

POU33032
IRISH POLITICS B
Governance in Ireland, Politics in Northern Ireland
2021-2022

Mr. Samuel Johnston

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Office: TRiSS, Sixth Floor Arts Block.

Office Hours: Thursdays 10:30am - 12:30pm.

****PowerPoint notes for course lectures will be posted on Blackboard****

NB: This syllabus is subject to revision. In particular, students should regularly check their email to keep up to date with any changes to College policy.

Teaching Assistant:

Samuel Johnston (sajohnst@tcd.ie)

Lectures: [these are currently scheduled to take place face-to-face, however this is subject to change]

Monday 1pm (Arts block 4050B)

Wednesday 12pm (Arts block, 2041B)

Tutorials: [consult your timetable on my.tcd.ie to see which group you are assigned to]

Group 1: Tuesday 1pm, Room 2.03 in College Green (Weeks 2, 4, 6, 9, and 11)

Group 2: Tuesday 3pm, Arts block 3051 (Weeks 2, 4, 6, 9, and 11)

Group 3: Wednesday 4pm, Room 2.03 in College Green (Weeks 2, 4, 6, 9, and 11)

Module Description

This module is focused on two main areas. Firstly, it discusses the core aspects of the policy-making and governmental processes in Ireland, including the role of the government, interest groups, and the civil service in policy-making, as well as the distribution of power within the government. Secondly, it examines the politics of Northern Ireland, especially in terms of how we should understand Northern Ireland's political cleavages, the consociational solution to Northern Ireland's divisions, and an overview of the party system and the operation of Stormont.

Please be aware that while this module is open to one-term and full-year visiting students, it is not designed with complete beginners to Irish politics in mind. Consequently, visiting students

may want to do some additional work to catch up on the basics.

Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this module, students should have an enhanced understanding of the following topics, and the relevant academic literature:

- The role of the government, civil service, and interest groups in the policy-making process;
- The constituency work undertaken by TDs;
- Southern attitudes towards Northern Ireland;
- Northern Ireland's main political cleavages;
- The consociational solution to the Northern Ireland conflict;
- Northern Ireland's party system.

Furthermore, students should be able to:

- Identify interesting research questions on Irish policy-making and Northern Irish politics;
- Evaluate the usefulness of various theoretical approaches when applied to these contexts;
- Explain the causes of some of the important shifts that have been observed within these contexts.

Module Structure

Lectures

We will have two one-hour lectures per week. While the lectures will mostly follow a standard lecture format, we will also have group exercises and time set aside for questions. You should come to class prepared to get involved and talk about the material.

We will take lecture attendance for contact tracing purposes but attendance at lectures does not count towards the grade for the module. Students should understand that the lecture material is essential to your success in this module. The lecture materials are not fully covered in the textbook and not all lecture material is posted online, so attendance is in your best interest. Currently, lectures are scheduled to take place face-to-face but this is subject to change if the public health guidance changes due to a deterioration in the pandemic.

The materials and content presented within the lecture sessions are intended solely for use in the context of teaching and learning at Trinity. Slides and reading materials will be posted on Blackboard.

Recording of Lectures: Unauthorized recording (video/sound/image) and reproduction of lectures is prohibited. Students with a disability who have permission to record

lectures must provide a LENS report and sign an undertaking that the recordings are solely for their own use and will be destroyed at the end of the year. Under no circumstances can these recordings be passed onto other students or third parties.

Tutorials

We will have a total of 5 tutorial sessions that will meet fortnightly through the term. **Students are encouraged to keep up to date with government policy and College guidelines going forward.** Lecturers will also notify students with respect to any changes regarding their individual modules.

You should each be assigned to one tutorial group. Your tutorial group will appear on your timetable on my.tcd.ie, once you have been correctly registered for the module.

Tutorials will be moderated by myself and will include in-depth discussion and analysis of the topics covered in the lectures. Please remember that tutorials are not substitute lectures where students who did not attend a lecture can expect to be filled in on what they missed. Similarly, tutorials are not a substitute for doing the readings. Tutorials will give you the opportunity to ask questions and develop your understanding of the topic under discussion. The tutorial moderator is not there to inform and instruct but, rather, to moderate discussion.

Note that attendance in lectures and tutorials are essential to your success in this course. Lecture slides will not be sufficient to reconstruct the content of the lectures. You will need to be able to connect the readings, lectures, and tutorial discussions to be able to get a satisfactory grade overall.

The tutorial topics are designed to provide students with an opportunity to develop, strengthen, and critically analyse their ideas on the topics covered in lectures and the readings. Consequently, the tutorial topics will overlap with the lecture topics to enable this. I will provide a set of tutorial readings prior to the start of each set of tutorials, which will be **required readings** for that tutorial.

Tutorial attendance is expected and is recorded. Non-attendance at tutorials may be reported to your College tutor as it often indicates that a student is experiencing difficulties and is becoming disengaged from their studies.

Week (Date)	Lecture Topic	Tutorial Topic	Assignment
1 (24 – 28 Jan)	Introduction; policy-making		
2 (31 Jan – 4 Feb)	Policy-making	Do interest groups have too much power in the policy-making process? Can anything more be done to control their activities?	
3 (7 – 11 Feb)	Power within the Government		
4 (14 – 18 Feb)	Power within the Government	Do government ministers wield real power, or are they only minor actors in the policy-making process due to the constraints imposed by the principles of collective cabinet responsibility and individual ministerial responsibility?	
5 (21 – 25 Feb)	TDs and constituency work		
6 (28 Feb – 4 March)	Northern Ireland: History and southern attitudes	Have southern attitudes towards NI changed significantly since the late 1960s? Is southern understanding now greater or less than it was since the start of the Troubles?	Policy memo due by 11:59pm on 2 March.
7 (7 – 11 March)	Reading Week – No Class		
8 (14 – 18 March)	Political Cleavages in Northern Ireland		
9 (21 – 25 March)	Political Cleavages in Northern Ireland	“In NI, what appears to be a religious conflict can instead be explained entirely by ethnonationalism”. Agree or disagree.	
10 (28 March – 1 April)	Consociationalism and the Party System		Essay due by 11:59pm on 30 March
11 (4 – 8 April)	Consociationalism and the Party System	Critics of consociationalism argue that it reinforces existing divisions and leads to poor governance. Are they correct?	
12 (11 – 15 April)	Future of Northern Ireland; Recap		

Additional Contact Hours and Information

Office hours will be held every Thursday, for the period 10:30am to 12:30pm. Please contact me prior to office hours, so that I can allocate you a precise time, depending on how busy office hours are, and your own schedule. If there is something very specific you would like to discuss (e.g., comments on an assignment that you have handed in) then it might be useful to send me an email a little in advance, so that I have the material to hand.

If you have any questions or concerns, this syllabus should be your first port of call. It should contain most of the information that you need for the module, and additional information will also be posted on Blackboard as and when required, so you should keep an eye on it. If you cannot find the answer to your question in the syllabus, then feel free to get in touch!

Assessment

Students taking this module are evaluated using three different components:

- 1) Policy memo (15%)
- 2) Essay (25%)
- 3) Exam (60%)

Policy memo (15%)

Usually, a policy memo is a brief document that provides recommendations and/or analysis to a particular audience (e.g., CFO in a firm, government minister, MP etc.).

For this course, students will write a policy memo of **800-900 words** for the audience of an elected member of a Dáil Éireann of their choice (this can be a real or invented person, but they should be identified as a member of a real Irish political party). This paper is worth 15% of the overall grade for the course.

Students should do the following in their memos:

- Identify a specific change to the policy-making process that you would like to see. What is this change, and is it a legislative or constitutional change?
- Briefly explain why this change should be made (why is the topic important, what is your concern with the current process?)
- Explain what the impact of this change would be (e.g., for specific individuals/groups? For Irish society in general?)

Further instructions regarding the policy memo can also be found on Blackboard. Please

consult these prior to writing your paper.

The deadline for the policy memo is **11.59pm on 2nd March 2022**

Essay (25%)

Students are required to submit an essay which is worth 25% of the overall grade for the module. They should respond to **one** of the following prompts:

1. How can we best account for the amount of constituency work undertaken by TDs? Do the negative consequences of this constituency work outweigh the positive ones?
2. To what extent do social issues (such as abortion and same-sex marriage) constitute an important cleavage in Northern Ireland, or is the ethnonational/religious divide still the only game in town?

For the essay, students are expected to (i) make and develop a point that answers all parts of the question; and (ii) draw on academic literature (academic articles and/or books), which should be correctly cited. Students are expected to read beyond the reading list for the essay.

The word count for the essay is **2,000 words** (excluding the bibliography). Though students should endeavour to stick to the word count as closely as possible, the usual rule of 10% over or under the word count applies.

The deadline for the essay is **11:59pm on 30 March 2022**.

Essay format and guidelines

In line with departmental guidelines, the written assignment for this course must:

- observe the stated word limit (there is some flexibility here and students will not be penalised for a final word count [excluding the bibliography] that is less than 10% above or below the given limit)
- be submitted to Blackboard (this allows it to be checked via Turnitin, a site that detects plagiarism)
- be submitted in a Word or PDF format only
- include an essay cover sheet, which affirms that the essay is all student's own work
- state the final word count on the cover sheet
- use proper citations and referencing (any referencing format is acceptable, so long as it is consistent throughout the essay. The TCD library has this guide: <https://www.tcd.ie/library/assets/pdf/Academic%20Style%20Guides.pdf> to help you to cite consistently)
- include an *alphabetised* bibliography

Further guidelines regarding the essay can be found on Blackboard.

Exam (60%)

The final assessment component for the course is an examination that will take place during the Hilary term assessment period (i.e., the week beginning the 2nd May). The exam will consist of 5 questions from which students can choose any 2. Like the exams last year, it is designed to be completed in 90 minutes.

More detailed instructions regarding the exam structure will be available later in the term.

The timetable for the exam will be made available by the Exams Office later in the term. Students will be able to access their own timetable on my.tcd.ie.

Policies on assessment

Submission of coursework assignments

The policy memo and essay must be submitted on Blackboard. In order to do this, you will need to have access to the module on Blackboard. **It is the responsibility of students to ensure that they are enrolled in the module and can access the course material.**

If you are not enrolled in the module, then you should contact me as a matter of urgency, and I will add you to the class.

Academic honesty and plagiarism

The university takes plagiarism very seriously. There are severe penalties associated with passing someone else's work off as one's own. Remember that careless note-taking can lead to this happening: you must enclose direct quotations in quotation marks, and even when paraphrasing, ensure that a reference is provided.

The university's policy regarding plagiarism can be found at: <http://www.tcd.ie/undergraduatestudies/general-regulations/plagiarism.php>.

Prior to submitting your written assignments, students must complete the TCD Library's Online Plagiarism Tutorial, *Ready, Steady, Write*. A link to this resource is provided here: https://www.tcd.ie/library/support/plagiarism/story_html5.html.

Students must submit their written assessments with the following cover sheet attached: <https://www.tcd.ie/Economics/assets/pdf/Plagiarism%20cover%20sheet.pdf>, indicating that they have completed the *Ready, Steady, Write* tutorial online and have informed themselves about the university's policies regarding plagiarism.

Careless note-taking or rushing to get an assignment submitted is no excuse for committing

plagiarism and where it is detected, it will be responded to with appropriate severity.

Late assignments

All late work, unless excused **in advance** by the module lecturer, will be penalised at a rate of **5% per day or part thereof**. There are many reasons why a student may not be able to submit an assignment on time and I am happy to make reasonable accommodations where they are appropriate. However, it is rarely reasonable to get in touch after the assignment deadline or just a few hours beforehand to request an extension.

Please don't leave requests until the last minute!

All requests for extensions must go through your college tutor. In the event of late submission due to illness, students will be required to submit a medical certificate.

Under no circumstances will work be accepted after it has been marked and handed back to other students. Under those circumstances, the student will receive a grade of 0 for the assignment.

Finally, make sure to save and back-up your work. There are many ways to ensure that you never lose your work, including Dropbox, Google Drive, or even good old-fashioned USBs. Consequently, computer crashes or failure to back up your work will not count as acceptable excuses for late submission.

Disability policy

Students with a disability that is liable to impact their ability to participate fully in all aspects of this – or any other – course are encouraged to register with the University's Disability Service. The service seeks to support and to ensure that accommodations are made for students where they are needed.

You can find more information regarding the Disability Service here: <https://www.tcd.ie/disability/>.

Lecture and reading schedule

These readings may be updated over the course of the module. Where this is the case, important revisions will be signposted.

Students are responsible for reading the articles and book chapters listed under Required Readings. The recommended reading list is quite long, so you are not obligated to read all of them. Instead, consider the recommended readings as a list to dip in and out of, depending on

what topics within that area interest you most. Furthermore, you are not bound by this reading list, so feel free to bring in readings from outside the list for your assignments. However, if you do bring in readings from outside the reading list, the onus is on you to ensure that they are reliable sources.

For the first half of the module, on policy-making, we will be using the following textbook:

Coakley, J., & Gallagher, M. (Eds.). (2018). *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* Routledge.

The 2018 edition is the most recent one (the sixth), and a number of copies of this book can be found in the library. An e-book edition can also be consulted by TCD-affiliated readers (this can be found using the search function on the TCD library website). I don't recommend that you consult older editions since there have been several important changes that have taken place since the fifth edition was published.

There are also other readings, which are available electronically, through the TCD journal tools or on the web. Some readings (such as chapters from books not listed above) will be available through Blackboard (this is where all course content will be hosted). And I may post additional relevant papers, videos, or news articles to Blackboard throughout the term.

For students who are not as familiar with the basics of Irish politics (particularly visiting students), it will be important to brush up on the basics. One useful introductory text is the following:

- O'Malley, E. (2011). *Contemporary Ireland*. Macmillan International Higher Education. [[e book available through TCD library](#)]

And there are some other options here:

- John Gibney, *A Short History of Ireland, 1500–2000* (Yale University Press, 2017).
- Senia Pasetta, *Modern Ireland: a very short introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Mike Cronin and Liam O'Callaghan, *A History of Ireland*, 2nd ed (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900–2000* (London: Profile Books, 2005).
- Gary Murphy, *Electoral Competition in Ireland since 1987: the Politics of Triumph and Despair* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2016).

And Ch1 of the textbook (*Politics in the Republic of Ireland*) will fill in some of the gaps with respect to Irish history which will be important to know.

Similarly, if you wish to update yourself on the history of NI, the following may be interesting to you:

- Tonge, J. (2005): *The New Northern Irish Politics?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dixon, P. (2008): *Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace* (2nd ed). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Edwards, A. and McGrattan, C. (2010): *The Northern Ireland Conflict: A Beginner's Guide*. London: Oneworld.
- O'Leary, B. and McGarry, J. (1996): *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding NI* (2nd ed.).

London. essentially an analytic history of the NI conflict. (3rd ed promised soon but has been 'imminent' for some time now).

- O'Leary, b. (2019): *A Treatise on Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. It's in 3 volumes: Vol. 1 covers the history prior to partition; Vol. 2 is primarily on the Stormont regime; Vol. 3 covers developments up to 2016 and discusses possible futures. There's a lengthy review of the book by Jennifer Todd in *Irish Political Studies* 35:4 (2020).
- Aughey, A. and Morrow, D. (eds.) (1996): *Northern Ireland Politics*. London: Longman. Gives a survey of the main aspects (history, main ideas).
- Aughey, A. (2005): *The Politics of NI: Beyond the Belfast Agreement*. London: Routledge.

Web sites: <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk> has a lot of material, though parts of it haven't been updated for a while; the Ark site at <http://www.ark.ac.uk/> and the IBIS site at <http://www.ucd.ie/~ibis> also have useful information.

Keep up with what's currently happening in Irish politics with coverage from sources like *RTE News*, *The Irish Times*, *The Irish Examiner*. Similarly, for Northern Ireland, you may want to monitor the coverage of *RTE News*, *BBC News*, *The Irish Times*, *The Belfast Telegraph*, *The News Letter*, and *The Irish News*. NB: the last three newspapers I just listed are notoriously bad for paywalls.

Topic 1: Policy-making: Interest Groups and the Civil Service

Required readings:

- Baturo, A. and Arlow, J. (2018): 'Is there a 'Revolving Door' to the Private Sector in Irish Politics?', *Irish Political Studies*, 33(3), pp. 381-406.
- Coakley, J. and Gallagher, M. (2018): *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (6th ed.). London: Routledge and PSAI Press. Chapters 10 and 11.
- MacCarthaigh, M. (2008): *Government in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration. Chapter 8.
- Murphy, G. (2017): 'Lobbying Regulation in Ireland: Fool's Errand or Finest Hour?', *Administration*, 65(2), pp. 127-144.

Recommended readings

On social partnership and interest groups:

- Adshead, M. (2012): 'The Exercise and Impact of Social Partnership', pp. 173-189 in O'Malley, E. and MacCarthaigh, M. (eds.) *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Governance to Delegated Governance*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

- Gallagher, M., Laver, M., and Mair, P. (2011): *Representative Government in Modern Europe* (5th ed.). London: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 13.
- Hardiman, N. (2002): 'From Conflict to Co-ordination: Economic Governance and Political Innovation in Ireland', *West European Politics*, 25(4), pp. 1-24.
- O'Donnell, R. and Thomas, D. (2002): 'Ireland in the 1990s: Policy Concertation Triumphant', pp. 167-189 in Burger, S. and Compton, H. (eds.) *Policy Concertation and Social Partnership in Western Europe: Lessons for the 21st Century*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- O'Donnell, R. (2008): 'The Partnership State: Building the Ship at Sea', pp. 73-99 in Adshead, M., Kirby, P., and Millar, M. (eds.) *Contesting the State: Lessons from the Irish Case*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Roche, W. K. and Cradden, T. (2003): 'Neo-corporatism and Social Partnership', pp. 69-87 in Adshead, M. and Millar, M. (eds.) *Public Administration and Public Policy in Ireland: Theory and Methods*. London: Routledge.
- O'Halpin, E. and Connolly, E. (1999): 'Parliaments and Pressure Groups: The Irish Experience of Change', pp. 124-144 in Norton, P. (ed.) *Parliaments and Pressure Groups in Western Europe*. London: Frank Cass.

On the civil service:

- Collins, N. and Cradden, T. (2007): 'Ireland's Bureaucratic Traditions', pp. 11-29 in Collins, N., Cradden, T., and Butler, P. (eds.) *Modernising Irish Government: The Politics of Administrative Reform*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.
- Kingston, W. (2007): *Interrogating Irish Policies*. Dublin: Dublin University Press. Chapters 6, 7, 11.
- MacCarthaigh, M. (2017): *Public Sector Reform in Ireland: Countering Crisis*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapters 6 and 9.
- O'Halpin, E. (1991): 'The Civil Service and the Political System', *Administration*, 38(3), pp. 283-302.

Topic 2: The Government and Governmental System

Required readings:

- Coakley, J. and Gallagher, M. (2018): *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (6th ed.). London: Routledge and PSAI Press. Chapter 10.
- Chubb, B. (1992): *The Government and Politics of Ireland* (3rd ed.). London: Longman. Chapter 10.
- MacCarthaigh, M. (2008): *Government in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration. Chapter 7.
- O'Malley, E. and MacCarthaigh, M. (eds.) (2012): *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration. Chapters by O'Malley (pp. 35-60) and Connaughton (pp. 61-87).

Recommended readings

On the cabinet and ministerial selection:

- Coakley, J. (2013): *Reforming Political Institutions: Ireland in Comparative Perspective*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration. Chapter 7.
- Farrell, B. (1988): 'Ireland. The Irish Cabinet System: More British than the British Themselves', pp. 33-46 in Blondel, J. and Müller-Rommel, F. (eds.) *Cabinets in Western Europe*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- O'Malley, E. (2006): 'Ministerial Selection in Ireland: Limited Choice in a Political Village', *Irish Political Studies*, 21(3), pp. 319-336.
- O'Malley, E. and MacCarthaigh, M. (eds.) *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration. Chapters by Considine and Reidy (pp. 88-105) and Hardiman et al. (pp. 106-127).
- O'Malley, E. (2021): 'The Slow Formation of the Government', pp. 297-320 in Gallagher, M., Marsh, M., and Reidy, T. (eds.) *How Ireland Voted 2020: The End of an Era*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, D. M. and Martin, S. (2017): 'Political Dynasties and the Selection of Cabinet Ministers', *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 42(1), pp. 131-165.

On ministerial advisors:

- Connaughton, B. (2010): "Glorified Gofers, Policy Experts or Good Generalists?: A Classification of the Roles of the Irish Ministerial Adviser", *Irish Political Studies*, 25(3), pp. 347-369.
- Connaughton, B. (2017): 'Political-Administrative Relations: The Role of Political Advisors', *Administration*, 65(2), pp. 165-182.

Topic 3: TDs and Constituency Work

Required readings:

- Coakley, J. and Gallagher, M. (2018): *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (6th ed.). London: Routledge and PSAI Press. Chapter 8.
- Carty, R. K. (1981): *Party and Parish Pump: Electoral Politics in Ireland*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. pp. 129-152.
- Gallagher, M. and Suiter, J. (2017): 'Pathological Parochialism or a Valuable Service? Attitudes to the Constituency Role of Irish Parliamentarians', pp. 143-171 in Marsh, M., Farrell, D. M., and McElroy, G. (eds.) *A Conservative Revolution? Electoral Change in Twenty-First-Century Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kelly, V. (1987): 'Focus on Clients: A Reappraisal of the Effectiveness of TD's Interventions', *Administration*, 35(2), pp. 130-151.

Recommended readings:

- Collins, N. and O'Shea, M. (2003): 'Clientelism: Facilitating Rights and Favours', pp. 88-107 in Adshead, M. and Millar, M. (eds.) *Public Administration and Public Policy in Ireland: Theory and Methods*. London: Routledge.
- Farrell, D. M., Gallagher, M., and Barrett, D. (2018): 'What do Irish Voters Want from and Think of their Politicians?', pp. 190-208 in Marsh, M., Farrell, D. M., and Reidy, T. (eds.) *The Post-Crisis Irish Voter: Voting Behaviour in the Irish 2016 General Election*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Hourigan, N. (2015): *Rule-Breakers: Why 'Being There' Trumps 'Being Fair' in Ireland*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan. Chapters 5 and 6.
- Komito, L. (1984): 'Irish Clientelism: A Reappraisal', *Economic and Social Review*, 15(3), pp. 173-194.
- O'Halpin, E. (2002): 'Still Persecuting Civil Servants? Irish Parliamentarians and Citizens', pp. 111-127 in Norton, P. (ed.) *Parliaments and Citizens in Western Europe*. London: Frank Cass.
- O'Leary, E. (2011): 'The Constituency Orientation of Modern TDs', *Irish Political Studies*, 26(3), pp. 329-343.
- O'Malley, E., Quinlan, S., and Mair, P. (2012): 'Party Patronage in Ireland: Changing Parameters', pp. 206-228 in Kopecký, P, Mair, P., and Spirova, M. (eds.) *Party Patronage and Party Government in European Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Suiter, J. and O'Malley, E. (2014): 'Yes, Minister: The Impact of Decision-making Rules on Geographically Targeted Particularistic Spending', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 67(6), pp. 935-954.

Topic 4: Southern Attitudes to Northern Ireland

Required readings:

- Coakley, J. (1994): 'The Northern Ireland Conflict in Southern Irish School Textbooks', pp. 119-141 in Guelke, A. (ed.) *New Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Conflict*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Coakley, J. (2017): 'Adjusting to Partition: From Irredentism to "Consent" in Twentieth-Century Ireland', *Irish Studies Review*, 25(2), pp. 193-214.
- Hayes, B. C. and McAllister, I. (1996): 'British and Irish Public Opinion Towards the Northern Ireland Problem', *Irish Political Studies*, 11, pp. 61-82.
- Lyons, P. (2008): *Public Opinion, Politics and Society in Contemporary Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press. Chapter 6.

Recommended readings:

- Bowman, J. (1982): *De Valera and the Ulster Question, 1917-1973*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pages 11-30; Chapter 8.
- Coakley, J. (2001): 'The Belfast Agreement and the Republic of Ireland', pp. 223-244 in Wilford, R. (ed.) *Aspects of the Belfast Agreement* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Coakley, J. and O'Dowd, L. (eds.) (2007): *Crossing the Border: New Relationships Between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press. pp. 3-28 and 291-310.
- Cohan, A. S. (1977): 'The Question of a United Ireland: Perspectives of the Irish Political Elite', *International Affairs*, 53(2), pp. 232-254.
- Hayward, K. (2004): 'The Politics of Nuance: Irish Official Discourse on Northern Ireland', *Irish Political Studies*, 19(1), pp. 18-38.
- McDermott, S. (2014): 'The Dimensions of Irish Government Involvement in the Pursuit of a Settlement of the Northern Ireland Conflict', *Irish Political Studies*, 29(1), pp. 98-115.
- Morrow, D. (1995): 'Warranted Interference? The Republic of Ireland in the Politics of Northern Ireland', *Études Irlandaises*, 20(1), pp. 125-147.
- Ó Beacháin, D. (2019): *From Partition to Brexit: The Irish Government and Northern Ireland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Conclusion.
- O'Halloran, C. (1987): *Partition and the Limits of Irish Nationalism: An Ideology under Stress*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan. Chapter 1 and Epilogue.
- O'Malley, P. (1997): *The Uncivil Wars: Ireland Today* (3rd ed.). Boston: Beacon Press. Chapter 2.
- Todd, J., Muldoon, O., Trew, K., Bottos, L. C., Rougier, N., and McLaughlin, K. (2006): 'The Moral Boundaries of the Nation: The Constitution of National Identity in the Southeastern Border Counties of Ireland', *Ethnopolitics*, 5(4), pp. 365-382.

Topic 5: Understanding Northern Ireland's Cleavages

Required readings:

- Coakley, J. (2021): 'Is a Middle Force Emerging in Northern Ireland?', *Irish Political Studies*, 36(1), pp. 29-51.
- Garry, J., Matthews, N., and Wheatley, J. (2017): 'Dimensionality of Policy Space in Consociational Northern Ireland', *Political Studies*, 65(2), pp. 493-511.
- Isaacs, M. (2017): 'Faith in Contention: Explaining the Salience of Religion in Ethnic Conflict', *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(2), pp. 200-231.
- McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B. (1995): *Explaining Northern Ireland: Broken Images*. Oxford: Blackwell. Chapters 5 and 6.

Recommended readings

General readings

- Boyle, K. and Hadden, T. (1985): *Ireland: A Positive Proposal*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Chapter 4.
- Coakley, J. (2004): 'The Legacy of Political Violence in Ireland', pp. 179-202 in Bric, M. J. and Coakley, J. (eds.) *From Political Violence to Negotiated Settlement: The Winding Path to Peace in Twentieth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: UCD Press.

- Coakley, J. (2016): ‘Does Ulster Still Say “No”?’ Public Opinion and the Future of NI’, pp. 35-55 in Elkink, J. A. and Farrell, D. M. (eds.) *The Act of Voting: Identities, Institutions and Locale*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hayes, B. C. and McAllister, I. (2013): *Conflict to Peace: Politics and Society in Northern Ireland over Half a Century* Manchester: Manchester University Press. Chapter 3.

On the religious explanation:

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- O’Connor, F. (1993): *In Search of a State: Catholics in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Blackstaff. Chapter 8 and 9.

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Other cleavages:

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Topic 6: Consociationalism and the Party System

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- Garry, J. (2016): *Consociation and Voting in Northern Ireland: Party Competition and Electoral Behavior*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 7.
- Ó Dochartaigh, N. (2021): ‘Beyond the Dominant Party System: The Transformation of Party Politics in Northern Ireland’, *Irish Political Studies*, 36(1), pp. 7–28.
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- Mitchell, P., Evans, G., and O’Leary, B. (2009): ‘Extremist Outbidding in Ethnic Party Systems is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland’, *Political Studies*, 57(2), pp. 397-421.

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The party system:

- Coakley, J., Garry, J., Matthews, N., and O'Leary, B. (2019): 'Party Images in Northern Ireland: Evidence from a New Dataset', *Irish Political Studies*, 34(1), pp. 1-24.
- McNicholl, K. (2019): 'The Northern Irish Identity: Attitudes towards Moderate Political Parties and Outgroup Leaders', *Irish Political Studies*, 34(1), pp. 25-47.
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Topic 7: The Future of Northern Ireland

Required readings:

- Coakley, J. (2008): 'Has the Northern Ireland Problem Been Solved?', *Journal of Democracy*, 19(3), pp. 98-112.
- Garry, J., O'Leary, B., Coakley, J., Pow, J., and Whitten, L. (2020): 'Public Attitudes to Different Possible Models of a United Ireland: Evidence from a Citizens' Assembly in Northern Ireland', *Irish Political Studies*, 35(3), pp. 422-450.

Recommended readings:

- Doherty, P. (1996): 'The Numbers Game: The Demographic Context of Politics', pp. 199–209 in Aughey, A. and Morrow, D. (eds.) *Northern Ireland Politics*. London: Longman.
- McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B. (1995): *Explaining Northern Ireland: Broken Images*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pages 398-405.
- Ruane, J. (1999): 'The End of (Irish) History? Three Readings of the Current Conjuncture', pp. 145-169 in Ruane, J. and Todd, J. (eds.) *After the Good Friday Agreement: Analysing Political Change in Northern Ireland*. Dublin: UCD Press.