
This paper considers the subject of women’s political presence in the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Dáil from three perspectives—numerical presence, women representing women and gendered political institutions. It points to the relative under-representation of women in parliament in Ireland across time and in comparison with other parliaments today. It then asks whether women “act for” women when holding legislative office, and concludes with a qualified “yes”. Finally, it suggests that legislative assemblies, north and south, are more likely to favour masculine norms, values and practices, making it more difficult for women to challenge the culture of parliamentary life.

17. Claire Mitchell, *Pluralist, Purified or Private: Protestant identification and political change in Northern Ireland*

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the responsiveness of national and religious identifications to political change amongst Protestants in Northern Ireland. I begin by theorising identification as a process of working out our ideas of self, others and place—in which political change compels a re-thinking of identity from the bottom-up. I proceed to outline how the Good Friday agreement changes the political landscape from the perspective of the Protestant community. Then, based on a narrative analysis of interview data collected in 2000, I map three main directions of change amongst Protestants—as people come to accept, reject or ignore political developments after the agreement. I conclude that Protestant identifications can open up and transform where people have had positive social experiences with the “other”, and feel that their future position in Northern Ireland is not tethered to communal membership. Conversely, identifications become more oppositional or private where people have had negative social experiences (or none at all) with the “other” and perceive that membership of the Protestant community, which they feel is losing out from change, will decide their fortunes in a new Northern Ireland.

18. Katy Hayward and Kevin Howard, *Europeanisation and Hyphenatation: renegotiating the identity boundaries of Europe’s Western Isles*

This paper explores the feasibility and plausibility of the emergence of an Irish-British form of identification. We examine the possibility of such a hyphenated identity category in the context of those who consider themselves to be Irish whilst residing under the jurisdiction of the British state. The key developments in official recognition of new forms of identification in the Western Isles that may point to the emergence of an Irish-British identity are the inclusion of an “Irish” category in the 2001 British censuses and the recognition of a dual Irish and British identity as part of the Belfast Agreement in 1998. We examine these developments and assess the degree to which they support the notion of hyphenated identities. Our assessment draws a comparison between the meaning of identification in the European context and that of the United States of America and concludes that the continued dominance of territorially defined national identities in Europe precludes the development of a hyphenated Irish-British identification along the lines of those prevalent in the USA.

19. Paul Dixon, *Contemporary unionism and the tactics of resistance*

This paper emphasises the importance of the political context for shaping unionist tactics for defending the Union and resisting Irish unity. Some draw a sharp dichotomy between “constitutional” and “unconstitutional” unionism. The Ulster Unionist Party, and perhaps the Democratic Unionist Party, is seen as “constitutional”, while the loyalist parties associated with paramilitary organisations, the Ulster Democratic Party and the Progressive Unionist Party, are seen as “unconstitutional”. Some unionists readily advocate violence while others completely reject any use of violence. The principal unionist parties (UUP, DUP), it is argued,
have operated in the “grey area” between violent and non-violent politics, veering towards one pole or the other depending on the wider political context. In particular, it will be suggested that unionists tend towards “more direct” methods of political action when they fear—often with good reason—that their position within the Union is becoming undermined. When these fears are heightened the room for unionist political elites to contemplate accommodation with nationalists is constrained.

20. Gladys Ganiel, *Conserving or changing? The theology and politics of Northern Irish fundamentalist and evangelical Protestants after the Good Friday agreement*

Some of the most severe opposition to the Good Friday agreement has come from the unionist community, particularly those classified as fundamentalist Protestants. This paper seeks to correct the overemphasis on fundamentalism, exploring the relationship between fundamentalist and evangelical Protestants in Northern Ireland. Through a case study of 20 members of the Queen’s University Belfast Christian Union, the author explores issues such as theological belief, political belief, and modes of political and perceived personal trajectory. The paper concludes with an exploration of the prospects for fundamentalists, and the role of evangelicals in fostering social change amongst the Protestant communities in Northern Ireland.

21. Adrian Guelke, *The international system and the Northern Ireland peace process*

The paper examines the impact of two major events in the international system on the peace process: the end of the Cold War and the attack on America on 11 September 2001. The thesis first advanced by Michael Cox that change in the international context of the conflict in Northern Ireland was a major influence in pressuring the republican movement to adopt its peace strategy in the early 1990s is analysed. Also examined are reasons why the thesis has proved so contentious and why more generally there remains considerable scepticism as to the capacity of external events to shape events in Ireland in any fundamental way. The question of the impact of September 11 is then addressed.

22. John Coakley, *The North-South institutions: From blueprint to reality*

This paper examines the extent and nature of institutional change arising from the Good Friday agreement in terms of the North-South dimension. The paper adopts an architectural analogy in its analysis of these developments, focusing on four main questions. What is the purpose of the institutional change? What has been the blueprint or plan for change? How has this blueprint been translated into reality? How has the emerging reality served the purpose for which it was established? The paper concludes with an analysis of the impact of institutional change in the all Ireland context after the Good Friday agreement on the character of state sovereignty.


The Welsh experience of devolution can best be summarised by contrasting it with the Scottish. Where Scotland had an established array of civic institutions, the National Assembly of Wales found itself in the position of having to construct an institutional reality. The Assembly faced a number of constraints: its powers were limited to those previously held by the Secretary of State for Wales, and it was established as a corporate body. However, it soon became clear that the view of the Assembly as a continuation from previous administrations was unsustainable. This paper discusses the role of a number of key characters and agencies in redefining the nature of the National Assembly. In addition to the development of a strong central authority the author tracks the related emergence of a new civic culture in Wales. The paper concludes by examining the broader impact of the Welsh experience of devolution on territorial politics within the British Isles, and Welsh engagement with a network of European regions.
24. David McCrone, *Marking the card: The Scottish parliament at 1000 days*

The first term of the Scottish Parliament is more than halfway to completion, with fifteen months to run. This paper assesses what it has achieved, and its prospects. It is important to appreciate that (a) there is no uniform game plan for devolution in the UK; and (b) that the so-called “Scottish anomaly”, a self-governing Scotland within a unitary British state, has a dynamic of its own. The paper reviews the outcomes of the parliament in the context of people’s expectations, and argues, by means of recent surveys, that while Home Rule has become the prevailing consensus in contemporary Scotland, people are by no means averse to a parliament with extended powers and responsibilities.

25. Arthur Aughey, *Territory and politics in Ireland and Great Britain after devolution*

Simon Partridge, *Implications of devolution for England*

**TERRITORY AND POLITICS IN IRELAND AND GREAT BRITAIN AFTER DEVOLUTION**

This paper focuses primarily on the experience of devolution in the United Kingdom. Reflecting on a number of theories that have been posited as explanations of the current reality of British territorial politics, the author draws on Schopenhauer’s fable of the porcupines in order to reconcile the twin characteristics of renovation and revolution. The paper points to the political need to achieve a sense of cohesion, in order to secure the existence of a British identity in the face of challenges such as nationalism and the European Union. The paper concludes with the paradox of the Northern Irish situation in the broader context of British-Irish relations.

**IMPLICATIONS OF DEVOLUTION FOR ENGLAND**

This paper outlines devolutionary moves within England and Cornwall, and the implications of the government white paper. The eight regional development agencies with their associated regional chambers are briefly described, as is the weak challenge so far posed by elected mayors. The presentation suggests that such a quasi-federal England could fit well into a broadened British-Irish Council.