

Politics and Myth: The presentation of Jim Larkin in Plunkett’s ‘Strumpet City’
Larry Wilde (Nottingham Trent University)
In view of both the venue and theme of this year’s PSAI annual conference, I propose a paper on James Larkin, Liverpoolian by birth, Irish by descent and identity, whose impact on Irish life is symbolized by his imposing statue on O’Connell Street, Dublin. I offer a political theory perspective on what James Plunkett is doing in his portrayal of Larkin in his immense popular success, <i>Strumpet City</i> , which appeared first as a novel in 1969 and then as a serialised television drama on RTE in 1980. Based on the bitter workers’ struggles for union recognition in Dublin in the years before the First World War, it invokes a seemingly long-forgotten world but has a searing moral tenor that resonates today on a global scale. Perhaps the most obvious theoretical framework with which to understand the novel is Antonio Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, as applied to culture. Just as the dominant classes have secured their power through control over ideological resources such as literature, the cause of the ‘subaltern’ classes can be expressed through an alternative literature which embraces their perspective. While this certainly applies to <i>Strumpet City</i> I think that a more specific variation of this theme helps us to understand how the figure of Larkin is presented, namely, the idea of ‘myth’ developed by Georges Sorel (also favoured by Gramsci). Larkin does not appear much in the novel, yet his reputation is central to the drama; his messianic presence gives hope to the working class and strikes fear into the middle class. But from this Manichean struggle, is there a glimpse of a yearning for a more inclusive solidarity based on the idea of a new nation? This is the conundrum discussed, primarily in relation to Plunkett’s novel, but also in relation to Larkin as a historical figure.

Nevil Shute and the Irish connection: a footnote to two chapters of history
David Weir (Liverpool Hope University)
As there is no unmediated access to the world, political scientists as well as management and organisation theorists need to better understand the roles and contributions of those who mediate the worlds of social action not just for scientists but for ordinary social actors. Film-makers, song-writers and novelists come into this category in relation to popular culture. Pre-eminent as a best-selling novelist in his era and distinctive also because he was an outstanding scientist, engineer, manager and business entrepreneur was Nevil Shute, most of whose best-selling novels became major Hollywood movies. In movies like “On the Beach”, “No Highway” and “Pied Piper” he personally shaped the consciousness of millions. Shute was also a reflective commentator and social critic.
Nevil Shute emigrated to Australia in 1950 and despite his English origins came to be regarded by Australians as a leading founder of Australian fiction for his novels “A Town Like Alice”, “On the Beach”, “The Far Country” and “Beyond the Black Stump”. But his life had very deep Irish roots and strong Irish connections at a formative period in Irish history. His father, also a published author, Arthur Hamilton Norway was Head of the Irish Post Office at the time of the Easter Rising of 1916 and Shute himself played a minor part in those events and the Irish sympathies that were formed in those years were played out in surprising ways in Shute’s subsequent life and work. In this paper, based on an ongoing critical biography of Nevil Shute, we review the English and Irish cultural symbiosis as depicted and created in his novels and movies and assess their impact on the creation of theories of society, politics and management that became influential in the years after World War2.

Seán O’Faoláin, internationalism and Ireland’s political future
Niall Carson (University of Liverpool)

Getting by with a little help from its friends: assessing the quiet contribution of the International Fund for Ireland to conflict transformation practice in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties

Sandra Buchanan (UU Magee)

The International Fund for Ireland (IFI) has been the subject of remarkably little academic analysis, despite its considerable contribution to the conflict transformation process in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties over more than two decades. A product of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and funded by an array of international friends, the Fund has pioneered grassroots peacebuilding in the region, through the use of social and economic development. By quietly concentrating its efforts on the involvement of those at the grassroots, it has highlighted two key components of successful conflict transformation practice – the necessities of developing and integrating vertical and horizontal capacity at all levels of society in the transformation process thereby enabling citizen empowerment and of doing this over the long-term. The former approach subsequently paved the way for grassroots involvement in Northern Ireland’s conflict transformation process on an exceptional scale through the EU Peace programmes, thus assisting in the sustainment of the political during its darkest periods. As the Fund nears the completion of its exit strategy in 2010, this paper seeks to examine the quiet contribution made by the IFI to the conflict transformation process in the region over more than two decades by theoretically contextualising its transformative role and exploring its impacts in terms of these two key conflict transformation components. In doing so, it is hoped that such analysis will highlight previously unexplored aspects of conflict transformation practice in this region which are now ripe for lesson sharing.

Women, the conflict and political participation in Northern Ireland

Maria Power (Univ. Liverpool)

Women are believed to be natural peacemakers. It is argued they are conditioned, both biologically and socially, to create an environment in which they act to ameliorate or resolve conflict. Much of the literature on women in Northern Ireland serves to reflect this view: we are presented with two stereotypes where they are portrayed either as completely conforming to perceived femininity by acting as peacemakers motivated by grief or a sense of loss or are depicted as defeminised paramilitaries or murderesses acting against instinct. Thus, until very recently, any of the work engaged in by women which sits at the peacemaking end of the spectrum was automatically lauded and we have been offered a series of almost hagiographical pieces which obscure the reality of the role that women have played in the conflict in Northern Ireland. This essay will explore the experiences of the women who sit in the middle of this spectrum. Neither violent nor pacifist, they have participated through political channels in Northern Irish society contributing to both the escalation and transformation of the conflict there. By using autobiographies, manifestoes, newspapers and political material held at the Linen Hall Library in Belfast, this will trace the historical development of women’s political role in Northern Ireland exploring the reasons their participation and its significance, its evolution and the form that it took.

Recognizing Ireland and the Irish: British policies, practices and perceptions from the 1990s onwards

Lesley Lelourec (Univ. Rennes II) and Grainne O’Keeffe-Vigneron (Univ. Rennes II)

During British parliamentary debates in 1955 on whether or not the Irish should be included in immigration controls to Britain, it was argued that: “the population of the whole of the British Isles is for historical and geographical reasons essentially one”. The Irish and British were constructed as the “same” for reasons of expediency, leading to the non-recognition of Irish specificity and difference in Britain throughout most of the Post-Second World War period. The Joint Declaration of 1993 between the British and Irish governments stated the desire to improve understanding “between the peoples of these islands”, as one of the pillars of the fledgling peace process. Drawing on our own empirical research, conducted mostly for our respective PhDs, we shall aim to examine how grassroots activity (particularly the Irish community in London) has impacted on the recognition of Irish difference in England and at the opposite end of the spectrum, evaluate the British government’s input into heightening awareness and understanding of Ireland in Britain, by examining the space accorded to the study of Ireland in the English classroom. The following questions will be asked: what actions have been taken in Britain to reach a greater understanding between the Irish and the British? What effect have these actions had on the Irish community in Britain? How were these actions accepted? To what extent has the peace process impacted on policies?

The origins of the Irish lobbyist
Elaine Byrne (Irish Times)
Traditionally, focus has directed on those that have been lobbied rather than those that lobby. Recent initiatives have sought to correct this anomaly. In 2006, the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government commissioned research on the potential for a register of lobbyists. The 2007 Programme for Government gave a vague commitment to consider the regulation of lobbyists. The Public Relations Institute of Ireland and the Public Relations Consultants Association representing lobbyists have in recent years established a voluntary professional code of ethics. These initiatives are as yet deficient of regulation or legislation and are in sharp focus following the sentencing in May 2009 of former lobbyist, Frank Dunlop, for corruption. Have lobbyists influenced political and policy choices through the provision of political donations? Have the lobbied reciprocated through disproportionate access to decision making within the structures of the Social Partnership process and board membership of Public Bodies? This paper presents data from 1998-2008 which demonstrates that two thirds of the disclosed donations for the Labour Party were derived from the Trade Union movement. In the same period, 40 per cent of Fianna Fáil's disclosed donations originated from property developers and construction related sources. This paper seeks to consider the definition of a lobbyist and examines how Ireland's legislative vacuum incentivised and normalised lobbying within Irish politics.

Political advertising in Ireland
Kevin Rafter (DLIADT)
I am currently finalising a research report funded by the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland on political advertising. The report examines the regulatory regime for advertising of a political nature in Ireland and elsewhere, and looks at the implications of recent judicial cases at European level. This subject has been the source of ongoing controversy in Ireland with the BCI banning broadcast adverts from charitable organisations, trade unions and other vested interest groups. Central to the study is a specially commissioned Red C opinion poll focusing on public attitudes to political advertising. The report will be published in the autumn. While not dealing with a specific lobby/vested interest group this research material overlaps into the area of the specialist group, and the findings and recommendations would impact on the nature of political advertising in Ireland.

Does lobbying regulation promote transparency? Some thoughts from the global evidence
Gary Murphy (DCU), John Hogan (DIT), and Raj Chari (TCD)
This paper discusses how political systems in a number of states across four continents (Canada, the US, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Taiwan and Australia) have enacted formal legislation in regulating lobbyists in order to increase transparency. We offer theoretical classifications for the types of regulatory environments the states find themselves in, consider which variables explain why these systems have pursued such regulatory frameworks and examine how effective such strategies have been. In essence we argue that the stronger the regulatory environment within a state is, then the more likely it is to be perceived by lobbyists and politicians alike that transparency in the lobbying process is achieved.

Corruption: the view from the Oireachtas
Gillian Smith (DIT)
Since the late 1980's corruption been a feature of Ireland's political landscape. The Nineties were dominated by Tribunals which revealed a network of relationships between high ranking politicians and the country's wealthiest businessmen. The Rainbow Coalition began the effort to improve ethical standards among Irish politicians by introducing the Ethics Acts in 1995. These were supported by the Electoral Act (1997) and Freedom of Information Act (1997). It was hoped that legislating against corruption would deter politicians from engaging in unethical behaviour. As the first decade of the Twenty First Century draws to a close Irish politics is still dominated by corruption scandals. Bertie Ahern was forced to resign as Taoiseach due to the ever tightening grip that the Mahon Tribunal held him in. As the Ethics regime has been in place for over ten years, it is timely to research what effect, if any, the laws have had on Members' attitudes to corrupt activity. As corruption is, by its nature, secretive and difficult to measure it is useful to

assess it by analysing perceptions and attitudes of elites in order to determine their tolerance of corrupt activity. This thesis examined the attitudes of Oireachtas Members to corruption by gathering data through surveys. This method was used successfully in the US, Canada and the UK. By investigating the methods used by other researchers the author was able to devise a survey that was relevant to Oireachtas Members and that would provide valid data. The responses were then compared to data from other surveys in order to assess the relative Oireachtas Members' relative tolerance to corruption. As no similar study has ever been done in the Oireachtas it was not possible to compare changes over time. The comparisons with the data from Westminster proved quite interesting. The main finding of this research is that there is not an elite political culture among Members of the Oireachtas. This is shown by the lack of consensus in Members' responses to the survey. This indicates that the ethics legislation has not had a significant impact on Members' attitudes toward corrupt activities. Analysing the results in terms of the Westminster data also shows that Oireachtas Members have a significantly higher tolerance for constituency service activities than their Westminster colleagues. These findings are discussed in terms of the differences in political culture that exist between the two countries and the impact that has on perceptions of corruption.

Panel 2:2 – Party politics in Northern Ireland

Friday 4.30-6, COR 110

Social class and party choice in Northern Ireland's ethnic blocs

Jon Tonge (University of Liverpool) and Jocelyn Evans (University of Salford)

The peace process in Northern Ireland has not diminished the acute ethnic electoral faultline between the majority Protestant-British population, supportive of parties favouring Northern Ireland's continuing place in the United Kingdom and the minority Catholic-Nationalist population, which backs parties harbouring long-term ambitions for a united Ireland. Within each bloc, however, there has been a dramatic realignment in favour of parties once seen as extreme and militant. The Democratic Unionist Party has emerged as the main representative of the Protestant-British population, whilst Sinn Fein, having for many years supported the Provisional IRA's 'armed struggle' against British rule, has become the dominant party amongst Catholic Nationalists. As both parties have entered the political mainstream and advanced electorally, to what extent have they moved from their electoral near-confinement among the working-class to enjoy broader cross-class support – and how? Using data from Northern Ireland Life and Times Surveys and Social Attitudes Surveys from 1989 to 2006 and multivariate modelling, this paper examines the extent to which social class has diminished as a variable determining party choice within the respective ethnic blocs.

North-South/East-West: new dimensions of party organisation in Northern Ireland

Katy Hayward (QUB) and Mary C. Murphy (UCC)

Northern Ireland's most long-established moderate political parties, the SDLP and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), have encountered grave challenges in the ten years since they fashioned and championed the 1998 Agreement. A striking feature of the new survival strategies of both parties has been their moves towards co-operation, and possible merging, with a major party based outside N. Ireland – Fianna Fáil (Ireland's governing party) for the SDLP and the British Conservative Party for the UUP. The post-1998 system of governance, with its three strands (unionist/nationalist, north-south, British-Irish), has acted as a spur for this transborder party collaboration. The significance of EU membership – as witnessed in Jim Nicholson's candidature for 'Conservatives and Unionists' in the 2009 EP elections – is also notable and will be considered in some detail here. The ultimate aim of this paper is to assess whether these new developments within party politics in Northern Ireland are a portent of progression, regression or digression in British-Irish and north-south political relations.

Unionists as 'court sceptics': An exploration of elite level unionist responses to recent proposals for a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights:

Peter Munce (UUJ)

Within the normative framework of political constitutionalism there is a rich strand of thought (Allan, 1996, 2003 & 2004, Bellamy 2007, Griffith 1979, Tomkins 2001 and Waldron 2001 & 2006), which argues against the incorporation of Bills of Rights into the legal and constitutional system of the body politic. It does so on the basis that documents, which enshrine rights in a higher form of constitutional law, are by their very nature undemocratic because they involve the transfer of power over social policy and other political matters from elected legislatures to an unelected judiciary. The Northern Ireland Bill of Rights

Forum (2008) and the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission (2009) have recently published proposals for a Bill of Rights in Northern Ireland. In the debates that have followed, elite level unionist responses continue to articulate scepticism about such proposals on the basis that Bills of Rights limit “the right of the citizen to participate in the democratic governance of their community” (Waldron, 2001). This paper begins by exploring the normative framework of political constitutionalism within the context of debates over the efficacy of constitutional Bills of Rights. It then considers how elite level unionist responses to proposals for a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights can be analysed within this framework and explores whether the term ‘court sceptic’ (Hiebert, 2006) is appropriate to conceptualise unionist responses. It concludes by offering some further observations on the term ‘court sceptic’ by testing its utility in this specific Northern Ireland case.

Panel 2:3 – Constructing civil society

Friday 4.30-6, COR 100

Taking ownership: Can the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants be a participatory process?

Walt Kilroy (DCU)

Programmes for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) have become a standard part of the peacebuilder’s toolkit in the aftermath of civil wars, especially in West Africa. They have been described as being at the nexus of peacekeeping, peacebuilding and development. DDR programmes have met with mixed success: while guns are collected and combatants demobilised, former fighters face difficulties in reintegrating socially and economically, especially when the economy and human capital of a country have been devastated by war. Although they can help to reduce the actions of spoilers, and smooth the implementation of a peace agreement, DDR programmes have been criticised as short-term, ‘top down’ processes. Lessons are being learned on how to design and implement DDR programmes, which call for a more integrated, people-centred, and nationally-owned process. These elements can be equated with the first steps in taking a “participatory” approach, as advocated within development discourse. This study draws on focus group discussions and a small-n survey of ex-combatants in Sierra Leone, along with interviews with a range of key stakeholders. It finds that most felt they were not properly consulted during the process, and many complain of being cheated of the promised benefits. It also explores the possibilities for a participatory approach to DDR, the possible benefits, and the obstacles likely to be encountered.

Civil Society and the State in Yemen: Entrenching Authoritarianism or Promoting Reform?

Vincent Durac (UCD)

This paper will examine civil society in contemporary Yemen where, perhaps paradoxically, a comparatively open political system and a seemingly vibrant civil society sector co-exist with patterns of authoritarian politics that are familiar from much of the rest of the Middle East. The paper will consider the impact that civil society in Yemen has, or can have, on Yemeni political dynamics and will argue, in sympathy with recent work on other states in the region, that, far from challenging an entrenched, authoritarian regime, civil society in Yemen as presently configured, almost certainly has the effect of bolstering the grip on power of that regime. The paper is divided into three main parts. The first examines the concept of civil society and the question of its relationship to democratic political change. The next examines the literature on civil society in the Middle East from two perspectives – first, the debate on whether the concept of civil society has any meaningful application to Middle Eastern contexts; secondly, what form and character civil society assumes in the contemporary Middle East. The next section critically examines civil society and the state in Yemen and is based, in part, on fieldwork conducted in Sana’a in March 2008. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the implications of its findings for the broader literature on civil society and the state in the Middle East.

The meaning of self-determination in ethno-national conflict and peace building – a comparison of Ireland and Kashmir

John Doyle (DCU)

Political developments in N. Ireland and the Basque Country have raised questions about the continuing meaning of demands for ‘self-determination’ by groups such as the IRA and ETA. Some authors have characterised the N. Ireland peace process as the effective abandonment of nationalist goals in return for power-sharing and civil rights. Yet Sinn Féin continues to prioritise Irish unity in its rhetoric and campaigns. Despite the failure of the Basque peace process to develop, it threw up some potentially

interesting re-definitions of self-determination, which separated its symbolic base from the issue of continuing membership of the Spanish state. Kashmir seems to involve the most traditional concept of sovereignty from India, Pakistan and Kashmiri separatists, yet here the defacto acceptance by India and Pakistan of the Line of Control (LOC) as the de facto border, combined with a recognised need for institutionalised cross border relations has made the Irish case of considerable interest to parties on all sides there. The unwillingness, to date, to go beyond traditional institutionalisation of sovereignty has made progress on Kashmir difficult, as there is little likelihood of a change in the balance of power to resolve the conflict on the basis of absolute victory. Through an examination of the statements of political actors this paper argues that a more nuanced model of self-determination, rather than an abandonment of nationalism has been central to the N Ireland peace processes. There is evidence of some engagement with such ideas in Kashmir and of serious actors considering some transferrable lessons from the 'Irish' case.

Absenteeism and failure rates – investigating the connection.
Brid Quinn (University of Limerick)
<p>Increased participation in university education has had significant social, economic and political, as well as educational, impacts which are generally interpreted positively. However, despite efforts to enhance the student experience, concerns have been expressed about attrition, absenteeism and failure rates. It has been repeatedly suggested that there is a correlation between student attendance patterns and failure rates. This paper explores that purported correlation. It begins by reviewing the literature which makes the connection, identifying recurrent themes in the literature. It then draws on data from some core modules in undergraduate politics/public administration programmes in Ireland in order to map the extent of the correlation and to check for other causal factors. It also examines the strategies being used by faculty to overcome the perceived problem. Thus, the paper contributes to the debate on the connection between absenteeism and failure rates.</p>
The impact of community education on political efficacy: a case study of the immigrant community in Cork
Clodagh Harris and Philip Murphy (UCC)
<p>Political efficacy refers to a citizen's appraisal of his/her ability to influence and have effect in a political system. It is two dimensional (Lane 1959), involving assessment of one's ability to act within a political system (internal efficacy) and appraisal of the responsiveness of the system and its elites to such input (external efficacy). Research details the strong relationship between political efficacy and political participation (Finkel (1987), McCluskey (2004)). Community education which draws on the teachings of Dewey and Freire has been described as 'a flexible, emancipating process, which enables people to become more agentic in their own lives, and to bring about change in their worlds' (Connolly 2003). In this regard we can hypothesise about its contribution to an individual's internal efficacy.</p> <p>This paper assesses the relationship between community education and political efficacy. It takes a case study approach focusing in particular on the immigrant community in the Cork area. Immigrants in Ireland are entitled to vote in Irish local elections and are expected to be socialised with the political values and norms of democratic citizenship. Community education projects such as the voter education/active citizenship programme, to name but one, were conducted by NGOs, UCC and other institutions in advance of the 2009 Irish local elections. Developing a questionnaire to determine political efficacy this research will measure the impact if any community education had on the individual's efficacy and participation by surveying members of Cork's immigrant community who have and have not availed of the community education programmes.</p>
Researching the education of the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900
Ciaran O'Neill (Inst of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool)
<p>The importance of education in social stratification is rarely contested, and has been the subject of particularly extensive research in both England and the US, where the respective importance of public school and Ivy League education has long been admitted as pivotal to political and social upward mobility. Not so in Ireland, where comprehensive study of the relationship between elite status and education is conspicuous only by its absence. In an effort to remedy this gap, this research project, now nearing an end, endeavoured to trace the career path and after-life of Irish Catholic boys educated on English soil between 1850 and 1900 in an effort to trace the likely benefit of such an elite education in both material and social terms. The methodology used in the research project was unique in the Irish and European field and depended upon the compilation of a comprehensive and malleable database of boys that attended two Jesuit schools (Stonyhurst, Beaumont) and two Benedictine schools (Ampleforth, Downside) in the second half of the nineteenth century. As verification can often be difficult when the source data is unclear or incomplete, creativity and innovation was required in the research stage, and this was aided by the increase in online resources such as the Irish census records, newspaper databases and government records – all of which are now keyword searchable. In my paper, this process will be examined in depth for its potential usefulness to other researchers.</p>

Panel 3:2 – Politics and policy in the Republic of Ireland

Saturday, 9.30-11, COR 102

Pork barrel politics in Ireland 2001-2007
Jane Suiter (TCD)
This paper analyses the extent to which political or policy variables determine the distribution of infrastructure spending by the Irish government in the years 2001-2007. Extending theories of legislative behaviour of PR-STV it examines whether the Cabinet Ministers and ruling parties direct spending to specific districts or according to a norm of universalism. It finds that Cabinet Ministers deliver significant additional resources to their own personal bailiwicks while the governing party is unable to discipline its own members of parliament sufficiently to target the areas of the party's core electoral strength. Finally it finds little evidence that policy variables predict the destination of spending.

Brokerage politics in Ireland today
Eimear O'Leary (UCC)
National politicians have a tendency to concentrate on constituency work, often to the detriment of their legislative duties. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was much research undertaken in the Republic of Ireland on brokerage politics and constituency work. This work resulted in assertions being made that with the modernisation of society the brokerage role of politicians would cease to dominate their workloads, due to increased educational levels, advances in technology and higher standards of living. As a result constituents would no longer require an intermediary to assist in their problems. What this research proposes is to take a 21 st century perspective on brokerage politics which will prove that it remains a force to be reckoned with in political systems. It is proposed to outline how the level and extent of constituency work which national politicians engage in, has not subsided and in fact due to technology may even have increased their constituency workloads. This paper will present the findings of structured interviews with TDs. It is hoped that by conducting these interviews the results will create an accurate picture of the amount of constituency work which national politicians continue to engage in which should subsequently prove the continuing existence of brokerage activities.

Panel 3:3 – Breaking patterns of conflict: the impact of successive British-Irish Agreements

Saturday, 9.30-11, COR 114

Constitutional blueprints and political structures: the dilemma of implementation in Northern Ireland
John Coakley (UCD)
Since 1973 notable efforts have been made to place relations between communities in Northern Ireland, between North and South, and between Ireland and Great Britain on a new institutional footing. These efforts have been designed to promote a conventional political approach to conflict, and to sideline paramilitarism. But translating a painfully negotiated settlement into functioning political structures has been a continuing challenge. This paper explores this process, and seeks to explain the modest success of political leaders in converting blueprints into sustainable institutions.

Breaking the patterns of conflict in Northern Ireland. The Anglo-Irish Agreement, constitutional metaphors and institutional change.
Jennifer Todd (UCD)
Despite changes in the detail of executive formation, voting procedures and cross-border institutions, there are considerable formal similarities between the institutions of the failed 1973 and the successful 1998 settlements in Northern Ireland. This raises interesting questions about the role of institutions (and institutional design) in settlements: on the one hand institutional detail is key to party negotiations; on the other hand, it does not appear to make the difference between failed and successful settlements. Theoretically the paradox arises from an overly formal notion of institutions: once linkages and understandings are factored in, the extent of change becomes clear. This paper uses the example of the Anglo-Irish Agreement to explore the role of 'context', 'linkages' and 'understandings' in institutional change. It uses new primary material to examine how and if governmental actors' focus on the 'totality of relationships' within which institutions function and change actually produces palpable effects, and to assess their assessments of the 'seismic' changes and 'tectonic shifts' which they believe they have facilitated.

Settlement processes in Northern Ireland: the hidden politics of the peace process

Cillian McGrattan (University of Ulster)

This paper examines the contribution of the British and Irish states to what proved to be a key dynamic in the Northern Ireland peace process – namely, the progressive radicalisation and alienation of unionist politics. The paper builds on academic analyses of modern unionist politics, which stress how government intervention heightened Protestant discontent. However, it seeks to provide a new perspective on the political developments by looking at how unionist discontent in turn influenced the broader inter-governmental approach. Thus, the paper argues that unionist unease with the broad thrust of political change – particularly since the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 – was instrumental in shaping the development and outcome of the peace process.

Unlike much of nationalist politics, this dynamic occurred at a ‘hidden’ level in which unionism’s persistent resistance to Westminster’s devolution policies and nationalist constitutional proposals prevented their effective operation. In particular, unionism’s reiteration of the security issue – in terms of requiring both physical and constitutional guarantees – meant that any governmental proposals could only operate within certain parameters. The paper describes how the basic structure of governmental policy for restoring devolved power carried through with little change since the early 1970s – namely, an institutionalised Dublin involvement and the desirability, in principle, of devolved power sharing – however, decisive changes in policy direction or in the operation of political initiatives took place at a lower or ground level. In short, unionist resistance to government proposals served to transform the context in which those governmental proposals would be enacted. Without being powerful enough to directly influence policy reform, the consistent opposition by unionists to what were perceived as unfavourable proposals, slowly transformed the direction of political progress.

The journey from Hillsborough 1985 to Belfast 1998, analyzing the role of Irish party politics in the transition of Irish government policy from the Anglo Irish Agreement to the Good Friday Agreement.

Susan McDermott (IBIS/UCD)

This paper will analyze the influence of Irish party dynamics on the development of Irish government policy during the period 1985-1998. There was continuity of Irish government policy on certain key issues from the Anglo Irish Agreement, however this paper will argue that the changing strategies that developed during this period are a result of party policy and partisan tactics, particularly the differing approaches by the Irish parties on dealing with Republicans, Unionists and the relationship with the British government. The paper will argue that the important high level, British-Irish civil service negotiations that led to the Anglo Irish Agreement, were still central to the process of negotiations in the lead up to Good Friday but that vital changes at the leadership of Irish political parties played an influential role in the development of the Belfast Agreement.

Panel 3:4: Northern Ireland: militant mobilisation and state responses Sat 10, 9.30-11, COR 108

Explaining pathways to armed activism in the Provisional IRA, 1969-1972: a multi-causal framework

Lorenzo Bosi (EUI)

This paper examines why individuals joined the Provisional Irish Republican Army and how they justified their participation in violent action. The mobilization process is a complex, multifaceted, and conjunctural phenomenon, and it is critical to take a multi-causal perspective and look for different paths leading toward the armed struggle. My research takes into account a broad range of social, political, cultural, and institutional environments that influenced—directly or indirectly—the mind-set of those who radicalized their repertoire of political action and adopted violence as a legitimate means of protest.

The accounts of former Provisional IRA volunteers suggest that there were manifold motivations for getting involved in the organization, including defenderism, revenge, community-networks, and instrumentalism. Invariably, however, the most crucial incentive was what ex-volunteers described as the need to “do something.” This, ultimately, is what led these volunteers to the Provisional IRA. Known for its radicalism, the Provisional IRA was seen as by far the most effective organization on the Irish political landscape through which to channel the desire for defence, retaliation, and tangible involvement in the Irish

liberation struggle. The main argument of this article is that the decision to join the Provisional IRA was not the outcome of the inevitable manifestation of immutable historical conditions, such as the unresolved relation between the two communities in Northern Ireland or the result of activist's antisocial personality disorder, social-exclusion, psychological distress, and circular reaction, but the struggle of recognition of a community, to grow out of its perceived status of marginalized second-class citizenship. In becoming involved in political violence forms of action, republican volunteers were not only fighting for a substantial change in the regional political system (Irish reunification), but first of all to reclaim dignity for themselves, to build honour, and instilling pride in their community. They saw in joining armed struggle activities the pleasure to change the course of history, something from which they felt for long to have been excluded. This 'new' reading of the process of republicans micro-radicalization challenges the existent literature, but also explains how the largest part of the republican movement could accept from the early 1990s the peace process without having achieved the final goal of: Irish reunification.

My paper draws upon a wide variety of sources. These include 1) newspapers and magazines; 2) archival sources (posters, leaflets, organization's formal communiqués, pamphlets, etc.); 3) government documents (Parliamentary Debates and official government reports, police and court records); 4) autobiographies and published interviews of former IRA's volunteers; and most importantly 5) thirty semi-structured interviews with former volunteers of the Provisional IRA. Taken together, these sources allow me to reconstruct the culture of radicalization that served as the backdrop to individual decisions to join the Provisional IRA and engage in political violence.

'Baiting the hooks'? British state social and economic strategies and the Northern Irish peace process

Kevin Bean (Liverpool)

This paper investigates the importance of social and economic policy as a political instrument deployed by successive British governments in Northern Ireland since the late 1960s. In tracing the aims, objectives and methods of state strategy it shows how London made a direct connection between social and economic deprivation and political conflict, and developed a range of strategies that combined counter-insurgency with conventional urban, social and economic policies.

The paper identifies a number of strands and phases in British policy. In the 1980s, for example, attempts were made to influence nationalist civil society and thus marginalize the insurgent challenge of the Provisionals: by the late 1980s a number of factors had combined to draw the nationalist population in general and republicans in particular into close relationships with the state in all its forms.

The peace process model adopted by both the Major and Blair governments in the 1990s built on this experience: after 1997 these policies had the ambitious aim of transforming the region's economy and thus its social structure as the starting point for the creation and stabilization of a new political dispensation. Another strand drew on the international experiences of peace processes and the role of civil society in managing and transforming conflict.

The paper concludes by assessing the effectiveness of British strategy by tracing its impact on the politics and strategy of key political actors, such as the Provisional Republican movement. It also attempts to deepen our understanding of the nature of the contemporary state and its ability to shape the forms and structures of civil society. It looks at the patterns of these partnerships and relationships in Northern Ireland and considers how far they represent state strength or weakness in the face of an insurgent challenge.

In making these assessments, the paper will suggest that British state strategy in its various manifestations of both 'hard' and 'soft' power has created a contradictory and yet essentially stabilizing structure of power that will continue to define Northern Ireland for the foreseeable future. Given the international interest in the Northern Ireland peace process and the widely held view that it provides a model for conflict management and resolution that is applicable elsewhere, this consideration of a key determining factor in Northern Irish politics and society during the last forty years should have broader relevance to our understanding of the politics of conflict, terror and resolution in the twenty first century.

Bloody Sunday and the politics of the British Army

Niall O Dochartaigh (NUIG)

In theory there is a clear distinction between political decision-making and the operational decisions of the military in a democracy, a distinction invoked by military commanders and politicians alike in defence and explanation of their actions. In practice, there is a significant overlap between the two. Militaries are

political, and in many ways properly so, given that they are an arm of state. Government security policy is a legitimate area of concern for the military, given that they have to implement the policy. At the same time, operational decisions can have direct political consequences and are properly an area of concern for policy-makers. This paper argues that the British army operation planned for Bloody Sunday in Derry in 1972 was effectively a policy shift put into effect through operational decisions as key decision-makers manoeuvred in the grey area between the political and the operational. The occasion of a banned march in a city where army action had been tightly restrained by government presented the opportunity to effect a significant shift in security policy that could be presented as a responsive and therefore inevitable operational decision. The paper argues that the closing statement of Counsel to the Saville Inquiry has occluded the extent to which the operation emerged from internal policy struggles and military discontent with the policy of restraint in Derry because it implicitly accepts the formal separation of the operational and the political. While the Saville report may ultimately take a different approach, the closing statement tends to discuss the events of Bloody Sunday in terms of compliance with, or deviation from, the formal bureaucratic structures and procedures for military and political decision-making, neglecting the politics of operational decision-making and the blurred frontier between the political and the military.

Tale of two cities: Belfast and Derry in August 1969

Brian Walker (QUB)

Forty years ago a series of riots marked the beginning of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland. The Battle of the Bogside, and consequent events in Belfast, in mid August 1969 left 8 dead, many of hundreds of people injured and several hundred homes destroyed. This marked the beginning of a cycle of violence which would continue for decades. This paper will look at what actually happened in both cities. Today we are in a much better position to understand what went on, thanks to the findings of the Scarman tribunal, published memoirs and oral recollections of contemporaries, among whom I can count myself. I was present in Derry in August 1969 when the fighting started and I was an eye witness of events until the arrival of troops, fifty hours later. What happened will be part of the story which I shall try to relate and explain. The other part of the story, which is perhaps more interesting, is what people thought happened and the consequences of these beliefs.

Europe, the Northern Ireland problem, and British-Irish relations
Peter McLoughlin (QUB)
<p>This paper will explore the various in which the project of European integration has impacted on the Northern Ireland problem. In doing so, it will consider the early hopes of Irish nationalists, and indeed the early fears of Ulster unionists, that the process of European integration would ease the path towards the reunification of Ireland. It will also look at less partisan perspectives, particularly the ‘post-nationalist’ thinking of the 1990s, which imagined that the European integration would lead to the transcendence of competing nationalisms in Northern Ireland, and a constitutional solution arising through the creation of a ‘Europe of the Regions’. The paper will suggest that all of these viewpoints proved unfounded, instead showing that Europe’s greatest impact on Northern Ireland has been indirect, through changing the nature of British-Irish relations. By bringing about a greater equality between the British and Irish states, and providing a context for the regular interaction of their political elites, the paper will argue that Europe helped to produce more co-operative relations between London and Dublin <i>vis-à-vis</i> Northern Ireland. Thus, whilst Europe did make an important contribution towards the Northern Ireland peace process, the paper will show that it did so in ways that were more subtle than any of its supporters or opponents imagined</p>
Discourses of cross border co-operation in Ireland: EU and East-West relations from an all-island perspective
Ivo Damkat (QUB)
<p>In this paper I explore the reconfiguration of the Irish border regime since 1998 and the effect of East-West relation on the cross border regime. The imposition of the border initially led to the two parts severing links and the creation of two administrative and economic systems, developing “back-to-back” working in “a prolonged cold war” (Coakley, O’Dowd 2005: 9). For the Republic of Ireland the main political and economic partner was the United Kingdom. As a result changing socio-economic circumstances and the British Isles, the looming European integration and a changing political landscape the relations altered. This paper investigates the changing function of the only land border between both constituencies from a barrier into that of a bridge function (Coakley, O’Dowd 2005: 10, Coakley, O’Dowd 2007). The paper is based on 25 semi-structured interviews with informants at key organisations part of the cross border regime and a number of strategic documents on the topic. Using the theoretical approaches of governmentality as introduced by Foucault (2007) and further developed by Barry et al. (1996) and Walters & Haahr (2004) and governance approaches I explore different rationales of cross border co-operation in Ireland. Arguably the different rationales are incorporated in broader discourses on the construction of the Irish border. The status of the discourses may inform us about the role of the Irish border; help us understand why cross border co-operation is important; and what governing structures may be preferred according to each discourse. The main discourses that can be identified are: (socio-)economic, political/nation-state and peace-building. The paper details the relation between particular discourses and: how East-West relations relate to North-South relations; European Union as a provider of funding and specific policy measures impacts on the border</p>
How political change in the European Union affects British-Irish relations
Paul Gillespie (Irish Times)
<p>The paper explores how British-Irish relations are affected by their common membership of the European Union. It tracks successive stages of their relationship since the 1960s, through the reduction of political and economic over-dependence of the Republic on the UK in the 1970s; the contribution made by EU membership to the peace process culminating in the Belfast Agreement; and the subsequent normalisation of the relationship. It goes on to examine in more detail how several scenarios for the future development of European integration - including Irish and British attitudes and policies - might affect British-Irish relations.</p>

How 'Normal' is Northern Ireland?
Jessie Blackburn (QUB)
<p>On 31 July 2007 Operation Banner formally concluded in Northern Ireland after 38 years of active British army deployment. On the same day the <i>Terrorism (Northern Ireland) Act 2006</i> lapsed, and for the first time since the creation of the state, Northern Ireland existed without any specific emergency or temporary counter-terrorism legislation. This was the culmination of a process of normalisation that had formally begun when the <i>Belfast Agreement</i> was reached on 10 April 1998. This historic moment was, however, overshadowed by increases in the security apparatus of the state and the enactment of permanent counter-terrorism laws in the United Kingdom (UK) in the twenty first century.</p> <p>The requirement for the security normalisation of Northern Ireland written into the <i>Belfast Agreement</i> envisioned a return to a society not burdened by an ever-present security machinery, however it did not, and in fact could not, have anticipated the changing security context of the UK brought about first by the terrorist attacks on the United States of America (USA) on 11 September 2001, and second by the London bombings on 7 July 2005. This paper will examine what was intended as a normal security situation for Northern Ireland in the <i>Belfast Agreement</i> and will assess the government's ability to achieve this in the new context brought about by changes to perceptions of security in the twenty first century. More critically, this paper will also try to determine what should be considered normal for Northern Ireland in the context of its past and present and in relation to the security situation of its nearest neighbours.</p>
'Repression' and the Northern Ireland peace process: IRA containment and British counter-insurgency strategies
Aaron Edwards (Sandhurst) and Thomas Hennessy (Canterbury Christchurch)
<p>This paper explores the missing dimension of the Northern Irish Peace Process: the use of state repression as a policy to contain paramilitary violence and, ultimately, to force paramilitaries into negotiations. Most studies of the Northern Ireland Peace Process emphasise the process of negotiation – talking to one's enemy - as being essential to producing the Good Friday Agreement that effectively ended the 'Troubles'; the Irish model has been held up as a blueprint for other conflicts around the world. But these interpretations ignore the fact that the Good Friday Agreement was the product of several decades of state and sub-state violence, with the participants often responding to one another, in which the British state used emergency legislation, special forces and covert intelligence gathering to manoeuvre the Provisional IRA into negotiations that led to a major compromise on its strategic aims. The Good Friday Agreement could not have been achieved without this policy of sustained state repression. This is a lesson that is absent from comparative studies of Peace Processes that include Northern Ireland.</p>

Measuring the role and impact of mass media coverage during the 2007 general election campaign in Ireland
Heinz Brandenburg (University of Aberdeen) and Zbyszek Zalinski (TCD)
<p>This paper looks at the role and impact of mass media coverage during the 2007 general election campaign in Ireland. The study uses content-analysis data from all the major Irish daily newspapers as well as from daily TV news bulletins. Data collection and manual content-analysis was carried out by the authors and funded by a small grant from the British Academy. We also use data from the Irish National Election Study. The data from the Irish National Election Study in 2007 allows us to measure the social and partisan composition of readership, which is then compared with party treatment by individual newspapers. This enables us to challenge (or empirically confirm) the widely held view that Irish papers are not as partisan as their British counterparts. By controlling for social and party ID background for readers we are able to isolate the possible impact that issue priorities of newspapers as well as their treatment of candidates and parties had on readers at the end of the campaign. In the absence of panel data, we can only measure distribution of opinions and not change, which means that our conclusions about the relationship between media and public agendas as well as any indication of influences on partisan opinions remain tentative. The paper also paints a detailed and nuanced picture of the news agenda during the four weeks of the 2007 general election campaign in Ireland. Manually-coded data is compared to computer analysed data from Factiva DowJones. Analysing the media content and voters' information, the paper presents a valuable study of the relationship between the mass media and the public in Ireland during the important time of the general election campaign.</p>
Ballot Paper Design at Local Elections in Ireland
Fiona Buckley (UCC), Neil Collins (UCC), Theresa Reidy (UCC)
<p>In an attempt to facilitate greater voting participation in Ireland, photographs of candidates have been placed on the ballot paper for local, national and European elections. This policy change was implemented to address a perceived knowledge deficit. It was to provide assistance for those with literacy difficulties but also to counter a specific Irish problem, of many people with similar names appearing next to each other on the ballot paper. The new measure was designed to improve participation and encourage engagement. Limited research undertaken in advance of the implementation of the photograph policy supported the literacy and clarity arguments. However, social psychology research has long demonstrated that people are willing to make considerable judgements about a person when shown a photograph. Increased emphasis on image and appearance is in evidence across all aspects of society. The advent of ballot paper photographs allows candidates to be evaluated on the basis of their appearance. Our research suggests that this is happening. This paper will illustrate the extent to which photographs have become a significant factor in voter decision-making. Whilst photographs were introduced to improve political knowledge, we will present evidence to show that this new cue is being misused. Providing additional knowledge to encourage greater participation and engagement, has introduced a new level of superficiality into the voter decision-making process. The data will be drawn from the June 2009 local elections in Ireland which will be the second wave of this study.</p>
Candidate selection in Celtic nations
Shane MacGiollabhuí (UCC) and Liam Weeks (UCC)
<p>Of all proportional electoral systems, the single transferable vote – according to one observer at least – is among the least faithful in its translation of votes into seats (Taagepara and Shugart, 1989). This diminished proportionality is, to an extent, readily understandable: low district magnitude and boundary design both spring to mind as variables which intervene to influence the proportionality of PR-STV. There is, however, an additional factor which helps account for this proportionality. Political parties, at times, run an 'optimal' number of candidates to contest elections in multi-seat constituencies; just as often, however, parties run too many candidates, or too few, which has serious consequences for their electoral prospects (Reed, 2009). In this paper, we address two questions: first, we calculate how many candidates parties <i>should</i> run in multimember constituencies; second, we evaluate which factors can account for deviation from this optimal number of candidates. We develop an explanatory typology to model how different factors interact to determine party selection strategies. We then examine our expectations in a comparative</p>

case study of constituencies from local elections in the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland and Scotland. Our data stems from both primary and secondary sources, including semi-structured interviews with party candidates and party officials.

Politics with ethnic bases: unearthing partisanship's deep roots

Dan Bradley (TCD), Kevin Byrne (TCD) and Eoin O'Malley (DCU)

The research presented here uses a novel method to show that partisanship can originate much further back than is usually assumed or might be expected – many centuries – and that partisanship may be based on groups that 'members' are not conscious of being part of. Using data on Ireland, a country with a political system that poses significant challenges to the universality of many political science theories, we find that the bases for the party system are rooted in migrations that took place from the 12th century. Previous analyses of the genetic make-up of Irish people allow us to use surnames as a proxy for their ethnic origin. The results challenge the assumptions that partisanship is always determined rationally or through socialisation through conscious group membership

Panel 4:4 – Politics and policy in comparative perspective

Saturday 11.30-1, COR 108

The joint impact of party politics and institutional constraints on social policy reforms – a nested analysis

Evelyne Hübscher (EUI)

By comparing Ireland, Germany and Switzerland, I analyze how and whether party governments are able to reform social policies according to their partisan preferences in differing institutional settings. The choice of the countries included in the comparative analysis is based on a previous quantitative analysis. The existing empirical research is inconclusive about the impact of party governments on social policymaking in open economies. The previous quantitative comparative study shows that leftist governments increase redistribution, particularly in political systems with high institutional constraints, whereas the size of expenditure is not affected by government partisanship. Based on this study, I choose three countries that differ with regard to their institutional setting – Ireland, Germany and Switzerland – but support the macro-level findings to substantiate the results on the meso-level. The analyses focus on reform processes of unemployment insurance legislation and labour market policy reforms within these countries. By combining content analysis of policy documents and multidimensional scaling, I locate the policy positions of the relevant political actors in a multidimensional policy space. I test the hypothesis that left-wing governments are more likely to implement social policy reforms that score higher on the redistributive dimension. Government ideology matters for welfare state reforms, especially in countries with high institutional constraints, because parties differ in their ability to gain the support of pivotal external actors, predominantly labour unions. I find that unlike right-wing governments, left-wing governments are more able to secure the support of pivotal actors in social policymaking (e.g. labour unions) along the redistributive axis, which helps them to reform the policy in question. Getting the support of pivotal extra-parliamentary actors is especially important in countries with high institutional constraints, such as Germany and Switzerland.

Environmental NGOs in S America and E Europe: comparing the experiences of FARN and the REC

Tom O'Brien (University of Melbourne)

Growth in concern around environmental issues over the past three decades has seen a number of important developments. The publication of the Brundtland Report in 1986 and the Rio conference in 1992 saw the emergence of sustainable development onto the political agenda. This period also saw a wave of democratisation that reformed and replaced existing political institutions and created new opportunities for public participation. Increased opportunities for participation saw the emergence of environmental NGOs at the regional, national and local level across South America and Eastern Europe. This paper focuses on two such organisations, the Environment and Natural Resources Foundation (FARN – *Fundación Ambiente y Recursos Naturales*) in Argentina and the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC) in Hungary. These organisations have developed expertise in addressing environmental issues by working with decision-makers in the public and private sector as well as supporting the development of other civil society organisations. The paper focuses on the formation and operation of these two organisations, considering how they have adapted to change and the extent they have been able to shape environmental practices supporting sustainable development.

Panel 5:1 – Nationalist parties in historical perspective

Saturday 2-3, COR 108

The Irish Labour Party and the national question, 1922-37
Adrian Grant (UU Magee College)
Prior to the formation of the Free State, the Irish Labour Party had taken some high profile neutral positions relating to Ireland’s constitutional status. The party stood aside in the general election of 1918, thus avoiding the danger of either plumping for home rule or separatism. The party seemed to fare best when there was a national consensus on major issues, such as the conscription crisis or during the War of Independence. When the country split once more over the Anglo-Irish Treaty, Labour refused to make any pronouncement for or against the settlement. The party did, however, enter the Free State parliament and effectively lent it legitimacy to a reactionary and conservative government through its role as the official opposition. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, the Labour Party refused to engage with the national question and persisted in waiting for an age when social and economic issues would dominate Irish politics. This paper examines the party’s level of engagement, or non-engagement, with the national question during the leaderships of Thomas Johnson, T.J. O’Connell and William Norton. This includes examination of the role of the party during the Civil War, its relationship with abstentionist Republicans, the leadership’s handling of the partition issue and their role in bringing Fianna Fáil into the constitutional fold. Many in the party believed that having Fianna Fáil in parliament would end the concentration on Civil War politics. The paper also looks at Labour’s close relationship with Fianna Fáil in the 1930s and the attempt, under Norton, to differentiate the party from Fianna Fáil by adopting the Workers’ Republic as its aim. It is argued that Labour’s persistence in ignoring what was obviously an important issue to the Irish people hurt the party when it came to electoral performance.
Nationalist political organisations in Northern Ireland, 1936-50
Norton

Panel 5:2 – Interest groups and advocacy

Saturday, 2-3, COR 102

The bigger change is the real prize: how Third Sector leaders advocate effectively in the political sphere
Majella McCloskey (CO3)
This study aimed to create an understanding of the extent of third sector leaders’ political influencing and advocacy work. It also aimed to understand the leadership roles and tasks and to examine the effectiveness, skills and abilities which contribute to impactful political influence. The research aimed to understand how success and impact were assessed. The method was one to one interviews, conducted with a total of 15 persons, including third sector leaders, MLAs and Civil Servants. This was followed by a survey to third sector leaders with 62 responses. The results showed advocacy is a developing area with 73% active advocacy organisations. Results points to a sector that is active and effective but relies too heavily on engagement with policy makers and politicians and a weakness in areas of evaluating impact, obtaining resources for advocacy and connecting with grassroots. A skill set emerged, however few third sector leaders felt completely confident about their advocacy role. Skills had been developed, through the informal ‘on the job’ approach whilst third sector leaders can name and esteem good campaigns in the third sector, they do not undertake evaluation to the same extent as other aspects of the advocacy strategy.
The Irish taxi lobby
Stephen Weir (IPA)
This paper analyses the role of interest groups in the setting of taxi policy in Ireland during the 1990’ s. It uses a simple game theoretic framework to model the behaviour of the taxi industry lobby, the public and politicians in determining taxi policy over the decade. The paper shows that the taxi lobby exerted significant power over policy determination during the decade. It further demonstrates that as the decade progressed the problems of the policy became more obvious to the public and increasingly cost politicians in terms of votes and credibility. It shows that the taxi lobby’s inability to compromise to ameliorate the public’s concerns led to the complete liberalization of the industry.

Panel 6:1 – Revisiting the gendered politics of state and nation: Ireland in the 21st century

Saturday 3.30-5, COR 114

Religion and Gender Equality in Multicultural Ireland: Old themes, New Challenges
Dr Niamh Reilly (Global Women's Studies Programme, NUI Galway)
Tensions between the claims of gender equality and religion are well-documented vis-à-vis all major religions, not least in Ireland. In Western contexts, established feminism has generally resolved these through an alignment with 'secularism' within a progressive, modernizing framework. Increasingly this narrative has been challenged, especially by the re-emergence of religion as a social and political force and major feature of all multicultural societies. This is complicated by a pervasive 'moral panic' that generally reduces the question of 'gender equality and religion' to one that applies only to Islam. This raises complex questions about how to (re)conceptualize and operationalize gender equality in multicultural contexts - where recognition of women's differences, and respect for cultural diversity and religious freedoms, are also central concerns. At the same time, the Ryan Report's confirmation of the systemic abuse of tens of thousands of children by members of religious orders acting on behalf of the state has prompted renewed debate about the particularly close (Catholic) church-state configuration that has prevailed in Ireland. This paper takes stock of unfolding church-faith-state issues and debates in the Irish context and considers their implications for wider debates vis-à-vis gender and the place of religion in democratic politics in multicultural societies.
Beyond the Veil in Ireland
Dr. Stacy Scriver (Postdoctoral Researcher, Global Women's Studies Programme, NUI, Galway)
Revolving around issues of secularism, equality and liberty, the Muslim headscarf has drawn impassioned debate, and legal challenge, across Europe. However, the Irish context is both quantitatively and qualitatively different from that of much of the EU and its member states. The Muslim population in Ireland is comparatively small, and the strong associations between church and state that have been features of the Irish state since its birth are in stark contrast to the secularism of countries like France or Turkey. As a result, the issue of the Muslim headscarf has been largely absent from public and official political discourses in Ireland. However, as Ireland's religious composition continues to change and institutions seek policy and direction, Irish society increasingly must address 'the veil'. This paper assesses how elements of the Irish state have attempted to negotiate religious and national identity, individual liberty, and equality within the context of the headscarf debate.
Gender quotas and women's political representation – the absence of an Irish debate
Dr. Eileen Connolly (Dublin City University)
The number of women in parliament in Ireland has remained static at a time when many other countries have dramatically increased the percentage of women in their national parliaments with the result that Ireland has slipped down the international rankings. This international improvement in the number of women in parliament has been primarily attributed to the introduction of various types of electoral gender quotas. It is therefore, surprising that the deterioration in Ireland's comparative international position has not led to a substantial public debate or pressure for reform from civil society. This paper examines the way in which political and civil society elites have debated the issue of women's political representation since the general election of 2002. It analyses the attitudes held by elites to gender equality, and also to strategies designed to promote a higher level of representation of women, demonstrated in these debates. It asks if the attitudes of political elites on this issue support existing explanations of Ireland's poor performance in this area and as a result if the explanation for the low level of women in Irish politics can be found in explanations of Irish exceptionalism that informed the pre Celtic Tiger discussion of Irish gender relations.
Rhetoric, Reality and Representation: Where are the Women in Irish Political Parties?
Orla Fagan, (NUI, Galway)
There are 23 women elected to the Dáil (Irish parliament) from a membership of 166. This is a representation of under 14 percent for women, among the lowest in Europe. As gatekeepers, the political parties are responsible for candidate selection and therefore can actively promote gender equality. All political parties claim to support gender equality and each have commissioned several reports on the topic.

The reality of women's gross under-representation indicates however that gender equality is not taken seriously in practice at party level. The paper examines the policies of political parties in Ireland in relation to gender equality and measures aimed at attaining higher levels of participation by women in key decision-making roles both in the Dail and in the party. It draws on interviews with women politicians from all the main political parties to analyse their perception of their status within the Dáil and the effectiveness of the equality policies pursued by their parties.

Consensus-Building and Power Sharing in Northern Ireland
Bill Crotty, Northeastern University
This paper and the research relating to it focuses on the efforts to build a consensus for an effective power sharing government in Northern Ireland. While the developments since the Good Friday Agreement have been increasingly encouraging, the assumption underlying this research is that until the electorate in Northern Ireland is effectively organized and mobilized behind the power sharing arrangement the level of political support in both the Catholic and Protestant communities could remain tenuous. The paper traces the changes in political party voting patterns pre- and post-the Good Friday Agreement. The emergence of new voter alignments in particular and party appeals will be a focus of the research. One assumption underlying the study is that a more realigned party system in line with events since 1998 with broader appeals may well be the key to the stability and long-run success of a power-sharing government and its continuing ability to function in a representative and accountable manner.

What difference does it make? The construction of liminal plurality in Northern Ireland
Sara Dybris McQuaid (QUB)
This paper argues that a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989, 2003) of the approach to, and construction of ‘difference’ in the constitutional policy in Northern Ireland between 1973 and 1998 can help interpret the current absence of reconciliation in the Northern Irish peace process. It further explores the tension produced by the eclectic mix of civil society discourses and consociational discourses in the construction of identity in the Belfast Agreement. It suggests that the progressive conceptualisation of composite identities in a broader British-Irish framework is undermined by the juxtaposition of a traditional reading of difference evolved across the longue durée of constitutional documents. Tracing the construction of populational difference in the constitutional texts means looking at how difference is understood; whether there is an accentuation of difference for instance between Protestants and Catholics/unionists and nationalists/British and Irish; how this difference is attempted to be resolved, overcome or accommodated; whether there is a bracketing of difference which concentrates the focus on commonality; whether specific differences are naturalised and institutionalised to suppress other differences of meaning and over norms (cf. Fairclough 2003). It is commonly suggested that divided societies face a choice between policies of assimilation, in which minority issues are considered as individual rather than group rights, thus emphasising the national integrity; or policies of pluralism which might include structures based for example on ethnic or religious differences (Coakley 1992). It is my claim that a critical discourse analysis, which grapples specifically with the construction of ‘difference’, can help understand the extent to which the constitutional policy at large – and the Belfast Agreement as its pinnacle – has tended to provoke deadlocks and work as a segregationist rather than integrationist vehicle for societal change.

The mistakes we share
Peter Emerson (De Borda Institute)
Just as Croatia and Serbia claimed Bosnia, and just as Azerbaijan and Armenia claimed Nagorno-Karabakh, so too, for many long years, Britain and Ireland both laid claim to Northern Ireland. The Anglo-Irish Agreement set that conflict to rest and, since then, both governments have been engaged in a most positive dialogue on this matter. Mistakes, however, continue. Somewhat hypocritically, both London and Dublin insist on a power-sharing arrangement for Belfast while in their own bailiwicks they maintain a traditional and majoritarian structure. Secondly, both now believe in consociationalism, a system of governance which is far superior to the simple majority rule of old but it is still inherently dichotomous and therefore adversarial. And thirdly, both place faith in the principle of consent and yet, in the practice of that principle, they advocate a voting procedure which measures the very opposite, the degree of dissent. Accordingly, this paper will describe a more inclusive democratic structure, not only for Belfast, but for the two governments as well; there is after all increasing talk of a government of national unity (gnu) in Dublin, while London aspires to a Committee of the Whole House (cowh) or Government of all the Talents (goat). Two questions arise: how should such an all-party administration be (s)elected? and how shall that administration take its subsequent policy decisions? The answers lie in a post-majoritarian and post-consociational consensus rule, and appropriate use of consensus voting procedures.

Panel 6:3 – The contribution of Conor Cruise O’Brien**Saturday 11.30-1, COR 109**

Conor Cruise O’Brien: ‘a walled-in childhood’
Diarmuid Whelan (UCC)
This paper will show how the contradictions of O’Brien’s upbringing shaped his thoughts and life-views, moulding him into the figure that made an original and distinctive contribution to Irish intellectual life. It will look at how the secular, cosmopolitan legacy from his father entwined with the more mainstream religious nationalist tradition from his mother’s political clan. The overall effect led to a conflicted perspective. The competing claims within this outlook explain a great deal of the contradictory nature of O’Brien’s entire political contribution.

Religion and politics: Conor Cruise O’Brien’s interpretation of sectarianism in Ireland
Richard Bourke (Queen Mary University)
‘Conor Cruise O’Brien produced a forcefully argued account of the origins of the Northern Ireland conflict in the sectarianism of Irish politics stretching back into the nineteenth century (and beyond). He ascribed the driving force behind this polarising tendency to the influence of religion. O’Brien knew that it was not religion in and of itself that had this divisive effect, but religion when coupled with politics. This paper will address how sustainable an account of the causes behind the brutal divisions in Northern Irish politics this interpretation really offers. O’Brien had a brilliantly prescient grasp of the proximity of civil war on the island of Ireland after 1969, but how credible were his ideas about the origins of that prospective war? Here an attempt is made to offer a sober reappraisal of O’Brien’s understanding of the conflict in Northern Ireland by placing it in the context of his wider vision of politics.

Conor Cruise O’Brien’s conservatism: ‘the suspecting glance’
Mark McNally (Essex)
Conor Cruise O’Brien ended his intellectual career as a dedicated adherent of Burkean conservatism, and indeed, a relentless defence of the status quo in Ireland, Israel and across the liberal-democratic world against ‘dangerous subversives’ and ‘well-meaning but equally dangerous idealists’ became the hallmark of his writings in his later years. In this paper, I attempt to throw some light on O’Brien’s path to conservatism that looks beyond his personal upbringing among Dublin’s upper-middle classes in the inter-war years where elitist attitudes were no doubt still widespread if not endemic. My focus here is rather on the intellectual and philosophical foundations of O’Brien’s conservatism which – contrary to the dominant view in the existing literature – I argue was well-established in his early political thought. Although he ended his career as something of a maverick, O’Brien’s ‘suspecting glance’ has become a staple of Irish intellectual life today and is likely to remain one of his most enduring legacies to Irish politics.

Panel 6:4 – Perspectives on contemporary security policy**Saturday 11.30-1, COR 109**

Re-evaluating Irish national security policy in the shadow of the peace process
Michael Mulqueen (Univ. Limerick)
The introduction of new emergency planning structures within three weeks of the September 11 attack signalled a substantial revision of Irish national security policy in terms of its capacity to lead a response to a threatened or an actual disaster. In contrast, the Irish government did little to amend proactive security policy to prevent an attack either on Ireland or, via Ireland, on the United Kingdom, save for tightening an already restrictive immigration control regime. This decision left open potentially serious gaps in Garda intelligence, military aviation and maritime security capabilities. But it was a decision taken on the advice of high level officials and officers of the Irish security and intelligence agencies, a majority of whom agreed that a wide-ranging programme of security change and associated expenditure was unnecessary. This paper disassembles the advice provided to government in the crisis weeks which followed 9/11, by taking a bureaucratic politics approach and drawing on twenty-one interviews with high-ranking Irish security personnel. It finds evidence of intense political and financial pressures on the security and intelligence agencies; interwoven in these pressures were, it is argued, deeply held concerns to preserve gains which the British and Irish governments and their security forces made as a consequence of the Belfast Agreement and, more generally, the Northern Ireland Peace Process.

The wider context of Peace Support preparation and training in Ireland. Some observations on the evolving role and reach of UNTSI (the United Nations Training School Ireland).

Conor Galvin (UCD)

Most people on the island of Ireland are aware of the high regard in which men and women of the Irish Defence Forces are held when they participate in UN mandated peace support missions. What is perhaps not so well known is the role of UNTSI – the United Nations Training School Ireland – in the preparation and education of these peacekeepers or the wider role that the School plays in helping develop Peace Support practice and understanding among military and other PSO participants. This paper presents some observations on and illustrations of UNTSI’s emerging practice and thinking about better preparation for the complex, multinational, multicultural and multi-dimensional undertakings that increasingly characterise UN led or UN mandated peace support. It draws on an ongoing personal research project to offer reflection on UNTSI’s underpinning vision for excellence in peace support education and on how this plays-out in terms of the programmes and less formal opportunities the school provides for those preparing for UN or other Irish government supported peace support involvement.

Nick Rees (Liverpool Hope)

Diana Panke (UCD)
In day-to-day negotiations in the European Union, member states can use a broad array of different strategies to influence policy outcomes. This paper summarises the findings of a comprehensive survey of 27 member states (conducted in 2009 for ministries and permanent representations across three policy fields). The survey shows that some states are considerably more active than others in trying to shape EU policy outcomes. It also shows that activity is a crucial precondition for success and that some states are more successful than others. In a second step, the paper quantitatively explains activity differences between states and across policy fields as well as differences in the negotiation success across countries and policy areas.
Conceptualising EU bilateral engagement with third countries on climate change
Diarmuid Torney (St Antony's College Oxford)
This paper will attempt to outline and conceptualise the growing range of bilateral engagements which the European Union (EU) has undertaken with third countries on climate change. A phenomenon largely of the past five years, these engagements include increasing bilateral cooperation with other significant global powers at both political and official level. The depth, breadth, and focus of these initiatives varies considerably from country to country, and this paper will focus on the two most advanced of these, the EU-China Partnership on Climate Change and the EU-India Initiative on Clean Development and Climate. Most scholarly and public attention on European climate change policy focuses either on domestic implementation of international commitments or on negotiations at the global level. In between these two levels, bilateral agreements between significant global powers can create an enabling environment for other actors to undertake meaningful action, but thus far the growing propensity of the EU (and other significant global powers) to engage in such agreements and partnerships has largely escaped the attention of scholars working on national and global environmental politics. This paper will seek to a number of questions: is there any substance is there to these seemingly increasingly extensive engagements? What is the relationship between these bilateral partnerships in which the EU is engaged, on the one hand, and both global-level negotiations and domestic-level implementation on the other. How integrated are these bilateral engagements with other governance levels? Should these bilateral initiatives be seen 'merely' as an implementation, or concrete articulation, of global-level commitments and agreements, or is substantial policy innovation taking place at the bilateral level? Alternatively, do these multiple, partially overlapping and nested forums distract attention from global forums as do, arguably, other international initiatives such as the Major Economies Meetings and the Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate?
Charlotte Bretherton (Liverpool JMU)

Panel 7:2 – The Northern Irish blueprint: Lessons from the peace process Sun, 9.30-11, COR 108

Whose priorities? Grantmaking, peacebuilding and the nature of conflict in Northern Ireland
Gráinne Kelly
<p>Since the mid-1990's, Northern Ireland has witnessed an impression injection of dollars, euros and pounds aimed as supporting a reconciliation agenda and embedding the 'peace', hard won. The European Union, the Irish-American diaspora, private philanthropists and the British and Irish governments have variously implemented grantmaking programmes with the explicit objectives of supporting peacebuilding by promoting social and economic advances on the island. A compelling narrative of the power of civil society in shoring up and supporting the peace process in Northern Ireland continues to be told. And yet, are we clear that this bottom-up response to the top-level negotiations was a genuine articulation of the aspirations, needs and priorities of local communities or was it a complicated edifice designed and driven by the ideological assumptions of the grantmakers themselves? The objective of this paper is to explore the role of funding bodies in encouraging and supporting third sector activity in a society emerging from violent conflict and to interrogate the assumption that grantmakers understood the nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland and were best placed to support appropriate interventions aimed addressing its causes and consequences. This paper will begin by critically outlining the inception and implementation of grantmaking programmes aimed at supporting peacebuilding and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Using the European Union's Special Peace and Reconciliation Support Programme (PEACE) as a case study, the paper will go on to analyse the changing priorities of a substantial grant making programme through its various iterations and posit four key question: What does this tell us about grantmakers analysis (or lack thereof) of the nature of conflict? How do grantmakers identify priority areas and how does that chime with local realities? Who leads and who follows: grant makers or recipients? And finally, what can other's learn from the Northern Ireland peacebuilding funding model?</p>
What we talk about when we talk about peace: constructing the past and sharing the future in N. Ireland
Cillian McGrattan (University of Ulster)
<p>This paper uses insights from the responses of Walter Benjamin and Max Weber to the First World War to problematise the debate over dealing with the past in Northern Ireland. While Weber claimed that politics entailed a 'responsibility towards the future'; Benjamin firmly rejected the idea of drawing a line under events. In this paper, I argue that the Weberian model is firmly entrenched in public policymaking and threatens to become the dominant perspective on the meaning of the Northern Irish conflict. This is evident in several aspects of an emerging 'peace process industry' including ethno-national and consociational narratives on the past, transitional justice proposals regarding how the past is dealt with, and governmental initiatives to establish a 'shared future' for the North. This paper claims that this 'industry' is saturated with unquestioned political assumptions about the meaning of the past and the lessons that should be drawn from it. These assumptions tend to ignore the divisions between nationalist and unionist interpretations of the past and aspirations for the future; more fundamentally, they re-marginalise experiences of the violence not drawn from ethnic discourses such as those based on class, gender, age, and locale, thereby belying their stated raison d'être of conflict transformation. Instead, the paper draws on Benjamin's critique of what he called the 'historicist' belief in progress and advocates a more defined approach to the past based on scrupulous historical inquiry.</p>
Exporting Northern Ireland's brand of Mandelalism: leadership leverage, the Northern Ireland peace process, and the international context
Cathy Gormley-Heenan (University of Ulster)
<p>'Who will be Northern Ireland's Mandela?' was a question often asked during the conflict and peace process in Northern Ireland and while Northern Ireland looked frequently to South Africa for guidance and support on the frequently stalling peace process, it has now come to be the case that many other countries look to Ireland for guidance and support on their own initiatives and associated problems. To this end, Iraq, Sri Lanka, the Basque Country, Palestine, and Timor-Leste have all experienced Northern Ireland's own brand of Mandelalism in recent years. The local political elite including Martin McGuinness, Gerry Kelly, Jeffrey Donaldson, Ian Paisley Jr, Billy Hutchinson and John Alderdice have accepted invitations to visit different countries engaged in violent conflict or undergoing some form of political transition as a result of a peace process to extol the virtues and the limitations of the Northern Ireland peace process. This raises</p>

questions about the emphasis placed on agency as opposed to structure in relation to the use of Northern Ireland as a model for peace which has created an overtly personalised peace process with an emphasis on leadership.

This paper, therefore, is an initial exploration of the idea that strong leadership is the key to building lasting peace and investigates how this message of ‘leadership’ is transmitted to other contexts. It will begin by considering the prevalence of these different international events/meetings that our leaders have been invited to and questions how well documented and how widely reported they have been and how they have been received by public opinion. The paper, then, undertakes a content analysis of the Irish media coverage of trips taken by Northern Ireland’s political leaders in the post Good Friday agreement period to ascertain whether the focus of their analysis has been the actors involved in the process, the structural processes undertaken and/or the differences/uniqueness of the situations. It will consider the stated rationale behind extending invitations to political leaders from Northern Ireland and then explore the stated rationale behind accepting invitations which have been extended to these leaders. In short, how much, if at all, does this notion of an ‘Irish model for peace’ feature in either extending or accepting invitations? Drawing on some theoretical dimensions of structure and agency and also developments on leadership theory, this paper seeks to open for broader discussion, the value, if any, of exporting our own brand of Mandelaism to other societies experiencing conflict or engaged in peace processes.

Panel 8:1 – Sport and politics

Sunday 11.30-1, COR 114

‘The Irish must have more grandmothers than any other nation’: The Republic of Ireland soccer team and Irish identity

David Storey (University of Worcester)

Many international sporting bodies allow people to represent either the country of their birth or one to which they have an attachment through ethnicity, residency or marriage and recent years have witnessed a growing tendency for sportspeople to represent a country other than the one in which they were born. This has been a marked feature of the selection policy of the Republic of Ireland soccer team for the past two decades. This paper examines perceptions of national identity amongst the so-called 'Anglo' contingent, players born outside the Republic but who elected to play for Ireland. The article is based on self-evaluations recorded in newspaper and magazine interviews and in players' 'auto'-biographies. It also explores the reactions by fans and others, in Ireland and beyond, to this phenomenon, highlighting tensions between discourses of 'authentic' Irishness and sporting pragmatism. The decisions made by some players have proved more controversial than others. Glaswegian-born Aiden McGeady has been heavily criticised for opting for Ireland rather than his country of birth, while the 'defection' of Derry-born Darron Gibson strained north-south footballing relations. The discussion is placed within the context of debates on sport and nationalism, which have a particularly complex relationship in Ireland.

Sean Hamil (Birkbeck College, University of London)

David Hassan (UUJ)

National identity and Welsh sport: the first Ashes Test in Wales - another case of the vanishing “W”

Russell Holden (In The Zone)

This paper seeks to explore whether the recently staged “Ashes” Test in Cardiff sufficiently exploited the opportunity to project Wales as a distinctiveness nation. With the tenth anniversary of the National Assembly having recently been celebrated, and the flowering of Wales (though largely dominated by Cardiff) as a nation capable of holding major sporting events since 1999, in many ways the success of the “Cardiff Test” (the first Test Match to be hosted by England on Welsh soil) was marked by a sacrificing of

character and individuality in favour of the neo-liberal principles projected by New Labour. The side competing against Australia was the England and Wales team, yet, the Welshness of the event was played down. However, this paper always wishes to reaffirm that the role of the Welsh within the administration of English cricket during the past ten years has been significant, but its impact on the organization and promoting of the game in Cardiff was not evident. To some, the appeal of the event was connected to the Welsh dimension being sanitised, a view that flies in the face of the growth in Welsh self-belief and pride in sport and cultural spheres evident in a post-industrial economy seeking to forge a contemporary identity.

Panel 8:2 Northern Ireland and the Politics of Security 1970-75

Sunday, 11.30-1, COR 102

The Labour government and the 1975 Provisional IRA ceasefire

Stuart Ciarnan Aveyard (QUB)

This paper shall examine the Labour government's handling of the 1975 PIRA ceasefire. After a meeting between Protestant clergymen and the PIRA army council, communications between the British government and PIRA led to a ceasefire which lasted until January 1976. Suspicions ran high that Labour was negotiating with PIRA. The British army was instructed to adopt a low profile in hard republican areas and incident centres were established by which Provisional Sinn Féin could contact the NI Office. There were also fears that immunity had been granted to key figures in the republican group. Such anxiety was not confined to unionists; Conservative frontbencher Airey Neave was critical of the handling of the strike, while the SDLP feared displacement by Sinn Féin. The release of government files makes possible a reconstruction of both the actions and intentions of the British government during the 1975 ceasefire. Numerous documents were produced on how to turn the situation to the government's advantage. Furthermore, the diaries of Merlyn Rees reveal his thinking on the matter. This paper will argue that government policy was conducted with two objectives in mind. First, as a means by which detention without trial could be brought to an end by linking releases to the level of violence and, second, in the hope that a sustained cessation of violence would make it difficult for PIRA to return to an armed campaign without significant opposition from the nationalist population. In addition to this the paper shall analyse the costs of such an approach and outline some of the difficulties of handling talks with a proscribed group.

The impact of British Army border operations upon the Irish State 1970-73

Edward Longwill (Univ. Ulster – Magee)

Republican violence forced the British government to order extensive security operations along the border with the Republic. In military terms analysts viewed the border as a strategic weakness and a British perception of ineffective Irish security led to a policy of road-cratering. Local residents attempted to refill these craters and this resulted in open confrontation with British soldiers. The small numbers of An Garda Síochána stationed in border areas were often unable to either prevent British troops from crossing the border, or prevent locals from rioting against the soldiers. The security problem intensified when republicans exploited the situation to ambush and attack British border patrols. These events led to regular air and ground incursions by the British army in order to carry out surveillance and arrest operations. This paper will argue that the British perception of ineffective Irish border security led them to justify border violations. This is certainly the impression one gets from an analysis of diplomatic exchanges. The Irish government felt compelled to use its army to deter British incursions and the success of this is questionable. The British government's counter-terrorist policies along the border jeopardised Anglo-Irish relations and exposed the difficulties of using the military in response to political violence. For the Irish police and military, the British incursions often reduced the effectiveness of Irish security because incursions wasted Irish resources. This subject offers a comparative analysis of British and Irish border security policy and the challenges each government faced.

The changing nature of British-Irish security co-operation under the FF and FG-Lab governments, 1972-74

Shaun McDaid (QUB)

This paper surveys the nature of British-Irish security co-operation on the Northern Ireland border during the period 1972-74. During 1972 until February 1973, Fianna Fáil were in power in Dublin. This paper will

show that the British government and security forces regarded security co-operation from the Irish authorities at the border as reluctant, and the action taken by Irish authorities against paramilitary groups as largely ineffective. This included a reluctance on behalf of the Gardai in many areas to liaise and share information with the RUC on the Northern Ireland side of the border. In the case of Donegal, the influence of independent republican TD Neil Blaney was regarded as having a negative impact on security co-operation. However, when the FG-Labour coalition took power in March 1973, this situation changed dramatically. This paper uses recently released archival material to show that British Irish security co-operation improved greatly throughout 1973 and 1974, and action by the Irish security authorities against paramilitary groups was regarded by the British as much more effective. The paper will argue that the reason for these improvements was part of the coalition government's policy of trying to build support in Northern Ireland for the power-sharing executive, and a recognition that no progress towards a political settlement there could be made without greatly increased cross-border security co-operation. It will also show that much of this co-operation was kept secret in an attempt to balance progress in Northern Ireland with public opinion in the Republic, often critical of British Army activity in Northern Ireland, which resulted in a persisting perception among many unionists that the Republic was not delivering on their commitments to suppress violence.

Panel 8:3 – Drawing in the dissenters?

Sunday 11.30-1, COR 108

You cannot put a rope around the neck of an idea: Irish Republicanism and political dissent in the post-Good Friday era

Stuart Ross (unattached)

In early March of 2009, Northern Ireland made international headlines when --- after over a decade of supposed “peace” -- two British soldiers were shot dead outside their barracks in County Antrim. Less than 48 hours later, a PSNI officer was shot dead in nearby Armagh. In both cases, “dissident” Republicans claimed responsibility for the deadly attacks. While some were quick to suggest these acts of violence might mark a return of the Troubles, most commentators simply wondered who these so-called “dissidents” were. Not surprisingly, it has been the activities of Ireland’s many armed Republican organisations and their alleged fellow traveller that have attracted the most attention. Still, there are those within the broad Republican community who do not agree with Sinn Fein’s current political strategy – who have never supported or no longer support the Good Friday Agreement – but they do not have an armed wing nor do they call for a return to “armed struggle”. This paper will take a look at one such group – the Republican Network for Unity (RNU). It will present a short political history of the organization, giving a voice to some of its leading activists. It will highlight how the British State and those loyal to the Provisionals have responded to this new formation. More to the point, however, it will assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of the Republican Network for Unity and ask if it can, in fact, “re-ignite ... [a] spirit of resistance” within a deeply divided Republican Movement.

The Irish Republican blogosphere and the contested story of the 1981 Hunger Strikes

Paddy Hoey, Liverpool Hope University

UPON its release in 2003, *Blanketmen*, by former IRA prison leader Richard O’Rawe caused an outcry within Republican circles with its claims that Sinn Fein leadership chose not to accept an offer from the British government which would have effectively seen the 1981 Hunger Strikes end after the death of the fourth prisoner, INLA man Patsy O’Hara. O’Rawe claims that the decision was taken to extend the hunger strikes in a bid to build on the electoral success of Bobby Sands and get Owen Carron elected in the Fermanagh/ South Tyrone by-election after the death of Sands. The claims had always been contested by the current Sinn Fein leadership and by those who had also been involved, particularly by O’Rawe’s co-commander Brendan McFarlane and former Sinn Fein publicity director Danny Morrison. In 2009, the Republican blogosphere resounded to the claims and counter claims of those involved in the dispute bidding to win the battle for the true story of the Hunger Strikes. A number of public meetings took place and were reported on by bloggers in much greater depth than the mainstream media.

The blogosphere is now a more reliable barometer of the fracturing nature of Republicanism as well as being a space more suited to accommodating the debates than the mainstream media.