2004

36. Bernadette C. Hayes and Ian McAllister, The political impact of secularisation in Northern Ireland
The Northern Ireland conflict has traditionally been characterized as a sectarian conflict between two monolithic religious communities, Protestant and Catholic. As a result, little attention has been devoted to the social and political differences stemming from other forms of religious identification, notably religious independents, or those who claim no religious affiliation. Using the 2002 Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey, this paper provides the most recent empirical evidence to challenge this conventional wisdom. The results suggest the existence of a small but significant group of religious independents that not only differ from the two communities in relation to their socio-demographic background but also in terms of their pragmatism on the constitutional issue. However, independents also eschew electoral politics, suggesting that until genuinely non-confessional parties emerge to represent their views, their potential to ameliorate the conflict will remain immobilised.

37. Kevin Howard, Constructing the Irish of Britain: ethnic recognition and the 2001 UK census
Systems of ethnic monitoring are of fundamental importance in the context of policy commitments to improving the life-chances of minority ethnic groups. In effect, without a system of ethnic monitoring the targeting, implementation and gauging the outcomes of multicultural policies would be impossible. Primary amongst these systems of ethnic monitoring is the national census. The ethnic data generated comprise the informational foundation of multicultural policy. Moreover, these data are presented as a meaningful representation of ethnic plurality but, despite the validity ascribed to statistical representations of ethnic pluralism, on closer analysis they are shown to be of limited value. On the one hand, the institutionalisation of a particular pattern of ethnic designations has the effect of reifying this pattern, while at the same time it renders conceptually and statistically invisible those minority ethnic groups not included in the original patterning. On the other hand, the implementation of multicultural policies acts as an opportunity incentive for ethnic mobilisation—for ethnic activists to lobby to secure the inclusion of the community they purport to represent in the multicultural framework. The consequence of this is that the list of ethnic designations (named groups) used on systems of ethnic monitoring can be subject to radical discontinuities: changes that reflect the outcomes of political struggles by ethnic entrepreneurs rather than deeper changes in the ethnic structure. The manner in which an “Irish” option came to be included on the ethnic group questions of the 2001 censuses of Great Britain is an example of the politics of ethnic monitoring. This paper presents an account of this activism, its successes and its consequences, and argues that despite the validity accorded to ethnic statistics in the context of multiculturalism they tell us little about sociological reality.

38. Lone Singstad Pålshaugen, The Northern Ireland Civic Forum and the Politics of Recognition
The challenge of dealing with diversity within democracy and of creating a new political culture in a divided society is the starting point of this paper. Using theories of recognition, these questions are examined in relation to the Northern Ireland Civic Forum. The main question posed is to what extent the Civic Forum has contributed to a new political culture that accepts diversity, but also a common interest beyond diversity, or whether it has become a new arena within which the conflict plays itself out. The paper concludes that in its approach and composition the Forum represents something other than a new arena of conflict, but has yet to play a central role in creating a new political culture. It is an institution that may be able to deal with diversity in a less antagonistic way, creating a space where issues of common interest and diversity can be explored. In time it could play a part in improving the horizontal relationships in Northern Ireland.
39. Tom Garvin, *An Irish Republican Tradition?*

This paper argues that there has indeed been a long-standing republican political tradition in Ireland, dating perhaps from the American and French revolutions and certainly from the 1850s. Intellectually it has been less than coherent, and commonly it has been a very broad church indeed, containing in its ranks constitutional monarchs, communists, near fascists and national democrats. Contrary to modern claims that Irish republicanism has always favoured neutrality, it is pointed out that Irish republicans have commonly favoured alliances with great powers as counterweights to Great Britain. Republican constitutional theory has remained rather underdeveloped and cannot compete for intellectual depth with the mainline Irish political tradition represented by the constitutions of 1922 and 1937. Modern IRA associated attempts at political theory betray a fantasist style of thinking and an utter disregard for both political realities and the whole question of popular consent.

40. Etain Tannam, *Cross-border cooperation between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland: neo-functionalism revisited*

This paper re-visits the theme of the reasons for economic co-operation between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and whether economic co-operation spills over to political co-operation. The article examines the impact of the Good Friday Agreement on cross-border administrative and economic co-operation and concludes that it has had a large impact on administrative co-operation, but that it has not provided large-scale incentives for business co-operation. Thus, different strategies for increasing co-operation are required for different sectors.

41. KJ Rankin and R Schofield, *The troubled historiography of classical boundary terminology*

This paper seeks to explore the evolution and mutation of terms and concepts in boundary studies. It re-examines the context and actual letter of some items of classical boundary terminology, developed largely within the half-century period following the appearance of Friedrich Ratzel's *Politische Geographie* in 1897. While traditional political geography's coverage of territorial questions was substantial, the conventional wisdom holds that, in academic terms at least, it was far from enlightened—and has justifiably been criticised for its lack of objectivity, imagination and focus. Yet to dismiss the contributions of this period collectively as negative and deterministic is clearly too simplistic. Many individuals were more far-sighted than is generally recognised—Ratzel himself identified the essential premise of borderland studies some 70 years before it was developed more fully when commenting: "der Grenzraum ist das Wirkliche, die Grenzlinie die Abstraktion davon". The pioneering attempts made to develop a specialised vocabulary for the study of international boundaries and territorial questions have not always been represented accurately or fairly by academics and policy makers. Ideas, good and bad, have been distorted through phraseology, poor translation and simple errors and corrupted for political means—in the latter instance, particularly the pursuit of questionable analogies and ideals, such as the living state organism and natural boundaries. This paper re-examines the rudiments of early territorial conceptions, while acknowledging the historical paradigms in which they originated.

42. John Coakley, *Ethnic conflict and the two-state solution: the Irish experience of partition*

Although the partition of Ireland in 1921 was only one of several in which this strategy was adopted as Britain withdrew politically from territories formerly under its rule, it was marked by a number of distinctive features. This paper examines and seeks to interpret some of these features. It begins by looking at the roots of partition in the history of Ireland's long political relationship with Great Britain, and explores the emergence of partition as a major question in the early twentieth century. Following a general assessment of the impact of partition on the two parts of Ireland, it turns to the manner in which partition survived as a political issue up to 1998. Some brief remarks comparing the Irish with the Palestinian experience are made in conclusion.
43. Christopher Farrington, Models of civil society and their implications for the Northern Ireland peace process

A number of authors have argued that civil society was important in bringing about political change in Northern Ireland in 1998. Through the Opsahl Commission in 1992 and the ‘Yes’ Campaign in 1998, civil society offered new challenges to the established political parties, enabled a level of public participation and ownership of the peace talks and eased the path to a negotiated settlement. This empirical observation was coupled with the literature on ethnic conflict, which stressed the importance of ‘bottom-up’ peace building, giving civil society a potentially strong role in a post-Agreement Northern Ireland. However, this did not seem to have been realised and this working paper asks why this might be the case. It argues that civil society has to be conceived as a wider phenomenon, in that it performs a multitude of roles in relation to conflict resolution, governance, support structures for institutions and democracy in general. The paper then further argues that the 1998 Agreement fundamentally changed the context in which civil society operated and the apparent subsequent decline in civil society activity was merely a shift in focus.