Northern Ireland and the Political Economy of Peace

Neo-Liberalism and the end of the Troubles

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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	
Ireland and the National Question': Kautsky	. 20
Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: Lenin	
Rosa Luxemburg	
James Connolly	
The Radical Shift: Decolonisation and 1968	
Traditional Marxism	. 29
Revisionist Marxism	. 33
Conclusion	
CHAPTER 2: THE INTRACTABILITY OF VIOLENCE	. 40
Legitimacy	
Nationalism and Ethnicity	
Religion and Sectarianism	_
The British Army: Operation Banner 1969 – 2007	
Territory and Segregation	
The Victory of Materialism?	
Conclusion	
CHARTER 2. NEO LIBERALISM AND IDEOLOGY	66
CHAPTER 3: NEO-LIBERALISM AND IDEOLOGY	
Hardt and Negri: Empire	
Problematic Themes in Empire	
The Relevance of Empire to Northern Ireland	
Hybridity and the Other in Northern Ireland	
Smooth Space: The Global Society of Control	
Foucault and homo oeconomicus'	
Capitalism and Expansion	
The poisoned gift of national liberation'	
CONCUEND	ac

CHAPTER 4 A: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE TRANSITION	
Plantation and the Structural Origins of Catholic Marginalisation	
Industrialisation in the North East of Ireland	
Capitalism between Partition and the 1994 Ceasefire	
The Post War Consensus and State Intervention	
Fordism'	
Foreign Investment and the Troubles	
De-industrialisation	
The Westminster Subvention	
The Expansion of the Public Sector	
The Transition to Neo-Liberalism in Northern Ireland	
Immigration	
The Housing Market	
(un)employment	
The Emergence of the Service/Consumption Economy	
Post-Nationalist Precedent: The _Celtic Tiger'	
Conclusion	
CHAPTER 4 B: POLITICAL ECONOMY: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF NEC)-LIBERAL
AND AMBIVALENT IDENTITY FORMATION	
I) Economic Data: from Imperial Capitalism to Neo-Liberalism	
De-industrialisation	
Neo-Liberalism	
Consumption	
Housing	
Employment	
Migration	
Neo-Liberalism and Northern Ireland	
II) Identity and Subjectivity	
Conclusion	
CHAPTER 5: IRREDENTIST NATIONALISM, CIVIL RIGHTS AND	
REPRESSION	
Catholics: the Empire and the Northern Irish State	
Employment and the State	
The Civil Rights Movement	
The Creation of NICRA	
NICRA and the Deteriorating Situation	
Was NICRA a Republican Movement?	
Repression and Reform within the Colonial Context	
Conclusion	
Conclusion	
CHARTER C. THE COMMUNITY OF CATHOLICS IN THE NEO LIBERAL	ED A
CHAPTER 6: THE COMMUNITY OF CATHOLICS IN THE NEO-LIBERAL	
Ongoing Catholic Attitudes to Unification.	
Do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither?	
After the Good Friday Agreement	
Catholic Nationalism: the Post Peace Process Contemporary Debate	
Upward Social Mobility and Constitutional Preference: Richard Breen	
Complexity, Prosperity and Identity: Shirlow	
Conclusion	

CHAPTER 7: VOTING FOR A UNITED IRELAND? THE EVOLVING POLITICS	
OF SINN FÉIN	246
'We Ourselves': Sinn Féin	251
From Movement' 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: Nationalists and Republicans	266
The Conditionality of Violence	270
Sinn Féin: What has changed?	276
Discourse and Policy	276
Systemic Change: d'Hondt	278
The Post-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.

i

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other

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ii

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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.

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TABLE OF FIGURES

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