POSC 284: War and Peace in Northern Ireland

Carleton College, Winter 2019

Professor Devashree Gupta
Office: Willis 404
Phone: x4681
Email: dgupta@carleton.edu
Skype: devashree.gupta1

Winter Term Office Hours
Mondays, 11:30-3:00pm
Wednesdays, 11:30-3:00pm
And Skype by appointment

Course Description

This class examines the decades-long conflict in Northern Ireland between Catholics and Protestants known as "The Troubles." We will investigate the causes of violence in this region and explore the different phases of the conflict, including initial mobilization of peaceful protestors, radicalization into violent resistance, de-escalation, and post-peace process dynamics. We will explore a number of thematic issues alongside this historical progression, including the role of incomplete information and security dilemmas in conflict processes, the way that intra-group competition leads to radicalization, and international dimensions of the conflict. Finally, we will explore the consequences of this conflict on present-day Northern Ireland's politics, especially in the context of Brexit, and identify potential lessons from the peace process for other societies in conflict.

Course Materials

There are no required texts for this class. Hooray! All course materials will be made available on Moodle. It is your responsibility to read assigned texts actively and carefully for the day they are assigned, and bring copies of the texts (with your notes) to class to facilitate discussion.

Course Work

Your grade in this class will be based on six elements, which will be weighted as follows:

Participation	15%
In-class presentation	15%
Peace talks simulation	10%
Online exhibit	15%
Take-home exam	20%
Final paper	25%

Participation (15%)
Your participation grade is based on two elements: your active engagement with the course material and your overall "citizenship" in the classroom. Active engagement takes many forms, including taking part in classroom discussion and activities, listening attentively to points raised by others, coming to office hours to discuss the material, and more. While we will experiment with different ways to structure discussion throughout the term, you should determine how best to add your voice and your ideas to the larger dialogue. To get an A for participation, it is not enough to simply be attentive and absorb what others have to say; you must also contribute to our collective understanding of the material by raising questions, adding your take on the material, pushing others to clarify their ideas, etc.

Engaging with new material in this collective way is intellectually rewarding — but the public nature of such conversations and the intellectual risks that they require can also make us feel vulnerable and unsure of ourselves. As such, a positive and supportive environment is needed for our learning community to flourish. I expect everyone in the class to demonstrate support for others, to engage in constructive dialogue (and disagreement), and refrain from disruptive or disrespectful behaviors and language.

In-class presentations (15%)
You will work in small groups to research and then teach others in class about a particular topic during the second week of the term. Each group will introduce one of the key actors in the Troubles. Groups will spend the first week learning about the history and goals of one of these organizations, and will then present this material to the rest of the class in a presentation of no more than 10 minutes. Each group will also be responsible for putting together a Moodle resource page for others in the class that will contain suggested further readings, links to key documents, speeches, and other resources. The presentation will be worth 10% of the grade and the Moodle resource page will be worth 5%.

Peace talks simulation (10%)
During week seven, we will hold an in-class simulation of multi-party peace talks in a parallel universe where the Belfast Agreement has not yet been adopted. You will work in small groups to represent one key actor involved in the peace talks, and will research that actor's stance towards the proposals contained in the Agreement text. Each group will be responsible for writing a short negotiating document (worth 5%) and then each individual will be assessed on their contribution to the peace talks (5%).

Online exhibit (15%)
The Troubles have generated a wealth of primary source documents and artifacts, many of which are digitized and available online. For this assignment, you will take on the role of a curator and assemble an online exhibit of artifacts based around a theme or topic of your choosing. I will generate a sample list of topics; you are welcome to select one of these topics or propose an original topic. If you are proposing an original topic, you must get it approval by the end of the third week. Once you choose your theme, you will research the topic and find a minimum of five artifacts/documents related to it and three scholarly sources. The resulting exhibit, which will be hosted online, will consist of an introductory essay and curatorial notes on your artifacts, which describe them and relate them back to your larger theme. As a rough guide, the total written content for the online exhibit will be generally equivalent to a five-page paper. You may work on this project on your own, or in pairs. If you choose to work in pairs, you

must include a minimum of ten artifacts/documents and six scholarly sources. The completed exhibit is due at the end of fifth week.

Take-home exam (20%)
There will be a take-home exam over midterm break. You will be given several essay prompts, and you will select two and write a response of 6-8 (double-spaced) pages that demonstrates your knowledge of the topic. This response should draw substantially on readings, lectures, and discussions, and should not include outside research. You will have one week to complete the exam.

Final paper (25%)
The final paper for this class will be a 10-12 page (double-spaced) research paper on a topic of your own choosing. You must meet with me to get approval for your topic by the end of week 8. Papers are due on the last day of class.

Course Policies

All course policies are laid out on the course Moodle page. These policies cover expectations for attendance, grading, late work and extensions, academic integrity, accommodation for special needs, and use of electronics in class. **It is your responsibility to read and familiarize yourself with these guidelines and expectations.**

A content warning: this class deals with ethnic conflict and, as such, the content will regularly cover topics that may be upsetting. While any reasonable person will likely feel troubled at the references to or descriptions of violence, this material may be particularly traumatic for some individuals. If you ever need to step away from class discussions because of their effect on your mental health, you may always do so at any time, though you are still responsible for the key concepts being covered. Because triggers are highly individualized, I will not provide reading-specific trigger warnings; consider this a global notification for the entire term.

Schedule of Readings

The readings for this class come from a variety of sources and disciplines; while the general orientation of readings is towards historical case studies, interviews, and archival studies, there are different methodologies used throughout. Some readings will be more journalistic and accessible; others more scholarly and abstract. Your responsibility is to engage seriously with each one, distilling the key arguments made by authors and assessing the evidence they present to support those arguments. All readings are due for the date on which they are assigned, unless otherwise noted. Please alert me ASAP if a required reading is missing from the Moodle folder.

Part 1: Foundations of the Troubles

	Topic	Readings and Assignments
January 9	Deep roots of the conflict	• Ward, Alan J. 1980. *The Easter Rising: Revolution and Irish Nationalism*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, ch. 2 (pp. 17-31) and ch. 6 (pp. 77-94). • Larkin, Emmet. 1990. *Alexis de Tocqueville's Journey in Ireland, July-August 1835* (E. Larkin, trans.). Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, selections.

January 11	The problem of Ulster	• Ruddy, John D. 2018. "Irish War of Independence in 12 Minutes." Video. • Hennessy, Thomas. 1997. *A History of Northern Ireland, 1920-1996*. New York: St. Martin's Press, ch. 1 (pp. 1-23). • Ulster Solemn League and Covenant, text. • Loughlin, James. 2007. "Creating 'A Social and Geographic Fact': Regional Identity and the Ulster Question 1880s-1920s." *Past & Present*, 195(1): 159-196.
January 14	Unionism and nationalism	• McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary. 1995. *Explaining Northern Ireland*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, ch. 1 (pp. 13-62) and ch. 3 (pp. 92-137)
January 16	Life under the Protestant Ascendancy	• McKittrick, David and David McVea. 2002. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, ch. 1 (pp. 1-25). • Kennedy-Pipe, Carolyn. 1997. *The Origin of the Present Troubles in Northern Ireland*. London and New York: Longman, pp. 20-30.
January 18	A closer look at key actors	• No additional readings • **In-class presentations** • **Finish Moodle resource pages by 7pm**

Part 2: The Road to War

January 21	Macro-theories of the conflict	• Elliott, Laurence. 2013. "Religion and Sectarianism in Ulster: Interpreting the Northern Ireland Troubles." *Religion Compass*, 7(3): 93-101. • McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary. 1995. *Explaining Northern Ireland*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, ch. 6 (pp. 214-264). • Bourke, Richard. 2011. "Languages of Conflict and the Northern Ireland Troubles." *The Journal of Modern History*, 83: 544-578.
January 23	Emergence of civil rights mobilization	• McKittrick, David and David McVea. 2002. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, ch. 2 (pp. 26-52). • Bosi, Lorenzo. 2008. "Explaining the Emergence Process of the Civil Rights Protest in Northern Ireland (1945-1968): Insights from a Relational Social Movement Approach." *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 21(2/3) 242-271.

January 25	Radicalization and internment	• White, Barry. 1983. "From Conflict to Violence: The Re-Emergence of the IRA and the Loyalist Response." In *Northern Ireland: The Background to the Conflict*, John Darby, ed., pp. 181-196. • McKittrick, David and David McVea. 2002. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, ch. 3-4 (pp. 53-83). • Murray, Raymond. 1998. *State Violence, Northern Ireland 1969-1997*. Cork and Dublin: Mercier Press, pp. 41-48 [**note**: this reading is a first-hand account of being interned and contains some graphic details of violence during an interrogation].
January 28	Enter Westminster	• Dixon, Paul. 2001. *Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace*. Basingstoke, UK and New York: Palgrave, ch. 5 (pp. 98-128). • Burke, Edward. 2015. "Counter-Insurgency against 'Kith and Kin'? The British Army in Northern Ireland, 1970-76." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43(3): 658-677. • Dickson, Brice. 1995. "Criminal Justice and Emergency Laws." In *Facets of the Conflict*, Seamus Dunn, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 61-79.
January 30	Explaining escalation	• Beggan, Dominic M. 2006. "State Repression and Political Violence: Insurgency in Northern Ireland." *International Journal on World Peace*, 23(4): 61-90. • Lynch, Orla and Carmel Joyce. 2018. "Functions of Collective Victimhood: Political Violence and the Case of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *International Review of Victimology*, 24(2): 183-197. • Stokes, Paul A. 2006. "The Troubles in Northern Ireland, 1968-2005: A Case of Humiliation." *Social Alternatives*, 25(1): 17-21.
February 1	Life during the Troubles	• Goalwin, Gregory. 2013. "The Art of War: Instability, Insecurity, and Ideological Imagery in Northern Ireland's Political Murals, 1979-1998." *International Journal of Political and Cultural Sociology*, 26: 189-215. • Grubb, Amy E. 2016. "Microlevel Dynamics of Violence: Explaining Variation in Violence among Rural Districts during Northern Ireland's Troubles." *Security Studies*, 25: 460-487. • McAtackney, Laura. 2011. "Peace Maintenance and Political Messages: The Significance of Walls During and After the Northern Irish 'Troubles'." *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 11(1): 77-98.

February 4	The hunger strikes	• McKittrick, David and David McVea. 2002. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: New Amsterdam Books, ch. 7 (pp. 134-148). • Dingley, James and Marcello Mollica. 2007. "The Human Body as a Terrorist Weapon: Hunger Strikes and Suicide Bombers." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30: 459-492. • Bonakdarian, Mansour. 2018. "Iranian Consecration of Irish Nationalist "Martyrs": The Islamic Republic of Iran and the 1981 Republican Prisoners' Hunger Strike in Northern Ireland." *Social History*, 43(3): 293-331.
February 6	The political turn	• Neumann, Peter R. 2005. "The Bullet and the Ballot Box: The Case of the IRA." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 28(6): 941-975. • Shirlow, Peter and Mark McGovern. 1998. "Language, Discourse, and Dialogue: Sinn Féin and the Irish Peace Process." *Political Geography*, 17(2): 171-186. • Whiting, Matthew. 2016. "Moderation without Change: The Strategic Transformation of Sinn Féin and the IRA in Northern Ireland." *Government and Opposition*, 53(2): 288-311.
February 8	Stalemate and negotiation	• Ó Dochartaigh, Niall. 2015. "The Longest Negotiation: British Policy, IRA Strategy, and the Making of the Northern Ireland Peace Settlement." *Political Studies*, 63: 202-220. • Dixon, Paul. 2001. *Northern Ireland: The Politics of War and Peace*. Basingstoke, UK and New York: Palgrave, ch. 9 (215-243).
		• **Midterm exam handed out** • **Online exhibits due, 7pm**
February 11	Midterm break	• No reading!

Part 3: The Road to Peace

February 13	The Good Friday Agreement	• Good Friday Agreement Text • Ruane, Joseph and Jennifer Todd. 1999. "The Belfast Agreement: Context, Content, Consequences." In *The Good Friday Agreement: Analyzing Political Change in Northern Ireland*, Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd, eds. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, pp. 1-29.
February 15	Explaining the GFA: internal dimensions	• Pruitt, Dean G. 2007. "Readiness Theory and the Northern Ireland Conflict." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(11): 1520-1541. • Matchett, William Roy. 2015. "Security: Missing from the Northern Ireland Model." *Democracy and Security*, 11:1-43.
		• **Midterm exam due, 7pm**

February 18	Explaining the GFA: external dimensions	• Arthur, Paul. 2010. "The Role of the European Union as a Peace Builder: Northern Ireland as a Case Study." *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 17(1): 176-204. • Hazleton, William. 2000. "Encouragement from the Sidelines: Clinton's Role in the Good Friday Agreement." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 11: 103-119. • Gupta, Devashree. 2016. "The Role of Licit and Illicit Transnational Networks During the Troubles." In *Theories of International Relations and Northern Ireland*, Timothy White, ed. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, pp. 79-101.
February 20	In-class simulation	• No reading • **Simulation brief due <u>in class</u>**
February 22	In-class simulation	• No reading

Part 4: Peace in our Time?

February 25	Assessing the GFA institutions	• McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary. 2006. "Consociational Theory, Nothern Ireland's Conflict and its Agreement: What Critics of Consociation can Learn from Northern Ireland." *Government and Opposition*, 41(2): 249-277. • Wilford, Rick. 2009. "Northern Ireland: The Politics of Constraint." *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63(1): 134-155. • Mitchell, Paul, Brendan O'Leary, and Geoffrey Evans. 2001. "Northern Ireland: Flanking Extremists Bite the Moderates and Emerge in their Clothes." *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54: 725-742.
February 27	Decommissioning and security issues	• Harrington, Joanna. 2009. "Peace in Northern Ireland and the Remaining Issue of the 'On-the-Runs'." *Human Rights Review*, 10: 5-34. • Schulze, Kirsten E. and M.L.R. Smith. 2000. Decommissioning and Paramilitary Strategy in Northern Ireland: A Problem Compared." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 23(4): 77-106. • Dickson, Brice. 2006. "New Beginnings? Policing and Human Rights after the Conflict." In *A Farewell to Arms? Beyond the Good Friday Agreement.* Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, pp. 170-186.

March 1	Intercommunity relations	• Hewstone, Miles, et. al. 2006. "Intergroup Contact, Forgiveness, and Experience of "The Troubles" in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Social Issues*, 62(1): 99-120. • Muldoon, Orla T. 2004. "Children of the Troubles: The Impact of Political Violence in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(3): 453-468. • Jarman, Neil and John Bell. 2012. "Routine Divisions: Segregation and Daily Life in Northern Ireland." In *Everyday Life After the Irish Conflict: The Impact of Devolution and Cross-Border Cooperation*, Cillian McGrattan and Elizabeth Meehan, eds. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, pp. 39-53.
March 4	Transitional justice concerns	• Smyth, Marie. 2000. "Remembering Northern Ireland: Victims, Perpetrators, and Hierarchies of Pain and Responsibility." In *Past Imperfect: Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland and Societies in Transition*, Derry/Londonderry: INCORE, ch. 4. • Aiken, Nevin T. 2014. "The Bloody Sunday Inquiry: Transitional Justice and Postconflict Reconciliation in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Human Rights*, 14: 101-123. • Graham, Brian and Yvonne Whelan. 2007. "The Legacies of the Dead: Commemorating the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 25: 476-495.
March 6	Mainstream and dissident republicans	• Bean, Kevin. 2014. "Endings and Beginnings? Republicanism since 1994." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 37: 720-732. • Tonge, Jonathan. 2012. "'No-one Likes Us; We Don't Care': 'Dissident' Irish Republicans and Mandates." *The Political Quarterly,* 83(2): 219-226. • Edwards, Aaron. 2011. "When Terrorism as Strategy Fails: Dissident Irish Republicanism and the Threat to British Security." 34(4): 318-336.
March 8	The future of unionism	• Souther, Neil. 2007. "Protestant Alienation in Northern Ireland: A Political Cultural, and Geographical Examination." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(1): 159-180. • Cohen, Shaul. 2007. "Winning While Losing: The Apprentice Boys of Derry Walk their Beat." *Political Geography*, 26: 951-967. • Gardner, Peter R. 2018. "Ethnicity Monopoly: Ulster-Scots Ethnicity Building and Institutional Hegemony in Northern Ireland." *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 26(2): 139-161.
March 11	What's next?	• Mitchell, David. 2018. "Northern Ireland's Twenty Years of Troubled Peace." *Current History*, 117(797): pp. 89-95. • Stevenson, Jonathan. 2017. "Does Brexit Threaten Peace in Northern Ireland?" *Survival*, 59(3): 111-128.
March 13	Conclusion and wrap-up	• No reading • Final papers due, 7pm on Moodle