

Northern Ireland and the Political Economy of Peace

Neo-Liberalism and the end of the Troubles

David Cannon

B.Int Studies (University of Adelaide, 2002)

B.A.(Hons) (University of Adelaide, 2003)

Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Discipline of Politics
School of History and Politics
The University of Adelaide

December 2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
DECLARATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF FIGURES	v
INTRODUCTION	1
Timeline: Scope of the Research.....	3
Terminology	6
Thesis Outline	9
CHAPTER 1: MARXIST THOUGHT IN IRELAND	15
Terminology	16
Historic Marxism	17
Industrialisation and Imperialism: Marx and Engels.....	17
The Russian Revolution, Imperialism and the Irish Question	20
Ireland and the ‘National Question’: Kautsky	20
Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: Lenin.....	22
Rosa Luxemburg.....	25
James Connolly.....	26
The Radical Shift: Decolonisation and 1968	29
Traditional Marxism.....	29
Revisionist Marxism	33
Conclusion	38
CHAPTER 2: THE INTRACTABILITY OF VIOLENCE	40
Legitimacy	46
Nationalism and Ethnicity	51
Religion and Sectarianism	53
The British Army: Operation Banner 1969 – 2007	57
Territory and Segregation	58
The Victory of Materialism?	62
Conclusion	65
CHAPTER 3: NEO-LIBERALISM AND IDEOLOGY	66
Hardt and Negri: Empire	73
Problematic Themes in Empire.....	76
The Relevance of Empire to Northern Ireland	81
Hybridity and the ‘Other’ in Northern Ireland.....	82
Smooth Space: The ‘Global Society of Control’	89
Foucault and ‘homo oeconomicus’	92
Capitalism and Expansion	95
‘The poisoned gift of national liberation’	96
Conclusion	99

CHAPTER 4 A: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE TRANSITION	102
Plantation and the Structural Origins of Catholic Marginalisation	112
Industrialisation in the North East of Ireland	114
Capitalism between Partition and the 1994 Ceasefire	118
The Post War Consensus and State Intervention	122
‘ <u>Fordism</u> ’	124
Foreign Investment and the Troubles	125
De-industrialisation.....	126
The Westminster Subvention	128
The Expansion of the Public Sector.....	129
The Transition to Neo-Liberalism in Northern Ireland	131
Immigration	133
The Housing Market.....	136
(un)employment	138
The Emergence of the Service/Consumption Economy.....	141
Post-Nationalist Precedent: The ‘ <u>Celtic Tiger</u> ’.....	143
Conclusion	145
CHAPTER 4 B: POLITICAL ECONOMY: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF NEO-LIBERALISM AND AMBIVALENT IDENTITY FORMATION	148
I) Economic Data: from Imperial Capitalism to Neo-Liberalism	150
De-industrialisation.....	151
Neo-Liberalism	154
Consumption	157
Housing.....	162
Employment	166
Migration	169
Neo-Liberalism and Northern Ireland.....	175
II) Identity and Subjectivity	177
Conclusion	180
CHAPTER 5: IRREDENTIST NATIONALISM, CIVIL RIGHTS AND REPRESSION	181
Catholics: the Empire and the Northern Irish State	186
Employment and the State	187
The Civil Rights Movement	190
The Creation of NICRA	193
NICRA and the Deteriorating Situation	198
Was NICRA a Republican Movement?.....	200
Repression and Reform within the Colonial Context.....	202
Conclusion	211
CHAPTER 6: THE COMMUNITY OF CATHOLICS IN THE NEO-LIBERAL ERA	213
Ongoing Catholic Attitudes to Unification	215
‘ <u>Do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?</u> ’	221
After the Good Friday Agreement.....	223
Catholic Nationalism: the Post Peace Process Contemporary Debate	225
Upward Social Mobility and Constitutional Preference: Richard Breen	226
Complexity, Prosperity and Identity: Shirlow.....	233
Conclusion	243

CHAPTER 7: VOTING FOR A UNITED IRELAND? THE EVOLVING POLITICS OF SINN FÉIN	246
'We Ourselves': Sinn Féin	251
From <u>M</u> ovement' to Politics	252
The Convergence of Politics and Militancy	253
The Treaty and Civil War.....	259
Sinn Féin: Coming to Terms with Neo-Liberalism.....	264
Northern Ireland: <u>N</u> ationalists' and <u>R</u> epublicans'.....	266
The Conditionality of Violence	270
Sinn Féin: What has changed?	276
Discourse and Policy.....	276
Systemic Change: d'Hondt.....	278
The <u>P</u> ost-Republican' Critique	281
Conclusion	282
CONCLUSION	285
ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY OF TERMS	289
BIBLIOGRAPHY	292
Books	292
Book Chapters	302
Journal Articles.....	307
Surveys, Reports and Government Sources.....	314
Newspapers	320
Online Sources.....	324

ABSTRACT

Since the outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, the conflict has been mainly analytically understood in terms of ethno-nationalism and competing identities. However, as this thesis argues, economics have played a crucial role in the instances of violence in Ireland, and after partition, in Northern Ireland. With every development of the economy, from rural, to industrial and to social democratic, the complexity and intensity of violence shifted, but never disappeared. The current shift, the transformation to neo-liberalism, is the only conjuncture that has not adhered to this pattern.

This thesis argues that the resolution to the long-standing conflict in Northern Ireland is primarily caused by the new material conditions, generated by the neo-liberal globalisation of that economy. The thesis re-examines the theoretical debates on the conflict through this globalisation framework to reveal how the Catholic community and its political representatives have embraced the new material discourse and its form of governance, therein making the previous debates on the intractability of the Northern Ireland conflict a product of a historic moment, where economics, civil rights and state power were discriminatory barriers to the full integration of the Catholic population. The changed conditions are not reducible to mere economic global forces but these were essential to breaking down the historic impasse.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to David Cannon and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library catalogue, and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

Signed

David Cannon

Date:

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis has changed character several times since it was first conceived. Sometimes, as a result of life's unpredictability, it was placed on the back-burner. It was an undertaking that sometimes tested my emotional and intellectual capabilities and occasionally, my sense of humour. Nevertheless, while I look forward to its completion, it is the most significant single endeavour I have undertaken so far. Many people deserve gratitude for their assistance over the years in helping to bring this about, as I could not have done it without them.

I need to thank, first and foremost, the late Paul Nursey-Bray. Paul mentored me from undergraduate, through honours and into the PhD, and his friendship was very important to me. Without him, I doubt I would have entertained honours, let alone attempted a doctoral thesis. Paul passed away in 2005 and is still missed.

If there is a single person who contributed the most to the completion of this thesis, it is Greg McCarthy. As my principle supervisor, Greg was attentive and timely with all reviews and feedback. I cannot recall waiting long for his input in order to keep moving forward. However, Greg's contribution extended far beyond the professionalism with which he dealt with me on a weekly basis. He struck, without fail, an extraordinary balance between active encouragement and gentle consideration during what was an intense and extended period of upheaval and loss. Therefore, the contribution Greg made to my thesis was unique and went far beyond his professional obligations; without his understanding, it may have taken many more years to complete, or not have come to completion at all.

I have to also thank Vicki Spencer, who worked hard to keep me moving forward very early on, and both Paul Corcoran and Carol Johnson, in their respective roles as postgraduate coordinators, helped immeasurably over the years. I was fortunate enough to meet several Belfast based academics who took my proposal seriously and in some cases, spent quite some time with me. First, Dominic Bryan from the Queens University Belfast has been assisting me since my honours thesis in 2004. This has included many discussions and the occasional tour around Belfast. Gordon Gillespie, also from Queens, and Will Hazleton, from the University of Miami, have both helped me since 2004 and continue to assist me to this very day. I also need to thank Minerva Nasser-Eddine for editing and crucial feedback.

I must thank the fine staff in the administration nerve centre; Greta Larsen, Mel Pearson, Caroline Ralph and Julie McMahon for their patience and assistance. My thanks also goes to Antoinette Brincat from the Graduate Centre who made otherwise complicated bureaucratic interactions as agreeable as possible. Linda Christensen requires a very special thank you for her general assistance over the years and final edit. I would like to give a specific thank you to Chris McElhinney who has been helping me navigate the machinery of the politics department for many years.

I have shared this unusual experience with an evolving group of friends and some deserve a special mention. First to Mark Bode, whose friendship and vast knowledge I have been privileged to enjoy since undergrad. For friendship, coffees and something stronger I thank Josh Forkert, Priya Chacko, Aaron Retz, Zoë Gill and Kazu Shimada. I need to thank Alan Goldstone for all of the above and for his editorial prowess. I must thank Jonathon Louth for his friendship and for convincing me that I wasn't a preender'. And to Paul Tsoundarou, who has become a friend I can rely on when things get rough.

During this process, my mother and father both passed away after long illnesses. The demands of caring fell to me and my siblings Barbara and Richard. Our mutual support for each other and for our parents meant that I had a chance to keep the thesis, however slowly, moving forward. I thank them for this. I must also thank Richard for starting me off on the journey of critical thought. His simple questions to me, at a formative time, did nothing less than change my worldview and I wouldn't be here without him. Finally I thank my partner Sabine. Sabine had her own losses and helped me while I endured mine. This was, sometimes, not easy and the struggle was occasionally compounded by the ever present thesis. However, we are emerging from the other side of a long and sometimes hard trek; although, Sabine is already now part way through her own PhD. Here's to the next step Sabine...whatever that will be.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother Ann, my father Pat, Paul Nursey-Bray and Oma Franziska, all of whom left us during the process.

TABLE OF FIGURES

1.A Decline in Manufacturing Employment: 1955-1985.....	152
2.A Percentage of Manufacturing Jobs in Belfast: 1951-1991.....	152
3.A Decline in the Percentage Proportion of Workers Employed in the Respective Sectors: 1948-1980.....	153
4.A Recalibration of Jobs in the Respective Sectors: 1974-1985.....	154
1.B Regional GDP: 1989-1996.....	155
2.B Regional Personal Income (PI) and Disposable Personal Income (DPI) 1986-1996 ...	156
3.B Wales and Northern Ireland Personal Income (PI) and Disposable Personal Income (DPI) 1986-1996.....	156
4.A Consumer Credit: 1995-2005.....	157
4.B Consumer Credit: Credit Cards 1995-2005.....	158
4.C Consumer Durables: 1983-2010.....	159
4.D Comparison of Consumer Durables: Northern Ireland and UK.....	160
4.E Comparison of Consumer Durables: Northern Ireland and UK.....	160
4.F Comparison of Consumer Durables: Northern Ireland and UK.....	161
4.G Comparison of Consumer Durables: Northern Ireland and UK.....	161
4.H Private/Light Goods vehicles, NI/GB comparison: 2000-2009.....	162
5.A Housing Tenure in Northern Ireland.....	163
5.B Comparison of Housing Tenure Northern Ireland and UK.....	164
5.C Sales of NIHE Dwellings.....	165
5.D Catholic Housing Tenure: 1996-2007.....	165
6.A Proportion of Economically Active Catholics: 1992-2007.....	166
6.B Cross Community View of Economic Inactivity: 1992-2007.....	167
6.C Catholic Participation in the Police Service of Northern Ireland.....	168
7.A Population of the Six Counties that Constitute Northern Ireland: 1841-2010.....	170
7.B Catholic and Protestant outflow from Northern Ireland: 1937-1981.....	170
7.C Migration Statistics for Northern Ireland: 1973-2008.....	171
7.D International Migration Patterns: 2000-2009.....	171
7.E Troubles Related Deaths: 1969-2010.....	173
7.F Troubles Related Deaths: 1999-2010.....	173
7.H Police Figures on Racists ' <u>Incidents</u> ': 1999-2009.....	174
7.I Self-Identification as ' <u>very</u> ' or ' <u>a</u> little' Prejudiced" Against Ethnic Minorities: 1994-2008	175
8.A <u>Do</u> you think the long-term policy for Northern Ireland should be for it... ' 2000.....	219
8.B <u>Do</u> you think the long-term policy for Northern Ireland should be for it... ' 2008.....	220
8.C <u>..</u> do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?' 1998.....	212
8.D <u>..</u> do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?' 2002.....	222
8.E <u>..</u> do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?' 2008.....	222

Introduction

The sustained 'peace' in Northern Ireland indicates a new historical conjuncture where the neo-liberal market has transformed not just the economy and Northern Ireland's political regime, but also subjectivity in general¹. This thesis argues that the peace signposts the end of the conflict known as the 'Troubles'². The importance of this development is evident, even when it is considered within the 'cyclical'³ logic of conflict in Irish history. This cycle of post-colonial violence against the state has been replaced by a form of biopolitics, where subjects are governed by the neo-liberal market, not juridical sovereignty. Power has shifted away from the streets in loyalist and republican areas and back to the Stormont⁴ parliament, and debate and discourse has turned to the market and governance, rather than the border and terrorism.

As such, there are significant reasons to argue that the province of Northern Ireland has entered an entirely new economic-social-political-conjuncture, and today's peace is not merely a period of regrouping by Irish militants prior to the next inevitable phase of violence. For example, the removal of structural impediments to Catholic socio-economic advance and an associated legitimisation of Catholic culture have ameliorated (however unevenly) Catholic political and ideological alienation.

¹ In this thesis, normalisation refers to the organisation of society within the logic of neo-liberal capitalism, bringing Northern Ireland in line with mainland Britain and other post-industrial societies.

² It is generally accepted that the Troubles began in 1968, although, it is arguable that the beginnings could be traced back further to 1964, where an Irish tricolour was hung in an electoral office in the Divis Street Flats in Belfast, prompting demonstrations from members of the Protestant community and intervention to remove the flag by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) (Bruce: 1989, p. 75). Taylor cites the murder of a Protestant woman by the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and three sectarian murders for which 'Gusty' Spence was jailed in 1966, as the beginning (2000, pp. 40 – 44).

³ This is the observation of generational uprising and resistance to 'British rule'. The concept is enshrined in the Proclamation of the Irish Republic of 1916 (Coogan: 1970, p. 19).

⁴ Stormont is the name of Northern Ireland's parliament building. 'Stormont' became shorthand, for both unionists and nationalists, for the unionist dominated political regime that existed between partition in 1921, and 1972, when direct rule from Westminster was introduced.

This has contributed to the expansion of a Catholic middle-class with materialist interests that are increasingly divorced from ethno-nationalist concerns. Politically, Sinn Féin's return to parliamentarianism, and its acceptance of the structures of government and policing, has deepened the political process of incorporation. In this transformation, Sinn Féin has joined other insurrection movements who, when faced with new circumstances and declining support for violence, become politically and economically invested in the state they avowed to overthrow (see de Zeeuw: 2008, p. 1; Tonge: 2009, p. 167)⁵. For these reasons, the likelihood of a return to widespread republican violence, which could be supported or even accepted by the Catholic community, is improbable.

The idea and reality of political/ethno-nationalist militancy being eroded by incorporation into the state and the market is not novel,⁶ but in the case of Northern Ireland, it confronts very fixed points of view. This paradox is the crux of the question that this thesis addresses. Following Karl Marx and Fredric Engels, Marxist's regarded Ireland's fate as tied to Britain and the international workers movement. Marxist and socialist analyses of Ireland held sway until after the Second World War when post-colonial movements began to redefine national struggles. As historical materialism and class analysis increasingly fell from academic favour, scholars sought to define violence between communities and against the state in terms of national and ethnic determinates. This conception came to define Northern Ireland; and it concluded that there could never be peace, as the ethno-national divisions were so deep that they were intractable. This theory became known as the intractability thesis. The two communities, Catholic, nationalist/republican on one side

⁵ De Zeeuw argues that '...transforming an armed rebel movement into a political party, let alone a democratic political party, is arguably one of the hardest peace building challenges' (2008, p. 1). The significance of republicanisms movement from insurgency to parliamentarianism cannot, therefore, be overstated.

⁶ For example, Spanish socialists after the Franco era (see Judt: 2005, p. 523), the African National Congress after Apartheid (Bond: 2009; Puhl: 2009) and Basques in the 2009 elections (Kingstone: 2009).

and Protestant, unionist/loyalist on the other, were so fundamentally divided that these theorists predicted that irreconcilable division would go on for generations.

Nevertheless, an oscillation between peaceful periods and violent upheavals has been a characteristic feature of Irish history. However, I argue that to try to understand the contemporary peace within older historical conjunctures is to fundamentally misconceive the uniqueness of the current situation. The contemporary peace has to be re-evaluated within the overall conjunctural shift to neo-liberalism in Northern Ireland, which is not only material in the integration of Northern Ireland into the global neo-liberal market, but also one of the subjectification of neo-liberal identity and biopolitical governance.

While intractability theorists were correct in criticising Marxist economic reductionism, and its failure to theorise the emerging importance of ethno-nationalism in the conflict as Northern Ireland belatedly shifted out of 19th century imperial capitalist relations, the same theorists have been similarly caught off-balance by the shift to a neo-Marxist form of neo-liberalism, so much theorised by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in their seminal book *Empire* (2003). This thesis examines this transition and reconceptualises the realisation of a peace that was virtually inconceivable a decade ago. It concludes that it is the unique material and neo-liberal discourse that firmly underpins Northern Ireland's sustained peace.

Timeline: Scope of the Research

It has been necessary to place a chronological limit on the thesis given that, in some regards, the socio-political future of Northern Ireland is still unravelling. That being said, even drastic changes to Northern Ireland now would not alter the central argument of the thesis; primarily, that within the neo-liberal conjuncture, highly organised revolutionary violence is a thing of the past in the politics of the province.

The regions politics has, like the neo-liberal subjectification of the individual, been fully interpellated into the neo-liberal paradigm of global capitalism.

While this study reaches back to the very beginnings of the Ulster Plantation in the early 17th century to root its materialist component, the primary focus takes as its starting point the partitioning of Ireland in 1921, and ends with the Independent Monitoring Commission's (IMC) statement in September 2008 that the Provisional IRA's Army Council was no longer capable or willing to engage in terrorist activities (Nineteenth Report: 2008, pp. 4 – 8). The dates were chosen because the political markers reflect the underlying conjunctural trend. The establishment of the Northern Irish state and the absolute hegemonic socio-economic control exercised by the Protestant elite in many ways created the conditions that shaped Catholic discontent. The thesis does not argue that these conditions alone created the violence; the colonial-governmentalist state in Northern Ireland also carries much blame. That is, the British army's mismanagement of the beginnings of the civil rights era was interpreted as proof that biopolitics co-existed with colonial forms of state violence. This violence created widespread sympathy and sometimes palpable support for militant republicanism among the wider Catholic community. As such, the relationship between the socio-economic marginalisation of Catholics in general and Protestant hegemony are quite clear, the use of juridical-sovereignty against the Catholics prevented make-life biopolitics. The transparent use of violence and overt disciplining of the Catholic subject dispelled any notion of political legitimacy.

The withering of the Provisional IRA's Army Council, is in some ways symbolic and in others, quite poignant. The basis was now set for biopolitical governance. This is symbolised by the fact that the IRA had long since decommissioned its arms and instructed its volunteers to embark on purely democratic political work. While this significant and unprecedented gesture was enough to satisfy the IMC and the official observers sent to witness the destruction of the weapons, many in the Protestant

community remained understandably sceptical. While the IRA's command structure was intact, Protestants reasoned that it could easily revert to violence. Nevertheless, since 2008, the IMC is satisfied that the Provisional IRA is militarily inactive and has been committed to political (biopolitical) ends (Eighteenth Report: 2008, p. 9).

The withering of the IRA Army Council is unprecedented since partition. As Ed Moloney writes of the IRA's decommissioning:

Never before in the long and bloody history of Anglo-Irish conflict had an Irish insurgent group voluntarily given up its weapons for destruction, even self-destruction, at the behest of its opponents. When de Valera recognised the inevitability of defeat in the terrible Irish civil war and called a halt to the IRA's campaign in May 1932, the organisation was ordered to bury its arms, not to destroy them. Similarly when the 1956-62 Border Campaign ended, Ruairi O Bradaigh's last order to the IRA units as chief of staff was to 'dump arms'. The unspoken message was clear. The guns were being put away but only for the time being; the war against Britain would be resumed when the conditions improved (2002, p. 492).

The fact that the IRA allowed their weapons to be destroyed is unparalleled, but the enormity and firepower of the IRA's arsenal illustrates the organisations adeptness at procuring arms. Of greater significance is the disbanding of the command structures that could mobilise and rearm. Today, the Provisional IRA no longer exists in either a military or organisational capacity. The organised republican movement, formerly militant and totally fixated on Irish unification, now exists solely as Sinn Féin; a party committed to democratic politics, neo-liberal capitalism and peace.

Economically, and as a result of the Global Financial Crisis, the province, (as part of the United Kingdom and the European Union), has already encountered a level of economic turmoil. The downturn was in some ways provoked by the sub-prime mortgage crisis in the United States and has penetrated the collective and individual European economies. The economic crisis provides a test for the argument of this thesis. Government spending cut backs and high levels of unemployment are not traditional features of the Northern Irish political economy. While Britain, under Prime

Minister Margaret Thatcher, was subjected to her neo-liberal revolution, her project was tempered in Northern Ireland by the need to ensure that the existing political instability was not exacerbated by increased unemployment. Northern Irish unemployment was kept lower by interventionist policy in the public sector that saw positions created to offset unemployment.

Consequently, it is only after the Thatcher government that neo-liberalism and its ideological manifestations of what Foucault called ‘enterprise man’ and ‘enterprise society’ (Foucault: 2008, pp. 147, 270; Venn: 2010) could take hold in Northern Ireland. It is usual to interpret this in traditional theory as a change in the colonial mentality at 10 Downing Street facilitated by Tony Blair. This thesis looks elsewhere for the explanation for the change. The core features of this interpretation will be that the demise of the colonial form of governmentality, orchestrated from Westminster, was the result not of British politics but that the population of Northern Ireland, Catholics in particular, have embraced neo-liberal discourse and subjectification.

The orthodox neo-liberal economic measures are now accepted by the majority of Catholics, and I argue they will not provoke either ethno-nationalist violence or anti-colonial resistance. In short, the ideological shifts that have accompanied neo-liberalism in Northern Ireland have fundamentally undermined ethno-nationalist divisions. Where imperial capitalism fostered and utilised racial and ethno-nationalist antagonisms for its own ends, neo-liberalism in theory is racially and religiously inclusive within its own system.

Terminology

As with most socio-economic interactions in Northern Ireland, discourse and terminology are highly politicised. The use of one word, at the expense of another, carries significant ideological weight. The most pressing danger is that, for academic work seeking objectivity, such discursive middle ground does not wholly exist.

For example, the city of Londonderry, Northern Ireland's second city, is known by probably most of its majority Catholic population as Derry; a derivative of its old Gaelic name. Many in the Protestant/unionist/loyalist community and, due to the official status of the city's name, know it as Londonderry. The county within which the city stands was itself renamed after the Plantation of the middle 17th century from Coleraine to Londonderry (Stewart: 1997, pp. 22 – 23). A great deal of important Irish, Northern Irish and European history unfolded in this city. It was Londonderry that held out as possibly the last point of resistance of a wider and more sporadic series of events that could be known collectively as the Counter Reformation. The small Protestant garrison stationed in the city resisted a siege by the army of Catholic King James II in the mid 17th century (see McBride: 1997). The siege was lifted by Protestant forces and with this victory; the final serious Catholic challenge for the English Crown was defeated. This success, by Williamite forces, also served to galvanise Protestant domination over North-Western Europe.

Londonderry is the focus of a great deal of Protestant myths of resistance to the oppression of the Catholic Church—in terms of religious and personal freedoms—and of the consolidation of the tenacity of the besieged Protestant community in the face of these threats (see McBride: 1997). For nationalist and republican Catholics, Derry is also crucial in their lexicon of myths, being the site for the final Protestant victory in the early Plantation period; the Bloody Sunday killings of 1972 and the most extreme Protestant electoral gerrymander (Neville and Douglas: 1982, p. 121). It represents displacement, institutionalised poverty, political marginalisation and political violence at the hands of the British state and unionists. The name Derry/Londonderry is highly contested and both forms are used in this thesis.

Another example relates to the name of the Northern Irish state itself. For unionists or loyalists, the state is generally referred to as Northern Ireland and/or

Ulster. The use of Ulster to describe the state evokes further controversy. The term 'province' is also used to describe the state, and is often prefixed by 'northern'. The term Northern Ireland severs this area from the 'rest' of Ireland. The implication here is that the socio-economic character of the North is distinct from the South.

Republicans and nationalists use the term 'North of Ireland' rather than Northern Ireland, suggesting that the North East of the island is a geographical section of a larger whole. There is an extra dimension to the controversy surrounding the use of the word Ulster. Ulster is traditionally one of the four provinces of Ireland; including Munster, Leinster and Connaught. When Ireland was divided in 1921, it was done so roughly along the boundaries separating Ulster from the rest of the Ireland. However, Ulster was redrawn to ensure a majority of Protestants within the new state. Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan, all counties within the historical boundary of Ulster, were left out of Northern Ireland: their inclusion would have put too many Catholics in the new state. Stewart remarks that the use of the word Ulster to refer to the newly established and strategically drawn state was '...regarded by Catholics as unionist propaganda' (1997, p. 158). However, the drawing of this artificial boundary gave nationalists and republicans another politicised term for Northern Ireland; the 'six-counties'.

The implications are clear; the preferential use of 'Derry' over 'Londonderry' can show a Republican sympathy or bias. In many ways it is impossible to use a neutral term to describe a topographical or geographical feature or an economic and/or political institution. Consequently, I will use these terms interchangeably, as the academic texts consulted also use differing terminology. I forward the disclaimer that the choice of terminology is not informed by a partisan position.

Thesis Outline

Due to the complexity of the Irish and Northern Irish questions, this thesis is structured in a way to engage with a selection of topics that are interconnected, but are also considered in their own right to have specific importance. The significance of ethno-nationalism to orthodox analyses is ascribed to an almost organic acceptance of the link between Catholicism and nationalism. Consequently, it is necessary to engage with this recurring concept within these interconnected sub-topics. While there has been an attempt to present the chapters in chronological order, due to the complexity and importance of each sub-section, and the historical significance and debate that each of these sub-sections carry, it is not possible to adhere strictly to a linear chronological flow.

Chapter 1 deconstructs the traditionalist Marxist theory of the Irish, and Northern Irish questions. I show how the theoretical terrain changed with the overall shifts in global political economy and that this school of thought failed to escape from forms of economic reductionism. It is argued that the poignancy of Marxism varied across differing periods and these approaches significantly changed after the revolutionary upheavals of 19th and 20th century Europe, then through the Soviet era and finally into the post-Soviet decline of Marxism and socialism in general. This chapter argues that Marxist analysis was momentarily effective, but was also bound to imperial capitalism; a nexus where difference and alterity were systemic.

Chapter 2 argues that following the decline of Marxist reductionist and imperialist interpretations of Northern Ireland, the vacuum was filled by what this thesis will call ‘intractability’ arguments. In keeping with theoretical developments outside of Northern Ireland, the conflict was increasingly analysed from perspectives that centralised ethno-nationalism, identity and religion. At the time, these arguments seemed better placed to make sense of the Troubles than any materialist account or reference to old colonial debates. However, as the conflict unfolded over time, these

arguments began to weaken. What is unique is that this decline was due not so much to theoretical failings as for material reasons. Ultimately, the intractability arguments could not account for the subsequent peace. I argue that just as Marxist interpretations were bound conjuncturally to 19th and early 20th century modes of capitalism, the intractability arguments were bound to the specific distorted forms of social democratic capitalism that preceded the globalisation of the Northern Ireland economy.

Chapter 3 re-introduces a materialist analysis based on the premise that neo-liberal capitalism has, after a period where the Troubles held back its development, arrived in Northern Ireland. The chapter focuses on Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's thesis that neo-liberalism is accompanied by a fundamental shift in discourse and power relations. Hardt and Negri conceive of such a divisive form of ideological and biopolitical shift that imperial capitalism must dissolve so that neo-liberalism is able to fully develop. The chapter utilises Foucault's concepts of 'economic man' and 'economic society' to account for what is, for the intractability arguments, an unexplained shift from the hitherto radicalised Catholic community, into neo-liberal individuals who are increasingly comfortable with biopolitical governance. This is a remarkable transformation in subject relationship that sees juridical-sovereignty and its accompanying opposition, revolutionary violence, slipping into the background. The subject is incorporated into market capitalism. As such, neo-liberalism has broken down the material, political and ideological divisions that facilitated the ethno-nationalist character of the conflict.

Chapter 4 A plots the development of Northern Ireland's economy to illustrate how significant the shift to neo-liberalism has been. It reveals the historic depth by which capitalism informed ethno-national conflict. The argument is that post-Plantation Irish capitalism developed with a distinct imperial logic. Once the state of Northern Ireland was created, the colonial distinctions became, for Catholics, even

sharper. This chapter shows how this transition from imperial capitalism to neo-liberalism occurred and the degree to which it has arrived. It is necessary to do this to be able to argue, as the following chapters do, that the hitherto structural and subjective reasons for Catholic alienation from the Northern Irish state no longer exist.

The chapter also forwards the argument that the mechanical features of neo-liberalism do not exist in isolation from the ideological shifts outlined in chapter 3. Once again, I critique the accepted synonymy of Catholicism and nationalism/republicanism. The example of republican parties in the Republic of Ireland moving rapidly to the centre right and embracing neo-liberalism is explored. This is used to reinforce the argument that the neo-liberalism has the power to hollow out irredentist nationalism and republicanism.

Chapter 4 B provides a wide range of data which supports the arguments made in chapter 4 A. The graphs presented in the chapter illustrate the decline of manufacture capitalism and the rise of neo-liberal forms of economic interaction around issues of consumption, increased uptake of credit and an enormous expansion of private housing tenure. The data shows how Northern Ireland has moved from the worst performing region of the United Kingdom, to, in some sectors, outperforming England and the United Kingdom average. The data, which includes material covering employment, shows that there is a convergence within the province between Catholics and Protestants across all sectors of employment and consumption. It is clear that Catholics are no longer subjected to any form of structural impediment and that they are engaging fully in the economy.

The chapter concludes by arguing that the data supports the argument of the increasing ambivalence of Catholic identity in the province. The transformation of material conditions, underpinned by a shift away from the structural marginalisation of the Catholic community, sees catholic identity move away from irredentist

nationalism (which was artificially stimulated by the radical backlash of the British state and unionist militants against Catholic moves for equal rights) and towards a global, neo-liberal consumer identity that is fixated more on state and economic stability, rather than unification.

Chapter 5 argues that while Catholic alienation from the Northern Irish state was the most intense from the late 1960s onwards, prior to that, Catholic attitudes to the state were not always determined by ethnic-religious or national self-determination factors. The chapter plots the development of organisations that sought to reform the state, rather than destroy it. This is important as the ethno-national complexion of the conflict, and the development of either Catholic support or indifference to IRA violence, was conditioned by Protestant resistance to reform, and the heavy-handed actions of the British colonial-government/state to the Catholic community. Catholic acceptance of the status-quo has always been a contingent feature of Irish politics, however, the state security forces backlash against the civil rights movement gave the illusion of the emergence of a mass Catholic liberation ideal. In some places this was a contingent feature, called into existence and maintained by the hostile response to civil rights for Catholics and the extreme violence of the Troubles.

Chapter 6 examines identity politics arguing against the acceptance of an organic relationship between Catholicism and irredentist nationalism. The chapter analyses Catholic identity and political attitudes in Northern Ireland; deconstructing the assumption that Catholics identify as 'nationalist', and unquestioningly desire a united Ireland. It critically assesses the survey methodology used to couple Catholicism and nationalism, and concludes that the results are problematic for several reasons. First, by the terminology, that is based on colonial binaries. Second, because the surveys were carried out within the violent and contested transition period from imperial capitalism to neo-liberalism.

The chapter then moves on to address the contemporary debate that is informed by the results of these surveys. Richard Breen (2001) concludes that there is no evidence to suggest that Catholics are losing their desire for a united Ireland (which I argue has not existed as a continuous coherent desire to start with) as their material wealth and incorporation into the state increases. However, Peter Shirlow et al. (1997; Graham and Shirlow: 1998; Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999) show that a diverse range of positions exists beneath the concepts of identity and national aspirations, and thus to the attitude of unification. However, like many contemporary Marxist and left-political economic analyses of the conflict, Shirlow hesitates to give economy primacy over ethno-nationalism.

I conclude that this occurs for two reasons. First, that analytical orthodoxy in Northern Irish academia still focuses on ethno-nationalism, a component of the intractability theses, thereby tempering conclusions that might privilege materialism. Secondly, like Breen, the conclusions were drawn within the transition period, where ideology, both in academia and in society in general, were laden with old colonial understandings and colonial-governance that have been replaced by biopolitics and neo-liberal change. Consequently, they were incapable of seeing the depth of change that neo-liberalism had already and would go on to effect.

Finally, chapter 7 critiques the assumption that Catholics vote for Sinn Féin due to a desire for a united Ireland through democratic means. This chapter will draw parallels from other shifts to neo-liberal and governmental change, showing how there are strong parallels with the move to post-colonial politics and the de-radicalisation of revolutionary movements. In this process, radical groups engaged in intractable conflicts then reconciled themselves to systems that they had previously vowed to destroy. I conclude that the conditionality of violence, coupled with systemic changes to the electoral system and Sinn Féin's acceptance of policing and neo-

liberal orthodoxy contributed to the parties success, not a widespread Catholic desire for Irish unification.

I conclude that the intractability theses have been rendered conjuncturally redundant by the shift to neo-liberal capitalism. Like the traditional Marxist approaches, intractability theses are stretched across a significant transformation in political economy. Ideologically, politically and economically, the terrain has shifted so far that the pre-existing ethno-national binaries are no longer capable of eliciting protest or resistance, let alone revolution. There is no alternative to consumer capitalism and this is recognised by Sinn Féin, whose revolutionary spirit, in evidence through the 1970s to the 1990s, is no longer discernable.

Chapter 1

Marxist Thought in Ireland

This chapter presents an overview of the diverse range and positions within Marxist thought on Ireland, and in particular the synthesis of Marxist analysis on the ‘Irish Question’ and more importantly, the relationship of Marxist thought to national liberation. Ultimately, this will be done for two reasons; first, so that the current neo-liberal peace can be analysed within a contemporary, critical materialist framework, while acknowledging the historical problems of past materialist analysis with its tendency to reductionism. The second reason is to illustrate the importance of the imperial conjuncture to the conflict⁷ and also to the analysis in general.

This chapter will make an account of the broad range of Marxist thought on Ireland in three reasonably discreet periods. The first looks at Historical Marxism, the foundations of Marx and Engels’ thought on Ireland beginning with the industrialisation/imperial period within which they wrote and worked as activists. From there it will move on to the Russian Revolution and Imperialism. This can be seen as an intermediate phase represented by Kautsky’s more in-depth work on Ireland. This is linked with the beginnings of the debates on the national question and Lenin’s analysis regarding imperialism as the weakest link in capitalism (Lenin: 1960a). The work of Rosa Luxemburg, and in particular, her critical position regarding the October Revolution and national liberation, will be analysed. Finally, James Connolly’s work, a central figure within the development of ‘Green’ Marxism, will be addressed.

The evolution of Marxist thought will then lead into the assessment of Traditional and Revisionist Marxists. This period, is conceptualised as the

⁷ Darby writes that conflict is such an ingrained part of social relations that to remark about it is almost pointless. It is when conflict erupts into violence that is of interest (1996).

conjunction of social movement radicalism and decolonisation; the political events that came to a head in 1968. During this period the Marxist analysis of Northern Ireland was strengthened, but at the same time divided. Revisionist Marxists rejected the analysis of Traditional Marxists, who saw British oppression as the key obstacle to realising socialism in Northern Ireland. This debate is technically not resolved, but it was concluded by the decline of materialist analysis after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This chapter will prepare the ground for an analysis in chapter 2 of the intractability theses. These various analytical positions are, like the various Marxist interpretations, to be understood contextually within the phase of global neo-liberal capitalism.

Terminology

It is necessary to briefly outline the core terminology. ‘Traditional Marxism’ will be used to denote the broad approach sometimes referred to as ‘Green’ and/or ‘Anti-Imperial’ Marxism. Generally, it denotes underlying nationalist/republican sympathy and is sometimes linked, as a result, to Catholicism. ‘Revisionist Marxism’ will be used to represent the arguments and positions of the school of thought also known as ‘Orange Marxism’. This position is usually attributed to Protestant Marxists who became disillusioned by certain aspects of Traditional Marxism, in particular the Traditional Marxists conclusion that Britain’s role in Ireland was wholly negative. The decision to choose a single label was one driven in part by simplicity, but primarily by the desire to avoid, as much as possible, potentially sectarian terminology. Generally, many of the texts consulted for this chapter utilise different terminology, or combinations of terminology, to draw the distinction.

There are several comprehensive overviews outlining Marxist thought on the ‘Irish Question’, written in some cases well before the current, post 1998, Peace Process era. In terms of broad analysis, treating Marxism as one of many interpreting

tools applied to Northern Ireland in particular, Whyte (1991, pp. 175-193) and McGarry and O'Leary (1995, pp. 138-167) provide useful and in places highly critical overview and analysis⁸. A brief exchange occurred in the British based journal *New Left Review* occurred in 1995 that articulated the divide between the Traditional and Revisionist Marxist interpretations (Porter and O'Hearn: 1995; Hazelkorn and Patterson: 1995; Blackburn: 1995). From within the Marxist tradition, the works of the prominent revisionist Marxists Bew, Gibbon and Patterson (1979, pp. 1-43) and Martin (1982) serve as particularly useful analysis of the debates within Marxism on the Irish question.

Historic Marxism

Industrialisation and Imperialism: Marx and Engels

For Marx and Engels, the Irish question was inextricably linked to Britain's political economy. In Marx's view, Britain, as the most advanced capitalist nation in Europe, would be among the first to undergo socialist revolution, with the other nations of Europe following suit⁹. However, it became increasingly evident to Marx and Engels that this was unlikely to occur. They observed that British workers were among the most conservative in Europe. Part of their explanation rested on British workers status as a 'labour aristocracy' (1975, pp. 293 – 294; Lenin: 1960a) in the colonial context. British workers were also tempered by what Callaghan argues was the ability of 'Britain's liberal institutions [to] blunt the edge of working-class protest' (1990, p.10).

⁸ McGarry and O'Leary are regarded as key thinkers on Northern Ireland. For example, their advocacy of a consociational solution to the Troubles is credited by some as being crucial to the realisation of the political aspects of the Good Friday Agreement (see Taylor: 2009a).

⁹ Marx saw Ireland as a potential catalyst to bring revolution to England. Therefore, Marx supported agitation for Irish national independence as necessary to bring about revolution in England. Marx wrote that revolution 'everywhere' will be a 'consequence' of revolution in England (Marx: 1975, pp. 160 – 163).

In addition to providing British capitalists with expanding profits, colonies also afforded the added function of a social release valve, essentially transferring class conflict offshore, or at least easing it within the metropolitan capital. British (read English) workers enjoyed relatively higher wages as a result of the wealth and expansion afforded by colonial/imperial possessions (see Benner: 1995, pp. 186 – 189). English working-class conservatism became a point of debate. In a letter to Karl Kautsky, Engels wrote:

...You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as what the bourgeois think. There is no workers' party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies (Engels: 1882).

This theme of national identity was reiterated a century later by Hardt and Negri who wrote:

One of the most powerful operations of the modern imperialist power structures was to drive wedges among the masses of the globe, dividing them into opposing camps, or really a myriad of conflicting parties. Segments of the proletariat in the dominant countries were even led to believe that their interests were tied exclusively to their national identity and imperial destiny (2003, p. 42).

Ultimately, imperial expansion brought with it not only immediate gains in material and markets, but also provided a way of consolidating political rule in the metropolitan capital around nationalism. However, this model of imperial capitalism began to fail, and the divisions that were fostered under the system became fetters to continued accumulation and expansion.

Ireland, therefore, presented an opportunity to undermine British imperial capitalism. Irish independence would weaken the interests of the ruling and capitalist elites in Britain, who, in Marx and Engel's view, were more or less the same as those who governed Ireland (Bew et al: 1979, pp. 10 – 11). Marx considered Ireland to be an essential part of the British Empire. If Ireland gained independence, a serious

vulnerability would be exposed in Britain's capitalist structure (See Marx and Engels: 1975, pp. 161 – 163).

In Marx's analysis, Irish independence would be followed by an agrarian revolution that would unseat the 'English aristocracy not only in Ireland but also in England' (Martin: 1982, p. 57). Further to this, the significant hostility that existed between English and Irish workers on the British mainland would disappear (Martin: 1982, p. 57; Lenin: 1960b, p. 672; Marx and Engels: 1975, pp. 162, 293, 301, 404 – 405). Marx stated that 'The ordinary English worker...', as a result of their feelings of supremacy and the reality of cheap Irish labour undermining wages and living conditions, '...hates the Irish worker' (Marx and Engels: 1975, p. 294). Bew et al. go as far as to argue that 'anti-Irish racialism was the secret of the impotence of the English working class' (1979, p. 11).

Ideology and materialism drove a wedge between Irish and British workers. However, rising Irish irredentist nationalism was also considered by Marx and Engels to be problematic. They considered the possibility that militant Irish revolutionary fervour, based on a national agenda, would deepen hostility towards Britain and undermine post independence alliance between Irish and British workers (Benner: 1995, p. 193). For Marx and Engels, nationalism had the potential to undermine international working-class liberation. Benner writes that their position was one that supported independence only in so far as it contributed to revolution in Europe in general, and Britain in particular¹⁰. For Marx, '...national independence should not be supported as the end-point of policy' (Benner: 1995, p. 193).

¹⁰ Marx openly criticized violent Fenian republicanism on mainland Britain, stating that it would create greater division between the Irish and British working-classes. In correspondence with Engels in 1867, Marx called a Fenian attack on a prison housing Fenians in England a '...very stupid thing', continuing that 'One cannot expect the London proletarians to allow themselves to be blown up in honour of the Fenian emissaries'. In his reply, Engels put much of the blame on Irish American 'bluster', regarding arson and bombing, which transcended into '...a few asses' putting the rhetoric into action (Marx and Engels: 1975, p. 149). Their correspondence suggests that they considered extremist militants within the Fenian movement to be a minority.

Marx died in 1883, two years before the British Prime Minister Gladstone introduced the first Home Rule Bill in Westminster (Stewart: 1967 and 1997, pp. 163, 165 – 166). The Bill was defeated and the question of Home Rule in Ireland (after two more subsequently defeated Bills in 1893 and 1912 respectively) was answered by partition following the Anglo-Irish war ending in 1921. According to Stewart, partition and the subsequent home rule for Northern Ireland by Protestants, ‘...was a solution which no one wanted’ (1997, p. 158). The notions of supremacy inherent in the labour aristocracy, the negative effects of Irish labour on wages and living conditions, coupled with the emerging violent Fenian bombing campaign all intersected to undermine revolution.

The Russian Revolution, Imperialism and the Irish Question

Ireland and the ‘National Question’: Kautsky

The revolutionary hopes of Marx and Engels in Ireland and Britain went unrealised. The English working-classes did not rise to free themselves or their Irish comrades; the Irish revolutionary nationalists failed to overthrow English landlordism in Ireland and ignite crises and revolution in Britain. Unlike Marx and Engels, who viewed Ireland mainly in relation to Britain, Karl Kautsky studied and wrote on the Irish question as a case study. Through a wider analysis of related examples, he provided ‘...a more accurate characterisation’ of Irish politics and ‘...a fuller treatment of the Irish question’ (Bew et al: 1979, pp. 3 – 4).

Kautsky, a central figure in the Second International and a respected theoretician, held mainly to a deterministic position regarding revolution. His direct interest in Ireland set him apart from Marx and Engels, who, only really considered Ireland as a component of their analysis of Britain (Bew et al: 1979, pp. 1 – 34).

Kautsky took special interest in Ireland and looked deeper at the country's complicated social structure. He wrote that 'Ireland is one of those subjects which have occupied me since my youth' (Kautsky: 1974, p. 3). Kautsky, like Luxemburg, became a central figure in the debates surrounding the National Question.

Kautsky analysed the nature and politics of Ulster Protestants and in particular, the Presbyterian Ulster-Scottish population. He notes their progressive nature in terms of politics and capitalist development, describing them as '...the rising democratic classes...with republican and anti-feudal tendencies...an industrial, hardworking population' (1974, pp. 10 – 11)¹¹. In listing their progressive features in contrast to the 'conservatism' of republicanism, he parts from Marx, Engels and Lenin (Bew et al: 1979, p. 3). This distinction is important, certainly in the context of the violence of the Troubles and the subsequent analysis forwarded by Revisionist Marxists.

Additionally, Kautsky's appraisal of the Catholic cultural revival is outwardly hostile. For many contemporary analysts, especially postcolonial thinkers, the cultural revival is seen as central to the project of Irish republicanism (see Said: 1995, p. 252; Kiberd: 1996, Kirkland: 2003; Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 11). Again, Kautsky identifies an important theme, one that exists below the surface of the instrumental readings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the situation. He writes that the Catholic intelligentsia '...live more in the past than in the present, gush about the great deeds of yore and seek to revive old usages and customs' (1974, p. 14). He goes on to state with foresight, that these intellectuals will find a role within the emerging bureaucracy in an independent Ireland¹².

Kautsky was also critical of the role played by immigrant Irish nationalists, who he saw as motivated by crystallised animosity to England more than a wish to serve

¹¹ He also describes a section of the Protestant population as '...religious, puritanical fanatics' (1974, p. 11).

¹² The speed with which Southern Irish nationalists abandoned the goal of Irish unification shortly after partition (see Moloney: 2003, p. 40) vindicates Kautsky's pessimism.

Ireland. For Kautsky, these diasporic nationalists, whom he labels ‘American extremists’, remotely guided the nationalist project (1974, p. 14). Each of these themes; sectarianism, the cultural revival and the nationalist Irish diaspora, played a part in the violence of the late 20th century in Ireland and problematised more orthodox Marxist readings and predictions regarding the island.

Bew et al. (1979) hold Kautsky’s analysis of Ireland to be more effective than Marx, Engels, Lenin and Traditional Marxism in general. For them, Kautsky saw the emerging complexity of the two-nations¹³ theory, which essentially states that not all inhabitants of Ireland are ‘Irish’. This theory runs counter to the position developed from Marx, Engels, Lenin and by the most well known Irish Marxist, James Connolly. For Connolly, all workers in Ireland were Irish and it was only through the hegemonic machinations of Protestant landlords and capitalists that Protestant workers aligned with them and not their Catholic comrades (Connolly: 1948, pp. 101 - 103). Kautsky’s analysis has proven to be superior to Connolly’s, certainly in the light of the Troubles. During this period, Protestant workers fought against a united Ireland due primarily to cultural identification with Britain and the material benefits of British capitalism, not as a result of being somehow ‘duped’ by Protestant ruling-class hegemony (Bew et al: 1979, p. 4).

Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: Lenin

Lenin took a more systematic interest in Ireland than Marx and Engels. However, like Marx and Engels, his overall analysis was contextualised by revolution. Lenin’s work on Ireland is basically underpinned by his defence of the Russian Revolution which is informed by his theory of Imperialism and his position on the right of nations to self-

¹³ This is the theory that there are two separate nationalities in Ireland and in a more acute manifestation, Northern Ireland. Many Protestants see themselves as British; many Catholics as Irish. The complications for class theory are obvious, with an added dimension of internal nationalist conflict complicating class conflict.

determination. Again, as with Marx and Engels, Lenin's revolutionary work probably led him to read the situation more uncompromisingly than was justified. In a piece critical of Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin reveals a level of nuance in his thought and approach to both Poland and Ireland's national question (Lenin: 1960b, pp. 669 – 676). In concluding a brief critical appraisal of Marx's thought on Ireland he states that ...the working class should be the last to make a fetish of the national question, since the development of capitalism does not necessarily awaken all nations to independent life' (Lenin: 1960b, p. 671).

However, Bew et al. state that like Marx and Engels, Lenin was more interested in the question of Home Rule than any other factor (1979, p. 2). This places a high degree of importance on the national question in terms of Ireland receiving Home Rule, or independence from Britain. Although, in terms of internal politics, Lenin also saw national independence for European nations as a necessary precursor to democracy, within which class struggle has the most relevance (Bew et al: 1979, p. 14). As with Marx and Engels, Lenin's interest was one of pragmatic politics and that translated into a general theory that turned on anti-Imperialism.

For Lenin, Imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism', and the search for new materials, markets and sources of labour, within the context of the consolidation of capitalism into monopolies and cartels, forced national capitalism to globalise (1960a). This frenetic activity and expansion was a sign of growing weakness and impending collapse. Any resistance to imperialism was therefore resistance against capitalism. Subsequently, Lenin ...supported...the 1916 uprising...as it was part of an international struggle against imperialism' (Martin: 1982, pp. 57 – 58).

As with Marx and Engels, Lenin argued that the English working-classes interests had become virtually indistinguishable from the liberal bourgeoisie (Lenin: 1960b, p. 674). Before then, it was generally assumed that the Irish question would

be solved after revolution in Britain: as Lenin writes, ‘At first Marx thought that Ireland would not be liberated by the national movement of the oppressed nation, but by the working-class movement of the oppressor nation’ (1960b, p. 674). However, the realisation of the fact that liberal-democratic (and hence capitalistic) values had come to dominate British society and the working-class movement itself, caused a rethink of the analysis. Lenin states that this is due to the fact that in ‘England’, ‘...the bourgeois revolution had been consummated long ago. But it has not yet been consummated in Ireland’ (1960b, p. 674). Proletarian emancipation should have liberated Ireland before the emerging phase of nationalism crystallised (1960b, p. 674).

Like Marx and Engels, Lenin saw Ireland in the wider context of social revolution. They each regarded nationalism as an acceptable if problematic vehicle for anti-imperial struggle against Britain. Marx and Engels argued that it was necessary for the capitalist links between the two countries to be severed before Britain could undergo revolution. Lenin saw Irish liberation as a part of the wider struggle against imperialism, and hence, against vulnerable capitalism. Like Marx and Engels, he acknowledged problems with the Fenian movement’s nationalistic (bourgeois) ideology, but nevertheless accepted them as *the* progressive force. Marx, Engels and Lenin have been criticised for basing their analysis on unscientific criteria and without, what they would consider, due analysis of concrete social and economic factors. Some of Marx, Engels and Lenin’s key assumptions and tactics were formulated into a ‘Traditional’ Marxist position and became the theoretical terrain upon which ‘Revisionist’ Marxists took the most exception.

Rosa Luxemburg

Luxemburg's most relevant work regarding Ireland revolves around the debate of the right of nations to self-determination (Davis: 1976). In this she took a theoretical position that was in places antagonistic to Marx, Engels and Lenin. Luxemburg argued that there would be tension between the aims and ideology of nationalist movements and socialist ideals (Davis: 1976, pp. 9 – 45). It is true that both Marx and Engels were aware of the potential problem here. Lenin also reproached Luxemburg for the assumption that Marx was not aware of the inherent problems this theoretical position created (Lenin: 1960b, pp. 669 – 676). However, she did argue with greater voracity of the potential failure of using nationalism to attain socialism. As we shall see, her argument has been historically vindicated.

Luxemburg was concerned with the consequences of the realisation national self-determination. This essentially turned on the fact that within class society, the ruling class constitute the 'people' (Davis: 1976, p. 15). Therefore, national self determination would simply galvanise bourgeois power. The turmoil present with the general resentment felt towards an occupying or colonial force would be perverted if directed into nationalism, and not socialism.

On this point, Luxemburg differed from Lenin who advocated the secession of colonised national entities, although he saw the distinction between purely class and nationalist struggle (Lenin: 1960b, pp. 684 – 687). Luxemburg opposed this fragmentation, arguing that smaller national groupings would be better to stay within the control of the occupying nation. She was convinced that the '...proletariat of the advanced nations, making common cause with the minor nationalities [would] overthrow capitalism and bring freedom to the smaller nationalities and to the colonies from the centre' (Davis: 1976, p. 16). As noted above, this was Marx's initial position regarding the Irish Question: that the working classes of Britain would rise up and free the Irish. We also saw that Marx changed his position once he realised that

the English working-classes were antagonistic to the Irish and were too wedded to bourgeois ideology. Ultimately, Marx adjusted his position, arguing that Ireland would have to undergo revolution first.

Here we see that Luxemburg fell out of line with Marx on the analysis of Ireland. Interestingly, Marx had made his revision before Luxemburg began her work on the topic. Marx was right in that the English working-classes would not come to Ireland's rescue: Lenin was right in that the most effective tactical position to adopt against imperialism was nationalistic in character and Luxemburg was right in that nationalist agitation fundamentally, when successful, serves the working classes up to the interests of the ruling class¹⁴. The example of the Republic of Ireland illustrates this point perfectly and we shall look at it in detail in chapter 4.

The fact that Ireland, and subsequently, Northern Ireland, did not make the transition to socialism is certainly poignant. The Republic of Ireland immediately retreated into its own social, cultural and political dynamic, and while it maintained a territorial claim over Northern Ireland in its Constitution, it did very little to bring unification about. After a period of stagnation, the Republic then implemented reforms that maximised conditions favourable to Foreign Direct Investment, a core component of neo-liberal capitalism.

James Connolly

The linkage here between the work on Ireland by the prominent socialist theorists above and the more contemporary views expounded by Traditional and Revisionist Marxists is provided by the work of James Connolly. Connolly was a prominent union

¹⁴ Hardt and Negri speak about the elites that emerge in a post colonial nation who hand their population up to global capitalism. The case of the Republic of Ireland fits in with their argument snugly. Sean Lemass, the leader who replaced Eamonn De Valera, abandoned his predecessor's nationalist economy, and opened the Irish economy to international investment, nurtured ties with the domestic business community (Bew et al: 1989, pp. 91 - 107). In this regard, the transition from a protectionist/national to a neo-liberal economy are striking.

organiser, socialist orator and writer, and a contemporary of Luxemburg. Like Luxemburg, he died for his cause. While Luxemburg was murdered by Frei Corps paramilitaries after the Spartakus uprising in 1919 (Nettl: 1969, pp. 486 – 489), Connolly was executed by British army firing squad shortly after the failed Easter Rising of 1916.

Whyte describes Connolly as the first Marxist to systematically analyse Ireland (1991, p. 175). Connolly's analyses in many ways centred on his contention that the Protestant working-classes were duped into the Protestant bloc: that their interests were purchased with a slender advantage (a labour aristocracy) over the Catholic working-classes¹⁵. For Connolly, Irish independence from Britain was ..a first prerequisite for socialism' (Martin: 1982, p. 58). Ireland must be separated from Britain totally before any advance towards socialism could be made.

However, Connolly was also aware of the problematic nature of using nationalism to attain socialism. This attitude was articulated in his often quoted statement from 1897, If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic, your efforts would be in vain' (Connolly: 1948, p. 25). Nevertheless, while being aware of the conservative forces at work in the nationalist movement, he still saw the Protestant ruling class's hegemonic control of the Protestant working-class as the greatest obstacle to realising socialism.

Connolly was born in 1870, the year that the Home Rule League was founded (see Moody: 1978, p. 21). As such, by the time he was articulating his socialist position, the most advanced and potent force for removing the British from Ireland was already nationalist in character. It would be difficult to overstate the impact that the Home Rule Movement had on many Protestants in Ireland, scores of whom held

¹⁵ For a Traditional Marxist analysis of, the Protestant labour aristocracy' argument, see Farrell (1976, pp. 14 – 17); for a Revisionist Marxist position, see Bew et al. (1979).

republican beliefs and previously supported independence from Britain. Its growing momentum provoked a militant reaction within the Protestant community; a core of whom threatened to derail Home Rule if passed by Westminster—by force if necessary. According to Stewart, the spectre of Home Rule caused many Irish Protestants to ‘[close] their ranks’, forcing some liberal elements to become ‘Conservative overnight’ (1997, p. 166). Consequently, Connolly was arguing for Green socialism in a country already polarising along ethno-lines.

Connolly saw the nationalist problem from a different perspective than Luxemburg. Luxemburg perceived the dilemma from a class viewpoint, seeing that the national bourgeoisie would use the national struggle to maintain control over the working-class once the occupying force had been removed. Connolly argued that merely changing the government of Ireland would leave Britain’s economic apparatus in place, and would see the continued exploitation of the Irish working-classes by Britain (Martin: 1982, p. 58; Connolly: 1948, p. 25). Both positions have turned out to be correct.

Connolly, like Kautsky, had a better understanding of the sectarian problem in Ireland: although, the violence of the Troubles showed Connolly’s analysis to be verging on utopian. He believed, as we saw above, that the strengthening of the notions of loyalty of the Protestant working-class to Britain was the result of the political manipulation of the Protestant ruling-classes (Connolly in Whyte: 1991, p. 176). Martin writes that Connolly did not entertain the possibility that any class had a material interest in maintaining the union with Britain (Martin: 1982, p. 58). The assumption that Protestant workers were duped informed the Traditional Marxist position until the reaction of the Protestant working-class (see McGarry and O’Leary: 1995, pp. 138 – 139) to the civil rights movement in the late 1960s. This ‘reactionary’ activity of the Protestant working-classes brought many of Connolly’s central arguments into question. Working-class Protestants, in some cases only nominally

better off and in some cases worse off than Catholic workers, chose religious rather than class allegiances.

Connolly was executed at the beginning of a process that eventually saw the division of Ireland along ethno/religious lines. After several decades of relative stability, Northern Ireland erupted into violence based also on ethno-national divisions. Marxist class analysis was severely undermined. However, the debates continued between partition and the Troubles, and as we have seen already, the debate itself conformed in some way to the prevalent divide. While a purely class based analysis was virtually impossible to sustain, the emerging radicalism of the 1960s coupled with the decolonisation movements provided new terrain for Marxist analysis.

The Radical Shift: Decolonisation and 1968

Traditional Marxism

As a part of the seemingly global reaction against colonialism and capitalism in the late 1960s, the explosion of violence in Northern Ireland attracted considerable attention from Marxist writers. The fact that the violence appeared initially sectarian and not class based in the strict Marxist sense was somewhat problematic to the Traditional analysis. Nevertheless, as Whyte writes, When the troubles began in 1968, Marxism was enjoying a revival in Western intellectual circles, and it is not surprising that a number of the early analyses were written from a more or less Marxist standpoint' (1991, p. 177)¹⁶.

Traditional Marxism in Northern Ireland developed directly from the work of Connolly. Whyte states that the Marxists theorists that emerged in this period

¹⁶ See Martin: 1982, pp. 58 – 62; McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, pp. 62 – 91 and Whyte: 1991, p. 177 – 182 for detail on those who have written within the Traditional Marxist tradition after Connolly.

‘...updated Connolly’s interpretation to take account of the fifty-odd years which have passed since his execution’ (1991, pp. 179 – 180). Traditional Marxism is generally associated with a republican/nationalist position and moved steadily towards a narrative of national liberation. The colonial question and the associated socio/economic marginalisation of the Catholic population form its core. For Traditional Marxists:

Northern Ireland was governed by a capitalist class which kept the working classes repressed and divided. Two main devices were employed by the capitalists to bring this about. The first was to beat the sectarian drum. Whenever Catholic and Protestant workers showed signs of uniting, employers riposted by stirring up Protestant fears of a Roman Catholic take-over. The second technique was differential discrimination. Though Protestant workers were exploited by their bosses, they were given a narrow but visible margin over their Catholic workmates (Whyte: 1991, p. 180).

While this analysis was not antithetical to Revisionist Marxists in general, it did differ in its interpretation of the failure of cross community working-class unity. Revisionist Marxists objected to this ‘simplistic’ and ‘rationalistic’ analysis of the relationship between the Protestant working and upper-classes. However, first-hand accounts from working-class loyalist paramilitaries do legitimise, to a certain extent at least, the notion that such a mechanism existed within Protestant politics and was applied when expedient (see Taylor: 2000; Stevenson: 1996, p. 76).

Fundamentally, the main theses advanced by Traditional Marxists centred on the British colonial presence in Ireland; the ‘exogenous’ argument (McGarry and O’Leary: 1995, p. 63; Martin: 1982). For Traditional Marxists, social progress was embodied in the fight to liberate Ireland from Britain. This must be understood within the anti-colonial struggles at the time that contained a certain utopian element. The fact that Traditional Marxism is often referred to as ‘Anti-Imperial’ illustrates the centrality of Britain to its theoretical position (see Martin: 1982). Socialist progress would then be facilitated by the new institutions of a United Ireland. The emerging

Revisionist Marxists disagreed. They saw the Republic of Ireland as a backward, agrarian nation verging on a 'theocracy' (Martin: 1982, p. 64). For Revisionist Marxists, British socio-scientific progress was clearly the better vehicle for advancing socialism in Ireland.

The second point refers to the question of nationality, and in particular whether Protestants were Irish or British. Traditional Marxists take their cue again from Connolly, who asserted that there was 'one-nation' in Ireland and that through class-consciousness; the Protestant working-classes would see that they are Irish, and not British. Connolly, however, remarked that the industrially advanced North-East corner of Ireland¹⁷, where the Protestant working-classes were numerically superior, was paradoxically for Marxism, the least class-conscious region in Ireland. He remarked that 'As a cold matter of fact, it is the happy hunting ground of the slave-driver and the home of the least rebellious slaves in the industrial world' (Connolly: 1948, pp. 101 – 102). Whyte writes that the '...implication is that the Protestant working class, if it had not been stirred up by the policy of discrimination and the ideology of Protestant supremacy', would have been instinctively Irish rather than British' (Connolly in Whyte: 1991, pp. 180 – 181; see also Bew et al: 1979, pp. 6 – 8).

Essentially, the analysis suggests that nationalism and sectarianism, as they relate to Protestant working-class hostility to Catholics and working-class solidarity, are both tools used by the ruling classes – both indigenous and exogenous – to undermine socialism. Martin, who concludes that Traditional, rather than Revisionist, Marxism is more effective in analysing Northern Ireland, considers the Traditional Marxist's assumption that the Protestant working-class are 'dupes' to be the 'greatest weakness' of the 'Green' approach (1982, p. 60).

The concept of the irreformability of the state is essentially the final argument regarding the role of Britain in Ireland. Importantly for Traditional Marxists, given the

¹⁷ The area that would become Northern Ireland.

closeness of the state and the ruling classes in Northern Ireland¹⁸, sectarianism will always be a feature of politics as the state is unreformable'. The proof was to be seen in the political settlement' after the Troubles broke out (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 67; Whyte, pp. 190 – 191). With the assumption that there was a natural, ontological tendency towards socialism, the evidence of the state holding this at bay informed the conclusion that it could not serve as a vehicle for introducing true democracy and socialism. Sir Basil Brooke's well cited quote where he urged Ulster Protestants to refrain from employing Catholics, as they are disloyal to Ulster (see Rose: 1971, p. 95), illustrates the depth of the perception of the state's irreformability. It is cited by nationalist and/or left leaning writers as evidence of structural sectarianism (see Farrell: 1976, pp. 90 – 91).

There are certain arguments made by Traditional Marxists that resonate with their discourse on discrimination and power relations. For example, it is difficult to argue that for many Catholics, Britain's role over the centuries has been detrimental at best and sometimes murderous at worst. The Hansards of the British parliament and Puritan political pamphlets circulated among the political elite betray the sometimes outright odious attitude of the English/British ruling-class to the Catholics of Ireland (Murphy: 1896, pp. 44 – 45). Stewart argues that Ireland is the birthplace of English and subsequently British colonial theory' (1997, p. 34) and colonial racism: an old and close colony where Othering' was created and refined before being turned on the world (Canny: 1973; Metress: 1996, p. 50).

In addition, the argument that the Protestant working-classes were manipulated by the upper-classes to secure consent for their rule, and also to mobilise them against Catholic emancipation and liberation objectives was also made by members of the Protestant working-class (Taylor: 2000, pp. 49 – 50; Stevenson:

¹⁸ In the near total absence of class politics in Northern Ireland, the middle and upper-classes were able to govern the country almost exclusively. The Ulster Unionist Party ruled uninterrupted between 1920, until Direct Rule by Westminster was implemented in 1972 (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 45).

1996, p. 76). Finally, the fact that, for Marxists at least, the removal of the state in Northern Ireland, embodied by the Stormont government, was a necessary precondition for socialism also seems theoretically logical. However, as the carnage of the early Troubles increased and it became evident that the Provisional¹⁹ IRA—a fundamentally conservative, Catholic organisation with very little remaining in the way of ‘Marxist’ socialism (see Bishop and Mallie: 1987)—was the central nationalist/republican organisation, Marxists began to re-assess the theoretical terrain.

Revisionist Marxism

Martin, McGarry and O’Leary and Whyte all place the emergence of Revisionist Marxism after the explosion of violence in the late 1960s. Their thought derives from the emerging French school of Marxism, from the thought of Althusser, Balibar and Poulantzas (McGarry and O’Leary: 1995, p. 145). For many emerging Revisionist Marxists, the conditions on the ground in Northern Ireland contradicted the Traditional Marxist account to such a degree that a fresh analytical approach was necessary²⁰. While Traditional Marxists were theoretically bound to the 19th and early 20th centuries, Revisionists explored the new ideological terrain using novel concepts developed in the late 1960s.

For Martin, Revisionist Marxists ‘...questioned and rejected many of the basic tenants of the traditional, i.e, [Green] anti-imperialist approach’ (1982, p. 63). These Marxists reassessed the question of national liberation and advanced arguments around the notion of uneven development within Ireland. They concluded that Britain

¹⁹ The Republican movement split in 1969 when a core group who were more influenced by nationalism and Catholicism, broke from the group that advocated political settlement and solidarity with the Protestant working-class (Smith: 1997, pp. 83 – 84, 87). The breakaway group, the Provisional IRA, became known simply as the IRA or ‘Provos’. The Provos adopted a definite, uncomplicated nationalist stance and positioned its struggle as one of national liberation.

²⁰ However, Revisionist Marxists are not ideologically homogenous. The movement was organic and many Revisionists arrived at their positions independently of ethno-nationalist impetus (McGarry and O’Leary: 1995, pp. 139 – 167).

was not the core problem (Martin: 1982, p. 63). They saw the North East of the island as an industrialised economy and the South as primarily agrarian. For Revisionists, the tension and conflict derived mainly from this material division. Consequently, the rejection of the centrality of British imperialism in the conflict calls Irish nationalism immediately into question; certainly the actions of militant republicanism are seen as reactionary and antithetical to the progress towards socialism (1982, p. 63). For Revisionist Marxists, the recognition of the Protestant majority's right in Northern Ireland to self determination is a first step towards socialism' (Martin: 1982, p. 64). The point of schism here between both schools of thought is fundamental; in order to realise socialism, Revisionists require Britain's ongoing presence and Traditional Marxists require Britain's removal.

The key figures associated with the development of Revisionist Marxism include the British and Irish Communist Organization (BICO) and a core of authors, notably Paul Bew, Henry Patterson, Paul Teague and Peter Gibbon. The latter group have worked in various combinations and have produced influential works on Irish and Northern Irish politics from the Revisionist Marxism position. These authors are often referred to in the literature as among the most influential Revisionist Marxists²¹ although McGarry and O'Leary refer to them as left-wing unionists' (1995, p. 138).

In one of their core texts, Bew et al. (1979) pay particular attention to Connolly, and specifically to his contribution to Traditional Marxism. They state that Marxism in Ireland is in danger of extinction' due, in part, to the lethargic acceptance of the Green' Marxist analysis (1979, p. 1; see also Martin: 1982, p. 69). BICO, through their analysis of uneven development in Ireland²², came to the conclusion that there were indeed two-nations present in Ireland (Whyte: 1991, p. 183). This is in contrast to the Traditional Marxist assumption that there was only one-nation. This

²¹ As of writing, Paul Bew is a political adviser to the former leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, David Trimble. Trimble has recently left the UUP and joined the UK Conservative party. Bew was once a leading figure in Irish Marxism, and now advises a conservative politician.

²² See Baran (1973) for the Marxist debate on development at the time.

gave BICO members an endogenous reason—uneven economic development—for the ethnic tensions that developed into violence. For BICO members, Britain was not the principal cause of the conflict, and if anyone was responsible, it was ‘...bourgeois Catholic nationalists in the south’ (Whyte: 1991, p. 183). Revisionist Marxism provided a significant alternative position to the Traditional Marxist focus on Britain and imperialism as the core problem.

The question of progress emerged from the critical engagement of Revisionist Marxists with their Traditional opponents. As we saw, Fenian agitation was critically supported by Marx as a problematic but expedient vehicle for advancing revolution across Ireland and England. The 1916 Rising was supported by Lenin for similar reasons of insurrectional expediency. Although ‘republicanism’ in Ireland, before the Home Rule Movement, was inclusive of all religious denominations, republicanism, from the late 19th century onwards, was mainly Catholic. However, Revisionist Marxists generally advance the argument that modern republicanism is not inherently progressive. For these Marxists, the best tactic for realising socialism lay in maintaining the union with Britain²³.

Marxist writers connected to BICO were, according to McGarry and O’Leary, more extreme in their analysis of the question of progress²⁴. They write that BICO:

...regarded the Union as more important than working-class union, believed uncritically in the benefits of British rule in Ireland and elsewhere; justified, or denied discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland; and called for hard-lined measures against the IRA, but not against loyalist paramilitaries. Its Orangeism was evident in its retrospective support for the Williamite settlement in Ireland, which it regarded as unqualifiedly progressive (1995, p. 139; see also Martin: 1982, p. 64).

²³ Bew et al. write that this was not the first time that socialists in Ireland objected to cutting ties with Britain. They write that ‘...Belfast socialists dissented from demands for Home Rule on the grounds of the general economic and cultural backwardness of the south, which could be remedied by only inclusion in the United Kingdom, where the strength of progressive forces was greater (1979, pp. 16 – 17)’.

²⁴ Interestingly, according to Whyte, some members of BICO were from the Catholic community, and had originally held a Traditional Marxist position (1991, pp. 182 – 183).

However, Whyte argues that not all Revisionist Marxists believed ‘unqualifiedly’ in the progressive nature of the British state (1991, p. 189). Notwithstanding this variation in Revisionist Marxists view of British progress, BICO and Bew et al. are seen as the most influential writers of the movement.

The question of the autonomy of the Protestant working-class provided another important site for diametrically opposed arguments between the two positions. As previously noted, the Traditional position simply stated that the Protestant working-classes had been duped by their masters. Sectarianism was seen as the tool for achieving and maintaining this control. Revisionist Marxists argued against this, stating that there were serious, material, as well as ‘spiritual’ and ideological reasons why the Protestant working-class opposed, and should oppose, Catholic, nationalists unification. In discussing the overall analysis of influential Traditional Marxists, Michael Farrell and Eamonn McCann, Martin states that the:

...greatest weakness of...[their] approach is [the] treatment of the Protestant working class...he [Farrell] fails to appreciate the extent to which all Northern Protestants had gained deep economic, social and political, as well as religious reasons for rejecting the campaign for Home Rule (Martin: 1982, p. 60).

For Revisionists, the Protestant working-class had concrete, material reasons for their loyalty to Britain, as opposed to the idea of a Catholic republic.

The question of the possibility of reform of the Northern Irish state provided another core site for disagreement. Traditional Marxists considered the state to be unreformable. Naturally, for Marxism, refracted through and influenced by Traditional principles, the ‘Orange state’ (Farrell: 1976) had to be overthrown before socialism could be realised. Revisionist Marxists, in general, disagreed with this analysis; this objection was linked to the indigenous/exogenous argument, the two-nations concept and the argument regarding socio-political progress.

For example, Whyte writes that Bew et al. argue that the state is not inherently reactionary' (Whyte: 1991, p. 190). Bew et al. write that the problem of the involvement of the British state in Northern Ireland lies not in its existence but in its specific forms' (quoted in Whyte: 1991, p. 190). These authors deny that reform has been tried and has failed' and that a future left-wing British government could do much more' (Whyte: 1991, p. 190). This problematises the Traditional Marxist contention that the state has reached a status-quo' with the progressive forces of nationalism.

Within the context of the two-nations argument, Revisionist Marxists accept the distinct national qualities of the Protestant community. They believe that the state in Northern Ireland is essential if the Protestant nation is to be protected and respected (Martin: 1982, pp. 63 – 64). If Protestants represent a separate nation, then the destruction of the state and the absorption of the North of Ireland into a United Ireland would represent nothing short of the subjugation of one national group to another, much the same way that Traditional Marxists contextualise the relationship between Britain and Catholic Ireland. This protection is seen by Revisionist Marxists as a first step towards socialism' (Martin: 1982, p. 64). Here the progressive characteristics of Britain and the progressive potential of the British state are both held to be crucial. For Revisionist Marxists, the prospects for socialism within a united Catholic nationalist Ireland would be non-existent.

It does appear, however, that both traditions borrowed selectively from the existing, and emerging Marxist cannon in order to justify their own political positions. Traditional Marxists positioned themselves around the concept of national liberation while their Revisionist counterparts worked to justify the status-quo on one hand, and to counter the use of Marxism to justify national liberation on the other. While mired in Marxist theory that held more relevance in the 19th century, both schools of thought could not accommodate the latest changes in a dynamic conflict. Revisionists sought

to privilege the idea of British ‘progress’ at the expense of the reality of colonial relations. As with most ideas and practices in Northern Ireland, Marxism itself was, to varying degrees, stretched across the sectarian divide.

Conclusion

The discussion as to which school of thought was more successful can be seen as more or less unresolved. There is no evidence of progress toward socialism; be it within the Irish Republic, or British liberalism. The contrary is true. Both states have embraced the orthodox neo-liberal version of capitalism. Of the Marxist theorists who wrote on Ireland prior to partition, Kautsky is probably the most prescient, seeing the problems and complexities of both the Protestant working-class support for capitalism, and the potentially negative socially conservative features of the Catholic cultural revival.

The long term review of the various Marxist positions is illuminating as the theories and predictions of the various revolutionaries, theorists and politicians, while having at least some relevance analytically, have failed completely in predictive terms. The question of national liberation, that dominated, directed and constrained the analytical and tactical engagement of thinkers from Marx to Bew proved too difficult to surmount. It is unsurprising then, in the general shift towards more nuanced analysis elsewhere, that the decline of Irish Marxism should prompt the rise of the studies of ethno-nationalism and identity. However, in the utilisation of these analytical tools, as an alternative to the unsatisfactory Marxist accounts, it must be said that they too have to a large extent, also failed.

What is highlighted is the importance of historical conjunctures in influencing both ideology on the ground and in academic analysis. From within the upheavals of the middle of the 19th century, advanced industrial countries looked certain to

undergo revolution. The totalising binaries of capital/labour, and/or imperial/anti-imperial were dominant. As the complexities of identity, nationalism and ideology became clearer to Marx and Engels, they reassessed their position. Once again, during the period of the October Revolution, the analysis was conditioned by the wider political landscape. This was repeated again in 1968, where radical politics seemed to guarantee (again) Ireland its transition to socialism. The dissolution of the USSR can be seen as the end point of Marxist analysis with primacy on the class/revolution nexus.

Prior to building the core argument of the thesis, it is necessary to analyse the various schools of thought that largely replaced Marxism. These varied positions, like the classical, Traditional and Revisionist Marxists, have strengths and weaknesses. However, like Marxists interpretations through the 1960s and 1970s that eventually foundered with the shifting political and economic context, these varied positions, that I will be referring to as intractability arguments, also suffered with the social, economic and political terrain, shifting beneath their feet. The critique of analysis based on historical conjuncture continues through the next chapter, where the intractability arguments are analysed.

Chapter 2

The Intractability of Violence

As noted in chapter 1, when the Troubles broke out in the late 1960s, Marxism in general was undergoing a resurgence of interest within academia. The social tumult at that time that included student movements in the west, popular uprisings in Soviet satellite states and decolonisation in the developing world; in many ways reinvigorated post-Stalin Marxist thought. As Tony Judt writes on the intellectual climate of Europe at that time, ‘...anyone wishing to understand the world must take Marxism and its political legacy very seriously’ (Judt: 2005, p. 401). In the early phase of the Troubles, many who were sympathetic to Marxism, in both its revolutionary and analytical forms, found no serious contradictions in applying the Marxist theoretical framework to Northern Ireland. For Traditional Marxists at least, marginalised Catholics were engaged in conflict with the security forces of the imperialist British Crown in a struggle that was seen in terms of resistance against an imperial settler class.

However, just as the conflict initially legitimated elements of Marxist thought, its intensification and trajectory undermined it. The Traditional reading had to make sense of an increasingly sectarian rather than class based conflict. The applicability of Marxism to the Troubles became, for a core of theorists, acutely problematised due to the religious cleavage. Consequently, many academics explored the Troubles outside of Marxism and, were increasingly critical of Marxist analysis of the Irish Question. For those who looked for more effective analytical concepts, Marxism was seen as anachronistic. As the radical late 1960s became contained, Marxist theory splintered into mini-narratives and was seen as no longer functional in either an analytical or a political form and its applicability to Ireland lost relevance.

While the ethno-nationalist and sectarian nature of the conflict at the time must be seen as important, the shift away from Marxist theoretical analysis was in keeping with the rise of postmodern political analysis, a movement summed up by Lyotard as ‘...incredulity towards metanarratives’ (Lyotard: 1986, p. xxiv). The prominence and proliferation of questions regarding ethnicities, identities and nationalities within analytical work on Northern Ireland certainly shows the degree to which postmodern analysis was embraced. This postmodern turn occurred at the expense of materialist readings; concomitantly, materialism, economism, and certainly economic reductionism, came in for critical treatment.

This chapter analyses the relationship between the initial Marxist theories on Ireland and the emerging intractability arguments that were formulated within postmodern conceptions of social cleavage. It will do so by first analysing the ‘intractability’ arguments which essentially state that the conflict in Northern Ireland cannot be resolved, at least in the foreseeable future. While many of these arguments do not state that the conflict is irresolvable as such, they do suggest that if the problems elucidated by their particular area of research are not rectified, conflict and violence will continue. Nevertheless, many see the problematical associated phenomenon in their particular area of research as being far too complicated to be resolved in the near future; and most certainly do not think that conflict could be undermined by economic growth or the redistribution of wealth.

Marxists were not alone in thinking that the sectarian conflict was underpinned by economics, and intractability thinkers criticise these positions as well. For example, Rose writes that Terrence O’Neill, the ‘liberal’ Prime Minister of Northern Ireland in 1963, considered the economic incorporation of the Catholic population into the state as essential in creating their ‘...allegiance to the regime’ (1971, p. 276). A similarly optimistic view was held by ‘Successive Conservative governments’ and ‘British Cabinet ministers’ (Rose: 1971, pp. 275 – 276). In this sense, it is a similar

sentiment to that held by Neville Chamberlain, who stated in 1920 that “...every spadeful of manure dug in, every fruit tree planted” converted a potential revolutionary into a citizen’ (Macintyre: 1999, p. 416). This was recognition that participation in the system of private property, or at least the perception that participation was possible, subverted revolution. It informed many reform policies. However, during the Troubles, economic incorporation of Catholics failed to stop the violence. So, the failure of real attempts to ameliorate the conflict, in addition to the increasing failure of Marxist thinkers to account for the violence, strengthened the intractability arguments.

Many of the intractability arguments centralise what are seen as the non-negotiable forces of outrage, militancy and ethno-nationalist solidarity of the Catholic community. Consequently, the conflict is then reinforced by the collision of this resistance with similar, equally non-negotiable forces within the Protestant community and the British state. For the intractability arguments, the factors that perpetuate the violence are much more complicated than the distribution of wealth or the notion of class mobility. Subsequently, any argument that suggests materialism is somehow central to the conflict is viewed as dubious.

Two of the most comprehensive and influential overviews of the conflict produced, Whyte (1991) and McGarry and O’Leary (1995) deal with Marxist analysis in detail and judge the various associated approaches to have useful aspects, but to be, by and large, deficient. The emerging alternative arguments focused on, among other factors, identity²⁵, sectarianism, nationalism and ethnicity. As this chapter will show, many writers regarded accounts that privileged economics as unsophisticated, anachronistic and harbour at least some ideological hostility to Marxism.

²⁵ While identity is important, the negotiable nature of identity means that it should not be seen as an obstruction to the resolution of the conflict. Chapters 5 and 6 look closely at identity, and in particular the ways it has changed dependent on shifts in the material socio-political landscape. The fluidity of identity, including the imperial binary, is important within Hardt and Negri’s argument regarding the ‘hybridity’ of the global neo-liberal capitalist system (2003, pp. 129, 138).

Nevertheless, most authors who advance an intractability argument do not reject economic phenomena entirely. For example, Rose, McGarry and O'Leary's position places primacy on the 'two-nation' argument, but includes economic analysis in their explanation of the Troubles. They do, however, suggest that economic factors contributing to violence are underpinned by the more important antagonisms of ethno-nationalism and religion. Whyte concedes that the study of Northern Irish politics '...would be the poorer if no Marxist had written on it' (1991, p. 191). He also makes a clear distinction between economic determinists and those who embraced the Althusserian views regarding the relative autonomy of the superstructure (1991, pp. 191 – 193). Most intractability arguments concede that several, if not all areas of investigation intersect in some way to contribute to the conflict. Subsequently, many simply see economics as a minor, contributing factor.

Nevertheless, materialist readings of the Troubles persisted beyond the accepted point of general theoretical decline. For example, the journal *Capital and Class* continued to publish materialist analysis, producing a special edition on Northern Ireland in 1999. A debate between Traditional and Revisionist Marxists occurred within the *New Left Review* in the mid 1990s. Individual Marxist authors continue to contribute also, for instance, Peter Shirlow is a Belfast based academic who has continued to advance materialist readings. Other academics, who may not necessarily classify themselves as Marxists (see Whyte: 1991, p. 188), do advance materialist analysis. For example, Mike Tomlinson, Paddy Hillyard and Bill Rolston are sometimes seen to operate on the 'Green' side of the divide (see Hillyard, Rolston and Tomlinson: 2005). McGarry and O'Leary cite them as 'left wing nationalist sympathisers' (1995, p. 62), however, Whyte speaks more favourably of some of their contributions (1991, p. 188).

Nevertheless, economy and materialism, as a central analytical focus in explaining the Troubles fell from favour. For example, in assessing his chapter

regarding Marxist thought on Ireland, Whyte outlines the various criticisms of Marxist analysis, the focus of which is an objection to economic determinism (1991, p. 192). Despite his defence of the value of Marxism towards understanding Ireland in general, he ultimately sees the approach as problematic. As Whyte wrote in summary of several authors with a shared scepticism towards economic analysis in the early 1990s, 'Economic conflicts, about the share-out of material benefits, are bargainable: conflicts about religion and nationality are non-bargainable and therefore much harder to resolve' (1991, p. 192).

Similarly, Burton suggests that for a political settlement to be a possibility there would need to be '...a lot of bargaining on non-negotiable issues (loyalty, nationality)' (Burton's parentheses, 1978, p. 156). He goes on to state that Marxists overplay economy in order to maintain the theoretical credibility of Marxist analysis in general (Burton: 1978, p. 157, also noted in Whyte: 1991, p. 192).

Under the sub-heading of 'The sins of materialism', McGarry and O'Leary argue that 'Treating national, ethnic and religious discourses as "superstructural"...does not advance understanding of Northern Ireland' (1995, p. 71). Like Burton, McGarry and O'Leary also argue that a tendency exists among Marxists (Traditional Marxists in particular) to manipulate their findings to suit the established theoretical structures of historical materialism and in some cases to support linkages between the economic marginalisation of Catholics and British imperial capitalism.

As we have seen in chapter 1, the sometimes uncritical links between Traditional Marxism and republicanism meant that this assertion was not without some merit. McGarry and O'Leary's contextualisation of militant republicanism and materialism is of particular interest to this thesis. They describe the prospect of '...several thousand IRA militants and ex-prisoners, surrendering their nationalist aspirations for jobs, or better jobs...' as '...a considerable leap of faith' (1995, p. 165).

However, what this assertion failed to conceptualise was the global economic change that shaped new politics. The image of Dr Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness seated together on an IKEA couch for the opening of the global chain's Belfast store²⁶ severely problematises their implication that republicanism was immune to materialist 'tappings'. We shall return to this very important point below.

Rose is equally dismissive of materialism. He omits it from what he believes to be the problems underpinning the Troubles (1976, pp. 7 – 17, 288). Later in the text, he describes the situation in Northern Ireland as 'insoluble', that in the terms of conventional representational politics, '...*there is no solution*' (Rose's emphasis, 1976, p. 139). The inflexibility of this assertion is striking, but probably reflects the high levels of violence at that time²⁷. The force and increasing influence of the intractability arguments was and remains considerable. Within the various analyses, there is one clear theme; that economics is peripheral to the Irish question, the violence associated with it, and its resolution.

In the interest of reasserting the relevance of materialist analysis regarding the conflict, it is necessary to critically evaluate the most prominent intractability arguments in more detail. The concepts of legitimacy, identity, nationalism and ethnicity, religion and sectarianism, territory and segregation, and lived experience will be analysed. The degree to which they are sometimes interlinked contributes to the certainty with which some of the authors seek to marginalise materialism. While this outline is not exhaustive, it does provide a substantial cross section of the core arguments against which the main argument of this thesis can be juxtaposed. More

²⁶ See *BBC News*, (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/8079313.stm). The Belfast IKEA store opened in December of 2007, one and a half years before IKEA opened in Dublin, the capital of the 'Celtic Tiger', in July of 2009.

²⁷ Only four years after what was the year in which the largest number of political killings took place, in 1972 (Sutton: 1994a).

comprehensive analysis of the differing positions already exists in McGarry and O'Leary (1995) and Whyte (1991)²⁸.

Legitimacy

The question of the legitimacy of the state is a central problem within the conflict. On the one hand, Catholics felt that the Stormont state was an illegitimate construction that, among other things, artificially placed them as a minority on an island in which they were part of the majority (Stewart: 1997, p. 175). Given Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister James Craig's proclamation that Stormont was a 'Protestant parliament for a Protestant people' (Porter: 1998, p. 86), Catholic concern had a solid foundation.

For Protestants, on the other hand, the analysis was comparably simpler given the discriminative colonial divide; the majority of people in Northern Ireland were Protestant, so Protestant socio/economic/political dominance was merely the logical outcome of democratic politics. Both communities see themselves as the legitimate, democratic political force and the other as illegitimate (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, pp. 241 – 242).

Protestant attitudes towards state legitimacy became increasingly problematic throughout the Troubles. For example, after the Anglo-Irish Agreement, loyalist paramilitaries engaged British security forces (Taylor: 2000, p. 182). However, by and large; Protestants accepted the authority and legitimacy of the state. If the conflict is crudely broken down, violence was largely between the British security forces and loyalist paramilitaries on one hand, and a variety of militant republican organisations on the other.

²⁸ While this thesis argues against the conclusions reached in these texts, the presentation of the cross-section of analysis is highly detailed.

For Rose, the question of the legitimacy of the state is central. He argues that 'Northern Ireland has always been governed without consensus' (1976, p. 15), and this fundamental lack of socio-political legitimacy is at the core of the conflict. He writes that one of the peculiarities of Northern Irish politics, born from historical antagonism and violence, is the normalisation of an extreme political landscape where 'rebels and disaffected citizens [are accepted] as facts of life' (1976, p. 16). Northern Ireland is seen as a province within which violence is a customary feature of the political culture. The democratic problem here, as argued by Rose, is the fact that the national aspirations of both communities are fundamentally antagonistic. The conclusions drawn from this argument have a certain validity, as we will see below, in several unsuccessful attempts to introduce a political solution to the Troubles. Each of these efforts to normalise politics were either totally overturned—as with the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973-4—or failed to function because of the near guarantee of violence should it be enacted, as with the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985.

Rose argues that national identity and political loyalty are critical factors contributing to large sections of the community not accepting the legitimacy of the government. Underpinning this crisis of legitimacy is religion. It is, he argues, '...central to political conflict in Ireland since the reformation of the sixteenth century' and '...informs political loyalties...with varying intensity ever since' (1976, p. 11). This creates a sealed political landscape informed by religion and tribalism. Similarly, Stewart argues that for Catholics, the Ulster state was unacceptable, even if the individual saw value in the maintenance of the Union with Britain, '...because as an Irishman and a Catholic he is bound by natural sentiment to the country of Ireland and to the communion of his church: his duties are national, and supranational' (1997, p. 175). While Stewart's argument is culturally reductionist, the relationship between religion and violence is clear.

By extension, in terms of economics, Rose argues that the collective is dominant over the individual. The Catholic, nationalist/republican has little interest in materialism. Here we see a level of symmetry between the positions of Rose and McGarry and O'Leary, who centralised the 'national aspirations' of republican militants and describe the Catholic community as '...a large extended family' (1995, p. 355). For Rose, the idea that violence has any basis in materialism is false. He states that 'The theory of buying allegiance fails because it assumes that individual aspirations are solely satisfied by the provision of private goods, i.e., personal economic benefits' (Rose: 1971, p. 300).

However, as will be argued in chapters 3, 4 and 5, the ascendancy of personal economic benefit over nationalist aspirations seems to have come to pass within the ideological shift to neo-liberalism. Subsequently, the legitimacy argument, while enjoying resonance for several decades, could be arguably outmoded, as evidenced in the cross-community support for the Northern Ireland Assembly. Certainly, the general lack of unified support for a single government in Northern Ireland was a considerable hurdle. Initially, the IRA fought a guerrilla campaign to secure, among other things, the demise of the 'unreformable' Stormont regime (Shirlow: 1997, p. 98). Direct rule from Britain was enacted in 1972, effectively bringing Stormont to an end, and '...the IRA...claimed the credit for having destroyed it' (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 170). One year later, the Sunningdale Agreement was signed in an effort to introduce a new system of power sharing governance to the province acceptable to Catholics, loyalists rallied on an enormous scale to undermine it (see Nelson: 1984, pp. 155-160; Taylor: 2000, pp. 127-137).

The province remained ruled remotely from Britain and in 1985 the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed to move the political question forward. This agreement was an initiative of Westminster and the government of the Irish Republic. The agreement emerged in a social and political climate of violence in the aftermath of the IRA

hunger strikes²⁹. It caused significant discord within the Protestant community, equivalent to that surrounding the protracted³⁰ Home Rule Movement and the Sunningdale Agreement. From the British perspective, the hunger strikes and the increasing electoral success of Sinn Féin were critical in prompting the then Thatcher government to seek a new political solution (Bew et al: 1997, p. 55). Although the agreement was vigorously resisted by the Protestant community, it did not suffer the same fate as Sunningdale. In effect, the Anglo-Irish Agreement remained intact. Porter notes, when the Frameworks for the Future³¹ document was drawn up it was seen by Protestants to reinforce the threat to Unionism' already posed by the Anglo-Irish Agreement (1998, p. 132).

Northern Ireland remained ruled from Westminster until May of 2007. Prior to this there were several failed attempts³² to reintroduce devolved government after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement³³. It was at this time when direct democratic governance returned to the province. The government is functioning effectively in spite of the fact that the two political parties involved are, on paper at least, diametrically opposed. Sinn Féin now accepts the policing of the province by the state. This point should not be underplayed and the dismay of many republicans who have maintained a more traditionally irredentist position on the issue, illustrates its importance (see McIntyre: 2006). Whatever fundamental and intractable objections the collective Catholic community had against the Stormont state—and the

²⁹ In the early 1980s, the British government under Prime Minister Thatcher sought to remove special-category or political status from republican prisoners. Republicans embarked on a series of hunger strikes that eventually resulted in the deaths of 10 prisoners, most notably Bobby Sands (Moloney: 2003, p. 208).

³⁰ The first Home Rule Bill was tabled in 1886, the second in 1893 and the third in 1912

³¹ The Frameworks documents were a precursor to the Good Friday Agreement and consequently, the Peace Process. They derived from talks between Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams and John Hume, the then leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (White, 2000).

³² The first devolved government commenced on the 1st of December 1999 and was suspended on the 11th of February 2000. The next devolved government operated between the 29th of May 2000, until the 14th of October 2002, albeit with two 24 hour tactical suspensions on the 10th of August and 21st of September 2001. The government remained suspended in effect until the 8th of May 2007. (see *CAIN Web Service*: Devolved Government in Northern Ireland).

³³ Known also as the Belfast Agreement and The Agreement.

repressive policing by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) (reformed as the PSNI)—have now largely disappeared.

It was, in the first place, impossible to see questions of the legitimacy of the state as distinct from economics. The emerging harmony between the Catholic middle-classes, a core of whom, as Shirlow argues, have concerns about losing their economic advantages in a united Ireland (Shirlow: 1997, p. 103), illustrates the fact that state legitimacy is no longer a significant issue. A very large percentage of the Catholic community voted in support of the Good Friday Agreement in the 1998 referendum and, subsequently voted for Sinn Féin, who openly campaigned on their intention to participate in government (Elliot: 2009, pp. 106 – 107).

One revealing example of this transition lies in the engagement of Sinn Féin in the Northern Ireland Assembly and in particular, the participation of IRA ‘volunteers’ within the government. Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness³⁴, Gerry Kelly and Martina Anderson³⁵ now engage in the governance of the province. Anderson was imprisoned for conspiracy in a mainland bombing campaign during the 1980s (Moloney: 2003, p. 483). Kelly is a Junior Minister in the Assembly and works as Sinn Féin spokesperson on Policing and Criminal Justice. In his prior life as an IRA volunteer, Kelly was arrested for his involvement in the Old Bailey bombing of 1973. After extradition to Northern Ireland he and 37 other republican prisoners escaped from prison in 1983, during which he wounded a prison guard. He subsequently spent a significant amount of time ‘on the run’ (Sharrock and Devenport: 1998, p. 277).

The state in Northern Ireland, while historically unacceptable to many Catholics, is now the legitimate site of politics and power. The engagement of militant

³⁴ Although, Adams has always maintained that he was never a member of the IRA. Sharrock and Devenport discuss at length the contention of Adams’ membership and his refutation (1998). McGuinness was a high profile member of the organisation. Moloney lists both men as having been IRA Chiefs of Staff (2003, p. 513).

³⁵ Anderson held the position of the Director of Unionist Engagement and is now the Equality and Human Rights spokesperson (see www.sinnfeinassembly.com/en/assembly-members/entry/5).

republicans in its administration and policing illustrates the extent of the transformation. With IRA weapons decommissioned, the state again holds the monopoly on legitimate violence. As Anthony McIntyre, a former IRA volunteer, prisoner and critic of the alleged ‘sellout’ of republicanism by Sinn Féin sardonically writes that, once republicans yelled out ‘up the Ra’ (the IRA), now they might as well call out ‘up the rozzers’ (the police) (2006). For some republicans, the inevitability of the failure of the republican strategic engagement policy is clear. For orthodox republicans, parliamentarianism cannot bring about unification.

Nationalism and Ethnicity

The argument that the conflict in Northern Ireland is a conflict between competing nationalisms, or ‘two-nations’, has a prominent place in the debate. Rose’s legitimacy argument can be seen as a component of the two-nation argument. It was also forwarded by Revisionist Marxists who rejected the Traditional analysis, which concluded that Protestants were duped into believing they were not Irish by the Protestant middle-class.

However, the argument, with the demise of Marxist analysis, is now grounded within a non-Marxist framework. Put simply, Catholics want Northern Ireland to be absorbed into an all Ireland republic; Protestants want Ulster to remain British. This contention has always been problematic, certainly as far as the Catholic community are concerned. There have always been, since the state’s inception, Catholics who either supported or were indifferent to the union. This concept will be addressed in detail in chapters 5 and 6. Nevertheless, the two-nation argument, as the central reason behind conflict, remains one of the most widely accepted analyses.

The argument that two nationalities are vying for one territory has been strengthened by some loyalist acceptance of this primarily republican position. By

accepting the notion that the conflict is one of nationalities, allows loyalists to avoid some of the objectionable implications of the colonial binary and associated sectarianism. Within the two-nation binary, they cease to be reactionary, sectarian 'hit men', and themselves become liberation fighters against republican sectarian oppression.

McGarry and O'Leary write that the '...conflict in Northern Ireland is ethno-national, a systematic quarrel between the political organisations of two communities who want their state to be ruled by their nation, or who want what they perceive as 'their' state to protect their nation' (1995, p. 354). For these authors, the ethno-national conflict is the root 'endogenous' cause of the conflict (1995, p. 356). The premise here is straightforward, one territory with two competing national groupings, neither of whom is willing to yield and both of which are³⁶ heavily armed, is bound to create violence. No negotiations and/or accommodations can erase the claim to national territory. McGarry and O'Leary state that the '...national nature of the Northern Ireland conflict appears better able to explain its intractability than class conflict – however disguised' (1995, p. 166). Once again, this statement has validity in a Marxist sense as the working classes of both communities fought each other and not the 'ruling' classes.

Yet, as will be argued below, the term 'nationalism' in Ireland must be viewed within a changing social, economic and political conjuncture. As a component of republicanism, nationalism was informed by the French Revolution. However, it gradually became synonymous with Catholicism. From the Cultural Revival of the 19th century onwards, nationalism grew in militancy, and became part of the overall narrative for national liberation from the British. In the North, its Catholic, irredentist values became most acute, and '...more unattractive to Protestants' (McGarry and

³⁶ This is an intentional use of present tense to reflect the authors' position at the time of writing in the mid 1990s. The Provisional IRA are now said to have decommissioned their entire arsenal. Loyalist paramilitaries currently remain in possession of their weapons. However, they are under increasing pressure to follow the IRA's lead.

O'Leary: 1995, p. 196). Under the leadership of the Provisional movement, republicanism became synonymous with Catholicism.

However, from the 1980s onwards, this conflation of republicanism and Catholicism began to break down on both sides of the Irish border. On the one hand, as with Catholics living within the newly prosperous Republic, nationalism began to lose its irredentist quality (Shirlow: 1997). As a discursive signifier, 'nationalism' retained much of its political symbolism. Nevertheless, as a political signifier describing political intent, the situation changed. Irredentist nationalists still exist on both sides of the Irish border; however, Catholics now have something to lose, and are becoming more conservative in their attitudes towards the divide³⁷.

For some Northern Catholics, capitalism linked to Britain is more desirable than an all Ireland republic. For some Southern Catholics, the risk of economic deterioration is of great concern (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 197). Additionally, as the neo-liberal ideology of 'enterprise man' and 'enterprise society' progressively erodes the concept of ethnic community, nationalism assumes the largely benign role it plays in most 'post-industrial' countries. Hybridity allows for the Other; hyphens smooth the harsh contests of nationalism over territory. The simple fact that 'nationalism' as a signifier remains in the province along with increasing peace and prosperity, illustrates the fact that something fundamental has changed.

Religion and Sectarianism

The sectarian thesis basically suggests that bigotry, rooted in the Protestant Plantations of the 17th century, is the central point of antagonism. For example, Rose (1971) places significant emphasis on the fact that Northern Irish society is segmented along a religious, rather than a class cleavage. As we have seen, the

³⁷ This contention forms the basis for chapters 5 and 6 and is one of the core elements of the thesis.

relationship of nationalism to Catholicism and loyalism/unionism to Protestantism shows that the two-nations argument is closely related to sectarianism.

In this view, religion and sectarianism are both seen as synonymous and intractable; indeed, acts of sectarian violence continue. Attacks against churches and Orange Order Halls continue and in 2007, at one of Belfast's few integrated schools, a proposal was considered for a 'peace-line' to be erected to protect Catholic homes that were attacked from the school's oval (Torney: 2007). Therefore, the importance of these two factors cannot be overlooked as Northern Irish society, in terms of geography and politics, is much more easily defined along the lines of religion. The fault lines are obvious, yet not impenetrable to economic forces under the right conditions. For past and present authors, they provide a serious, structural feature that will continue to create conflict in the province, but the global economy has fundamentally altered their theoretical significance³⁸.

Sectarianism retains tangible salience in Northern Irish politics. For example, one of the political mechanisms put in place to redress Catholic grievances surrounding discrimination and partisan policing, the 50:50 quota for Catholics in the 'reformed' PSNI, is controversial. Lister states that over seven hundred Protestant applicants have been rejected and this has led to an outcry of reverse discrimination from the Protestant community (Lister: 2007). The charge of reverse discrimination has been a feature of Protestant politics for several decades as the features of structural marginalisation were dismantled, and to a large degree, contextualise the Peace Process for many working-class Protestants (Murray: 2000).

Nevertheless, while there are substantial examples of the importance and salience of sectarianism in Ireland's history and contemporary socio-political arena, the argument that sectarianism is at the heart of the Troubles in Northern Ireland is

³⁸ Today, most schools continue to be segregated and as Professor Paul Connelly from the Queen's University Belfast said, '...many Catholic and Protestant children here still tend to live separate and parallel lives' (BBC: 2007).

problematic for several reasons. Sectarianism has not always dictated Irish politics. Initially, the conquests of Ireland commenced in the 12th century, several centuries before the Protestant reformation. These initial invasions were driven by a combination of strategic, security concerns, and opportunism from the English point of view (Somerset-Fry and Somerset-Fry: 1991, pp. 58 – 136).

Older, and perhaps much more commonly cited evidence lays in the fact that republicanism was not merely the preserve of Catholics. Radical middle-class Presbyterians of the United Irishmen movement of the late 18th century sought to liberate both themselves and Catholics from the discrimination of the Irish Church (Stewart: 1997, pp. 101 – 110).

The Home Rule Movement provides another example that undermines the sectarian argument. Like the United Irishmen movement almost a century earlier, it was largely a Protestant project. The Home Rule Movement was inaugurated in 1870 by Isaac Butt, a former Orangeman, and was led by Charles Stewart Parnell (Moody: 1978, p. 21). These major historical instances problematise the argument that sectarianism is the central factor that underpins violence. In these instances, Protestants themselves upheld and fought for republican principles and in several instances struggled to emancipate the Catholic population.

More contemporary evidence also reveals shifting generational attitudes towards the ‘Other’. For example, Shirlow writes that even in the small but ethnically charged Ardoyne area in Belfast, sectarianism was not always central. Pensioners cite that they had friends from the opposite community and are ‘..least likely to perceive the “other” community as a menacing spatial formation’ (2003, p. 85). This reveals both the spatialised and contemporary conditionality of sectarianism, rather than its alleged deep historical roots.

Additionally, arguments such as Rose’s were addressed by Marxists who analysed Ireland in particular, including Kautsky, who cited not only ideological

reasons as to why working-class Protestants and Catholics preferred to side with co-religionists rather than each other, but also material reasons why working-class Protestants avoided cross-community movements with Catholics. At a theoretical level, Rose's premise that economics did not permeate the boundaries of religion and sectarianism is somewhat suspect. It reveals a purely empirical analysis that, while supporting the argument that the massive ideological impetus in religion formed consciousness, it refuses to concede that this hegemonic mechanism in the hands of the Protestant ruling-class could subvert cross-class alliance.

Another more recent attempt to contextualise sectarianism in the conflict is found in Adrian Millar's work (2006). Millar argues against the idea that sectarian bigotry is no longer a key feature of Northern Irish politics. For Millar, the unconscious factors that underpin the relationship between the two communities actually creates the situation where bigots deny they have sectarian sensibilities. Few people, due to the repression of elements of their Self that they find uncomfortable, admit to bigotry; it is a value that they identify in the Other, not the Self (Millar: 2006, pp. 81 – 196). In short, Millar argues that bigotry remains in Northern Ireland; people simply do not and cannot admit to it³⁹.

The central argument for Millar is that sectarianism remains the dominant element within the subjects unconscious. It is sustained by the same mechanisms identified by Lacanian psychoanalysis that contribute to the general unhappiness felt by all. This unhappiness is driven by the desire to deprive the Other of their pleasure; ...the ival over jouissance' (2006, p. 200) and the perverse pleasure' derived by the subjects subaltern relationship with the Master. For Millar, sectarianism survives and

³⁹ In short, Millar's argument has several key problems. This includes the fact that his interview subjects are drawn from a very small pool of people who had first hand involvement in the Troubles. As a result, their value as subjective respondents is questionable. Paramilitaries, and the victims of paramilitary action, both tend to be working-class. If Millar had asked the same question to Catholics who had recently moved into the middle-class area of South Belfast, we would expect different responses (Cannon: 2007, pp. 673 – 675).

is suppressed by psychological phenomena that more traditional approaches to the analysis of the Troubles cannot identify.

Sectarianism, as a cause for the conflict and as a feature of the intractability arsenal of arguments, however, is an insufficient explanation for the violence of the Troubles. In some ways, it has fallen increasingly out of favour in analytical work on Northern Ireland. It has been relegated as a sometimes perverse form of Othering within the overall construction of identity and not so much a self-sustaining feature in its own right. While Millar's analysis has obvious importance in the Northern Irish context, it fails to convince as far too many instances of non-sectarian co-operation have existed in the country and the province of Northern Ireland. The rapidity with which militant republicans have managed to circumvent their ingrained and even unconscious hatred of the Other and of the state, also illustrates the problems associated with the sectarian intractability arguments.

The British Army: Operation Banner 1969 – 2007

While there is debate about the operational intention of introducing British troops into Northern Ireland⁴⁰, the army was initially welcomed by many Catholics as a protector, although it ..quickly ceased to be impartial and in nationalist eyes bears its share of the blame for occasioning violence' (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 33). The militant republican view is less flexible; for militants Violence is made in Britain' (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 32). Bishop and Mallie concluded their book on the IRA with the observation that violent Irish republicanism was ineradicable', conditioned on the British presence' in Ireland (1987, p. 359). They state that the violence of the modern Troubles, up to that point, had engrained the intractability of the conflict further. The

⁴⁰ For example, Dixon argues that the troops were ..not...deployed...to protect Catholics against...rampaging loyalist mobs' (2001, p. 105), they were sent to restore order to allow the local police to regroup and then, once this was achieved, leave (2001, p. 107).

point is obvious, the dialectical violence between militant republicans, (and sometimes loyalists), and the British army justifies and reinforces both the ongoing presence of the army and republican violence against it.

However, the fact that the British state and the Provisional republican movement were in dialogue with each other from 1974 onwards (Moloney: 2003, p. 14) puts this particular component of the analysis in question. The IRA decommissioned its weapons in September of 2005 (Elliot: 2009, p. 119) and Operation Banner, ended in 2007 (Oliver: 2007). The issue of the British army's presence, while fundamentally divisive at times, has become widely a non-issue. Attempts by splinter republican groups to reignite conflict with the army have not been successful, and the British army appears to be consciously trying to avoid the mistakes it made in the first five years of the conflict whereby its often indiscriminate, heavy-handed approach against all Catholics created legitimacy for the IRA. These issues are analysed in detail in chapter 5.

Territory and Segregation

The reality of segregation in Northern Ireland has created and reproduced violence (see Shirlow: 2003; Smyth and Campbell: 2005) and due to the religious demarcation of the division, segregation and sectarianism are interrelated. In Northern Ireland, the two communities need little reminding of the realities of geographical ethnic segregation (Boal and Douglas: 1982).

For example, interface violence in Belfast, violence that takes place where two enclaves meet, has been occurring at least since the middle of the nineteenth century. Industrialisation, as well as the Famine, saw an influx of Catholics into Belfast. The influx of people into the urban centres was staggering, Belfast's population grew ...fom 20,000 in 1800 to 349,000 in 1901' (McGarry and O'Leary:

1995, p. 72). Workforces settled into areas that were largely, although not initially wholly, religiously homogenous (Boal: 1982, pp. 251 – 252; Stewart: 1997, p. 144). However, inter-communal rioting increased the religious homogeneity of these areas (Boal: 1982, p. 251). Violence at interfaces intensified as these homogenous areas began to expand, absorbing the vacant land that separated them (Buckley and Kenney: 1995, pp. 75 - 78).

The organic nature by which the segregated working-class communities developed began in the early days of the industrial revolution. Sectarian murders—namely, murders where the victims were chosen not for their politics but for their religion—were facilitated by this inherent local knowledge. For example, victims of the Loyalist sectarian killings of the early 1990s were selected because they were in Catholic ‘Nationalist areas’ not because they were republicans (see Sluka: 2000, p. 136).

Here segregation and sectarianism in Belfast are tied to capitalist development; its origins lie in the formation of the city’s urban centre through the expansion of industrial capitalism. From there, in post-partition Northern Ireland, the economic supremacy of the Protestant ruling-class was cemented by political domination over the Catholic community. For Shirlow, segregation is ‘reproduced’, through ‘violent, cultural and political acts’ (2003, p. 76). Shirlow’s research showed that the fear of violence and attack perpetuates the lack of interaction between the two communities (2003).

Consequently, the Troubles caused an intensification of pre-existing segregation. The process of removing minorities from Protestant and Catholic enclaves began. In August of 1969, targeted violence, intended to ethnically cleanse certain areas caused what was until recently ‘the biggest forced population movement in Europe since the Second World War...’ (Moloney: 2003, p. 68). Homes were burned and people were intimidated out of their areas. While Protestants as

well as Catholics were subjected to this cleansing, Catholics were, according to the Scarman Report, disproportionately affected (Moloney: 2003, p. 68). The links between nationalism (contested territory), religion (the easiest way to demarcate the two communities), sectarianism, territory and segregation are clear. However, territory and segregation must be seen as secondary factors when it comes to violence.

As Shirlow argues, territory and segregation play a part in the 'reproduction' of violence, but not necessarily in its creation. A great concern lies in the fact that while a core of the Catholic middle-class have moved from the Catholic working-class ghettos into hitherto Protestant middle-class areas, a large proportion of working-class Catholics remain fixed in the pre-Good Friday Agreement situation. Murtagh argues that while the ascendance of some Catholics has reduced 'the relevance of traditional binary identities...new forms of segregation centred on tenure and class' are becoming evident (2010, p. 1). Peace walls, some that have now stood longer than the Berlin Wall (Strain and Hamill: 2009; McDonald: 2009a), stand as constant symbolic reminders not only of the distant colonial past and the more recent Stormont era but also of the Troubles, and the violence associated with it. This ongoing discontent, manifest in continuing segregation, provides an opportunity for splinter republican groups. This reality is the core challenge for the British state and the republicans now sharing government in maintaining security.

Northern Ireland is a small province within which Belfast itself is a small and intimate city. A brief stroll of around 40 minutes from the 'mixed' or 'integrated' university area would lead through the 'Village' loyalist area, into republican West Belfast and finally into loyalist West Belfast. West Belfast is the site where most of the violence has taken place (see Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 53) and the intimacy of the violence is sometimes cited as a reason for the intractability of the conflict, as outrage at victimhood informs the desire to retaliate against the Other. For example,

as Darby writes, the conflict is often seen as intractable by virtue of the fact that violence will continue to obscure any chance of political accord (1996). It is an important point as violence, for many, is the reality of lived experience. Shirlow writes, in terms of the population of the segregated working-class areas in which the violence was most intense, It is estimated that around 1 in 18 people, in both communities have had, a direct member of their family killed...' (2003, p. 81)⁴¹.

This figure of 1 in 18 obviously increases when distant relatives, friends, acquaintances and neighbours are included. The high levels of personal investment of misery are clear. One particularly high profile example is that of the sister of the IRA hunger striker Bobby Sands, who objected to Sinn Féin's interaction in government as it negated her brother's sacrifice for a united Ireland (quoted in Murray and Tonge: 2005, p. 214).

Children are somewhat inculcated into violence by several means. These include participation in 'recreational violence' or 'recreational rioting' and/or joining youth wings of paramilitary movements. Smyth and Campbell write that:

Adults in the worst affected communities tended in the pre-ceasefire era to perceive street violence in the form of rioting as defence of the community in the face of outside threat, and therefore politically understandable, if not legitimate (Smyth and Campbell: 2005, p. 2).

The sheer exposure to conflict and the environment within which the violence has been played out is also important. From a visual and subjective perspective, the existence of murals and other symbolic markers of identity and territory weigh heavily on how the conflict has been normalised and legitimised within each community⁴².

Under the circumstances of extreme inter-communal violence in the 1970s and 1980s; the intractability arguments would without doubt have appeared the most salient analytical force. However, in sum and in hindsight, there are significant

⁴¹ This includes '...sibling/parent/grandparent/partner/aunt/uncle/cousin' (2003, p. 81).

⁴² For example, Jarman argues that the murals are used to refine traditional beliefs in line with the changing circumstances of political and military conflict, to consolidate the support of the faithful and to give substance to an otherwise shadowy presence' (1998, p. 86; see also Rolston: 1998, p. iii).

problems with each of the intractability arguments. The question of state legitimacy has been all but resolved. Catholics in general and republicans in particular now interact with the state and accept its primacy in decision making and policing. The same dynamic undermines the arguments that centralised ethno/nationalism. Today, to be a Catholic is no longer a structural barrier to equality. Catholics can now celebrate their ethnicity and culture in a way that they could not several decades ago. The power of religion and sectarianism to provoke violence, while still potent signifiers in the province, are also lessened by the points mentioned above.

Territory and segregation remain comparatively problematic. Ghettoisation, with its roots in the Plantations of the 17th century, intensified during the industrial revolution and became spatially solidified during the Troubles. Nevertheless, it is unravelling, albeit unevenly. Catholics are moving back into the South of Belfast, an area they have been excluded from for almost 400 years (see Murtagh: 2010). These key issues will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters.

The Victory of Materialism?

We are presented with a significant analytical problem in that original Marxist analysis, in general, was found to be insufficient when it came to explaining why the Catholic and Protestant working-classes fought each other and not their class enemies'. For example, Rose argued that if economic exploitation or marginalisation lay at the core of the Troubles, then the disparity between the Protestant and Catholic working-class community should be stark. However, he concluded that the economic difference between the two communities verged on insignificant (1971, pp. 278, 280 – 281). Rose's arguments are based, to a large extent, on his reading of the working-class's confused relationship to themselves, their co-religionists and the

state. Here he uses a rather crude form of determinist analysis himself, although he expects the workers to be motivated by religion, not class.

While not as dismissive as Rose, Ruane and Todd argue that economics is purely an aspect of the conflict without primacy over political factors (1996, p. 150); although, they do concede that it is a crucial arena of conflict (1996, p. 177). They write that:

Unequal access to economic resources is an important source of Catholic grievance; the political power of Protestants is underpinned by their economic power; the policies of the British government first helped maintain, then moderate, and more recently erode...(1996, p. 150).

Ruane and Todd analyse the structural origins of Catholic economic marginalisation and the negative economic realities of ongoing discrimination in depth at the time, but importantly, they do not think that economic equality would end the conflict (1996, p. 177).

The problem is that we now find the analytical tools that replaced Marxist readings to be equally incapable of explaining the current shift to political, social and economic normalisation. The argument over relative deprivation is moot. Authors, such as Rose, point to the fact that there was no economic substantial gulf between Catholics and Protestants. There was certainly some overlap between middle-class Catholics and working-class Protestants. Many Protestants were also among the poorest of the province (Nelson: 1984; Murray: 2000). However, there was an undeniable fracture between working-class Catholics and Protestants. Any serious analysis into relative deprivation uncovers this and most texts do concede this point. Protestant workers were more likely to be skilled and have higher wages, while Catholics worked largely in unskilled jobs and were more likely to be unemployed (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41).

This is a crucial point. Most of the intractability arguments that situate economics as a feature without primacy over other aspects, have had their premises undermined by the recent development of relative economic prosperity and peace in Northern Ireland. McGarry and O'Leary's 'leap of faith', vis-à-vis republican militants trading their weapons for better jobs, has eventuated. Everything that seemed unattainable from the early 1970s until the mid 1990s has been realised. The most effective terrorist/guerrilla organisation in Western Europe has, in a remarkably short time between ceasefire until decommissioning, joined the ranks of the state. Martin McGuinness, the high profile and unrepentant former commander of the Provisional IRA is now the deputy First Minister. Several other high profile ex-IRA militants now sit in government, much to the chagrin of many in the Protestant, unionist and loyalist community. This normalisation has been achieved both in terms of establishing the normal functions of governance and neo-liberal capitalism.

The reality of the transformation is stark. Within four decades, members of the IRA have moved from destroying state property, intentionally targeting economic⁴³ facilities, killing members of the security forces and living from state welfare payments in government housing, to purchasing private property⁴⁴ and entering into the high waged employment of politicians in a state they sought to overthrow. However, contingent the socialism of the IRA was, the ultimate aim of securing a 32 county socialist republic, was always the objective of the republican movement (see Bishop and Mallie: 1987; Taylor: 1997). This aim has not been achieved, and outside of any romantic notions or self delusion on the part of the republican leadership, accepting democratic governance, will not bring it about. Sinn Féin enters into government long after the era of the progressive transformational potential of social

⁴³ During the bombing campaign of the 1970s, the IRA destroyed '...one quarter of city centre retail property' (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 43).

⁴⁴ Thomas Murphy, and IRA chief of staff (Moloney: 2003, pp. 478 – 479) came to the attention of British asset agencies for owning property behind Harrod's in London, the store that was bombed under his command in 1983. The property was a component of his 30 million Pound property portfolio (McDonald: 2006a).

democracy ended. Therborn writes that the '...varieties of socialism reached their maximum influence and transformational ambition in the 60s and 70s' (2007, p. 63). Alain Badiou, in his analysis of the dislocation between 'events' and the current day, characterises the 'electoral process' as 'capitalo-parliamentarianism, appropriate for the maintenance of the established order' (2008, p. 31). Democratic societies now vote for parties that forward conservative social and economic policies. The very idea that an all Ireland Catholic/Gaelic socialist Republic can be achieved through parliamentary means appears, in the current context, to be pure fantasy.

Conclusion

Intractability arguments both displaced and replaced Marxist and other materialist readings of the Northern Ireland question. Under the circumstances, this was understandable. The conflict took on a complexion that materialist readings could not satisfactorily account for. However, just as the shifting social, economic and political terrain undermined materialism in the age of decolonisation, this thesis argues the same has occurred to the intractability arguments. The argument is made that the specific conditions that made the intractability arguments the more salient analytical tool, no longer exist. This moment in history has passed.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyse this transition in detail. Chapter 3 discusses the ideological shift in neo-liberal capitalist economies, and chapter 4 traces the move to neo-liberalism in the provinces political economy. Within global neo-liberal capitalism, rigid ethno-nationalist identities are challenged and undermined by the individualism inherent in its ideology; 'enterprise man' supplants concepts of ethnic community and 'enterprise society' replaces what appeared to Catholics as a colonial or neo-colonial political economy in which they were structurally marginalised.

Chapter 3

Neo-Liberalism and Ideology

So far, chapter 1 outlined a range of original positions of materialist thought on Northern Ireland. It concluded that the Marxist thought in general was tied to the historical conjuncture best demarcated by the concept of capital versus labour. Within the varied Marxist analyses, the core theme of the progression to socialism was central. Once the province descended into ethno-national conflict, Marxism was unable to satisfactorily account for the nature of the conflict.

Chapter 2 critiqued the various schools of thought that arose from the failure of materialist analysis to adequately account for the increasingly non-material character of the conflict. These intractability theories stressed the centrality of sectarianism, ethno-nationalism, and identity in relation to the Troubles, and invariably concluded that a state of permanent conflict would be the regions fate. The theories were constructed in a distinctly turbulent transitional period in Northern Ireland's socio-economic history that witnessed a shift from imperial/manufacture capitalism, to globalised neo-liberal service capitalism. Analytically, the era became dominated by the broad range of approaches known as the postmodern turn, which in general rejected grand narratives (Lyotard: 1986; see also Jameson: 1991).

It is not difficult to see why intractability arguments dominated analytical circles as within this old conjuncture, 'sectarian' violence proliferated. Under these circumstances it would have appeared the most appropriate analytical framework to explain the situation. However, this thesis argues that these interpretations were a product of a historical conjuncture that reflected a shift in theoretical analysis and material conditions throughout the world at that time. This chapter advances the

argument that a predominantly material analysis is essential to an understanding of contemporary Northern Irish politics.

The overwhelming evidence, showing that the multi-dimensional conflict has abated, fundamentally undermines the intractability arguments. The question is, of course, why is this the case? Why can a materialist reading of the conflict, after being discredited and superseded by the intractability arguments, seemingly become the most rational? In response to these questions, this thesis argues that state control and the economic order have fundamentally changed. The 'colonial state' that maintained a system of order that structurally marginalised Catholics, has been incrementally replaced by a system of self-regulation: a shift from 'judicial' to 'bipolitical' power (Foucault: 2008). In concert with this change, the economic system that once fostered difference in order to maximise the Protestant Plantation's and then industrial capitalism's success been reconfigured as a system that incorporates difference, at least at an institutional level.

While it is impossible to disconnect contemporary Northern Irish politics from its recent (and distant) history, this chapter argues that the effect of the shift into neo-liberal capitalism, and the increasing realisation of the neo-liberal individual (the 'enterprise man') rather than inflexible competing ethno-national communities, needs to be the central focus if we are to understand its contemporary composition and its effects.

A combination of the changing values of societies in general, in conjunction with the economic manoeuvring of capitalists—that both informs and is informed by the transformations in society's values—has prompted greater ideological shifts in capitalism (see Harvey: 2005; 2006). Notably, in the 'West', capitalism has changed from Fordist modes of mass production and consumption into neo-liberal forms that

respond more intimately to individual consumer demand⁴⁵. The individual within the community of production becomes the individual of consumption and the challenge to hitherto ethno-nationalist self-understanding is significant.

In this transition, the emphasis on the individual as ‘enterprise man’ has become dominant. The divisions between production, consumption, material and immaterial labour, and public, private and personal life have become blurred. This development is crucial in the Northern Irish case, not least for the manner in which the link between identity and capitalist production were sharply manifested in the province. Until relatively recently, to be a Protestant worker was to be a skilled member of the enlightened, progressive community; to be Catholic was to be under-skilled, marginalised, or unemployed. The colonial binary between Catholic and Protestant is no longer the dominant feature of labour and production in Northern Ireland and this material shift is accompanied by a reassessment of identity, and consequently, attitudes to the state.

Nevertheless, these shifts are not realised in a universal fashion, as they encounter different socio-economic traditions. For example, if it were not for the colonial divisions that had engrained alterity and conflict, then the province would have undergone this transformation with the rest of the UK during the term of Margret Thatcher. Conversely, the provinces particularly intense manifestation of colonial capitalism held this at bay. Once the civil rights movement was violently opposed by the state the ensuing extreme violence took on a momentum of its own (see chapter 5).

⁴⁵ Stuart Hall described the transition as ‘A shift...to new information technologies’...a shift towards a more flexible specialised and decentralised form of labour process and work organisation...a decline of the old manufacturing base...and the growth of the “sunrise” computer-based, high-tech industries...the hiving-off or contracting-out of functions and services hitherto provided “in house” on a corporate basis...[and] a leading role for consumption, reflected in such things as greater emphasis on choice and product differentiation, on marketing packaging and design, on the “targeting” of consumers by lifestyle, taste and culture’ (Hall: 1989, p. 118).

The argument that we are witnessing an epochal shift is strengthened when it is acknowledged that neither side has achieved its socio-political goals. Militant Catholic republicans, who sought a united Ireland, and their opposite number from the Protestant community, who desired to exclude Catholics from the state and maintain the Union with Britain, now sit in government together. These two parties work together to integrate Northern Ireland fully into the global neo-liberal economy regardless of their ideological and ethno-national differences. This transformation from imperial capitalism to neo-liberal global consumer capitalism will be dealt with in detail in chapter 4. While it is safe to assume that both groups retain their oppositional political position, the increasing realisation of the enterprise society in Northern Ireland means that they must outwardly moderate their position and participate in orthodox neo-liberal capitalism.

Consequently, it is useful to consider Hardt and Negri's theory of global capitalism. At the core of their theory lies the contention of a monumental shift in capitalist production from material, to immaterial; the realisation of what they call productive communication (2003, p. 290)⁴⁶. This core concept, which is developed further in *Multitude* (2005), describes the breakdown of constrained identities based on local/national production capitalism. These older industrial conceptions of identity and conditions of biopower have made way for a more universal identity underpinned by immaterial labour. The binary of labour is no longer composed of the skilled, Protestant, loyalist shipworker on the one hand, and the unskilled, Catholic, nationalist labourer (or benefits recipient) on the other.

Hardt and Negri state that the power relations underpinning industrial capitalism had workers ...act like machines both inside and outside the factory (2003, p. 291). Workers now, in the dominant countries, increasingly use a means of production that, by its very character, increases the independence of the worker and

⁴⁶ The authors qualify the site of this transformation as being primarily within ...the dominant countries (2003, p. 291).

at the same time connects him or her through the mass communication systems involved in global capitalism (2003, pp. 290 – 293). The ‘masses’ are now the ‘multitude’, and the authors argue that within this altered system of production ‘What the multitude produces is not just goods or services; the multitude also and most importantly produces cooperation, communication, forms of life, and social relationships’ (2005, p. 339).

The implications for Northern Irish politics are stark and this thesis argues that these affects, as outlined by Hardt and Negri, can be clearly identified in the province. Under imperial forms of capitalism, Northern Ireland eventually stagnated. At one level, as a constituent part of Britain’s economy, its decline was tied to that of the UK’s industrial base. At another level, decline was, to a large degree, a result of the exclusive, marginalising, imperialistic economic regime that created the social conditions within which social inequality developed into violence. Thus, through a combination of de-industrialisation, the intentional targeting of economic assets by militant republicanism (see Moloney: 2003, p. 631) and the usual economically depressive consequences of civil war, the economy was eventually crippled.

The province inherited particularly acute symptoms of the divisions that are fostered and exploited within the colonial binary. In general, it is safe to say that Catholics in Northern Ireland assumed a subaltern position to Protestants. However, the old Protestant capitalists exploited the ethnic divisions in the working classes. On the one hand, Protestant capital would ‘beat the Orange drum’, appealing to cross-class Protestantism opposed to the Catholic other. According to some Protestant paramilitaries, this phenomenon was conspicuously connected to the election cycle (Taylor: 2000, pp. 49 – 50)⁴⁷. Sometimes, the leverage that a divided working-class afforded Protestant capital was exploited in more explicit ways; with Protestant

⁴⁷ Although, Munck argues that there was a tendency among socialist writers to place disproportionate weight on this interpretation in the analysis of sectarian rioting in the early 20th century (1985a, pp. 157 – 158).

workers being threatened by employers with replacement by Catholics if they refused the working conditions on offer (Stevenson: 1996, p. 76). Here the ethno nationalist divide was unquestionably utilised by some of the Protestant political and old elite.

However, these once convenient divisions for capital accumulation eventually became fetters. Certainly, since World War Two, nationality and anti-colonial national struggle contributed to the Troubles in Ireland⁴⁸. However, since then, the anti-colonial struggles altered the world in many ways, principally in the forms of governance and global economic relations. So too the global market has seen a shift, from colonial trading blocs to international trade flows. Whereas ‘modern’ imperialism excited difference and eventually revolution (Hardt and Negri: 2003, pp. 42 – 43, 129) capitalism had to contain the revolutionary character of difference in order to maintain expansion (Hardt and Negri: 2003, p. 59). This shift is now transpiring in Northern Ireland and is the most convincing way to account for the fact that neither ethnic group has achieved its political aims while being simultaneously the most electorally polarised than they have ever been. However, importantly, this outcome is not novel and conforms to other examples of post-colonial societies, where, once liberated, they have embraced global capitalism.

In a dialogue with Hardt and Negri’s schemas, I argue that the violence of the past four decades in Northern Ireland illustrated the complexities of that social landscape; of an intimate, extreme example of imperial ideology, exploitation, control and resistance; a nexus of judicial governance. This is to be juxtaposed against the emerging social, political and economic system evident today in the province; the system of biopolitical control. Ossified formulations of identity based on ethnicity,

⁴⁸ Irish republicans, from the 1970s onwards, embraced the writings of Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi. However, Feeney writes that as republicans increasingly realised that military victory against the British was not possible, compromise with the British and more importantly, Ulster unionists would be necessary. As a result, the quasi Marxist and anti-imperialist line that Sinn Féin/IRA developed from the works of Fanon and Memmi would need to be ‘dropped’ (2003, pp. 363 – 367).

political economy and violence are giving way to economic harmonisation with global neo-liberal capitalism

First, this chapter will analyse the contribution that *Empire* (Hardt and Negri: 2003) makes to the central argument of this thesis. Initially, the weaknesses in Hardt and Negri's grand theory will be addressed in order to separate them in terms of relevance to the chapter's argument. While this thesis sees a relevant insight in *Empire's* analysis regarding systemic and ideological change, it has no intention of adopting the predictions for collective action. If anything, the thesis argues the reverse; that the realisation of *Empire* in Northern Ireland undermines the agency of the multitude' against the interests of global neo-liberal capitalism.

It will then look at Hardt and Negri's concepts of hybridity' and the eradication of difference. The authors argue that the colonial structure of identity, based on alterity and Othering, has been broken down to one of hybridity in *Empire*. This explains how, in a society where the very question of hardened colonial binary identities has been used to show that the conflict was intractable, the Peace Process continues to stabilise and normalise the province. This eventuation can be best seen in the advancement of Catholic culture corresponding to a related diminution of Protestant culture formerly based on colonial supremacy.

Following on from here the concept of capitalist expansion and its relationship to the specific forms of ideology in *Empire* will be addressed. Expansion is predicated on the eradication of difference outlined above. While the rigid binaries of colonial identity remained in existence, expansion was fettered. Under the colonial structure, Northern Ireland functioned well in both the pre-Fordist and Fordist eras. Indeed, the colonial structuration of society actually benefited these particular forms of capitalism. However, the deep ethnic divisions—based on colonial binaries—that erupted into violence, was a significant deterrent to the transformation of capitalism in Northern

Ireland to the neo-liberal 'enterprise society'. As such, without the transformation to the neo-liberal market subject and to the governance via biopolitical control requiring a level of functional harmony, identities in the province would have remained antagonistic to the point of violence, and neo-liberal capitalism could not have come to dominance in Northern Ireland.

The chapter concludes by arguing that the ideological underpinnings evident in Northern Ireland have clearly shifted and as a result, the prevailing understanding, that the conflict was intractable, is no longer satisfactory. This reassessment must be conducted within a core materialist framework.

Hardt and Negri: *Empire*

Among the many interconnected arguments of Hardt and Negri's *Empire* is the basic contention that in order to continue expanding capitalism has altered its character. Where once, under imperial capitalism, difference and Othering were fostered and utilised as crucial ideological factors in maintaining capitalism's discipline and function, hybridity has emerged as necessary in smoothing the cultural and geographic factors that hitherto constrained capitalism's expansion. This is a core ideological development in Northern Ireland, where the argument that capitalism has both materially and ideologically shifted appears especially salient, although it runs diametrically opposed to most if not all of the intractability arguments.

This is clear when we consider the current situation in comparison to past examples, where the efforts made to undercut the conflict through materialistic means failed. For example, as a member of the European Union, with 'Objective 1 priority funding', Northern Ireland received 1.7 Billion pounds between 1989 and 1999 alone (European Commission Office in Northern Ireland: 2004). These funds

went to key areas with the explicit aim to undercut violence but failed to ease tensions. Northern Ireland, as a region of Great Britain, joined the EU in 1973, but this period saw the highest numbers of Troubles related deaths⁴⁹. The ‘subvention’ from the British exchequer, as we shall see in chapter 4, amounted to billions of pounds over several decades, but also failed to impact significantly on violence. In addition, the public sector was artificially expanded to account for some of the increases in unemployment as de-industrialisation occurred (Bew et al: 1997, pp. 91 – 92).

In this conjuncture, attempts to settle the Troubles through a financial strategy failed in the face of the existing antagonistic binaries. In Northern Ireland, the basis for the shift to a new form of governance, to Foucault’s biopolitics, as experienced in Western Europe, was blocked by the violence generated by the system of judicial sovereignty (Foucault: 1995). This effectively restrained the move to the creation of the neo-liberal subject and the associated biopolitical governance. However, we will see in this and subsequent chapters how judicial sovereignty is incrementally and unevenly displaced by biopolitics.

The degree to which Northern Ireland was stretched between the systems of judicial and biopolitical control is found in policing and justice. Foucault’s early but seminal work *Discipline and Punish* (1995) in part charts the transition from the punishment/torture of the ‘public spectacle’ to a ‘...more corrective’ punishment ‘...of a less immediately physical kind...more subtle, more subdued...’ (1995, p. 8). Ireland has, for centuries, been a site for public spectacle punishment meted out to opponents of English and British rule. Oliver Cromwell’s eventual putting down of the ‘Rebellion of 1641’ was composed of many elements of public torture and

⁴⁹ The deaths breakdown chronologically over a five year period as follows, 1972: 479; 1973: 253; 1974: 294; 1975: 260; 1976: 295. In no other year did the count exceed 121 and only on five other occasions did the total breach 100. This illustrates the intensity of violence resulting in death at this time (Sutton: 1994a).

punishment (Boyce: 1991, pp. 83 – 84; Murphy: 1896, pp. 97, 101; Somerset-Fry and Somerset-Fry: 1991, p. 154). Cromwell's sacking of Drogheda—the debate over the extent of the massacre notwithstanding—was a punishment intended to reaffirm the rule of the English and (a Protestant) God over the native Irish (Somerset-Fry and Somerset-Fry: 1991, p. 154). The execution of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising⁵⁰ also falls into the category of judicial punishment.

Centuries later, after the reforms analysed by Foucault were implemented elsewhere in Western Europe, in Northern Ireland, biopolitics was blocked by state power. British security forces implemented curfews, internment without trial and mounted military operations in Catholic areas that saw dozens of Catholics literally dragged from their houses and stood against walls in the streets (Moloney: 2003, p. 90 – 93). The suspects, then arrested, are said to have been subjected to torture. The question as to whether the interrogation techniques used against many of the detained suspects constituted torture was explored through a series of inquiries⁵¹. Regardless, the spectacle of public and physical punishment remained in place well into the final decades of the 20th century.

Foucault listed the '...adoption of the jury system' as a component of the general reform and 'redistribution' of the 'economy of punishment' (1995, p. 7). This important element in modern policing, punishment and hence governance was suspended in Northern Ireland in connection with paramilitary/terrorist offences. The justice system began a retrograde process. The Diplock Court system, which saw a judge but no jury present for the proceedings, came into being in 1973 (Jackson and Doran: 1993, p. 503) and represented a reversal of British legal procedure. Catholic and Protestant militants alike were tried by the state with no pretence to deferring the

⁵⁰ See chapter 7.

⁵¹ The Parker Report of 1972 found the techniques to be 'illegal' (Parker: 1972); the European Court of Human Rights in 1976 deemed them to be torture (European Court of Human Rights: 1976); in 1978, but the subsequent European Court of Human Rights report ruled the techniques to be 'inhuman and degrading treatment', but not 'torture' (European Court of Human Rights: 1978).

responsibility of the process to the accused's peers, which problematises the allusion of the maintenance of human rights and opens the procedure to criticism that it had become 'inquisitorial' (Jackson and Doran: 1993, p. 520).

We shall see in subsequent chapters that the relationship between Catholics (militant and otherwise) and the British and Northern Irish states was and remains complicated. However, this does illustrate the complexity of the hybrid system of control in Northern Ireland. For example, middle-class Protestants could expect standard British justice for all offences. For Catholics, who fell under the suspicion of being involved in paramilitary activity, they could expect to be subjected to a system of repression, punishment and justice more in keeping with that of a century or so earlier.

Problematic Themes in Empire

Hardt and Negri's effort to identify a new revolutionary subject has its critics. The fundamental premise that somehow immaterial labour technology and communication workers form the basis of a revolutionary proletariat is certainly problematic given the widespread acceptance of labour and material consumption as a core value in modern society. This revolutionary subject hardly seems capable of performing the task that the authors identify. In this, Hardt and Negri's own argument that outlines the need for neo-liberal capitalism to overcome conflict, undermines their own reformulation of historical materialism.

Nevertheless, Hardt and Negri, do clearly outline a 'shift' in ideology and political economy; a shift in which Northern Ireland has lagged behind other Western European nations. Considered in the Northern Ireland context, imperial capitalism fostered the divisions between the working-classes of each community. The formation of the 'Protestant bloc' saw the Protestant working-class suspend their

struggle against their Protestant masters for a slender advantage over Catholics. The Catholic working class—operating within the logic of an oppressed ethnic minority—considered ethno-nationalism as more important than class. Middle-class Catholics, who were forced to reside in working-class ghettos, shared the experiences of their less fortunate co-religionists and felt a solidarity that has begun to dissolve, as I will argue, under changing material conditions.

The point is that neo-liberal forms of capitalism, that have developed after the structural impediments to Catholics have been removed, have not fostered class based radicalism. Even though large sections of the Protestant and Catholic communities have remained socially and economically marginalised, insurrection is probably less likely now than it has been for centuries. The multitudinal agents of revolution, as identified by Hardt and Negri, are not evident in Northern Ireland. The closest approximations to an insurrectional group are the micro republican splinter organisations that continue to operate in the province. They are certainly dangerous to individuals, but do not pose a threat to the state or enjoy even a fragment of the contingent support that the IRA experienced during the 1970s and 1980s. The ag that left Northern Ireland suspended in forms of governance and resistance that had been elsewhere superseded, is in an advanced state of dissolution. Many Catholics now openly support the state.

Another central criticism of the text involves the assertion of the lack of state sovereignty within the nexus of Empire⁵². For Hardt and Negri, following Foucault, the state has lost its relevance and agency, and this represents, for the authors, one of the primary symptoms of the coming of Empire' (2003, p. xii). This is a problematic contention, as some authors point out, for no other reason than the end of the state'

⁵² Of course, the argument concerning the failing autonomy of the state has already been debated at length. Many diverse thinkers argue that the state retains its power (see Mann: 2001, pp. 62 – 63; Hirst and Thompson: 1999, p. 4; Holton: 1997, p. 151; Burke: 2001; Kagarlitsky: 2000; Buck-Morss 2008, p. 145).

thesis is a major argument of the political right (Thompson: 2005, p. 79). The role of states in, first of all, creating conflict and more recently, in securing peace in Northern Ireland was crucial. Nation states remain key actors in the ongoing Peace Process and their relevance and strength are underestimated by Hardt and Negri in general.

For example, American financial support and political sympathy were crucial to the financing of militant republicanism (Thompson: 2001, pp. 32 – 33; Moloney: 2003, pp. 16 – 17). Additionally, the legitimization of Catholic political grievances occurred at very high levels; most notably with the late Senator Ted Kennedy (Thompson: 2001, pp. 36 – 39). The stance that the Republic of Ireland took in the early stages of the Troubles contributed in many ways to the conflict. The political elite at the time hinted of the possibility of intervention by the Irish army and there is a debate over the allegation that money was secretly funnelled to militant republicans for defence of the Catholic community (see Bew et al: 1989, pp. 96 – 99; Dixon: 2001, pp. 87 – 88). The escalation of IRA violence would have been inconceivable without Libyan weapons that were instrumental in enabling the IRA to militarily engage the British state (Moloney: 2003, pp. 17 – 20).

More recently, the intervention of the US President Bill Clinton⁵³, the British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern⁵⁴ was crucial in the Peace Process. The September 11 2001 attacks also shifted what were acceptable and legitimate activities for militant republicanism. For example, following the murder of Robert McCartney in 2005 President G. W. Bush and Senator Ted Kennedy were openly critical of the IRA and Bush refused to meet Jerry Adams in

⁵³ See Hazelton (2000) for an analysis of Clinton's crucial involvement in bringing republicanism into negotiations and the legitimating of historic Catholic grievances. In defence of Hardt and Negri, the constitutional republic, as a force of progress is evident in Clinton's advocacy of a legal solution to the Troubles.

⁵⁴ See Hennessey (2009) for an account of Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern's important contribution to the Peace Process negotiations.

that year (Sherwell: 2005). Each state offered a unique component to the negotiations that could not be replicated by another state.

Finally, the EU and the British state are central in enabling one of the more significant, recent socio-economic phenomena of organising and allowing foreign workers into Northern Ireland. These examples do not symbolise the borderless world to the degree that Hardt and Negri describe.

Indeed, most importantly, the colonial state in Northern Ireland provided one of the core sites for conflict. Protestant militants fought to retain their parliament and control over the Catholic community that derived from this power. They later fought to retain the province's links with Britain and to exclude the Republic of Ireland from their political and civic lives. Catholic militants fought the Stormont 'Statelet' and the wider British state concurrently.

Another key area where *Empire* is seen to be vulnerable is their mobility, exodus and resistance nexus. The authors write that a '...spectre haunts the world and it is the spectre of migration' (2003, p. 213). They paint a picture in which the movement of humans, be they absconders from the 'Third World', 'political refugees', labourers, or opportunistic skilled migrants (2003, p. 213) is truly a global mass movement with revolutionary potential. This mobile mass is said to be a '...new nomad horde, a new race of barbarians, [who] will arise to invade or evacuate Empire' (p. 213). While it may be interesting to conceive of a new revolutionary subject⁵⁵ that will destabilise and finally overturn the established political order, the argument and analysis are, given the counter arguments, unconvincing.

The revolutionary potential of this vast and disparate group is open to question. Hardt and Negri argue that:

⁵⁵ Thompson argues that this is one area where Hardt and Negri maintain some Marxist credentials, by following '...a relatively conventional Marxist mode of discovery: define the enemy and locate the conditions of its reproduction, then identify its gravedigger/s and the material foundations of that power' (2005, p. 74).

Desertion and exodus are a powerful form of class struggle within and against imperial post-modernity. This mobility, however, still constitutes a spontaneous level of struggle, and...it most often leads today to a new rootless condition of poverty and misery (2003, p. 213).

Yet, while there are many accepted examples of intra- state population movements, this mobility has not challenged capitalism and is resisted vehemently by most nation states. In many cases, it reinforces capitalism by introducing a competing pool of labour into the overheated capitalist centres of the coastal regions. Davis reads this movement somewhat differently to Hardt and Negri, writing that the:

Struggles of informal workers...have tended, above all, to be episodic and discontinuous. They are also usually focused on immediate consumption issues: land invasions in search of affordable housing and riots against rising food or utility prices (Davis: 2004, p. 29).

There seems to be some degree of disparity here with the revolutionary potential of population movements.

It is clear that the phenomenon of the urbanised population exceeding the rural population is a major historical importance (Davis: 2004, p. 5). However, poverty and in some cases misery are characteristic of this development, therefore, it would appear that vesting the potential for forcing the transition from capitalism to socialism to this group is impulsive. It is here where we may see some validation of Thompson's charge that *Empire* '...largely ignore[s] the real insights that can be generated from Marxist political economy, but reproduce what is, arguably, its weakest point—the gravedigger thesis' (2005, p. 92). This naturally draws much of the emphasis away from materialism and political economy and directs it towards discourse (see Thompson: 2005, pp. 74 – 75). It may be that this is a pure symptom of the attempt to couple praxis to theory.

Marx conceptualised his revolutionary subject based on his socio-economic analysis, Hardt and Negri, in an effort to identify a possible revolutionary agent, have tried to justify the multitude speculatively on their analysis of global economic change (see Bowring: 2004). Certainly, in Northern Ireland, the migrant worker, whilst exploited, does not present as a revolutionary agent. For example, the Polish⁵⁶ workers who travel to the province do so as a result of ‘push and pull’ factors. Push factors are generally ‘seen as a response to negative conditions in the country of origin’ (Bell et al: 2009, p. 30). However, pull factors, commonly contextualised as positive, are the reason why Polish workers migrate to Northern Ireland. They migrate to take advantage of favourable conditions that includes ‘relatively high wages’ (Bell et al: 2009, p. 30).

The Relevance of Empire to Northern Ireland

What Hardt and Negri do provide is a global theory of the recent ideological, socio-political and economic developments that have transpired in the last decade or so, that is more relevant to Northern Ireland than the intractability arguments. Their comprehensive attempt to deconstruct the system of political control—of sovereignty—within the neo-liberal, global, capitalist system has much to offer in explaining the changes in Northern Ireland. They track, in detail, the transition from fractured, contested, binary laden imperial/colonial capitalism, to the less fractious system of *Empire*, where difference remains—is even embraced—but is not an obstacle to the functions of the market.

⁵⁶ According to Bell et al. (2009, p. 3) Polish workers constitute the largest sub-section of migrant workers in Northern Ireland, including EU and non-EU groups.

The concerns with Hardt and Negri's argument notwithstanding, the central facet of their theory that applies to the Northern Ireland situation is their exposition of a qualitative shift in capitalism from Imperial to Empire and a corresponding shift in governance from judicial to biopolitics. In particular, their contention that imperial capitalism, with its inherent Othering, has given way to Empire. Here the Other remains, but is no longer a fetter to capitalism's further development. This transition is best elaborated in their concepts of the relationship between hybridity, smooth-space and capitalism's need to conquer new boundaries.

The erosion of the colonial character of the Northern Irish state is important. Ireland was Britain's first, and perhaps its last colony. Many of the imperial/colonial practices and strategies employed by Britain were devised and tested in Ireland. Hardt and Negri's argument that the imperial character of capitalism based on Othering, a practice that was once productive and necessary, had become a fetter on its continued growth aptly describes Northern Irish developments. The crucial role of imperialism in capitalism was illustrated by Engels when he wrote that global trade and access to foreign materials and markets helped to offset domestic industrial turmoil and ultimately revolution (Engels: 1882). However, as fundamental challenges to that order developed, mainly in the way of national liberation movements, it became increasingly clear that strict colonial binaries restricted capitalist development.

Hybridity and the 'Other' in Northern Ireland

Colonial binaries were intensely maintained in Northern Ireland. The anomaly of white Western European Christians engaged in a sectarian conflict up until the end of the 20th century was compounded and underpinned by this demarcation. The colonial

binary represented and informed sectarianism. As noted, space, as well as human beings, became part of the contested colonial binary.

Whereas Hardt and Negri appear to concentrate their analysis of the colonial relationship between the particularly acute difference of white Western Europe and the ‘...non-European subject’ (see 2003, pp. 127 – 129), much of their argument resonates within the Northern Irish context. They write that ‘Colonialism is an abstract machine that produces alterity and identity’ (2003, p. 129) and that colonial binaries, or difference, are pushed ‘...to the absolute’ in the creation of the colonial Other (2003, p. 128). When considering Northern Ireland, and the relationship between identity and conflict, the colonial project sits at its core and the process of ‘Othering’ was central to violence.

Edward Said’s work on Orientalism provides the basis for Hardt and Negri’s analysis of ‘alterity’ (2003, p. 125). ‘Othering’, which Said argues is both the impetus and consequence of Orientalism, is central to his theory. For Said, the constructed Orient provided ‘...one of [the West’s] deepest and most recurring images of the Other’ (Said: 1995, p. 1). The rigorous studies of Orientalist scholars critically juxtaposed European society against the constructed Orient.

The identity of the European ‘self’ is as critical to Orientalism as the creation of the Oriental ‘Other’ (Said: 1995, p. 58). Said writes:

The construction of identity – for identity, whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain, while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, is finally a construction – involves establishing opposites and “others” whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from “us”. Each age and society re-creates its “others” (Said: 1995, p. 332).

The Catholic Irish were subjected to an identical system of Othering. They were constructed as inferior, to be controlled and subordinated by their superior British

masters'. The Catholic Irish were, on the whole, like many marginalised communities around the globe. They were seen as underdeveloped and their second class status was regarded as a self-fulfilling justification for the attitudes of colonialists⁵⁷. The native Irish were characterised as savages' (Canny: 1973); '...rebellious, priest-ridden and barbarous' (Moody: 1978, p. 9), and as '...shiftless, worthless and incompetent; they are drunkards; they are irresponsible and lazy' (Nursey-Bray: 1973, p. 41).

Conversely, Protestant culture was couched in terms of '...modernity, triumph and rationalism' (Finlay: 2001, p. 3). Initial conquest settled down to day to day control, and these ideas became engrained in the ongoing justification for domination over the Other. As McBride writes, 'At the centre of Protestant culture lies a cycle of myths concerning the seventeenth-century struggle between Protestant and Catholic, settler and native, for supremacy in Ireland' (1997, p. 9). These terms were familiar in the positive dialectic embraced by the coloniser in many colonial situations. As we shall see, they have dramatically unravelled in Northern Ireland signalling the ideological breakdown of the colonial binary in that province.

A large component of the Gaelic Cultural Revival of the 19th century comprised of Catholic Irish efforts to undermine the negative British conceptions of the Irish. However, in many ways, the Irish managed to thematically reinforce some of these notions. This can be seen in the criticisms of Kautsky, who railed against the backward tendencies of the Irish who '...live life more in the past than in the present, gush about the great deeds of yore and seek to revive old usages and customs' (1974, p. 14). Lennon also discusses Yeats, who engaged with critics at the time, not by negating their claim that the Irish were backward, '...but by emphasising the

⁵⁷ Although, the very question of Ireland's status as a colony has been debated (see Carroll and King: 2003). While it is clear that Ireland was certainly a colony, it was atypical, and did not experience colonialism in the way that '...India, the Congo, or Algeria' did (Said: 2003, p. 177). Some Catholic Irish participated in the colonial armies that occupied other territories and could find themselves in '...the role of both colonizer and anti-imperialist nationalist' (Lennon: 2003, p. 148).

positive and heroic traits of the imaginative and nature-loving Celt' (2003, p. 149). However, when looking at the role that the Cultural Revival played in the creation of Sinn Féin, a significant and reasonably successful effort was made to foster interest in Irish history and culture, as distinct from the defeatism that surrounded Irishness from the victory of Cromwell in 1649 onwards.

The colonial binary, which intensified after 1649, remains in evidence to this day. Geographically, as we saw in chapter 2, Belfast continues to reflect a physical manifestation of the binary, with large sections of the city still divided into a sectarian schema of Catholic and Protestant. Peace walls separate the mainly Catholic and Protestant working-classes. In terms of discourse, the colonial binary of settler and native has developed to unionist/loyalist and nationalist/republican. This binary division, to the concern of some academics, has been enshrined' in the structures of the Good Friday Agreement (Morgan: 2009, p. 102). The d'Hondt formula for power sharing is seen by some to create an involuntary coalition' (Gudgin: 2009, p. 63) again marked by compulsory allocation of ministries to parties based on the unionist/loyalist and nationalist/republican spectrum. Whether these divisions are contextualised as sectarian, ethno-nationalist or are couched in terminology that centres constitutional preference', each can be traced back to colonisation and the colonial binaries that remain an enduring feature of the province.

However, in terms of Protestant and Catholic culture in Northern Ireland, a significant shift is evident. The Gaelic Cultural Revival of the 20th century, for the purposes of opposition to British colonial rule, ended with the partition of Ireland. For the Catholic community in Northern Ireland, the bleak cultural slump that accompanied partition in 1921 was informed by, and helped to articulate, the Catholic conception of victim hood (see Said: 1995, p. 252; Kiberd: 1996; Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 11). Kirkland argues that after Ireland was partitioned, the language of Northern cultural nationalism [became]...insular, melancholic, and preoccupied with

memory and loss' (2003, p. 68). The Cultural Revival in the North found itself hopelessly compromised by the very different narrative of Partition' (Kirkland: 2003, p. 64). This led to the popular conception of the Catholics of Northern Ireland as a defeated people living in a hostile state. However, from the beginning of the civil rights movement onwards, Gaelic culture began to reassert itself in the North. Catholics began successfully reasoning that they had historical legitimacy. In the imperial conjuncture, Protestants were the vanguard of science, progress and rationality. In an increasingly postcolonial world, Protestants were depicted as the colonial interlopers, (Davis: 1994, pp. 285 – 291).

The civil rights movement can be seen as the point where these notions of supremacy were first challenged. Following this, the movement to incorporate Catholics into the Northern Irish society and the state, by a small section of liberal Northern Irish Protestants and British politicians, were viewed within the binary relation of a loss of Protestant power. Subsequently, the Sunningdale Agreement (1973), The Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) and the Good Friday Agreement (1998) each threatened the existing power relations and shook Protestant identity in turn. The undermining of the colonial basis of Protestant identity, personified by the incremental erosion of material and political domination, can clearly be seen during this period (see Murray: 2000).

Evidence of what Finlay calls an identity crisis', but can be more accurately viewed as a colonial identity crisis, can be seen well before Sunningdale. In 1972, the loyalist paramilitary group, the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), expressed concerns over their identity in the new political situation. As it became clearer that the British were willing to deal with republicans, their alienation grew. The UDA characterised themselves as 'second-class Englishmen and half-caste Irishmen' (Finlay: 2001, p. 7); their loyalty' to the colonial metropole, that sought to find

accommodation with the Catholic minority, caused significant problems⁵⁸. The superior colonial identity position occupied by Protestants was increasingly untenable.

The Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 was an attempt to introduce a power sharing government. It was undermined by both the Protestant working-class and loyalist paramilitaries. Regardless of this short term victory, Protestant confidence was still destabilised (see Cash: 1996, p. 151; Taylor: 2000, pp. 127 - 137). The Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 further eroded Protestant conceptions of identity. Finlay argues that at this time, the Protestant community could be characterised in terms of 'defeatism' (2001). Protestants perceived that the nationalist community, who in their mind displayed a professional and opportunistic aptitude in articulating their position through the media (Finlay: 2001, p. 7), were successful in positioning themselves primarily as victim, then as the historically legitimate people of Ireland. This included equating Catholic second-class status within the context of Apartheid South Africa (Davis: 1994, pp. 285 – 291). The Protestant community were compelled to find historical evidence to claim that they were the 'legitimate' people of North East Ireland; the search included the appropriation of imagery synonymous with republicanism (Buckley and Kenney: 1995, p. 48; Kiberd: 1996, p. 24 - 25; Rolston: 1998, p. 17).

⁵⁸ The mural has been a very high profile 'barometer of political ideology' (Rolston: 1998) in Northern Ireland. Murals thematically projected notions of Protestant supremacy. They first emerged around the Home Rule Crisis in the late 19th century as, according to Jarman, a '...part of an assertion of the Protestant people's sense of British identity during an extended period of political crisis' (1998, p. 83). The subject matter of these murals predominately featured the victory of Prince William of Orange over the Catholic King James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 and the lifting of the Siege of Derry 1688-1689 (Rolston: 1998, p. i; Jarman: 1998, pp. 83 - 84). However, Protestant mural painting went into noticeable decline in the early 1970s. Jarman argues that the establishment of Catholic 'no-go' areas, that undermined Protestant notions of territorial supremacy, added to the decline (1998, pp. 84 – 85; Rolston: 1994). When mural painting returned, it had become militaristic. Images of paramilitaries and weapons largely replaced traditional Protestant images of supremacy and triumph (Rolston: 1994 and 1998; Graham and Shirlow: 2002, pp. 892 – 893). During the Catholic cultural reassertion in the early 1980s, mural painting was appropriated from the Protestant symbolic lexicon (see Rolston: 1994; 1998; O'Reilly: 1998, pp. 52 – 59). The difference was thematic, Protestant murals had moved from triumph to militarism, Catholics had appropriated the medium and advanced positive themed images.

In contrast, the Anglo-Irish Agreement did not suffer the same political fate as Sunningdale. In effect, it remained intact until the signing of the Good Friday Agreement. The Anglo-Irish Agreement intensified the already destabilised conceptions of Protestant identity. The Good Friday Agreement further compounded this trajectory. Morrow (2000) and Finlay (2001) both comment on the alienation generated by the Protestant realisation that the driving material force behind change was the Westminster government.

The inversion that has seen Protestants exchange place to a degree with Catholics in terms of victimhood is stark. Graham and Shirlow write that the conflict over identity that has emerged in Northern Ireland is so asymmetrical that it is not being fought 'between ideologies of equal strength' (2002, p. 884). Finlay writes that the rising profile of nationalist culture was a core contributing factor to the erosion of the notion of Protestant supremacy (2001, p. 3). It therefore contributed to the 'alienation', 'defeatism' and hence 'identity crisis' among many in the Protestant community. The Catholic assertions of identity and legitimacy, in the post-colonial world, find resonance where Protestant claims to '...modernity, triumph and rationalism' (Finlay: 2001, p. 3), tied inextricably to the colonial project and the 'Othering' connected to colonial binaries, are exposed as insufficient.

It is clear that the colonial binaries in Northern Ireland have broken down to a degree that has, on the one hand, seen Catholics engage with the Northern Irish state and, on the other hand, seen popular Protestant conceptions of supremacy undermined to the point that they are no longer tenable as an impetus behind identity construction. The degree of transformation for Protestants, in terms of the link between actual political supremacy and culture, can be appreciated by looking at two interlinked cultural phenomena located chronologically at either end of the 'Troubles'. The first is the incursion by the RUC, '...after threats from [Ian] Paisley', into the Catholic Falls Road in 1964 '...to remove an Irish tricolor' displayed in a window

(Moloney: 2003, p. 63). This demonstrates the depth of the inflexibility of Protestant control. When this incident is juxtaposed against the Gaelic culture industry now in place on the Falls Road, the transition is clear. A recent example shows the degree to which Protestant culture is struggling to maintain relevance. A debate emerged around Orange Order Marches, with some Protestants urging the Order to re-brand the event as ‘Orangefest’ so as to retain relevance in the shifting climate and make the event tourist friendly. Conservative Orange Order members rejected the suggestion outright (Geoghegan: 2009).

However, it is crucial to ask what has replaced the colonial binary. Has the somewhat pessimistic prediction of Sartre, where he predicts that only violence can undo the violence of colonial domination (Sartre in Fanon: 1967, p. 18) come to pass⁵⁹? There has been a conspicuous lack of retribution and an equally surprising degree of co-operation between newly ascended Catholics and their recently hitherto colonial oppressors. This point is continued below; where I argue that the colonial state and Catholic identity have been replaced by what Foucault referred to as ‘enterprise society’ and ‘enterprise man’ respectively. Catholic self-understanding now exists within a global consumer framework, not an inflexible colonial binary.

Smooth Space: The Global Society of Control

The central point to take from Hardt and Negri’s argument here is that imperial/colonial capitalism is based on sharp binary divisions, but ‘Empire’ rids the landscape of these divisions in order to operate and expand neo-liberal capitalism. In a colonial or decolonising society, binary differences are inflexible. On the one hand,

⁵⁹ It might be problematic to see the violence of republican militants during the Troubles as this violence that cleanses colonial violence; especially when the fact that out of any sub-grouping, including British army and the RUC, more Catholics died as a direct result of the conflict. Of the 3526 people who perished in the conflict between 1969 and 2001, 1524 were ‘Catholic’. The second largest group (1286) were ‘Protestant’ (Sutton: 1994c).

they have assisted capitalism in the past. For example, Belfast's successes in the linen and shipbuilding industries show that deep ethno-nationalist divisions did not translate into economically depressive phenomena and in this case, as Crawford argues, actually contributed to the strength of the Protestant Plantation and the capitalist system (2005, p. 59). Within the colonial economy, alterity produced positive results. As we saw above, Protestant employers always had a reserve army of Catholic workers with which to threaten their workforce.

However, economic decline resultant from de-industrialisation saw the need for radical economic reform. The enormous expense of policing a divided society also took its toll. The desire to reform the Northern Irish economy from the early 1960s onwards foundered against the ethno-nationalist divisions symptomatic of colonialism. The models of contemporary capitalist development in the post-industrial world were evident—for instance the USA and Britain—but could not be emulated.

Hardt and Negri discuss the need of capital, within the emerging system, to move unhindered. They write:

Capital...operates on the plane of *immanence*, through relays and networks of relationships of domination, without reliance on a transcendent centre of power. It trends historically to destroy traditional social boundaries, expanding across territories and enveloping always new populations within its process (Hardt and Negri: 2003, p. 326).

The incompatibility of global neo-liberal capitalism and the colonial structures previously evident in Northern Ireland are clear. Northern Ireland's workforce, spatial organisation and discourse, were divided. Whereas industrial capitalism could function on a fractured society, contemporary neo-liberal capitalism could not.

Hardt and Negri argue that approaches that embrace difference are actually in concert with Empire's own position (2003, pp. 137 – 139). Following on from David Harvey (1990) and Fredric Jameson's (1991) critique of postmodern theory, they

state that such theories are ‘..sentinels that signal the passage’ to Empire (2003, p. 154). They identify the tendency towards embracing difference, rather than the maintenance of colonial binaries. Differences are no longer ‘fixed’, and racism has moved from its racially based colonial paradigm to what they see as being materially contingent on ‘..a kind of market meritocracy of culture’ (2003, p. 193). The applicability here to the Catholic community of Northern Ireland is stark, as will be shown in chapter 5. The legitimisation and acceptance of Catholic culture have been crucial in the normalisation process of Catholics regarding the Northern Irish state.

Within the imperial/colonial system, Catholic culture was potentially inherently revolutionary; all the while the Northern Irish state attempted to suppress it, its mere existence was a challenge to the state. During the period, between the Irish tricolour riot in the early 1960s until the ‘parity of esteem’ component of the Good Friday Agreement was implemented in 1998, Catholic culture was, to some degree, suppressed. The moment of paradigm shift to Empire, elucidated by Hardt and Negri, accounts for the transition of Catholic culture, from a suppressed deviance, to an accepted component of Northern Irish society.

We can track this transition politically in the shift to the normalisation of the state. The Protestant state suppressed Catholic culture and Catholic advance; the Catholic challenge—political, cultural and violent—eventuated in a radical reconfiguration of the state and the economy. Here we see that normalisation in Northern Ireland was both the result of reform, that allowed for Catholic advance, and Catholic agitation, that forced the changes that allowed for neo-liberal capitalism to replace the imperial/colonial structures.

Today, Catholics can be openly Gaelic, even ‘nationalist’, and at the same time not seek the unification of Ireland. Hardt and Negri write of Empire that:

All are welcome within its boundaries, regardless of race, creed, color, gender, sexual orientation, and so forth. In its inclusionary moment, Empire is blind to differences; it is absolutely indifferent in its acceptance. It achieves universal inclusion by setting aside differences that are inflexible or unmanageable and thus might give rise to social conflict (2003, p. 198).

We will see that, even though Northern Ireland remains divided in many ways—spatially and in terms of social class—ethnicity is no longer the lynch pin. For Hardt and Negri, Empire smooths divisions for neo-liberalism to expand.

Foucault and 'homo oeconomicus'

It is clear how the components of the '...magnanimous, liberal face of Empire' (Hardt and Negri: 2003, p. 198) have contributed to the normalisation of Northern Irish society. The Catholic 'Other' has been brought from the 'outside' to the 'inside'. The binary divisions no longer engender conflict. It is certainly worth elaborating here on some of the central themes of Foucault's later work on biopower, not only as it relates to Hardt and Negri's argument, but also directly to Northern Ireland.

While Hardt and Negri holistically view the global political economy as neo-liberal, Foucault's work shows how Northern Ireland is still at least partially transitional in this process. Using Northern Ireland as a case study, it is clear that Hardt and Negri underestimate the power of both colonial identity and the nation state. Subsequently, the passage to the neo-liberal subject—'enterprise man'—was held back by the intensity of colonial identity and conflict. The system of control outlined by Foucault, and developed by Hardt and Negri, provide a satisfying theoretical explanation of the resolution of the hitherto intractable nature of the Troubles. It helps to account for the previously unthinkable engagement of Catholics with the Northern Irish state and global capitalism.

In *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008), Foucault makes an account of a shift to neo-liberalism from liberal capitalism and analyses the corresponding changes to

biopolitics. Here, in a series of lectures given in the late 1970s, Foucault is affording more importance to political economy than he had since his critique of Marxism. The work represents Foucault's integration of the increasingly evident shift in capitalism from a liberal to neo-liberal form.

A central element of the work revolves around the relationship between the development of 'enterprise man' (*homo oeconomicus*) within the neo-liberal biopolitical order. For Foucault, homo oeconomicus is a man of 'enterprise and production' (Foucault: 2008, p. 147; Venn: 2010) and the society in which this individual exists is not based on '...the exchange of commodities as the mechanisms of competition' (Foucault: 2008, p. 147). Foucault writes:

Homo oeconomicus is someone who pursues his own interest...appears precisely as someone manageable, someone who responds systematically to systematic modifications artificially introduced into the environment. *Homo oeconomicus* is someone who is eminently governable (Foucault: 2008, p. 270).

Clearly, collective identities, be they based on labour, ideology and/or ethnicity, will be broken down in a system that places the 'self' squarely in the subjective centre of socio-economic existence.

At the same time, the market, and in particular its fluctuations and unequal outcomes, both in a domestic and global sense, are viewed as 'natural' and are, therefore, immune to fundamental criticism and any distortion through regulation. Venn calls this reformulation and acceptance of the quality of 'naturalism' to neo-liberal capitalism '...the theological underside of liberalism' (2010). Foucault quotes Hayek himself who lamented the absence of utopianism in liberal thought, saying that '...socialism owes much of its vigor and historical dynamism to...utopian or utopia creating activity' (2008, p. 219). The ascendancy of neo-liberalism, and the increasing acceptance of market values and outcomes as natural, would suggest a degree of realisation of Hayek's desire.

The intersection of these two related concepts leads to the undermining of not only collective action, but of collective self-understanding. Venn writes that within this logic, ‘...the collective benefit must not be an objective for either the individual or the state’ (2010). This is potentially the most significant variation in the thought of Foucault and of Hardt and Negri who owe so much to the former. Hardt and Negri, in a somewhat utopian manner themselves, see the seeds of revolution in the multitude’s various manifestations and resistances. In contrast, Foucault sees a system of control that continually alters and perfects itself to maintain stability; this seems to provide a much more satisfying explanation for the situation in contemporary Northern Ireland.

In addition to the realisation of the self over the collective, the global economic system is seen and accepted in terms of the ‘long run’. The understanding of the system as natural is strengthened by the idea that on the one hand, economic turmoil will be corrected by the system itself (Venn: 2010) and on the other, that the turmoil itself is the result of “underdevelopment” and the pathologies of “rogue” state and kleptocracies’ (Venn: 2010). The system is ‘natural’ and itself, cannot fail (Venn: 2010). Failure and risk as well as success are individualised at a multitude of layers. As the province is now in economic decline after a decade of growth, and violence has not returned as a result, the effects of the ‘naturalism’ of the system coupled with this concept of the ‘long run’ are clear.

The implications of the naturalisation of the market for Northern Ireland, and in particular the Catholic middle-classes, is central to this thesis. As we shall see in later chapters, this ideology, the ‘theological underside of liberalism’ or Hayek’s utopian liberalism, is an ideology seductive and powerful enough to supplant the entrenched collective identity of Catholics that hitherto existed as subalterns in the imperial capitalist order. With neo-liberalism comes the ideology of the individual: the ‘enterprise man’. Catholic poverty, which is certainly an ongoing feature of Northern

Irish political economy is no longer the tangible outcome of British and Protestant intransigence for Catholics who have left the ghettos. The material conditions for many Catholics have not changed, but neo-liberalism's ideology convinces its subjects that there is no alternative. Gudgin has already identified that 'nationalists' no longer blame Protestant colonial domination for contemporary Catholic poverty (Gudgin: 2009, p. 62); it is attributed to a lack of entrepreneurial drive. This shift alone demonstrates the depth of ideological change and Catholic self-understanding.

Capitalism and Expansion

As we have seen, capitalist expansion over a socio-political landscape without serious divisions is a core component of neo-liberal global capitalism. It is not a specifically Marxist contention; it is a core platform of all neo-liberal parties and states. Nevertheless, Marxists state that the only way capitalism 'can survive' is by '...constantly revolutionising its own conditions...[by]...constantly exceeding its own "normal" constraints' (Zizek: 2001, p. 190). This expansion occurs in order to maintain profits, to contain resistance and to open new markets.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels wrote that 'The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere' (Marx and Engels: 1977 p. 112)⁶⁰. Later, Lenin identified the period of intense Imperialism as a signifier that capitalism was entering crisis; an end-phase of sorts⁶¹. More recently, Harvey argued that the expansion of capitalism

⁶⁰ Concurrence with Marx's predictions of global capitalist development has come from unusual quarters. In 2002 the *Economist* conceded that Marx's prediction was impressive. Four years earlier, Lewis wrote similarly that '...those on the left and right of politics have been struck by the eerie way in which [Marx's]... description of capitalism resembles the restless, anxious and competitive world of today's global economy' (1998).

⁶¹ Lenin writes, 'Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capitalism is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in

after the Second World War in the form of Fordism, was crucial in cementing the USA's position at the apex of western capitalism (1990, p. 137). In short, the concept that capitalism must expand to survive is not unique to the neo-liberal context.

Hardt and Negri use the terms 'inside' and 'outside' to discuss who is included in the globalised capitalist market and who is not. The global market is '... thwarted by barriers and exclusions; it thrives instead by including always more within its sphere. Profits can be generated only through contact, engagement, interchange and commerce' (2003, p. 190).

Hardt and Negri write that 'In its ideal form there is no outside to the world market; the entire globe is its domain' (2003, p. 190). This is a defining feature and expresses the new conjuncture of neo-liberal capitalism. The 'missionary' work of the IMF in opening as much of the globe up to the control of the global economy (Stiglitz: 2002) certainly marks a new development. Each national market that is incorporated into the global system is subject to the controls of that system and importantly, cannot be part of an alternative system that can challenge or problematise global capitalism. Northern Ireland has now joined global neo-liberal capitalism. It is no longer the anomaly of the UK economy, the EU economy or the global economy.

The poisoned gift of national liberation'

The explicit effect of neutralising ethno-nationalist ideology, once independence from a colonial oppressor has been achieved, is a core feature of Hardt and Negri's theory. Economically, it is clear that one of the most potent de-radicalising phenomena for the ethnically and/or economically marginalised is *full or near full* inclusion in the market system. As we have seen, a similar line of thought was present in the nucleus of the drive to implement basic welfare provisions to undercut

which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed' (Lenin: 1960b, p. 781).

extremism from the political left or right. The ownership of private property has also been viewed for decades as a potent tool for creating ‘good citizens’.

For example, Macintyre writes that in 1920, Neville Chamberlain stated that ‘...every spadeful of manure dug in, every fruit tree planted’ converted a potential revolutionary into a citizen’ (Macintyre: 1999, p. 416). Chamberlain later elaborated the point in Parliament:

...it is a good thing that as many people as possible should own their own houses. I say that for many reasons. I believe that it is a very strong incentive to thrift. I believe that it is a thing that appeals to the best interests of the working classes, and I am quite certain that the man who owns his own house is generally a good citizen also (Macintyre: 1999, p. 416).

The potential of incorporating discontented individuals into the market economy and hence the state was recognised. The political context, within which these sentiments were expressed, was that of the 1916 Easter Rising the October Revolution and the First World War. As Hobsbawm writes of the time, ‘It seemed obvious that the old world was doomed’ (2002, p. 55); and the impetus for the desire of an English politician to reinforce British society against radicalism are obvious.

This school of thought, albeit ideologically altered, entered a renaissance after the collapse of authoritarian Socialism. In 1992, Kristol wrote, while lauding the ‘...vindication of [the] market economy’ proven by the Soviet Union’s demise, that it was the ‘common people’ who have learned their economics through everyday participation in the system; they were the ‘...bedrock of bourgeois capitalism’ (1995, pp. 134 – 135). He argues that through the lessons learned by managing their ‘mortgages’, and other day to day economic interactions, they have become ‘...uncommonly sensible’ (1995, p. 134). They are nothing short of being the ‘antibodies’ in the body politic of democratic ‘bourgeois capitalism’ that resist the ‘unruly’ of radical intellectuals (Kristol: 1995, p. 134). It formed a component of the

impetus behind the disastrous neo-liberal shock therapy in post-Soviet Russia (see Stiglitz: 2002, pp. 133 – 165).

Hardt and Negri contextualise the postcolonial variant as the ‘Poisoned Gift of National Liberation’ (2003, p. 132). Their description of the radical shift from nationalist liberation—usually from economic as much as corporeal colonialism—to global market participation is certainly applicable to the experience of the Republic of Ireland. Indeed, it can be viewed as being written as a postscript to Connolly’s warning that simply replacing the British colonial bourgeoisie, with Irish nationalist bourgeois rule, would do nothing to advance socialism (Connolly: 1948, p. 25).

Hardt and Negri argue that the national liberation model, with its desire for ‘...autonomous, self-centered development’ is subsumed by global capitalism. They state that ‘The revolution is thus offered up, hands and feet bound, to the new bourgeoisie’, once independence is gained, and after a period of transition, ‘...the liberated countries find themselves subordinated in the international economic order’ (2003, p. 133). The transition that the Republic of Ireland took in moving from colonial subjugation, to a brief period of what Shirlow calls the ‘Gaelic system of social communalism’ (1997, p. 91), to the neo-liberal ‘Celtic Tiger’, will be analysed in detail in chapter 6, but suffice it to say at this point that the fears of Connolly and the analysis of Hardt and Negri closely reflect the developments in the Republic.

This shift is also clearly evident in Northern Ireland. Former militant republicans sit in government and encourage foreign investment into the province⁶². If Sinn Féin, from the position they now find themselves in, manage to construct a socialist all-Ireland Republic at any time in the future, its eventuation will be unprecedented within the context of all national liberation movements. Underpinning

⁶² In 2007, McGuinness and Paisley travelled to the New York Stock Exchange to promote Northern Ireland as a site for investment. Paisley said that Northern Ireland was ‘open for business’ and McGuinness said that he too had ‘...put the economy at the top of our priorities’ (Northern Ireland Executive: 2007).

these developments is the overarching dissolution of the public into the private, the development that Hardt and Negri call the common' (2005: p. 202). Within global neo-liberal capitalism, ..the traditional divisions between individual and society, between subjective and objective, and between public and private' are dislocated (2005, p. 202). Under these conditions, the community of Catholicism, as a more or less homogenous group that resisted or resented British colonialism, can no longer be taken seriously as a viable and coherent political movement.

Conclusion

Hardt and Negri plot the shift in material production and ideology throughout what was mainly the developing, decolonising world. This is a feature that makes their argument particularly useful to an analysis of Northern Ireland; their accounts of hybridity, smoothing and expansion help in the understanding of Northern Ireland's transition. Their analysis of the shift from national to post-liberation global economies, also sheds light on the Northern Ireland situation. This analysis provides insight into the lacuna between the intractability arguments and the socio-economic reality today. The pre-existing examples of national liberation leaders and governments, who have willingly organised and handed over their working-classes to global capitalism, shows that the path taken in Northern Ireland today, by its newly ascended economic elite, is well trodden.

Northern Ireland's conflict, that was created, nurtured and sustained by the colonial project, continued into the 20th century, where other similar conflicts resolved themselves during the later part of the previous century. Not only did the specific conditions in Northern Ireland provide the conflict with unusual longevity, but these conditions, coupled with the conflict itself, held back not only the full implementation of social democracy, but the realisation of neo-liberal capitalism. Once the Peace

Process provided a minimum level of stability to the political situation, a dialectic between the dismantling of the structural underpinnings of marginalisation (which commenced in the social democratic period), with the increasingly legitimate emergence of Catholic culture could slowly ratchet members of the Catholic community towards the political centre.

The transition of the economy is accompanied by a corresponding shift in both ideology and subjectivity. These significant changes require a new analytical approach. To continue to privilege intractability arguments in the era of global neo-liberal capitalism is as problematic as maintaining an orthodox Marxist position as the province entered into its unique and intense anti-colonial, civil rights and civil war period.

In subsequent chapters, the argument will be made that, on an economic level, many people in Northern Ireland, regardless of their ethnicity, religion and nationality, are seeing the Northern Irish state as acceptable. Ideologically, even Catholics, who have always shown a level of acceptance for either British colonial rule and later, existence under the Stormont 'regime' and later direct rule from Britain, are also content to exist within a state that may not unite with the Republic of Ireland. These transformations would not have been possible without the shift from the inflexible alterity of the colonial binary, to the inclusive discourse of neo-liberal ideology and the biopolitical form of governance.

The potential transformational power evident in the shift in the economic structure should not be understated. Gramsci saw this transformation in the Fordist factory worker. He stated that the change in production technique was so thorough that it created a '...new type of worker and new type of man' (quoted in Harvey: 1990, p. 126). So too Foucault's 'enterprise man' constitutes a new being. The ethno-nationalist struggle had hitherto undermined the possibility of drawing such a conclusion in Northern Ireland, not least for the fact that imperial industrial capitalism,

and then Fordist methods of production, were not only compatible but mutually beneficial to the pre-existing sectarian structure. However, global neo-liberal capitalism could not develop on this fractured society. Now neo-liberalism is transcending the previous capitalist structures. It is doing so unevenly; but this is one of neo-liberalisms features and a symptom of the shift. Inequality in the past was a catalyst for conflict, now it is an increasingly accepted by-product of the enterprise system. This chapter argued that in Northern Ireland today, neo-liberal capitalism has increasingly engendered a new type of person; one who's core identity is not informed by ethno-nationalist competition and conflict, but by neo-liberal capitalism.

Chapter 4 A

The Political Economy of the Transition

Although geographically located on the Western periphery of Europe, Ireland has consistently engaged in an ideological and political dialectic with the rest of the world. Ireland's close geographical and colonial relationship to England ensured that many social, ideological and geo-political transformations were shared by both countries. Those changes impacted on both Irish and English politics; sometimes in words and sometimes in deeds⁶³. For example, Boyce writes that one of the core theoreticians of the United Irishmen, the Presbyterian Dr. William Drennan, took the actions of the French Revolution and the words of Thomas Paine as inspiration for their movement's aim to remove English rule in Ireland (1991, p. 125).

The intimate relationship between colony and metropole made Ireland an attractive and important theoretical laboratory for philosophers, political theorists and revolutionaries at the time. As we have seen, Marx and Engels found Ireland an irresistible focus of praxis and a test case for their theories. Other Marxists within and outside of Ireland followed their lead by developing a materialist analysis of Irish colonialism.

Geo-politically, Ireland has historically played a significant role in Europe. Irish Christian scholars were central in the '...evangelization of north-west Europe' in the middle of the 1st century (Somerset-Fry and Somerset-Fry: 1991, p. 41). Often, the consequences of developments in Ireland were felt far beyond the shores of Great Britain. The Catholic Irish resisted the imported Protestant faith in the 16th century; a part of the effort of the Tudor regime to accelerate the 'anglicisation' of Ireland

⁶³ Homi Bhabha argues that such a symbiotic exchange of political, cultural and economic ideas was evident between India and Britain (see Bhabha: 1994).

(Moody: 1978, p. 3)⁶⁴. Here Ireland politically became ‘linked with the cause of catholicism in Europe’ (Moody: 1978, p. 3). England’s wars with France and Spain had an Irish element in terms of soldiers and territory (see Stewart: 1997, pp. 46, 48). English colonists applied the lessons learned during the Plantation of Ulster to the settlements in the American colonies. The experiences in Ireland provided ‘a significant contribution to contemporary colonial theory’ (Stewart: 1997, p. 34).

Irish soldiers actively participated in continental armies. Owen Roe O’Neill learned the art of war while in the service of the Spanish army (Murphy: 1896, p. 135). Irish soldiers participated in the American War of Independence, being among the ‘first to join America’s military ranks’ (Thompson: 2001, p. 5). Irish soldiers, in colonial British armies, played what is sometimes described as an ‘enthusiastic’ role ‘in the British imperial enterprise’ (Cleary: 2003, pp. 22). Later, especially after the Irish Famine in the late 1840s, Irish men and women, Catholics and Protestants, immigrated to the US, Canada, Australia and Britain. Here these immigrants, imbued with post-colonial awareness, profoundly influenced the politics of these respective nations⁶⁵. These communities exerted a significant influence back on the politics of both Ireland and England.

Many Catholic Irish, who left the Island, did so retaining an allegiance to an independent Ireland and to a sense of Catholicism that was resistant to the Protestant state nexus. The duration and nature of the relationship between England and Ireland, coupled with the Diaspora, sharpened colonial and post colonial interpretations of the conflict.

⁶⁴ Additionally, from a British perspective, the main impetus to control the Irish regions beyond the English Pale was a desire to bring ‘a Crown possession’ into line with its own developing notions of religion, Statehood, economy and culture (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 19).

⁶⁵ In Melbourne, the Archbishop Daniel Mannix significantly influenced Australian politics. Mannix rallied as an opponent to conscription in 1916 (Buckley and Wheelwright: 1998, p. 22). The Democratic Labour Party developed from the core of Victorian, mainly Irish Catholic anti-communist/right-wing members of the labour movement, split the ALP in 1954 and infamously played a central role in the Constitutional Crisis of 1972 (Buckley and Wheelwright: 1998; Fitzgerald: 2003).

As with new developments in thought and the evolution of geo-politics, Ireland's economy has also been tied to developments in the British economy. After Cromwell had secured Ireland for England in the middle 17th century, and prior to the industrial revolution of the middle 19th century, Ireland provided important pastoral capacity to the English economy (Cullen: 1993, p. 11). Cullen writes that Ireland's eventual economic recovery, after this turbulent period, was tied to England's colonial expansion (1993, pp. 10 – 13). Later, as the linen trade developed, the North of Ireland experienced a transformation linked with England's own industrialisation. The linen trade, and in particular the development of the mechanisation of this sector, provided the beginnings of industrialisation in Ireland. This sphere of economic activity in the North saw Belfast develop as a world centre for ship building⁶⁶ and later with industries associated with the defence sector.

De-industrialisation from the late 1960s onwards critically bought with it intensified inter-communal socio-political conflict. Although, interestingly, the Thatcher government, realising the links between economy and conflict, held back from implementing the depth of neo-liberal reform that was introduced in Britain's other industrial cities. As Barton writes, „the “Thatcher revolution” was less ideologically driven when applied to Northern Ireland than to Britain’ (2009, pp. 21 – 22). In fact, the public sector, as we shall see, was enlarged to offset job losses from the decline in the manufacturing sector. Finally, after the 30 year civil conflict, the province passed into the neo-liberal conjuncture of service capitalism, characterised by consumption and property speculation.

Each of these economic changes produced serious socio-political consequences. The injection of Planters in the early 17th century into Ireland forced many Catholics from their lands to clear the way for crops and livestock. However,

⁶⁶ Harland and Wolff „...became the largest single shipbuilder in the world by the 1890s’ (Campbell: 2009, p. 238). At the beginning of the 20th century, Harland and Wolff and another Belfast firm, Workman Clark, accounted for 8% of global output alone (Ó Gráda: 1994, p. 295).

some Catholics were then taken on as tenants on rural holdings. The presence of the Catholic tenants on recently appropriated Protestant lands assisted the early economic stability of the Plantation (Stewart: 1997, p. 24). Nevertheless, Catholic paramilitary organisations sought to exact retribution on those who displaced them (see Monaghan: 2002). Protestant proto-paramilitary organisations also grew in this time in concert with Catholic groupings (Stewart: 1997, pp. 113 – 137). Within four decades of the beginnings of the Ulster Plantation, in October of 1641, a significant and violent insurrection of native Irish against the planters occurred⁶⁷. In 1649 Oliver Cromwell sailed to Ireland with an army to counter the insurgency in brutal terms. Cromwell's actions were economic and political but were inextricably linked to the recent religious and political upheavals in England (see Barnard: 2000, pp. 1 – 15). Regardless of the varying impetus, they were, ultimately, underpinned by the English colonial project⁶⁸.

Early industrialisation also provoked the development of clandestine organisations that sought to resist exploitation and displacement on both sides of the religious divide⁶⁹. Industrialisation provided the impetus for Catholic labourers to migrate on mass to towns like Belfast, providing the geographic kernel of the sectarian violence that was to become synonymous with the city (see Gibbon: 1975, p. 96). Industrial capitalism deepened and entrenched the privilege of the Protestant at the expense of the Catholic community and Belfast provided the location for resistance, riots, and repression. Ultimately, this multi-faceted colonial/economic conflict was more successfully characterised and subsumed by sectarianism and the bitterness associated with traditional colonial and post colonial struggle.

⁶⁷ Stewart characterises the uprising as a slaughter'; that the contemporary accounts of survivors speak of the indiscriminate murder of innocents at the hands of the insurgents (1997, pp. 50 – 52).

⁶⁸ Barnard argues that Cromwell had to abandon his punitive plan to forcibly relocate Irish Catholics to Connaught as the absence of their labour power would have weakened the economy of the region (2000, p. 11).

⁶⁹ Protestants also began to violently oppose the emerging market relations evident in industrial capitalism. Miller outlines the forces of change that generated ...new waves of anger, organization, protest, and reprisal against perceived exploitation' (2004, p. 269).

De-industrialisation provided more scope for upheaval and violence, as working age men⁷⁰ found their place in an increasingly feminised society and economy evaporating (Bairner: 1999). Paramilitary groupings and their political wings benefited from the propaganda dividends provided by an increase in unemployment and the perception that the 'Other' community was profiting at their expense⁷¹. For example, loyalist paramilitaries, in the early 2000s, enjoyed a level of continued community acceptance within the context of perceived Catholic advance and the changing economy. In the Protestant working-class area of Sandy Row, ongoing loyalist paramilitarism was not a key concern of residents. For example, when given the opportunity to condemn paramilitary activity, the vast majority of respondents considered it of much less importance than 'litter' (77%). In comparison, 60% of respondents saw punishment beatings as a problem either rarely or never [and] 20% stated that...paramilitary influence, murals and emblems should be removed' (Department for Social Development: 2004, pp. lxvi – lxviii).

However, the interpretation that the changes unravelling in the Northern Irish political economy, and the Protestant working-class understanding that they were being excluded from its benefits is clearly visible:

The most commonly held view was that there was a lack of or poor consultation and that there was a need for social housing in the area rather than apartments. There was also a fear that local people were being pushed out of Sandy Row and the question was asked whether there actually were any benefits to local people. There was also a perception that the residents in the [newly constructed] apartments do not make attempts to integrate into the community (Department for Social Development: 2004, pp. lxv - lxvi).

It is clear that a core of the Protestant working-class are aware that a socio-political transformation is taking place and that they are unlikely to benefit from it.

⁷⁰ Although Catholic women in particular fought in the IRA's 'Active Service Units'.

⁷¹ This concept, that an advance for one community was retreat for the other, is often referred to as a 'zero-sum' relationship (see Cash: 1996, p. 118).

The phase that followed de-industrialisation in Northern Ireland was, in many ways, unique to that province. While many Western European post-industrial economies began the transition from a broad social democratic ideological foundation, towards the neo-liberal system of deregulated global capitalism, Northern Ireland retained a high level of state intervention in politics, society, and most importantly, the economy. The sometimes extreme levels of violence, and the anticipation of its intensification should the market fail, provided the impetus behind this anomaly.

During this time the economy of Northern Ireland remained one of the worst performing sub-regions in both the UK and the EU. Ulster, as one of the poorest regions in the European Union was categorised as ‘Objective I, or top priority’, and qualified for significant and sustained structural funding (Salmon: 2002, p. 354). It was also an ongoing recipient of a massive and sustained economic subvention from Westminster. As Hillyard et al. state, —Most economists agree that the conflict has helped to sustain the dominance of the public sector in Northern Ireland’s economy...’ (2005, p. 118). In short, the post-colonial undertones in Northern Ireland over-determined the neo-liberal drive for deregulation and a reduction of state penetration into society and the market.

For centuries, the closeness of the relationship between sporadic unrest, organised violence and Ireland’s economy was a broadly accepted academic premise. The zero-sum nature of the conflict guaranteed that when one ethnic group was gaining, the other was losing⁷². However, with the paramilitary ceasefires of the early 1990s, this apparent negative cycle of economy and violence began to break

⁷² There were several instances where economics drove a horizontal wedge between social classes, and not the usual vertical wedge between ethnic groups. However, the reality of zero-sum thinking in Ireland between the two communities is evident. For the Catholic community, marginalisation was the outcome of structural inequality inherent in the colonial relationship. For Protestants, their marginalisation was a consequence of affirmative action policies directed towards Catholics. Protestants, in particular the working-classes, feel as though they have been made to suffer to appease militant republicanism (see Morrow: 2000).

down. This period is symptomatic of a fundamental change in the relationship of the two communities to the state, the economies of Northern Ireland and Britain, and the wider global economy with its focus on individual consumption. The peace evident in Northern Ireland today is not a part of the historical cyclical lull in violence, but an entirely new conjuncture.

The chapter will outline the significant shifts in the socio-economic conjunctures of Northern Ireland and the related implications to the regions political economy. Subsequently, the argument will be made that certain, crucial changes have occurred within the two communities of the province, dependent and interrelated to these recent developments in the economy. This chapter will be underpinned by the assumption that the basic socio-economic structure in Northern Ireland has transformed from near total Protestant hegemony, in evidence arguably from the early 17th century until the late 1980s (Ruane and Todd: 1996, pp. 150 – 175), to one that has seen Catholic socio-economic integration.

These changes are no more marked than in Belfast⁷³. Historically, many significant transformations in the political economy of Ireland and Northern Ireland have taken place in Belfast. Consequently, Belfast will provide the focus of the study. The relationship between many Northern Irish people to capitalism has changed, with the level of consumption increasing with the relaxation of the security threat. For several decades the Troubles ensured that members of each community, the working-classes in particular, would for the most part consume from within the geographical limits of their own community⁷⁴ (Whyte: 1991, p. 36). Now these geographical constraints are no longer determinate, although Shirlow shows that the working-classes are still disproportionately affected by the fear of entering the Other's territory (2003). The reduction of the security threat has been accompanied

⁷³ See chapter 6 for the regional differentiations of this shift in the province.

⁷⁴ The fear that restricted Catholics and Protestants from moving freely within the other community, and this includes working in a business ...dominated by the Other group, is known as the chill factor (Shirlow and Murtagh: 2006, p. 91).

by a subsequent 'normalisation' of economic activity⁷⁵. The Belfast of the late 20th century, symbolised by, rioting, car bombings; political and sectarian assassinations; an active British military presence, police and paramilitary roadblocks and searches, has given way to a consumer culture that is more in keeping with the majority of post-industrial cities (see Shirlow: 1997; Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999; McKinstry: 2008; Kellehan; 2009).

During the region's economic expansion and up until the Global Financial Crisis, Belfast has been compared favourably with other cities in the UK and on the European continent. This comparison often takes the form of discussions concerning the normalisation of modes of consumption. This includes the proliferation of 'high-street' cafes, restaurants and high fashion clothing stores and an increasingly popular annual Belfast Fashion Week. The irregularity here is that not so long ago it was the frequency with which ethnic conflict erupted into violence resulting in death in this city that marked it as one of very few such anomalies in 'Christian' Western Europe.

In the last decade and a half, the intentional and strategic targeting of private and public assets by militant republicans—a tactic employed in the early period of the conflict—has been offset by Catholic ownership of private assets. In addition, partial Catholic 'republican' control of public assets now occurs through Sinn Féin in the Northern Ireland Assembly. These factors, when compared with the socio-economic position of most Catholics in Northern Ireland up until the late 1960s, verge on polar opposite.

This chapter will show that the economic relationship to violence is much broader and slower to react to the politics of the day. It is not my intention to argue that the economic position of Catholics is somehow immediately related to indicators

⁷⁵ Normalisation here does not refer to a return to the economic relations evident prior to the eruption of large scale violence. It refers to the alignment of the Northern Irish economy with the neo-liberal economies of other post-industrial nations.

such as unemployment. Such a micro economic approach was convincingly critiqued by McGarry and O'Leary who showed there was no immediate link between unemployment levels and violence between 1981 and 1991 (1995, pp. 289 – 290). It is also conditional on wider political movements outside of Ireland. For example, the Troubles cannot be considered outside of the wider civil rights movements occurring in the US⁷⁶. Additionally, it cannot be analysed outside of the attempts of the Protestant elite to maintain their privilege in a changing world. The mismanagement of the British government; in particular, the British army, in convincing Catholics through their various tactical errors that the state sought to keep them marginalised, is also crucial.

Nevertheless, while Sinn Féin's parliamentarism is seen by some as a strategic move towards unification (Gudgin: 2009), and some view it as betraying core republican principles (McIntyre: 2006), this chapter argues that economy has played a vital role, and that it will be unlikely that Sinn Féin, regardless of their intentions, will be able to control the direction that politics takes within the new socio-economic conjuncture. The self-understanding of Catholics has shifted from that of a marginalised and oppressed minority, to global citizens in an enterprise society'.

Initially, this chapter will look at the structural mechanisms put in place in Ireland during the Protestant Plantations of the 17th century. The intended outcome of these mechanisms was to guarantee the economic and political success of the Plantation. In practice it engendered the social, economic and political marginalisation of the Catholic community. The significance of the recent expansion of the Catholic middle-class can only be appreciated in the context of the socio-economic structures of the early Plantation period. The depth of structural marginalisation also helps to account for the slow transition for Catholics to a place of relative equality.

⁷⁶ The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement was based on, and had interactions with, a variety of civil rights organisation in the US (Dooley: 1998, p. 67).

From here capitalism, in what will be referred to as the 'imperial' period, will be analysed. This is the era between the establishment of the Northern Irish state in 1921 and the beginnings of de-industrialisation from the 1960s onwards. This was the socio-economic structure upon which the Troubles were immediately fought. With partition and a modernising economy, the character of Northern Irish capitalism changed. The desire of the Protestant community to hold on to economic and political power, in a changing global economy, was increasingly compromised by the conventional socio-political currents evident in other European countries; especially Great Britain. There, post-war policies of equality of opportunity and parity of social provision were in the ascendency. What is interesting during this period is that regardless of the intentions and policy of the British government, the Protestant community, through its political dominance of the state, maintained its self-interested structure for as long as it did. This ended effectively with direct rule from Britain in 1972. However, regardless of the incremental normalisation of the public sector, Protestant dominance in the private sector proved much more resilient to change.

It is also important to consider the impact that the European Union made on the conflict. As a region of the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland joined the European Union in 1973, in the same cohort as the Republic of Ireland and Denmark. This date coincided with the most violent period of the Troubles and appears to undermine the reductionist materialist reading that affluence can undermine conflict. On the surface, there is little evidence to suggest that there may be a direct correlation between European Union membership, and especially structural funding, and violence in general.

Finally, this chapter will examine the economic relations underlying the ideological assumptions in modern, neo-liberal, Northern Irish capitalism. The current structures, inclusive of the return of foreign investment, a significant increase in immigration and an expansion of retail outlets and property speculation, are

contrasted against pre Peace Process capitalism, the era of imperial capitalism. The basic requirement of the security of private property within a capitalist economy has returned to Northern Ireland. In the realm of ideas, the issues that previously preoccupied thinkers and commentators—the search for the impetus behind the conflict—is increasingly giving way to a celebration of consumption capitalism as an indicator that Belfast has not so much ‘transcended’ its phase as a site of extreme violence, but has ‘arrived’ as a part of affluent Western Europe⁷⁷. At the same time the working and under-classes of both communities are increasingly ignored, where recently their grievances, given importance by the disproportionately large number of working-class paramilitaries, were taken seriously.

Plantation and the Structural Origins of Catholic Marginalisation

For centuries, the political elite ruling England had sought to ‘bring Ireland to heel’. However, from the early 12th century onwards, these attempts were generally unsuccessful (Canny: 1973, pp. 576 – 580). Therefore, after the Flight of the Earls in the 1607, when the Gaelic leaders of Ireland left for continental Europe, English and Scottish Planters were granted favourable lands at the expense of the remaining Catholic population (Somerset-Fry and Somerset-Fry: 1991, pp. 137 - 164). This aggressive strategy was an attempt to succeed where other attempts to colonise Ireland had failed. As a result, ‘Protestants came to dominate the more fertile regions of the province...while Protestant (largely Presbyterian) traders, manufacturers and artisans dominated the port and inland towns’ (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 151).

⁷⁷ This is not Belfast’s first ‘arrival’. A source from a century ago announces ‘...we mark the eminent status of Belfast in the modern world, her high commercial and industrial distinction, her wealth and affluence, her constant growth...we are bound to admit that very few cities of the present age owe more to the splendid public spirit of her residents’ (quoted in Gaffikin and Morrissey: 1999, p. 43).

The fundamental question of Catholic marginalisation is a core debate (see Whyte: 1991, pp. 52 – 56). For Ruane and Todd, the genesis of the structural marginalisation of the Catholic community, is unquestionable. They write that:

The origins of economic inequality lie in the seventeenth century when it was created as a matter of government policy. Once inequality had become embedded in the social and territorial structure and Catholic and Protestant were separated into different cultural and political worlds, it became self-reproducing (1996, p. 171).

For these authors, the reality of Catholic marginalisation is accepted, although it is not a universally acknowledged premise. For Dixon, the extent of discrimination was questionable. He wrote that the question was ‘...still highly politically charged and deployed in the propaganda war between the competing parties’ and that ‘...nationalists tend to exaggerate the extent of discrimination’ (2001, p. 67). For Ruane and Todd, the Plantation was fundamentally built on political inequality and colonial subjugation. In order to guarantee its success, the Plantation needed to displace and/or marginalise Catholics.

The political advantages first established in Ireland by the Protestant Planters were tied in with the re-creation of wealth and a subsequent deepening of control. Agricultural land, early manufacturing concerns, internal and external transport were Protestant dominated. While some Catholic commerce remained (Ruane and Todd: 1996, pp. 37 – 41), the sheer dominance, both politically and economically, of Protestants in Ireland characterised the state of Northern Ireland up until the early 1990s.

It was against this long-standing and deeply ingrained dominance that the civil rights movement of the late 1960s developed. After World War Two, the British interventionist state set about normalising the political institutions of Northern Ireland, bringing it into line with that on the British mainland. Nevertheless, despite the efforts over several decades of civil rights groups, liberal unionists such as the Northern

Irish Prime Minister Terrance O'Neill or British governments, the open economic participation of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland is only a very recent occurrence.

Industrialisation in the North East of Ireland

The underdeveloped' nature of the Irish economy⁷⁸ prior to the Plantations of the 17th century provided partial validation for British (read English) intervention, and has also served as a discursive site of conflict after partition⁷⁹. Mogeey describes the pre-Plantation economy:

Cereal crops were known and cultivated in Celtic Ireland, but the staple foods seem to have been milk and meat, evidence of a pastoral society and a non-exchange economy. The Irish built no towns or ports along the coast, and had few roads worthy of the name. Without these each region could remain autonomous, free from political servitude to any central power, but at the cost of a wasteful use of land and a low standard of living. This form of life may be called Irish or Celtic, for it was common to the whole of Ireland (1955, p. 5).

During the Troubles, unionist and loyalist politicians reiterated the backwardness' of the economy of the Irish Republic as further evidence to resist its interference in the politics of the prosperous, religiously free North. Probably the most well known and vocal of these figures was the Reverend Ian Paisley (see Whyte: 1991, p. 149; Ruane and Todd: 1996, pp. 56, 93).

⁷⁸ The presence of English settlers prior to the Protestant Reformation did little to convert' the Irish economy. Many English Catholic settlers who made up earlier attempts to establish pre-Reformation Plantations in Ireland were absorbed to a large degree into Gaelic culture. They were polemically referred to on the mainland during the Tudor period as degenerate" English' and were seen to embrace Gaelic subsistence modes of agriculture (Stewart: 1997, p. 33).

⁷⁹ This was evidenced, as we have seen, with the debates between Green and Orange Marxists, with the latter arguing that the successful industrialisation post Plantation validated the progressive mission of Protestants as opposed to the backward political-economy of southern nationalist Catholicism. We shall also see that Protestants used similar arguments to justify their position of relative prosperity vis-à-vis the Catholic community. For exponents of this argument, Catholics were relatively worse off because they lacked the proper work ethic; the backward' nature of pre-Plantation economy in Ireland is seen to validate this argument.

By the middle to late 17th century, after the Plantation, a large linen spinning industry had become established in the region (Crawford: 2005, pp. 7 – 22). The linen industry is widely seen as the sector responsible for industrialisation in Ireland which is placed around beginning of the 19th century. Clarkson writes that ‘From the 1820s to the 1860s the driving force of [Belfast’s] development was the mechanised flax spinning industry’ (1987, p. 151). Although, the ready supply of cheap labour meant that machines took the better part of two decades to begin to usurp hand spinners (Crawford: 2005, p. 83).

This process saw the beginnings of the centralisation and urbanisation of Belfast. Up until that point, the linen industry existed in towns and country regions, in small factories and on rural small holdings as a supplement to agricultural production (see Crawford: 2005, pp. 7 – 85). The products created in this process were then taken to central areas in larger towns for sale to merchants from Belfast or Dublin.

As linen mills began to appear in Belfast, people left rural areas to settle near the city. The workers settled in areas that developed a rough, but not yet homogenous, sectarian geographic quality. For instance, ‘Sandy Row was one of Belfast’s first proletarian quarters. Sandy Row was ‘Primarily a centre of linen production...it was built in the 1840s, together with the adjacent Catholic area of the Pound’ (Gibbon: 1975, p. 69). Gibbon writes that sectarian conflict sometimes erupting in violence and rioting was a common occurrence in these workers enclaves (1975, pp. 69 – 86).

This violence also included ‘expulsion and intimidation’ whereby Catholics were forced to leave areas dominated by Protestants, in particular Sandy Row and the Shankill (see Gibbon: 1975, p. 78; Munck: 1985a, pp. 149 – 150). While the process of the ethnic homogenisation of working-class areas continues to today, its origins lay in the very earliest phases of urbanisation in Belfast. The Mills provided a nucleus for sectarian violence; their presence engendered the urbanised religiously

divided workforces (Gibbon: 1975, pp. 67- 72). As a result of the socialisation of labour and the consequences of urban development, sectarian rather than class conflict developed.

The origins of Catholic grievances can be seen here in identity construction formed by the complicated intersection of economic and religious factors, underpinned by urban development. Place, economics, religion and identity reinforced each other and each of these components existed within the system of colonial relations. This relationship persisted until the contemporary era, where the interconnected process began to slowly unravel.

The urbanised communal division were further entrenched by several early developments including the creation of the Orange Order, and not least by the population influx into Belfast created by the failure of the potato crop in the middle to late 1840s. Belfast's population grew as the population of Ireland as a whole decreased. It is within the context of increasing industrialisation and the influx of Catholic workers where we can begin to appreciate the impetus behind the 'Protestant bloc'—the conditional alliance of the working, middle and upper-classes. This cross-class solidarity is primarily seen as being facilitated by the Orange Order and has historically appeared most evident in times of crisis. When viewed comparatively with the emergence of trade unionism and class-based politics elsewhere in the world, working-class participation in the bloc represents an anomaly. Protestant workers voluntarily aligned with those who were considered elsewhere as class enemies⁸⁰.

Gibbon explores the impetus behind this anomaly. He notes that 'Orangeism was particularly strong in the Belfast trades' from at least the middle of the nineteenth century onwards (1975, p. 94). The charge that Protestant workers were 'duped' into

⁸⁰ For a comparison with the English working class, see Thompson (1968).

a cross-class alliance was not uncommon as we saw in chapter 1. However, Protestant workers benefited from Orangeism, Gibbon states:

The Order's character was one which offered broad protection by a few of the very powerful, through a multiplicity of lesser patrons, to a host of segmented groups of workers seeking to establish restricted labour markets (1975, p. 95 – 96).

Protestant workers realised the expediency of the Orange Order in out-manoeuvring the increasing Catholic working population. The material result was that, as Bell writes, 'Protestants were over-represented in the higher-paid and Catholics in the lower-paid jobs' (1976, p. 22). Gibbon sees the Orange Order as central to the creation and continuation of this demarcation of employment; a situation that contributed a political element to the material basis of the privileged position of the Protestant working-class over Catholic workers. This sometimes slender advantage saw the Protestant working-class known as a 'labour aristocracy'. This material development ensured the working-classes absorption into the bloc that existed—though not seamlessly (see McAuley: 1991, pp. 45 – 68)—until the eruption of the Troubles.

In short, industrialisation developed in the North East of Ireland with Protestants in control of both the majority of resources and of professional and industrial associations⁸¹. At the time, Ireland was a single political entity, effectively ruled from Britain and was linked to British world economic domination (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41). Belfast became increasingly modernised and industrialised and within the city itself, the Protestant areas—roughly the north-east of the city—were by no accident, the most heavily industrialised (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 40). By the turn of the 20th century, the linen industry had entered into decline. Cebulla and Smith write that the industrial sectors that emerged to dominate the economy,

⁸¹ For example, Crawford writes that the creation of the Linen board and the subsequent preferential political and bureaucratic assistance that the province received from Westminster relating to the linen trade, was inspired by a desire to ensure the Protestant Plantations success (2005, p. 59).

‘...shipbuilding, textiles and engineering’ were hitherto successful, but were structurally too ‘narrow’ (1996, pp. 40 – 41). Nevertheless, as the economy industrialised, Protestant workers were over represented in skilled industrial trades, and the Protestant elite were in firm control of them (Ruane and Todd: 1996, pp. 150 – 157).

Capitalism between Partition and the 1994 Ceasefire

The partitioning of Ireland in 1921 saw the vast pre-existing socio-economic control exercised by Protestants in the North East of Ireland enhanced significantly by their new found political dominance of the state⁸². Although political rule from the UK had previously been sympathetic to unionist political and economic aims, the new found powers assisted the Protestant elite in maintaining greater control. This is certainly the case after World War Two, as we shall see below. The economy of Ireland and post-partition Northern Ireland always maintained strong links with the imperial British mainland. In short, Northern Ireland’s economy was tied to the British Empire. On this Cebulla and Smyth write that the main economic activity of the province, mainly ‘...shipbuilding, textiles and engineering...[was]...dependent upon the continued domination of Britain over world trade’ (1996, p. 41).

While the British Empire retained and expanded its primacy, and the global market that Britain dominated still required the goods manufactured in the North of Ireland, Northern Irish industrial capitalism prospered accordingly. During the 1950s, Isles and Cuthbert referred to Northern Ireland’s economy as ‘...merely a sector of the British economy’ (1955, p. 95). The economic interaction of the North East of

⁸² The Protestant elite used a gerrymander to maintain political control of the political wards in Northern Ireland (Neville and Douglass: 1982, p. 121). The gerrymander was considered to be applied in its most ‘vulgar’ form in Derry (Lee: 1989, p. 420). The existence of the gerrymander, and the extreme political discrimination created by this, was a prominent issue in the civil rights movement (Dixon: 2001, pp. 68 – 69).

Ireland and the world's leading industrial power had a positive impact on the development of that region's economy (Cullen: 1993, pp. 11 – 13); however this also made it susceptible when the British economy faltered (Gaffikin and Morrissey: 1999, pp. 36 – 37). The vulnerability of the industrial Northern Irish economy has, in the view of O'Hearn and Shirlow, been replicated in the neo-liberal era; this is a concern over the reliance of service rather than productive capitalism.

Nevertheless, the economic strength of the province from the late 18th century through to at least the early 20th century was impressive; '...largely due to the linen industry, east Ulster was supporting a denser population at a higher level of income than anywhere else in Ireland' (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 151). This transition is dramatic given that 'Ulster was the least developed Irish province' in the early part of the 17th century' (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 151). In the later part of the 19th century, Belfast '...was the world's leading centre for mechanised linen production...was the fastest growing city in the British Isles...and by the early twentieth century...possessed the world's largest shipyards' (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 151).

In addition to these significant developments it is also important to consider that Protestants were not merely managing economic concerns for English capitalists; in the most part, these concerns were operated by Protestants and financed from their own capital. Cebulla and Smyth write that a '...very high proportion of industry remained in private and family hands (still over 55% in 1956)' (1996, p. 46). This intensified the marginalisation of the Catholic community. The foundations of capitalism in Northern Ireland were Protestant; the reproduction of capitalism ensured Protestant control. The political control gained after partition galvanised their position. These economic differentials contributed to identity construction. However, once financial control left the hands of Protestants in both the private and public sectors, their economic power began to erode. Today, global neo-

liberal capitalism has replaced the intimate Protestant colonial control of the private sector.

Buchanan wrote succinctly of the self-perceptions of each community: ‘...the Planter [Protestant] was a tough, hard-working and independent pioneer who brought civilisation to a barbarous and superstitious people’. Conversely, Catholics viewed their ‘...ancestors as proud Celts, dispossessed by their inheritance by the alien Saxon oppressor who some day must be forcibly ejected from the fair land of Ireland, or else made to conform to Irish ways’ (Buchanan: 1982, p. 49). Here both communities freely characterise themselves in terms of a colonial relationship. For Protestants, they are the superior Planter over the inferior Celt; for Catholics, they are morally and spiritually superior and are the legitimate peoples displaced by colonial violence.

Buchanan’s representation of Protestant self-image illustrates the complicated nature of the marginalisation thesis. For many Catholics, including members of the IRA, Sinn Féin, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) and the SDLP, the relationship was clear; the imperial/colonial system brought with it structural marginalisation. This view, in many variations, is common in academic and political circles. However, historically, for many Protestants, their position of relative power was the result of a combination of factors. This included, on the one hand, a reward for ‘loyalty’ (Bruce: 1989, pp. 70 – 71). More importantly, they reasoned their advantage to be the result of colonial superiority, resultant from their work ethic and the values particular to the Protestant faith (Bruce: 1989, p. 71). In its simplest form, this colonial ideology reasoned Catholic poverty to the result of their laziness, domination by superstitious clergy and lack of the Protestant work ethic.

During the industrial phase of the economy, the work forces remained segregated and unemployment was disproportionately high for Catholics (see Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41; Whyte: 1991, pp. 36 – 37). In a review of the debate

surrounding Catholic unemployment⁸³, Whyte stated that 'There is universal agreement as to where the gap between Protestant and Catholic is at its worst. It is in unemployment' (1991, p. 59). Today, there is significant evidence that shows sustained Catholic working-class unemployment, despite the Peace Process. This undermines the anticipated 'peace dividend'. A Catholic middle-class may have expanded over the last decade or so, but a significant element of the Catholic community remains economically and geographically mired in their historical position (O'Hearn: 2008, pp. 107 – 108).

The importance of this geographic demarcation becomes most evident as it begins to unravel. Imperial capitalism, in its development and operation, divided the Protestant and Catholic working-classes; it geographically isolated the Catholic community in economically marginalised ghettos; and then provided the structural basis for the violence that developed from these divisions. Marginalised Catholics increasingly saw little value in the links with Britain⁸⁴. If the beginning point can be seen as the consolidation of community division through the establishment of the Northern state, then the entry of Northern Ireland belatedly into the global neo-liberal economic order, and the relationship of the emergent Catholic middle-class to this development, can be seen as the signpost to mark its end. The Catholic community's attitudes to the state and the support/indifference for violence began to change as the economic structure of the province normalised.

⁸³ In Whyte's review, the differences in the positions of the authors tend to centre on the degree of difference between Catholic and Protestant workers (1991, pp. 58 – 64).

⁸⁴ Although, there has always been support among Catholics for the retention of the union with Britain. As we shall see in chapter 6, research shows that the most marginalised Catholics are consistently the most vociferous pro-unification section.

The Post War Consensus and State Intervention

The devastation of World War Two had a unique effect on European societies. Throughout Western Europe, the Welfare state and the hitherto unprecedentedly high levels of government intervention were created by, and were a response to, higher expectations of the citizens who had just experienced total war and blamed *laissez-faire* capitalism for it (Judt: 2005, p. 72). In many states, government socio-economic intervention was an ideologically alien concept. In others, intervention had some precedence but at levels so comparatively low as to almost defy comparison to the new arrangements. Western European governments became increasingly responsible for providing universal health care, full employment, housing and social security (see Laqueur: 1993, pp. 35 – 36). Sections within the population, who had hitherto existed without economic security let alone prosperity, had their expectations increased by overall economic improvement and government willingness to progressively tax and aggressively redistribute this revenue.

Such expectations were also created in Northern Ireland and most acutely, among the Catholic community. Ruane and Todd write that the ‘expectations’ of Catholics increased significantly during this period; an expectation linked to the growth in the public sector. They argue that Protestant efforts to maintain their control over society and the economy ‘...played a central role in the crisis of the late 1960s’ (1996, pp. 171 – 172). Catholic expectations of equality of access to public goods ultimately met against Protestant resistance. As time developed, Catholic expectations found expression in NICRA.

We have already seen the socio-economic mechanisms used to maintain Protestant privilege. Their origins lay in the Plantation of the 17th century and the ramifications have resonated through the centuries. Nevertheless, the British government, one of the most interventionist states in Western Europe, set about implementing wide ranging social programmes intended to enrich all classes in

British society. While the Catholics of Northern Ireland had a sometimes hostile unionist government distributing these funds as they saw fit, some British provisions and policy did manage to make an impact.

The 1947 Education Act is regarded as an important step towards the creation of a professional Catholic middle-class in the province. Breen writes that in 1953, the participation rates of Catholics in tertiary education was 20%. However, ‘...by the late 1970s roughly equal proportions of Catholics and Protestants of each age cohort were enrolled in Northern Ireland’s third level institutions’ (2001, p. 627)⁸⁵.

It is widely assumed that the middle-class then went about organising reform movements based on their new found material interest in the state through, among other methods, participation in NICRA. Dixon considers this to be the ‘...orthodox’ explanation’ surrounding NICRA’s creation (2001, pp. 88 – 93). However, this interpretation (the ‘top-down’ thesis) has been critiqued. More detailed research has shown that the Education Act took several decades to enable Catholics to move through to the university system. Dixon, citing other studies, suggests that it was not until the 1970s before this upward mobility commenced, after the civil rights movement had already begun (2001, p. 92).

Nevertheless, by the time NICRA began to campaign in earnest, it was a reformist organisation with irredentist elements. This question and the debate is analysed in detail in chapter 5 and Catholic attitudes to the Northern Irish state in chapter 6. Ultimately, this thesis argues that a significant core of the Catholic community initially desired the reform of the state, but the veracity of the state’s resistance to change, coupled with British military repression, radicalised many Catholics. While it is certainly problematic to attempt to link direct causation between the emergent Catholic middle-class and NICRA, it must be said that NICRA’s platform was wholly reform based. The conflict, of which NICRA was both a cause

⁸⁵ The equal distribution of funds to Catholic schools, a component of the reforms, was opposed by the National Union of Protestants during the 1949 election (Bruce: 1989, p. 65).

and symptom, eventually saw Direct Rule imposed in 1972 (Barton: 2009, pp. 12 – 14). Ruane and Todd argue that this actually intensified Catholic expectations of the ‘...principle of parity in social provision’ (1996, p. 159).

Fordism

As with other Western countries after the Second World War, Northern Ireland’s economy was characteristically Fordist (Harvey: 1990, p. 129). Harvey argues that Fordism, was an entity whose constituent parts included, ‘...organized labour, large corporate capital, and the nation state’ (1990, p. 133). Between these components a ‘...tense but nevertheless firm balance of power...prevailed’ (1990, p. 133). This three way cooperation was evident across the political spectrum and was more or less accepted regardless of the ideological stance of the parties that maintained and administered the system. The depth of change evident in a system of production that incorporated so many key facets of society has Harvey argue that ‘...Fordism has to be seen, therefore, less as a mere system of mass production and more as a total way of life’ (1990, p. 135). Gramsci argued that the process was so total that it actually shaped new ‘men’ (quoted in Harvey: 1990, p. 126).

Importantly, not all workers shared in the relative wealth and consumption dialectic that Fordism offered. While Fordism’s structure offered benefits in terms of control, those marginalised from the economic benefits and outraged by the shortfall between reality and their growing expectations took action (Harvey: 1990, p. 138). Unions drew into conflict increasingly with the state and demands for the spreading of the benefits of Fordism deepened. Consumers began to question ‘...the quality of life under a regime of standardized mass consumption’ (Harvey: 1990, p. 139). Minority politics emerged around the 1960s in the form of the civil rights movement in the USA that also questioned the true inclusiveness of the existing structure (Harvey: 1990, p. 139). Nevertheless, the Fordist system managed to hold until ‘...the sharp

recession of 1973 shattered that framework that a process of rapid...transition in the regime of accumulation began' (Harvey: 1990, p. 140).

While trade union related concerns were mainly absent in Northern Ireland, the consensus between Protestant workers and Protestant capitalists was a constant if contested feature. In contrast, the assertion of Catholic political and socio-economic rights fits with the growing minority discontent noted by Harvey. The relationship was both abstract and direct. Alienation and marginalisation was at the root of Catholic grievances; a minority sentiment evident in many Western countries. In a more direct sense, the 'Black civil rights marches provided the model for the Northern Ireland civil rights movement' (Thompson: 2001, pp. 24 – 25; Ruane and Todd: 1996, pp. 273 – 274). Socially, the post-war consensus was unravelling and economically, the 1973 recession was about to send accepted economic doctrine into extreme doubt. Catholics did not benefit en masse from British citizenship rights within the post Second World War social-democratic state, nor from the increased purchasing power associated with the Fordist methods of production.

Foreign Investment and the Troubles

We have seen how the industrialisation phase in the North East of Ireland was largely financed and administrated by members of the Protestant community. This phenomenon existed even though the region's economy was a component of the British economy, where some penetration of British capital would have been expected. As we have also noted, this reality has its roots in the Plantation of the 17th century, the ongoing special relationship with Great Britain that the province enjoyed up until the post World War Two period, and due to the unionist participation in the Westminster parliament, where the party took '...the conservative whip' (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 129) up until the province passed into direct rule from Britain in 1972 (O'Leary: 1997, p. 666).

De-industrialisation, the decline of textiles, shipbuilding and other heavy industries, undermined this homogenous investment culture. At the same time the Catholic community began to organise and voice their claims to equality as British citizens. Economic decline led to the development and implementation in the 1960s of a ...regional development strategy the aim of which was to:

...improve physical infrastructure, to enhance the incentives package for industrial development, and to sell to potential external investors the particular resources the local economy could offer—good water supplies and a surplus of labour with a record of low stoppages and accustomed to low pay. The objective was to attract transnational capital, which could help to diversify the industrial base away from a dependence on shipbuilding, natural textiles and engineering (Gaffikin and Morrissey: 1999, p. 38).

Cebulla and Smyth write that the motivation for the government in implementing attractive conditions for international capital—for example in the synthetic fibre industries—was the desire to offset job losses from the decline of the heavy industrial sector (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41). However, the clear signs of early neo-liberal reforms can be discerned.

De-industrialisation

As with all other established industrial economies, the Northern Irish economy declined significantly from around the 1960s, onwards (Gaffikin and Morrissey: 1999, p. 38)⁸⁶. The decline of ...traditionally important industries of agriculture, textiles, shipbuilding and aircraft manufacture has been staggering; in 1948, 40% of employment in Northern Ireland was in these four industries. By 1968 this had fallen to 22%, and by 1977 it had fallen to 11% (Doherty: 1982, p. 228). Bew et al. consider de-industrialisation, compounded by the withdrawal of large multinational companies, as the biggest shock to the Northern economy (1997: p. 88).

⁸⁶ Cebulla and Smyth suggest that Northern Ireland's economy, as a component of the British economy, was already in decline before the Second World War, but was accelerated after the war's end (1996, p. 41).

The decline of these traditional industries provided a challenge for the government, who attempted to ameliorate the effects of unemployment by stimulating foreign investment in the province. On this process of subsidisation, Cebulla and Smyth write:

During the sixties Northern Ireland still had one of the highest rates of output in Europe, most of which was attributable to foreign owned synthetic fibre plants attracted by generous capital and other grants...The government was intent upon securing jobs to replace those lost in the rapidly shrinking linen industry. Despite this, the effect upon employment was less than spectacular (1996, p. 41).

A consequential and problematic by-product of the structural formation of Northern Irish capitalism was, as we have seen, that heavily industrialised areas were mainly Protestant. As a result, if any initiatives managed to produce any positive results, these went mainly to Protestant workers. For example, during the 1950s and 1960s, government attempts to proactively invest favoured these pre-existing industrialised Protestant areas (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41).

In addition, the skilled workforce was also Protestant⁸⁷. Catholic workers were geographically disadvantaged in this development (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41).

The authors continue:

During the years between 1956 and 1970 employment in manufacturing declined by an annual average of 0.5% and despite 65,000 jobs created with state assistance the numbers in manufacturing industry declined from 185,000 in 1950 to 180,000 in 1970 (1996, p. 41).

The disproportionately high level of Catholic, compared to Protestant unemployment, remained a constant feature during the first efforts of the government to offset overall increasing unemployment. O'Hearn argues that the situation has not improved, that unemployment, especially among males, is highest in areas such as the Catholic Falls Road, and this is repeated in the Protestant Shankill (2008, p. 107).

⁸⁷ The shift to non-productive forms of capitalism in the province has helped to undermine, at least in part, this structural phenomena.

Nevertheless, the industrial economy, within the context of the Troubles, was in terminal decline and the intentional targeting of the economy by republican militants meant that the move to attract foreign capital had limited success. It would take the ceasefires of the early 1990s, the Good Friday Agreement and a significant quarantine period before the province was considered safe again for foreign investment.

The Westminster Subvention

The economic subvention paid by the British government to Northern Ireland has been an important and ongoing component of the region's political economy. The subvention equates to an extremely disproportionate direction of funds from the British government to Northern Ireland. Of all of the regions of the UK, Northern Ireland's payment was constantly the highest. McGarry and O'Leary write:

...public expenditure per head in Northern Ireland, even excluding military expenditure, was consistently higher than in the rest of the UK...in 1990 public expenditure per head for the four territories was as follows: England, £2,161; Wales, £2,489; Scotland, £2,805; and Northern Ireland, £3,626. The Northern Ireland figure was £1,350, or 60 percent, higher than the UK average (1995, p. 76).

Exact figures relating to the subvention are difficult to attain. McGarry and O'Leary's figures show that not all expenses that could be included in a subvention total from the mid 1970s onwards were available. For example, prior to 1974, a detailed breakdown of security costs, an important component of the subvention, were not available (1995, p. 75).

The longer term figures of the subvention show that, as the region's tendency towards de-industrialisation continued, and the violence of the Troubles intensified, the subvention from Britain also increased. Ruane and Todd write:

In the late 1960s the subvention lay between 5 per cent and 10 per cent of public expenditure in Northern Ireland; by the late 1980s it was about one third and represented more than a fifth of personal income before tax...The gap between public expenditure in Northern Ireland and

public revenue in 1992/3 was just over £3 billion, or £2,000 per head of population (1996, p. 159).

O'Hearn places the figure of the subvention at equal to more than a third of regional gross national product'; once again excluding security related expenses (2008, p. 104).

However, the subvention, which had been used to stabilise the political situation over the decades has also been reassessed within the wider logic of neo-liberalism. O'Hearn sees a danger in the subvention being dismantled within the context of fiscal responsibility'. As the province is increasingly integrated into the wider British economy under normal circumstances, spending will be based on a population' rather than needs' basis (2008, p. 104). This will see spending drop significantly and the province exposed to a contraction of the very funds that have provided relative stability.

The Expansion of the Public Sector

The rise of the public sector can be attributed to several factors, some of which are interconnected. The intensification of violence and the subsequent expansion of the security sector are crucial components (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 159). Public sector employment in the early 1970s stood at around 27%, by the mid 1980s it increased to 42% (Bew et al: 1997, pp. 91 – 92). These are the worst years of the Troubles. By the early 1990s, public service employment in Belfast had tripled (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 50). The argument that the expansion of public sector was deliberate' (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 45) in order to offset violence from increased unemployment connected to deindustrialisation, and to contain the violence associated to the Troubles is largely uncontroversial (Shuttleworth and Green: 2004, p. 103).

At this point, Russell writes that public sector employment entered a short decline, from 154,845 in 1990, to a trough of 140,460 in 1998, before recovering to a figure of 145,219 in 2001' (2004, p. 30). Crucially, during this decline, the number of Protestant public sector workers fell, and Catholic numbers increased by 8.8% (Russell: 2004, pp. 30 – 31). The reduction in employment was felt in three sub-sectors, health, district councils and the security related sector...' (Russell: 2004, p. 31). The decline in security is connected directly to the reduction in violence, and the impact on Protestants is indicative of the overrepresentation of this community in security related employment (Russell: 2004, pp. 36 – 37).

The increase of the number of Catholics in public employment is a central issue given that Catholic underrepresentation in that sector contributed to that community's alienation from the state. The exclusion of Catholics from public employment, as Hoare writes, was considered the greater sin', than their exclusion from the private sector (1982, p. 209). He continues:

...Catholic underrepresentation in public employment is held to exist at both local and central government level, and to span the occupation spectrum from Stormont Permanent Secretaries and members of the High Court Bench to school bus drivers...and hospital clerks...(1982, p. 209).

As we shall see, exclusion from the public sector was a key grievance of NICRA. The situation has radically changed. Osborne states that the situation for Catholics has improved substantially', with their participation in the public sector drawing close to the overall economically active' figure for Catholics of 42% (2003, p. 342). Catholics are still not evenly represented at the most senior levels of the public sector, but this is not considered problematic enough to warrant any action (2003, p. 343).

The expanded public service provided employment for many Catholics who had started to make their way through the reformed education system. The public sector was not only expanded, but as we have seen above, had also been largely

removed from the control of the Protestant political elite as a result of direct rule from Britain. Dixon writes that reform allowed Catholics to enter the upper strata of public sector employment; a sector that they were excluded from in the general discrimination ...during the Stormont period' (2001, p. 68). Cebulla and Smyth state that Catholics in particular benefitted from these reforms (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 43).

The Transition to Neo-Liberalism in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland's economy and society have clearly changed. The impetus behind militant republicanism, at least at the level of individuals, has diminished. Community acceptance of paramilitarism, while always conditional⁸⁸, appeared to evaporate in the Catholic community. This was dramatically illustrated by the public backlash directed towards Sinn Féin and the IRA over the murder of Robert McCartney in 2005. The structure and orientation of the economy has changed and is in the continued process of doing so. Northern Ireland is clearly moving into closer economic equilibrium with the mainland of the UK and the EU (see Shuttleworth and Green: 2004, pp. 100 – 121).

The depth and breadth of change in Northern Ireland can be discerned by examining several areas. There are a number of interrelated indicators that illustrate this. They are, fundamentally, linked to the security situation in the region, but they must also be seen within the context of the changing society as it moves towards a consumption based economy. These include the increase in immigration and the overall increase of population in the province. These phenomena illustrate that for economic migrants from countries as diverse as China and Poland, the security situation is no longer a disincentive to migrate.

⁸⁸ For example, Ruane and Todd state that the ...majority of Northern Catholics... had a dislike... for the republican movement...' (1996, p. 113).

The first task here is to establish evidence to suggest that Northern Ireland is indeed passing into the phase of neo-liberalism. Harvey (2006) writes that one feature of neo-liberal political economy is a system in which a few prosper and there is little in the way of emotional or institutional sympathy for those who are left behind. He writes, “The fundamental mission of the neo-liberal state is to create a “good business climate” and therefore to optimize conditions for capital accumulation no matter what the consequences for employment or social wellbeing’ (2006, p. 25). Seeing how the initial success of the Plantation was underpinned by Catholic marginalisation, and that industrialisation was also heavily interconnected with modes of Protestant privilege, and finally that de-industrialisation and the artificial enlargement of the public service was implemented to offset the potential for more conflict based on economic marginalisation, it is not difficult to appreciate that neo-liberal capitalism could not exist within the same socio-political environment that has characterised the North of Ireland for centuries.

The gulf between the discourse of inclusiveness, peace and prosperity; characteristic of the Peace Process throughout, and the character of the economic system outlined by Harvey above is critical. It would certainly seem that introducing, or allowing neo-liberalism to develop in Northern Ireland would be bordering on dysfunctional. In a society that has been so thoroughly divided for almost a millennia, with social and economic marginalisation indicated by many academics as a core or contributing reason for violent conflict, the implementation of neo-liberalism, with its inherent logic of winners and losers, could be catastrophic to the Peace Process.

However, this exposes the fundamental difference between the socio-cultural character of imperial capitalism and neo-liberalism. Imperial capitalism in general and in Northern Ireland in particular, depended on division, segregation and conflict. In comparison, neo-liberalism does not require segregation and coercion; it functions better without it. In fact, the removal of social and ethno-nationalist conflict is a pre-

requisite for its emergence (see Hardt and Negri: 2003, pp. 124 - 134). The primacy of the 'enterprise man' in 'enterprise society', rather than ethno-nationalist community is the key. Imperial capitalism privileged Protestants and structurally marginalised Catholics. Neo-liberal capitalism transcends segregated communities, incorporates and celebrates varying identities and in post-modern fashion severs historical links of all kinds. It does not discriminate against Catholics; it discriminates against the poor.

The ending of the structural components of Protestant supremacy has seen the conditions of many Protestants worsen. Concurrently, the position of a number of Catholics has improved, while the majority of Catholics remain poor with little or no access to the emerging economy. The material basis of conflict between Catholics and Protestants remains in place and in some cases is worsening, but violence does not result. The difference rests in the economic system, and the shift from Protestant dominance to 'global' capitalism; poverty and exclusion within imperial capitalism was a motivation for violence, the same within neo-liberal capitalism is not.

Immigration

The connotations associated with Ireland and the movement of people are highly politicised and almost exclusively negative. The violence of the late 1960s prompted, what was until recently, the largest movement of people during peacetime, with 1.6 percent of Belfast's households '...forced to move between July and September of 1969' (Scarman Report quoted in Moloney: 2003, p. 68). Population movements within the island, forced and otherwise; exile and deportation; immigration linked with religious, economic and political factors, have been an enduring feature of Irish politics. The North of, and subsequently, Northern Ireland has historically been part of this trend. Compton writes that historically, the migration of people has '...long been a traditional part of Northern Irish life' (1982, p. 90). He continues:

Unlike Great Britain, which has experienced steady population growth throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the population of the six counties that now comprise Northern Ireland attained a maximum of 1 649 000 persons in 1841, i.e. 113 000 more than the 1 536 000 enumerated in the 1971 Census of Population. The Famine of the late 1840s and its aftermath heralded a long phase of population decline which only came to an end in 1891 (1982, p. 79).

As we have seen above, emigration also occurred before the Famine. Importantly, leaving Ireland in search of a better life was not a last resort restricted to Catholics.

Regardless of the civil conflict, there have been small ethnic minority groups in Northern Ireland. These 'established' groups included Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Jewish, Sikh and Irish Traveller communities' (Southern Investing for Health Partnership: 2006, p. 2). However, the normalisation of the security situation has seen a significant enlargement of these existing groups coupled with an expansion of the countries of origin. The core 'source' countries include the Philippines, India, Poland, Ukraine, USA and China as well as from Bulgaria, Romania, South Africa, Canada and Malaysia' (Bell et.al: 2004, p. 5).

Figures from 2004 reveal the extent of migrant worker expansion. For example, Bell et al. state that 48% of respondents to their study 'have been in Northern Ireland for less than a year, 13% have lived...[in Northern Ireland] between one and two years, while 29% had lived in Northern Ireland for between 2 and 5 years' (2004, p. 5). In comparison, only 10% of respondents say that they lived in Northern Ireland around the time of the signing of the Good Friday Agreement (Bell et al: 2004, p. 5).

In June of 2009, the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency put the population of the province at an estimated figure of 1 789 000 people (NISRA: 2010, p. 1). Of the 13,900 people that accounted for the population increase in 2008/09, only 2,100 were migrants (NISRA: 2010, p. 1). The year 2008/09 was comparatively very low compared to the previous 4 years. For example, in 2005/06, the 'estimated

net international migration from outside the UK...[was] 9,000 people' (NISRA: 2007). This figure does not include a further 900 migrants from the UK (NISRA: 2007).

This phenomena of population growth through immigration, is the first significant reversal of the longstanding, centuries long trend of immigration from Ireland. Again, as with the movement of Catholics into South Belfast, this represents a historical reversal of population movements motivated by economic and political factors. Significantly, and this must be considered within the powerful discourse surrounding the Irish diaspora, the population of the region has returned to pre-famine figures.

The growing migrant intake has proved controversial for several reasons. First, it has drawn significant levels of violent hostility mainly, but not exclusively, from some Protestant militants. In 2006 McDonald wrote that loyalists were 'linked' to 90% of racist motivated crime in the previous two years (2006b). Migrants have found themselves victims of racist motivated harassment and attacks. Connolly and Keenan analyse such activity directed towards school children, and conclude that while it is largely manifested as 'racist name-calling' it also includes some level of violent assault (2002, p. 353). Bell et.al state that 22% of respondents to their survey felt they were the victims of some form of racially motivated abuse, or discrimination at work (2004, pp. 66, 69 – 75).

As a member of the European Union, within the European Economic Area, Northern Ireland has been an option for migration for EU citizens for quite some time. The conflict has meant that many chose not to take that option. However, the realisation of the 'enterprise society' in the province has dramatically altered this reality. The migrants that have relatively recently begun to see Northern Ireland as a safe destination are working mainly within Northern Ireland's new economic sectors linked to consumption and service capitalism. This includes '...food processing, agriculture, nursing and healthcare, education, and hospitality and catering' (Bell et

al: 2004, p. 5). While food processing and agriculture were features of the pre-Good Friday Agreement economy, the rise of hospitality and catering, without the fact that migrant workers are engaging heavily in the industry, signifies the depth of change.

The Housing Market

The central role that housing played in the early Troubles—in particular, discontent arising from Catholic exclusion from equitable distribution from government housing—makes the recent Catholic moves in to middle-class housing significant. The housing market boom experienced during much of the first decade of this century cannot be viewed in isolation. The boom is connected with investment for rental and, as we shall see, profits from this sector have been invested into the province's booming cafe/restaurant culture. The expansion implies a level of property speculation common to the neo-liberal financial phase as seen in both the UK and the USA. Official figures relating to the recent dynamic improvements in the Northern Irish economy are tied to the sectors of housing and construction. Consequently, drastic improvements in the unemployment rates are also cited as indicative of a strengthening economy and a turnaround in the socio-economic negativity associated with the Troubles.

In just over a decade, the housing market in Northern Ireland displayed exceptionally high growth rates, exceeding that of the rest of the UK except in Greater London and Southeast England (O'Hearn: 2008, p. 109).

House prices have increased by 281% since the 1998 Belfast Agreement, compared to 179% in the UK...The super profits generated by these price rises created an unprecedented boom in property speculation and buy to let mortgages. According to the Northern Ireland Housing Executive, 48% of private landlords in the north acquired their properties in the previous five years...The buy-to-let sector grew by 120% over the past 15 years and 70% of new homes are bought by investors...(O'Hearn: 2008, p. 109).

The increases are statistically remarkable and provide evidence of not only Northern Ireland's economic normalisation, but its emerging status as a modern economic power. In a short time, the housing market caught up with and surpassed that of mainland Britain.

However, the importance of the spectacular growth of the housing market to the emerging 'enterprise society' does not end with the figures cited above. O'Hearn states that '...the profits generated from this sector account for a large part of the booming construction of cafes, and restaurants...' (2008, p. 109). In short, the stability of the security situation can be seen here as central to the emergence of capital generating sectors that are reinforcing neo-liberal capitalism. Where property, both private and state owned, once bore much of the brunt of the IRA bombing campaign, it has become a secure and lucrative investment.

During the Troubles, republican militants specifically targeted economic assets. Smith writes that the initial bombing campaign in October of 1970 was '...directed primarily at commercial targets'. It was only in the following year where the leadership of the IRA authorised the targeting of the British army (1997, p. 95). The economically depressive results of the conflict in general and IRA targeting in particular were significant. Cebulla and Smyth write that one quarter of '...city centre retail property' was destroyed during the 1970s (1996, p. 43); 'Similar estimates for Londonderry suggest that by the end of the 1970s —...0% of the city was in ruins' (Cebulla: 1996, p. 468)⁸⁹. It is clear that 25 percent damage to a city as small as Belfast would have been significant and given the intimacy of the region, psychologically poignant as well.

Republican militants would attack strategic targets and then would follow up by either attacking the tradespeople sent to repair the damage on site, or assault or

⁸⁹ Another signifier of the extent of normalisation can be seen in the recent announcement of Londonderry as the UK's inaugural City of Culture (McKittrick: 2010).

intimidate them⁹⁰. However, this tactic of attacking commercial property statistically begins to decline in the mid 1980s. It was partially borne from the emerging political arguments and importance of Sinn Féin who sought to reduce the potential of alienating other nationalists from political republicanism. Moloney identifies a desire, primarily among Adams and his group, to concentrate on military targets not recruited from the local area⁹¹ (2003, pp. 336 – 337). Smith cites figures which show a reduction in republican targeting of commercial targets, with its inherent risks of killing civilians (1997, pp. 172 – 174).

The very early signs of republicanism moving towards economic normalisation can be seen here; although, it may be seen initially as consequential, rather than a tactical move. It is clear that economic normalisation could not have occurred without a change in strategy by republicans. Following the IRA ceasefire of 1994, there has been ‘...significant growth in capital investment which has occurred due to the reduction of political violence’ (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 29). Private and commercial property was once seen as components of British rule, Protestant control, and importantly, Catholic marginalisation and they were targeted accordingly. The potential of this scenario to transform ideology and society is crucial, as Harvey writes in the case of Thatcher, where ‘All forms of social solidarity were to be dissolved in favour of individualism, private property, personal responsibility and family values’ (Harvey: 2006, p. 17).

(un)employment

In 2007, a report on employment in Northern Ireland stated that ‘Figures released today show Northern Ireland has the highest number of jobs on record, while the unemployment rate is at its lowest ever’ (Department of Enterprise Trade and

⁹⁰ For instance, the IRA executed a man whose ‘...brother owned a building firm that specialized in doing work for the security forces’ (Maloney: 2003, p. 314).

⁹¹ This included members of the UDR and RUC.

Investment: 2007a). The release includes some comments made by Nigel Dodds, the Economy Minister:

These figures represent very positive news. Northern Ireland is experiencing record levels of jobs, combined with historically low levels of unemployment and this provides evidence that the economy is moving in the right direction (cited in Department of Enterprise Trade and Investment: 2007a).

Dodds continues, stating ‘The success of private sector services in Northern Ireland has been instrumental in ensuring continued jobs growth in recent years’ (cited in Department of Enterprise Trade and Investment: 2007a).

Prior to this release, the same department had published historically comparative labour force figures that appear nothing short of astounding:

Between Spring 1984 and Spring 2006 the total number of people in employment is estimated to have increased by 198,000 to a figure of 749,000 in Spring 2006...The unemployment rate has fallen from 16.8% in Spring 1984 to 4.3% in Spring 2006 (Department of Enterprise Trade and Investment: 2007b).

Again, this illustrates the depth of socio-economic change in Northern Ireland. However, there is one constant that helps to illustrate the shift in ideology as well. While a section of the Catholic population has relocated from the working-class ghettos into solidly middle-class Protestant areas, a large core of working-class Catholics (and Protestants) have been left behind. Within the logic of the intractability theses, this development would be used to reinforce the argument that economy is not the core impetus behind Catholic discontent.

This thesis argues that the fact that the large Catholic working and ‘under-class’ (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 55) do not revolt against the government is due to a combination of the realisation of ‘enterprise society’ over the contested ethno/nationalist terrain, and the knowledge that—as the movement of Catholics into the visible middle-class—the political economy no longer discriminates against them as Catholics. Regardless of the fact that ‘very little has changed for many people

living in the most economically marginalised areas...’ (Hillyard et al: 2005, p. xxii), their poverty is no longer blamed on Protestant colonial domination (Gudgin: 2009, p. 62).

The decoupling of colonial domination and the recent neo-liberal transformation are striking. The Troubles were fought, primarily, in the working-class districts in the North and West of Belfast (Sluka: 2000). It is true that extreme violence was not confined to the city. The border areas in South Armagh saw IRA units engage with the security forces from their relative rural strongholds (Moloney: 2003, pp. 304 – 325). Nevertheless, the vast majority of killings, bombings and shootings, and repressive actions of the security forces, took place in the working-class areas in the North and West Belfast.

In the early phase of the Peace Process and extending to the present day, a discourse was set in motion that promised prosperity for all if guns were put aside in the politics of the province. O’Hearn writes that:

Throughout the peace process, the media and British government launched an offensive to win working-class hearts and minds, especially nationalists but also loyalists. The major element in this offensive was the promise that a “peace dividend” would follow the end of the conflict. This promise was usually linked to an influx of foreign investments, especially in high-tech economic sectors, providing high-quality jobs (2008, p. 105).

It was not just the paramilitaries that were to benefit from peace. The working-class communities were also told that they would be a part of the new Northern Irish economy.

The work of O’Hearn (2008); Shirlow and Shuttleworth (1999) and Cebulla and Smyth (1996) illustrate that the working-classes of both communities—especially those from the most marginalised areas that were the most directly involved in the conflict—are in many cases actually worse off under the terms of the new economy. This is, once again, evidence that Northern Ireland is in the process of the transformation to neo-liberalism. As Harvey writes, “The fundamental mission of the

neo-liberal state is to create a “good business climate” and therefore to optimize conditions for capital accumulation no matter what the consequences for employment or social well-being’ (2006, p. 25). It is not the fact that the state in this province would seek to normalise relations for the betterment of market relations that makes this situation interesting; what is interesting, is the fact that it is being facilitated by both the extremities of the political scene who purport to represent their respective and oppositional communities.

The Emergence of the Service/Consumption Economy

Improvements in housing and employment are not necessarily evidence of economic normalisation linked with the expansion of neo-liberalism. Such phenomena were inextricably linked to the social democratic projects of preceding decades. However, improvements in the housing and employment sectors, in Northern Ireland, failed to materialise during this period and have only emerged in very recent times. We have seen that the conflict had depressed the economy and the amelioration of violence has allowed these areas to prosper. However, one sector, unquestionably linked to neo-liberalism, is the increasing dominance of the service sector. Northern Ireland’s transformation in this regard is perhaps even more remarkable than the improvements of the housing sector or employment in general.

The contrast between Belfast at the height of destruction during the Troubles and today, are stark. Shuttleworth and Green write that ‘Northern Ireland is neither as absolutely disadvantaged as it once was, nor are Catholic/Protestant differentials the same as before...’ (2004, p. 103). Evidence shows that a major part of this transformation is evident in the increasing domination of consumption capitalism within the province. Shirlow and Shuttleworth write:

The attraction of the main UK supermarket chains, the phenomenal growth in “glitzy style” superpubs, expensive hotels and the burgeoning of the service sector each indicate this direct link between increased investment opportunities and the decline of violence (1999, p. 29).

For these authors, Belfast and Derry ‘...have now firmly established themselves as ‘miniature replicas’ of major western metropolises’ (1999, p. 29). Almost a decade later the trajectory has continued unchanged. In many of the larger UK based newspapers, articles appear citing the triumph of consumption capitalism. In many ways these articles marry the general relief of socio-economic normalisation and peace, with consumption based capitalism, using the latter as a yardstick or indicator to measure the success of the former.

For example, McKinstry, an author and journalist who contributes to several major UK newspapers, is a native of Troubles era Belfast who at the time, ‘...loathed the place and was desperate to leave’ (McKinstry: 2008). He continues stating that:

It always seemed so drab, so pulled down by bigotry and fear, so lacking in anything of real interest beyond the Troubles. But on my recent visits back there, I feel as if a miracle has been worked. Dripping with restaurants, brasseries, cafés, nightclubs and chic stores, the city now sparkles with a liveliness and sense of affluence that exceed anything I have found in the north of England (McKinstry, 2008).

Here the ‘peace-prosperity’ thesis is uncritically presented and accepted. Importantly, Cebulla and Smyth wrote 12 years prior that the very services listed by McKinstry would be called into being by the emerging affluent middle-classes – with significant disposable income – many of whom are members of the Catholic community (1996, p. 56). The fact that nothing is mentioned critically of the sustained levels of poverty, for example, in the same city is significant. In addition, the only mention of the regions political leadership is a passing remark that Martin McGuinness and Ian Paisley are ‘...known locally as “the Chuckle Brothers” because of their mutual bonhomie’ (McKinstry: 2008).

Post-Nationalist Precedent: The 'Celtic Tiger'

The successful transition of the Republic of Ireland's economy rested on neo-liberal principles. These included strict fiscal policy; reduced public spending, high incentives for businesses and low personal and corporate taxes (Bew et al: 1989, pp. 217 – 222). The transition was so stark and successful that the economy was characterised, for the first time in 1994, as the 'Celtic Tiger' (O'Hearn: 1998, pp. 1 – 3). The Republic's economy went from being one of Europe's worst performing to one of the most dynamic within the EU. In 2010, it reverted to being one of the most troubled.

The success of the Irish economy from the 1980s onwards provides a study in neo-liberal economic orthodoxy. Under the leadership of Fianna Fáil, the state retreated from public expenditure, reduced corporate tax rates and relaxed labour laws further increasing the incentives for companies to establish production and information technology concerns (O'Hearn: 1998). This reality was far removed from the ideological foundations of the Republic's economy, which owed much to the 'Green' socialism of Connolly. Shirlow describes the very first ideological manifestation of the Republic's economy as:

Influenced by James Connolly's Marxist reconciliation of nationalism and socialism, the Easter Rising and Proclamation of 1916 combined demands for national self-determination and a heady mix of socialism, based on the restoration of what was perceived as the Gaelic system of social communalism (1997, p. 91)

However, the realities of the Civil War of the early 1920s and socio/political necessity of creating and consolidating a modern state eroded the idealism of this early position. The Republic marginalised socialist discourse and opted for '...indigenous capitalist led development' which '...effected a Republican ideology, which placed Catholicism, nationalist conformity and the consolidation of Irishness above the pursuit of socialist synthesis and class realignment' (Shirlow: 1997, p. 91).

Social stability and Catholic conservatism became dominant themes within the Republic's political economy. Consequently, '...land and capital redistribution' were dropped from the political agenda in an effort to protect '...the material position of the middle classes' and preserve 'national unity' (Shirlow: 1997, p. 92).

However, this economic model had very little capacity for expansion and wage growth (Shirlow: 1997, p. 92). In 1958, industrial wages were '...50 per cent lower than in Denmark and Britain and 80 per cent lower than in the USA' (Shirlow: 1997, p. 92). Economic stagnation brought problems for Fianna Fáil who was increasingly under pressure from an electorate that began to look at the opposition party, Fine Gael. Migration remained a constant factor in effect illustrating desperation with the socio/economic system⁹². Citizens of the Republic were becoming influenced by the '...prosperity evident in the USA and – though to a lesser extent – Britain' (Shirlow: 1997, p. 92). This in many ways fuelled immigration. Regardless of the ideological foundations of socialist nationalism, or the realities of economic nationalism, an alternative model of 'accumulation and consumption' was required (Shirlow: 1997, p. 92).

The theory that the Republic of Ireland has passed into a post-nationalist phase (see Kearney: 1997) is not only of interest to political economists studying Northern Ireland. There has been internal critique over what had been seen as an abandonment of foundational nationalist ideology, for the economic growth made possible by the implementation of neo-liberal policies.

One example of the Republic's transition could be seen, ironically, on its pre-Euro currency. Malouf argues that a noticeable transformation took place within the very national symbolism of Ireland, where confrontational and non-negotiable

⁹² Immigration from Ireland has always been a feature and immigration to the USA has also been a very constant theme. This began, according to Thompson, in 1642 with Cromwell's deportation of 400 Irish children to be sold as slaves in the 'colonies' (2001, p. 3). Nevertheless, political persecution had in many ways fuelled Irish immigration; therefore, Irish Catholics abandoning the Irish Republic is an interesting case (see Bew et.al: 1989, pp. 74, 108).

symbols and narratives were replaced with more global, post-national ideologically diluted forms. Malouf argues that this has occurred as a result of a conscious effort of the political elite in the Republic to temper cultural nationalism. This included the replacement of Yeats—a figure of ‘cultural decolonisation’—and the ascendancy of James Joyce—being presented as a figure of ‘consolidating...postnationalism’. In this context Malouf sees Joyce as being appropriated by ‘the forces of global capital’ (Malouf, 2000). Here we see an ideological hollowing out of the Irish nationalist project after the fact. Colonial and post-colonial antagonisms are smoothed out for the benefit of Ireland’s position in the globalised world economy.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the relationship between economy and conflict/violence in Northern Ireland has evolved over the centuries. Its origins in the Catholic marginalisation of the Plantations of the 17th century were modernised and reproduced during the industrialised era. This situation was galvanised by Partition, where the Protestant Ulster Unionist Party ‘...exercised hegemonic control over social and political life’ (Porter: 1998, p. 23). However, this phase of socio/political control, characterised by the logic of imperialism, carried with it the impetus of Catholic dissent that intersected with civil rights and anti-colonial movements around the world. After a bitter civil war, Northern Ireland has fully re-entered the global economy. Foreign capital has returned, the property market has expanded and for the first time since the famine of the mid 19th century, Ireland’s population can be characterised by growth rather than exodus.

This chapter has argued that structural Catholic marginalisation has informed irredentist nationalism, and this argument will be strengthened over the next two chapters. Catholic poverty was taken as evidence of continuing colonial structures in

the province and once the civil war began, other factors emerged as more prominent and obscured the fact. This is why previous moves to ameliorate the conflict via wealth re-distribution failed. While the province appeared to resist Catholic demands for equal treatment as British citizens, economic solutions could not compete with emergent republican/nationalist national liberation narratives and competing unionist/loyalist narratives that rejected nationalism/republicanism in its entirety. Once the Troubles began, the nexus of terrorism, counter-terrorism and security began its own dynamic that could not be easily undone.

The ceasefires of 1994 brought with it relative peace and during this period, the Northern Irish economy started to normalise. However, this would have been impossible without significant ideological transformation along with the structural reorganisation of the economy. This chapter has argued that the meta-narratives of unionism and republicanism are being replaced with the ideology of neo-liberalism; 'enterprise man' is atomising and replacing the two distinct communities and 'enterprise society' is undermining the contested national territory of the two traditions. The shifts in the mechanics of the economy are clear; from manufacture to service. The shift in the individual is also evident; from ethno-nationalist contestation to market individual consumption, and in the case of property speculation, hyper-consumption.

The following chapter introduces a wide variety of evidence to support the arguments made in this chapter regarding the shift into neo-liberalism. It presents data across a diverse range of sectors, showing a decline in manufacturing and an increase in credit and consumption capitalism. It shows that a radical shift in Catholic housing tenure is evident, and as argued in this chapter, that housing in the North is a central component in the neo-liberalisation of capitalism. Chapter 4B also unpacks shifts employment and migration, illustrating that Catholics have converged with Protestants, and that foreign workers are increasingly the victims of racism; a

position occupied by Catholics for several centuries. The chapter then ties these material shifts with the emergence of an ambivalent Catholic identity, one that is increasingly aligned to global consumer identity rather than irredentist nationalism.

Chapter 4 B

Political Economy: Empirical Evidence of Neo-Liberalism and Ambivalent Identity Formation

This thesis has advanced the argument that the economy of Northern Ireland, as a semi-independent nation but linked to the United Kingdom, has been so transformed that it can be depicted as having entered the era of neo-liberalism. This chapter will reinforce the argument from the preceding chapter with evidence which shows that important sectors of the economy reveal a significant shift in the market economy, which has profoundly affected both market and political subjectivity. This is not to imply an economic determinism in regard to economic change shaping all identity, however, it is to provide evidence that the market changes has created at least a form of ambivalent market identity so typical of post-colonial societies, where old forms of identity become less dominant to the point of a form of ambiguous identity. Moreover, as Arif Dirlik has pointedly argued, the over-whelming stress on cultural identity can distort an appraisal of post-colonial societies as they undergo significant change caused by material conditions, in this case Northern Ireland (Dirlik: 1994).

This chapter begins by showing the statistical decline of industrial capitalism, and the rise of the public and private sectors in Northern Ireland. From here the chapter will then examine the relevant data related to the increased uptake of consumer durables and credit that provides the basis of the ambivalent neo-liberal subjectivity. This data is compared against the UK average across a timeline of three to four decades. This comparison shows that Northern Ireland has moved away from its position as the worst performing economic component of the UK, to a region that is actually outperforming England in a range of economic areas. Housing tenure is then analysed to show that a once highly contentious and politicised sector of the

economy has become the site of the most dramatic turnaround in the Northern Ireland economy. Figures show that the period in the early 2000s was unique in very high proportions of the purchase of buy-to-lease properties, and housing prices among the highest in the UK.

The chapter then analyses employment, and migration data to outline the shift in the labour market related to the rise of opportunity for previously discriminated Catholic workers. The figures demonstrate the significant change of employment opportunities for Catholics across all sectors in the province. Like the figures on housing, it clearly indicates a convergence of the Catholic with the Protestant community in both housing and employment conditions and therein provides material evidence of a changing position that can act as a counterpoint against the traditional ethnic-religious divide, on which identity was once formed. For example, Catholic engagement in the Police Service of Northern Ireland has exceeded the pre-partition levels of Catholic employment with the Royal Irish Constabulary. In terms of migration, the data illustrates that the province is no longer a net migration out-flow region, but has, as a result of socio-political normalisation, become an attractive location for migratory workers, notably from Eastern Europe.

Each of these sectors illustrates the deterioration of the industrial economy in the province, and the rise of sectors considered central to neo-liberal relations of capitalism. The figures provide evidence of the normalisation of Catholics within the society and economy and thereby giving support to this thesis's claim of a neo-liberal subjectivity that acts in an ambivalent relationship to the old ethnic-religious identities. Catholic engagement in public sector jobs and the police force speak of an investment in the economy and the state not a victim of the state. Increased Catholic involvement with the credit economy materially locks them into the market economy and to a neo-liberal subjectivity as an economic–personal imperative, representing a commitment to the stability of the economy and therefore, the state, as a lived

experience. The new neo-liberal market has interpellated the Catholic subjectivity into supporting rather than seeking to oppose the current material and political conditions.

I) Economic Data: from Imperial Capitalism to Neo-Liberalism

There are several issues that need to be touched on before moving forward with the empirical study in addition to those that will be raised regarding surveys taken in Northern Ireland (see chapter 6). First, to provide a comprehensive picture of the emergent neo-liberal subjectivity the sources used to construct the following tables are varied and form aggregate figures. Sources have been compared wherever possible to evaluate whether they were compatible and were only retained if they matched other published materials. Second, particularly in retaliation to census materials, the comparative youth of the Northern Irish state, coupled with the conflict within which it emerged, destabilised the taking of a regular census. A census was due to be taken in 1921, the year that the Northern Irish state was created. As a result, it did not occur and the first census in Northern Ireland took place in 1926.

However, regular and full census taking did not begin until 1951 (NISRA: Census Taking in Ireland).

In order to bridge the gap between the census of 1926 and the planned census of 1941 a census of more limited scope (e.g. omitting questions regarding occupation and industry) was taken in 1937. The outbreak of war and the subsequent paper shortage led to a restricted publication programme and later, inevitably, to the abandonment of plans for the 1941 census. Since 1951 Censuses in Northern Ireland have been held at the same time as the rest of the United Kingdom at ten yearly intervals, with the exception of the additional 1966 mid term census (NISRA: Census Taking in Ireland).

Adding to these complications is the politicisation of data collection, specifically within the nationalist community. For example, many Catholics refused to comply with the census during the Hunger Strikes in 1981. The reasons for non-compliance ranged

from genuine resistance, through to physical coercion. At one end of the spectrum, Sinn Féin urged non-compliance and at the other end, a census collector was shot and killed in Derry by the IRA (CAIN: AChronology of the Conflict – 1981’).

The campaign mounted by the republican movement appears to have been successful, as the 1981 census returned figures which put the

...population of Northern Ireland...as 1,481,959 with 28 per cent giving their religion as Catholic. [however] 18.5 per cent of the population had refused to state their religion. Later estimates of the true Catholic population put the figure at 38.5 per cent (CAIN: A Chronology of the Conflict – 1981’).

The variation between 28% and 38.5 % supports the contention made by this thesis in relation to the politicisation of surveys in Northern Ireland, and that deriving too much from isolated data is problematic. However, as with the rest of the data presented in this chapter, regardless of these points of concern, the trends are evident in the aggregate materials

De-industrialisation

As was evident in chapter 4, the roots of the significant linen industry, and the subsequent synthetic fibre industry, lie in the 17th century economic structure (Crawford: 2005, pp. 7 – 22). Notably, Belfast grew as a centre of the linen industry and a core of supporting enterprises also developed. By the time the Northern Irish state was created, Belfast had already become a centre for shipbuilding and engineering, nevertheless its economy remained wedded to Britain, and in particular the UK’s global economic primacy (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41; Cuthbert: 1955, p. 95). However, the core sectors of the economy connected to manufacturing began to decline following World War Two (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 41), and this downturn accelerated in the 1960s (Gaffikin and Morrissey: 1999, p. 38).

1.A Decline in Manufacturing Employment 1955-1985⁹³

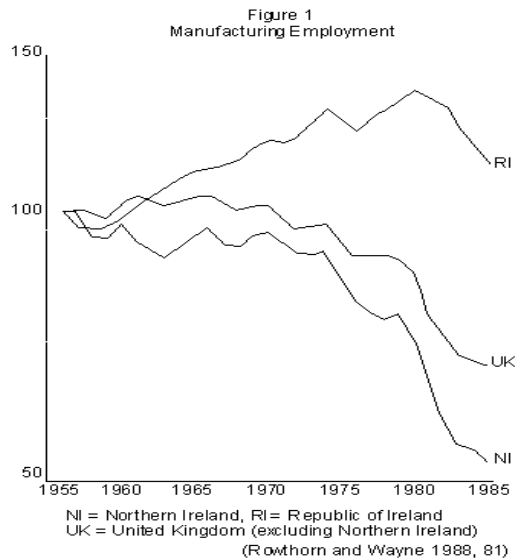
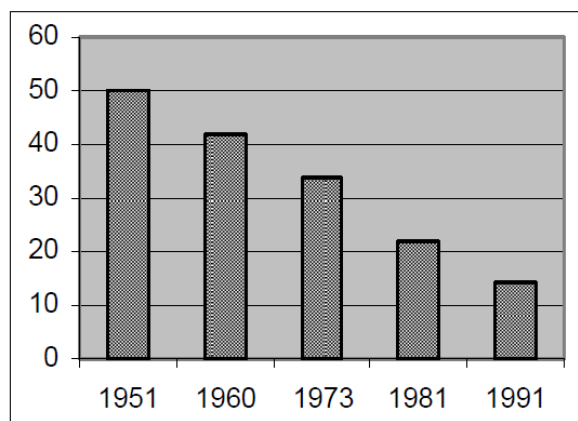


Table 1A shows the decline in the manufacturing sector relative to the UK and the Republic of Ireland (RI). The graph provides evidence that Northern Ireland's economy was already receding before the 1960s, and that its downward trajectory was much sharper than that in the UK. The UK wide economy remained stable until the late 1960s, and from that point its decline was similar to Northern Ireland, but ultimately not as steep.

2.A Percentage of Manufacturing Jobs in Belfast 1951-1991⁹⁴



Sources: Hart, 2006; Gaffikin and Morrissey, 1999.

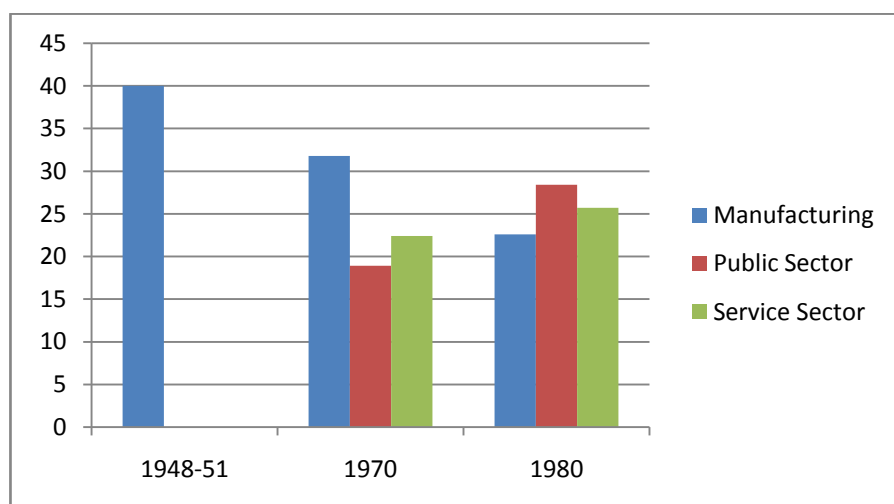
⁹³ Table copied as per Hancock, L., Northern Ireland: Troubles Brewing; cited in Rowthorn and Wayne: 1988, p. 81.

⁹⁴ Table copied in its entirety from Plöger: 2007, p. 10.

Table 2.A shows the dramatic turn down in manufacturing employment in Belfast; from close to 50% in 1951 to less than 15% in 1991.

However, as we have seen, the public sector in Northern Ireland remained strong regardless of the political agenda of the Thatcher government, and the deteriorating security circumstances, as a deliberate insurance against political unrest actually contributed to an expansion of the public security sector although as Ruane and Todd argue, this increase favoured Protestants and therein revealed the inherent contradiction in the Thatcher government policies (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 173). In addition, and as we shall see below, the service sector also strengthened as time passed to off-set the fall in manufacturing employment.

3.A Decline in the Percentage Proportion of Workers Employed in the Respective Sectors 1948-1980⁹⁵



As noted above, through 1948 to 1980, the figures provide incontrovertible evidence of a structural fall in manufacturing jobs province wide. However, from 1970 through 1980, the figures illustrate an increase in the public and service sectors to somewhat ameliorate this decline and the potential political unrest it may have stimulated due to the deterioration in job prospects in the Catholic working class.

⁹⁵ Doherty: 1982, p. 228; Rowthorne: 1981, p. 12; Bew et al: 1997, pp. 91 – 92; Rose: 1971, p. 279; Department of Finance and Personnel, 'Equality Statistics for the Northern Ireland Civil Service: Based on staff in post at 1 January 2011'.

4.A Recalibration of Jobs in the Respective Sectors 1974-1985⁹⁶

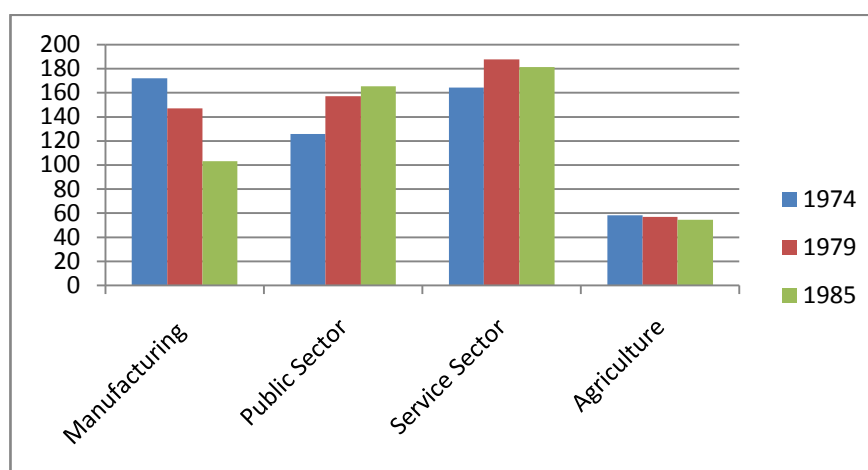


Table 4.A once again clearly illustrates the decrease in manufacturing and an increase in public and private sector employment, and a relatively stable agricultural sector. The resistance of—indeed, the expansion of—the public sector to neo-liberal reform cannot be understood outside of the conflict and the attempts by the government to use public sector employment to both soak up the unemployed and by doing so contain Catholic unrest (Hillyard et al: 2005, p. 118). This sets the Northern Irish economy aside from the wider UK economy that was during the same period characterised by widespread privatisation, deindustrialisation and class protest, especially in the North of the UK.

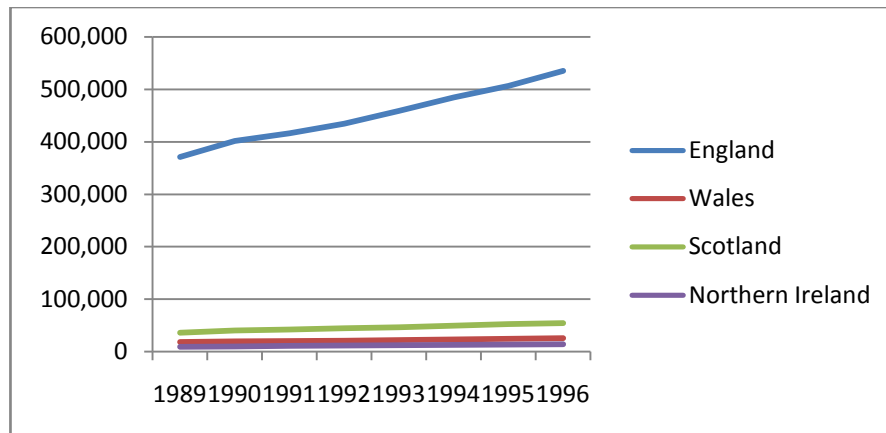
Neo Liberalism

Nevertheless, the UK government's employment strategy for Northern Ireland was based on low wage levels, as such, Northern Ireland has been depicted through the latter half of the 20th century as the most economically depressed region of the UK. Wages, income, GDP per capita and consumption levels were all lower than the UK average, and in many cases, even lower than the regions of the North East of

⁹⁶ Sources, Rowthorn and Wayne: 1988, p. 86; Rose: 1971, p. 279.

England. Table 1.B shows figures illustrating regional disparity in the UK between 1989 and 1996.

1.B Regional GDP: 1989-1996⁹⁷

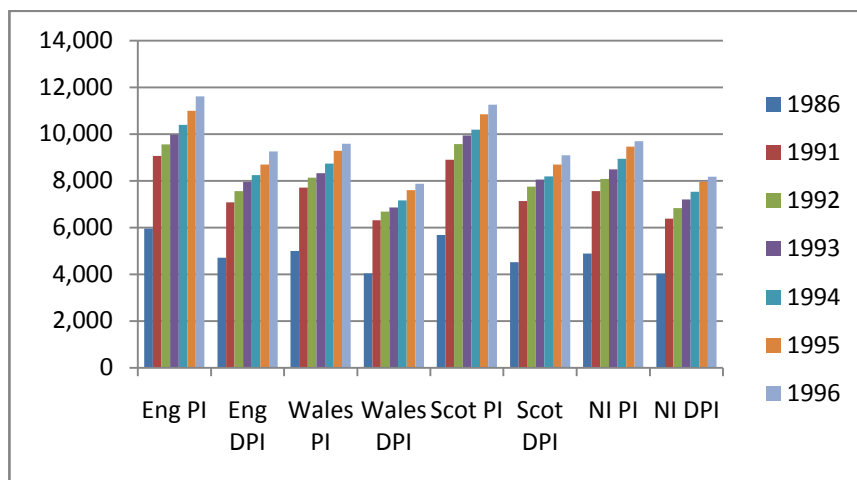


While the evident disparity between England and the remaining regions of the UK is stark, the fact that Northern Ireland has the lowest GDP level between 1989 and 1996 speaks of the depressed state of the economy (especially consumption levels) and the region's uniqueness within the UK. A similar pattern of under-performance is evidenced looking at regional differences within the UK of personal income (PI) and disposable personal income (DPI).

⁹⁷ Figures taken from the CAIN website - <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/ni/economy.htm#03>

2.B Regional Personal Income (PI) and Disposable Personal Income (DPI) 1986-

1996⁹⁸



Once again, England outperforms the rest of the UK, albeit only marginally in Scotland's case. Each region showed an improvement across the period in the level of both Personal Income, and Disposable Personal Income but with Northern Ireland and Wales (with its decline in industry and mining being significant) lagging behind all the other regions.

3.B Wales and Northern Ireland Personal Income (PI) and Disposable Personal

Income (DPI) 1986-1996⁹⁹

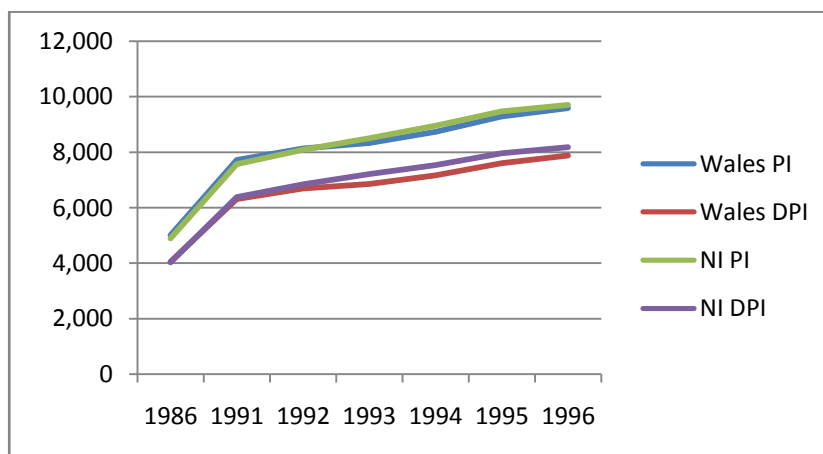


Table 3.B illustrates that over the period, Wales and Northern Ireland performed similarly at the lower end of the economic spectrum. However, and most significantly

⁹⁸ Figures taken from the CAIN website - <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/ni/economy.htm#03>

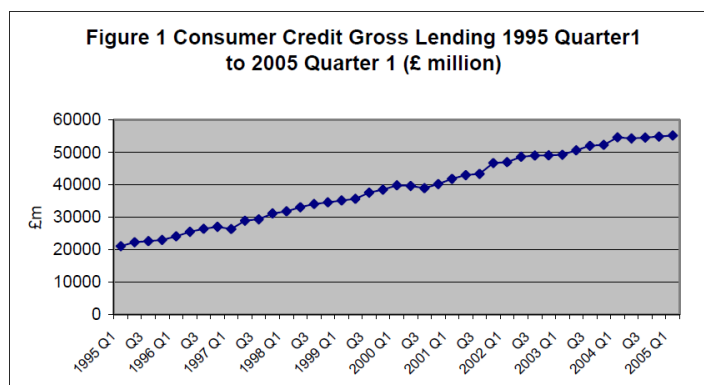
⁹⁹ Figures taken from the CAIN website - <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/ni/economy.htm#03>

for this thesis, over the last decade and up to the Global Financial Crisis, several key indicators give evidence to the argument that Northern Ireland was the most dynamic and improving region within the UK. The increase in the consumption of consumer durables, credit card debt and fundamental shifts in housing tenure each reveal two interconnected phenomena; one is the realisation of a growing consumer market and with it identifiable trends that are associated with material interpellation into a neo-liberal identity in Northern Ireland and the second is the full participation of Catholics in this transformed economy and thereby a double transformation for them in material and political subjectivity that this thesis explores in later chapters.

Consumption

Tables 4.A and 4.B both illustrate an increase in the uptake of credit in the province between 1995 and 2005. While the increase in the borrowing of money is a relatively accepted economic function in more stable regions, the increase in credit in Northern Ireland implies an acceptance of the longevity of the state as opposed to previous periods where there was armed resistance against the state.

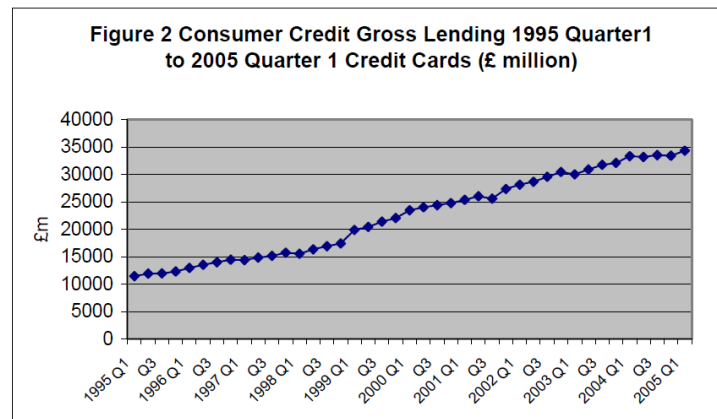
4.A Consumer Credit 1995-2005¹⁰⁰



Source ONS (VZQN)

¹⁰⁰ Table taken in its entirety from Personal Over-Indebtedness in Northern Ireland February 2006 Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister www.ofmdfmi.gov.uk p. 3.

4.B Consumer Credit: Credit Cards 1995-2005¹⁰¹



Source ONS (VZQO)

The economically depressive effects of the conflict were significant for instance, the IRA targeting of the retail sector in the 1970s destroyed 25% of ‘city centre retail property’ in Belfast (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 43); and 40% in Londonderry (Cebulla: 1996, p. 468). In addition, Muckley suggests that—in 2009 prices—between 1970 and 2007, each ‘fatality as a result of terrorism impute[d] a minimum cost of £3.69 million pounds sterling (2011, p. 1) in terms of lost potential revenue related to Foreign Direct Investment and tourism.

While a debate exists over the causal relationship between Northern Ireland’s economy and political violence (see Rose: 1971; Whyte: 1991; McGarry and O’Leary: 1995) the fact that the violence, once in motion, negatively affected the economy is not disputed. It is also agreed that retail investment has increased ‘significantly’ since the ceasefires of 1994 (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 29). For example, between 1995 and 2005, the Northern Ireland tourism sector revenue increased by 61% from £220 million, to £354 million (Muckley: 2011, p. 2).

To provide a broader perspective, we shall now look at figures that illustrate the harmonisation of the Northern Irish economy with other post-industrial, neo-liberal economies related to the consumption of consumer durables.

¹⁰¹ Table taken in its entirety from Personal Over-Indebtedness in Northern Ireland February 2006 Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister www.ofmdfmi.gov.uk p. 4.

4.C Consumer Durables 1983-2010¹⁰²

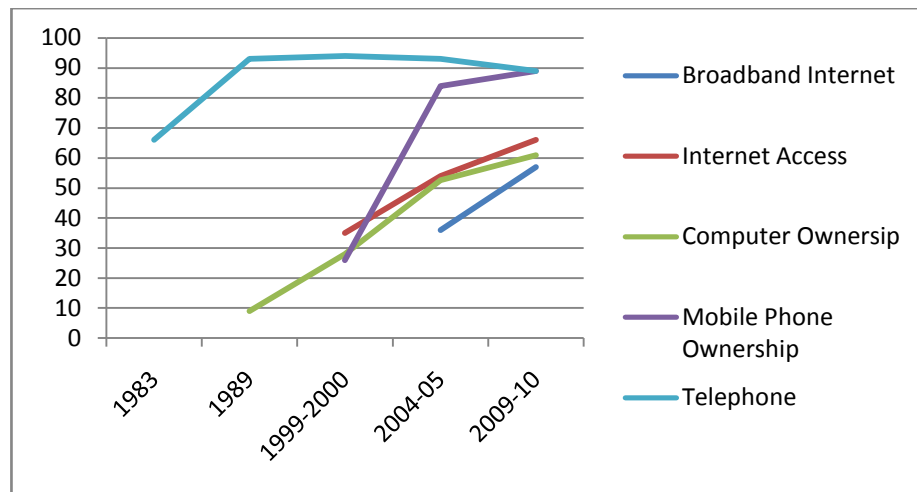


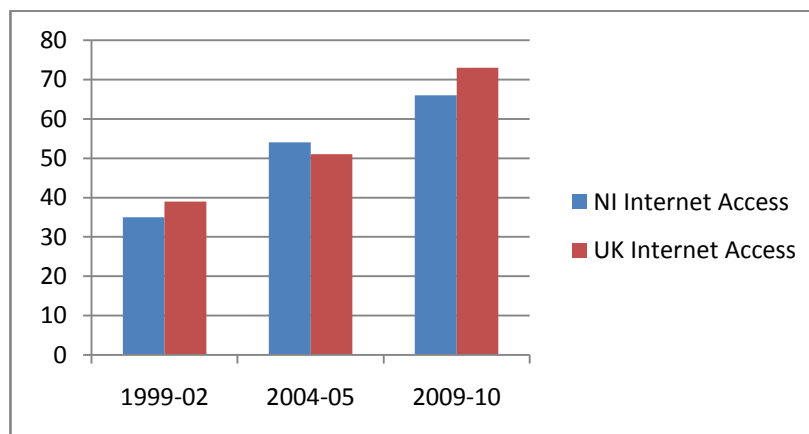
Table 4.C illustrates the dramatic take up rates of mobile phones, broadband and standard internet access and a steady rise in computer ownership between 1999 and 2010. Fixed line telephone access declined relative to the increase in mobile phone take-up. This move to what Hardt and Negri depict as a form of global “immaterial labour”, as argued later in the thesis, is evident in this move to a communication and information based economy over that of the imperialist-production economy of the 1960s. This is the point that Hardt and Negri make when they argue that the neoliberal order not only produces material goods to be consumed but also the production of communication and the relationships that go with that form of labour and the accompanying social life lived both in the market and in the commons of shared spaces, often now virtual (Hardt and Negri: 2004, p. XV).

Tables 4.D to 4.G each present a comparison with the UK as a whole with that of Northern Ireland in terms of the uptake of communication. While it appears that residents of Northern Ireland remain less likely to own a personal computer, mobile phone and internet access figures show that consumer durable take up rates are uniform across the regions. The figures related to mobile phones show quite clearly

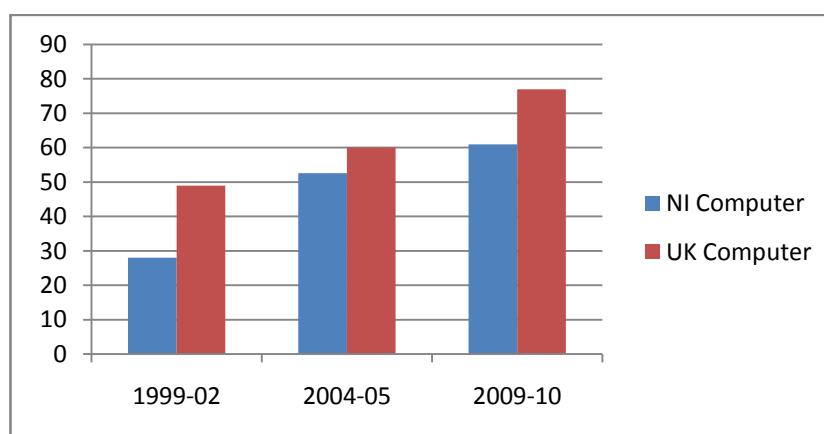
¹⁰² Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service (NINIS): Continuous Households Survey; 'Households with consumer durables, central heating and cars 1983 to 2009-10'; (Smith & Chambers: 1991, p. 51); Department for Social Development: 'DSDNI Analysis of Consumer Durables Appendix 3 2003-04'.

that the region was comparatively economically depressed in 1999 with take up rates less than half of the UK average. However, in ten years, Northern Ireland exceeded that of the UK average in take-up rates of mobile phone technology.

4.D Comparison of Consumer Durables Northern Ireland and UK¹⁰³



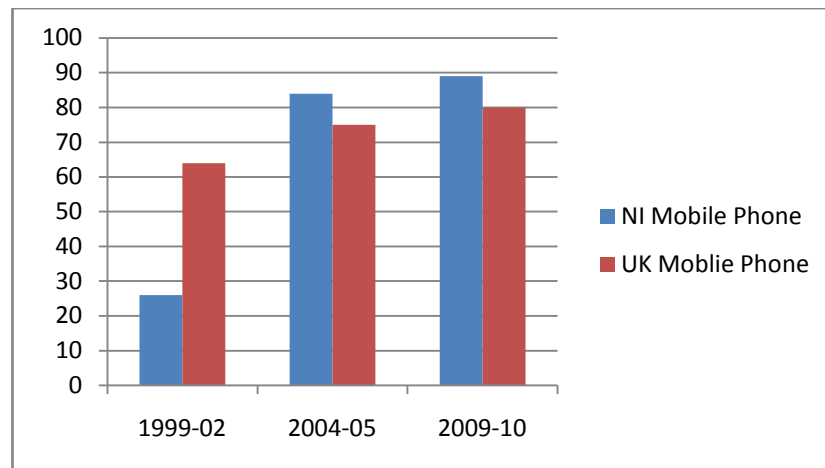
4.E Comparison of Consumer Durables Northern Ireland and UK¹⁰⁴



¹⁰³ Office for National Statistics, 'General Household Survey, 2004 Report - Table 4 Housing and consumer durables', Office for National Statistics, 'Ownership of consumer durables increases into 2010', November 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Office for National Statistics, 'General Household Survey, 2004 Report - Table 4 Housing and consumer durables', Office for National Statistics, 'Ownership of consumer durables increases into 2010', November 2011.

4.F Comparison of Consumer Durables Northern Ireland and UK¹⁰⁵



4.G Comparison of Consumer Durables Northern Ireland and UK¹⁰⁶

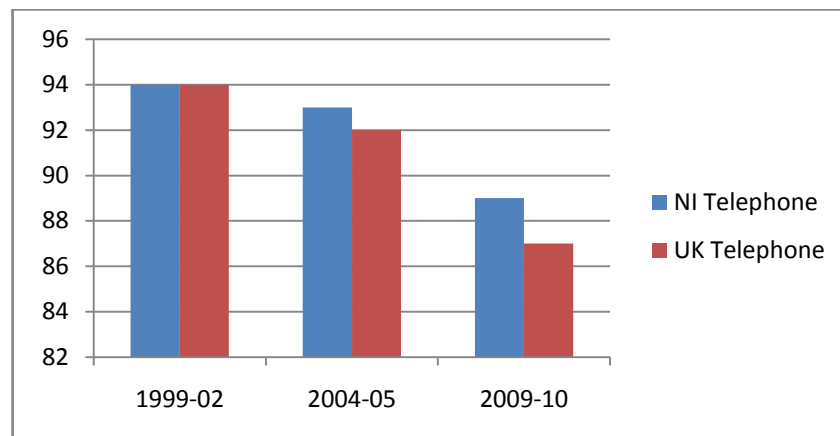
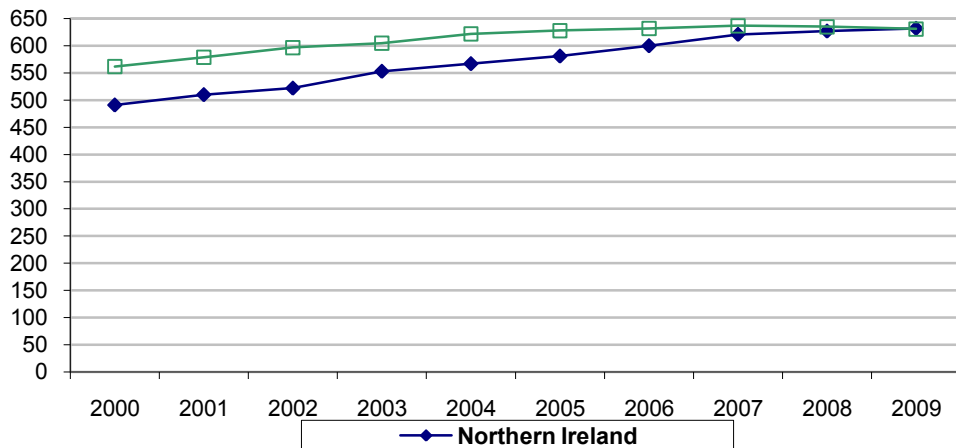


Table 4.H below also illustrates convergence with the UK average on Private/Light Goods vehicles between 2000-2009 and gives further proof to the same neo-liberal market trends occurring in Northern Ireland as in the UK.

¹⁰⁵ Office for National Statistics, 'General Household Survey, 2004 Report - Table 4 Housing and consumer durables', Office for National Statistics, 'Ownership of consumer durables increases into 2010', November 2011.

¹⁰⁶ Office for National Statistics, 'General Household Survey, 2004 Report - Table 4 Housing and consumer durables', Office for National Statistics, 'Ownership of consumer durables increases into 2010', November 2011.

4.H Private/Light Goods vehicles, NI/GB comparison 2000-2009¹⁰⁷



Housing

The question of housing is highly politicised in Northern Ireland and has been treated at some length within this thesis. Access to housing provided one of the earliest focal points of protest in the era of violence¹⁰⁸. Fair access to housing was a central grievance taken up by the Homeless Citizens League, which developed into the Campaign for Social Justice and in turn formed a component of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (Dixon: 2001, p. 76; Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 124).

As a central catalyst to the marches and violence that erupted in 1968, underpinned by what was seen as systematic denial to Catholics to fair and decent housing. As such, the transformation of the housing sector into an open commercial market is strong evidence of the ability of the neo-liberal market to transform a central Catholic grievance within less than half a century. Catholics are no longer constrained to poor housing on the margins of Protestant areas or in Catholic ghettos. Indeed, Catholics have been moving into areas deemed solid Protestant middle-class areas over the better part of the past two decades and so material and

¹⁰⁷ Table reproduced in its entirety from Northern Ireland Transport Statistics 2009-10.

¹⁰⁸ In 1968, a single (soon to be married) Protestant woman was allocated a house from which a squatting Catholic family had recently been evicted in front of television cameras (Gudgin: 1999).

ethnic identity have now diverged and thus become the source of post-colonial ambivalence.

Over the past decade, the growth in the Northern Ireland housing sector outstripped most areas of the UK except ‘...Greater London and Southeast England’ (O’Hearn: 2008, p. 109). Interestingly, this has fed an expansion of buy-to-let activity, whereby investment properties profoundly affect the property market. On this speculative phenomenon O’Hearn writes ‘...48% of private landlords...acquired their properties in the previous five years...The buy-to-let sector grew by 120% over the past 15 years and 70% of new homes are bought by investors...’ (2008, p. 109). O’Hearn also notes that consequently ‘...the profits generated from this sector account for a large part of the booming construction of cafes, and restaurants...’ (2008, p. 109).

5.A Housing Tenure in Northern Ireland¹⁰⁹

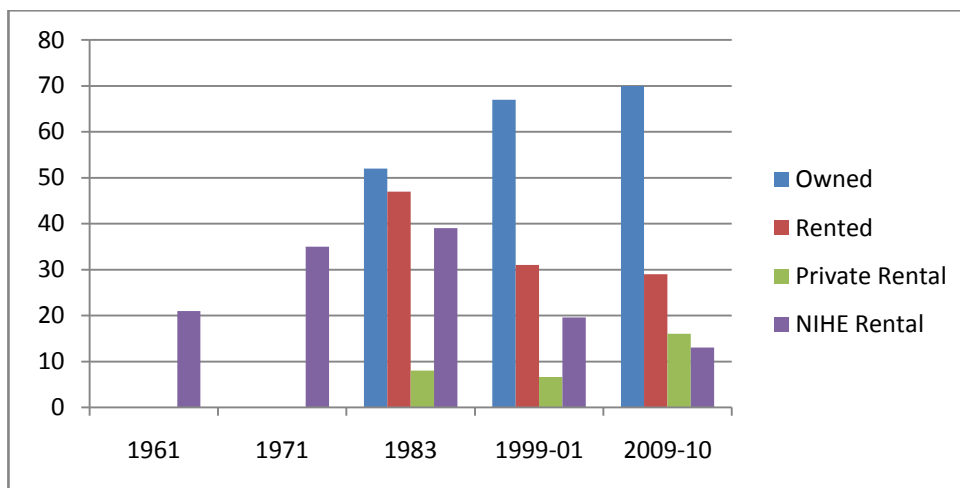


Table 5.A plots the increase in ‘owned’ properties in Northern Ireland, and a decrease in state housing tenure. The period 1999-2010 clearly shows a decline in rental overall, but a rise in private rental, which supports the contention of an

¹⁰⁹ Office for National Statistics, Continuous Household Survey 2009/10 Bulletin, ‘Housing and Accommodation’; 2001 Northern Ireland Census. ‘Owned’ figure includes outright ownership and mortgaged properties.

increase in buy-to-let activity and a market economy displacing a public-private housing market.

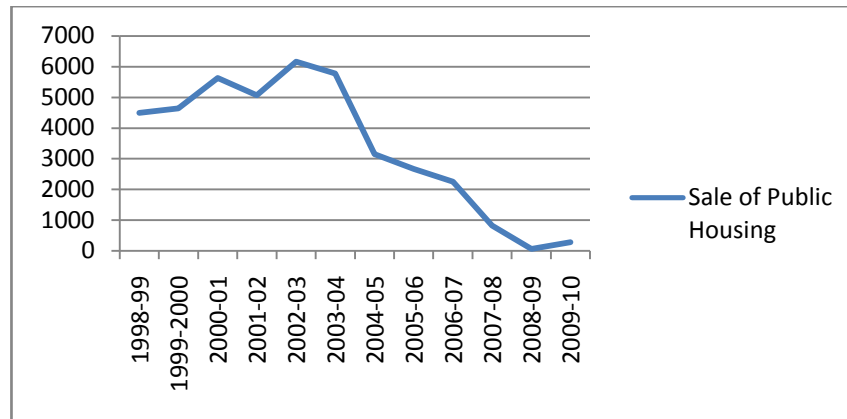
5.B Comparison of Housing Tenure Northern Ireland and UK¹¹⁰



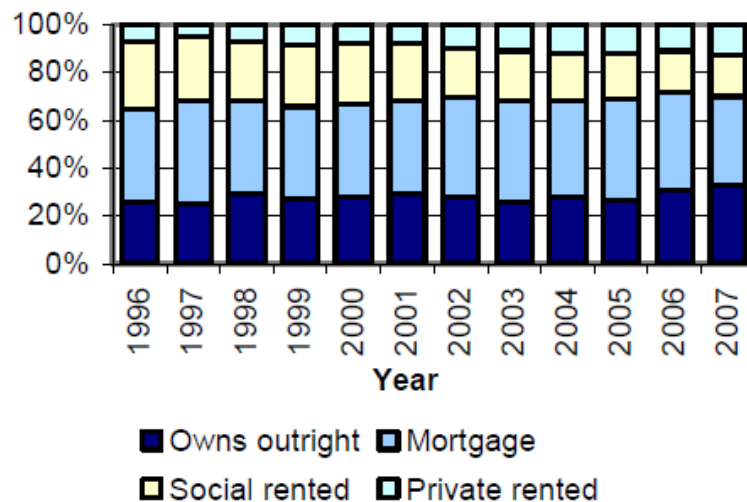
Table 5.B shows the harmonisation in ownership rates between Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom. Table 5.C below reveals an increase in the sale of state housing stock over a roughly corresponding period. Once again, it is worth noting that in 1971, '...4 out of every 10 Catholic families were in local authority houses compared with just over 3 out of every 10 Protestants' (Gudgin: 1999). The housing shortage sharpened Catholic grievances and the state responded with a concerted effort to relieve the housing shortfall. Gudgin writes that between 1945 and 1970, '...a total of 178,000 houses were built, of which 120,000 were built by the public sector... However it was not until 1985 when a further 150,000 houses had been built that the housing shortage can be said to have finally disappeared' (1999).

¹¹⁰ Office for National Statistics, Continuous Household Survey 2009/10 Bulletin, 'Housing and Accommodation'; Regional Trends Online Tables, 7: Housing 08-Jun-2011.

5.C Sales of NIHE Dwellings¹¹¹



5.D Catholic Housing Tenure 1996-2007¹¹²



Finally, table 5.D illustrates the evolution of Catholic housing tenure between 1996 and 2007. State and private rental have both diminished for Catholics, while owner occupancy has steadily increased. Owner occupancy and mortgage rates have increased over the period as a whole, giving further proof to a fundamental shift in the conditions of housing for Catholics and consequently their relationship to the market economy and by inference to the politics of the state. The sale of state housing, coupled with the clear participation of Catholics in the private real estate market provide core evidence that Catholics are participating in the neo-liberal

¹¹¹ Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service (NINIS): Northern Ireland Continuous Household Survey, Sales of NIHE Dwellings by Local Government District, 1999-2010.

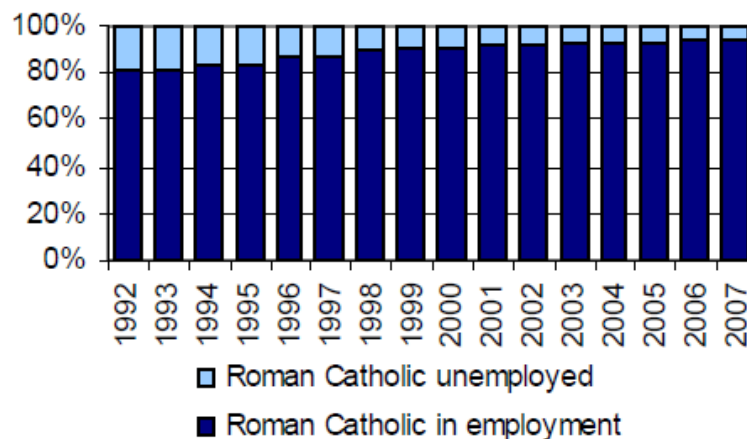
¹¹² Table copied in its entirety from Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, '2007 Labour Force Survey, Religion Report' March 2009, p. 9.

expansion in the North in a manner totally different from that of the previous eras of capitalism in Northern Ireland. It is safe to assume that some of these Catholics are participating in the buy-to-rent market described by O'Hearn (2008) between 2002 and 2008, and investing the profits into the growing service sector.

Employment

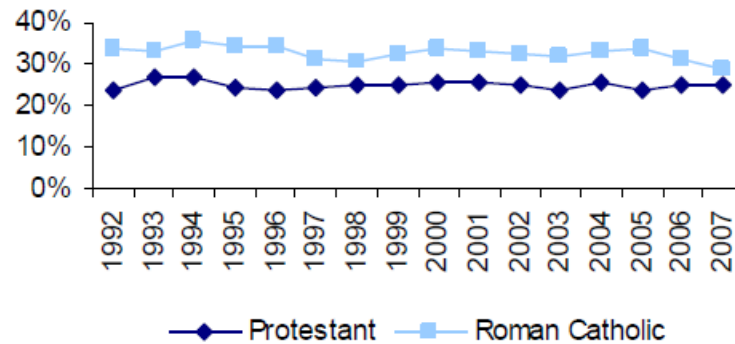
Employment is another area where an apparent structural bias against Catholics has largely been replaced by convergence between the two communities. The period 1992 to 2007 has shown a marked decrease in unemployment for economically active Catholics (see table 6.A).

6.A Proportion of Economically Active Catholics 1992-2007¹¹³



¹¹³ Table copied in its entirety from Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, '2007 Labour Force Survey, Religion Report' March 2009, p. 14.

6.B Cross Community View of Economic Inactivity 1992-2007¹¹⁴



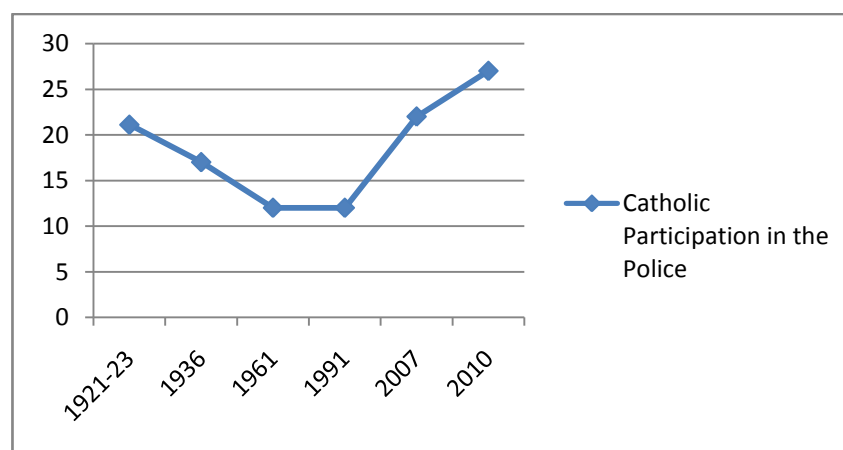
With many of the economic indicators listed above, a level of convergence also now exists in unemployment within the economically active cohort of each community (see table 6.B). The situation in the public sector has improved markedly for Catholics over recent decades. Once the Northern state was established, Catholic participation in the top levels of the Civil Service (while not that numerous to begin with) declined to the point where ...by the 1940s and 1950s there were no Catholics in the top fifty-five positions (Ruane and Todd: 1996, pp. 154-155).

That disparity is no longer the case and as Osborne states, the participation rate for Catholics in the public sector is close to the overall 'economically active' figure for Catholics of 42% (2003, p. 342). At the senior levels, the figure is not quite 42%, but it is at a level that reflects a situation where no intervention is considered necessary (2003, p. 343). In fact, according to an equality in the public services publication published by the Department of Finance and Personnel (Equality Statistics for the Northern Ireland Civil Service: 2011), prospective employees in the Northern Ireland Civil Service are more likely to be discriminated against due to age (specifically in the 25-34 age bracket) than from being a Catholic. Interestingly, Protestants are more likely to be overlooked for a position due to community background (Equality Statistics for the Northern Ireland Civil Service: 2011).

¹¹⁴ Table copied in its entirety from Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, '2007 Labour Force Survey, Religion Report' March 2009, p. 17.

Finally, it is argued that given the heavy politicisation of security in the conflict, which was underpinned by a broad sentiment that the security forces of the state were either openly partisan or at least latently sectarian; then the participation of Catholics in the Police Service of Northern Ireland can be construed as revealing that there is a growing acceptance of the state and active participation in its maintenance and security. Moreover, it is further proof of a shift in the ideology of the Catholic community where both consumption patterns, notably in housing, combined with employment opportunities, have transformed the basic ideological frames of Northern Ireland. Once it would have been almost unacceptable for there to be Catholics in the Northern Ireland police force now it is common place.

6.C Catholic Participation in the Police Service of Northern Ireland¹¹⁵



The figures show a constant decline of Catholic participation in what was then the Royal Ulster Constabulary, to a plateau through the 1960s until the paramilitary ceasefires, and a constant increase to the present day.

The data across the varied sectors analysed above show two interrelated phenomena, one is that highly contentious areas of socio-economic activity have been neutralised, and most by the realisation of neo-liberalism. The second is that Catholics are participating in many areas that are fundamentally connected to the

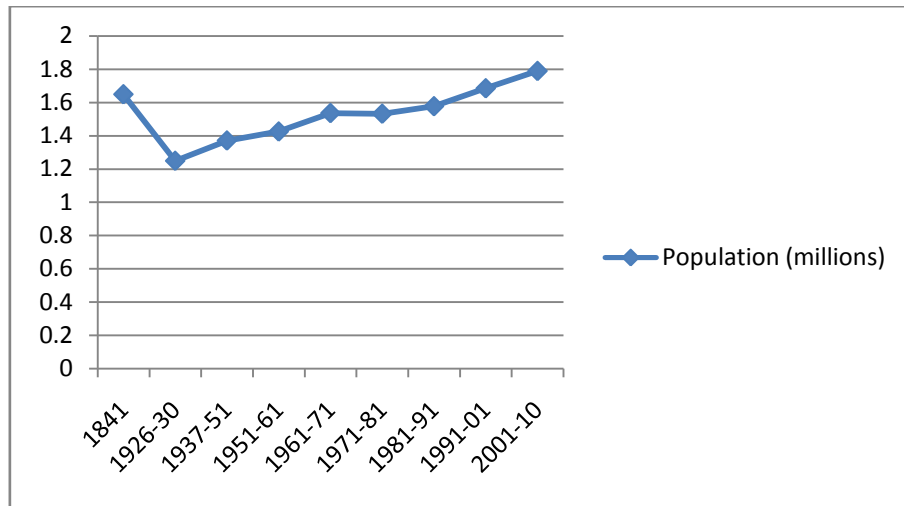
¹¹⁵ Sources; Magee: 1991, p. 3; Gordon: 2008, p. 147; Brewer and Magee: 1991, p. 3; Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 47; *The Belfast Newsletter*: 2010; Whyte: 1983.

acceptance of the state, and the expectation that it will function in a neutral manner towards them. An expansion of credit and the taking of mortgages and general inward investment does not speak of a desire to undermine the state and take up forms of radical resistance. An increase in consumption activity, as opposed to the hardened ethno-national formations also speaks of a significant shift in the market, personal identity and the ideology of Northern Ireland. Finally, catholic engagement in the running of the state and its security, are also significant phenomena that are in contrast with the period between 1968 and 1994.

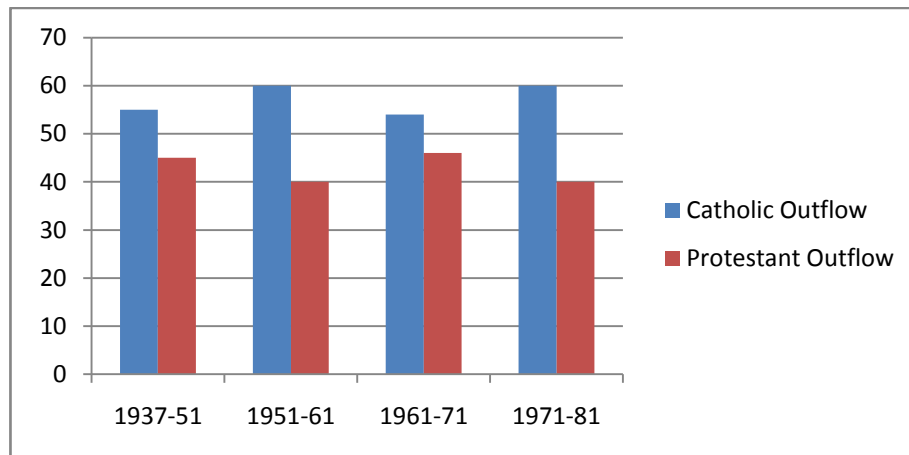
Migration

Figures related to migration also tell a very specific story in Ireland. Compton writes that in 1841, the population of the counties that became Northern Ireland stood at 1, 649 million in 1841, and 1, 536 million in 1971 (1982, p. 79). While many major cities experienced an increase in population, the region in the Northern of Ireland began a decline and did not recover its mid-19th century figure until the turn of last century (see figure 7.A). In general, Catholics left the province in greater numbers than Protestants, although many Protestants also chose to leave. Table 7.B shows the differential between Catholic and Protestant population outflows between 1937 and 1981.

7.A Population of the Six Counties that Constitute Northern Ireland 1841-2010¹¹⁶



7.B Catholic and Protestant outflow from Northern Ireland 1937-1981¹¹⁷



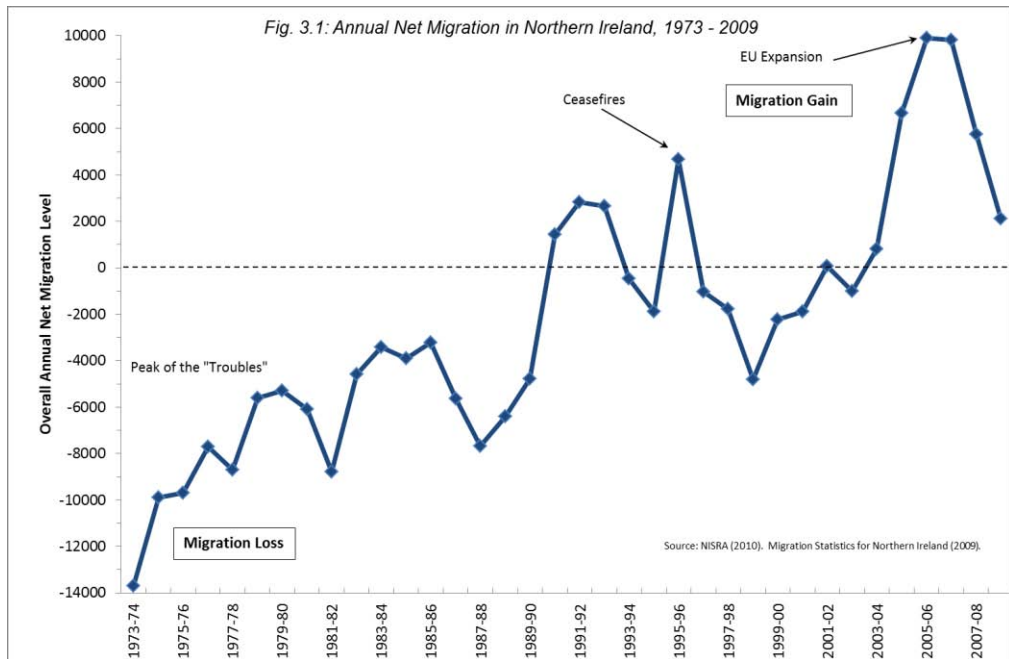
The initial decline in population had its genesis in the Great Famine of the mid-19th century and was maintained at a lesser level during the Troubles. Figure 7.C clearly illustrates that between 1973 and the very early 1990s, net migration was in the negative. Following on from that point, a period of fluctuation between positive and negative migration continued through to 2003/04 until a steady upward trend was established that continued until 2007 (see table 7.D).

This net increase has been driven by foreign workers attracted by Northern Ireland's booming economy underpinned by a vastly improved security situation.

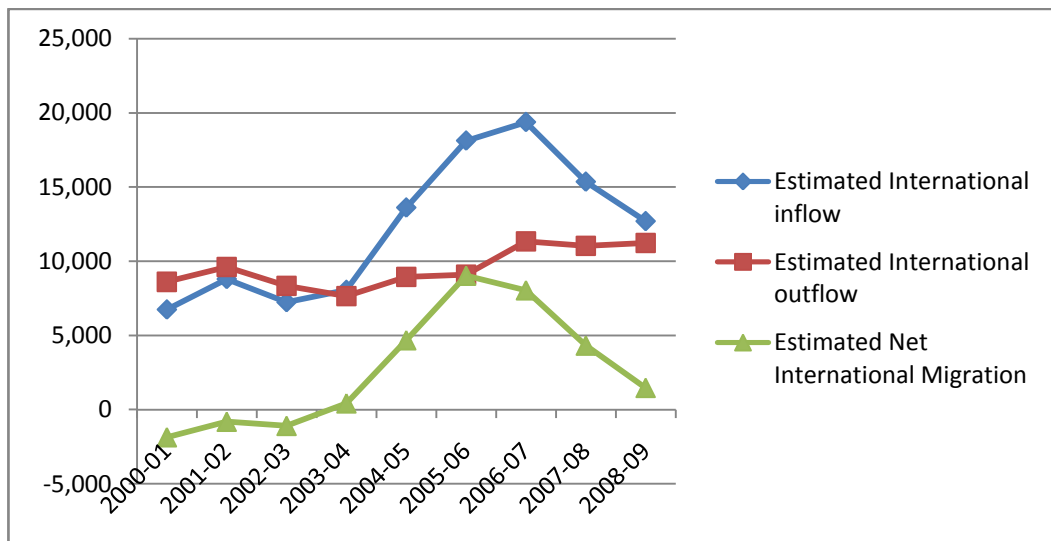
¹¹⁶ CAIN: Population and Vital Statistics; Compton: 1982, p. 79

¹¹⁷ McGarry & O'Leary 1995, p. 270; Osborne & Shuttleworth 2004, p. 15. Note that the method of survey changed and some difference between census data and preceding data exists.

7.C Migration Statistics for Northern Ireland 1973-2008¹¹⁸



7.D International Migration Patterns 2000-2009¹¹⁹



It is interesting to note that the downward trend evident since 2007 is connected to the Global Financial Crisis, and not security issues. The decline in migration inflows across the board in table 7.C is closely matched by the same decline in table 7.D. The decline in net migration gain is not connected with Catholics and Protestants

¹¹⁸ Table copied in its entirety from Northern Ireland Assembly, Research and Information Service, 'Migration in Northern Ireland: a demographic perspective', June 2011, p. 7.

¹¹⁹ Northern Ireland Assembly, Research and Information Service Research Paper, 'Migration in Northern Ireland: a demographic perspective', June 2011, p. 17.

leaving Northern Ireland, but with fewer internationals entering the province. The GFC has hit Northern Ireland particularly hard and some of the sectors in which international labourers worked, ‘...food processing, agriculture, nursing and healthcare, education, and hospitality and catering’ (Bell et al: 2004, p. 5) are particularly vulnerable.

Sectarian policy and violence is no longer the primary factor behind the movement of people in Northern Ireland. The long decline in population in the province was arrested and reversed, once again bringing the North in line with the majority of post-industrial neo-liberal economies of Europe. This is not to say that the movement of people within the province is over. There remain several areas where sectarian tension is high, and the continued existence of peace walls speaks of the ongoing depth of the sectarian divide. However, statistically, Northern Ireland was a comparatively safe region with an expanding economy up until 2007. The figures surrounding population alone support the contention that the situation in Northern Ireland has sufficiently normalised. Moreover, there has been evidence of an ideological resistance to migrant workers by both Catholic and Protestant communities as the nation bunkers down against the implications of its entrance into the global market from a weakened economic and political structure.

The recent influx of migrant workers into Northern Ireland has created another phenomenon in keeping with developments in other European economies; namely racist violence. What is crucial to this thesis is the fact that sectarian deaths have tapered over the period. In 1969, there were 16 Troubles related deaths; this increased to 480 in 1972, the worst year in terms of loss of human life (see table 7.E).

7.E Troubles Related Deaths 1969-2010¹²⁰

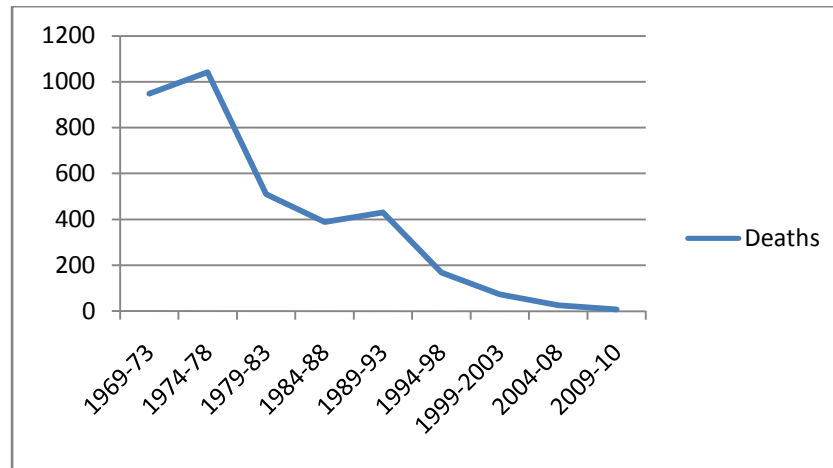
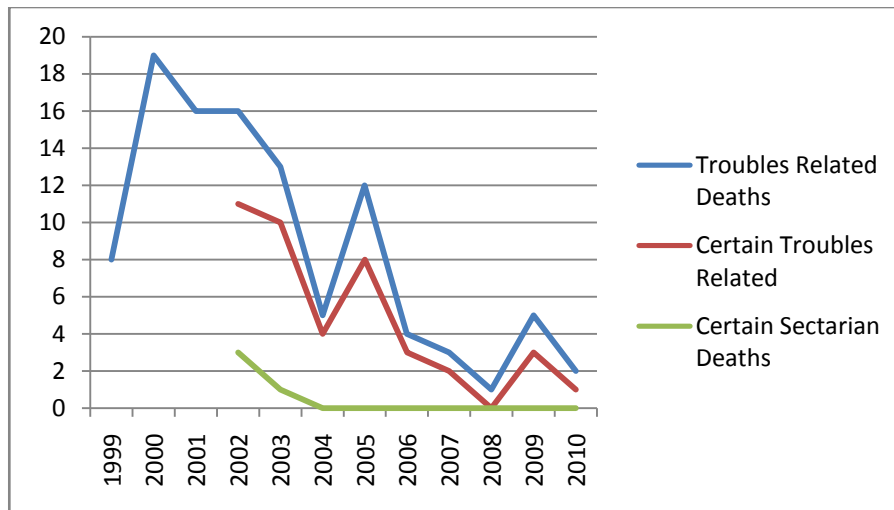


Table 7.E demonstrates the eventual general downward trend in related deaths over the period; although the five year increments smooth over some significant variations evident on a year-to-year basis. Table 7.F below shows the variations in more detail over the last decade.

7.F Troubles Related Deaths 1999-2010¹²¹



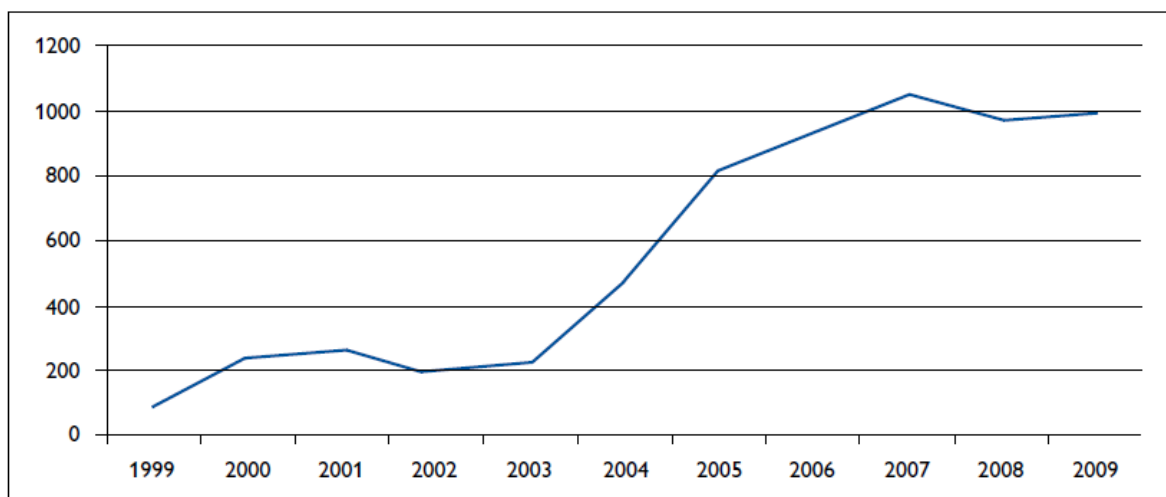
The blue line indicates Troubles related deaths entered on Melaugh's data base. However, the relationship of some of the deaths to the conflict is not certain. The red line represents deaths that are known to be connected and/or perpetrated by loyalist

¹²⁰ Figures taken from Sutton, M. 'Chronological List of Deaths'; Melaugh, M. 'Draft List of Deaths Related to the Conflict, 2002-2011'.

¹²¹ Figures taken from Sutton, M. 'Chronological List of Deaths'; Melaugh, M. 'Draft List of Deaths Related to the Conflict, 2002-2011'.

or republican paramilitaries. However, the green line indicates deaths that can be considered sectarian, meaning that a loyalist/republican group has murdered a member of the opposite community. The red line is swelled in a large part by internecine feuding within community militant groupings. While this graph does not include sectarian intimidation, rioting and lesser acts of violence which remain a part of life in Northern Ireland, we can clearly see from the evidence presented on the graphs that Troubles related deaths have reduced significantly, and that sectarian killings within the conflict have, over the majority of the past decade, remained zero. In comparison to the downward trend of sectarian murder evident in the graphs above, the same period (roughly the last decade) also saw a significant increase in racist incidents involving ethnic minorities. Table 7.E illustrates a rise from around 100 in 1999, to 1000 in 2009.

7.H Police Figures on Racists Incidents' 1999-2009¹²²

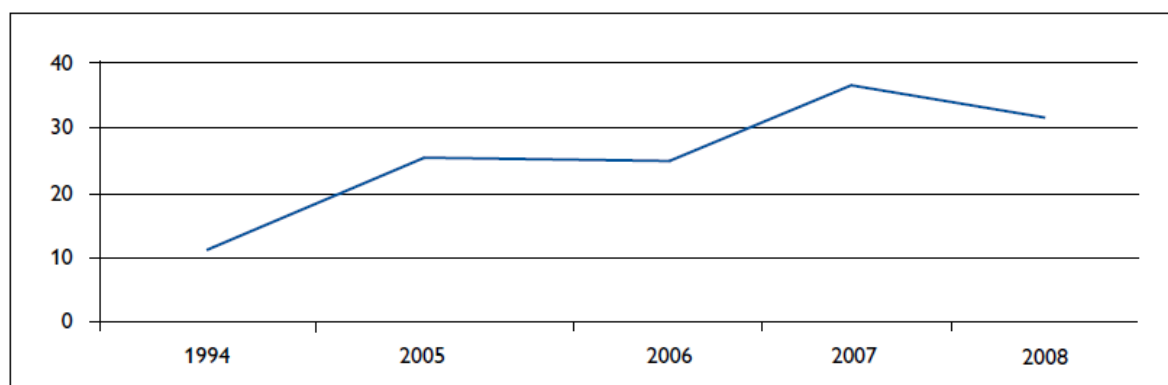


Longitudinal surveys across the time period also show a marked increase in self-identification as 'prejudiced' within the Catholic and Protestant communities. While Catholics are less likely to self-identify as prejudiced than Protestants, the numbers

¹²² Table copied in its entirety from Jarman: 2009.

of people from both communities has increased since 1994 (Gilligan and Lloyd: 2006; Jarman: 2009).

7.1 Self-Identification as ‘very’ or ‘a little’ Prejudiced” Against Ethnic Minorities 1994-2008¹²³



The relationship between the decline in sectarian murder and the increase in racism appears clear in the graphs above. Ethnic minorities are increasingly the focus of prejudicial sentiment from both the Catholic and Protestant communities. This sentiment is translating into a marked increase in racist ‘incidents’; from around 100 in 1999, to 1000 in 2009. This illustrates how, on the one hand, Catholics are no longer the sole societal sub-grouping viewed in a negative manner in the province, and on the other, that Catholics are themselves, in greater numbers, viewing smaller ethnic minorities in a negative way. Polish, Chinese, Traveller and Muslim minorities are replacing Catholics as the ‘Other’.

Neo-Liberalism and Northern Ireland

Simply put, the specific form of economy that gave Belfast in particular its place of prominence within the UK deteriorated. Heavy manufacture capitalism and its associated sectors went offshore and Northern Ireland was clearly hit by this process much harder than the UK as a whole. Job losses were mitigated to an extent by an

¹²³ Table copied in its entirety from Jarman: 2009.

increase in public sector employment, which included a very specific increase in security related employment.

During the same period, service sector employment also increased. However, the security situation specific to Northern Ireland saw the neo-liberal drive tempered. The economy was held in a quasi-social democratic formulation. Northern Ireland's economy was one of the worst sub regions of the UK. Through the Westminster subvention, it remained a net drain on the UK exchequer. In terms of GDP, personal income and disposable personal income, Northern Ireland underperformed.

However, in the wake of the paramilitary ceasefires, the economy of the province commenced a spectacular recovery that was only ended by the Global Financial Crisis. While there is a debate over the cause and effect relationship between violence and economic decline, the fact that political violence in the province had a significant cost factor attached to it is generally accepted. Tourism and FDI have both increased. Since 1995, the province has experienced an increase in the uptake of credit and the uptake of consumer durables has also shown a marked increase achieving parity and in some cases exceeding the UK average in examples.

Nevertheless, it is in the housing sector where the Northern Irish economy truly exceeded UK averages. Housing has also moved from one of the most controversial political issues in the 1960s to a form of leitmotif of the success of post-conflict Northern Ireland. Once again, home ownership rates have achieved parity with the UK wide average, and house prices in Belfast were bettered only in Greater London and South East England. The housing boom created space for a hitherto underdeveloped sector of the new economy in buy-to-let. The figures clearly show that the expansion of this sector is tied to a very recent shift in the economy. Socio-political and economic stability has led to an increase in investments and credit,

which has led to increased investments in the buy-to-let sector; the profits of which were channelled into the service sector O'Hearn (2008).

The figures connected to employment and migration also depict normalisation across a broad economic front. Catholic access to jobs in the public and private sector appears to be unfettered. Catholic participation in state employment including the police force is at much higher levels than pre-partition. In fact, Catholic participation in the governance of the region that makes up Northern Ireland is at its highest level since the Plantation of the 17th Century. In terms of migration, (again, the anomaly of the Global Financial Crisis notwithstanding), the province has reversed a trend of outward migration that was set in motion in the middle 19th century. The recent shifts in employment and migration do nothing less than end what are literally centuries old trends. Given the figures, it is clear that we may now speak of a new economy in Northern Ireland-a neo-liberal economy. We may also note a state that has unprecedented levels of Catholic participation across all sectors.

II) Identity and Subjectivity

This chapter has noted that identity in Northern Ireland has become ambivalent due to the material transformation of the economy. As noted earlier in the thesis, it is Hardt and Negri who have argued that the shift in the global economy has weakened the old class and identity ties with social production being not just of material goods but also communication and wide ranging relationships that create new forms of living and experiencing politics. Nevertheless, their analysis lacks a cogent national-economic analysis; rather it tends to operate at a level of abstraction that regards labour as creating immaterial projects, including visual images and affects, without

thorough depiction of the changes in the production and consumption patterns within any national sovereignty. This chapter, however, has illustrated that the change in identity and political allegiances in Northern Ireland were rooted in an analysis of the changing material conditions in production, consumption and the up-take of new technology in Northern Ireland. In this regard the chapter has drawn a contrast with Hardt and Negri's claim that the global Empire transforms national sovereignty in the form of a global production system to show that the neo-liberal subjectivity is deeply tied to the ambivalent relationships between global trends and national conditions.

The chapter has noted that the transformation in the material conditions of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland has resulted in new forms of policing both by the market and by the integration of Catholics into the police force. This shift in policing suggests an increasingly blurred distinction between the market forms of governance and the state systems of control. The state controls subjects via ideological reinforcement that there is no alternative to neo-liberal identity and global integration. The neo-liberal subject, having purchased a stake in this ideology via credit and home ownership, continually privatises this ideology in a form of survival and protection against personal loss rather than seeking community political solutions. As Christian Marazzi argues, the working of the modern market, especially housing and finances, including credit and personal insurance (such as savings for old age) are ideologically reinforced by linguistic pronouncement by both state institutions and by the Banking and Credit community that assert corporate and private citizens are all in it together, thereby disarming resistance against the financial sector and the state (Marazzi: 2008, p. 9).

As we have seen in this chapter, there has been a fundamental shift in the financing of housing from the public provision of housing (via a form of Keynesian state model—paradoxically promoted even by Margaret Thatcher) to the private provision of housing, through credit and with it the expansion of the neo-liberal

market deep into the private lives of both Catholic and Protestant families. Moreover, as noted the ideology of housing speculation has also entered everyday language corroding the previous common-sense notion (Gramsci) of housing as a public not a private good.

It was Stuart Hall (Hall: 1990, p. 225) who introduced the notion of identity as becoming as well as being; this chapter has argued that in the case of Northern Ireland, the becoming is an identity that is neo-liberal in formation, now living in ambivalence with the previous sense of being based on ethnicity and religious identity. Likewise, Jacques Derrida sought to explore Hall's sense of ambivalence through his notion of *differance* seeking to challenge any idea of fixed identity based on binaries (Derrida: 1986, p. 331). Again this chapter builds on the sense of difference by showing that the binary of Catholic versus Protestant has been weakened by the emergence of the neo-liberal market, creating each person as a market citizen. The past and the present now imply each other but in a distinctly ambivalent manner, where for example immigration has created the migrant worker as the Other to both the Catholic and Protestant communities.

Paradoxically, the arrival of migrant workers into Northern Ireland and the Global Financial Crisis has seen the emergence of a nationalist ideology, where foreign labour and multiculturalism merge and therein question the very limits of national sovereignty. Both Catholics and Protestants now seek to defend national sovereignty against the ravages of the ongoing Global Financial Crisis and imposed solutions by the powerful countries in the European Union. Having opened up fully to the European market via capital borrowings by both public and private sources and welcomed migrant workers, Northern Ireland now finds itself burdened with debt, but resistance is both national in the form of defending Irish sovereignty and personalised in the form of protecting private capital, notably home ownership.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the close links between the material conditions and forms of identity. It has argued that the past economy gave way to a form of global market, called *Empire* by Hardt and Negri. Nevertheless, the chapter has drawn the close links between the manner by which the neo-liberal market penetrated deeply into Northern Ireland, transforming the production system from industrial to communication, service and finance. The chapter also illustrated that this transformation broke the old ethnic binary between Catholic and Protestant by integrating the Catholic working-class into the neo-liberal economy on equal footing with the Protestant working-class. It then explored how this new form of identity was ripe for ambivalent attitudes to outsiders and how both Catholic and Protestant were insiders against the threat of migrant labour and financial loss. This chapter has provided the basis for the further debates in the thesis on how the neo-liberal market has transformed old debates and political allegiances.

The following chapter builds on the argument of chapters 4A and 4B in analysing a central problem that faces the core argument of the thesis as a whole. It addresses the question of self-identification, namely, the perseverance of the signifiers ‘nationalist’, ‘republican’, ‘unionist’ and ‘loyalist’, and how the continued use of these signifiers operate within the neo-liberal era. As argued in this chapter, the maintenance of these signifiers must be read within the overall shift towards an ambivalent identity rather than forms of non-negotiable ethno-national identity that provided the focus and impetus behind violence and irredentist nationalist sentiment.

Chapter 5

Irredentist Nationalism, Civil Rights and Repression

In the contemporary debate regarding irredentist nationalism in Northern Ireland, there is an acceptance that most, or even all, Catholics identify as nationalists or republicans, and that they ultimately desire a united Ireland. Sinn Féin's electoral success since the Good Friday Agreement is seen as evidence that supports this contention. Research has certainly shown that this is the case among a core of the Catholic working and under-class. This chapter will analyse the validity of the universality of this claim. It asks if irredentist nationalism has begun to wane among the Catholic middle-class, and if it ever was a constant feature of Catholic political culture? The traditional methods used to gauge political sentiment have shown that 'nationalism' remains a constant symbol of self-identification among many Catholics. However, this chapter will show that this conclusion is deeply problematic and requires radical reassessment.

As we have seen, support for irredentist nationalism and republicanism has been underpinned by strong conditional tendencies. It intensified at times when the Catholic community perceived itself to be under attack from the state or loyalist militants. Otherwise, it was a minority position. It has also shown itself to be responsive to political factors, increasing at times when Catholic democratic political aspirations were blocked or undermined. Historically, in the absence of these factors, irredentist nationalism, or republicanism, has been a periphery movement. However, this reality has not undermined the acceptance of a link between irredentism and Catholicism. This accepted connection forms an important core of the intractability thesis.

At the extreme end of the political spectrum, several British army crackdowns against the Catholic community caused a direct rise in IRA volunteers¹²⁴. However, this cyclical phenomenon must be contextualised within the pre-1968 era, when the IRA was small, ‘left-wing’ and largely demilitarised. In short, the IRA was not a mass movement prior to 1968, and even afterwards, the organisation has never enjoyed open and continuous mass support. The IRA’s recruitment potential and community legitimacy were both contingent and dependent on factors external to the question of the Irish border; violence committed against the Catholic population by British security forces and loyalist militants were consistently the most important conditional factor.

In addition to the clear relationship between British and Stormont policy, manifest in the open repression of Catholics, and support for the IRA, the level of Catholic support for political and protest movements also reveals a conditional relationship to irredentism. I argue that the very conditionality that governed the wider Catholic community’s support for irredentist nationalism, apparent as the conflict grew in intensity, is again clearly evident today. As the minimum conditions required for Catholic participation in the Northern Irish state have been met and in some areas exceeded, irredentist nationalism is being supplanted by more benign manifestations of cultural nationalism that exist without tension within the structure and ideology of neo-liberal capitalism. This chapter argues that the core problem is that the tools used to gauge nationalist sentiment have not evolved in step with this development; surveys continue to gauge political sentiment using colonial binaries.

¹²⁴ IRA recruitment ‘offices’ were inundated after the implementation of a curfew and aggressive searches on the Lower Falls road in 1970 (Smith: 1997, pp. 92 – 93); the introduction of internment without trial in 1971 (Smith: 1997, p. 101) and, ‘Bloody Sunday’ in January 1972 (Bishop and Maillie: 1987, pp). Other incidents resulted in an increase of prospective recruits in Belfast, Derry (Bishop and Maillie: 1987, pp. 141 – 142) and South Armagh (Bishop and Maillie: 1987). Prior to partition, sympathy for violent republicanism increased only after the execution of the Easter Rising leaders (McGee: 2007, p. 119; Bew et al: 1989, p. 17).

The Catholic community's increasing support, following the Second World War, of democratic political parties and non-violent extra-democratic protest movements, reveals a strong tendency within this community towards the reform of the Northern Irish state, rather than its overthrow. As such the violence of the past four decades can be viewed as an anomaly. It might be argued that the mishandling of the civil rights movement by the British government, coupled with the rigid opposition of many Protestants to the same, were crucial in shifting the sympathies¹²⁵ of some Catholics towards militancy and reunification. As the province descended into civil war, and the civilian death toll increased at the hands of the British security forces and Protestant militias, frustration with democratic means increasingly emerged as a dominant political feature of the Catholic community.

It is crucial to emphasise the point that this analysis relates only to recent history. To view Irish politics from a wider historical perspective, then insurrectional violence appears endemic¹²⁶, and the past four decades can be read as the latest generational expression of resistance to British rule. However, as we have seen, one crucial aspect has changed; the structural barriers that have hitherto marginalised Catholics have been severely weakened and in some areas completely removed. In short, even with the structural impediments to Catholic advance and engagement with the state, a strong reformist mentality, rather than revolutionary sentiment, was evident. Now, with the structural impediments removed, this chapter argues that the irredentist project, to whatever degree it was genuinely supported, has been hollowed out.

In analysing this development, this chapter will outline the extent of Catholic support for the maintenance of the Union with Britain. First, historical Catholic

¹²⁵ But, not necessarily support. The question of IRA legitimacy in the view of the Catholic community will be addressed in greater detail in chapter 6.

¹²⁶ Young writes that violence ...has often been described as "endemic" to Ireland'. He quotes Lloyd stating that With the possible exception of greenness, no quality has more frequently and repetitiously been attributed to Ireland than violence' (2001, p. 299).

sympathy and support for England, English Monarchs and Britain will be analysed to give a contextual basis. Establishing the fact that some Catholics have always viewed some degree of benefit or socio-economic security from a political relationship with Britain reinforces the main argument of this thesis. This included employment in the state's security forces; the very sectors seen as being on the cutting edge of colonial repression. As with other colonial countries, employment opportunities and modernisation were material benefits that many Catholics accepted. This reality immediately problematises not only republican historical narratives, but also the acceptance of a synonymous relationship between Catholicism and irredentism. More recent examples of Catholic support for Britain exists indirectly with Catholic support for the British war efforts in 1916 and 1940, and more directly with opinion polls taken prior to, and throughout, the Troubles.

From here the chapter moves to look at post-partition Catholic attitudes towards the Northern Irish state. In particular the civil rights protest movements and the creation of the 'moderate' Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) will be analysed to show that many Catholics supported reform of the state rather than its overthrow. At the time the IRA was essentially demilitarised and was politically situated on the Marxist left. It was more focused on establishing cross-class alliances between Catholic and Protestant workers with a view to establishing a socialist republic rather than abolishing the border for its own sake (Moloney: 2003, pp. 54 – 73). While it is clear that the protest movements and the SDLP were both supported by Catholics who desired unification, the presence of reformist elements also destabilise the Catholic/irredentism nexus. The existence of reformist Catholics has been obscured by what could be called a 'green tinge' to history. This historical claim is a combination of negative propaganda from the Protestant community and subsequent British governments, who blamed all forms of disruption on the IRA, coupled with republican propaganda, which attributed the same disruption to anti-

colonial unification activity. This chapter seeks to throw light on this otherwise accepted premise.

The civil rights movement was met with reaction by the forces of the state, leading to a cycle of violence that radicalised both communities. As we saw in the intractability arguments, this violence is seen as indicative of the depth of ethno-national hostility in existence just below the veneer of democratic politics. Intractability theories, and republican historical narratives (see McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, pp. 13 – 61), are based on this reading. However, this chapter will argue that rigid nationalist conceptions of identity were primarily a symptom of the decline into violence, rather than the intractability arguments that state violence was the eventual expression of Catholic alienation.

Ultimately, the descent into extreme and protracted violence cannot be fully understood outside of the ongoing structural legacy of colonial relations in the province. Attempts to democratically ameliorate Catholic marginalisation, once resisted by the state and the Protestant community, were de-coded by that community as proof of colonial relations. What was primarily a material grievance became understood and perpetuated within the logic of sectarianism. Once in motion, these ancient signifiers assumed central importance. As we shall see, surveys are still carried out using colonial signifiers. Politics and economics became subservient to ethno-nationalism. This analysis became part of the academic orthodoxy and variations on this theme were careful to ensure that the core of their arguments remained within the logic. While it is important to state that this chapter argues that religion and the ethno-nationalist conflict remains important, it re-analyses the material impetus to the conflict based on Catholic acceptance and/or indifference to the Northern Irish state. This materialist analysis helps us to understand, from the perspective of identity and lived experience, how the intractable conflict appears to be slowly, and admittedly unevenly, dissolving.

Catholics: the Empire and the Northern Irish State

The acceptance of Catholics as irredentist nationalists/republicans obscures the possibility of understanding the contemporary peace in Northern Ireland. While arguing against this acceptance, McGarry and O'Leary write that the first expression of 'ethnic' Irish nationalism, as influenced by the American Revolution, was the 'Protestant Irish Volunteers in the 1780s, although this fact is often forgotten' (1995, p. 15). While republicans have been at pains to emphasise Protestant support for republican aims in the past, the centrality of the claim that Britain remains a colonial oppressor places all Catholics as victim in the colonial binary. Gerry Adams has voiced a continual appraisal that places the ongoing British colonial presence in Northern Ireland as the root of violence (Whyte: 1991, pp. 134 – 135; McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 13). For example, in 1997, he wrote blaming the death of an individual British soldier on '...the short-sightedness and stupidity of British policy' (Adams: 1997, p. 235). Nationalist historians have also been criticised for centralising the Irish 'nation' as opposed to the British and/or Protestants, which, according to Boyce, never existed (1991, p. 392).

Within the historical debate, Biggs-Davidson and Chowdhary-Best express the dilemma simply, 'The great myth, the big lie, is the equation of "Catholic" with "nationalist" and "republican"'. For this there is no warrant in theology...there is no warrant in history either' (1984, p. 11). In recent history, Catholics living in both the South and the North of the Island volunteered to fight in British armies in the First and Second World War¹²⁷. In surveys in Northern Ireland throughout the conflict, varying

¹²⁷ Bew et al. put the total amount of Irish volunteers by December 1915 for the First World War at 75,795. Out of this figure 36,755 were Catholic (1989, p. 15). However, the impetus for some Irish volunteers fell within the logic of colonial resistance. It was seen as an obligation to defend small nations against the aggression of larger nations. Some nationalists also hoped that the unified blood

Catholic minorities have voiced a desire to remain within the union. As we shall see, even at the height of the conflict, where British government repression against the Catholic community could have been perceived at its most intense, some Catholics did not want to break links with Britain.

Employment and the State

We have already seen that a level of Catholic support for the status-quo has been constant. Moreover, even when Catholics have stated that they desire a united Ireland, when pressed for a date, their enthusiasm drops proportionately to how rapidly this might be achieved. Respondents say ‘yes’ to unification, but do not want it immediately. What is important, keeping these two points in mind, is that acceptance of the status-quo is an invariable aspect, only the proportion of those supporting and the intensity of the desire, has fluctuated. This, crucially, included an acceptance and/or preference for unionist control of Northern Ireland and after 1972, direct British rule.

Importantly, these sentiments have frequently materialised into real existing participation in the state. For example, Cottrell writes that British control of Ireland ‘...would have been impossible without the support of thousands of Irishmen, in the Army, the police and the Civil Service’ (Cottrell: 2006, pp. 7, 18). Biggs-Davidson and Chowdharay-Best, describe the Royal Irish Constabulary at the time of partition as ‘...ninety-nine percent Irish and eighty-two percent Roman Catholic (1984, p. 385). Although, as Garvin writes, ‘Many of the revolutionary leaders had had experience of the Irish and British administrative machine’ (1987, p. 29). For example, Michael Collins was employed in a London post office and later worked for a stockbroker (Garvin: 1987, p. 29). Here we see that it is insufficient to causally accept that all Irish Catholics in the employ of the British state were satisfied with the status-quo.

sacrifice of Irish Protestants and Catholics would cement the idea of an independent nation that would be realised after the First World War (Boyce: 1991, pp. 284 – 285).

A brief account of the former IRA member Eamon Collins illustrates the complexity of the situation. Collins, from a rural Catholic middle-class family, had no familial links with republicanism. A chapter in his book, the publication of which is said to have led to his own death, is titled —~~More~~ “More British than Irish”, and illustrates the degree of integration that his family, and others like his, enjoyed (Collins and McGovern: 1997, p. 30). His motivation to become involved derives from the violent opposition to the civil rights movement (pp. 39 – 41), and he was further radicalised by the 1972 Bloody Sunday shootings of 13 civilian Catholics in Derry (1997, p. 46). However, he writes that if the power sharing institutions of the Sunningdale Agreement had not been undermined by loyalists and unionists, he would not have become involved in the IRA (1997, p. 55)¹²⁸.

Collins and McGovern detailed how Sinn Féin utilised their increasing political interaction in the early 1980s to access electoral rolls in order to gather intelligence for the IRA (1997, p. 149). Collins, like Michael Collins, worked for the British state and he used his position as a Customs and Excise Officer to gather intelligence for IRA operations that directly resulted in many deaths. His role in the British state facilitated his republican activity. However, without the backlash against Catholic moves to gain equal citizenship rights and the destruction of the Power Sharing Sunningdale Agreement, he states he would never have become involved with violent republicanism (Collins and McGovern: 1997, p. 55). This shows that even at the level of personalities, conditionality was crucial.

The fact that Irish Catholics were historically part of both the bureaucratic and security apparatuses of the British administration of Ireland is anathema to nationalist/republican depictions of British colonial binary relations. Catholics continued to serve in both the British army and the RUC after partition. Brewer and

¹²⁸ Collins was arrested in 1985, and informed on many IRA members. He told his personal story in a 1995 movie and in the 1997 book cited above written with McGowan. He also testified against IRA leader Thomas Murphy in a libel trial in 1998. He was murdered in 1999; the act is widely attributed to the provisional IRA for the action listed directly above (Toolis: 1999).

Magee put Catholic participation in the RUC, shortly after partition, at 21.1% (1991, p. 3). However, this participation went into decline and was never reached again until the police force was reformed under the terms of the Patten Commission as the PSNI. By 1969, 11% of the RUC were Catholic (Gordon: 2008, p. 147). Around 1991, Catholic participation in the RUC remained relatively constant around 10 to 12% (Brewer and Magee: 1991, p. 3; Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 47). Considering the significant events that had many, even moderate, Catholics questioning the reformability of the state—coupled with the ‘Ulsterisation’ process in 1975 that saw security responsibility fall increasingly on locally recruited police and Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) forces (Smith: 1997, pp. 143 – 144)—the continued participation of 10 to 12% of Catholics in policing is revealing.

Given the events of the preceding decades—including the Protestant opposition to the Home Rule Movement, the formation of the Protestant paramilitary UVF, the Easter Rising and subsequent executions of its leaders, the Anglo/Irish war, Partition and significant rioting in the North including punitive action against the Catholic population—the fact that Catholics felt comfortable serving in state employment is illuminating. However, it is important here to reiterate that the Catholic perception of partisan policing was conditionally widespread and often gave succour to Catholic militants. Gordon makes this clear, and states the importance of ‘security sector reform’ as a ‘core element’ in the ongoing Peace Process (2008, p. 138)¹²⁹.

Since 2001, after the implementation of the Patten Commission into the Police (Northern Ireland) Act of 2000, 36% of applications for the PSNI were Catholic¹³⁰. In 2007, the proportion of Catholics serving in the PSNI has returned to the level shortly after partition of around 22% (Gordon: 2008, p. 147). The question to consider here

¹²⁹ The core of police reform connected to the Peace Process has been the Patten Commission that recommended that new recruits for the former RUC be based on a 50/50% intake; being 50% from the Catholic community, and 50% ‘Protestant and others’ (Gordon: 2008, p. 148).

¹³⁰ The Patten Commission can be seen as the belated implementation of the recommendation of the Hunt and Cameron Reports of 1969 calling for reform of the RUC (Ruane and Todd: 1996, p. 129).

is do irredentist nationalists serve in the PSNI? Are Catholics engaging in the policing of the state in the knowledge (or hope) that this is a transitory period? It would be reasonable to assume that these Catholic PSNI members have little wish for the destruction of their state and employment. For many Catholics, the RUC were partisan at best and in the case of the auxiliary police force, the B Specials, sectarian at worst (Whyte: 1991, p. 166). Militant republicans saw the RUC as a legitimate target. Now, Catholics are re-engaging in the police force with Sinn Féin's open support. The historical relationship between the Catholic community and policing in Ireland and Northern Ireland destabilises the idea that Catholics saw the state in a homogenous way. Current Catholic participation and attitudes to policing, as the formerly alienated minority community, show a strengthening of the state's legitimacy¹³¹.

The Civil Rights Movement

It is clear, from analysing the relationship of some Catholics to the British Empire and the Irish and Northern Irish states, that it is not possible to consider Catholicism and republicanism as synonymous. It is also possible to see this tendency in the beginnings of both the civil rights movement of the middle to late 1960s, and the political parties that developed around that time. It is also evident that some people, mainly Catholics involved in left-wing politics, saw an opportunity in the disturbances surrounding the civil rights movement in advancing their agenda. Unionist and loyalist accounts of the period claim that the movement was almost exclusively republican. However, the converse appears to be true. Far from being a vehicle for the small,

¹³¹ The importance of the fact that the first police officer to be killed after the RUC was reformed as the PSNI was Catholic, should not be understated. Stephen Carroll was murdered by the Continuity IRA on the 9th of March 2009. His death was the first police fatality in Northern Ireland in over a decade (Melaugh: 2009).

demilitarised and quasi Marxist IRA of the time, the civil rights movement was primarily a vehicle of reform.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Catholic community were largely politically, socially and economically marginalised. In turn, economic marginalisation was both a symptom and a cause of Catholic political marginalisation. As the end of the 1960s neared, in keeping with many marginalised minorities throughout the world, this structural disadvantage became increasingly articulated by modern political action and discourse. Catholic and Protestant activists began to refer to the Catholic community in Northern Ireland as second-class citizens and subsequently demanded equal citizenship rights as citizens of the UK.

The methods of protest were taken from the civil rights movement in the USA (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 314). The best known articulation of the new discourse of marginalisation came from NICRA. Theoretically, the movement coincided with the wider civil rights debate becoming prevalent academically. It can be seen as located within the emerging tradition of a search for a post-Marxist revolutionary alternative; for example, in the 'democratic revolution' outlined by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1990, p. 159)¹³². For those who see in the civil rights movement a tactical shift by republicans to secure a united Ireland, it seems counter intuitive for these activists to imitate a civil rights movement and not to adopt more revolutionary models already evident.

After a period where the existence of the fledgling Northern Irish state was in some doubt (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 190), between the early 1920s and the late 1960s, the province of Northern Ireland was relatively peaceful¹³³. Certainly, up until

¹³² See Anderson's (1983) critique of post-Marxist theory in general and Laclau and Mouffe's (1990) seminal work.

¹³³ This is obviously a comparative statement. For example, the province experienced serious rioting in 1935 that saw 11 killings and hundreds of assaults and injuries (Coogan: 1970, p. 170; Stewart: 1997, pp. 141, 177). The IRA—based in the Republic of Ireland—launched several small-scale campaigns against the North in the mid-1950s (Smith: 1997, pp. 66 - 72). The 1937 Constitution of the Irish Republic also included a specific territorial claim over Northern Ireland (Bowman: 1982, p. 147 - 149)

the Troubles, no significant challenge to the state or Protestant hegemony was mounted by any republican organisation. There was, compared with preceding levels of riots and riot related deaths (see below), very little in the way of general disorder. Nationalist politicians engaged in abstentionism, whereby they refused to take up their seats in either Westminster or Stormont. Within republican political tradition, these establishments were not recognised as legitimate and refusing to take one's seat was the orthodox nationalist political approach. The overall sense of peace was such that, for many Protestants, the emergence of NICRA was met with a high level of incredulity; many considered it to be a front for the IRA (Nelson: 1984, pp. 67 – 70; McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 102; Dixon: 2001, p. 88)¹³⁴.

Rolston describes this period—between the establishment of the Northern state and the beginning of the Troubles—as an era of 'political cosiness' for the Protestant community (1994). Underpinning this 'cosiness' was the uncontested rule of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) that lasted until 1972, when Britain assumed direct control of Northern Ireland.

There is evidence that during the 1950s, the Catholic minority, although marginalised, were warming to the Northern Irish state. This growing acceptance can be seen in NICRA's agenda; although, there is disagreement over the 'real' impetus behind NICRA. Dixon reviews the differing interpretations of the civil rights era and breaks the two opposing positions loosely into 'optimists' and 'pessimists'. For Dixon, 'optimists' hold that NICRA was a reformist movement; he writes that phenomena cited by optimists as evidence of the reformism of the civil rights movement include a slump in the electoral support for republican candidates¹³⁵; a lack of support for militant IRA activities such as the Border Campaign of 1956 to 1962 and the election of the Irish-American J. F. Kennedy (2001, p. 70).

¹³⁴ Dixon writes that republicans, including the IRA, played what he calls '...the driving role' in NICRA's establishment (2001, p. 75).

¹³⁵ From 23.7% in 1955 to 11% in 1959 (Dixon: 2001, p. 70).

Among the examples identified by Dixon as being cited by ‘pessimists’ were the ‘...growing conflict over expanding state resources, the impoverishment of the Catholic working class and the evidence of continuing sectarianism and rising nationalist sentiment’ (2001, p. 71). The period was increasingly violent; the two commemorations in 1966—the Battle of the Somme (celebrated mainly by Protestants) and the Easter Uprising (mainly celebrated by Catholics)—provoked great tensions. The UVF reformed and murdered two Catholics (Taylor: 2000, pp. 41 – 44) and Ian Paisley’s orations and newspaper columns stimulated anxiety within the Protestant community (Bruce: 1989, pp. 76 – 77; Dixon: 2001, p. 71). Consequently, identifying the core impetus behind NICRA is no simple task.

The Creation of NICRA

NICRA owed much to its forerunner the Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ) established in 1964. The CSJ’s founders had previously established the Homeless Citizens League (HCL); a group that sought to highlight housing complaints deriving from shortages within the Catholic community. The success that the HCL had in addressing some housing concerns showed the ‘...effectiveness of direct action’ (Dixon: 2001, p. 76). Dixon writes that:

The CSJ was formed to oppose the policies of ‘apartheid and discrimination’ implemented by the Stormont Government, and its first objective was ‘to collect comprehensive and accurate data on all injustices done...and bring them to the attention of as many socially minded people as possible’. The CSJ was composed of ‘educated people’ drawn from the Catholic, professional, university-educated, middle classes (Dixon: 2001, p. 76).

However, Dixon himself writes that the CSJ membership was ‘...comprised predominantly of people who aspired towards Irish unity’ (2001, p. 77). For Dixon, like many contemporary Protestants, the ultimate objective of civil rights groups was Irish unification. Certainly the actions of the group, People’s Democracy, helped to characterise the civil rights movement as more militant than reformist. Its efforts to

intentionally provoke the security forces and Protestant militants provided a simple caricature of the overall movement (Smith: 1997, p. 82).

Ultimately, NICRA, formed in 1967, was a combination of several disparate organisations. Some were political, some operated within civil society taking direct action and some, like the IRA, were extra legal. As a result, differing groups within the movement had differing goals. Ruane and Todd describe NICRA as ‘...largely Catholic with some liberal Protestant support’ (1996, p. 124). Coogan characterises NICRA as cutting ‘...across sectarian barriers...[demanding] not Catholic power, but civil rights and justice for all...’ (1970, p. 168). The movement was not universally seen as an exclusively Catholic endeavour. This was reflected in the leadership of the movement which included Ivan Cooper¹³⁶, a Protestant (Moody: 1978, p. 34). Bishop and Mallie also state that some Protestant trade unionists were involved in NICRA, a development that excited the then Marxist leadership of the IRA (1987, p. 51). Ultimately, if Dixon’s characterisation of the CSJ as an irredentist nationalist organisation is correct, it had lost this complexion by the time it transformed into NICRA.

NICRA sought to address questions of what its members saw as the violation of civil liberties in general. NICRA’s proposed program of reform included:

...fair allocation of local-authority housing...legislation against discrimination in local-government employment, and machinery to deal with grievances arising out of local-government...redrawing of electoral boundaries...universal adult suffrage in local government elections...repeal of the special powers act...the withdrawal of the Public Order (Amendment) Bill...[and] the disbandment of the B Specials’ (Moody: 1978, p. 33).

NICRA’s programme heavily concentrated on issues of political economy and not the questions of nationality and the border. In this regard it is comparatively simple to see NICRA as a reformist organisation where Catholics united with Protestants in a democratic cause to ensure their citizens rights within the United Kingdom. However,

¹³⁶ Along with the Catholic John Hume, who would go on to lead the SDLP.

some argue that NICRA was an organisation that was taking an alternative route to securing a united Ireland. We shall identify the arguments here and attempt to present NICRA as a reformist organisation that contained irredentist elements.

First, it is important to address a key question that relates to the radicalisation of Catholics after the backlash against NICRA by the British security forces and Protestant militants. It may be misleading to argue that the civil rights movement was underpinned by irredentist nationalism, certainly when this was analysed within the context of the Troubles; where the Catholic community began to develop an intensifying notion of collective repression. Ruane and Todd argue that there was a discernable intensification of nationalism after 1968, ‘...whether in the form of increased ethnic assertiveness or of revolutionary nationalism’ (1992, p. 197). However, prior to this it is difficult to see in NICRA the single issue attribute that Dixon assigns to the movement. It is clear that NICRA contained elements who desired unification; it is much harder to see the organisation as wholly irredentist.

Ruane and Todd see the intensification of nationalism as having its roots in ‘...the increase in the capacity of nationalists to take effective political action...[and] the intensity of state and unionist resistance to their attempts to use this capacity’ (1992, p. 198). The dynamic here sees any democratic reformist agenda undertaken by Catholics as provoking a Protestant reaction that, in turn, intensifies Catholic militancy. On the level of individuals and organisations, this became clear. The perception of the irreformability of the Stormont state became an important impetus for some who may have hitherto identified as reformers, turn to revolutionary methods or at the least develop sympathies or indifference to republican violence.

Here the complexities that arise from the relatively short period between the establishment of reformist organisations, such as the CSJ in 1964, and the explosion of violence in 1968 are evident. Reformist elements became embroiled, as victims and as perpetrators, in the violence of the Troubles almost immediately. From within

the broad network of NICRA, groups such as the IRA and the SDLP, of whom the entirety of the membership of the former and a large portion of the latter sought a united Ireland, albeit by vastly differing methods, emerged. Catholic demands provoked Protestant fears on one hand and British heavy handedness swung moderates to militancy; or created sympathy for militancy.

At the heart of the disturbances lay material grievances that alienated Catholics from the state. The Cameron Report of 1969¹³⁷, found that:

...there was rising and well-founded resentment among Catholics at inequalities in housing allocation, discrimination in local government employment, the gerrymandering of local government boundaries, and a partisan law-enforcement system (Whyte: 1991, p. 165).

Such material alienation can be seen as the foundation of the conflict. However, at the time a comparatively liberal leadership of the UUP¹³⁸ attempted to introduce reforms that would satisfy the demands of NICRA and incorporate Catholics into the Northern Irish state. Nevertheless, the socio-economic factors that formed the core of NICRA _...became a side issue once full-scale armed conflict developed in the early 1970s' (Hillyard et al: 2005, p. 1). As Rose writes, ultimately, concerns over security overrode concerns over the economy (1971, p. 277). The causal relationship became obscured. Catholic alienation led to the civil rights movement; the reaction against the civil rights movement pushed militant republicanism from the fringe into the centre stage.

It was not only reformist organisations that were frustrated by conservative and reactionary elements within the Protestant community. During the early Troubles, the then Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Captain Terrence O'Neill¹³⁹, promoted

¹³⁷ The official report looking into the origins of the disturbances that led to the violence of the very early period of the Troubles (see Cameron Report: 1969).

¹³⁸ Whyte states that the UUP was split between two factions; 'populists', '...who were shamelessly discriminatory' and 'anti-populists' '...who had more impartial standards' (1991, p. 166).

¹³⁹ O'Neill's reformist agenda is described as 'liberal unionism' by Whyte (1991, p. 109) and as 'secular liberalism' by McGarry and O'Leary (1995, p. 180). O'Neill's attitude towards Catholics was problematic. He sought to make Catholics more like Protestants and in thinking this way, he uncritically accepted the socio-political caricature of the 'Catholic'. O'Neill made the following

reforms in many of the highly contentious areas mentioned by NICRA and the Cameron Report. O'Neill sought to modernise Northern Ireland socially by normalising socio-economic relations between Catholics and Protestants (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 143). Whyte suggests that the pressure exerted by the British government and NICRA on the Northern Irish state, prompted O'Neill to '...undertake reforms' (1991, p. 164; see also Dixon: 2001, p. 79). It is clear that some of the early reforms that were put into place were significant, and went some way to redressing some of the central concerns of NICRA.

Nevertheless, the attempt to reform the Northern Irish state failed to undermine the dialectic of resistance and repression. It was not only Catholic disdain at the slow rate of reform and the tacit acknowledgement of the existence of marginalisation that the reforms appeared to give, that increasingly undermined any real chance of peaceful transition. Complicating matters at the time, were significant and growing Protestant working-class fears over rapid socio-economic change. Importantly, Dixon writes that O'Neill, from within his middle-class educated clique, was removed from working-class fears and their increasing susceptibility to Paisley's rhetoric (Dixon: 2001, p. 81).

Regardless of O'Neill's reforms, certain significant Catholic concerns remained in place. Ultimately, the reforms were implemented in the context of a state shaped by colonialism that not only discriminated against Catholics, but lost legitimacy through its overt partisan structure; and security was the area where the charge of partisanship was called most acutely into question. In the deteriorating political situation, this issue became particularly controversial. Moody suggests that by the time the reforms were implemented, it was obvious to many Catholics that they were

observations about Catholics to the *Belfast Telegraph* in 1969, 'It is frightfully hard to explain to a Protestant that if you give Roman Catholics a good house they will live like Protestants, because they will see neighbours with cars and television sets. They will refuse to have eighteen children, but if the Roman Catholic is jobless, and lives in the most ghastly hovel, he will rear eighteen children on national assistance...if you treat Roman Catholics with due consideration and kindness, they will live like Protestants, in spite of the authoritative nature of their Church' (Lee: 1989, p. 426).

only granted through pressure and that their implementation was an acknowledgement of the existence of structural marginalisation (1978, pp. 41 – 42). Protestant reaction, both political and more importantly violent, fed into a deepening logic of violence. O'Neill's Prime Ministership¹⁴⁰ began one year prior to the establishment of the CSJ. By this time Catholic grievances had already found organisation, articulation, increasing confidence and with it, expectation.

Ultimately, O'Neill was almost as much a political victim of the inflexibility of both mainstream unionism and militant loyalism as NICRA. As the conservatives in the UUP made the boundaries of reform perfectly clear to O'Neill, Ian Paisley mounted a relentless campaign against him and the civil rights movement (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 124), effectively dividing the vote for the UUP¹⁴¹. A vote of no confidence in the O'Neill government was moved; one that his government only narrowly survived. However, Protestant paramilitaries contributed to his political downfall by bombing Belfast's water and electric utilities in an effort to frame republican militants and increase opposition to O'Neill's reforms. This strategy was successful. O'Neill said, after he resigned, that "...the explosions literally blew me out of office" (quoted in Taylor: 2000, p. 61). The backlash against the civil rights movement succeeded in marginalising both reformist elements in the Catholic community and the Protestant political elite.

NICRA and the Deteriorating Situation

The transition of the activism of the Catholic community can be understood as shifting from that tactically advocated by Ghandi, to that of Fanon. Where Ghandi sought reform and to avoid violence at all costs, Fanon saw the need to meet colonial state violence with violence (1967). On the 24th August 1968, a civil rights march was

¹⁴⁰ Which lasted between March of 1963 and ended with his resignation on the first of May 1969.

¹⁴¹ Paisley eventually took O'Neill's seat for Bannside in a by-election after O'Neill resigned in 1969 (Bruce: 1989, pp. 95 – 97).

organised to protest the eviction of a Catholic family from a house to make way for a single, but well connected, Protestant woman. During the march there were small incidents of violence, as members of Ian Paisley's Ulster Protestant Volunteers mounted a counter demonstration (Moloney: 2003, p. 63).

A second march organised for the 5th October 1968 was again inspired by issues surrounding housing, but also by persistent gerrymandering and the fact that a second university for Northern Ireland would not be located in the more populous, but Catholic dominated Derry, but in Coleraine. There is evidence that a section of the marchers—the student organisation People's Democracy—sought to provoke a reaction from the RUC which could then '...spark off a reaction against the authorities' (McCann quoted in Dixon: 2001, p. 84). The march went ahead and was attacked by Protestant militants, including off duty police reservists (see Smith: 1997, p. 82; Dixon: 2001, p. 85; Moody: 1978, p. 35).

At this point, Dixon argues, the debate shifted from civil rights to the violence of the state '...and the need to defend nationalist areas'. 'Free Derry' was established and wider community sympathies started to turn towards more militant activity (Dixon: 2001, p. 85). The moderate approach of NICRA and its affiliated groups was increasingly redundant. Republican youths from the Derry working-class area of the Bogside were hard to control. Within this atmosphere, the traditional Protestant loyalist marches¹⁴² through Derry provoked severe rioting that in turn, saw the state respond with intensified violence (Moloney: 2003, p. 65 – 66). Republicans in Belfast strategically rioted to stretch the resources of the RUC (Moloney: 2003, pp. 66 – 73). The RUC was unable to contain the resulting violence and the British army stepped onto Northern Irish streets on the 14th of August 1969.

¹⁴² Which under the circumstances were underpinned by Protestant insecurity due to Catholic action (Scarman quoted in Dixon: 2001, p. 87).

Was NICRA a Republican Movement?

NICRA included the participation of the IRA, but as a minority within the larger organisation (Smith: 1997, p. 81). The IRA's strategy at the time was influenced by Marxism and sought to unite the Protestant and Catholic working-classes against the British/Ulster capitalists. This strategy, driven by the leadership of Cathal Goulding and Roy Johnston from Dublin, had the ultimate aim of showing the Protestant working-class the benefits of unification through class consciousness (Moloney: 2003, pp. 51 – 60). It represented a diversion from traditional republican strategy, which contained deeply conservative Catholic views that were inherently hostile to Marxism (Moloney: 2003, p. 59). The IRA's participation was political and while many Protestants feared and accused NICRA of being a 'stalking horse' (Smith: 1997, p. 82) for the movement, its position was marginal.

Smith, like Dixon, states that the IRA and other republicans were involved in NICRA, but '...they remained a minority faction within it' (1997, p. 81). Ultimately, the IRA were of the opinion that the movement was becoming hijacked by extreme left-wing student elements (the People's Democracy) who intentionally sought to provoke an excessive reaction against NICRA by the state (Smith: 1997, p. 82). This tactic was inconsistent with IRA strategy at the time, which focused on political unity between the Protestant and Catholic working-class. However, it is generally accepted that the People's Democracy were successful in provoking a backlash that led to wider violent confrontation.

Moloney suggests that the civil rights movement was '...fueled by a growing educated and frustrated middle class' (2003, p. 62). Moloney's depiction, like Smith's, of that particular phase sees the IRA as overtly political, '...under the control of a group of orthodox pro-Moscow intellectuals and activists...' (2003, p. 7) and not in control of the civil rights movement (2003, pp. 62 – 73). In contextualising the political scene in post-partition Northern Ireland, Moloney suggests that the ever present

marginalisation of Catholics would guarantee ...that there would always be a role for the IRA and an audience for its seditious gospel'. Although, he immediately follows saying that to ...say..that violent republicanism was the predominant sentiment among Northern Ireland's Catholics would be wrong. By far the bulk of them supported constitutionalist politicians, principally the conservative and strongly pro-Catholic Church Nationalist Party' (2003, p. 37).

However, the fact that the IRA at the time saw some value in NICRA and was oppositional to the divisive tactics of the People's Democracy was undermined by the increasing divisions within the IRA itself. As violence in the province became more serious and sustained, and much of this violence became directed at the Catholic population in general, more conservative and militant elements within the republican movement began to re-assert themselves within the IRA (see Moloney: 2003, pp. 65 – 73; Smith: 1997, pp. 72 - 83).

The 'split' within the IRA took place at the end of 1969 and was formalised' early the following year (Smith: 1997, p. 83). British mishandling of security, most notably Bloody Sunday, unionist conservatism and the explicit willingness and intent of loyalist militants to attack Catholic communities saw the 'Provisional' IRA emerge as the dominant republican group and increasingly, as the central player in Northern Irish political calculus. Within two years the provisional IRA had contributed to the downfall of Stormont, and had, as Moloney writes, '...brought the British to the negotiating table' (2003, p. 116). Reformist political movements had been completely undermined and overshadowed by state, loyalist and republican violence.

An analysis of the political situation shows that the prime movers on the political extremes were, on one hand, militant loyalism and conservative unionism, and on the other, far left-wing elements on the fringes of the civil rights movement. The middle of the political spectrum was occupied by reformist liberal unionism, led by O'Neill, and organisations such as NICRA. While it is generally accepted that

republicans were involved in the civil rights movement, they were not near the centre of events at the time. As the security situation worsened, and faith in reform deteriorated, republicans began to assume a more important role. Here we see the demands of NICRA—socio-political in nature—being contested by *key* forces that did not include republican organisations.

The political context within which this occurred was the wider anti-colonial struggles around the 1960s. Full participation in liberal democracy was widely seen as a vehicle for providing civil rights. Catholic moves to secure these rights were violently resisted. From here a Fanonesque logic emerges resulting in violence. Once in motion, violence takes on a dynamic of its own. In Northern Ireland, the transition from 1968 to the most violent year of 1972 was short. Where only several years were required to normalise the reality of political violence in the province, it has taken several decades to unravel. The lack of legitimacy of the state centred on its partisan nature can be seen as central to this cycle.

Repression and Reform within the Colonial Context

Ultimately, the civil rights movement, and the backlash against it, occurred within the imperial/colonial paradigm. Consequently, the intent of those who engaged in reformist politics is not the central question, although we saw that it dominates much of the debate on the topic. It is clear that NICRA included irredentist republicans. NICRA also contained members of the Catholic community who sought to reform the Northern Irish state. The participation of Protestants in the organisation goes some way to suggest that reform was a genuine motivation, and not just reform on the way towards a united Ireland. As we also saw above, Catholics who either supported the status-quo or were indifferent to it have been a constant feature of Irish political life.

In 1992, Ruane and Todd analysed the 'intensification' and 'differentiation' of nationalism among Catholics. They argued that the persistence and intensification of

nationalism in Northern Ireland was underpinned by the ongoing colonial relationship, manifest in issues surrounding the Catholic community's disproportionate tendency to be the object of state security scrutiny and repression. Ruane and Todd's chapter reads largely within the intractability tradition, however, it continually draws on economic and materialist analysis. It is worth outlining their analysis in detail, not only due to the prominence of the two academics in Northern Irish studies, but because this particular work itself is located within the transitional context in Northern Ireland. The authors were identifying the initial stages of the shift of Northern Ireland's political economy and they tied changes in ideology and self-identification to historical and emerging material factors. In doing so, they identified the early moments of the dissolution of the community of Catholics and the emergence of 'enterprise man' and 'enterprise society'. However, they were ultimately careful not to privilege materialism over competing ethno-nationalisms as the source of the conflict. This shows the primacy of this analysis at the time of writing.

The dialectic of state repression and republican militancy created a situation where the British army could not disengage from Northern Ireland while republicans would not desist from their physical force campaign to expel them. Regardless of what individual Catholics may have thought about IRA violence, the state repression against the Catholic community did nothing to erode Catholic perceptions of colonial domination. Here the central theme of security and repression—with its immediate origins in the early civil rights movement and long term origins in the Plantation of the 17th century—remained an emotive political factor.

The two dominant political ideologies evident within the Catholic community in Northern Ireland are 'nationalist' and 'republican'. Whyte writes that 'At the very beginning of the Northern Ireland state, nationalists were divided between Republicans, who advocated physical force, and the Nationalist Party, which advocated reuniting Ireland through constitutional means' (1991, p. 74). Following the

collapse of support for the Nationalist Party following the outbreak of violence, the 'moderate' SDLP became the largest nationalist party in Northern Ireland (Whyte: 1991, p. 74). Physical force is synonymous with republicanism while nationalism, seen at face value, represents democratic and peaceful unification. However, as we shall see, this understanding of nationalism is grossly insufficient.

Outside of the party political context, these respective positions become more complex. The severity of marginalisation, which intensified once unionists gained full control of the state after Partition, convinced many Catholics that '...unionists would never yield to reform' (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 203). Ruane and Todd write that:

Until the 1960s, republicans either discounted the possibility or held internal reform within Northern Ireland to be of little value; but more moderate nationalists saw it as the only hope of redress. Nationalists have also differed in the intensity of their desire for Irish unity. Some were indifferent to it or saw it simply as a way of ending discrimination; others desired it intensely for its own sake (1992, p. 203).

The possibility of the reform of the state can be seen as a major factor upon which political opinion either converged or divided. As we have seen, once the state was seen to repress the civil rights movement, the anticipation of reform faded. This section will concentrate on nationalism, as republicanism—although itself not a homogenous position—tends to hold Irish unity as a central and sometimes solitary aim.

Ruane and Todd argue that 'differentiation' within nationalism was becoming evident and was most prevalent among middle-class Catholics. Irredentist nationalism remained evident among the working-classes. The ongoing colonial socio-capitalist relations were central to nationalism retaining its irredentist underpinnings. In Northern Ireland today, the structural boundaries that marginalised Catholics, including disproportionate security force attention, no longer operate within a colonial logic; these considerations are no longer the driving force of Catholic politics. Ruane and Todd's analysis may have clear undertones of intractability, but

their arguments are based on a notion that material shifts fostered ideological change.

However, it is the very shift out of colonial relations that has allowed the depth of change evident in recent years. Many Catholics no longer view the economy and their relations with the state through the prism of the oppressed within the colonial binary. In the past, material betterment has occurred for some Catholics; however, it occurred within the context of repression and violence. As a result, Catholic self-identification as victim remained intact and the idea of united Ireland remained attractive; if only ...as a way of ending discrimination' (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 203).

Ruane and Todd illustrate the complex relationship between Catholic identity, Irish nationalism, irredentism and the residual, structural colonial relations. They outlined three key phenomena as the impetus behind nationalist ideology:

First, a process of economic, political and cultural peripheralisation which Ireland underwent during the nineteenth century as it became incorporated into an increasingly integrated British Isles; second, the presence of a legacy of unresolved political, religious and cultural conflicts deriving from English colonisation of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and third, the rise of nationalism as an ideology in late nineteenth century Europe (1992, pp. 194 – 195).

Irish nationalism was then confronted by several important forces; the most significant being the counter-nationalism' of the unionist community (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 195).

After partition, the situation was then complicated further by the inclusion of the political interests of the Republic of Ireland. While partition continued to be a ...source of grievance' in the South, Ruane and Todd argue that for the successive generations who had known only the Republic of Ireland, partition was less of a

concern¹⁴³. An increasingly independent Republic began to dismantle the colonial legacy within their state¹⁴⁴. The social experience and political economy of North and South began to ‘diverge’ from each other. As a result of these forces, in the Republic, ‘Nationalism in general, and irredentism in particular, began to decline’ (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 196).

Given the extreme violence in Northern Ireland from the late 1960s until the late 1990s, Partition is generally viewed negatively. Stewart argues that in the long term it became a ‘...settlement that settled nothing’ (Bell: 1976, pp. 5 - 6). However, Ruane and Todd argue that all interested parties, apart from Northern Catholics, gained *something* from Partition. Southern Catholics gained a level of socio/economic independence. The British managed to temporarily deflect a constant and ongoing problem on their immediate geographical periphery; the Irish Question. Northern unionists managed to salvage a state in which they exercised almost total and uncontested control. However, for Northern Catholics, the root causes behind wider 19th century Irish nationalism were carried over into the new state.

The Catholic community found themselves a marginalised minority in the new state (Whyte: 1991, pp. 52 – 66). On a socio/economic level, structural poverty translated not only on a material level, but also manifested in self-perceptions and collective identity. Ruane and Todd discuss this interaction as the phenomenon of ‘peripherality’:

Peripherality expressed itself in a variety of ways. Throughout the history of Northern Ireland, Catholics have been more likely to be unemployed than Protestants, more likely to be in low-status jobs and more likely to emigrate...Politically they have been in a minority; they were subjected during the early decades of the state to various forms of political discrimination from gerrymandering to electoral manipulation...and they were integrated into a state – whether

¹⁴³ O’Donnell argues that the ‘key ideological’ factor for nationalists and republicans in the Peace Process has been the shift from the argument for self-determination, to an acceptance of ‘two-states’ (2009, p. 208).

¹⁴⁴ Although, Bew et al. outline an early incident where, in 1921, recent gains made by agricultural labourers were ‘threatened’ with the assistance of the IRA. Some large farmers, prominent in the republican movement, sought to have recently won wage increases revoked. The working-class backlash against the IRA in the way of resignations from the movement prompted a compromise (Bew et al: 1989, pp. 21 – 26).

local or metropolitan – with which they could not identify...In cultural and religious terms – as self consciously Irish' and as Catholic' – they have been subject to the official, dominant British Protestant culture and have been marginalised by the experience (Ruane and Todd: 1992, pp. 196 – 197).

Contextually, it is important for the failure of the civil rights movement and the Protestant backlash against it, and the complicated socio-political interactions of the Troubles, to be seen within this community view as self consciously Irish' and as Catholic'.

This reveals a simple model for Catholic attitudes to the state and a desire for Irish unification; outward pressure in the form of colonial marginalisation and repression, that enhanced and maintained collective community identity. The failure of Catholics to be able to identify' with the Northern Irish state appears logical given the context. Catholics were a minority in the state and in many cases, as a result of the mosaic of enclaves throughout Belfast in particular, often found themselves to be minorities within the minority. The intimacy of place and in many cases the immediate hostility of the surrounding territory, enhanced the sense of an already well established collective experience¹⁴⁵.

Territory, or place', must also be viewed as central. At one extreme, Stevenson identifies—through interviews with central paramilitary figures from both communities—that out of the many factors identified as fuelling the Troubles, territory' was the main concern. The other factors, in descending order, were romance and historical tradition...Politics [the question of the border]...And religion' which came dead last' (Stevenson: 1996, p. 22). For Stevenson and his respondents, class is woven directly into this equation, given that Catholic and Protestant paramilitaries were primarily working-class. The implications for such a

¹⁴⁵ A sense of siege or the reality of hostile neighbours is not an ongoing experience limited to the Catholic community. Many working-class Protestants live in an identical reality in this regard. Shirlow has shown the degree to which each community live in fear of the other and take great pains to avoid moving through their territory (2003).

complex is clear, once class, place and violence begin to unravel. For instance, as Catholics begin to leave working-class areas like West Belfast, an area of particularly acute security force attention, colonial peripherality, as a factor underpinning violence and collective identity, loses relevance.

Ruane and Todd also examine intensification and differentiation of nationalism after 1968 (1992). ‘Intensification’ refers to the increase in both the numbers of people identifying as ‘nationalist’ and the relative militancy of nationalist attitudes in Northern Ireland; ‘differentiation’ relates to the fact that while there is an apparent intensification of nationalism, there is increasing divergence about what that functionally means. Ruane and Todd identify increasing complexity surrounding what a ‘nationalist’ stands for politically. They see this complicated attitude towards nationalism as being underpinned by class and place.

Initially, Ruane and Todd attribute the intensification of nationalism to a reaction to the conditions to which it was first a response; including the relative worsening of the economic situation of Catholics as the Northern Irish economy went into deeper decline; the penetration of the British welfare state ‘...and an erosion of the partially self-sufficient —society within a society’; and the ‘...further cultural absorption of Northern Ireland into the UK’ (1992, p. 197). Overall, the deepening of the peripherality of the Catholic community led to the intensification of nationalism (1992, p. 197). However, they see in particular, two phenomena which we critically analysed already in the review of NICRA, these are namely the ‘...increased capacity of nationalists to take effective political action; and second, the intensity of state and unionist resistance to their attempts to use this capacity’ (1992, p. 198).

Intensification can thus be tied to material factors; in short, colonial structures and the backlash against Catholics attempting to remedy them. Differentiation shows that even in these extreme circumstances, a ‘nationalist’ is not necessarily an

irredentist. During this period, nationalism amongst the Catholic community developed:

...a much wider range of political goals and attitudes than in the past. At one extreme there is a form of ethnic assertiveness that accepts and even welcomes continuing membership of the UK, at the other a classical nationalist insistence on the right of Irish people as a whole to self-determination (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 202).

Importantly, this wide spectrum of ideological positions can also be found within the support for political parties. For instance, Ruane and Todd argue that such a wide range of views is found within the supporters of the SDLP (1992, p. 202). The implications for Sinn Féin of this rationale will be examined in chapter 7.

Ruane and Todd's research is important as it shows that even within the repression and violence of the Troubles, 'nationalism' does not necessarily equate to irredentism. The authors are careful, however, to ensure that their arguments are not taken to be economically reductive, although it is difficult not to read their chapter as such. This can be seen as symptomatic of the orthodoxy of academic work on Northern Ireland at the time that was dominated by ethno-nationalism.

The date of publication would have also tempered the assertiveness of their conclusions; this was prior to the IRA ceasefires of 1994. From the middle of the 1980s there was a significant spike in republican killings and a corresponding, albeit smaller, increase in loyalist killings. From 1988 onwards, republican killings began to slowly taper off, however, from 1990 loyalist killings increased. Around 1992, loyalists actually surpassed republican totals¹⁴⁶ (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 52). The reality of violence and the possibility of escalation in the last half of the 1980s were statistically real enough to caution cavalier declarations. The 'two-nations' theory was dominant, and the civil war remained bloody enough to give it salience.

¹⁴⁶ This is a significant indicator of the political intensity of the times as between 1969 and 1993, republican paramilitaries (including the Provisional IRA, the Official IRA, the Irish National Liberation Army and other smaller groups) were responsible for 58% of total Troubles related deaths; during this period, loyalist paramilitaries were responsible for 28% of the total (McGarry and O'Leary: 1995, p. 52).

Consequently, Ruane and Todd warned that their argument relating to '...structural change and ideological differentiation should not be overemphasised' (1992, p. 207). They cite as the main reason for their caution as the reality that while there is a significant variation between nationalist attitudes towards Irish unification, ultimately, as we have seen above, most Catholics when surveyed desired it at that time. Their caveat comes not two pages from the end of the chapter and perhaps this is strategic so as to ensure their work does not fall into the determinist camp. If their qualification had been made early in the piece, it would have seemed a thin position to maintain during the convincing argument linking colonial and material factors in the forming of constitutional preference.

Regardless of the efforts of Ruane and Todd to locate their argument loosely within the intractability framework, it is clear that the concept of differentiation is tied directly with geography and class. As we saw in the previous chapter, young males from working-class areas have benefited the least from the social, economic and political progress evident in Northern Ireland since the civil rights movement began. This particular cohort has been:

...more likely by far to experience unemployment, political vetting for jobs or funds, the expansion of the security and surveillance activities of the state, security force harassment, or arrest or injury, without the possibility of redress. Irish unity has something to offer them politically, and possibly also economically (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 206).

For the working-class, the extremes of any residual colonial relationships, or the perception of such, are still very real (see Shirlow: 1997 and 1999).

The lived experience for middle-class Catholics at the time was already vastly different. This cohort:

...may find themselves relatively unaffected by state security policies, and may even be in some demand from state or private bodies concerned to convey a willingness to reform. They may still find themselves exposed to cultural pressure or even marginalisation in professional gatherings dominated by unionists or British, but for most this is a minor irritant rather than a

source of real grievance. This group may have much to lose – economically and politically – from Irish unity (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 206).

Unlike working-class Catholics middle-class Catholics ‘...are more likely to have been exposed to, and convinced by, arguments forecasting the end of nationalism’ (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 206). However, one complication is the fact that middle-class Catholics whose professions, for instance ‘...doctors lawyers, teachers, social workers’, put them in contact with working-class Catholics, or who have family and friends in ‘republican’ areas, may ‘...experience acutely the contradictions of the process of reform’ (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 207). Ruane and Todd state that there are consequently ‘strong nationalist views’ among this class (1992, p. 207). As we will see in chapter 6, the relationship between class and constitutional preferences remains evident today and as more Catholics move into the middle-class and out of working-class ghettos, attitudes to the border continue to moderate.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there are significant historical and ongoing reasons to reject the notion that Catholicism is synonymous with irredentist nationalism/republicanism. Prior to the partition of Ireland, many Catholics sought employment within the state that was seen to marginalise them. While some Catholics, including notable republicans, worked in the British Civil Service while resisting British rule in Ireland, many of their co-religionists worked for the security services of that state. This alone destabilises the notion that the ongoing core Catholic political desire was unification.

Following on, the civil rights movement was also analysed to determine its political character. While it is clear that some republicans saw the movement as a vehicle towards unification, the movement cannot be considered republican. A strong

element of reformism informed this political movement. It was not until the increasing cycle of violence radicalised many Catholics, through a shared sense of victimisation that the hope for reform of the state declined. Nevertheless, even in this situation, Catholics continued, in varying minorities relative to the security/political situation, to support the maintenance of the existing constitutional arrangements.

During the Troubles, identity in the Catholic community displayed significant differentiation, again further problematising the assumptions of an exclusively ethno-nationalist impetus behind the conflict. This evidence casts further doubt on the conclusions of the intractability arguments. This opens the space for materialistic interpretations. The next chapter will develop the analysis of the constitutional preferences of Catholics throughout the contemporary era. In doing so, it integrates the argument from chapter 3, of the ideological shift accompanying the economic transition and chapters 4A and 4B that shows the economic transition to neo-liberalism. Chapter 6 shows that a shift in constitutional preferences is linked to the move to a global neo-liberal economy.

Chapter 6

The Community of Catholics in the Neo-Liberal Era

To imagine that the Catholics of Northern Ireland are somehow immune from the dominant ideological shifts that have swept across Europe and the wider world is to ignore history. As we have seen, Ireland's social, political and economic developments owed much to the influence of other countries. Each significant challenge to British rule in Ireland was in some way presaged by Western Enlightenment thinking, wider republican and nationalist doctrines and post war decolonisation. The Troubles can never be fully understood outside of the context of the wider radicalism of the late 1960s. Ireland, as a part of Europe, was situated in an ideological dialectic with Britain and Continental Europe. It also became increasingly ideologically and materially interconnected with major migration countries, notably the USA, but also Canada and Australia.

However, implicit in many variations of the intractability thesis is just this idea; that the Catholic community, colonised and subsequently marginalised for centuries, will continue to hold to the 19th century concepts of nationalism, striving for a united Ireland. This nationalism would remain unchanged regardless of the shifts in ideology evident in other nations around the globe and changes in Northern Ireland's political economy. This thesis argues against this assumption; that this shift has occurred in key sectors of Catholic society and the province as a whole.

We saw in the previous chapter that Ruane and Todd identified very early movements of Catholics away from colonial conceptions of identity in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, they did so while the politics of Northern Ireland remained underpinned by elements of the colonial imperial logic. The persistence of the colonial relationship meant that, ultimately, politics, economy and society continued

for many Catholics to be evaluated and experienced through the prism of colonialism and their own subsequent and ongoing marginalisation. However, even under these conditions, differentiation occurred within nationalism. More recently, the consolidation of the Catholic middle-class in the post peace-process era is beyond question and is considered to be the most significant recent social development in the region (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 40). Their movement into South Belfast and their contributions to the creation and strengthening of consumer culture in the city are also evident (Cebulla and Smyth: 1996, p. 54).

Catholic self-identification and attitudes to unification have been monitored by survey for several decades, and the sizable return of Catholics identifying as 'nationalist' has encouraged some academics to assume that many, or most, desire unification. This chapter critiques this assumption. First it will analyse the problems associated with survey terminology and context and concludes that the very wording of the surveys undermines their findings. For decades, respondents were asked to identify from a very narrow and heavily symbolic choice of colonial binaries. Second, the context in which respondents were asked to identify from these binaries was a highly divisive, emotive and violent era in Northern Irish history. This chapter argues that the colonial context and contested binaries severely problematise the results of these surveys.

The chapter moves on to analyse the contemporary debate surrounding identity and the constitutional preference of Catholics. This occurred during the transition phase of Northern Ireland's economy. First, Richard Breen's work is analysed. Breen (2001) essentially argues that there has been no shift in Catholic constitutional preference as a result of upward social mobility. I argue that Breen's findings are undermined by the contextual and discursive problems outlined in the previous paragraph. Second, the work of Peter Shirlow and various co-authors is analysed. Shirlow et al. argue that Catholic identity and attitudes towards unification

have fractured. However, like Ruane and Todd, Shirlow's conclusions are guarded, and, I argue, he refrained from statements that could be read as too reductionist.

Ultimately, this chapter concludes that the conjuncture itself is the most important factor. The early surveys were undertaken during the most divisive phase in the conflict and their fluctuating findings sometimes indicate an increased desire for unification. The debates forwarded by Breen and Shirlow can be located, in hindsight, within the transitional phase between the colonial/imperial and neo-liberal conjunctures. While more nuanced analyses clearly identified a reduction in Catholic irredentism, they were still located partially within a contested political and academic context. However, the transition to neo-liberalism has deepened significantly and the 2008 survey shows that more Catholics than ever are comfortable in abandoning the community solidarity implicit in the terminology. The chapter concludes that nationalism and irredentist nationalism cannot be viewed as synonymous.

Ongoing Catholic Attitudes to Unification

The population of Northern Ireland have been subjected to an ongoing system of surveys and questionnaires designed to discern their attitudes to the politics and economics of the province. However, these questionnaires, problematically couched in the discourse of colonial binaries, also seek to unpack the respondents self-identification along with the attitudes that each ethno/religious group holds towards the Other. The Northern Ireland Social Attitudes surveys ran from 1989 to 1998. It was replaced by the Northern Ireland Life and Times (NILT) survey. However, surveys have been conducted by academics, by government departments and by commercial media outlets since the middle of the 1960s.

It is not my intention to list the results of each survey and attempt to contextualise the data against the political events of the day for two reasons. First;

the complexity and variation of the forces and emotions that have been unleashed by individual events and developing phenomena over the past two decades would make arguments derived from such a close study dubious at best. Second; this would be fundamentally unnecessary as I have argued, with the supporting work of Ruane and Todd, and Shirlow, Graham, and Shuttleworth, that the very wording used in the surveys places a veneer over the complexities of what it is to identify as 'nationalist'. Graham and Shirlow have identified this tendency with the word 'tradition' which is meant to replace the use of 'religion' or 'unionist/nationalist'; they write, 'The political use of the word 'tradition', as in 'the two traditions', is unfortunate because it intimates-or even, when used officially, imposes-a commonality of interest where often none exists' (1998, p. 245). The symbolic identifier 'nationalist' does the same.

While it has been established that 'Catholic' does not equate to 'nationalist', it is argued here that 'nationalist', for several reasons, does not equate to 'irredentist nationalist'. Two key questions will be looked at here for the purposes of the argument relating to self-identification. One relates to the constitutional position of Northern Ireland; primarily, whether the border should remain intact, whether the North should formally 'merge' with Britain or whether the North should re-unite with the Irish Republic. The second question relates to personal political identity; the question that asks respondents to identify as a 'nationalist', 'unionist' or 'other'. While the evolving responses of Protestants to this question are not without interest to this thesis, the responses of Catholics will be privileged.

Whyte analysed the constitutional attitudes of survey respondents starting in 1967¹⁴⁷, where Catholic responses to the question of the future of the Irish border ranged from 20% in favour of the current situation; 30% in favour of 'An independent united Ireland' and 50% desiring a 'United Ireland linked to Britain' (1991, p. 77). Whyte argues that the results were problematic but they did reveal that the two

¹⁴⁷ A survey conducted by the *Belfast Telegraph*, a unionist newspaper.

communities were not, at that point, ..fundamentally divided'. Importantly, the results displayed significant Catholic support for the ...compromise constitutional arrangement' of a United Ireland linked to Britain' (1991, p. 77). A large degree of Catholic support for the current situation is evident again today. However, at the time of this survey, the security situation had not deteriorated into violence.

In 1968, Richard Rose conducted a similar survey and the findings from his study showed 21% Catholic support for no change'; 2% support for merge' with Britain; and 14% support for the abolition of the border and unification with Ireland. Forty two percent opted to abolish the border, but with only a vague' idea of what might follow (Whyte: 1991, p. 78). The Catholic response in support of the status-quo was strikingly consistent. However, Rose's introduction of three additional questions, giving six options where the *Belfast Telegraph* survey offered only three, illustrates the complexities that can be masked by the nature and quantity of the questions asked. Rose's study included a 12% Catholic response of Don't know' to the question of the Irish border (1991, p. 78), potentially pushing the status-quo response as high as 33%.

1974 was the year in which the third highest Troubles related deaths occurred¹⁴⁸. It was a period of marked escalation of violence and militarisation of the province. At this time, Ruane and Todd list the Catholic desire for a united Ireland ...either now or at some time in the future' at 93% (1992, p. 203). Whyte lists an alternative figure from the same year at 77%, but qualifies it by saying that once the respondents were asked if they supported it as ...an immediate objective', the ...proportions [became] much lower' (1991, p. 80). As we have seen, the general level of violence and, by that time, heavy-handed response of the British army had ossified Catholic identity to a degree. However, the same year saw the SDLP—the

¹⁴⁸ Up until that time, 1974 was the second highest year. Beginning in 1969, 16 deaths occurred; in 1970, 26; 1971, 171; 1972, 479 (highest year); 1973, 253; 1974, 294 (Sutton: 1994a).

‘moderate’ Catholic party—receive 22.4% of the vote in the Westminster election, a figure close to their average of around 20%.

While the near unanimous 93% support for a united Ireland is a staggering result, the ongoing support for the SDLP, with an acknowledged section of voters for whom reform was desirable, shows that the survey might have been an outlet for frustration, fear and solidarity. The significant variation in the results cited by Whyte also calls into question if sentiments towards the border were rational and stable, or effected by the events, quite literally, of the day¹⁴⁹. Additionally, the simple fact that respondents became less irredentist the closer that the date of the proposed unification became, also says something of the emotion at the time.

Figures taken from the mid 1980s show a significant drop in support for a united Ireland; In 1986, 42 per cent of Catholics expressed themselves in favour of a united Ireland in the next 30 years, compared with 16 per cent against and 40 per cent with no preference’ (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 203). Once again the theme of a united Ireland, but only in the future, indicates the presence of material conservatism to the question. The Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 had caused a violent backlash by loyalist paramilitaries that saw a significant increase in the murder of Catholics (McGarry and O’Leary: 1995, p. 52). Even in this climate, where an increased existential threat against Catholics was evident, 56% chose not to opt for unification.

In 2000, two years after the Good Friday Agreement, the NILT survey asked the question ‘Do you think the long-term policy for Northern Ireland should be for it...’:

¹⁴⁹ The instances of violence and deaths in 1974 make for grim reading; see Sutton for details of each Troubles related death (Sutton: 1994b).

8.A Do you think the long-term policy for Northern Ireland should be for it... 2000

	% Catholic	% Protestant	% No religion
... to remain part of the United Kingdom	20	83	53
Or, to reunify with the rest of Ireland?	42	4	15
(Independent state)	15	6	10
Other answer (specify)	4	2	4
(Don't know)	19	6	18 ¹⁵⁰

Once again, the responses revealed a reasonable segment (20%) of Catholics who wished to retain the current arrangements and an almost equal number who Don't know, a remarkable response given that the following year Sinn Féin outpolled the SDLP in the Westminster elections¹⁵¹. When the figure for respondents who desire an independent state are added to these two categories, the resulting 54% outpolls the 40% in favour of a united Ireland. Given that the condition of time in implementing a united Ireland has seen the number of respondents in favour contract in previous surveys, it would be safe to assume that this figure would shrink further.

In 2008, the NILT survey asked this question again, but with the inclusion of an option allowing for the support of the current devolved government. The results show almost equal support of devolved power sharing as they do for a united Ireland (in the long term):

¹⁵⁰ This table is reproduced in its entirety from Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey., Political Attitudes (2000).

¹⁵¹ If support for Sinn Féin was indicative of a symbiotic relationship with republicanism among the voting public, a stronger showing for a united Ireland would have been expected.

8.B Do you think the long-term policy for Northern Ireland should be for it... ' 2008

	% Catholic	% Protestant	% No religion
To remain part of the United Kingdom, with direct rule	7	24	17
To remain part of the United Kingdom, with devolved government	37	65	54
To reunify with the rest of Ireland	39	4	11
(Independent state)	8	3	7
Other answer	3	1	4
Don't know	7	2	7 ¹⁵²

The fact that the percentage of Catholics who support the current arrangement is only two percent less than those who support a united Ireland is revealing. When, what could be termed the 'reactionary' Catholic 7% who wish to be ruled from Britain is included, the pro UK cohort reaches 44%. When added to the other categories not wishing a united Ireland, the figure increases to 62%.

While it is clear that the results of these surveys have been conditional, there are two important conclusions that can be made. First, that a pro status-quo component of the Catholic community has always been evident. Interestingly, Whyte states that when all of the surveys, taken between 1973 and 1989 are taken as a whole, the most popular position for Catholics (and Protestants for that matter) is 'power-sharing' (1991, p. 82). Second, that the most significant percentage of Catholics who desire the retention of the link with Britain is evident in the 2008 survey. This completely undermines the notion that irredentist nationalism is a core value of the Catholic community, regardless of their voting relationship with Sinn Féin. It also calls into question the *prima facie* value of the results of the questionnaires that ask Catholics to choose from the very narrow and ideologically burdened choice of 'nationalist', 'unionist', or 'neither'.

¹⁵² This table is reproduced in its entirety from Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey., 'Political Attitudes' (2008a). The figures relating to Catholics total 101%.

Do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?'

Similar patterns are evident in survey questions related to self-identification as 'nationalist'. Variations in responses have been evident over the same period listed above in relation to constitutional preference. It is important to note that the question does not ask for a respondent to identify with either 'republicanism' or 'loyalism', presumably because these terms, as signifiers of extreme militancy, were considered to be too emotive and probably prone to distort results.

A brief look at the figures associated with Catholic responses to the question of self identification as nationalist will suffice, as we have already seen above that many Catholics have accepted or embraced the rule of the English/British. When compared with Catholic responses to the question of unification, and specifically to the discernable acceptance of the political status-quo evident in responses from the 2008 survey, the gap between irredentism and the perseverance of self-identification as nationalist is clear. In 1998, the year of the Good Friday Agreement, the responses to the question 'Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?' were as follows:

8.C Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?' 1998

	% Catholic	% Protestant	% No religion
Unionist	1	72	27
Nationalist	63	1	8
Neither	33	26	63
Don't know	2	2	3 ¹⁵³

¹⁵³ This table is reproduced in its entirety from Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey., 'Political Attitudes' (1998).

In 2002, half way between the Agreement and the most recent survey, the additional option of ‘Other (specify)’ was included. The results, compared with 1998, were reasonably stable;

8.D Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?’ 2002

	% Catholic	% Protestant	% No religion
Unionist	1	73	23
Nationalist	65	1	7
Neither	32	24	67
Other (specify)	1	1	3
(Don't know)	1	1	1 ¹⁵⁴

However, as with the responses to the question of the constitutional position of Northern Ireland, the 2008 responses showed a significant shift.

8.E Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?’ 2008

	% Catholic	% Protestant	% No religion
Unionist	1	70	20
Nationalist	48	0	5
Neither	50	29	75
Other	0	0	0
Don't know	1	0	0 ¹⁵⁵

Compared with Protestant unionists whose responses remained 70 to 73% over the same three surveys, Catholics for the first time, registered a larger ‘neither’, rather

¹⁵⁴ This table is reproduced in its entirety from Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey., ‘Political Attitudes’ (2002).

¹⁵⁵ This table is reproduced in its entirety from Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey., ‘Political Attitudes’ (2008b).

than 'nationalist' response. The point being made here is the same regarding the constitutional attitudes question, and that is that each survey has shown at least some identification for something other than nationalist.

However, something significant has occurred, clearly discernable in the 2008 results. Perhaps for the first time since the mid to late 1960s, a clear section of the Catholic community have managed to conceptualise themselves within the Northern Irish state and (although anonymously) admit to it. Moreover, the Catholic response to the question of nationalist self-identification, even when represented within the colonial binary of nationalist/unionist, shows that a significant section of the population, a full 50%, are comfortable enough with the current situation to not feel compelled to identify as a nationalist. In short, surveys up to the most recent showed significant evidence that many Catholics (close to 40%) were not prepared to label themselves as nationalist and those that did, cannot be taken to want immediate Irish unification. In 1995, McGarry and O' Leary described the Catholic community as a 'large extended family' (1995, p. 355). However, most recently, for the first time, most Catholics opted not to identify as nationalist, indicating the depth of change elicited by the shift to neo-liberalism and the realisation of 'enterprise man' over the community of Catholicism.

After the Good Friday Agreement

As we have seen, slowly developing but serious reforms were made to the political economy of the province that incrementally, and unevenly, granted access for Catholics to full participation in Northern Irish society. In keeping with the outcomes of neo-liberalism, only a section of that community has benefitted from it. The restructuring of the economy saw Protestant dominance slowly erode and the equal access to social provisions saw greater access for Catholics in the economy through easier access to higher education. Government acts such as the Fair Employment

Acts of 1976 and 1989, also began to return some equality to workplace access for an educated group of Catholics (see Blackaby et.al: 2008).

Schmidt quotes a Catholic high school principle who stated that for Catholics in Northern Ireland, ‘...there is life beyond the Falls Road’ (1994). Since that time, conditions have improved further. McGovern writes that ‘Northern Ireland is no longer regarded by Nationalists as quite such a “coldhouse” to live in as has been the case in the past’ (2004, p. 627). The transition from several perspectives on the reformability of the state is significant. In particular, moderate nationalists have what they have always wanted, a state in which they could participate as equals.

Catholic culture enjoyed a renaissance during this period also. Catholics were no longer obliged or coerced into silence and marginalisation regarding their Catholic, Gaelic tradition. This is a long way from the 1964 Divis Street riots where Ian Paisley led Protestant militants into Catholic West Belfast to remove an Irish flag from an electoral candidate’s window.

Finally, and crucially, Northern Ireland has now reached a point of normalisation regarding security. This process began with the IRA ceasefire in 1994 and ended in the later part of 2008 with the dissolution of the IRA army council. ‘Operation Banner’¹⁵⁶ is over, and British army units are no longer a constant feature in Northern Ireland, even though splinter groups persist in attempting to re-militarise the situation¹⁵⁷.

By contrast, the high profile British army bases located along the border areas with the Republic of Ireland reinforced the notion of occupation. These bases ‘...heightened perceptions of Britain as an occupying power backed up by Protestant security forces. For those most affected, the sense of Northern Ireland as a colonial entity is stronger now than it was 20 years ago’ (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 205).

¹⁵⁶ The longest single deployment of British troops for the duration of August 1969 to July 2007.

¹⁵⁷ The IMC states that republican dissident groups are ‘politically marginal’ but seek primarily to murder police officers and disrupt policing in general (Twenty-Third Report: 2010, p. 6) and are ‘...committed to undermining the peace process’ (2010, p. 8).

These bases have been dismantled in the general moves to demilitarise Northern Ireland. The greatest historical impediments to peace and the most significant impetus to irredentist nationalism in Northern Ireland, in a material sense, no longer exist.

Catholic Nationalism: the Post Peace Process Contemporary Debate

However, regardless of the empirical evidence that suggests nationalism should not have the ideological weight it once had, the debate surrounding the constitutional preferences of Catholics is ongoing. For some academics there is no evidence at all that Catholics are moving away from irredentist nationalism. For others, the increasing centrality of consumption capitalism, in Belfast in particular, is evidence that neo-liberal norms are observable in Northern Ireland. For the authors who argue the latter position, it is hard to imagine that anachronistic ideological beliefs can resist and/or co-exist with the powerful and internationally dominant ideology of neo-liberal capitalism. However, like Ruane and Todd (1992), they continue to temper their conclusions so as not to appear economically reductionist.

For example, Richard Breen continues to argue that the long established ideological differentiations of nationalist and republican remain dominant. Breen examined the subject of social mobility in Europe (1997; 2004). Breen believes that the 'new' Catholic middle-class remain 'nationalist'; and maintain the overt political desire for the re-unification of Ireland (2001). He sees no indication of any alteration in irredentist nationalist ideology related to class within the Catholic community. He does, however, identify a clear tendency in the middle-class Protestant community towards a softening of unionist ideology. We will look at Breen's article in more detail below.

Conversely, Shirlow, argues that while the new middle-class may indeed characterise themselves as 'nationalist', his research indicates that this nationalism has 'transformed'. While some within the 'new' middle-class persist in identifying themselves as 'nationalist', the means and methods that they find acceptable in achieving a united Ireland—namely physical force—have been diluted to a great extent (1997, p. 103). So, while on one hand Breen sees no 'significant' differential between the constitutional attitudes of working-class and middle-class Catholics (2001, p. 636), Shirlow states conversely that while national unification is supported by many of the members of the Catholic middle-class, their attitudes differ markedly as to how this should be achieved (1997, p. 103). The conditional quality of nationalism in this sense must make its relationship to irredentist nationalism somewhat suspect.

For Shirlow, a growing acceptance of the difference between the 'two' Irelands is evident among the varying attitudes of the Catholic middle-class; mirroring similar developments in the Republic of Ireland over recent decades. He argues that some middle-class Catholics fear potential economic turmoil within a reunited Ireland (1997, p. 103). Interestingly, Breen addresses this very topic and comes to the opposite conclusion. For Breen, middle-class Catholics fear no loss to their socio/economic position in a united Ireland.

Upward Social Mobility and Constitutional Preference: Richard Breen

Breen (2001) investigated the premise that the emerging Catholic middle-class was increasingly losing their desire for a united Ireland. In this, Breen tackles the 'embourgeoisement thesis' but what he calls the '...distinctively Northern Irish variant' (2001, p. 622). The distinction derives from the complication of ethno-national conflict and the related constitutional question. The 'constitutional' question is synonymous here with 'nationalism'. This is in addition to the wider use of the

embourgeoisement thesis, which generally refers to an ideological shift in workers, who have transcended their class, and then move towards supporting capitalism and conservative political views. So, in Northern Ireland, the embourgeoisement thesis has both a horizontal and vertical cleavage; horizontal through the constitutional question, and vertical through the left/right ideological spectrum.

Breen begins by noting that ‘...during the past 30 years, Catholics have experienced unprecedented rates of upward mobility’ (2001, p. 622). He then contextualises the debate, listing the central claims of the proponents of the embourgeoisement thesis which he simplifies as the concept that ‘...upward mobility means that Catholics will have come to have a greater interest in preserving the *status quo* under which they have prospered’ (Breen’s emphasis, 2001, p. 622). The factors he lists as being instrumental in Catholic upward mobility occurring include political mechanisms put in place to undermine discrimination in government allocation housing and employment (2001, p. 625).

The implementation of direct rule from Westminster, effectively ending uncontested unionist rule, underpins most, but not all of these reforms. However, Breen lists these as the most significant reforms that led to recent social mobility in the province (2001, p. 625). The results of the reforms in the province’s political economy were significant. The census of 1971 ‘...revealed two main features. Catholic men had an unemployment rate of 17.3 per cent compared with 6.6 per cent for Protestant men...Secondly, the class distribution of Catholics was less favourable than that of Protestants’ (Breen: 2001, p. 625). Put simply, there was very little penetration of the Catholic community into the middle-class. Breen states that by 1996, there had been more or less a convergence of class distribution between the two communities, although the Catholic working-class remained disproportionately marginalised. Crucially, ‘...class inequalities in mobility chances declined, with some

indication that this trend was greater among Catholics than Protestants' (2001, p. 625).

The degree of mobility in this period for the Catholic community was significant; this is best revealed in the figures that show only 17% of the highest class designation were born into it (2001, p. 626). This is evidence of the uniqueness of the Catholic middle-class in the post-Stormont era. New opportunities became available to Catholics at the very top echelons of Northern Ireland's economy (Coulter: 1999, p. 87). Conversely, as we have seen, working-class Catholics have failed to share fully in the growing prosperity and their attitudes towards unification have been elucidated by Ruane and Todd (1992), and more recently, Coulter (1999); Shirlow (1997) and Shirlow and Shuttleworth (1999).

Breen concludes ...that there are, in fact, no significant class differences in constitutional preferences among Northern Irish Catholics' (2001, p. 636). Breen suggests that the continued Catholic middle-class desire for a united Ireland—as evidenced in their responses that align their political views as nationalist'—is conditioned by the lack of fear that the Catholic middle-classes would have anything to lose in the event of a united Ireland.

He writes that the Catholic maintenance of irredentist nationalism can be better understood when the embourgeoisement thesis, in its original form, is taken into account. In this regard, it is the existing middle and upper-classes that ideologically condition newly transcendent individuals. In Northern Ireland, he suggests, this is not as simple, as the new Catholic middle-class, a hitherto non-existent social group, would then have to take its ideological cues from the pre-existing Protestant community. However, the Protestant middle-class cannot offer a ...reference category' due to the deep divisions between the two communities (2001, p. 637).

Breen's study is in many ways problematised by both his methodology and the socio-political context within which it was produced and the conclusions are located¹⁵⁸. Foremost would be the fact that the survey data used was gathered in 1996. While the province was *comparatively* stable at that time, serious, unresolved issues remained politically central; namely security and policing. Materially, the data was gathered at a time of uncertainty and continued violence; ethnic contestation and suspicion were still at very high levels.

Additionally, Breen's data was gleaned from survey questions that were almost identical to those presented in the Northern Ireland Social Attitudes survey (2001, p. 624). They are composed almost exclusively of binary opposites and contested terms and this is a core weakness of the survey. For example, a recent Catholic arrival in South Belfast—who had grown up in working-class West Belfast—when asked to choose between the option of Unionist', Nationalist' or neither' (Breen: 2001, p. 641) may feel some form of compulsion to reply Nationalist', or at the very least to be unable to reply Unionist'. For the last four decades, people have murdered and have died because of these signifiers¹⁵⁹. It seems at the best insensitive to draw very broad conclusions from such a relatively constrained and ideologically charged set of questions. These binaries offer no options for a Catholic to indicate support for the current arrangements, without identifying themselves explicitly with the shared loyalist tradition of Edward Carson, Ian Paisley and the

¹⁵⁸ 1994, the date of Breen's publication, can retrospectively be viewed as a concrete date where the Peace Process began to take visible hold. It was the year of the Downing Street Declaration and the republican and loyalist paramilitary ceasefires. However, it was also a violent year, for instance, the IRA attacked Heathrow airport twice with mortars and several shootings took place in which both Catholics and Protestants were victims (Smith: 1997, p. xxvii).

¹⁵⁹ Shirlow shows how tightly place and religion relate to political murder. This relationship is known by Protestants and Catholics, who are aware that location betrays religion and this is used by paramilitaries in target selection (2003). To imagine that this understanding of the conflict and the immediate and ongoing existential threat to the self has not impacted on very limited questionnaires verges on cavalier. For example, in the Ardoyne, a violent area even by Belfast standards, as many as 1 in 18 people have had ...a direct member of their family killed...' (Shirlow: 2003, p. 82).

‘Slaughter Butchers’¹⁶⁰. At this point in time, the ethnic and socio/economic impetus that would inhibit a Catholic from admitting unionist sympathies or to choose an apolitical position remained significant.

Another discursive concern lies with the use of the ambiguous term ‘nationalist’ itself. The term nationalist is universally applied throughout the world and in most cases does not inherently carry a notion of irredentism. The complication is, of course, the colonial factor in Northern Ireland. However, we have seen consistent evidence of Catholics who have been satisfied with the ‘colonial’ relationship with England/Britain. The point is that nationalism, and irredentist nationalism, are at once potentially related, and potentially mutually exclusive terms. In the first paragraph, Breen writes ‘Catholics tend to be nationalist – that is, to support the unification of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland’ (2001, p. 622). When Breen casually interchanges ‘nationalism’ and ‘attitudes to the constitution’ of Northern Ireland, and labels Catholics—most or all—as nationalist, these subtle and potentially very important differences inherent in the word nationalist are obliterated.

Moreover, the possibility for discerning the more subtle differences elucidated by Ruane and Todd (1992) between the signifier ‘nationalist’, and a respondent’s genuine attitude towards the speed and process of achieving a united Ireland, are greatly reduced when asked to choose between ‘Remain in the UK’, ‘Reunify with the rest of Ireland’ or ‘Other Answer’ (Breen: 2001, p. 640). As Ruane and Todd showed, a respondent may affirm their ‘nationalist’ position, seeking a united Ireland (presumably immediately). Ruane and Todd put this figure at 80%. However, when asked if they wanted it immediately, the affirmative response of 80% contracted to less than 25% (1992, p. 203). It is reasonable to question the commitment to the irredentist project of such ‘nationalists’. It is equally difficult to imagine why a genuine

¹⁶⁰ A notorious group of UVF members who, in the mid 1970s, ‘...terrorized the nationalist community...by abducting their victims and then literally carving them up with butchers’ knives (Taylor: 2000, p. 152).

irredentist nationalist would not wish to see the defining core of their political identity achieved immediately or in the near future. I would argue that the significant discursive contestation, and socio-political baggage associated with such signifiers, is more important to many than the reality of a united Ireland.

There are other problematic components of Breen's paper that require analysis. First is his dismissal of the existence of class as an issue in Northern Ireland. He writes that '...classes form neither the basis for collective action nor self-identity' (2001, p. 623). Further to this, in the conclusion, he writes that '...class among the Catholic community does not differentiate interests in nationalism' (2001, p. 638). To dismiss class out of hand in this way, is to critique Marx's somewhat simplified view of class 'for and in' itself. However, it is interrelated to his conclusions regarding the Catholic community, where he sees no intra community class distinctions either. While it is clear that a reductionist view of class is deficient, there is little doubt that class has been important; it has just been mediated by violence and/or sectarianism. Academically, there has been a general acceptance that class related politics is substantive but complex, and has been shaped by sectarianism and later, competing nationalism¹⁶¹. As we saw above, the relationship between social class and sectarian rioting was conditional, but nevertheless, real¹⁶².

Secondly, the questionnaire already contextualises the range of choices for respondents of identity and constitutional preference within the pre-existing contested, colonial binaries. Breen touches on this in an indirect way when he

¹⁶¹ The Poor Law Riots of 1932 provide a good example. Regardless of pre-existing sectarian antagonisms the Catholic and Protestant working classes put aside division and collectively rioted against the state (Munck: 1985b).

¹⁶² Even loyalist paramilitary groups have had a complicated relationship with class politics. These groups drew disparate members from the working-class communities, including sectarian 'thugs', criminals, trade unionists, socialists and even ex-communists. At times, political thinkers have been in the ascendancy in the leadership, at others, 'hard-men' driven to escalate the sectarian war. The character of the organisation could rapidly change, depending on community support (see Nelson: 1983; McAuley: 1993). Additionally, in the middle 1970s during the Sunningdale crisis, members of the UVF met with 'republicans, socialists, peace groups and British civil servants' (Nelson: 1984, p. 170). Finally, the core of the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), the political wing of the UVF, were central in securing a loyalist ceasefire in 1994. The PUP's politics, driven by Gusto Spence and the late David Ervine, were primarily class based.

mentions just prior to his conclusion that the division within Northern Irish society has undermined what is believed to be the 'classical form' of the embourgeoisement thesis. The newly transcended Catholic middle-class cannot be ideologically conditioned by the existing Protestant middle-class. He writes '...that under these circumstances the effects of mobility would be largely indeterminate, such that, although mobility detaches individuals from the preferences of their class of origin, it provides them with no substitute source of preferences' (2001, p. 637).

Again, this statement is made within a still politically contested Northern Ireland. The choices here are rendered down to two; constitutional nationalist or unionist. However, much has changed since this conjuncture. The IRA has decommissioned its weapons and disbanded; the IRA army council has also dissolved and Sinn Féin now supports policing by the state. The province has experienced an economic boom and all of the trappings of global neo-liberal consumer capitalism have arrived in the province. The choice of identity has now been expanded to include the globalised consumer citizen. This citizen can hold onto a hyphenated or ulterior identity. It is possible now to be a Catholic, a nationalist and quietly support the status quo. It is no longer necessary to choose between 'nationalist', 'unionist', 'other' or 'neither', the choice on offer in many questionnaires in the past. The material and ideological ground have shifted beneath the discourse used in the surveys that remain worded the same in order to identify any change in sentiments.

Fundamentally, Breen tests the embourgeoisement thesis within the social, economic and political framework of the day; from within the contested ideological divide. However, the embourgeoisement thesis is rooted in nineteenth century, pre neo-liberal arguments regarding class struggle (see Poulantzas: 1979, pp. 193 – 197), and is therefore mired to some degree in Marx's Historical Materialism. Consequently, the terminology and choices offered to the respondents are equally

contested and divided on one level, and ideologically outdated on another. Breen's use of the concept shows once again, that these debates are set in a transitional period, where analytical concepts have not been refined and updated to account for the transition to neo-liberal capitalism. Breen's assumption that middle-class Catholics can only be conditioned by direct contact with middle-class Protestants also overlooks the enormous shift in media saturation and consumption. Ideological hegemony does not require face to face contact to function.

In Breen's defence, the task of identifying neutral terminology to ask these questions would be complicated to say the least. At that time, even as late as 1996-2001, it would have been difficult to foresee the remaking of Belfast within a decade as a neo-liberal consumer capitalist city, without significant loyalist and republican violence. In 1996, the respondents to the questionnaires could not have envisaged Martin McGuinness as deputy First Minister or Gerry Kelly as Sinn Féin's policing spokesperson. It would have been difficult also to have predicted the disappearance of the Provisional IRA from the political scene and the proposal to have the 12 of July Orange Order Marches re-branded as 'Orangefest'. In the light of all that has rapidly changed in the province it seems cavalier to continue to consider 'nationalist' as synonymous with 'irredentist nationalist'. The work above shows that 'nationalism' and 'irredentist nationalism' are conjuncturally related, and any symbolic and material meaning that existed during the worst phase of the Troubles has been lost in the neo-liberal era.

Complexity, Prosperity and Identity: Shirlow

Peter Shirlow has written extensively on Northern Irish political economy. He has concentrated to a large extent on the transitional relationship of consumption capitalism on ideology and the fact that within a prospering economy, the working-classes are increasingly left behind. As early as 1997, Shirlow argued that certain

evident ideological shifts were underpinned by changes in political economy both North and South of the border. For Shirlow, Belfast, like Dublin, was beginning to make the transformation to a liberalised economy; the two cities were in the process of being ...transformed into arenas of conspicuous consumption' (1997, p. 87).

We have already seen Shirlow's account of the ideological transformation of the Republic's economy. The foundational pseudo Marxist' ideas of wealth and property re-distribution dissolved early during the formation and consolidation of the state. This was replaced by a model that Shirlow calls economic nationalism' (1997, p. 88). Importantly, another point of pressure came from the citizens of the Republic themselves, who sought a standard of living more in keeping with the United States; the pinnacle of consumer driven conspicuous capitalism. Both the government and much of the populace were then motivated to protect what they had, socially and economically, but more importantly to increase their wealth. This was achieved at the expense of the formation ideals and foundation myths of 1916, embodied in the words of Connolly, but also its pragmatic successor, economic nationalism.

The transformation of Belfast has followed a different trajectory to Dublin, but according to Shirlow, has arrived at a similar socio/economic juncture. Where Dublin existed under the mechanisms of economic nationalism, between 1921 and 1972, Belfast operated under hegemonic unionism' (Shirlow: 1997, p. 88). We have also seen in the previous chapter the structural constraints which the Catholic community were subjected to within the system of hegemonic unionism. In 1972, the British government took political control of Northern Ireland and with this, came the economic orthodoxy of British politicians and economists (Shirlow: 1997, p. 98; O'Hearn: 2008, p. 104).

Shirlow's chapter was written in 1997, a transitional cusp in the move to neo-liberalism. It was written roughly at the same time that the data supporting Breen's paper was collected. Like Breen, Shirlow is cautious about making broad statements

about middle-class Catholic attitudes, but he does introduce some concepts regarding the complexity of Catholic class construction, ideology and identity formation. He continues along a theoretical line similar to Ruane and Todd's 1992 analysis of 'differentiation' within Catholic nationalism.

However, unlike Breen, Shirlow explores and acknowledges these themes, suggesting that there is some Catholic harmonisation not only with middle-class Protestant values, but those of 'post-nationalist' Catholics from the Irish Republic¹⁶³.

He writes:

While sectarian animosity is still visible among all social classes, a growing body of evidence supports the thesis that the middle classes, irrespective of their religious affiliations, increasingly share similar lifestyles and socio-economic pursuits, which are mutually agreeable and inherently less antagonistic (Shirlow: 1997, p. 99).

Such a relaxation in antagonism within the middle-classes has meant that there is an increase in social interaction and inter-marriage between the two middle-class groups (Shirlow: 1997, p. 99).

While the desire to implement parity of provision throughout the UK was certainly an ideological goal of the British government, some argue that Britain's moves were also motivated by less egalitarian intentions. Shirlow writes:

Since the inception of Direct Rule, the onus placed upon the British state has been to develop a series of socio-regulatory practices which might limit the challenge to its overall legitimacy...This aim has been pursued through a policy of socio-political normalisation and the adoption of practices whose primary goal is to secure the construction of a set of social relationships which, it is hoped, will transcend sectarian hostilities and engender socio-economic normality (Shirlow: 1997, p. 99; see also Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 247).

¹⁶³ Harrington discusses the transition to post-nationalism in the Republic; he writes that 'The last decade has seen the dissolution of this hegemonic formation [irredentist nationalism]. In a series of referenda, voters have abandoned irredentism, embraced secularism, and liberalized the social code. The revival of Irish is increasingly left to initiatives within civil society...Attitude surveys indicate a declining attachment to the ideals of the state's founders and a corresponding prevalence of consumerist individualism, especially among young respondents. These trends are taken to indicate a transition from nationalist to post-nationalist Ireland' (2005, pp. 424-425).

He continues stating that 'Economic activity and labour markets have been reorganised to facilitate cross-border co-operation and the absorption of middle-class Catholics into the new political consensus' (1997, p. 99). At the time, Shirlow considered that these efforts '...produced limited as well as contradictory results, since the unleashing of new social forces has both blunted and reproduced sectarianism' (1997, p. 99). Again, we see the argument of the limiting effects of the prevailing socio-political logic of sectarianism, security and resistance to Catholic advance.

Both Breen and Shirlow are writing from within this transitional epoch, and their arguments and conclusions are limited by its effects accordingly. Nevertheless, Shirlow manages to discern the complexities beneath the totalising view of Catholic nationalism. There is a level of harmony between Breen and Shirlow's position; Breen concludes '...that there are, in fact, no significant class differences in constitutional preferences among Northern Irish Catholics' and Shirlow writes that 'There is no denying that a majority of its members [Catholic middle-class] support some form of reunification' (1997, p. 103). However, Shirlow suggests that the irredentist implications of Catholic middle-class nationalism is '...more difficult to determine (1997, p. 103).

However, on another level, the differences between the two positions are marked. For instance, Shirlow writes that:

Surveys...among middle-class Catholics indicate that almost 50 per cent support a negotiated settlement, which would produce a reunited Ireland. Virtually as many, however, claimed that they would accept a joint authority, either as a primary or secondary position. Within this latter group, almost two-thirds agreed with the statement that: 'The two parts of the island are so different that shared sovereignty and state reform as opposed to full-scale reunification would be more suitable' (1997, p. 103).

Again, these responses clearly problematise Breen's argument on several levels; first, that the very concept 'nationalism' is complicated and conditional and second,

that the claim that Catholics tend to be nationalist...’ is also cast into serious doubt. Like Ruane and Todd’s work, Shirlow manages to unpack the significant and growing levels of differentiation’ below the immediate surface.

It is worth pointing out that Shirlow conducted his own survey comprised of his own question and his statements allow, comparatively, more space for the expression of variations of opinion. For example, the statement The two parts of the island are so different that shared sovereignty and state reform as opposed to full-scale reunification would be more suitable’ (1997) allows for respondents to consider the issue outside of the contentious unionist/nationalist binary. While such a statement may be argued to be somewhat leading, it does avoid contested terminology to a very large degree and does accommodate a response outside of contested binaries.

Shirlow concludes his chapter with several observations regarding the similarities and differences of the socio-economic development of Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. On the subject of the dissolution of Southern irredentist nationalism he writes:

...the loss of a coherent national programme and the adoption of pseudo-cosmopolitanism with its concomitant social marginalisation underline the break with any previous notion of devoted nationalism. The pragmatic way in which Irish society shifted from this discourse to a fully fledged modernism may well indicate the fragility of Irish identity and the triumph of materialism over communal well-being (1997, p. 105).

It is telling that the myths, history and discourses surrounding the sacrifice and gains made during the Anglo-Irish war and in the previous centuries of anti-colonial struggle have been overcome in a few decades by neo-liberalism, globalisation and consumption. Shirlow continues:

In terms of collective identity, it is now evident that the middle classes, North and South, increasingly possess a transnational identity in which relationships with London, Brussels, Washington and Tokyo predominate over a previously strong association with their respective parts of Ireland (1997, p. 105).

While at the time it is clear that this statement would have held true more for middle-class Catholics in the Republic, for Shirlow the developments in Northern Ireland were also clear.

Later works by Shirlow develop the idea that the community of Catholicism may be fracturing beneath the veneer of rhetoric, discourse and tradition¹⁶⁴. He argues that behind this transformation lies a complex of factors linked to material prosperity, but also to interconnected notions of identity and place (territory). Graham and Shirlow identify a deepening complexity in the political subjects in Northern Ireland, and in particular, the middle-classes. They state that '...it must be emphasized that Northern Irish society is far more complex than the stereotypical ethnic schism between Catholic/Nationalist/Republican and Protestant/Unionist/British might imply' (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 245). This theme we have seen in previous works, however, the authors tie this thesis to the concepts of identity and place.

The authors initially address the growing complexity of political identity in what they call the 'postmodern age', borrowing concepts from cultural theory. Here they are identifying early changes in Northern Ireland's political conjuncture where the underlying ideological rules and norms were shifting. For Graham and Shirlow, the existing tendency to categorise identity in Northern Ireland in inflexible absolutes is problematic; more flexible approaches are required to account for growing complexity. They write:

...contemporary cultural theory is much exercised with questioning the nature of identity in a postmodern age in which the nation state and its tropes of inclusion and exclusion are no longer held to be a sufficient arbiter of belonging, a discussion dominated by themes of diversity and the renegotiation [sic] of social solidarity. Stuart Hall...for example, contends that identities are never unified, but are increasingly fragmented and fractured, never singular but

¹⁶⁴ There is a clear dialogue between Shirlow and Breen's work. Graham and Shirlow (1998) directly address some of Breen's claims that he made in a book chapter in 1996 on the relationship between Catholics, the economy and constitutional preferences.

multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions' (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 246).

The authors consider such a theoretical position to be of much more use to understanding contemporary Northern Ireland than '...monolithic Nationalist depictions of identity' (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 246). The degree to which their analysis marries into the thematic contextualisation of Hardt and Negri's *Empire* is striking. Northern Ireland makes the painful, uneven and comparatively slow transformation out of colonial social, economic and ideological structures, into the phase of embracing 'difference'. Rigid colonial structures give way to 'enterprise man' and global, cosmopolitan neo-liberal identity.

However, they do criticise what they consider to be cultural theory's tendency to overlook the potential political power of place; '...cultural theory often ignores the complex relationships between place and identity that are central to any narration or understanding of communal devotion, collective action and sociocultural modification' (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 246). Graham and Shirlow's research shows the importance of place in the creation of identity and hence, what role attitudes towards reunification play in that negotiated identity. Here they offer a corrective to Hardt and Negri's tendency to overemphasize the global, and understate the nation. The ongoing relevance is clear for Catholic and Protestants who remain ghettoised in working-class areas.

In order to analyse the potential political implications of place, they break down a survey over three distinct regions in Northern Ireland; Belfast, Derry and Newry (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 248). The authors reiterate the argument made by Shirlow regarding the Catholic middle-class on previous occasions that:

...constitutional preference appears more directly influenced by location and class affiliation, exhibiting a degree of sociocultural heterogeneity that seemingly contradicts Breen's conclusion that socio-economic factors 'play little part in explaining constitutional preferences' (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, pp. 247 – 248).

The evidence they present to support their argument problematises Breen's conclusions with place, and economic factors clearly providing lines of demarcation.

Of the three regions surveyed, the higher socio-economic groups¹⁶⁵ (SEGs) of both Belfast and Derry returned responses to the survey indicating a reasonably high level of support to retain the union with Britain with 50% and 39% respectively (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 249). In comparison, the corresponding group in Newry showed 29% support for the union (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 248), which is still a considerable amount given the tendency of some authors to argue that there is very little or no differentiation in constitutional attitudes.

Graham and Shirlow show some caution when presenting this argument. They suggest that other factors, including the close proximity of both Newry and Derry to the border with the Irish Republic, must be taken into account when considering the differential between these two locales and Belfast (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 249). The high and ongoing levels of violence in Belfast are also seen as contributing to a variation in attitudes (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 250). Nevertheless, the authors write:

In Belfast and Derry, the percentage share of those Catholics who are employed in the public sector-47 per cent and 39 per cent respectively-is higher than the Northern Ireland average (35 per cent). This greater degree of interdependence between middle-class Catholics and a British state, which acts as both employer and financier of material well-being and investment opportunities, influences the nature and character of constitutional preference and affiliation (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 249).

Once again, the variation in conclusions between Breen and Graham and Shirlow are significant. While the argument presented by Graham and Shirlow is

¹⁶⁵ In this schema, the 'highest-status' SEG consists of '...employers, managers, professional workers requiring qualifications of university degree standard and farmers who employ people' (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 247).

characteristically underpinned by caution, it is nevertheless, quite clear. They conclude:

Arguably, in Belfast-and even Derry-the emergence of new modes of consumption and employment, tied to state-controlled patterns of socioeconomic regulation, are eroding the coherence of the Catholic population...Increasingly divided by discordant material experiences and levels of consumption, upper- and middle-income Catholics are tentatively embracing a degree of rapprochement towards the British state (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 249).

The Northern Ireland analysed by Graham and Shirlow is increasingly the Northern Ireland of the post-Troubles era, where postmodern and neo-liberal ideological norms are replacing rigid and inflexible colonial structures. Regardless of the fact that the conflict was at that stage still some way from resolution, many middle-class Catholics were already displaying tendencies towards an acceptance of the union as was the ever present core of Catholics who either actively supported or passively accepted the status quo. These are increasingly the occupants of the new 'middle-ground'.

The authors do illustrate the complexity at the time, as imperial capitalism finally began to make way for neo-liberalism. They write; '...it can only be argued that constitutional preference is but one marker of very much more complex multiple manifestations of identity' (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 252). They continue:

Cultural loyalties, material concerns and citizenship aspirations do not necessarily coincide in a coherent ideology fixed in place, and reflected in support for a particular political party, or demonstrative of the interests of a particular class alignment (Graham and Shirlow: 1998, p. 252).

In this way, complexity cuts both ways, making it possible for a Catholic to support the union and for a Catholic unionist to possibly identify as a nationalist.

A third example of Shirlow's analysis is a paper written with Ian Shuttleworth in 1999. In this paper, the political economy of Northern Ireland is analysed once again through the prism of ongoing marginalisation of the working-classes in the

reconstructed economy. For the authors, there is clear expansion of the economy and there is equally, clear polarisation between a mobile middle-class and an, at best, static working-class. Shirlow and Shuttleworth list the forces responsible for polarisation as ...the attraction of inward investment, flexibilisation, feminisation and the creation of an increasingly service/consumption led economy' (1999, p. 28).

The authors present some compelling statistics to support their central contention of economic polarisation. Between 1981 and 1991, ...there was a significant growth among employers, managers and professional workers (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 36). Yet there was also a closely corresponding loss of jobs in the manual working' sector¹⁶⁶. Female workers entered the economy in greater numbers, although the majority of were ...most probably highly feminised, low paid jobs such as secretaries, ancillary and semi-unskilled workers' (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 36). They also show that there has been an increase in double-income and no-income households (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 36). Feminisation and an increase in the likelihood of poverty for women is a trend also identified by Hardt and Negri in the shift to neo-liberalism (2005, p. 278).

Overall, the argument is underpinned by the warning that a substantial portion of the Northern Irish population who will not ...interconnect with the peace process' (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 43). The authors argue that there has been a silence over the fact that neo-liberal practices are being used to expand the economy of the province, but at the same time, there is no acknowledgement that the system is divisive (Harvey: 2006, p. 25; O'Hearn: 2008). For instance, using technological evolutions' as an example based on previous developments, such transformations create ...winners and losers' (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 35).

The skills and education required of workers in such a segment of the economy must be of a high standard, unfortunately, the Protestant and Catholic

¹⁶⁶ The authors suggest that it is improbable that the manual workers who lost their position found employment in the professional sector (Shirlow and Shuttleworth: 1999, p. 36).

working-classes fail to meet such a demand. Ultimately, socio-economic exclusion, in Shirlow and Shuttleworth's opinion, has the danger of reproducing the conditions in which violence remains a possibility. Gaffikin and Morrissey also warn of the potential political outcome of some manifestations of underclass enclaves where existing 'informal welfare' and/or 'community spirit' may feed into a '...anti-statist solidarity in the form of Republicanism' (1999, pp. 48 - 49). It is this discontent that republican splinter groups are attempting, so far unsuccessfully, to exploit. The core difference is that in the former conception, Catholic working-class poverty was the fault of the British and their unionist administrators; today, Catholic poverty is merely the reality of capitalism and, within the ideology of neo-liberalism, the result of their own lack of risk taking and personal drive.

Breen et al. were writing within the previous conjuncture and Shirlow was writing during the transformation to the new conjuncture. Shirlow's thorough and more nuanced questions regarding political economy made his study more astute, but his caution reveals the lack of an overall acceptance of the development towards neo-liberalism in academia; the pre-existing academic orthodoxy put ethno-national conflict at the centre of any analysis of the Troubles.

Conclusion

The marginalisation of the Catholic working-class within the new economic paradigm is evidence of the existence of neo-liberalism itself, which represents a return to class power (Harvey: 2005, p. 76). Strikingly, in the Northern Irish context, it probably represents for the first time a significant shift towards the organisation of society along class, and not ethnic lines. The argument that sectarianism masked class politics, forwarded by left academics and the left wing of the republican and nationalist movement, was largely discredited. Class in Northern Ireland was, for

many reasons, a secondary consideration to those who fought on either side. However, this hitherto inflexible vertical cleavage, between Catholic and Protestant, has been undermined by the recent shift to neo-liberalism.

It is valid to speak of horizontal cleavages in the province for the first time, as the professional middle-classes of each community find their position in the new Northern Ireland, and the working-classes of both communities increasingly continue to find themselves marginalised in the process. O'Hearn outlines the obvious tension between the promises made to working-class communities (the 'peace dividend') prior to demilitarisation and the reality in which they find themselves today (2008, pp. 103 – 109).

It is within this core of Catholics, who have not shared in the opportunities of Northern Irish neo-liberalism, who hold to irredentist nationalism. This chapter has argued that for many Catholics, and in particular the middle-class, nationalism does not equate to irredentist nationalism. As we saw, Breen can be seen to argue that Catholics are nationalists and nationalist desire Irish unification. On the other hand, Ruane and Todd, Shirlow, Graham and Shuttleworth can be seen to forward a guarded argument that material changes are altering constitutional preferences. The chapter argued that their tempered conclusions are affected by the context and by their own position within Northern Irish academia. By the late 1980s onwards, an orthodoxy surrounding the competing ethno-nationalism argument had become dominant. Materialist and even neo-Marxist evaluations began to resurface, but had to display sufficient caution so as not to contradict the dominant analyses. Nevertheless, robust economic analyses clearly showed sufficient examples of the lacunae between both Catholicism and nationalism, and nationalism and irredentism.

What I argue has changed, fuelled partly by the concessions gained by the Catholic community by republican violence and the willingness of progressive British administrations to correct past injustices on one hand, and the desire to erode

support for the IRA on the other, is the emergence of a large Catholic middle-class who are arguably increasingly influenced by consumption rather than by republican principles. Northern Ireland has entered the neo-liberal global system, and the assumptions regarding the relationships, ideology and identity of the province need to be re-analysed.

Chapter 7

Voting for a United Ireland? The Evolving Politics of Sinn Féin

The growing electoral support for Sinn Féin over the last decade stands as a challenge for the core argument of this thesis when it is considered within the accepted logic of the intractability argument. If the intractability thesis is accepted, then the very fact that Sinn Féin has replaced the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) as the party of choice for the majority of the Catholic community would suggest, *prima facie*, that that community are providing Sinn Féin the electoral mandate to pursue its central political goal of Irish unification. While the party has clearly embraced the core policies of neo-liberal economic orthodoxy, Sinn Féin remains committed to unification. Therefore many consider it safe to assume that a united Ireland is a broadly supported political aim of the Catholic community.

The success of Sinn Féin as a republican party and the idea that the Catholic community support their unification platform, are both understandable within the overall intractability thesis. As McGrattan writes ...the policy direction of...Sinn Féin...remains decidedly anti-partitionist, and the long-term strategy remains one of gradual, evolutionary change leading inexorably to a reunification scenario' (2009, p. 161). In McGrattan's view, the republican struggle has tactically shifted from militarism to constitutionalism.

Traditionally, Sinn Féin's core, and sometimes solitary political demand in Northern Ireland was underpinned by militancy and inflexibility. Members of Sinn Féin who won electoral seats refused to take them in the government houses they considered illegitimate; including Westminster, Leinster House in Dublin and Stormont in Northern Ireland. The party's support for their military wing was

unswerving, regardless of the violence wrought by their actions¹⁶⁷. This was one of the central distinctions that demarcated Sinn Féin from the SDLP; whose supporters ranged from democratic nationalists, to those who sought to reform the Northern Irish state.

Most recently, from the late 1980s onwards, the party has made a remarkable transformation, progressively engaging in democratic politics and recognising the state. The key point of interest here is that the party, throughout the Troubles especially, has traditionally only enjoyed conditional marginal militant support. Viewed from one position, in their latest tactical manoeuvre to secure a united Ireland, the party seems to have managed to bring the vast majority of Catholics with them. However, this chapter will argue that beneath the claim of a Catholic consensus assumed to indicate a popular desire for unification, lays several phenomena that seriously destabilise this view.

The intention of this chapter is, therefore, to put into conjunctural context certain conceptions of Irish political economy that have become common place. In many ways, Sinn Féin, and republicanism/nationalism in a wider sense, has been able to dominate discourse and the interpretations of history. Sinn Féin is still seen to be synonymous with Irish unification; this is a position perpetuated by republicanism itself. However, the actual era where this conceptualisation might be considered reasonably accurate has been relatively short in the party's history; perhaps only between the early 1970s, to the early 1990s. Sinn Féin's origins were as a constitutional monarchist party; one with a conservative socio-economic platform that was supported by conservative Catholic Irish capital and the Catholic Church. For the past decade, Sinn Féin has in some ways returned to its foundational ideology,

¹⁶⁷ Sinn Féin's leader, Gerry Adams, would infamously sympathise with victims' families, but refuse to condemn IRA violence as a component of a legitimate emancipation struggle against British colonial domination (Sharrock and Devenport: 1998, pp. 256 - 257).

actively courting international capital and seeking to integrate Northern Ireland fully into the global market¹⁶⁸.

This chapter advances two interconnected arguments; first that it is highly problematic to ascribe any single political quality historically to Sinn Féin. To do so is to ignore the fact that the party has always changed and reacted to the politics of the day, and its many widely varying manifestations defy any single label that might be put on it; 'republican' included. The '...gradual, evolutionary change' that McGrattan (2009) ascribes to the party's position on unification over the past three decades can effortlessly be overlaid on the party's shifting position on many policies over the past 100 years. The second is to critically analyse the argument that the Catholic community are voting for Sinn Féin out of deeply ingrained irredentist nationalist tendencies. This chapter will show that it is cavalier to accept the premise that a vote for Sinn Féin is a vote for a united Ireland in the era of the 'enterprise man'.

Initially, this chapter will outline the origins of Sinn Féin. Although the party's political importance in Northern Ireland could be arguably placed in the early 1980s¹⁶⁹, its historical formation predates the SDLP by several decades and is inextricably bound to partition and the creation of the Republic of Ireland. Sinn Féin was not a republican party, and the political parties that split from it through the 1920s and 1930s themselves showed strong tendencies towards conservatism and pragmatism. The chapter will look at the insurrectionary period, the Treaty with Britain, the Civil War and then the era of political consolidation in the Irish Free State/Republic of Ireland. The section will also address the convergence of moderate politics and paramilitarism. The aim is to present political nationalism and republicanism as contingent, conservative and with a tendency towards compromise.

¹⁶⁸ Martin McGuinness and Ian Paisley opened trading at the NASDAQ in December 2007 during a visit to invite investment into Northern Ireland (Fitzpatrick: 2007).

¹⁶⁹ With the election and subsequent death of hunger striker Bobby Sands in 1980; or perhaps 1997, where Sinn Féin first outperformed the SDLP in Northern Irish elections.

From here the chapter will continue to look at the evolution of the important relationship between the Catholic community and the two most successful ‘Catholic’ political parties; the SDLP and Sinn Féin. Traditionally, the Catholic middle-class that existed within the working-class enclaves during the Troubles supported the SDLP. The moderate democratic nationalism of the SDLP, rather than the irredentist, violent republicanism of IRA/Sinn Féin, appealed to this section of the Catholic community and to a sizable portion of working-class Catholics. As we shall see, there was also a significant section of this community that supported the SDLP for their ‘reformist’ not ‘unification’ agenda. Reform of the existing socio-economic order within the union with Britain, and not the reunification of Ireland, was an important motivation. Furthermore, this political model—of reforming the system, not overthrowing it—was the core of Sinn Féin’s political platform at the beginning of last century.

The importance of investigating the evolution of this relationship lies in the view that the Catholic middle-classes have effectively switched their voting allegiance from the SDLP to Sinn Féin. This can be seen as evidence of continued, if not intensified, support for a united Ireland. However, it does not take into account the changing nature and policy of Sinn Féin during the Peace Process and the post-Peace Process era. Nor does it take into account the reformist position of many Northern Irish middle-class Catholics during the Peace Process. This section will argue that Sinn Féin cannot pursue an unfailing dedication to Irish reunification and retain its dominance of democratic politics. Its participation in democratic politics and attempted political inroads (and subsequent rejection) in the Republic of Ireland clearly illustrate a definite conservative turn in their political agenda.

The conditionality of violence to republicanism is a crucial point that will be addressed in some detail. Sinn Féin could not have achieved what it has without the cessation of republican violence. This conservative, and somewhat reformist shift in the agenda of Sinn Féin creates the ideological space for Catholic middle-class

support for the party. The modification in Sinn Féin discourse and policy will be analysed in order to show that the party has shifted fundamentally on several key issues, effectively adopting core SDLP policy. Economically, socialism or at least democratic socialism has been downplayed. In terms of discourse, robust and constant calls in the past for self determination have given way to calls for equality.

The end of violence and the modification of discourse represent tactical shifts from within republicanism in reaction to the changing social, economic and political climate. This thesis argues that Sinn Féin success is predicated on these changes, rather than radical irredentism among the Northern Irish Catholic population. However, the final component necessary to understand Sinn Féin's current dominance is found within the structure of the Northern Irish political system itself. The d'Hondt system of power sharing creates a system where ethnic divisions are enshrined politically, and within this system, Catholic voters are opting to put in place the party they believe to be the most effective at bargaining for their position.

The complexities that lie beneath the surface of symbolic terms such as nationalist and republican problematise their analytical value. They are conditional; coupled to the political economy of the province, international relationships with Britain, Ireland and the USA, and the real and perceived position of Catholics within the Northern Irish state. The evidence and historical precedent already show that Sinn Féin has entered into a scenario where a united Ireland is increasingly unlikely. Even if it does occur, through the mechanisms of the Good Friday Agreement that require the majority consent of the peoples of both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, both societies will have had any residual colonial difference suitably smoothed of any real conflict that unification will be, from an ethno-national perspective, virtually meaningless (see Hardt and Negri: 2003, p. 59). Neo-liberalism has hollowed the previously fundamentally antagonistic British and Gaelic traditions to the point where they could co-exist without friction. Irish unification would not

represent the undoing of colonialism; the victory of the Gael over the Planter. It would merely be two states, each with a cosmopolitan neo-liberal capitalist populace, joining for economic expediency, perhaps slightly coloured by nationalist nostalgia.

'We Ourselves': Sinn Féin

The origins of the contemporary use of the phrase, 'Sinn Féin' date from the early 20th century; although there are examples of its cultural and political usage in a sporadic form several decades before (Feeney: 2003, p. 18). Feeney writes that 'By the end of the nineteenth century the words —Sinn Féin" had become shorthand for describing a way of thinking, an outlook, a set of ideas, a particular mindset in Ireland' (2003, p. 20). The phrase, and its use, can be located within the wider Gaelic Cultural revival; the movement that saw an aggressive cultural offensive against concepts of Englishness (Feeney: 2003, p. 20; Kiberd: 1996).

Since the beginning of the Troubles until the mid 2000s, Sinn Féin was popularly seen as the 'political wing' of the IRA, regardless of Gerry Adams protestations that the organisations were separate entities (Adams: 1997, p. 84). However, as Feeney argues, the origins of the party are more complicated, with its membership representing very diverse positions regarding what an 'independent' Ireland might look like and what level of independence this might entail. This diversity is personified in the party's founder Arthur Griffith. Griffith was a central figure in the creation of Sinn Féin, although he wanted to avoid the 'movement' taking the form of a political party¹⁷⁰. Griffith desired the creation of a variety of associations that were loosely connected, but lacked any formal structure; including groups as disparate as those connected with Irish language, sport, literature and art, along with individual republicans and constitutional nationalists (Feeney: 2003, pp. 18 – 43).

¹⁷⁰ McGee alludes to the fact that Griffith softened his critical position of the Catholic church in education matters so he could position Sinn Féin as a replacement for the Irish party (2007, p. 107).

From Movement to Politics

Griffith originally outlined a series of proposals, in 1905, that were published under the heading of the Sinn Féin Policy. Initially, Sinn Féin was more of a political concept or manifesto than a political party; a 'movement' rather than an 'organisation' (Feeney: 2003, p. 38). At the end of the 19th century, cultural consciousness was growing in Ireland, and with it nascent political organisations began to take shape. Griffith's Sinn Féin Policy entered into a political spectrum where national consciousness in Ireland was being shaped by romantic nationalism elsewhere in Europe (Garvin: 1987, pp. 75 – 77; Feeney: 2003, p. 20). However, it was not wholly separatist or militant.

Importantly, given the fact that Sinn Féin has become synonymous with republicanism, Griffith's vision of Ireland resembled the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary. While Griffith's personal politics were 'separatist' his model was informed by the fact that he realised '...that most Irish people were not republican' (Feeney: 2003, p. 31; McGee: 2007, p. 107). McGee writes that:

...very many Catholics evidently desired nothing more than the creation of an Irish society that would be structured according to Catholic social doctrine, with the church in greater control of education matters – something that was perfectly possible to achieve under British rule (McGee: 2007, p. 104).

Griffith's conception was widely discussed and found a resonance among the Catholic community. This acceptable compromise, which amounted to an increase of autonomy rather than a republic, was a central policy feature of Sinn Féin when it eventually came into being as a political organisation. Indeed, Cottrell labels Sinn Féin, at its political inception as a '...constitutional monarchist party' (2006, p. 9). For a variety of reasons, including a protest against the visit of a British Monarch, and

Despite Griffith's wishes' (Feeney: 2003, pp. 38, 42), the movement developed into a party.

Ironically, and in keeping with the ideological symbiotic relationship between Ireland and the world, the organisation We Ourselves' took inspiration from many continental European movements. The separatist European movements were critical in informing Irish nationalism and republicanism. On a cultural/intellectual level, Feeney writes that Irish nationalists took their cues from German romantic nationalists (2003, pp. 20 – 21) and from the Young Italy' movement (p. 21). In terms of praxis, Hungary's establishment of semi-independence from Austria was central to Griffith (Feeney: 2003, pp. 31 – 33, 37, 41).

It is clear that Sinn Féin contained diverse and sometimes contradictory elements. Griffith's own desire to establish a dual monarchy, based on his realisation that not all Irish were republicans, was unacceptable to more extreme elements in the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), an organisation that had an insurrectionary core who were moving closer to a militant republican position. We see at this point a distinct cleavage between Sinn Féin and physical force republicanism. It was not until later that the two organisations drew closer to represent two strategically differing elements with one political goal in mind, and this manifestation was shortly lived.

The Convergence of Politics and Militancy

The IRB¹⁷¹—the hereditary forerunner of the IRA (Coogan: 1970, pp. 11 – 25)—was also developing within the changing political climate (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, pp. 10 – 11). It was not uncommon for people to hold multiple memberships with the increasing amount of nationalist/republican organisations at the time (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 11). Even Griffith held membership of the IRB (Feeney: 2003, p. 23). However, the minority insurrectionary core within the IRB (Garvin: 1987, p. 148)

¹⁷¹ The IRB was formed in 1858 (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 10).

managed to tactically infiltrate other organizations in an attempt to influence policy and direction; this included Sinn Féin (Feeney: 2003, p. 23). The Irish Volunteers, who would be led later by Éamon de Valera were also infiltrated and 'led' by militant IRB members (Dwyer: 1998, p. 7).

McGee writes there was a significant ideological shift among nationalists around this time. The IRB, that was seen as a relic of the secretive, insurrectionary European nationalist movements of the previous century, lost its appeal to a younger generation (2007, pp. 109 – 112). The IRB's increasingly secular physical force tradition was seen as '...godless mammon, born out of the French revolution' (2007, p. 105, 117). However, the shifting political context in the early 20th century lent increasing legitimacy to militarism.

The militaristic Protestant reaction to the Home Rule Bill of 1912 caused concern among Catholics in general. The evident government 'connivance' in the creation and arming of Carson's paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force:

...made it clear to many that the regime was not bound by its own laws. The perception that the government was not acting even-handedly was very widespread, and delivered much of the population, at least temporarily, into the hands of militant separatism (Garvin: 1987, p. 139).

This illustrates an early example of the conditionality of support for republicanism that was preconditioned by poorly considered British policy and by British punitive measures. We saw this dynamic reproduced at the time of the civil rights demonstrations in the late 1960s.

The creation of the Irish Citizen's Army by James Connolly to defend against unionist paramilitary organisations also contributed to a return to more militant variations of nationalism (McGee: 2007, p. 110). At this point, McGee argues that wider Catholic expectations began to develop, informed in part by the creation of a very large and well armed Protestant paramilitary force in the North East of the

country. Increasingly, the Home Rule model on offer was seen, and reported in the Catholic press, as not going far enough. Griffith's 'Hungarian model', that had recently enjoyed popular support and interest, now appeared insufficient, given the threats of militant reaction against any form of Irish independence from Northern Protestants and sections of the British political and military elite. The intersection of these phenomena is seen to have led in 1913 to the creation of the Irish Volunteers (McGee: 2007, p. 110). The emphasis had shifted from ideas of limited autonomy to a republic.

However, the outbreak of the First World War provided opportunities for the beleaguered IRB. Many members of the Irish Volunteers joined the British army, leaving a personnel vacuum. Many formerly disparate individuals and organisations came together loosely under the banner of the IRB as the possibility of using the war as an opportunity for insurrection grew (McGee: 2007, pp. 114 - 116). The Irish Volunteers, under control of militant IRB members, made up the other significant component of the Easter Rising¹⁷². The Rising of 1916¹⁷³ was the outcome of the intersection of each of these individual, organisational and geopolitical factors. The Rising lasted a week (Boyce: 1991, p. 309) and was finally put down with some brutality by the British army.

Much of the controversy surrounding the Rising derives from the execution of its leaders after its suppression. The subsequent persecution of Catholics included the trial of 183 civilians by court martial of whom at least fifteen were executed (Hardiman: 2007, p. 226). McGee states that there was some initial public hostility over the destruction of the surroundings of the GPO in Dublin that the 'rebels' were thought to have provoked. However, after the executions, sympathy for the dead and

¹⁷² Michael Collins worked to organise the ostensibly different paramilitary wings, the IRB and the Irish Volunteers, during the Rising (Lee: 1989, p. 42). After partition, he led the IRA.

¹⁷³ Although the Easter Rising of 1916 and the Anglo-Irish war of 1919 To 1921 are often addressed as separate entities, Garvin sees them as two components of the single Irish revolution of 1916 – 1923 (1986, p. 475).

resentment towards the British became more common (McGee: 2007, p. 119; Bew et al: 1989, p. 17). This theme of Catholic indifference to independence and/or desires for reform that were then radicalised by punitive British policy returns consistently over the following century.

According to Boyce, Sinn Féin, immediately after the Rising and executions, was in no position to take on the role as a political vanguard (1991, p. 314). However, several phenomena intersected to progressively improve Sinn Féin's position. These included the enhanced organisation and centralisation of the party; the naturally negative tactical and organisational blows that the various 'physical force' groups sustained in the Rising allowed politics to increase in importance and the connected war weariness of '...the people and of the politicians' (Boyce: 1991, pp. 314 – 315; Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 15). Sinn Féin benefited from a general public disaffection with violence.

In addition to this, the energy of party activists and of Griffith himself (once released from British custody) resulted in a vast increase of members and of clubs related to the party (Boyce: 1991, p. 315). However, even after the Rising, its defeat and the punitive measures employed by the British, Sinn Féin's nationalism remained conservative enough for the Catholic Church to feel comfortable to endorse the party; violence was presented as a last resort (Boyce: 1991, pp. 317 – 318). In the meantime, the party went to great lengths to tie their movement to powerful narratives of Ireland's past, in particular, the martyrs of previous uprisings (Smith: 1997, p. 12).

At the same meeting in 1917, where Sinn Féin was given a tighter and more centralised structure (the 'Mansion House Committee'), Éamon de Valera was voted president of the party (Coogan: 1970, p. 22). Unlike Griffith, de Valera was a 'soldier'

first, but, like Griffith, had some apprehension about politics¹⁷⁴. Although, prior to this, Dwyer writes that de Valera displayed conservative tendencies (1998, p. 6) and felt that political means were preferable to military (1998, p. 7). According to Boyce, he made it clear that violence as a political option was for use only in extreme or special circumstances (Boyce: 1991, p. 316).

De Valera's dual presidency of Sinn Féin in 1917 and the paramilitary Irish Volunteers contributed to a '...blurring [of] the differences between the political and paramilitary movements' (Lee: 1989, p. 38). Although, this was relatively short lived. The British government's attempts to introduce conscription in 1918 helped to galvanise attitudes and support for the party (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, pp. 15 – 16). This was followed by a crackdown against the party that led to the arrest of 73 senior Sinn Féin members. Within the context of a British military crackdown, de Valera, giving some precedent to the political success of Bobby Sands six decades later, was elected in the general election in December of the same year (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 15; Lee: 1989, p. 38). During the post-Easter Rising period, a senior paramilitary figure became president of Sinn Féin and, in general, militants became more involved in politics (Boyce: 1991, pp. 315 – 316).

In 1919, Sinn Féin met, '...established a provisional government and a constitution and issued a declaration of independence' (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 16). This was the first sitting of the Dáil Éireann¹⁷⁵ (Feeney: 2003, p. 116). 1919 is also the year that the Anglo-Irish war is generally accepted to have begun in earnest (Smith: 1997, p. 34). During this period, Sinn Féin's attitude to violence was tactical; exercised within the 'last resort' tradition (Boyce: 1991, p. 318). However, concurrent with these sentiments was a growing realisation from within the movement that political methods were 'not working'. Militants, Michael Collins included, became

¹⁷⁴ De Valera, along with Countess Markiewicz, were the only leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising to avoid execution (McGee: 2007, p. 120).

¹⁷⁵ The House of Representatives of Ireland.

increasingly frustrated by the lack of progress (Boyce: 1991, p. 321; Feeney: 2003, pp. 118 – 120).

Republican militants began to engage British security forces under the name of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) (Boyce: 1991, p. 321; Feeney: 2003, p. 120; Lee: 1989, p. 42). The situation now existed where the Dáil (declared by Sinn Féin) existed as the core political manifestation of nationalist and republican sentiments and the IRA, led by Collins, constituted the core militant position (Lee: 1989, p. 42). While many involved in the Dáil were unhappy about the violent republicanism now in motion, Boyce writes that de Valera would not allow a space where the British could ...drive a wedge between the political and physical force wings of the nationalist movement; and he kept up the fiction that the Dáil was in some way in control of the IRA'. Eventually, in April 1921, the Dáil ...accepted official responsibility for IRA operations' (Boyce : 1991, pp. 322 – 323).

Under the leadership of de Valera and Michael Collins, the paramilitary and political wings of republicanism and nationalism solidified, however briefly, around Sinn Féin/IRA. The British had managed to excite Irish sympathy for militancy and also liberal British and American condemnation by a series of tactical errors, contextualised by Lee as ...own goals' (1989, pp. 43 – 44). This included executions, arbitrary arrests and the use of the Black and Tans, who had committed an adequate number of atrocities to generate significant outrage' (Lee: 1989, p. 43; Boyce: 1991, p. 322). As the situation progressively deteriorated, Sinn Féin had replaced the Home Rule Party as the central Catholic party, and many disparate elements came to exist under its broad church. Partition brought the Southern state into existence, but also shattered Sinn Féin/IRA as the movement split over acceptance of the Treaty with Britain.

The Treaty and Civil War

Military stalemate saw the British negotiate for withdrawal. The semi-unified republican movement were confronted with a choice, to accept a divided semi-independent Ireland, with an oath to the King, or to fight on to include Ulster in an all Ireland republic. Ultimately, pragmatism won out. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in December 1921 (Feeney: 2003, p. 134) and the Irish Free State was created in 1922, resulting in 'British Dominion' over 26 Southern Irish counties (Garvin: 1987, p. 141). Consequently, Sinn Féin/IRA split into pro and anti 'Treaty' groups¹⁷⁶. The general elections held in 1922 and 1923 both returned 'huge majorities' in support of the Treaty (1987, pp. 142, 144). Democratic process saw the Irish electorate vote for the Treaty. The Sinn Féin government, which was voted in on the whole by a public that supported the Treaty with Britain, split along the lines of pro and anti-Treaty factions¹⁷⁷. Although support for the Treaty was widespread across socio economic boundaries (including the majority of poor voters), 'The bulk of anti-Treaty support appears to have come from poorer voters' (Lee: 1989, p. 62). This dynamic has been revisited in post-Good Friday Northern Ireland. Éamon de Valera emerged as the leader of Anti-Treaty Sinn Féin, with the pro-Treaty faction, led by Michael Collins.

The Treaty was then approved by a vote in the Dáil in January 1922 and passed by a narrow majority of 64 votes to 57 (Feeney: 2003, p. 126). The irreconcilability of the two factions eventuated in civil war and anti-Treaty forces, especially paramilitary, found themselves to be extra legal entities and were punished by the state accordingly¹⁷⁸. The civil war eventuated in the victory of pro-Treaty forces, and the Southern state stabilised as a political entity¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁶ Garvin argues that unity in the republican movement was dependent on British enmity; as soon as the British appeared willing to withdraw, the movement began to fracture (1987, p. 141 – 142).

¹⁷⁷ Militarily, Lee writes that the majority of 'active' IRA units were anti-Treaty (1989, p. 56).

¹⁷⁸ This included the execution of 'Seventy-seven anti-Treaty prisoners...between November 1922 and May 1923' (Lee: 1989, pp. 66, 69).

¹⁷⁹ Stability resulted from a relatively secure economic situation, high levels of literacy and education and the added benefit—as World War Two drew closer—of a geopolitical position where no other country held 'irredentist or imperial ambitions' towards the state (Lee: 1989, pp. 69 – 79). Proportional

After it became clear that the pro-Treaty party Cumann na nGaedhael, that had formed as a distinct political party from pro-Treaty Sinn Féin, had solidified their position as the dominant political grouping after the elections of 1923, Sinn Féin under de Valera opted to abstain from political participation (Lee: 1989, p. 95). This was done in spite of their electoral success. The abstention was carried out for the same reasons as the abstention of Sinn Féin in its entirety before the War of Independence and the Treaty; namely a symbolic and tactical gesture proclaiming the illegitimacy of the government.

However, Sinn Féin abstention allowed for Cumann na nGaedhael¹⁸⁰ to consolidate their position further; a stability that was to endure until de Valera effected another split ‘...with the rump of Sinn Féin/IRA irreconcilables’ in 1926—an absolute hard core of republicans opposed to any recognition of the Treaty inherent in the engagement of politics. Fianna Fáil emerged from this split (Bew et al: 1989, p. 26). De Valera wanted to enter the Dáil, and Sinn Féin/IRA continued to maintain their opposition to the Treaty and therefore, the Dáil itself (Bew et al: 1989, p. 26).

Within the space of 5 years, Fianna Fáil went from non-existence, to taking power. In the space of ten years, de Valera went from Civil War opposition and parliamentary abstainer from the ‘illegitimate’¹⁸¹ Free State government, to its Prime Minister. The shifting electoral fortunes of de Valera can, in this case, be seen as an indication of the gradual radicalisation of the Irish electorate, much as Sinn Féin’s success in recent years is taken to represent the same. The question is similar to that posed by this thesis regarding the current situation in Northern Ireland; did the subsequent electoral success of de Valera as the leader of Fianna Fáil represent a

representation, protected the Protestant minority (Lee: 1989, p. 82) and the smaller anti-Treaty faction (Lee: 1989, p. 83). Lee argues that this ‘presumably saved’ this faction from ‘land-slide defeat in early Free State elections’ (1989, p. 83). This offered the political system the mechanism to absorb radically divergent views and added to stability.

¹⁸⁰Cumann na nGaedhael, merging with two other parties, later became Fine Gael in 1933, and has primarily been the opposition party since.

¹⁸¹ As recently as 1929, de Valera had called the Free State government an ‘illegal Assembly’ (Bew et al: 1989, p. 34).

radicalisation of the Irish population? Was a vote for Fianna Fáil a vote for a hardline republican position?

It is clear that while Fianna Fáil maintained at least symbolic links with its pre-split republican past, it undoubtedly demarcated itself from Cumann na nGaedhael on socio-economic grounds. Lee argues that Fianna Fáil presented itself to the electorate as an alternative government focused on addressing the very socio-economic issues that Cumann na nGaedhael had neglected¹⁸². In the lead up to the 1932 election, he writes that Cumann na nGaedhael campaigned ‘squarely’ on ‘...law, order, religion and the red scare’ (1989, p. 169). These issues were directly related to the republican opposition; Cumann na nGaedhael attempted to present Fianna Fáil as being outside of the law and of having links with Soviet communism. It also suggested that the sweeping economic changes that Fianna Fáil sought to introduce would bring instability to the Irish economy and nation (Lee: 1989, pp. 169 – 170).

On the other hand, Fianna Fáil, continued its political claim to republicanism by centralising its opposition to the Oath to the King, but beneath this a wide ranging platform of socio-economic reform was presented. Bew et al. contextualise Fianna Fáil’s politics at this time as ‘...radical, populist nationalism’ (1989, p. 26). The party sought to tackle the issue of intensifying unemployment that had grown over the past decade of essentially unopposed Cumann na nGaedhael rule. In this regard, de Valera’s party, for the most part, adopted the socio-economic platform of the social democratic parties that would emerge after the Second World War. Fianna Fáil denounced Cumann na nGaedhael’s ‘...economic policy as a ‘surrender to the rich’ (Bew et al: 1989, p. 27).

Ultimately, the electorate was presented with two enormously divergent positions; one ‘...in defence of the status quo, and [the other] proposing sweeping

¹⁸² For example, Cumann na nGaedhael cut old age pension payments in 1924 (Bew et al: 1989, p. 26).

constitutional, economic and social changes (Lee: 1989, p. 170). The success of Fianna Fáil's appeals to the stagnation of the state's socio-economic development can be seen in its success relative to the Labour party's decline at the same election. Labour's vote dropped from 12.6 to 9.1 per cent (Bew et al: 1989, p. 33). The combination of symbolic republicanism and what amounts to social democratic reform, proved irresistible to many Irish voters.

The 'republican' Fianna Fáil entered into government while symbolically opposing residual components of British control and influence. The party has dominated Irish politics since. Out of the 24 governments that have been formed in the Republic since Fianna Fáil contested its first election in 1932, the party has governed 18. Prior to 1989, Fianna Fáil did so independently, however, all governments formed since have been coalitions formed with either the Progressive Democrats or Greens (see Carty: 2007). This represents some form of divergence in the voting patterns in the republic, with Fianna Fáil failing to attract enough votes to govern independently. Nevertheless, the dominance of the party is noteworthy.

However, Fianna Fáil has shown several significant instances where it was not constrained by socio-economic concerns alone. The party, under the leadership of de Valera, did eventually sever the remaining constitutional ties with Great Britain in 1937 and passed a new constitution that claimed Northern Ireland as part of the territory of the Irish nation. Article 2 of the new Constitution of 1937 stated that '...the national territory consists of the whole of the island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas' (Whyte: 1991, p. 181; Bowman: 1982, pp. 147 – 148).

The territorial claim was reiterated in 1949, as a result of a British Act of Parliament that stated that Northern Ireland would remain within the UK as long as the Northern Ireland parliament wished (Whyte: 1991, p. 118). Regardless of the reiteration of the claim, which '...held ritualistic pride of place...' for Fianna Fáil (Lee: 1989, p. 458) Ruane and Todd state that it was '...never seriously pursued' (1992, p.

188). The same constitution abolished Ireland's 'Free State' status within the British Commonwealth, and the Republic of Ireland came into being as a political entity.

Institutionally, political pragmatism dominated government policy. However, when the Northern Irish Troubles began in the late 1960s, several senior members of Fianna Fáil became increasingly involved in a capacity outside of purely diplomatic activity. While the allegation that there was an attempt to channel weapons to republican militants was found to be untrue in a subsequent inquiry, Bew et al. state that a '...para-state apparatus' was being developed '...for involvement in Northern Ireland' (1989, pp. 96 – 99). Conversely, Dixon, citing Patterson, writes that there was some degree of arms supplied by Fianna Fáil members to the Northern IRA (2001, p. 88) and Lee states that there was a high level '...conspiracy to import arms and ammunition' which resulted in the dismissal and arrest of cabinet ministers Charles Haughey and Neil Blaney (1989, pp. 458 – 459). The Fianna Fáil government also moved Irish troops to the Northern Irish border and Prime Minister Jack Lynch made the statement '...that the Irish government can no longer stand by and see innocent people injured and perhaps worse'. The troop movement coupled with the statement gave reason to provide hope for some Northern Catholics and fear for many Northern Protestants (Lee: 1989, pp. 429 – 430; Dixon: 2001, pp. 87 – 88).

These instances can be read as much more than just symbolic gestures. However, as Ruane and Todd state, the constitutional claim was never seriously pursued and it was subsequently dropped in 1998 by the then Fianna Fáil Prime Minister Bertie Ahern in order to facilitate the Good Friday Agreement. Relations between the Republic of Ireland with both Britain and Northern Ireland normalised substantially. The territorial claim to Northern Ireland existed for 51 years. However, in comparison, Fianna Fáil's economic project, characterised by Shirlow as the 'Gaelic system of social communalism' (1997, p. 91) existed only for around three decades. From a hegemonic perspective, the claim to Northern Ireland can be seen

as purely symbolic, a way of ideologically maintaining the nation while radically abandoning its material foundations. A neo-liberal Fianna Fáil, devoid now of its republican claim to the North, is comparable to modern labour parties who seek to marry selective elements of social democracy with neo-liberalism.

The political evolution of the Republic of Ireland, with a long standing irredentist claim to the North, into a modern neo-liberal state with normal relations with both its former colonial master¹⁸³ and with the state that it pledged to subsume, provides a comparative example that supports the main contention of this thesis. As we have seen, the ideological and military objectives of the political elites of the Republic fit very tightly with that in evidence now in Northern Ireland. It is clear that history (even recent history as de Valera illustrated) and rhetoric cannot be relied upon to correctly assess the true nature and overall trajectory of a political party. The constitutional historic basis of Sinn Féin, vacillating from Constitutional Monarchism, to republicanism, to pro-Dominion Status, to constitutional republicanism, illustrates this point further. Rhetoric and appeals to revolutionary pedigree cannot be privileged in the long run over material reality. In the protracted absence of any evidence of radicalism, a party that engages in democratic politics and neo-liberal capitalism must be viewed as a democratic neo-liberal capitalist party.

Sinn Féin: Coming to Terms with Neo-Liberalism

The political pedigree of Sinn Féin in the North and Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael in the Republic is in some cases close or overlapping and in others identical. The two major parties from the Republic of Ireland share a common ancestry in the IRA/Sinn Féin active at the time of the partition of Ireland. However, many state that there has been a significant, constantly growing distance between North and South, with the South

¹⁸³ In 2007, Britain was the primary exporter of goods to Ireland at 37.1% (London Chamber of Commerce and Industry: 2007).

becoming increasingly more concerned with its own economic development (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 198).

On the other hand, O'Donnell argues that Both the main political parties in the Republic have declared their interest in the eventual reunification of Ireland' (2009, p. 205). Interestingly, she argues that the same parties in the Republic are unified in their contention that Sinn Féin has a compulsory role to play in Northern Ireland, but that the party has no major political role to play in the Republic (2009, p. 217). Such a position is interesting; it appears that the established parties in the Republic will wait until Sinn Féin has served its purpose in the North, and then dissolves without creating a power vacuum that would be taken up by either more militant republicans or unionists. Then, perhaps, unification may take place with a majority party from the Republic and a minority Protestant party from the North sharing in government. Nevertheless, more militant republicans than Bertie Ahern and his successor Brian Cowan have seen fit to put domestic politics ahead of the question of unification. This very tactic provided Fianna Fáil's entry into politics.

Some of the parallels, of the relationship between militant revolution, democracy and the electorate in both the creation of the Irish Republic and the stabilisation of Northern Ireland are striking. As we have seen in the Republic, there was a mass political sentiment that supported compromise. Then, a democratic majority became more radical politically (as a result of real and perceived oppression/repression), eventually supporting the most radical of the political parties. Following this transformation, the radical parties begin a process of conservative consolidation which is inevitable in democratic governance. In the Irish Republic, Fianna Fáil, the republican anti-Treaty party, steered the country down the path to radical neo-liberal transformation, organising the nation and the indigenous workforce to foreign; including British, capital accumulation.

Northern Ireland: Nationalists' and Republicans'

As the Republic increasingly settled into the two-party political model, republicans in Northern Ireland largely adhered to abstention. The very early years of the Northern Irish state were politically tumultuous. Coogan suggests that the concept of the very existence of the state was in doubt for many Catholics; certainly in the long term. However, as time progressed, it became increasingly clear that the border was not as fragile as unionists feared or republicans had hoped. This prompted nationalist politicians to experiment in taking their seats. In 1927, '...aten-man opposition' took their place in Stormont against the unionist ruling party (Coogan: 1970, p. 170).

Between 1921 and 1969, the Nationalist Party secured the greatest amount of political support from the Catholic community. The Nationalist Party were 'For the most part...a one-issue anti-partition party and were perceived as such'. The party almost exclusively limited itself to issues surrounding Partition (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 190). From the 1950s onwards the Nationalist Party could see there would be no undermining of the border in the near future and the party began sitting as the 'official opposition' in Stormont from 1965 (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 190). However, the civil rights movement prompted the demise of the Nationalist Party; it '...lost three seats to "Independent" Civil Rights candidates in the 1969 Stormont elections, and its political irrelevance quickly became apparent' (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 192). The social democratic platform eclipsed anti-partition.

At this point, the republican movement sat on the far left, and its position had become one that avoided violence and embraced Marxist political tenants (McAllister: 2004, p. 126). Throughout this phase, as de Valera had done in the past and Adams would eventually do again in the future, the republican movement did not view violence as the most expedient tool to realise its political aims (Smith: 1997, pp. 78 – 80). The movement advocated social revolution rather than national liberation, and full co-operation of the Protestant working-class was considered crucial to this end

(Bishop and Mallie: 1987, pp. 34 - 42). However, as we saw in chapter 5, the republican movement was not in position to fully respond politically to the civil rights agenda, nor to the violence that that movement precipitated (Smith: 1997, p. 80). The situation drove a wedge between whatever Catholic and Protestant working-class cooperation existed and the conflict took on a 'sectarian' nature that has been since contextualised as a struggle between competing nationalisms. The militant Catholic conservatives who had been progressively alienated by the shift towards Marxism returned to control the movement, and split the Northern Irish Provisional organisation from the 'leftists' in Dublin (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, pp. 99 - 105).

Politically, at the time, John Hume emerged as one of the central figures of the civil rights movement and then subsequently of the SDLP. The party was formed in 1970 and existed on the centre-left of the political spectrum (Dixon: 2001, p. 9). Murray and Tonge describe the party as '...nationalist...with left leanings' (2005, p. 203). The SDLP held the position that the unification of Ireland could only come about with the consent of the majority within Northern Ireland' (Dixon: 2001, p. 9), this would require the support of a large number of Protestants. Dixon writes that the SDLP had two factions working within it; one that supported a form of joint custody of Ireland and Britain over Northern Ireland, the other sought a power sharing solution with unionists in Northern Ireland (Dixon: 2001, pp. 9 – 10). Murray and Tonge write that the party was divided between a nationalist and a socialist faction that became dominated by nationalists by the end of the 1970s (2005, p. 203).

The SDLP dominated the 'Green' side of politics from the demise of the nationalist party, until Bobby Sands contested the election in 1981 from prison¹⁸⁴. From this point, Sinn Féin began to tactically contest elections (Whyte: 1991, p. 74). Although both the SDLP and Sinn Féin can be plotted on the 'green' side of the political spectrum, the allocation of preferences between the parties undermines the

¹⁸⁴ Smith writes that the IRA scaled back operations around the hunger strike election of 1981 to improve the chances of electoral success (1997, p. 173).

idea that the parties represent two extremes of the one cause. Whyte writes that '...many SDLP supporters [gave] their preference to the pro union Alliance Party sooner than to Sinn Féin' (1991, p. 74). This shows that, at the very least, some SDLP supporters clearly sought state reform. Tonge writes, 'IRA violence and Sinn Féin's left-wing radicalism were anathema to many Catholics throughout Ireland' (2009, p. 169).

The diversity of ideological positions evident in SDLP supporters reinforces again the problem of ascribing a homogenous motive behind Catholic voting patterns. This is crucial when the democratic engagement of Sinn Féin, coupled with its appropriation of the SDLP platform and discourse, has resulted in electoral success. This undermines the argument that the Catholic community vote for a united Ireland when they vote for Sinn Féin. Regardless of the relative political success of Bobby Sands standing for Sinn Féin, the SDLP continued to be the party of choice for the Catholic community (Tonge: 2009, p. 172; see also Dixon: 2001, p. 91).

The election of Margret Thatcher in 1979 saw the British government move towards a less conciliatory position with republicanism. The resulting 'hard line' included a denial of political status for republican prisoners that prompted two hunger strikes, one that was aborted and the other that resulted in the deaths of 10 republican prisoners. Bobby Sands was the first to 'refuse food'; however, his ongoing hunger strike did not alter the position of the government. As Sands became weaker, a by-election allowed for him to contest a Westminster seat which he won in April of 1981 (McAllister: 2004, p. 127). However, Sands passed away in May with the impetus behind the hunger strike unresolved.

It is generally accepted that the hunger strike prompted a reassessment of the republican movement's view of politics as an effective tool (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 299 – 308; Dixon: 2001, p. 186; Tongue: 2009, p. 167). Although, it is important to

note that the hunger strike did not translate into immediate political dividends for Sinn Féin (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, pp. 295 – 296). While many Catholics sympathised with the republican prisoners, most continued to vote for the SDLP in the short term. For example, in the 1979 Westminster elections, wherein Sinn Féin abstained, the SDLP secured 19.9% of the vote. In the 1983 Westminster elections, the SDLP secured 17.9% of the vote, while Sinn Féin had 13.4%. In the 1987 Westminster elections¹⁸⁵, the SDLP vote returned to 21.1%, a figure very close to their average (20.7%, see McAllister: 2004, p. 129), where Sinn Féin dropped to 11.4% (see *CAIN Web Service*, ‘Results of Elections Held in Northern Ireland Since 1968’).

However, within Sinn Féin, the value of politics was being reassessed (see Murray and Tonge: 2005, pp. 114 – 117). Danny Morrison made a speech asking the delegates at the 1981 Sinn Féin convention ‘...will anyone here object if, with a ballot paper in one hand and the Armalite in this hand, we take power in Ireland?’ (Murray and Tonge: 2005, p. 115). At this point the provisional republican strategy remained fixed on national liberation. The party had no constitutional obligations that undermined their core position. Adams, around this time, still viewed IRA violence as the ‘cutting edge’ of the liberation movement (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 358). In fact, Bishop and Mallie write that the political interests in Dublin and London at the time would be ‘disappointed’ if they were hoping that increased republican engagement in politics signposted a shift of individuals from ‘...revolutionaries to mere radicals’ (1987, p. 358).

In 1985, Sinn Féin voted to end abstention from the Irish parliament by a large majority; with 429 of the 628 delegates supporting the move (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 358). The tactic was abandoned in 1986 as it was clear to Sinn Féin that their ongoing support for IRA violence would limit their potential success (1997, p. 172).

¹⁸⁵ The 1986 Westminster by election has been purposely overlooked due to its proximity to the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, a particularly tumultuous time even by Northern Irish standards.

The figures from the Westminster elections cited above illustrate that Sinn Féin did not steal voters from the SDLP. Sinn Féin managed to motivate a core of voters who had, like the party itself, abstained from politics (Mitchell et al: 2009, pp. 407). The consensus is that the SDLP was a middle-class party and while both parties attracted voters who had not voted before¹⁸⁶, Sinn Féin had many adjustments to make to its policy and discourse before it would attract SDLP voters. As noted, this included, on the one hand, demilitarisation and a clear demonstration that the move to politics was not a strategic move to be followed again by violence. On the other hand, Sinn Féin would have to alter its political platform from its semi-socialist republicanism, to embrace more mainstream, discourse and policy; what Tonge calls new republicanism' (2009, p. 168). As Tonge argued, the left-wing radicalism' evident in Sinn Féin's politics would also have to be curbed before Northern Catholics would take the party seriously (2009, p. 169). Sinn Féin has a long tradition of conservative politics and its left-wing variant has also been contextual. As we shall see below, Sinn Féin assumed much of the platform of the SDLP and altered its discourse to appeal to a mass electorate.

The Conditionality of Violence

In 1995, McGarry and O'Leary wrote that the IRA, as an active force, could claim no community mandate for their actions as their political wing, Sinn Féin, were not electorally successful (p. 53). They point out that No other party that supports paramilitary violence attracts any significant electoral support' (1995, p. 53). However, in the atmosphere of 1969 the circumstances regarding legitimacy and sympathy to violence were different. Following the riots provoked by the civil rights movement and the attacks on Catholic areas during this period, Moloney writes that

¹⁸⁶ For example, the total nationalist vote in the 1979 Westminster election stood at 28.1% and had risen to 32.5% in 1987. In the 2001 Westminster elections the total nationalist vote increased to 42.7 (CAIN Web Service <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/election/electsum.htm>>).

working-class Catholics did begin to look towards the IRA for some level of protection from the violence of the RUC, loyalist ‘mobs’, and what was seen as the increasingly partisan British army¹⁸⁷ (2003, p. 71). IRA recruitment offices were ‘inundated’ after incidents where the Catholic community were actually, or perceived to be under attack. However, prior to the violence, and state and unionist backlash against the Catholic community in the 1960s, IRA military campaigns lacked community support (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, p. 32; Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 191).

It is clear that the sympathies of the Catholic community towards IRA violence have been conditional at best. The IRA was becoming increasingly divided between those who viewed any target as legitimate and those who were conscious of the political or propaganda consequences. Targeting of UDR and RUC members was seen as increasingly counter-productive by the later faction, who feared that targeting members of the Protestant community would increase the intensity of sectarian division. UDR and RUC members were generally drawn from the Protestant community, and their deaths were seen as an attack on that community, rather than the British Crown (Moloney: 2003, p. 336 – 337).

Gerry Adams, who was the leading proponent of the latter approach to targeting, hoped to enable pan-nationalist sympathy through selective targeting. The theory was that more moderate nationalists, who may be alienated by broad based, opportunistic targeting, may find republicanism less objectionable if their targeting were more discreet. Adams was of the opinion that many people from the broad nationalist constituency had ‘...no problem whatsoever’ with the selective targeting of Crown forces (quoted in Moloney: 2003, p. 337).

¹⁸⁷ Many Catholics welcomed the British army onto the streets in Northern Ireland as they were seen to protect Catholics against loyalist attack. Whyte writes that, in comparison to the RUC and the UDR, the British army enjoyed a higher level of confidence with the Catholic population at least until the mid 1980s (1991, p. 85). However, the burning of the Catholic Bombay Street in 1969, with British troops nearby, helped to galvanise the militancy of the emerging Provisional IRA (Moloney: 2003, p. 71).

More recently, the murder of Belfast Catholic Robert McCartney in January of 2005 by persons allegedly linked directly to Sinn Féin and the Provisional IRA, illustrated the crisis of the use of legitimate violence. This incident led to a reaction against the IRA within the Catholic enclave of the Short Strand in East Belfast. The sisters of Robert McCartney lobbied local, British and international politicians in an effort to bring their ‘brother’s killers to justice’. This eventuated with a meeting with George W Bush later the same year. Within the context of the global war on terror, Bush openly condemned the IRA.

Sinn Féin, and in particular Gerry Adams—who had enjoyed increasing US support culminating in President Bill Clinton’s active role in the Good Friday Agreement¹⁸⁸ and the political legitimisation of Sinn Féin—became politically isolated. The McCartney sister’s campaign ‘...damaged Sinn Féin’s standing in Washington and brought calls from the administration and Irish-American senators for the IRA to be disbanded and for Sinn Féin to sever all ties with it’ (Borger and Chrisafis: 2005). The intersection between legitimate violence and the relationship between IRA/Sinn Féin and the Catholic community had run against a conjunctural limit.

The location of the development of this incident of open Catholic criticism against the IRA is even more striking given its history. The Short Strand has traditionally been associated in nationalist/republican politics with the concept of siege by militant Protestants. The reaction against the IRA following McCartney’s death illustrates the depth of change associated with the shifting social, economic and political process. The Short Strand was central in the creation of the legitimacy of IRA violence in the eyes of the Catholic community. In 1970, the IRA managed to

¹⁸⁸ This included Clinton personally organising a visa so Adams could travel to the United States (Barton: 2009, p. 32).

‘...repel an invasion’ of militant Protestants into the area (Smith: 1997, p. 93)¹⁸⁹. Within the chaos of this period, the Provisional IRA became seen as ‘defenders’ of the Catholic population from militant Protestants and a British military that was increasingly seen as either indifferent or complicit in their victimisation. The Provisional IRA also, through such deeds, managed to eclipse the Official IRA; the military wing of the remnants of the Marxist IRA/Sinn Féin (Smith: 1997, p. 93; Moloney: 2003, pp. 88 – 90; Bell: 1976, pp. 375 – 376; Bishop and Mallie: 1987, pp. 121 – 122).

However, as the McCartney incident clearly illustrates, the relationship between violence and legitimacy between IRA/Sinn Féin and the Catholic community is conditional. The IRA, and republicanism, with its inherent component of physical force, in general, has never enjoyed organic, broad based support. Support for physical force from the late 20th century onwards has depended on the intensity of alienation felt by the Catholic community, but only then found mass expression following overt draconian and/or punitive measures meted out by British security forces or Protestant militants. In the May 2005 Westminster elections, after the McCartney event, Sinn Féin’s vote dropped 2% from their most recent result in the 2004 European elections. This was the first significant downward trend in its election results since the IRA ceasefires of 1994. It dropped a further 1% in 2005 local government elections. In the same period, the SDLP increased their vote in similar proportions to that lost by Sinn Féin (*CAIN Web Service*, ‘Results of Elections Held in Northern Ireland Since 1968’).

The McCartney episode showed that IRA/Sinn Féin were increasingly open to formal political pressure. After offering to shoot those involved, the IRA reversed their offer after a further public and political backlash (Chrisafis: 2005). The IRA then declared that any witnesses that came forward would have nothing to fear from the

¹⁸⁹ For a detailed appraisal of this incident, see Moloney (2003, pp. 88 – 90) and Bishop and Mallie (1987, pp. 121 – 122).

organisation; an organisation that had found itself estranged from the community whose support it required to survive. Gerry Adams made it clear that anyone who had information should contact the PSNI (BBC: 2005). In itself, Sinn Féin's open encouragement to members of the Catholic community to approach the British authorities, in order to bolster a judicial case potentially against members of the IRA/Sinn Féin is significant. In September of the same year the announcement was made that the IRA had decommissioned its weapons. The McCartney incident can only be viewed as a small component that contributed to the timing of the IRA decision to decommission. However, the final timing was probably motivated as the result of a Catholic community backlash originating in the Short Strand. Tonge writes that the incident strengthened Adams' case the IRA had served its purpose; in a way expediting the '...disappearance of the IRA' (2009, p. 174).

Sinn Féin has since become a fully engaged democratic party. However, while its leadership and membership remain committed to the goal of reunification, this thesis argues that the context of democratic politics is inherently conservative and is shaped by neo-liberal hegemony. The degree of subsumption of Sinn Féin radicalism is already compelling. The example of Fianna Fáil's evolution from radical abstention, to tactical engagement to neo-liberalism, illustrates the potential for change. However, in Ireland alone, Fianna Fáil is not the only party to make this transition, with '...Fine Gael, Clann na Phoblachta and the Workers Party [being]...absorbed by a political system they had initially pledged to alter' (Tonge: 2009, p. 167). The socio-economic unravelling of the nexus of alienation, radicalisation and violence rendered the IRA obsolete. Sinn Féin has had to reassess its own existence within this shifting paradigm.

Up until the Good Friday Agreement, Sinn Féin had to plot an awkward course through Irish and British politics. Its relationship with the IRA and the dynamics of its membership has seen the party oscillate between minimal democratic concerns and

overt militarism. Abstention, rejection of political solutions on offer, and constant manoeuvring between British, Irish and unionist political and paramilitary organisations saw the party reacting to sometimes varied and contradictory daily impetus, rather than developing a coherent political platform. The IRA ceasefire, followed by the Good Friday Agreement, and finally bolstered by the demilitarisation of mainstream republicanism has allowed Sinn Féin the space to normalise their politics on one level. On another level, they have been forced to normalise in order to maintain relevance.

The idea that Sinn Féin's move into democratic politics is a tactical manoeuvre towards unification is generally, although not universally, accepted. First; Sinn Féin itself has never concealed or diluted this as its central political aim. Even during the sensitive negotiations surrounding the Good Friday Agreement, this policy was never sidelined. During this period, Sinn Féin insisted upon significant North/South 'bodies' that would act as preliminary unification tools. Overall, it was clear that '...any agreement needed to be part of a transitional process towards Irish unity and independence' (Murray and Tonge: 2005, p. 213).

On the other hand, Murray and Tonge state that entering into negotiations could be viewed by some as a 'sellout' of republican principles (2005, pp. 233 – 239). As we shall see below, some republicans certainly did see it this way. The Good Friday Agreement saw the republican movement, represented by Sinn Féin, recognise Northern Ireland as a distinct political entity, where they had before insisted on its illegitimacy (Murray and Tonge: 2005, p. 215). Nevertheless, Sinn Féin's commitment to unification, at the highest levels at least, remains clear.

There are two important points here to consider. One is the question if the core political objective of Sinn Féin is possible to achieve within a democratic neo-liberal capitalist mechanism wherein Catholics are no longer structurally marginalised and existentially threatened. This thesis argues that it is not a case of ascertaining if

republicanism has sold-out, as its aims remain clear, it argues that democratic neo-liberal capitalism is not a vehicle for radical change. The second is to ask what Catholics vote for when they vote Sinn Féin. Are they voting for a united Ireland? This thesis argues that Sinn Féin has moved so far to the political centre, that this assumption is unsustainable.

Sinn Féin: What has changed?

Discourse and Policy

The substantial changes to the political economy and state sovereignty of Northern Ireland over the past four decades have been outlined. Since the early 1980s, the social, economic and political context within which Sinn Féin exists has radically altered. The party has itself made significant changes in how it presents itself to what now is its potential voting constituency, where in the past, it has supported the IRA without hesitation. Many argue that the electoral success of Sinn Féin has been predicated on the appropriation of the socio-economic platform of the SDLP. This tendency has been identified as far back as 1992 (Ruane and Todd: 1992, p. 204). As we saw in chapter 5, the links between militancy and the lived material/political experience of the Catholic community were clear. Catholics in working-class areas, subjected to state repression were much more likely to support militant republicanism. Middle-class Catholics, who were spatially less likely to be subjected to such treatment, did not show the same tendency towards militarism. These middle-class Catholics have traditionally supported the SDLP, and their movement to support Sinn Féin does not represent a radicalisation of this class, but the conservative shift of Sinn Féin. In short, Sinn Féin has lost its spirit.

The party has removed much of the vitriolic and revolutionary language from its lexicon. It is not without significance that the traditional self-determination

language used by the provisional movement has been replaced with ‘equality’ (McGovern: 2004, p. 622). McGovern argues that within the emerging global capitalist system, Sinn Féin has had to disassociate itself from the class-based republicanism that formed its support base in the past, and has reorientated towards ‘...social democratic “new realism” and pluralist “identity politics”’ (2000, p. 157). In order to maximise its chances of appealing to Northern Irish Protestants, Sinn Féin has had to adopt forms of ‘cultural pluralism’ that seek to distance the party from any notion of the sectarian divide (McGovern: 2000, p. 158) that was fundamental to the party’s survival in the past.

This provides an effective example of the base level necessity to embrace a minimum conservative position within the logic of democratic politics. If Sinn Féin wishes to realise a united Ireland within the mechanism established within the Good Friday Agreement—the ‘consent principle’¹⁹⁰—it will arguably need to attract the support of a significant number of Protestants. Economically, Sinn Féin has had to present itself as responsible economic managers. Coulter identified a conservative shift in Sinn Féin as early as 1999. He wrote that ‘...the radicalism of Sinn Féin has waned considerably’ and that economically, ‘The references to socialism that once informed the discourse of Sinn Féin have...all but disappeared’ (Coulter: 1999, p. 90). More pointedly, that the party has ‘...apparently embraced at least the essence of the prevailing neoliberal orthodoxy on economic affairs’ (Coulter: 1999, p. 91).

However, as we have seen above, the conservative shift of Sinn Féin is only surprising if the last four decades are privileged over the preceding 100 years. Two prominent members of Sinn Féin as it emerged as a political organisation early last century—Edward Martyn and John Sweetman—are described as ‘Two wealthy moderates’ (Feeney: 2003, p. 42). Sinn Féin’s courting of American capital recently illustrates a return to a foundational position; that of economic conservatism. After a

¹⁹⁰ Whereby Irish unification can only come about by the consent of both the majority of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (Barton and Roche: 2009, p. 4).

relatively brief flirtation with socialist politics, the party are now acceptable once more to the conservative Catholic middle-classes (Coulter: 1999, p. 91).

Systemic Change: d'Hondt

The party's recent ideological moderation is clear and the knowledge that republican parties, once incorporated into democratic politics, lose their radicalism is well documented. An additional factor that undermines the assumption of a widespread Catholic desire for unification lays in the electoral system implemented as a result of the Good Friday Agreement. The d'Hondt model of power sharing (from here on, d'Hondt) incorporates a system of mandatory power sharing¹⁹¹. The key positions in the Northern Ireland Assembly are divided in such a way that the most successful parties from each side of the ethnic divide equally share them regardless of minority/majority status (Gudgin: 2009, p. 63).

While the system is credited with eventually stabilising Northern Irish politics, the d'Hondt system is not without its detractors. It is argued that the system has institutionalised sectarianism (Morgan: 2009, p. 102) and therefore has politically crystallised the intractable conflict (Elliot: 2009, p. 130). The system is also seen by some as undemocratic, in terms of direct representation based on votes. Elliot states that as a result of the power sharing structures, it is not a system of opposition (Elliot: 2009, p. 130). Gudgin argues that the Good Friday Agreement has enabled peace, but not good governance (2009, p. 78). However, more seriously, underpinning the criticism of d'Hondt, is the idea that at some stage, the structures currently in place will no longer be sufficient to satisfy the irredentism of nationalists and the unionism of loyalists.

¹⁹¹ The ratio of constituents to Members of the Legislative Council (MLAs) is generous, with one MLA per 17,000 compared to Scotland with 40,000 voters vote for a single representative (Gudgin: 2009, p. 62).

Mitchell et al. (2009) have addressed the concerns voiced by some that d'Hondt is fundamentally flawed. They discuss the idea that political systems based on ethnic divides are vulnerable to 'ethnic outbidding' (2009, p. 400). Once in motion, the phenomena of 'centrifugal polarisation' sees the most extreme representatives gain power. They write:

Once an ethnic party system is extensively mobilised it is made up primarily of 'ethnic parties' that appeal almost exclusively to voters from their own group rather than...to all voters...Few voters 'float across' the primary political cleavage derived from the clash of ethnic identities. Elections resemble ethnic 'head counts' or censuses. Party platforms are characterised by ethnic outbidding among rival parties within each ethnic bloc (Horowitz, 1985, pp. 349-60; Rabushka and Shepsle, 1972). Within-bloc competition may develop a centrifugal dynamic as parties mobilise 'their' community, engaging in extremist and emotive ethnic appeals that suggest that their group's vital interests are in danger of being 'sold out'. Any cooperative overtures to like-minded forces in other blocs immediately render politicians vulnerable to the accusation that they are naïve or treacherous (Mitchell et al: 2009, pp. 400).

This scenario is accepted by many as being evident in Northern Ireland.

However, Mitchell et al. (2009) cite several reasons why this situation is not applicable to Northern Ireland; the most important being the power sharing system now in place. We have seen that other commentators argue that d'Hondt has merely temporarily stabilised the political situation. Mitchell et al. concede that '*prima facie*', 'Direct vote switching from the moderate parties to the ostensibly "extreme" parties is...consistent with the outbidding thesis' (2009, p. 399). However, they ultimately argue that not only does the evident electoral polarisation of the two communities not signal inevitable intractable conflict, but that the presence of Sinn Féin and the 'hardline' Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) in the power sharing government can be seen to represent socio-political compromise.

For Mitchell et al. within a well structured power sharing government, Sinn Féin, along with the DUP, have become 'ethnic tribune parties'. Moderate nationalists, who in the past would have supported the SDLP, are driven to engage in what they call 'compensational voting' (2009, p. 402). This puts the most energetic

and aggressive party in power within the constrained power sharing system. For

Mitchell et al:

The 1998 [Good Friday] Agreement...institutionalised power-sharing institutions that mandated that executive power (and hence policy outcomes) can *only* be achieved by sharing power across nationalities. Given that the formation of a government and policy outcomes will inevitably involve inter-ethnic bargaining, voters will want to be represented by their strongest voice'. Typically, this will be parties with reputations for tough bargaining, and such reputations will partly be based on their past records of less-moderate policy positions. In short, moderate voters will vote for more extreme' parties (2009, p. 402).

The argument turns on the fact that the structure ensures representation, it is nominally democratic—at least insofar as Sinn Féin must behave like a democratic party—so the strongest voice is chosen to represent the ethnic group either side of the community divide. The system itself promotes the logic of ethnic tribune parties.

The concept that Sinn Féin owes its recent electoral success to the desire of Catholics to have their most pro-active party representing them is shared by others. Tonge, whilst predicating Sinn Féin's success on the party's acceptance of pluralism over its hitherto militant aims (2009, p. 173) and the absence of IRA violence (2009, p. 180) argues that Sinn Féin is seen by the nationalist community as the best party to defend nationalist gains (2009, p. 180). Kennedy states that Sinn Féin control ..made the SDLP...look tired and ineffective' (2009, p. 261).

Once again, this thesis is not arguing that Sinn Féin has abandoned Irish unification. However, as with republican parties in the Republic of Ireland, subsequent generations could lose interest in this practical aim. There is evidence to support this contention. McGrattan, for example, argues that Sinn Féin are taking an institutional approach' to securing a united Ireland (2009, p. 147). He argues that academics that put too much stress on tactical shifts are wrong. Gudgin writes that Sinn Féin ..joined the Assembly to destroy the Union' (2009, p. 60). While Sinn Féin's motives remain clear, it is their potential for success within the moderating and

inherently conservative democratic system that is debatable. Nevertheless, the question of the intentions of those who put Sinn Féin into power is in serious doubt, certainly if it is assumed that they are there with a mandate to pursue a united Ireland.

The 'Post-Republican' Critique

Another facet of critique that problematises the idea that Sinn Féin can secure a united Ireland through the power sharing Assembly comes from within republicanism. Anthony McIntyre, while writing in the final edition of the online journal, *The Blanket*,¹⁹² discussed the shifting political situation that had made the journal itself redundant. For McIntyre, the journal was a vehicle for critically engaging with what he saw as a 'sellout' of republican 'principles'. For McIntyre, the Good Friday Agreement solidified British control of Northern Ireland and the hollowing out of republicanism. Although he is critical that the provisional republican movement has capitulated to the British, it is important to note that he does not advocate a return to military action and he observes that splinter republican groups '...have no serious degree of republican political support (2009).

In the final edition, McIntyre argues that under the current Sinn Féin leadership the '...republican content of Provisionalism has been pulped' (2008). He argues that as a journal dedicated to critically engaging with the political deviance of Sinn Féin, *The Blanket* is no longer relevant in a '...post-republican world' (2008). McIntyre's critique of Sinn Féin draws on the embourgeoisement thesis; where former republican radicals have developed a taste for the (British) good life. The 'cosmopolitan' Gerry Adams is criticised for spending more time away from home

¹⁹² McIntyre, a former IRA volunteer, named the journal after the 'Blanket' protests by republican prisoners who refused to wear prison uniforms as they saw themselves as political prisoners, not common criminals (Bishop and Mallie: 1987, pp. 278 – 289). McIntyre's political position, regarding a post-conflict and post British Ireland, is underpinned by the Laclau and Mouffe (1990) concept of 'radical democracy', which would be inclusive of both communities.

than in his West Belfast constituency. While this thesis has already outlined a conjunctural concern with the 'bourgeoisement thesis', it does illustrate how far Sinn Féin has moved since the 1980s in embracing neo-liberalism.

Other criticism for Sinn Féin has come from the family of one of modern republicanism's most important figures. The sister of hunger striker Bobby Sands, Bernadette Sands-McKevitt, voiced her disapproval at the recent direction taken by Sinn Féin. She stated that 'Bobby did not die for cross-border bodies with executive powers. He did not die for nationalists to be equal to British citizens within the Northern Ireland state' (quoted in Murray and Tonge: 2005, p. 214).

Sinn Féin is seen by prominent republicans to have 'sold out' the republican cause by engaging in democratic politics and to have abandoned the armed struggle. For more orthodox republicans, the binaries from the colonial period remain central. All British influence must be removed, and the North of Ireland must be united with the South. Orthodox republicans are keenly aware of the historical precedents that exclusively resulted in revolutionary parties being, as Tongue wrote, '...absorbed by a political system they had initially pledged to alter' (Tonge: 2009, p. 167).

Conclusion

This chapter argued that a vote for Sinn Féin does not equate to a vote for a united Ireland. Sinn Féin's history already compromises this idea; nevertheless, the contention remained reasonably intact. It is clear that neither irredentist nationalism nor republicanism have been consistently central to Sinn Féin's policy or ideology. It is also clear that neither of these positions have been, in any sustained way, majority sentiments among the Catholic population. Sinn Féin are once again, a constitutional party, and the limits of their policies are now governed by what can be achieved strictly from within the d'Hondt power sharing system.

This chapter addressed a three way question related to Sinn Féin sharing democratic power. First; does Sinn Féin, as a political entity, continue to work towards a united Ireland? It is clear that the party does. Second; do the Catholics who vote Sinn Féin desire the same? I conclude that the answer is no; that Catholics vote Sinn Féin for a variety of reasons connected to the party's rejection of violence, the reduction of the party's socialist discourse, and the structure of the d'Hondt system. Third, can Sinn Féin achieve unification through democratic means? This thesis argues that this is unlikely. Democratic politics is inherently conservative and has incorporated every Irish republican party that has previously taken this path. While discussing the possibilities for gradual unification' Morgan makes the observation that Most likely, the aspiration to a united Ireland will become a casualty of the advances of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland' (2009, p. 90).

The degree to which Sinn Féin has changed can be discerned by comparing the statement from Bishop and Mallie, who argued that the Dublin and London political elite would be disappointed' if they saw moderation in Sinn Féin's political engagement in the early 1980s (1987, p. 358), and current political reality. Once again, the significant shifts in the political context must be viewed as crucial. In the period described by Bishop and Mallie, the colonial structures that informed the security situation and economic relations were still dominant.

Today the situation is entirely different. Sinn Féin's shift to the right/centre corresponds and conforms to the Catholic community's own movement away from viewing and experiencing the negative colonial social, economic and security situation. The Catholic community as a whole have not followed Sinn Féin to the radical fringe; Sinn Féin has moved with the majority of that community closer to the political centre. Consequently, it is possible for Catholics to vote for Sinn Féin and not desire a united Ireland and it is evident that many Catholics, who, in increasing

numbers, do not identify as 'nationalist' vote for the party for a variety of reasons not linked to the question of the border.

Conclusion

A unique shift has occurred in the province of Northern Ireland. Being born a Catholic is no longer a structural guarantee of limitation and poverty. As we saw above, age is now a greater barrier to fair employment than religion in the public sector. Many Catholics now engage fully¹⁹³ in the economic and political life of Northern Ireland and accept democratic political relations, the role of the state in policing and public order, and the logic of the neo-liberal market. Catholics are no longer 'pebbles' that need to be governed by systematic marginalisation and judicial control and they are increasingly displaying the ambivalent identity qualities of 'enterprise man'. Catholics are self-governing; like 'enterprise man' they are now '...eminently governable' (Foucault: 2008, p, 270). The imperial/colonial binaries have collapsed and new categories and subjectivities have been created. Consequently, it is no longer possible to think about Northern Ireland purely within established analytical models. The province must be viewed through a new material/ideological framework relevant to the enormous changes that have occurred; I have provided this in my thesis.

Chapter 1 showed that classical Marxism was conjuncturally bound to the dynamics of colonialism and imperial capitalist expansionism and was incapable of fully explaining the shift towards post-colonial and postmodern politics. Chapter 2 revealed that once classical Marxism reached the limits of its analytical capability, it was replaced by intractability arguments that centred ethno-nationalism. These arguments have also reached the conjunctural limit of their effectiveness to make sense of the conflict. Chapter 3 provided the pivotal moment in the thesis where Hardt and Negri's hypothesis on post-colonialism and neo-liberalism created a new conjunctural space to reassert a materialist reading.

¹⁹³ Where four decades ago, Catholic socio-economic interaction was confined largely to Catholic enclaves in Belfast, and villages/towns outside of the capital city.

Chapters 4 A and 4 B traced the transformation of Northern Ireland's political economy, showing that the province has passed from a divisive form of imperial capitalism, into a new form of neo-liberal capitalism. They showed that the changes illuminated by Hardt and Negri have taken place in the province and that they have structurally effected the way in which identity is constructed in the province. Chapter 5 analysed how the relationship between Catholicism and republicanism have always been contingent and was reinforced by the resistance to Catholic political moves towards gaining equal citizenship rights in the late 1960s. It noted how Catholic politics was largely reformist, rather than revolutionary. Chapter 5 built on the previous chapter analysing how the assumption of an unconditional link between Catholicism and the desire for a united Ireland is no longer tenable. It problematised the methods used to support these arguments, in the form of surveys, as misleading at the time, and to be now, as with the intractability arguments in general, conjuncturally redundant.

Finally, chapter 7 undermined the accepted premise that Sinn Féin's current status as the largest party representing Catholics in Northern Ireland proves a widespread Catholic desire for unification. I argued that the premise that Sinn Féin's success is a signpost for renewed violence in the future is untenable. Sinn Féin is now a party of democracy and neo-liberal capitalism. Its policies and the political context have normalised the party into a voice for neo-liberal capitalism. Peace has come to Northern Ireland.

My conclusion runs against those who remain located, at least in part, within the old conjuncture. There is almost an expectation to forward or speculate on a solution to the Troubles in analytical work on Northern Ireland. In 1991, Whyte's influential book includes a sub-conclusion under that very heading. He reviews other major works on Northern Ireland and, while drawing attention to some of the pessimists who argue there is no solution (Rose quoted in Whyte: 1991, p. 234), he

argues that the problem is so multi-faceted that a solution to any one problem would exacerbate another (1991, p. 243). He concludes that, given the regional differences within the state, it is 'Perhaps...unrealistic to look for a single solution...' (1991, p. 243).

In the chapter dealing with potential solutions in McGarry and O'Leary's equally influential book, the authors reiterate the core problem as competing ethno-nationalisms. They write 'Ethnic communities are perceived as kinship groups' (1995, p. 354) and 'Since an ethno-national group regards itself as a large extended family, its members regard an attack on one as an attack on all' (1995, p. 355). They advocated a 'shared authority' solution (1995, p. 370) that has been viewed as influential in shaping the Peace Process and the power sharing Assembly (see Taylor: 2009b). However, their 'shared authority' solution was formulated within a political paradigm dominated by the SDLP and the UUP, not the extremist DUP and Sinn Féin. Their afterword, written after the IRA ceasefire of 1994, states that the world may merely be witnessing the cyclical peace between generational violence (1995, p. 407).

More contemporary pessimistic analyses and predictions are seen in the work of Kennedy (2009). He argues that the 'Forced marriage' of the DUP and Sinn Féin has left many potentially destabilising problems in place. Not least of these is the republican '...cult of violence in pursuit of Irish unity' (2009, p. 259). For Morgan, the current Power Sharing Assembly 'enshrines' ethno-nationalist binaries (Morgan: 2009, p. 102).

The problem with these positions is that they continue to centralise ethno-nationalism in two ways. First; by optimistically suggesting that the way forward must fully and fairly incorporate the two ethno-nationalisms. Second; by pessimistically arguing that nothing can undermine the fundamentally antagonistic relationship between the two positions. However, I conclude that because of the shift to neo-

liberal ideology, ethno-nationalism is no longer the exclusive focus of subjectivity and antagonism. While I concede that the shift is uneven, with Catholic working-class men still disproportionately unemployed, the 'extended family' of Catholicism no longer exists to the point where it can influence politics. Today in Northern Ireland, Catholics who are poor are understood to be so within the logic of neo-liberalism, not British imperialism. Consequently, I have shown that a new subjectivity has been created; the ethno-nationalist conflict has not been 'resolved'; it has been hollowed out, weakened or replaced by neo-liberal ideology and associated modes of ambivalent identity. The social, political and economic terrain has shifted so far beneath the feet of the intractability arguments that they are now conjuncturally outmoded.

ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY OF TERMS

CSJ: Campaign for Social Justice – political organisation formed in 1964 dedicated primarily to highlighting issues associated with Catholic housing.

Dáil: Dáil Éireann – the House of Representatives of the Irish Free State and the Republic of Ireland.

DUP: Democratic Unionist Party – formed by Ian Paisley in 1971. Nominally a working class party, its main platform is opposition to republicanism and Sinn Féin's inclusion in legitimate politics in particular. Now shares power with Sinn Féin.

IRA: Irish Republican Army – acronym used to denote the militant republican movement before the split in 1969. After the split, the elements that desired a less Marxist and more militant approach formed the Provisional IRA. The remaining left wing republicans were renamed the Official IRA. After PIRA emerged to become the dominant paramilitary grouping, the Provisional IRA became known simply as the IRA or ‘Provs’.

Loyalist: Generally, a term used to denote more militant members of the working-class Protestant community. While loyalism does not necessarily imply paramilitarism, the terms are often used interchangeably.

Nationalist: Generally, but not exclusively, Catholic. Can denote a range of political positions from a cultural identification with Catholic Irish-ness, to a desire to see a united Ireland achieved through democratic and peaceful methods.

NICRA: The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association – formed in 1967 to campaign for reform of Northern Ireland to ensure full British citizenship rights for the Catholic Minority.

OIRA: The Official Irish Republican Army – name of the Dublin based IRA following the split in 1969 with more militant and ideologically conservative Belfast based Provisional IRA.

PIRA: The Provisional Irish Republican Army – emerged from a split with the mainstream republican movement in the 1969 over questions of ideology and military tactics.

PSNI: The Police Service of Northern Ireland – formerly the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Renamed in 2001 under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement.

Republican: Once again, generally, but not exclusively, Catholic. A more militant position that, as a base, sees Irish unification as an absolute minimum political aim. Variations range from democratic, to violent ‘physical-force’ republicanism (IRA, Continuity IRA and the Real IRA).

RIRA: The Real IRA – dissident republican group emerging after the provisional movement began to lean significantly towards non-violent activity.

RUC: The Royal Ulster Constabulary – the police force of Northern Ireland created in 1922.

Stormont: Refers to the government building in East Belfast. Often used as shorthand to describe the Protestant domination of the state; the ‘Stormont regime’. The building now houses the Northern Ireland Assembly.

The Troubles: Term used to define generational violence associated with mainly Catholic separatists and state security forces, or loyalist paramilitaries. In this thesis, the term refers to the modern violent period between 1968 and the signing of the Good Friday Agreement of 1998.

UDA: The Ulster Defence Association – formed in 1971, the UDA emerged as a reactive body, developing from the many local vigilante groups that formed to protect Protestant working-class areas from militant Republicanism. Both the UVF and UDA gained popular support and legitimacy from the Protestant community’s perception that the state was incapable or unwilling to deal with increasing IRA violence.

UDR: The Ulster Defence Regiment – a locally recruited, part time military force under command of the British army.

Ulster: Historically denotes the region incorporating counties Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Down, Donegal, Fermanagh, Londonderry (known as Coleraine prior to the 17th century Plantation), Monaghan and Tyrone. The border of Northern Ireland was intentionally drawn to omit counties Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan, as their inclusion would have made Protestants a minority in the state.

Unionist: Generally, denotes the middle and upper-class Protestant political position desiring the maintenance of the union with Britain. While loyalists can be either political or violent, unionists are almost exclusively, on a personal level, political.

UUP: The Ulster Unionist Party – primarily a Protestant political party, governed Northern Ireland from partition until the implementation of direct rule from Britain in 1972.

UVF (1913): The Ulster Volunteer Force – in 1912, Sir Edward Carson led a mass Protestant movement to resist the implementation of Home Rule in Ireland. Carson also created the UVF, which was an armed paramilitary organisation with a membership close to 100,000.

UVF (1966): The Ulster Volunteer Force – re-formed the same year as the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter Rising and the Battle of the Somme. The re-formed UVF lacked the cross-class complexion of the 1913 organisation, being almost exclusively working-class.

Bibliography

Books

Adams, G. *An Irish Voice: The Quest for Peace* (Roberts Rinehart Publishers, Colorado, 1997).

Anderson, P. *In the Tracks of Historical Materialism: The Wellek Library Lectures* (Verso, London, 1983).

Baran, P. *The Political Economy of Growth* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973).

Barnard, T. C. *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649-1660* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2000).

Barton, B. and Roche, P. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).

Barton, B. and Roche, P. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: Nationalism, Unionism and Partition* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999).

Bell, K. Jarman, N. and Lefebvre, T. *Migrant Workers in Northern Ireland* (Institute for Conflict Research, Belfast, 2004).

Bell, G. *The Protestants of Ulster* (Pluto Press, London, 1976).

Benner, E. *Really Existing Nationalisms: A Post-Communist View from Marx and Engels* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995).

Berresford-Ellis, P. *Hell or Connaught!* (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1975).

Bew, P. Gibbon, P. and Patterson, H. *The State in Northern Ireland 1921-72: Political Forces and Social Classes* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1979).

- Bew, P. Hazelkorn, E. and Patterson, H. *The Dynamics of Irish Politics* (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1989).
- Bew, P. Patterson, H. and Teague, P. *Between War and Peace: The Political Future of Northern Ireland* (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1997).
- Bhabha, H. *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, London, 1994).
- Biggs-Davidson, J. and Chowdharay-Best, G. *The Cross of Saint Patrick: The Catholic Unionist Tradition in Ireland* (Kensal Press, Buckinghamshire, 1984).
- Bishop, P. and Mallie, E. *The Provisional IRA* (William Heinemann, London, 1987).
- Boal, F. W. and Douglas, J. N. H. (eds) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem* (Academic Press, London, 1982).
- Boran, E. and Gribben, C. *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot, 2006)
- Bowman, J. *De Valera and the Ulster Question: 1917 – 1973* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982).
- Boyce, D. G. *Nationalism in Ireland* (Routledge, London, 1991).
- Breen, R. (ed) *Social Mobility in Europe* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004).
- Brewer, J. D. and Magee, K. *Inside the RUC: Routine Policing in a Divided Society* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991).
- Bruce, S. *God Save Ulster: The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989).
- Buckley, A. D. and Kenney, M. C. *Negotiating Identity: Rhetoric, Metaphor and Social drama in Northern Ireland* (Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1995).

- Buckley, A. D. (ed) *Symbols in Northern Ireland* (The Institute of Irish Studies, Queens University Belfast, Antrim, 1998).
- Buckley, K. and Wheelwright, T. *False Paradise: Australian Capitalism Revisited, 1915-1955* (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1998).
- Budge, I. and O'Leary, C. *Belfast: Approach to Crisis* (Macmillan Press Ltd, London, 1973).
- Burke, A. *In Fear of Security: Australia's Invasion Anxiety* (Annadale, Pluto Press, 2001).
- Burton, F. *The Politics of Legitimacy: Struggles in a Belfast community* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1978).
- Callaghan, J. *Socialism in Britain since 1884* (Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, 1990).
- Campbell, F. *The Irish establishment, 1879-1914* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009).
- Carroll, C. and King, P. (eds) *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 2003).
- Cash J. D. *Identity, Ideology and Conflict: The structuration of politics in Northern Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996).
- Coakley, J. (ed) *The Social Origins of Nationalist Movements: The Contemporary West European Experience* (SAGE, London, 1992).
- Collins, E. and McGovern, M. *Killing Rage* (Granta Books, London, 1997).
- Connolly, J. *Socialism and Nationalism* (Sign of the Three Candles, Dublin, 1948).
- Coogan, T. P. *The IRA* (Praeger, New York, 1970).

- Cottrell, P. *The Anglo-Irish War: The Troubles of 1913-1922* (Osprey Publishing, Oxford, 2006).
- Crawford, W. H. *The Impact of the Domestic Linen Industry in Ulster* (Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast, 2005).
- Cullen, L. M. *An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660* (B T Batsford Ltd, London, 1993).
- Dahms, Harry F. (ed.) *The Diversity of Social Theories* (Current Perspectives in Social Theory, Volume 29) (Emerald Group, 2011).
- Davis, R. *Mirror Hate: The Convergent Ideology of Northern Ireland Paramilitaries, 1966-1992* (Dartmouth, Aldershot, 1994).
- Derrida, Jacques (1986), 'Raceism's Last Word', in Harry Louis Gates (ed) *Race, Writing and Difference*, trans. Peggy Kamuf, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986).
- De Zeeuw, J. (ed) *From Soldiers to Politicians: Transforming Rebel Movements After Civil War* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2008).
- Dixon, P. *Northern Ireland: the Politics of War and Peace* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2001).
- Doherty, G. and Keogh, D. (eds) *1916: The Long Revolution* (Mercier Press, Cork, 2007).
- Dooley, B. *Black and green: the fight for civil rights in Northern Ireland & Black America* (Pluto Press, London, 1998).
- Dwyer T. R. *Eamon de Valera* (Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1998).
- Engels, F. *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Stanford University Press, California, 1991).

- Fanon, F. *The Wretched of the Earth* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1967).
- Farrell, M. *Northern Ireland: The Orange State* (Pluto Press, London, 1976).
- Feeney, B. *Sinn Féin: A Hundred Turbulent Years* (University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 2003).
- Fitzgerald, R. *The Pope's battalions: Santamaria, Catholicism and the Labor Split* (University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 2003).
- Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage, New York, 1995).
- _____. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979* (Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 2008).
- Fox, R. *Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Irish Revolution* (Cork Workers Club, Cork, 1974).
- Gaffikin, F. and Morrissey, M. (eds) *City visions: imagining place, enfranchising people* (Pluto Press, London, 1999).
- Gallagher, M. and Marsh, M. (eds) *How Ireland Voted 2007: The Full Story of Ireland's General Election* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007).
- Gallagher, Tom and O'Connell, James (eds), *Contemporary Irish Studies* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1983).
- Garvin, T. *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland: 1858-1928* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987).
- Gibbon, P. *The Origins of Ulster Unionism* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1975).
- Graham, B. (ed) *In Search of Ireland: a cultural geography* (Routledge, London, 1997).

- Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (eds) *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s* (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1989).
- Hardt, M. and Negri, A. *Empire* (Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 2003).
- Hardt, M. and Negri, A. *Multitude: war and democracy in the age of empire* (Penguin, New York, 2005).
- Harry Louis Gates (ed) *Race, Writing and Difference*, trans. Peggy Kamuf, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986).
- Harvey, D. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, 1990).
- _____. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005).
- _____. *Spaces of Global Capitalism* (Verso, London, 2006).
- Hillyard, P. Rolston, B. and Tomlinson, M. *Poverty and Conflict in Ireland: An International Perspective* (Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 2005).
- Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. *Globalization in Question* (Cambridge, Policy Press, 1999).
- Hobsbawm, E. *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914 – 1991* (Abacus, London, 2002).
- Hughes, E. (ed) *Culture and politics in Northern Ireland 1960-1990* (Open University Press, Buckingham, 1993).
- Jameson, F. *Postmodernism, or, The cultural logic of late capitalism* (Duke University Press, Durham, 1991).
- Judt, T. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York, Penguin Press, 2005).

- Kagarlitsky, B. *The Twilight of Globalization: Property, State and Capitalism* (London, Pluto Press, 2000).
- Kautsky, K. *Ireland* (BICO, Belfast, 1974).
- Kearney, R. *Postnationalist Ireland: Politics, culture, philosophy* (Routledge, London, 1997).
- Kennedy, L. and Ollerenshaw, P. (eds) *An Economic History of Ulster, 1820 – 1939* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1987).
- Kiberd, D. *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (Vintage, London, 1996).
- Kristol, I. *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* (The Free Press, New York, 1995).
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (Verso, London, 1990).
- Laqueur, W. *Europe in Our Time: A History, 1945 – 1992* (Penguin, New York, 1993).
- Lee, J. J. *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989).
- Lenin, V. I. *Selected Works: Volume I* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960).
- Lyotard, J. F. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1986).
- Marazzi, Christian, *Capital and Language: To the New Economy to the War Economy* (Semiotex, Los Angeles, 2008).
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. *Ireland and the Irish Question* (International Publishers, New York, 1975).

- Marx, K. and Engels, F. *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977).
- McBride, I. *The Siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant Mythology* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 1997).
- McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B. *Explaining Northern Ireland: broken images* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1995).
- Millar, A. *Socio-Ideological fantasy and the Northern Ireland conflict: the Other side* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2006)
- Moloney, E. *The Secret History of the IRA* (Penguin, London, 2003).
- Moody, T. *The Ulster Question: 1603-1973* (The Mercier Press, Cork, 1978).
- Murphy, D. *Cromwell in Ireland: A History of Cromwell's Irish Campaign* (M. H. Gill & Son Ltd, Dublin, 1896).
- Murray, G. and Tonge, J. *Sinn Féin and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation* (Palgrave, New York, 2005).
- Nelson, S. *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders* (Appletree Press, Belfast, 1984).
- Nettl, J. P. *Rosa Luxemburg* (OUP, London, 1969).
- Ó Gráda, C. *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780 – 1939* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994).
- O'Hearn, D. *Inside the Celtic Tiger: The Irish Economy and the Asian Model* (Pluto Press, London, 1998).
- O'Neill, T. *The Autobiography of Terence O'Neill; Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1963 – 1969* (Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1972).

- Osborne, B. and Shuttleworth, I. (eds) *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland: a generation on* (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 2004).
- Porter, N. *Rethinking Unionism: An Alternative Vision for Northern Ireland* (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 1998).
- Poulantzas, N. *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (Verso, London, 1979).
- Reynolds, L. and Lieberman, L. (eds) *Race and Other Misadventures: Essays in Honour of Ashley Montagu in His Ninetieth Year* (General Hall Inc, New York, 1996).
- Rolston, B. *Drawing Support: Murals in the North of Ireland* (Beyond the Pale Publications, Belfast, 1994). (Accessed 24/10/02).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bibdb/murals/rolston1.htm>>
- _____. (ed) *The Media and Northern Ireland: Covering the Troubles* (Macmillan, Houndmills, 1991).
- _____. *Drawing Support 2: Murals of War and Peace* (Beyond The Pale, Belfast, 1998).
- Rose, R. *Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective* (Faber and Faber, London, 1971).
- _____. *Northern Ireland: A Time of Choice* (Macmillan Press, London, 1976).
- Rowthorn, B. and Wayne, N. *Northern Ireland: The Political Economy of Conflict* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1988).
- Ruane, J. and Todd, J. *The dynamics of conflict in Northern Ireland: power, conflict and emancipation* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996).
- Rupesinghe, K. and Tishkov, V. (eds) *Ethnicity and Power in the Contemporary World* (United Nations University Press, New York, 1996).

- Said, E. *Orientalism* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1995).
- Sharrock, D. and Devenport, M. *Man of War, Man of Peace: The Unauthorised Biography of Gerry Adams* (Pan Books, London, 1998).
- Shirlow, P. and Murtagh, B. *Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City* (Pluto Press, London, 2006).
- Sluka, J. (ed) *Death Squad: The Anthropology of State Terror* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2000).
- Smith, M. L. R. *Fighting for Ireland? The Military Strategy of the Irish Republican Movement* (Routledge, London, 1997).
- Smith, D. and Chambers, G., *Inequality in Northern Ireland* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991).
- Somerset-Fry, P. and Somerset-Fry, F. *A History of Ireland* (Routledge, London, 1991).
- Stevenson, J. *“We Wrecked the Place”: contemplating an end to the Northern Irish troubles* (The Free Press, New York, 1996).
- Stewart, A. T. Q. *The Ulster Crisis* (Faber & Faber, London, 1967).
- _____. *The Narrow Ground: Aspects of Ulster 1609-1969* (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 1997).
- Stiglitz, J. *Globalization and its Discontents* (Penguin, London, 2002).
- Taylor, P. *Provos: the IRA and Sinn Fein* (Bloomsbury, London, 1997).
- _____. *Loyalists* (Bloomsbury, London, 2000).
- Taylor, R. (ed) *Consociational Theory: McGarry & O’Leary and the Northern Ireland Conflict* (Routledge, Oxon, 2009b).

Thompson, J. E. *American Policy and Northern Ireland: A Saga of Peacebuilding* (Praeger, Connecticut, 2001).

Whyte, J., *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991).

Wilson, T. (ed) *Ulster Under Home Rule: A Study of the Political and Economic Problems of Northern Ireland* (Oxford University Press, London, 1955).

Young, R. *Postcolonialism: an historical introduction*, (Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 2001).

Book Chapters

Barton, B. and Roche, J. 'Introduction', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).

Barton, B. 'The Historical Background to the Belfast Agreement', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).

Boal, F. W. 'Segregating and Mixing: Space and Residence in Belfast', in Boal, F. W. and Douglas, J. N. H. (eds) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem* (Academic Press, London, 1982)

Buchanan, R. H. 'The planter and the Gael: Cultural dimensions of the Northern Ireland problem' in Boal, F. W. and Douglas, J. N. H. (eds) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem* (Academic Press, London, 1982).

Carty, R. K. 'Fána Fáil and Irish Party Competition' in Gallagher, M. and Marsh, M. (eds) *How Ireland Voted 2007: The Full Story of Ireland's General Election* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007).

- Clarkson, L. A. 'Population Change and Urbanisation, 1821, 1911', in Kennedy, L. and Ollerenshaw, P. (eds) *An Economic History of Ulster, 1820 - 1939* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1987).
- Cleary, J. 'Misplaced Ideas"? Colonialism, Location, and Dislocation in Irish Studies', in Carroll, C. and King, P. (eds) *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 2003).
- Compton, P. A. 'Demographic Dimensions of Integration and Division', in Boal, F. W. and Douglas, J. N. H. (eds) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem* (Academic Press, London, 1982).
- Darby, J. 'An intractable conflict? Northern Ireland: A need for pragmatism', in Rupesinghe, K. and Tishkov, V. (eds) *Ethnicity and Power in the Contemporary World* (United Nations University Press, New York, 1996).
<<http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu12ee/uu12ee00.htm>>
- Davis, H. B. 'Introduction: The Right of National Self-Determination in Marxist Theory—Luxemburg vs. Lenin' in Davis, H. B. (ed) *The National Question: Selected Writings by Rosa Luxemburg* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1976).
- De Zeeuw, J. 'Understanding the Political Transformation of Rebel Movements', in de Zeeuw, J. (ed) *From Soldiers to Politicians: Transforming Rebel Movements After Civil War* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 2008).
- Doherty, P. 'The Geography of Unemployment', in Boal, F. W. and Douglas, J. N. H. (eds) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem*, (Academic Press, London, 1982).
- Elliot, S. 'The Electoral Dynamics of the Belfast Agreement', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).

- Gaffikin, F. and Morrissey M. 'The Urban Economy and Social Exclusion: The Case of Belfast' in Gaffikin, F. and Morrissey, M. (eds) *City visions: imagining place, enfranchising people* (Pluto Press, London, 1999).
- Gudgin, G. 'Implementing Devolved Government: 1998 – 2002' in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).
- _____. 'Discrimination in Housing and Employment under the Stormont Administration' in Barton, Brian and Roche, Patrick(eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: Nationalism, Unionism and Partition*, (Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999).
- Hall, Stuart., 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1990).
- _____. 'The Meaning of New Times', in Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (eds) *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s* (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1989).
- Hardiman, A. 'Shot in Cold Blood": Military Law and Irish Perceptions in the Suppression of the 1916 Rebellion', in Doherty, G. and Keogh, D. (eds) *1916: The Long Revolution* (Mercier Press, Cork, 2007).
- Hennessey, T. 'Negotiating the Belfast Agreement', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).
- Hoare, A. 'Problem Region and Regional Problem' in Boal, F. W. and Douglas, J. N. H. (eds) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem* (Academic Press, London, 1982).
- Isles, K. S. and Cuthbert, N. 'Ulster's Economic Structure', in Wilson, T. (ed) *Ulster Under Home Rule: A Study of the Political and Economic Problems of Northern Ireland* (Oxford University Press, London, 1955).

- Jarman, N. 'Painting Landscapes: The Place of Murals in the Symbolic Construction of Urban Space', in Buckley, A. D. (ed), *Symbols in Northern Ireland* (The Institute of Irish Studies, Queens University Belfast, Antrim, 1998).
- Kennedy, D. 'The Case Against the Belfast Agreement', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).
- Lenin, V. I. 'Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism' in, Lenin, V. I. *Selected Works: Volume I* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960a).
- _____. 'The Right of Nations to Self Determination' in, Lenin, V. I. *Selected Works: Volume I* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960b).
- Lennon, J. 'Irish Orientalism: An Overview' in Carroll, C. and King, P. (eds) *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 2003).
- McAuley, J. W. 'Cumann and an RPG: the ideology and politics of the Ulster Defence Association', in Hughes, E. (ed) *Culture and politics in Northern Ireland 1960-1990* (Open University Press, Buckingham, 1991).
- McGee, O. 'Who Were the "Finnian Dead"? The IRB and the Background to the 1916 Uprising', in Doherty, G. and Keogh, D. (eds) *1916: The Long Revolution* (Mercier Press, Cork, 2007).
- McGrattan, C. 'Northern Nationalism and the Belfast Agreement', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).
- Metress, S. 'British Racism and its Impact on Anglo-Irish Relations' in Reynolds, L. and Lieberman, L. (eds) *Race and Other Misadventures: Essays in Honour of Ashley Montagu in His Ninetieth Year* (General Hall Inc, New York, 1996).
- Mogey, J. M. 'Ulster's Six Counties', in Wilson, T. (ed) *Ulster Under Home Rule: A Study of the Political and Economic Problems of Northern Ireland* (Oxford University Press, London, 1955).

- Moloney, E. 'Cosing Down the Airwaves: the Story of the Broadcast Ban', in Rolston, B. (ed) *The Media and Northern Ireland: Covering the Troubles* (Macmillan, Houndmills, 1991).
- Morgan, A. 'The Belfast Agreement and the Constitutional Status of Northern Ireland', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).
- Neville, J. and Douglas, H. 'Northern Ireland: Spatial Frameworks and Community Relations', in Boal, F. W. and Douglas, J. N. H. (eds) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem* (Academic Press, London, 1982).
- O'Donnell, C. 'The Belfast Agreement and Southern Irish Politics', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).
- O'Reilly, C. 'The Irish Language as Symbol: Visual Representations of Irish in Northern Ireland', in Buckley, A. D. (ed) *Symbols in Northern Ireland* (The Institute of Irish Studies, Queens University Belfast, Antrim, 1998).
- Purcell, B. 'The Silence in Irish Broadcasting', in Rolston, B. (ed) *The Media and Northern Ireland: Covering the Troubles* (Macmillan, Houndmills, 1991).
- Ruane, J. and Todd, J. 'The Social Origins of Nationalism in a Contested Region: the Case for Northern Ireland' in Coakley, J. (ed) *The Social Origins of Nationalist Movements: The Contemporary West European Experience* (SAGE, London, 1992).
- Russell, R. 'Employment Profiles of Protestants and Catholics: a decade of monitoring', in Osborne, B. and Shuttleworth, I. (eds) *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland: a generation on* (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 2004).
- Said, E. 'Afterword: Reflections on Ireland and Postcolonialism' in Carroll, C. and King, P. (eds) *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 2003).

- Shirlow, P. 'Cass, Materialism and the Fracturing of Traditional Alignments' in Graham, B. (ed) *In Search of Ireland: a cultural geography* (Routledge, London, 1997).
- Shuttleworth, I. and Green, A. 'labour market change in Northern Ireland: unemployment, employment and policy', in Osborne, B. and Shuttleworth, I. (eds) *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland: a generation on* (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 2004).
- Sluka, J. 'For God and Ulster": The Culture of Terror and Loyalist Death Squads in Northern Ireland' in Sluka, J. (ed) *Death Squad: The Anthropology of State Terror* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2000).
- Taylor, R. 'Introduction: the promise of consociational theory' in Taylor, R. (ed) *Consociational Theory: McGarry & O'Leary and the Northern Ireland Conflict* (Routledge, Oxon, 2009a).
- Tonge, J. 'Republican Paramilitaries and the Peace Process', in Barton, B. and Roche, J. (eds) *The Northern Ireland Question: The Peace Process and the Belfast Agreement* (Palgrave, Hampshire, 2009).
- Whyte, John., 'How much discrimination was there under the Unionist regime, 1921-1968?' in Gallagher, Tom and O'Connell, James (eds), *Contemporary Irish Studies* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1983).

Journal Articles

- Badiou, A. 'The Communist Hypothesis', *New Left Review*, No. 49 January/February 2008, pp. 29 – 42.
- Bairner, A. 'Masculinity, Violence and the Irish Peace Process', in *Capital & Class*, Issue No. 69, Autumn 1999, pp. 125 – 144.
- Blackaby, D. H. Leslie, D. G. Murphy, P. D. and O'Leary, N. C. 'Are Catholics

achieving an Economic Peace Dividend from the Good Friday Agreement?', in *Economic Letters*, Vol. 99, Issue No. 2, May 2008, pp. 282 – 285.

Blackburn, R. 'Ireland and the NLR', in *New Left Review*, 1/212, July-August 1995, pp. 151 – 155.

Bond, P. 'InPower in Pretoria?', in *New Left Review*, No 58 July-August 2009, pp. 77 – 88.

Bowring, F. 'From the Mass Worker to the Multitude: A theoretical contextualisation of Hardt and Negri's *Empire*', in *Capital and Class*, Issue No. 83 Summer 2004, pp. 101 – 132.

Bray, P. N. 'Sectarianism & Intra Class Conflict in Northern Ireland', in *Australian Left Review*, Issue No. 41, August, 1973, pp. 38 – 47.

Breen, R. 'Inequality, Economic Growth and Social Mobility', in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 48, Issue No. 3, September 1997, pp. 429 – 449.

_____. 'Social mobility and constitutional and political preferences in Northern Ireland', in *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 52 Issue No. 4, December 2001, pp. 621 – 645.

Buck-Morss, S. 'Sovereign Right and the Global Left', in *Cultural Critique*, Vol. 69 Spring 2008, pp. 154 – 171.

Bull, M. 'You can't build a new society with a Stanley knife', in *London Review of Books*, October 2001, Vol. 23, Issue No. 19. (Accessed 13/4/2007)
<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v23/n19/print/bull01_.html>

Burke, A., 'The Perverse Perseverance of Sovereignty', in *borderlands e-journal*, Vol 1, Issue No. 2, 2002. (Accessed 14/7/2004)
<http://www.borderlandsejournal.a...vol1no2_burke_perverse.ht>

Cannon, D. "Adrian Little.", 'Socio-Ideological fantasy and the Northern Ireland

conflict: the Other side' (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2006)"; in *Social Identities*, Vol.13, Issue No. 5, September 2007, pp. 673 – 675.

Canny, N. P. 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue No. 4, October 1973, pp. 575 – 598.

Cebulla, A. and Smyth, J. 'Disadvantage and New Prosperity in Restructured Belfast', in *Capital and Class*, Issue No. 60, Autumn 1996, pp. 39 – 59.

Cebulla, A. 'Urban Policy and Local Economic Interests in Northern Ireland: A City Comparison', in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 20, Issue No. 3, September 1996, pp. 466 – 479.

Connolly, P. and Keenan, M. 'Racist Harassment in the White Hinterlands: Minority Ethnic Children and Parents' Experiences of Schooling in Northern Ireland', in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 23, Issue No. 3, September 2002, pp. 341 – 355.

Coulter, C. 'The Absence of Class Politics in Northern Ireland', in *Capital & Class*, Issue 69, Autumn 1999, pp. 77 – 100.

Davis, M. 'Planet of Slums', in *New Left Review*, Issue No. 26, March-April 2004, pp. 5 – 34.

Deacon, R. 'Addressing Empire', in *Theoria*, Issue No. 108, December 2005, pp. 102 – 116.

Dirlik, Arif., (1994) 'The Post-Colonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism', *Critical inquiry*, Vol. 20, Issue No. 2, Winter, 1994, pp.328 - 356.

Finlay, A. 'Defeatism and Northern Protestant Identity', in *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 1, Issue No. 2, December 2001, pp. 3 – 20.

- Garvin, T. 'The Anatomy of a Nationalist Revolution: 1858 – 1928', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 28, Issue No. 3, July 1986, pp. 468 – 501.
- Gordon, J. 'Post-conflict Transformation: The Process of Institutional Legitimation of the Police in Northern Ireland', in *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 7, Issue No. 1, March 2008, pp. 137 – 157.
- Graham, B. and Shirlow, P. 'Inclusive agenda: the development of a middle ground in Northern Ireland', in *Area*, Vol. 30, Issue No. 3, 1998, pp. 245 – 254.
- Graham, B. and Shirlow, P. 'The Battle of the Somme in Ulster memory and identity', in *Political Geography*, Vol. 21, Issue No. 7, 2002, pp. 881 – 904.
- Harrington, John, T. 'Citizenship and the Biopolitics of Post-Nationalist Ireland', *Journal of Law and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 2005, pp. 424 - 449.
- Hazelkorn, E. and Patterson, H. 'Reply to Porter and O' Hearn', in *New Left Review*, 1/212, July-August 1995, pp. 148 – 151.
- Hazleton, W. 'Encouragement from the Sidelines: Clinton's Role in the Good Friday Agreement', in *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 11, 2000, pp. 103 – 120.
- Holton, R. J. 'Four Myths About Globalisation', in *The Flinders Journal of History & Politics*, Vol. 19, 1997, pp. 141 – 156.
- Jackson, J. D. and Doran, S. 'Conventional Trials in Unconventional Times: The Diplock Court Experience', in *Criminal Law Forum*, Vol. 4, Issue No. 3, 1993, pp. 503 – 520.
- Kirkland, R. 'Dialogues of Despair: Nationalist Cultural Discourse and the Revival in the North of Ireland, 1900-20', in *Irish University Review: a journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 33, Issue No. 1, Spring-Summer 2003. (Accessed 1/10/2003).
http://web5.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/407/884/41973157w5/purl=r c1_EAIM_2_dialogues+of+despair

- Macintyre, C. 'Policy Reform and the Politics of Housing in the British Conservative Party 1924-1929', in *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, Vol. 45, Issue 3, 1999, pp. 408 – 425.
- MacCulloch, R. 'The Impact of Income on the Taste for Revolt', in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 48, Issue No. 4, October 2004, pp. 830 – 848.
- Malouf, M. 'Forging the Nation: James Joyce and the Celtic Tiger', in *Jouvert: A Journal of Post Colonial Studies*, Vol. 4, Issue No. 1, 2000 (Accessed 5/12/2002).
<<http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v4il/malouf.htm>>
- Mann, M. 'Globalization and September 11', in *New Left Review*, No 12, November-December 2001, pp. 51 – 72.
- Martin, J. 'The conflict in Northern Ireland: Marxist interpretations', in *Capital and Class*, Issue No. 18, Winter 1982, pp. 56 – 71.
- McAllister, I. 'The Armalite and the ballot box': Sinn Fein's electoral strategy in Northern Ireland', in *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue No. 1, March 2004, pp. 123 – 142.
- McGovern, M. 'The old days are over": Irish Republicanism, the peace process and the discourse of equality', in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 16, Issue No. 3, Autumn 2004, pp. 622 – 645.
- _____. 'Irish Republicanism and the Potential Pitfalls of Pluralism', in *Capital and Class*, Vol. 24, Issue No. 73, Summer 2000, pp. 133 – 161.
- Miller, K. A. 'Belfast's First Bomb, 28 February 1816: Class Conflict and the Origins of Unionist Hegemony', in *Éire-Ireland*, Vol. 39, Issue No.1&2, Spring/Summer 2004, pp. 262 – 280.
- Mitchell, C. 'From victims to equals? Catholic responses to political change in Northern Ireland' in *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 18, Issue No. 1, June 2003, pp. 51 – 71.

- Mitchell, P. Evans, G. and O'Leary, B. 'Extremist Outbidding in Ethnic Party Systems is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland', in *Political Studies*, Vol. 57, Issue No. 2, June 2009, pp. 397 – 421.
- Monaghan, R. 'The Return of Captain Moonlight: Informal Justice in Northern Ireland', in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 25, Issue No. 1, January 2002, pp. 41 – 56.
- Munck, R. 'Class Conflict and Sectarianism in Belfast: From its Origins to the 1930s', in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, Vol. 9, Issue No. 2, May 1985a, pp. 149 – 167.
- _____. 'Class and Religion in Belfast: A Historical Perspective', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 20, Issue No. 2, April 1985b, pp. 241 – 259.
- Murtagh, B. 'Desegregation and Place Restructuring in the New Belfast', in *Urban Studies*, August 31, 2010, pp. 1 – 17. (Accessed 13/10/2010).
<<http://usj.sagepub.com/content/early/2010/08/25/0042098010371392>>
- O' Hearn, D. 'How has Peace Changed the Northern Irish Political Economy?', in *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 7, Issue No. 1, March 2008, pp. 101 – 118.
- O' Leary, B. 'The Conservative Stewardship of Northern Ireland, 1979–97: Sound-bottomed Contradictions or Slow Learning?', in *Political Studies*, Vol. 45, Issue No. 4, September 1997, pp. 663 – 676.
- Osborne, R. D. 'Progressing the Equality Agenda in Northern Ireland', in *Journal of Social Policy*, Vol. 32, Issue No. 3, 2003, pp. 339 – 360.
- Porter, S. and O' Hearn, D. 'NewLeft Podsnappery: The British Left and Ireland', in *New Left Review*, 1/212, July-August 1995, pp. 131 – 147.
- Rowthorn, B., 'Northern Ireland: an economy in crisis', in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol. 5, Issue No. 1 March 1981, pp. 1 - 31.

- Salmon, T. 'The EU's Role in Conflict Resolution: Lessons from Northern Ireland', in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 7, Issue No. 3, 2002, pp. 337 – 358.
- Shirlow, P. 'Who Fears to Speak': Fear, Mobility, and Ethno-sectarianism in the Two "Ardoyes"', in *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 3, Issue No. 1, September 2003, pp. 76 – 91.
- Shirlow, P. and Shuttleworth, I. 'Who is going to Toss the Burgers'? Social Class and the Reconstruction of the Northern Irish Economy', in *Capital and Class*, Vol. 23, Issue No. 3, Autumn 1999, pp. 27 – 46.
- Thompson, J. L. P. 'Deprivation and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1922-1985: A Time-Series Analysis', in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 33, Issue No. 4, December 1989, pp. 676 – 699.
- Thompson, P. 'Foundation and Empire: A critique of Hardt and Negri', in *Capital and Class*, Vol. 25, Issue No. 2, Summer 2005, pp. 73 – 98.
- Therborn, G. 'After Dialectics: Radical Social Theory in a Post-Communist World', in *New Left Review*, No. 43, January-February 2007, pp. 63 – 114.
- Venn, C. 'Foucault's analysis of neo-liberalism: Implications for the present', in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 31 March 2010 (Accessed 28/5/2010)
< <http://www.sagepub.net/tcs/?page=couzeneolib>>
- Watson, T. 'A American Empire?', in *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 4, Issue No.3, 2001, pp. 351 – 359.
- Zizek, S. 'Have Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri Rewritten the *Communist Manifesto* for the Twenty-First Century?', in *Rethinking Marxism*, Vol. 13, Issue No. 3/4, Fall/Winter 2001, pp. 190 – 198.

Surveys, Reports and Government Sources

Anglo-Irish Agreement between the government of Ireland and the government of the United Kingdom, 1985. (Accessed 25/6/2008).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/aia/aiadoc.htm>>

Bell, J. Caughey, A. Hansson, U. Martynowicz, A. and Scully, M. A Report on the Experiences of Migrant Workers In Northern Ireland, Institute for Conflict Research, December 2009. (Accessed 28/9/2010).
<www.delni.gov.uk/a_report_on_the_experiences_of_migrant_workers_in_northern_ireland.pdf>

Cameron Report – Disturbances in Northern Ireland: Report of the Commission appointed by the Governor of Northern Ireland, September 1969. (Accessed 22/11/2008). <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/hmsocameron.htm>>

Department of Enterprise Trade and Investment., Continued jobs growth in Northern Ireland, 13 June 2007 (b) (Accessed 19/9/2007).
<<http://www.northernireland.gov.uk/news/news-deti/news-deti-june-2007/news-deti-130607-continued-jobs-growth.htm>>

Department of Enterprise Trade and Investment., Northern Ireland labour force survey: historical supplement Spring 1984 – Spring 2006, 18 July 2007(b).
<www.detini.gov.uk/labour_force_survey_historical_supplement_1984_-_2006.pdf>

Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment., Continued Jobs Growth and Falling Unemployment 12/9/2007a. (Accessed 19/9/2007).
<<http://www.detini.gov.uk/chi-bin/morenews?utilid=1095>>

Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment., Northern Ireland Labour Force Survey: Historical Supplement Spring 1984 – Spring 2006 18/7/2007b. (Accessed 19/9/2007).
<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:cK1Ju4WtTulJ:www.detini.gov.uk/labour_force_survey_historical_supplement_1984_-_2006.>

Department for Regional Development: Northern Ireland Transport Statistics 2009-10, Figure 1.2 Private and Light Goods Vehicles per 1,000 population aged 17 years and over, NI/GB comparison: 2000-2009, Central Statistics and Research Branch. (Accessed 11/11/2011).
<<http://www.drdni.gov.uk/index/statistics.htm>>

Department for Social Development, The Taskforce addressing the needs of working class Protestant communities; Annexes to Final Report, The Sandy Row Project Team, December 2004. (Accessed 29/9/2005).
<http://www.dsdni.gov.uk/print/sandy_row__final_report_annexes.doc>

Department for Social Development: 'DSDNI Analysis of Consumer Durables Appendix 3 2003-04'. (Accessed 9/12/2011).
<http://www.dsdni.gov.uk/appx3_0304-3.pdf>

European Commission Office in Northern Ireland., EU Structural Funds in Northern Ireland, August 2004. (Accessed 27/9/2010).
<http://ec.europa.eu/unitedkingdom/about_us/office_in_northern_ireland/funding/archive_en.htm>

European Court of Human Rights., Ireland against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Report of the Commission, 25th January 1976. (Accessed 26/6/2010).
<<http://cmiskp.echr.coe.int/tkp197/view.asp?action=open&documentId=822914&portal=hbkm&source=externalbydocnumber&table=F69A27FD8FB86142BF01C1166DEA398649>>

European Court of Human Rights., Case of Ireland v. the United Kingdom: Judgment, Strasbourg, 18 January 1978. (Accessed 26/6/2010).
<<http://cmiskp.echr.coe.int/tkp197/view.asp?action=html&documentId=695383&portal=hbkm&source=externalbydocnumber&table=F69A27FD8FB86142BF01C1166DEA398649>>

Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC), Eighteenth Report, May 2008,
<<http://www.independentmonitoringcommission.org/documents/uploads/18.%20Eighteenth%20Report.pdf>>

Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC), 'Nineteenth Report', September 2008,
<<http://www.independentmonitoringcommission.org/documents/uploads/ACF1599.pdf>>

Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC), 'Twenty Third Report', May 2010,
<<http://www.independentmonitoringcommission.org/documents/uploads/23.%20Twenty-Third%20Report.pdf>>

Moxon-Browne, E. 'National Identity in Northern Ireland' in Stringer, P. and Robinson, G. (eds) *Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: The First Report* (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 1991). (Accessed 18/12/2009).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/research/nisas/rep1c2.htm>>

Northern Ireland Assembly, 'Discussion for the exclusion of Sinn Féin', 6/3/2002.
(Accessed 26/8/2009).
<<http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/record/reports/020306b.htm>>

Northern Ireland Assembly, Research and Information Service Research Paper, 'Migration in Northern Ireland: a demographic perspective', June 2011.
(Accessed 19/12/2011).
<www.niassembly.gov.uk/researchandlibrary/2011/7111.pdf>

Northern Ireland Executive., 'We're open for business say Paisley and McGuinness'
3/12/2007. (Accessed 15/10/2010).
<<http://www.northernireland.gov.uk/news/news-ofmdfm/news-ofmdfm-december-2007/news-ofmdfm-031207-we-re-open-for.htm>>

NINIS: Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service, Northern Ireland Continuous Household Survey, 'Sales of NIHE Dwellings by Local Government District, 1999-2010'. (Accessed 18/11/2011).
<<http://www.ninis.nisra.gov.uk/mapxtreme/DataCatalogue.asp>>

NINIS: Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service, Northern Ireland Continuous Household Survey; 'Housing Benefit Claimants' (Accessed 19/12/2011).
<<http://www.ninis.nisra.gov.uk/mapxtreme/DataCatalogue.asp?button=Social,1999,2004,2009,2011>>

NINIS: Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service, Continuous Households Survey; 'Households with consumer durables, central heating and cars 1983 to 2009-10'. (Accessed 25/11/2011).
<http://www.csu.nisra.gov.uk/Households_with_consumer_durables_central_heating_and_cars_Trend.htm>

NISRA: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2007, Statistics Press Notice—Mid-Year Population Estimates Northern Ireland (2006)'. (Accessed 12/3/2008).
<http://www.nisra.gov.uk/archive/demography/population/midyear/historical/pr_my_2006.pdf>

NISRA: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2010, Population and Migration Estimates Northern Ireland (2009) – Statistical Report'. (Accessed 18/8/2010).
<<http://www.nisra.gov.uk/demography/default.asp17.htm>>

NISRA: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, Census Taking in Ireland'. (Accessed 25/11/2011)
<<http://www.nisra.gov.uk/Census/Census%20History/CensusTakingInIreland.html>>

NISRA: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, Northern Ireland Census 2001'. (Accessed 12/12/2011).
<<http://www.nisranew.nisra.gov.uk/Census/Census2001Output/KeyStatistics/keystatrep1.html>>

NISRA: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency Equality Statistics for the Northern Ireland Civil Service: Based on staff in post at 1 January 2011', Department of Finance and Personnel, (2011). (Accessed 10/12/2011).
<www.nisra.gov.uk/.../NICS%20Equality%20Report%202011.pdf>

NISRA: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, Registrar General Northern Ireland Annual Report 2010', November 2011. (Accessed 13/12/2011).
<http://www.nisra.gov.uk/archive/demography/publications/annual_reports/2010/RG2010.pdf>

NISRA: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, Continuous Household Survey 2009/10 Bulletin, 'Housing and Accommodation'. (Accessed 18/11/2011).
<<http://www.csu.nisra.gov.uk/CHS%20Bulletin%20200910%20website%20version.pdf>>

Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILT)., Political Attitudes' (1998), ARK (Access Research and Knowledge), The University of Ulster and Queen's University Belfast. (Accessed 17/12/2009).
<http://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/1998/Political_Attitudes/UNINATID.html>

Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILT)., Political Attitudes' (2000), ARK (Access Research and Knowledge), The University of Ulster and Queen's University Belfast.
<http://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/2000/Political_Attitudes/NIRELAND.html>

Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILT)., Political Attitudes' (2002), ARK (Access Research and Knowledge), The University of Ulster and Queen's University Belfast. (Accessed 17/12/2009).
<http://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/2002/Political_Attitudes/UNINATID.html>

Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILT)., Political Attitudes' (2008a), ARK (Access Research and Knowledge), The University of Ulster and Queen's University Belfast. (Accessed 15/12/2009).
<http://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/2008/Political_Attitudes/NIRELND2.html>

Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILT)., 'Political Attitudes' (2008b), ARK (Access Research and Knowledge), The University of Ulster and Queen's University Belfast. (Accessed 24/12/2009).

<http://www.ark.ac.uk/nilt/2008/Political_Attributes/UNINATID.html>

Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, '2007 Labour Force Survey, Religion Report' March 2009. (Accessed 12/12/2011).

<http://www.ofmdfmi.gov.uk/2007_labour_force_survey_religion_report__pdf_621kb_-2.pdf>

Office for National Statistics, 'General Household Survey, 2004 Report - Table 4 Housing and consumer durables'. (Accessed 11/12/2011).

<<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-213735>>

Office for National Statistics, Continuous Household Survey 2009/10 Bulletin, 'Housing and Accommodation'. (Accessed 11/12/2011).

<<http://www.csu.nisra.gov.uk/CHS%20Bulletin%20200910%20website%20version.pdf>>

Office for National Statistics, 'Ownership of consumer durables increases into 2010', November 2011. (Accessed 10/11/2011).

<<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/family-spending/family-spending/family-spending-2011-edition/sum-consumer-durables-nugget.html>>

Office for National Statistics, Regional Trends Online Tables, 7: 'Housing' 08-Jun-2011. (Accessed 11/12/2011). <<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/regional-trends/regional-trends/no--43--2011-edition/topic-workbook--7--housing.xls>>

Parker, Lord of Waddington., 'Report of the Committee of Privy Counsellors appointed to consider authorised procedures for the interrogation of persons suspected of terrorism', Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, March 1972. (Accessed 25/6/2010).

<<http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/hms/parker.htm>>

Plöger, Jörg., 'Belfast City Report', Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, Case Report 44, 2007, <<http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/cr/CASereport44.pdf>>

Smyth, M and Campbell P., 'Young people and armed violence in Northern Ireland', *Children in Organised Armed Violence*, Viva Rio (Brazil) and IANSA (International Action Net on Small Arms) (2005). (Accessed 25/10/2005). <<http://www.coav.org.br/publique/media/Report%20Irlanda.pdf>>

Southern Investing for Health Partnership (SIHP) 'Literature Review: Black & Minority Ethnic Groups, including Migrant Workers', September 2006.

Stringer, P and Robinson, G (eds) *Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: The First Report* (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 1991). (Accessed 18/12/2009). <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/research/nisas/rep1c2.htm>>

'The Sunningdale Agreement: Tripartite agreement on the Council of Ireland – the communique issued following the Sunningdale Conference', December 1973. (Accessed 16/6/2008). <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/sunningdale/agreement.htm>>

'The Agreement: Agreement reached in the multi-party negotiations', April 1998. [Also known as the 'Good Friday Agreement' and the 'Belfast Agreement']. (Accessed 25/6/2008). <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/agreement.htm>>

Newspapers

Appleton, D. 'Belfast: New city of cool', *Telegraph*, Saturday, January 23, 1999. (Accessed 4/10/2010). <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/uk/northernireland/721510/Belfast-New-city-of-cool.html>>

BBC. 'Adams in appeal to catch killers', February 14, 2005. (Accessed 20/2/2005). <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/7503644.stm>

- BBC. Bank survey says NI private sector facing faster falls', July 14, 2010. (Accessed 10/11/2010). <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10613371>>
- BBC. N population UK's fastest rising', August 24, 2006. (Accessed 26/8/2006). <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/northern_ireland/5283444.stm>
- BBC. N children still divided: study', June 18, 2007. (Accessed 18/6/2007) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/6761765.stm>
- BBC. Orangeman slams cultural tourism', July 14, 2008. (Accessed 14/7/2008). <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/7503644.stm>
- The Belfast Newsletter*, 1,000 non-Catholic rejections by PSNI', January 2010. (Accessed 3/5/2010). <http://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/local/1_000_non_catholic_rejections_by_p_sni_1_1893747>
- Borger, J. and Chrisafis, A. Bush gives —10% backing" to McCartney sisters', *The Guardian*, 18 March 2005. (Accessed 11/12/2009). <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/mar/18/usa.northernireland>>
- Chrisafis, A. IRA offered to shoot McCartney killers', *The Guardian*, Wednesday, March 9, 2005. (Accessed 1/9/2010). <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2005/mar/09/northernireland.northernireland>>
- Cusack, J. Povos' property empire is just the tip of the iceberg', *independent.ie*, October 09 2005 (Accessed 20/6/2007) <<http://www.independent.ie/opinion/analysis/provos-property-empire-is-just-the-tip-of-the-iceberg-473047.html>>
- Datta-Ray, S. K. Sas Crisis: A Case of Too Much Democracy?', *The Straits Times*, 13 May 2003, <<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/article.print?id=1604>>
- The Economist*. A Plague on all our business', Vol.367 Issue 8320, 19/4/2003.

- The Economist*. 'Marx after communism', December 19th, 2002. (Accessed 20/6/2003).
<http://www.economist.co.uk/PrinterFriendly.cfm?Story_ID=1489165>
- Fitzpatrick, J. 'Leaders take sales pitch to US', *BBC*, Friday, December 7, 2007. (Accessed 26/9/2009).
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/7133238.stm>
- Kellahan, K. '24Hours in...Belfast' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, January 26, 2009 (Accessed 9/2/2009). <<http://www.smh.com.au/travel/travel-feature/24-hours-in--belfast-20090122-7nmt.html>>
- Kenny, M. 'The IRA: too rich for bombs' *The Times Online*, February 28, 2005, (Accessed 28/2/2005).
<<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/thunderer/article416263.ece>>
- Kingstone, S. 'Polls reshape Spain's regional landscape', *BBC News*, Monday, March, 2, 2009. (Accessed 6/5/2009). <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7918917.stm>>
- Lewis, P. 'For Many, Marx's "Manifesto" Remains Relevant', *The New York Times*, June 27, 1998. (Accessed 15/6/2003).
<<http://www.uni-muenster.de/PeaCon/marx.htm>>
- Lister, S. 'PSNI rule rejects 700 over their religion', *Belfast Telegraph*, Tuesday, May 22, 2007. (Accessed 5/6/2007) <<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/local-national/article2568467.ece>>
- McDonald, H. 'Bomber owns flat behind Harrods', *The Observer*, Sunday, March, 26, 2006a. (Accessed 28/7/2010).
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2006/mar/26/northernireland.ukcrime>>
- _____. 'loyalists linked to 90 per cent of race crime', *The Observer*, Sunday, March, 23, 2006b. (Accessed 23/10/2006).
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2006/oct/22/race.ukcrime>>

_____. 'The walls that won't come down', *guardian.co.uk*, Tuesday, July 28, 2009a. (Accessed 17/11/2010).

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2009/jul/28/peace-walls-belfast-ceasefire>>

_____. 'Two killed as terror returns to N Ireland: Soldiers shot in drive-by attack', *The Observer*, Sunday, March 9, 2009b. (Accessed 17/12/2010).

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2009/mar/08/northern-ireland-army-base-shooting>>

McKinstry, L. 'No More Troubles', *The Spectator*, Wednesday, February 6, 2008.

(Accessed 19/2/2008). <<http://www.spectator.co.uk/print/the-magazine/style-and-travel/488901/no-more-troubles.shtml>>

McIntyre, Anthony, 'Who is McGuinness to talk of treachery?', *The Independent*, March 15, 2009. (Accessed 20/10/2010).

<<http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/anthony-mcintyre-who-is-mcguinness-to-talk-of-treachery-1645373.html>>

McKittrick, D. 'Joy as Derry is named 2013 City of Culture', *The Independent*, Friday, July 16, 2010. (Accessed 5/10/2010).

<<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/joy-as-derry-is-named-2013-city-of-culture-2027706.html>>

Oliver, M. 'Operation Banner, 1969-2007' *The Guardian*, Tuesday, July 21, 2007. (Accessed 24/9/2010).

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/jul/31/northernireland.military1>>

Puhl, J. 'Soweto's Young Middle Class Left Cold by ANC', *Spiegel Online*, April04/21/2009. (Accessed 22/4/2009).

<<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,620315,00.html>>

Schmidt, W. E. 'In Belfast, Prosperity Eases Catholic Nationalism', *The New York Times*, September 6, 1994. (Accesses 26/10/2007).

<<http://www.nytimes.com/1994/09/06/world/in-belfast-prosperity-eases-catholic-nationalism.html?pagewanted=1>>

- Sharrock, D. 'Shooting of Northern Irish police officer Stephen Carroll opens old wounds', *The Times*, Tuesday, March 11, 2009 (Accessed, 20/11/2010).
<<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/article5884203.ece>>
- Sherwell, P. 'Angry Bush refuses to meet Sinn Fein chief', *The Age*, Monday, March 14, 2005. (Accessed 14/10/2010).
<<http://www.theage.com.au/news/World/Angry-Bush-refuses-to-meet-Sinn-Fein-chief/2005/03/13/1110649052903.html>>
- Strain, A. and Hamill, P. 'Fortyyears of peace lines', *BBC*, Wednesday, July 1, 2009. (Accessed, 17/11/2010).
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr//2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/8121228.stm>
- Taylor, R. N. and Bowcott, O. 'Army learned insurgency lessons from Northern Ireland', *Guardian.co.uk*, Tuesday, July 31, 2007. (Accessed 22/10/2010).
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2007/jul/31/northernireland.freedomofinformation>>
- Toolis, K. 'Death foretold' *The Guardian*, Saturday, July 3, 1999. (Accessed 8/10/2010).
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/1999/jul/03/weekend7.weekend2>>
- Torney, K. 'Peaceline plan for integrated primary', *Belfast Telegraph*, Wednesday, May 23, 2007. (Accessed 30/6/2007).
<<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/education/peaceline-plan-for-integrated-primary-13444311.html>>

Online Sources

- Breen, R. 'Who Wants a United Ireland? Constitutional Preferences among Catholics and Protestants' in Breen, R. Devine, P. and Dowds, L. (eds) *Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: The Fifth Report* (Appletree Press Ltd, Belfast, 1996). (Accessed 18/12/2009).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/research/nisas/rep5c2.htm>>

- Breen, R. Devine, P. and Dowds, L. (eds) *Social Attitudes in Northern Ireland: The Fifth Report* (Appletree Press Ltd, Belfast, 1996). (Accessed 18/12/2009).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/research/nisas/rep5c2.htm>>
- CAIN Web Service, Political party support in Northern Ireland, 1969 to the present
(Accessed 10/12/2009).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/election/electsum.htm>>
- CAIN Web Service, Results of Elections Held in Northern Ireland Since 1968
(Accessed 10/12/2009).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/election/elect.htm>>
- CAIN Web Service, Devolved Government in Northern Ireland, (Accessed 20/6/2007).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/government.htm>>
- CAIN Web Service: A Chronology of the Conflict – 1981 (Accessed 1/12/2011)
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/chron/ch81.htm>>
- CAIN Web Service: Population and Vital Statistics, 'Catholic population in Northern Ireland - Census returns and estimates 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001'
(Accessed 1/12/2011) <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/ni/popul.htm#2>>
- Engels, F. Engels to Karl Kautsky in Vienna, London, 12 September, 1882. *Marx and Engels Internet Archive* (Accessed 10/8/2006).
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1882/letters/82_09_12.htm>
- Geoghegan, P. Orangefest: Belfast's Twelfth celebrations get a radical overhaul, July, 2009. (Accessed 11/2/2010).
<http://www.culturenorthernireland.org/article.aspx?art_id=2706>
- Gilligan, Chris and Lloyd, Katrina, 'Racial prejudice in Northern Ireland', ARK: Research Update, Number 44, June 2006,
<<http://www.ark.ac.uk/publications/updates/update44.pdf>>

- Hancock, Landon, 'Northern Ireland: Troubles Brewing', (no date given) *CAIN Web Service*. (Accessed 2/11/2011).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/landon.htm>>
- Jarman, Neil, 'Prejudice and Tolerance in Northern Ireland', ARK: Research Update, Number 63, November 2009,
<<http://www.ark.ac.uk/publications/updates/update63.pdf>>
- London Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 'Euro Info Country Profile: Ireland', May 2007. (Accessed 29/11/2009).
<<http://www.londonchamber.co.uk/docimages/2400.pdf>>
- McErlane, Paul, '18 years photographing the news', *BBC*, June 2, 2009. (Accessed 10/7/2009).
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/8079313.stm>
- McIntyre, A. 'Fom Up The Ra To Up The Rozzers' *The Blanket*, 22 October 2006. (Accessed 12/2/2010).
<<http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu:81/AM2510061g.html>>
- _____. 'TheBlanket, One Last Time' *The Blanket*, 18 May 2008. (Accessed 20/5/2008). <<http://indiamond6.ulib.iupui.edu:81/AMLB.html>>
- Melaugh, M. 'Draft List of Deaths Related to the Conflict in 2009'. *CAIN Web Service*, (Accessed 10/2/2010).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/deaths2009draft.htm>>
- Morrow, D. 'Nothing to Fear But...? Unionists and the Northern Ireland Peace Process', in Murray, D. (ed) *Protestant Perceptions of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (2000). *CAIN Web Service* (Accessed 30/09/03).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/murray/morrow.htm#one>>
- Muckley, Cal, 'Terrorism, Tourism and FDI: Estimating a lower bound on the Peace Dividend in Northern Ireland', *The Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland* (2011). (Accessed 5/12/2011).
<www.ssis.ie/C_Muckley_2011_Peace_Dividend_Northern_Ireland.pdf>

Murray, D. (ed) *Protestant Perceptions of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (2000). *CAIN Web Service* (Accessed 30/09/03).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/murray/murray00.htm#intro>>

Sutton, M. 'An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland', (1994a) *CAIN Web Service* (Accessed 23/12/2009).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Year.html>>

_____. 'Chronological List of Deaths: 1974', in Sutton, M. *An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-1993*, (Beyond the Pale Publications, Belfast, 1994b). *CAIN Web Service* (Accessed 20/10/2010).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/chron/1974.html>>

_____. 'Religion of the person killed', in Sutton, M. *An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-1993*, (Beyond the Pale Publications, Belfast, 1994c). *CAIN Web Service* (Accessed 14/12/2010).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Religion.html>>

Taylor, H. 'The public tends to blame the poor, the unemployed, and those on welfare for their problems', The Harris poll #24, may 3, 2000. (Accessed 2/2/2010). <http://www.harrisi.org/harris_poll/index.asp?PID=87>

White, B. 'The Peace Process: A Question of Definition', in Murray, D. (ed) *Protestant Perceptions of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland*, (2000). *CAIN Web Service* (Accessed 30/09/03).
<<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/murray/white.htm#six>>