jeremey M. "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel." *Congressional Research Service.* 11 April 2014.
[83] Rabin, Yitzhak. "Remarks by Prime Minister Rabin on Israel Television, 23 January 1995." *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs.*
[84] Wood, Jenny. "Timeline: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Since 2000." *Infoplease.* 2007.
[85] Ibid.
[86] "Israel completes settler withdrawal plans." *CNN.* 23 August 2005.
[87] Booth, William. "Here's What Really Happened in the Gaza War (according to the Israelis)." *The Washington Post.* 3 September 2014.

participated in talks aimed towards a ceasefire.[88] U.S. President Obama called upon Hamas to renounce violence, and upon Israel to recognize Palestinian statehood along the 1967 demarcation.[89]

In November of 2012, the United Nations historically voted to upgrade Palestine from observer status to a non-member state.[90] This was supported by 138 of 193 members of the U.N. Israelis authorities responded to this by stating that they would begin building settlements through the middle of the West Bank, creating a non-contiguous country.[91]

On August 14, 2013, the first real peace talks in five years commenced, after U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry strongly encouraged them to take place.[92] On April 30, 2014, the deadline for reaching an agreement passed without a resolution. What followed was one of the deadliest conflicts in recent history. This conflict is discussed further in the section "Violence and Security."

4.2. Popular Culture

There is a great deal of propaganda throughout the state of Israel. Many of the Israelis I spoke with are quite certain that Palestinians hate them and want to kill them. For example, I was staying with a friend in Tel Aviv, and after a day tour through Ramallah, I asked him if he had ever been to Ramallah, to which he replied, "They would probably shoot me on sight." Ramallah itself is a very friendly and peaceful city, and this demonstrates a rhetoric of extreme fear and distrust. If I tried to communicate how friendly and welcoming people were, he would simply respond, "It's only because you're not Israeli." The people I spoke with in Palestine expressed a deep lament that they were not able to speak with Israelis and show them who they really are, that they are not violent and hateful. However, it is currently against Israeli law for Israelis to

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[88] Wood, Jenny. "Timeline: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Since 2000." *Infoplease.* 2007.
[89] Harnden, Toby. "Barack Obama: Israel Must Recognise 1967 Borders." *The Telegraph.* 20 May 2011.
[90] "General Assembly Votes Overwhelmingly to Accord Palestine 'Non-Member Observer State' Status in United Nations." *United Nations Meeting Coverage and Press Releases.* UN/Doc/GA/11317.
[91] Ravid, Barak. "In Response to UN Vote, Israel to Build 3000 New Homes in Settlements." *Haaretz.* 30 November 2012.
[92] Winer, Stuart. "Kerry said trying to revive Israeli-Palestinian peace talks." *The Times of Israel.* 1 September 2014.

travel to Area A of Palestine,[9394] and most Palestinians are not allowed access to Israel.[95] Therefore, the most exposure they have to one another appears to be what they hear from other people.

There are many signs throughout Israeli warning Israelis of the dangers of travelling to Palestine. This is a sign travelers see when leaving East Jerusalem:[96]

Figure 6: Entry sign, West Bank checkpoint

Israelis are constantly told that there is danger on the other side of the wall. One Israeli wrote a travel blog about her journey through Palestine, and tells stories of how her Israeli friends were deeply concerned about her trip, trying to talk her out of it.[97] She also explains that the Israeli government is trying desperately to keep Israelis from ever interacting with Palestinians,

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[93] There are three designated areas in the West Bank: A, B, and C. All are controlled by Israeli authority, but officially, Area A is under Palestinian authority, while Area B is under partial control, and Area C is under full Israeli control.

[94] According to signs entering Area A.

[95] "Restriction of Movement." *B'Tselem.* 1 January 2015.

[96] Taken by me, from a car window at an Israeli checkpoint crossing into the West Bank.

[97] Weiss, Katya. "The Dangers of Traveling to Palestine." *Wordpress.* Accessed from: https://arielgoldblog.wordpress.com/2014/12/31/the-dangers-of-traveling-to-palestine.

and the wall is a major part of this. She also explains that most of the exposure comes from television news programs, which show chaos, destruction, and ISIS takeovers of Palestine.

Palestinians have slightly more exposure to Israelis, as some Israelis do vacation in the West Bank. However, there is a similar problem in the West Bank. The most frequent interaction most Palestinians have with Israelis is through the Israeli Defence Forces, who are stationed throughout the West Bank, are heavily armed, and are often aggressive and demeaning. Therefore, Palestinian exposure to Israelis is very limited, and does not include those Israeli civilians that might act differently. The popular culture is one of a military police state.

4.3. Public Opinion
Israeli Opinion

When conducting interviews, an overwhelming trend emerged with Israelis. While details and individual grievances or praises varied, the majority of Israelis found the wall to be problematic but necessary. One respondent called it "a necessary evil." Others expressed concerns about violating the rights of Palestinians, but continued to point out that the wall did provide safety and security. One person said, "It's effective. Period." Most of them voiced opinions that it is not a long term solution and will probably prolong the conflict, but at the moment, it needs to exist. However, there was little consensus when asked how one viewed the walls. Here is the breakdown:

Q: How do you view the separation walls?

10 percent: Very positively

22 percent: Positively

22 percent: Neutral

30 percent: Negatively

16 percent: Very negatively

32 percent of Israelis surveyed view the wall in a positive or very positive light, while 46 view the wall in a negative or very negative light. While the latter outweighs the former, it is still not a majority and therefore cannot be expressed as representing most Israelis.

Q: Do the walls make you feel safe or unsafe?

12 percent: Very safe

50 percent: Safe

24 percent: Neutral

12 percent: Unsafe

2 percent: Very unsafe

With this question, the results are more indicative of the wall's security with regards to individual feelings of safety. 62 percent, a strong majority, report feeling safe or very safe, while only 14 percent report feeling unsafe or very unsafe. This question may have influenced respondents by implying the walls may make them feel anything at all. The possibility of responding with "neutral" was intended to address this problem, but there is still a possibility that respondents might feel safe or unsafe based on other factors, and inaccurately attribute these feelings to the wall.

Q: How often do you meet with people from Palestine for social or business purposes?

58 percent: Never

24 percent: Sometimes

8 percent: Often

This question is also problematic, as it does not necessarily indicate to what extent the wall is to blame. The responses show that a majority of Israelis never interact with Palestinians for the purpose of business or pleasure, but it is possible that this lack of interaction is due to other factors, such as location, language barriers, and cultural differences. Therefore, it will be necessary to examine the answers in a further question.

Q: Are you afraid of people from Palestine?

12 percent: Yes

49 percent: Sometimes

39 percent: No

One respondent added "only those who want to kill me." The answers to this question illustrate a distrust at least and a direct fear at most. The most important factor in determining whether or not the wall is correlated with this fear is whether or not respondents' answers have changed since the wall was built. This is especially difficult to determine, as many of the

respondents stated that they were too young before, had only moved to Israel after the walls were built, or simply did not remember a time before the walls existed. Many stated that their opinions had not changed. 39 percent simply stated "no" when asked if they had. However, a few respondents gave insightful responses to this question. Some people felt opposed to the idea of a wall until it was actually built, at which time they experienced increased safety. Others see the wall as providing immediate relief from the conflict without being a long term solution, and increasing underlying distrust of one another. Some believe the walls ought to be even higher. There is not an overwhelming consensus, but the emerging trend is that although there are long term problems, the wall does provide security, and Israeli's opinion of Palestinians has not significantly changed. The one insight given here is that Palestinians and Israelis do not interact with one another or know one another any longer, although they did before. According to one respondent, the wall may decrease dialogue and cooperation.

Finally, participants were asked if they had anything further to add on the subject. Here opinions differed slightly less. The responses to this last question showed a majority negative opinion. The responses illustrated that walls are problematic and create deeper hatred and fear. The issue of security was also reinforced, showing that although most people do not like the walls, disagree with them, and think they increase the overall conflict, they do provide immediate relief from violence. At the moment, some say, there is no other alternative and they must exist until a greater peace is achieved.

Bias

There are several possible problems with this data which will now be addressed. The first is that respondents were asked to give their age, and the majority were young people (18-35 years). Several were in older age groups, including those older than 55, but this young person bias may indicate different answers than an older generation might give. For instance, many of the respondents were too young to really form an opinion or experience the conflict before the walls existed. In this case, it is not possible to ascertain how the wall has changed their views. Another problem is that people were asked both where they were born and where they currently live. Many were born outside of Israel. Some of these respondents have Israeli relatives and

heard about the conflict from these relatives, or visited on vacation. However, this is not the same as living through it, and may bias their responses. Many respondents also live in areas that are not near the wall, such as Tel Aviv. Their experience of the wall may be different than those who are directly affected by it, such as those in Jerusalem (many of whom did respond). Although the survey was translated into Hebrew, all respondents were found on groups where English was the main language, and all respondents answered in fluent English. This may bias the responses to those who are highly educated or well-traveled, rather than those living in more rural areas who may have different opinions. Finally, interviewees were found on social media and through my own personal network. Again, this could reflect those who are younger, more educated, and may have different opinions than older, more isolated persons.

Palestinian Opinion

The overwhelming majority of Palestinians interviewed are in extreme disagreement with the wall.

Q: How do you view Israel's separation barriers (walls)?

0 percent: Very positively

0 percent: Positively

0 percent: Neutral

4 percent: Negatively

96 percent: Very negatively

There is nothing ambiguous about these responses. Palestinian opinions are very negative.

Q: Do the walls make you feel safe or unsafe?

0 percent: Very safe

8 percent: Safe

8 percent: Neutral

20 percent: Unsafe

64 percent: Very unsafe

Here the answers are not quite as staggering as in the previous question, but a strong majority still feel very unsafe, and a very strong majority feel unsafe or very unsafe. From a Palestinian public opinion perspective, the wall does not provide security, and in fact may do the opposite.

Q: How often do you meet with Israelis for social or business purposes?

80 percent: Never

16 percent: Sometimes

4 percent: Often

This question illustrates a significant lack of cultural exchange or dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis.

Q: Are you afraid of people from Israel?

8 percent: Yes

38 percent: No

54 percent: Sometimes

Once more, it is necessary to try and determine whether or not the wall has any correlation with these responses, or if they would be the same regardless. Therefore, interviewees were asked if their opinions had changed after the wall was built. Similar to Israeli interviewees, 50 percent simply said "no." One person stated "definitely not." 12 percent stated "yes." A few gave more detailed responses. A combination of these responses and my experiences travelling through the West Bank illustrated that to Palestinian people, the wall is racist and a form of Apartheid. It restricts the movement of people in their own country, and makes everyone suspect. The extreme security around the wall causes constant fear of being attacked by Israeli Defence Forces, who are carrying large, automatic weapons and keeping watch at all times. Palestinians interviewed reported feeling extremely unsafe, and most stated that no peace can be achieved while the wall is still standing. The feeling in the West Bank is that of literally being imprisoned in one's own country.

The wall itself is covered with graffiti and other memorials regarding those who have died. Below is an illustration of the city of Jerusalem, reunited by peace and a fallen barrier.

Figure 7: Graffiti on the Separation Barrier

Other pieces make statements such as, "We all bleed the same color," and "Home? That's a place I've never been," "This wall may take care of the present, but it has NO future," "When the sun rises, it rises on everyone," and "Build bridges, not walls!" Here is further demonstration of the graffiti along the walls:

Figure 8: Graffiti and Stories on the Separation Barrier

The white posters each tell an individual's story about losing a loved one to IDF attacks, being a victims of various injustices, etc. Some tell stories about hope and redemption, or having dreams of a brighter future. On the left side of the photo is an Israeli watch tower. These towers exist sporadically throughout the West Bank.

4.4. Security and Violence

This variable is far more difficult to measure in this case than in others. This is due to the fact that there are many factors that could qualify as violence or death related to the conflict, depending on interpretation. The most obvious statistic ought to be those deaths caused from direct conflict, such as rocket fire, bombings, etc., but even these are not totally clear. Many deaths are the results of various disciplinary actions from Palestinian authorities or Hamas on other Palestinians, including the use of the death penalty, detainment, and imprisonment.[98] Other fatalities are the result of home demolition in the West Bank for the purpose of Israeli settlement or construction of the wall. Still more are a result of the growing water crisis, for

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[98] Frykberg, Mel. "Hamas Vows to Carry Out More Executions." *The Electronic Intifada.* 21 April 2010.

which the wall may be to blame.[99] Even these statistics are only with respect to actual fatalities and do not address lesser forms of violence, such as hunger, homelessness, unemployment, etc. that may result from the wall. Even more startling is the fact that each authority reporting on fatalities claims a different number. Therefore, it will be necessary to look at multiple sources.

There have been several trends since the construction of the wall between Israel and the West Bank. Whether this is correlation or causation is not yet clear and will be discussed further below. The first of these trends is that Israeli fatalities have greatly dropped. Authorities who argued in favor of the wall insisted that it would decrease access of suicide bombers from Palestine to Israel, thus making it far more difficult for terrorist attacks upon Israeli citizens. This appears to have some validity. Below is a graph of casualties since 2000. [100]
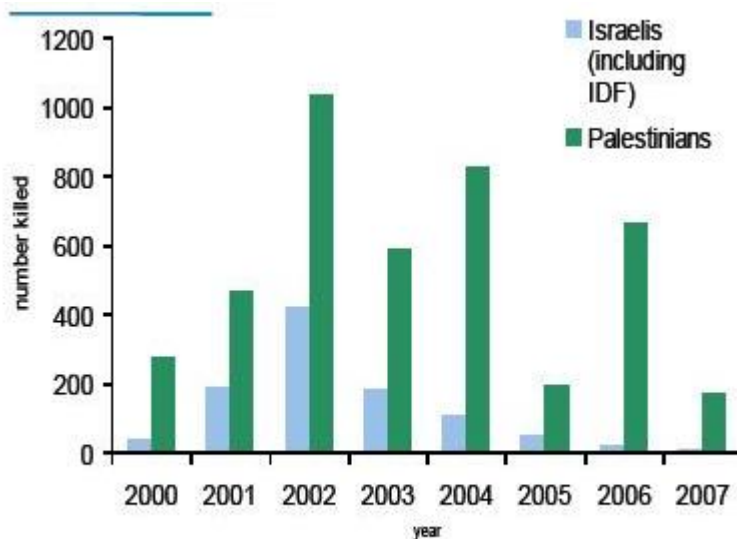
Source: B'Tselem: The time span for these figures is September 2000 to end of July 2007 (figures for 2000 and 2007 are for partial years)

Figure 9: Fatalities of Israelis and Palestinians, 2000-2007

This chart illustrates a drop in Israeli fatalities beginning in 2003, and continuing each year thereafter. 2003 was the year that the first significant portion of the wall was completed (180 km). Initially, it appears that the fence was successful in providing security to Israelis. It is necessary, however, to consider outlying factors that may explain this trend. For example, Hamas

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[99] "Water Crisis: Statistics." *B'Tselem.* Updated 25 July 2012.
[100] "Statistics." *B'Tselem.*

decreed an end to suicide bombing in 2005,[101] which may also explain the end of suicide bombings.

The data shows no such trend with regards to Palestinian casualties. The number of fatalities has not dropped significantly in the years following construction. Furthermore, the wall has not only blocked access to committing acts of terrorism, but to basic goods. The wall has increased unemployment,[102] decreased access to healthcare,[103] and added to a growing water crisis.[104] Many homes have also been demolished for the purpose of both the fence and Israeli settlements.[105] Another group of people significantly impacted are those living within the West Bank who are either partially enclosed or completely enclosed by the wall.[106]

Following 2007, as discussed in the section, "Diplomacy," there have been several conflicts between 2012 and 2014. In July of 2014, there was an exchange of rocket fire out of Gaza, followed by a ground invasion by Israel into Gaza, using tunnels under the wall.[107] The existence of the walls made fleeing the conflict impossible. There were also air bombings of Palestinian homes, in which Israel placed calls one minute before detonation. The call would come in Arabic, stating that homes would be bombed within sixty seconds or ten minutes.[108] This tactic is called "roof knocking." The Israeli Defence Forces may also send a small missile into a building five minutes before destroying the entire building, warning residents to leave. Israel is open about this policy, arguing that Hamas often keeps its weapons in homes with civilians to avoid being targeted, and this method allows those civilians to escape.[109] Victims of the bombings are critical of this, stating that one minute, or five minutes, is not enough time to evacuate an entire building, let alone grab valuable things, such as family photos.[110] By August

[101] Urquhart, Conal. "Hamas in call to end suicide bombings." *The Guardian.* 9 April 2006.

[102] "The Economic Impact of Israel's Separation Barrier." *Palestine-Israel Journal. Vol. 10, No. 4*. 2003.

[103] "Six Years After the International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion on the Barrier: The Impact of the Barrier on Health." *United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs* and *World Health Organization.* July 2010.

[104] "Water Crisis: Statistics." *B'Tselem.* Updated 25 July 2012.

[105] "Demolition of houses as punishment" and "Demolition of houses built without permits." *B'Tselem.* Updated 2014 and 2015, respectively.

[106] Zonszein, Mairav. "Walled off: 12 years of Israel's separation barrier." *Al Jazeera America.* 12 March 2014.

[107] Casey, Nicholas. "Israel Launches Ground Invasion of Gaza." *The Wall Street Journal.* 18 July 2014.

[108] Tuffaha, Lena Khalaf. "Running Orders."

[109] Iraqi, Amjad. "The Humanitarian Myths of Israel's 'Roof-Knocking' Policy in Gaza." *The World Post.* 9 September 2014.

[110] Tuffaha.

26, over 2100 Palestinians had been killed, most of them civilians.[111] Tens of thousands more were injured,[112] and hundreds of thousands were homeless or displaced.[113] 70 Israelis were killed, six of which were civilians.[114]

The following figures further illustrate the imbalance in threats to security following the construction of the wall:[115]
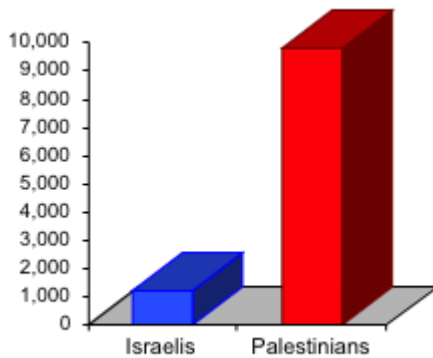
All those killed:

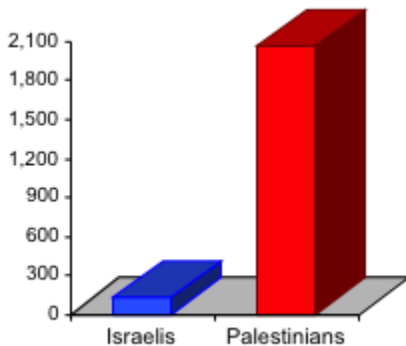*Figure 10: Israelis and Palestinians Killed 2000-present*

Children killed:

Figure 11: Israeli and Palestinian Children Killed 2000-present

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[111] "Occupied Palestinian Territory: Gaza Emergency Situation Report." *United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.* Updated 28 August 2014.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Al-Mughrabi, Nidal. "Gaza truce over, Israel soldier captured, 70 dead in Rafah shelling." *Reuters.* 1 August 2014.
[115] "Israelis and Palestinians Killed in the Current Violence." *If Americans Knew.* Accessed from: http://www.ifamericansknew.org/stat/deaths.html.

4.5. Human Security

As mentioned in the literature review, the subject of human security with regards to Palestine has been discussed at length in the international community. In fact, this particular case has played a role in the formation of this theory itself, as measuring hard numbers of casualties has proved ineffective in examining the conflict. Human security in the West Bank has suffered significantly since 2000. The wall has meant extreme restrictions on movement. Previously, Palestinians were able to access medical, education, vocational, religious, community, and other services in East Jerusalem and other parts of Israel. While some restriction of movement was in place, it has vastly increased since the construction of the wall.[116] Journeying to work in Israel from Palestine now takes from seven hours to two days, despite being only a short drive.[117] This only applies to those Palestinians with permits to travel; many are not allowed to enter East Jerusalem (which they consider their capitol) or even leave the West Bank at all.[118] Palestinians are frequently detained without probable cause, and are held under inhumane and humiliating conditions.[119]

In addition to these restrictions moving into Israel, there are now many problems with the movement of supplies into Palestine. As previously mentioned, there is a serious water crisis, with extreme lack of basic water supplies in the West Bank.[120] People are often without a fresh supply of water for weeks at a time. For example, entire families are forced to reuse the same bucket for washing for a week or more. Other basic utilities are problematic, such as waste disposal. Garbage frequently piles up indefinitely, as Israel often dumps its garbage in the West Bank, and it is difficult to have it shipped out to a landfill.[121]

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[116] "West Bank Maze of Human Restrictions." *The Electronic Intifada.* 21 November 2007.
[117] Malek, Cate and Hoke, Mateo. *Palestine Speaks: Narratives of Life Under the Occupation.* San Francisco: Voice of Witness and McSweeney's Books, 2014.
[118] Ibid., page 34.
[119] Ibid., page 38.
[120] "Water Crisis: Statistics." *B'Tselem.* Updated 25 July 2012.
[121] Frykberg, Mel. "Israel treats West Bank as its garbage dump." *Electronic Intifada.* 18 May 2009.

The construction of the wall has also correlated with an increase in Israeli settlements in the West Bank.[122][123] These are small cities built in the West Bank with Israeli residents. These have walls around them as well, and high security. These settlements are usually built in places where Palestinians are already living. Homes are demolished and people are forced to leave without any aid. Many of these people end up living in refugee camps in their own country, or simply being homeless.[124]

Home destroyed for new settlements:
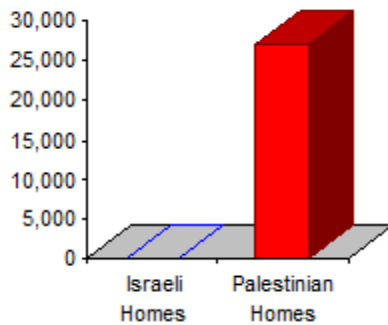
Figure 12: Homes Destroyed for New Settlements

Illegal settlements on other's land:
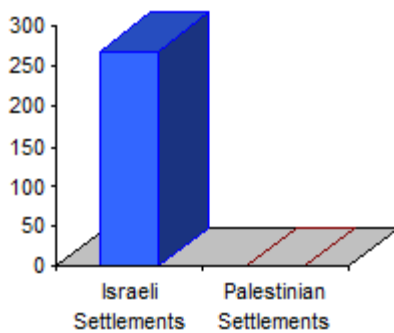
Figure 13: Illegal Settlements on Other's Territory

Other Palestinian villages are literally trapped by the wall, as the wall crosses the green line. These villages are close to the line, and the wall goes around them on the other side. These

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[122] "Homes Demolished in Israel and Palestine." *If Americans Knew.* Accessed from: http://www.ifamericansknew.org/stat/homes.html.
[123] "Israeli Settlements on Palestinian Land." *If Americans Knew.* Accessed from: http://www.ifamericansknew.org/stat/settlements.html.
[124] "Demolition Watch." *United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.* Accessed from: http://www.unrwa.org/demolition-watch.

villages must pay taxes for the areas they live in, without having any access to services or utilities.[125]

There has also been a high increase in Israeli security. Because there are many checkpoints throughout the West Bank, including those around settlements within the West Bank, there are Israeli security forces throughout the entire area, often with large weapons. There are many watchtowers throughout the West Bank, and there is constant surveillance.[126] If a Palestinian gets too close to the fence, for example, a patrol car will be there within seconds. Palestinians do not have rights, and Israeli security guards are allowed to use any means necessary to enforce security, without probable cause or restriction.[127] If there is a protest, these security forces will fire tear gas, rubber bullets,[128] and often live ammunition into the crowds.[129] During my tour through Ramallah, there were around a dozen children (from the ages of about 5 to 15) gathered for a demonstration, and there was already a great deal of tear gas in the air.

Human security in Israel has not significantly changed. Due in part to international aid, Israel is a fully developed country, where citizens have full access to public services. Israelis have full rights. Israelis have freedom of movement and are a protected class of citizens. Palestinians can be arrested, harassed, humiliated, displaced, and killed without reason or repercussion. Therefore, human security in Israeli is not affected, but human security in Palestine is highly affected.

4.6. Summary of Findings

H(1): Separation barriers improve relations between two groups of people.

H(2): Separation barriers diminish relations between two groups of people.

H(null): Separation barriers do not affect relations between two groups of people.

Popular culture and cultural exchanges have decreased, and many people on both sides are only exposed to one another through negative propaganda and warnings. Israelis are often

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[125] Zonszein.
[126] Observed on my trip through the West Bank.
[127] Malek and Hoke, page 78-79.
[128] The bullets used are described as "rubber bullets," but they are made of steel and capable of causing fatal damage.
[129] Beiler, Ryan Rodrick. "Israeli army increasing use of live fire at West Bank protests." *+972 Magazine.* 27 May 2015.

extremely nationalistic and believe that all Palestinians are terrorists who want to kill them, and Palestinians see Israelis as trying to perpetrate a genocide against them. Relations have, in many ways, never been worse than following the construction of the wall as it currently exists. Therefore, the evidence in this case overwhelmingly supports H(2), that barriers decrease relations between two groups of people.

> *H(3): Separation barriers increase violence between two groups of people.*

> *H(4): Separation barriers decrease violence between two groups of people.*

> *H(null)(2): Separation barriers do not affect violence between two groups of people.*

The separation barrier along the West Bank is being built to increase security in Israel. The number of Israeli civilian casualties has dropped, and suicide bombings no longer happen. Palestinian casualties have risen, and human security has suffered greatly in Palestine. Israelis feel safe with the wall, although they do see problems with it. Palestinians feel that they are living in an open air prison or concentration camp. Overall, despite a small decrease in Israeli civilian casualties, the data suggests that the wall causes far more violence than it prevents, and increases the imbalance between the two countries, exacerbating the conflict and the occupation. Due to the extreme threats to human security and the increase of overall violence, the evidence in this case supports H(3), that violence is increased by the wall.

5. Cross-Case Comparison

As the conclusions in Case 1 and Case 2 are similar but not identical, it is necessary to examine factors that might explain both similarities and differences. The evidence in both cases supported the idea that separation barriers decrease relations, but for slightly different reasons. This will be examined first. The evidence in Case 1 suggested that walls have no significant effect on overall violence, while the evidence in Case 2 suggested that walls increase violence. This may be explained by differences in the cases, which will be examined second.

Why do both cases support the idea that separation barriers decrease relations? There are many similarities in this respect. In both cases, one group has had social, political, and economic advantage over the other. In Northern Ireland, the Protestants/Unionists not only had the assistance of Britain, but also had extreme social, political, and economic advantage over Catholics/Nationalists. The government was completely controlled by Unionists until the start of the Troubles, and the police force was British-controlled throughout the Troubles. Therefore, in many ways, this struggle was not only Catholics against Protestants, but also police/government against citizens. This is a striking resemblance to the rhetoric between Palestine and Israel. As Israel has political, social, and economic power over Palestine, including all security checkpoints throughout the wall, and in most cases, making the laws that govern both countries, Palestine is often portrayed as the victim of colonization, apartheid, and even genocide. As with Northern Ireland, Israeli popular culture (and its allies worldwide) attempt to criminalize Palestine, portraying its fighters as barbaric, lawless, and terroristic. In many ways this is also a war between government and citizens, or police and citizens. In both cases, the government-backed side was responsible for the building of the wall(s), and for defending it over the years.

Another similarity is the way in which the wall has increased a feeling of distrust and fear. In Northern Ireland, the wall itself is a constant reminder of identity as one community, and that the other community is the enemy. In Israel, the wall reminds Israelis that Palestinians are dangerous, and in Palestine, the wall reminds Palestinians that they are subject to apartheid. In both cases, the walls increase dislike and distrust of the other community, while deepening community divides by restricting access to one another.

Regarding the second set of hypotheses, why were the conclusions different in the two cases? One significant difference between the cases is the structure of the barriers – in Northern Ireland, the walls are sporadic and divide neighborhoods. If a member of one community wishes to travel to another community, it is possible by simply going around the wall. However, Palestinians are quite literally imprisoned by the wall, unable to travel to the other community without a permit, or without going through checkpoints. Another difference is that, while both cases involve the most powerful community initializing the wall, in Northern Ireland, both communities do not feel it is safe for the wall to come down. In Israel, Israelis do not feel safe for the wall to come down, but Palestinians feel it is not safe for the wall to remain. This is an extreme difference, and illustrates the difference in power dynamics between the two cases. In Case 1, despite being initially unbalanced, throughout the course of the Troubles, Catholics and Protestants have become relatively balanced. However, Israelis have remained in a position of far greater power, authority, and violence, and following the construction of the barrier, this imbalance has grown significantly. This may explain the difference in conclusions regarding violence.

Perhaps a more pertinent distinction is the role of human security. In Northern Ireland, human security contributed to the initial violence of the Troubles, but its role has decreased over the years, and presently, human security is not a major threat to either community. However, the growing threats to human security in Palestine, such as the water crisis and housing demolitions, may actually be leading to the destruction of a group of people. The walls make these threats to human security much easier to carry out, by restricting living supplies and movement. This is a very significant difference between cases, and is likely the source of difference in conclusions regarding violence. It may be said, then, that the walls not only cause a decrease in human security, but rather, were built for the *purpose* of decreasing human security. This is not the case in Northern Ireland.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has sought to analyze the effects of separation barriers on international relations. Specifically, it has examined walls that exist for the purpose of security or diplomacy. While much of the discourse and public rhetoric regarding such walls focuses on their legality, their purpose, or their effects on human rights, this thesis has sought to answer the more basic question: do they work? Through an extensive survey of popular culture, interviews with residents, literature, history, fatalities, and other social evidence, the results are mixed. The results will be examined one set of hypotheses at a time.

The first set of hypotheses examined the relations between two groups on either side of a wall. There was a consensus between the case of Northern Ireland and Israel – the results have not been favorable. According to constructivism, how each actor perceives the other is vital to ending conflict. The evidence suggests that the walls make it very difficult for each side to stop seeing one another as threats. After the building of each wall in Northern Ireland, relations became increasingly more strained, with individuals having lower opinions of their counterparts, and violence increasing. The constructivist perspective on this case regarding this hypothesis is that the walls have created a stronger sense of identity relating to one's own community, as *either* Catholic or Protestant, not as Northern Irish. Furthermore, the walls have incited dislike and fear of the other community. They have also created a false dependency amongst residents upon them, as even after the fighting has ended, those interviewed still do not feel it is safe to take them down. After construction of the initial wall (only a fraction of that which is planned) in the West Bank, relations between Palestinians and Israelis have taken a dramatic turn for the worse. Public opinion of those interviewed is very negative regarding their counterparts. Cooperation and diplomacy has been significantly lower since the wall was built. *Therefore, the two cases both provide evidence that separation barriers do not increase relations, but diminish them.*

With regards to the second set of hypotheses, the effects on conflict and violence, the results were slightly mixed, as previously discussed. In Northern Ireland, each wall coincided with a spike in violence, and therefore cannot correlate with reduced violence. However, following the Troubles, human security has increased in the country, perhaps due to some relative balance

in power between Catholics and Protestants. In Israel, security has slightly increased, as suicide bombings no longer happen, but Palestinian casualties have increased significantly. Conflicts throughout the past ten years have surged, with staggeringly higher fatalities than before. Furthermore, human security in the West Bank has been affected, with various elements, such as poverty, unemployment, lack of access to health services, lack of water, etc. becoming remarkably high. While basic security of Israelis is slightly higher, an entire race of people's existence is threatened by the wall. *The two cases result in a mixed verdict: walls do not necessarily increase violence, but they make the perpetration of violence regarding human security much easier, and they prolong a conflict, which may lead to higher amounts of violence overall.*

The implications of these findings are relevant to many similar situations throughout the modern world. As the use of the wall becomes more and more popular, it will be necessary to bear in mind the possible long-term consequences of such walls for short-term solutions. For those walls built to protect economic interests, it will be necessary to consider the role of human security, that such walls may protect one's own backyard, but perpetrate indirect violence upon one's neighbor. For those walls built to mitigate ongoing violence and conflict, the way in which such a wall is built may be pertinent – the building of the wall inside the Green Line, while blocking access to basic goods, is perhaps unwise given this information. Furthermore, the building of such a wall when the two actors in a conflict are divided by political authority and power may provide temporary relief while exacerbating the conflict. These walls may increase the less powerful actor's dislike of those in power, while increasing the more powerful actor's fear and distrust of those rebelling.

Overall, the evidence illustrates that good fences do not make good neighbors. Separation barriers may provide a small amount of temporary relief, while increasing hatred, fear, violence, insecurity, and social utility. This minimal amount of initial relief is dwarfed by the subsequent fatalities, conflicts, and ongoing feelings of needing to protect oneself and destroy the "other" that these barriers create.

7. Appendices

7.1. Acknowledgements:

7.2. List of Figures and Tables

7.3. Glossary of Terms

1967 Demarcation: This is the line that was drawn between Israel and the Palestinian Territories following the Six Day War in 1967, in which the Green Line between the two expanded the borders of Israel significantly.

Constructivism: A theory explaining international relations which relies upon the perceptions actors have of one another based on others' actions, or the way actors "construct" the world to be.

Gaza/Gaza Strip: This area of the Palestinian Territories is completely separated from the West Bank, and is by the sea, in the Southwestern corner of Israel. It shares a border with Egypt, which has built a wall along this border. Its borders with Israel have been blocked by a separation barrier for years. This separation barrier was intentionally unexamined in this thesis for the purpose of focus.

Hamas: Acronym for *Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah* (Islamic Resistance Movement). A paramilitary group of Palestinians using guerilla tactics to resist the occupation of Palestine, including suicide bombings and other forms of terrorism. In 2005 it announced it would not use these tactics any longer. It has also used such tactics on Palestinian civilians suspected of collaboration with Israelis. Has held public office in Gaza periodically throughout the past two decades.

Human security: The concept/theory that violence is not limited to direct killing, but includes the deliberate or unintended deterioration of resources, such as food, water, and healthcare, which leads to death or decreased quality of life.

Irish Nationalist (or simply nationalist): A person in Northern Ireland who supports independence from England, usually of Irish descent and Catholic. Could support a free Northern Ireland or joining with the Republic of Ireland.

Irish Republican Army (IRA): Originally part of the Irish War of Independence, a splinter group was created to resist unionist forces in Northern Ireland. This is a paramilitary group, using vigilante tactics of guerilla violence and rebel governance.

Israeli Defence Forces (IDF): The Israeli National Army. This is the official military and police force of Israel. For Israeli citizens, participation is mandatory for one week every year. The IDF maintains a military presence throughout Israel and the Palestinians Territories.

Ulster Defence Forces: This is an umbrella term for unionist paramilitary groups using vigilante tactics, including the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force. Often referred to as the unionist counterpart to the IRA, these paramilitary groups are made up of British unionist forces using guerilla tactics to fight Irish nationalists.

Unionist: a person in Northern Ireland who supports continued British rule, usually of British descent and Protestant.

West Bank: The Palestinian territory on the East side of Israel, sharing a border with Jordan. This is where the separation barrier is partially constructed, with a planned barrier of over 700 km in the near future.

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