

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ONSET IN CIVIL WAR: A CASE STUDY OF THE TROUBLES

ALLISON KINSEY
SPRING 2013

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees
in International Politics and Spanish
with honors in International Politics

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Douglas Lemke
Associate Professor
Thesis Supervisor

James Piazza
Associate Professor
Honors Adviser

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

Civil wars have been happening for thousands upon thousands of years. The question of why they occur continues to plague political scientists who search for the main causes of onset. A variety of viewpoints have been explored including the greed school, grievance school, and beyond. The recent Troubles within Northern Ireland have become something as an anomaly within the field of civil disputes, as the measurement of the variables related to this conflict reflect that statistically speaking, a conflict should not have occurred. Why would a democratic, rural state with little ethnic variance have a civil war? Perhaps onset occurred because this state was not so democratic, ethnically homogenous, and geographically situated in a peaceful manner after all. Correct measurement of onset variables conducted through historical research and case studies shows that the Northern Ireland conflict may not be such an anomaly of a conflict after all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	iii
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2 Literature Review.....	3
Chapter 3 Theories.....	8
Chapter 4 Research Design.....	14
Chapter 5 Case Study: The 1960s.....	17
Chapter 6 Case Study: The 1970s.....	20
Chapter 7 Case Study: The 1980s.....	24
Chapter 8 Case Study: The 1990s.....	27
Chapter 9 Discussion.....	29
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	31

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take the time to thank my thesis adviser, employer, and mentor, Dr. Doug Lemke, for all of his help on this project. His encouragement, advice, and sense of humor all helped me complete this task, learn from my mistakes, and focus on the better things to come.

Chapter 1

Introduction

For as long as creatures have walked the earth there have been conflicts; these conflicts are of animal and human nature that have spanned a variety of different categories. One of these types of conflicts that are very common is that of civil wars. Civil wars occur in a variety of different circumstances for a variety of proposed reasons and causes. The Troubles within Northern Ireland is a civil conflict that is seen in some regards as an anomaly among civil conflicts.

The root of the Troubles spans back through Irish history from colonization, to civil war, to independence, and beyond. After the Republic of Ireland gained independence in 1922 from Great Britain the 6 northernmost counties of the island remained part of the Great Britain. This political move and frustration that had been mounting for centuries culminated in a civil rights movement in Northern Ireland in which ethnically Irish Catholic individuals campaigned for equal treatment and rights as citizens of the British Protestant ethnicity. After the Northern Irish government and the British governments gave a largely negative response to these protests a violent civil conflict erupted which involved the British military, Northern Ireland police force, and terrorist groups aligning themselves with either the British or Irish side of the conflict.

The story of the Troubles is not a particularly surprising tale of a civil conflict erupting from historical grievances. It is seen as a surprising example because of the

measurement of various environmental and governmental factors that describe the society of Northern Ireland at the time. During the 20th century Northern Ireland was seen as a flourishing democracy with little a relatively small amount of group differences based on grievance. Moreover, Northern Ireland is a fairly flat and rural area except for some urban areas like the capital, Belfast, as well as other major cities like Derry. In this thesis I propose that these factors and conditions should be viewed and measured in a different, more historically accurate way. When viewed in this manner, it is not surprising that such a long and sometimes very heated civil conflict occurred in Northern Ireland throughout the mid to late 20th century.

To begin this argument I discuss the literature surrounded civil conflict and the general concept and history behind the troubles, noting that I take stock in the grievance school of civil wars being alive and well today, and attributing the Northern Irish civil conflict to that school of thought. From there I delve into four case studies, namely of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. These are the four principal decades during the beginning of the civil rights movement and the bulk of the Troubles. What emerges from these case studies is a complete look at the shifting variables of level of democracy, grievance, and environmental factors, and how they all combined to cause the onset of the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Onset, arguably the most important point in a civil war, has been researched widely in the field of political science. There is a consensus that the inception of a civil war can be caused by many factors including economic, ethnic and cultural differences, and greed. In their work, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (1998) analyze onset of civil war in respect to utility theory, a school of thought related to economic factors. They argue that civil wars will only occur if the rebel group deems the incentives to outweigh the costs of entering into conflict. Furthermore, the authors test the effectiveness of several incentives including obtaining control of natural resources, per capita income, and the ethno-linguistic fractionalization index. The ethno-linguistic fractionalization index, or ELF, is meant to determine the ethnic make-up of a population. How each of these three specific variables represents economic incentives for civil war is explored later.

These factors tie into the economic well being of groups or individuals because being in control of resources and capital is so vastly valuable within a society. If there is a significant chance that starting a civil conflict will land you with this control or otherwise put you in much better financial straits, the chances are you will risk your life to attempt to win this control. The lower your per capital income the more likely you are to start a civil conflict because you are not losing much by taking time away from your job to go fight the government, and therefore are not losing much economically. Similarly, if there is a large disparity between the levels of power held by different ethnic groups within a state, the ethnic group with less power (and possibly less income and opportunities as a result of that disparity) is risking little to start a civil war against the presiding ethnic group in hopes of gaining more power for their group

and identity. Control of economic capabilities and governmental factors is strongly related to natural resource control. Natural resources are valuable commodities, which strongly benefit those who own them.

Collier and Hoeffler conclude in their paper that economic factors do have a large and meaningful effect on the probability of onset of civil war within a state. The largest association is seen in the *per capita* income variable; as *per capita* income increases the probability of onset decreases. The authors interpret this outcome “as being due to the effect of higher income on the opportunity cost of rebellion” (Collier and Hoeffler, 571). Additionally, positive relationships between size of population and presence of natural resources with onset were observed. Arguably, the authors’ most notable finding is that ELF has no effect on the start of civil war. This finding refutes the prior work of many political scientists, including Easterly and Levine (1997), who concluded that ELF is a conflict-enhancing variable whose significance rivals economic factors.

Collier and Hoeffler’s work has a great effect on the validity of the greed versus grievance schools of thought about civil war onset. The greed school is believed to be the prototype of current, post-Cold War civil wars. Greed school thought says that rebels commence civil wars in order to gain economically or politically via the acquisition of power or status. These wars often are associated with the natural resources curse or control of government for selfish gain. Collier and Hoeffler’s work with utility theory strongly supports the philosophy of the greed school.

On the other hand, the grievance school of civil wars, often associated with but not limited to be pre-1990 civil conflicts, takes a very different approach to civil war incipience. In this case it is believed that rebel groups try to right what they deem to be some wrong by way of violent conflict. Common examples of grievances are ethnic discrimination, political repression, and corruption.

Historically, the grievance school has not enjoyed a very positive reputation throughout the political science community. To explain, many times the grievances of a rebel group are only measured by ELF; within scientific research ELF is most strongly associated with the causes of grievance. ELF is a variable that represents the statistical probability that any two individuals from a state randomly selected will be from different ethnolinguistic groups. This statistic is measured only once per state and only measures diversity, not the historical relationships between ethnic groups. Scholars argue that since ELF is a static variable across time it obviously cannot be the cause of something that varies over time, like the start of a civil war. Hence, the grievance school is believed to offer an ill-founded theory. However, ELF is certainly not the only way to represent whether a group is aggrieved; for example, social mores and ideals could cause gulfs of grievance between groups. Additionally, it is certainly plausible that the measure of ELF itself is not calculated correctly. Within any social science, measuring abstract variables is very difficult. Traditional ELF figures used in most political science databases today were created by the Russian Committee for State Security, or KGB, in 1961; a significant amount of time has passed since those calculations were made and there is no affirmation of a lack of bias on the part of the KGB. Additionally, the comprehensiveness of the research done by the KGB is up for dispute. The Troubles in Northern Ireland challenge the correctness of ELF calculations with respect to the Protestant and Catholic population and therefore gives validity to the grievance school of thought.

The work of Fearon and Laitin (2003) supports the findings of Collier and Hoeffler. Fearon and Laitin also come to the conclusion that civil wars are not started by grievances. However, they acknowledge that often grievances are produced by civil conflict and hence become central to rebel strategy. Furthermore, Fearon and Laitin argue that insurgencies are motivated by poverty, political instability, rough terrain, and a large population rather than grievance variables like political repression, ethnic or religious discrimination, or economic

inequality. Despite the work of Collier and Hoeffler and Fearon and Laitin, one recent study by Buhaug, Cederman, and Rød find some evidence to support the theory of ethnicity as a cause of civil war.

In their 2008 work, Buhaug et al. test the relationship between civil war onset and the amount of power smaller ethnic groups hold within their state. The authors hypothesize that whether an ethnic group has political power affects the probability of civil war onset. After running the appropriate tests the authors found that ethnic discrimination seems to have a much larger effect on civil war onset than one would think from studies like Collier and Hoeffler's and Fearon and Laitin's. For example, mountainous terrain and distance of the ethnic group from the capital both have a fairly large and statistically significant effect on the onset of civil war. So too does the hypothesized variable of political exclusion. This work gives support to the grievance school of thought, suggesting that ethnic grievance and factors associated with it may have a substantial effect on civil war onset. Buhaug and his co-authors find support for the grievance school because they have changed the focus from the total ethnic diversity of a country to whether each ethnic group is part of the governing regime in each country. They use ELF only to identify ethnic groups within countries, and then add new information about whether each group might be aggrieved – because it is excluded from power, remote from the capital city, etc. However, the authors are keen to point out that their research is limited to Eurasia and North Africa. Additionally, like ELF, geographic conditions are difficult to measure and calculate. Buhaug et al.'s work applies to the situation within Northern Ireland. The ethnic divide between Catholics and Protestants formed a large part of the basis of conflict in Northern Ireland; however, the situation seems to differ from much of the authors' research. For example, Northern Ireland is not a mountainous region, however, the set up of ethnically divided communities provides similar cover for guerrillas. Furthermore, the Troubles in Northern Ireland differ from other civil conflicts because of the convoluted regime type in the state during the mid 20th century

In their recent work, Hegre et al. test the effect of regime type on civil war occurrence during two periods: from 1816 to 1992 and with more detailed information for the years from 1946 to 1992. The authors hypothesize that democracies and autocracies are less likely to enter into civil war than other regime types, challenging the one-sided notion of democratic peace in a civil war sense. After running their regressions, the authors discovered that in fact there are other factors that seem to have a greater substantive effect on civil war onset than the level of democracy within a regime. For example, the more recent a regime type change occurred in a state has more effect on the onset of civil war than to what regime type the state changes. Moreover, when examining regime type on a polity scale, regimes that fall to one extreme, autocracy or democracy, are less likely to experience civil wars than regimes that fall in the middle of the scale. The authors conclude that this is due to the different natures of the regimes themselves. In autocracies, government control is so great that would-be rebels rarely start civil wars because they know there is little hope of getting their movement off the ground before the state crushes their attempt. On the other hand, democracies are designed so that citizens can voice their dissent and frustrations in manners other than starting civil wars. It is the anocracies in the middle of the polity scale, lacking uncontested government control and vast political freedom, which have a greater probability of civil war onset. However, it is important to remember when looking at Hegre et al.'s work that polity, like ELF, is a variable that is measured imperfectly. Like ELF analyses, Hegre et al. are also getting at grievance, in that they assume that political grievances are more common in some types of regimes than in others.

The vast amount of research and work dedicated to examining civil war onset displays the wide array of evidence to support various, sometimes conflicting, theories about the main causes of civil conflict. Certain aspects of the Troubles in Northern Ireland corroborate many of the claims made by prior works while other aspects bring into question the preciseness and accuracy of the measurements and tests previously executed.

Chapter 3

Theories

The Troubles in Northern Ireland are considered an anomaly in the context of civil conflict for several reasons. Studies have shown that various factors contribute to a low probability of civil war occurring in a state including, low ELF, democracy, and lack of rough terrain. All of these conditions describe the state of Northern Ireland during the latter half of the 20th century. However, these measurements which political scientists base their tests on unintentionally include various measurement errors that negate the argument of the Troubles being such an anomaly.

The root causes of the Northern Ireland conflict extend back far into Irish history. Since approximately the 13th century the British had controlled the island, ripping power and land from the native Gaels, the ancestors of the modern Irish peoples. Irish people struggled for their independence for centuries; however, the much stronger British army crushed all of their attempts at freedom. During the 17th century a very strong sentiment of distrust and animosity arose between the Irish and British. Laws were passed that barred the practice of Catholicism, the religion of the majority of Irish people, and forbade Irish people from owning property if they identified as Catholic (Lawless). As a result, Irish people were forced to live under ruthless landlords in pitiful conditions. Furthermore, many Irish attributed many of the thousands of deaths during the Great Famine of 1845-1849 to a purposeful lack of British aid (Woodham-Smith).

In the spring of 1916 the Easter Rising, an attempt at Irish freedom, resulted in a violent struggle in Dublin and the eventual surrender of the Irish rebels after several days of fighting. At this point in Irish history, many Irish people were neutral on the matter of British

control of Ireland; the public was tired of the attempts at resistance and therefore resigned themselves to the fate of an eternally conquered Ireland. However, the execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising provoked a strong sense of nationalism on the island, leading to eventual Irish independence in 1922 (Clarke). The Treaty of Ireland, a hotly contested document, granted sovereignty to the 26 counties in the south, allowing the northernmost 6 counties to choose to remain part of the United Kingdom or to join the Republic of Ireland. The population, mostly comprised of individuals identifying as British, chose to remain with England. Many Irish people in both Northern Ireland and the Republic were infuriated, claiming that although the majority of the Northern Ireland population was British, the land should be returned to the Irish. This treaty and the resulting conflict cemented a deep divide between the two main ethnic groups in Northern Ireland: Irish Catholic and British Protestant.

Although the ELF rates reported by the KGB for Great Britain and Ireland are .325 and .014 respectively, these numbers do not remotely reflect the ethnic divisions in Northern Ireland prior to and during the Troubles (Fearon). The 0.325 value refers to Great Britain as a whole, while the 0.014 value refers to the Republic of Ireland. No separate ELF score is offered in standard datasets for specifically Northern Ireland. During the period of the Troubles, the majority of the population of Ulster was British while roughly 35% of the population was Catholic, resulting in a very tense ethnic conflict (CAIN). The ELF score for specifically Northern Ireland would be considerably higher than that of the Republic of Ireland, however, far more important than the raw number is the strength of ethnic discord between the two communal groups. Murals still cover the walls of Belfast and Derry, demonstrating the hostility between the two groups. Murals painted by British Protestant individuals celebrate Oliver Cromwell, a 17th century British leader associated with the enslavement and death of thousands of Irish people, and William of Orange, a 16th Century English king whose ascension to the throne represented Protestantism's triumph over Catholicism since he replaced England's last catholic king.

Meanwhile, murals painted by Irish Catholics call for freedom, depicting famous Irish rebels. The acrimony between the two ethnic groups caused a variety of civil rights concerns including discrimination and segregation.

Discrimination ran rampant in Northern Ireland, particularly in relation to employment and housing. Northern Ireland was known to be an economically developed state, mainly due to the large amount of manufacturing occurring in Belfast. However, a moderate rate of unemployment persisted. However, a stark majority of the unemployed were Irish Catholic opposed to British Protestant. Irish Catholics that were lucky enough to secure a job usually worked in the lowest paid and most dangerous sectors of factories, often sustaining injury and illness. On the other hand, British Protestants held more desirable jobs like management, government employment, and placement with the Royal Ulster Constabulary (McKenna). Clearly such conditions would spark economic ethnic grievances for the Catholic community.

Similar discrimination occurred in housing. Many more British than Irish families inhabited the newest and safest housing complexes, despite applications from both ethnic groups. Irish families were evicted to make way for British families, resulting in large areas of Irish “ghettos”, cut off from British neighborhoods by large metal walls (Melaugh 2).

Sentiment, employment, and housing figures from the 1950’s and 1960’s speak to the intensity of ethnic conflict. They show the inadequacy of the raw ELF value for Northern Ireland in measuring the grievances of the Catholic community during the 1960’s. Additionally, the raw ELF value does not change throughout the entirety of the Troubles, despite fluctuations in ethnic discontent in Northern Ireland. Information resulting from case studies speaks to this fluctuation later in this paper. Another gargantuan measurement error in regards to Northern Ireland’s society is that of regime type.

Northern Ireland was considered a democracy under control of the United Kingdom during the time of the Troubles (on a -10 to 10 scale with higher values representing

more democratic governments, Northern Ireland scores a perfect 10, being subsumed under the overall national government of Great Britain). However, certain practices and policies implemented specifically in Northern Ireland suggest that this democracy was more of a façade than a realization. For example, data from the district boundaries, population, and election results from the time leading up to and during the Troubles show evidence of gerrymandering conducted by British Protestant politicians. Districts were drawn in a manner to increase the influence of Protestant votes and lower the influence of Catholic votes, often leading to the election of a British Protestant TD or MP even in an Irish Catholic dominated area (The Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland).

During the same period, the right to vote in local government elections was only extended to ratepayers, otherwise known as citizens who owned property. Ratepayers could cast from one up to six votes, depending on the amount of holdings or renting properties the individual owned. Given economic and residential discrimination, the overwhelming majority of ratepayers were Protestant. Thus, the flagrant discrimination that prevented many Irish Catholics from owning property had political implications and was another source of grievance (BBC History).

Another example of not-so-democratic practices was the policy of internment, implemented on August 9, 1971. This policy allowed the Royal Ulster Constabulary and British military to arrest and detain persons suspected of being involved in illegal paramilitary groups without trial. Furthermore, evidence shows that the policy of internment was not used to detain members of any British paramilitary group like the Ulster Volunteer Force or Red Hand Defenders; rather the policy only targeted members of the Irish Catholic community (Melaugh). In 1972 Westminster employed direct rule over Northern Ireland, a situation generally not favored by Protestants or Catholics. Under direct rule the United Kingdom controlled the territory from afar, leaving few democratic rights to any citizen of Northern Ireland (McKittrick

and McVea). The existence of gerrymandering and questionable voting rights, implementation of internment, and commencement of direct rule all give testament to a lack of a viable democracy within the state of Northern Ireland during the Troubles. Again, crude measures commonly employed in civil war research do not reflect the reality of grievances in Northern Ireland.

Another factor found strongly to influence the probability of civil war onset is the composition of the terrain. States with particularly rough terrain, including mountains and dense forests, are shown to have a larger chance of civil war compared to those with a relatively flat and open landscape (this is documented particularly in Fearon and Laitin's study). The prevalent belief is that civil wars occur more often in states with rough terrain because the rebel groups then have the ability to hide from the government forces. These groups are able to employ guerrilla tactics, which are often much more effective against a more powerful government force than would be an open war strategy. The geography of Northern Ireland is mostly made up of low hills and open grassland areas, hardly a rugged landscape. For this reason, Northern Ireland's geography is coded as relatively non-rugged terrain. This marker further suggests a very low probability of civil war in Northern Ireland, supporting the notion that the Troubles in Northern Ireland are an anomaly among modern civil conflict. However, when considering terrain in relation to civil war probability in another light, it is possible to see how "terrain" contributed to the civil war in Northern Ireland.

The attention paid to the terrain variable is motivated by the expectation that the presence of rough terrain will make it easier for rebel groups to utilize guerrilla tactics and blend into their surroundings, escaping from the government; however, factors in landscape other than mountains and jungles can have this same effect. Two of the major epicenters of violence during the Troubles were Belfast and Derry, the largest cities within Northern Ireland. Within both of these cities there were, and even still are, discernable portions of each urban area that can be called distinctively "Catholic" or "Protestant". This does not only refer to residential areas but

also certain zones of the city where each group would frequent shops owned by members of their same ethnic group (Melaugh 2).

These distinct areas of homogenous ethnic populations provided the same coverage for rebels as rough physical terrain does in many other civil conflicts. Members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and other nationalist groups were able to blend into the rest of the Irish Catholic community, causing confusion as to who supported the rebels and committed the violent crimes and who was merely a bystander. Measuring the rough terrain variable in regards to only geographic characteristics limits the analysis of conditions that promote the onset of civil war in states. Furthermore, this error in specific regards to Northern Ireland has created a very narrow worldview which does not acknowledge the distinct, yet common circumstances that led to civil war on a tiny Western European island during the 20th century.

In summary, my argument is that Northern Ireland's Troubles are not the major anomaly current civil war research would suggest. Standard datasets classify Northern Ireland as not terribly ethnically diverse, reasonably developed, democratic, and lacking in insurgency-favoring terrain. However, all of these characterizations are mischaracterizations. A more fine-toothed comb and thoughtful consideration of the concepts underlying standard variables linking states to civil wars shows that Northern Ireland was rife with ethnic and economic grievances, that the political system was not democratic, or was not equally democratic, for the two communities, and that the urban terrain did favor rebel insurgency. When these variables are more validly measured for Northern Ireland, we see that the Troubles are not a stark anomaly but rather fit nicely within the Grievance school of thought about civil war onset.

Chapter 4

Research Design

In the pages to follow I conduct case studies to test how ethnic grievances, democracy, and terrain affected the onset of the Troubles in Northern Ireland and the escalation of the conflict. There are four case studies, one for each of the four main decades of the conflict: namely, the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. These cases were chosen because they holistically measure the effect of the independent variables (i.e. ethnic grievances, democracy, and terrain) on the dependent variables (i.e. civil war onset and escalation) throughout this lengthy civil conflict.

Since the nature of the study is to compare whether onset and escalation were influenced in each decade by the three variables, I will onset and escalation as related concepts. The conflict will be deemed escalated if greater than 1.5 times more people died in each subsequent decade than the previous decade. Reliable data sets will be used to ascertain the number of deaths that occurred each year in the conflict.

As previously discussed, the measures of the independent variables ethnic grievances, democracy, and terrain do not change in the datasets often utilized by political scientists when studying civil conflict. In order to show the changes in these variables and how they affect the dependent variables I will be creating my own measurements. In order to determine my ethnic grievances version of the ELF variable, I will research factors that may have affected the relations between the two principle ethnic groups: Irish Catholic and British Protestant. These factors may include blatant discrimination in housing, education, employment, personal freedoms, and other social constructs. Historical narratives along with population and ethnically based datasets will assist in calculating these measurements. The addition or retraction of discriminatory policies

and the level of ethnic integration will demonstrate whether there was an increase or decrease in what the ELF index would have been during that decade if properly measured.

Likewise, I will be constructing historical narratives with reliable data to generate measurements of the level of democracy within the territory of Northern Ireland during each decade. The implementation, continuance, and termination of factors like internment, gerrymandering, direct rule, and equal representation will help me deem whether there was an increase or decrease in the level of democracy. Through correctly measuring this independent factor it will be possible to see whether it had an effect on the onset and escalation of the conflict.

Finally, I will also be conducting research to create my own measurements of the roughness of terrain during each decade of the Troubles. To gauge roughness departing from the normal geological configurations, I will consult data on the concentration of Irish Catholic and British Protestant populations within different areas of Northern Ireland. Specifically, I will determine the presence of Catholic versus Protestant neighborhoods within the two major metropolitan centers, Belfast and Derry. If there is a presence of distinct ethnically homogenous neighborhoods I will determine a level of terrain roughness. The increase or decrease of these types of neighborhoods and the concentration of the ethnic groups will show the change in the variable throughout the four decades of the conflict.

There is a strong possibility that there are other variables that contributed to the onset and escalation of violence during the Northern Ireland conflict. I will strive to identify and explain these variables in the context of the decade in which they arose, and how they may have affected future occurrences during the Troubles. When necessary, I will control for these variables, whether they be ceasefires, political stalemate, or otherwise, as to not interfere with the analysis.

Each of the four decades of the Troubles has a rich and interesting history with its own events that defined the decade and played a large role in the entire narrative of the Northern Ireland conflict. I will strive to name and explain these events not only to relate how they

influenced the variables, but also for the benefit of the reader. Events like the Derry March, Bloody Sunday, and the intense hunger strikes are key points not only in Irish history, but also in the global narrative of civil rights, violence, and personal sacrifice of individuals simultaneously seen as freedom fighter and terrorist. Hundreds of years of history culminated in these four decades of profound unrest and uncertainty. Almost 15 years after the official end to the Troubles (with the signing of the Good Friday agreement), a distinct air of ambiguity still surrounds the eventual fate of the territory of Northern Ireland (BBC).

Chapter 5

Case Study: The 1960s

The 1960s was a decade of great change and great movement within Northern Ireland. During this time Catholic and Nationalist woes came to the forefront as civil rights campaigns surged, inspired by the African American civil rights movement in the United States. The first of these organizations to make a viable impact on Northern Irish society was the Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland, which distributed many pamphlets detailing great amounts of gerrymandering, discrimination in housing and employment, and other inequalities suffered by the Irish peoples within Northern Ireland. The Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland did not call for a separatist movement against the British government, but rather strove to rally the Irish people to persuade their representatives to go to Parliament calling for a change in Northern Irish society. They were focused on equal pay, equal opportunity, and equal rights rather than completely separating from the British state. A pamphlet widely distributed by this organization called "The Plain Truth" detailed extensive discrimination in all of these sectors in the major towns and cities in many of the counties in Northern Ireland. Although the group does not cite where it got all of its statistics, whether it be from personal research or some other body, it is important to note that regardless, the pamphlet had a sincere effect on the sentiments of the Catholic population within Northern Ireland. A severe and high amount of discrimination was perceived and a drive for change was generated. Another civil rights organization, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, or NICRA, harnessed this drive in order to organize several civil rights marches throughout Northern Ireland. Several of the early marches were enacted peacefully, however, a march in Derry on 5 October 1968 became violent. Town officials banned

the march, however some 400 people tried taking part anyway. As a result members of the RUC attacked protesters with batons, wounding many (CAIN).

Despite the questioned validity of statements made in “The Plain Truth” it seems as if discrimination in certain aspects did exist as was stated by the Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland. Discrimination did exist readily in some areas, particularly Fermanagh and Tyrone, however it was not as common of a practice across the whole of Northern Ireland (Gudgin). In these places it was common practice to build housing for certain ethnic groups in certain areas in order to swing local elections, which is a form of gerrymandering. Discrimination in employment does seem to have been quite common in Northern Ireland during this time. R.G. Cooper, a manager in the engineering industry, a prominent field in Northern Ireland, said that often times Catholic job applicants were not considered for employment due to “cold war” antagonism between Catholics and Protestants. Moreover, the Gallagher Report, an official commission of enquiry, came to similar conclusions as those of the Campaign for Social Justice, stating that of manual labor positions only a little over 40% identified as Nationalist, however, of the 1951 senior post only 11.8% were held by Nationalist individuals, a huge disparity.

The Cameron Commission found similar evidence of fraud in local government franchises, declaring that it was not fully democratic. This report cited that roughly 1.5% of the population had more than one vote while over 25% of the parliamentary electorate had no vote, due to property laws. One specific example of undemocratic voting practices that led to disenfranchisement and lack of representation was that of the Londonderry County Borough. By 1961 this area had a profound Catholic majority of over 60% among the adult population. Despite the numbers of Catholics, the Unionists won back a ward division that it had not had since 1923. Furthermore, evidence persists that even some years after the 1961 vote, when it looked like the Nationalists might win a Unionist ward, the boundaries of the wards were

redrawn, a clear sign of gerrymandering, in order to perpetuate Unionist rule in a strictly Catholic-dominated area. (Whyte)

With all of this evidence of discrimination and unequal rights, it is no surprise that the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland took off rapidly and powerfully in the 1960s and ultimately led to the event that many regard as the beginning of the Troubles, the Derry March of October 1968. The apparent lack of democracy and equality, and presence of strong ethnic tensions as should be represented by ELF clearly gave rise to the onset of the long-lived civil conflict in Northern Ireland known as the Troubles. It is difficult to say whether the dependent variable, onset, really occurred in the 1960s. I argue that the conflict did not begin and therefore did not escalate, but merely set the stage for the clear onset of the Troubles that happened in the 1970s, as will be discussed later. Additionally, throughout the Troubles the number of casualties never exceed more than 500 individuals in any singular year. Therefore, civil conflict onset does not happen at all according to the arbitrary necessary number of deaths cutoff used by many social scientists, namely 1000 or more per year. The 1960s study acts as a jumping off point to clearly understand and see the evolution of the Northern Ireland conflict; throughout the 1970s matters of inequality and a clear lack of democracy escalated, and with it came the most violent decade of the Northern Ireland conflict.

Chapter 6

Case Study: The 1970s

The anger and resentment that was stoked by the civil rights movement and less than favorable response by the British government in the 1960s made the 1970s into arguably the most violent and volatile time in the history of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. This is strongly apparent in the number of dead during this decade; in 1971 alone 479 people died as a result of Troubles-related violence, placing the total for this decade way over 1500 people while only 16 people died due to Troubles related violence in the 1960s (Guardian). This period was riddled with days and events that have gone down not only into Irish and British history, but global history as well. As tensions mounted in Northern Ireland after the initial violence after the Civil Rights march in Derry in 1968, separatist groups like the Irish Republic Army, Provisional Irish Republican Army, and Real Irish Republican Army geared up for a violent dispute. On the other end of the conflict were loyalist groups like the Ulster Defense Association, Ulster Volunteer Force, and Loyalist Volunteer Force. Initially the violence was minimal, there continued to be civil rights marches and demonstrations, but it was clear that the RUC would do everything in its power to prevent an all-out violent movement from taking place.

In 1971 the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Brian Faulkner, handed down a political move that riled tensions even further. This policy was the strategy of internment that meant that members of the police force could detain any individual suspected of being part of a terrorist organization or taking part in terrorist activity without charging them with a crime and pushing them forward to trial. The result of this decision is that many individuals of Irish and

Catholic decent were placed in dismal conditions in holding facilities and penitentiaries like Long Kesh while very few individuals that were obviously part of loyalist terror groups were arrested; this was an obviously biased policy under the Royal Ulster Constabulary, (Melaugh, 1).

This harsh policy of internment that was in place until 1975 and the obviously unfair enforcement of the policy puts into question the true extent of democracy in Northern Ireland during this time. It is no surprise that after this policy was enacted the Troubles escalated from a simmering social conflict into a full-blown civil conflict. On January 30, 1972 one of the most well-known occurrences in Northern Ireland's history happened: Bloody Sunday. On this day a peaceful march was planned to occur in Derry, Northern Ireland to protest the policy of internment. The British authorities did not want the march to occur and sent military personnel to confront the protestors. For reasons still unclear to this day, the army open fired on the protestors killing 13 individuals and injuring another 13 (BBC History). This unprovoked attack on peaceful protestors, who were protesting a clearly discriminatory policy, is another example of why Northern Ireland during this decade was not a very democratic state.

Nineteen Seventy-two continued to be a very violent and bitter period in Northern Irish history. As a result of Bloody Sunday the British government disbanded the Stormont Parliament controlling Northern Ireland and implemented Direct Rule "until a political solution to the problems of the province can be worked out" (PBS). On July 21, 1972 the Irish Republican Army planted and detonated 22 bombs throughout Northern Ireland, killing 9 people and seriously injuring over 130 others. This day has come to be known as Bloody Friday, one of the most violent days throughout the entirety of the Northern Ireland conflict. Unexpectedly, the situation did mellow a little in Northern Ireland as a cease-fire was agreed upon by the newly formed Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and the British security forces from 1974-1975. It was expected that the conflict would end soon enough and British troops would pull out of the island. After this period of relative peace, the British government chose to end the policy

of internment within Northern Ireland, freeing all of those interned who were not charged with crimes. This freed many people of Irish ethnicity and ended a period in which 2,000 people were detained for varying lengths of time without a trial. At this point it seemed as if the political processes were becoming more democratic within the state of Northern Ireland, however, the mellowing was short lived. On March 1, 1976 British officials within Northern Ireland began phasing out the status of Special Category, moving towards a policy of criminalization. After March 1st, all individuals being held and convicted of terrorist acts, usually Irish individuals, were to be treated as normal criminals rather than as special cases. This meant that they were to be confined in the same cell blocks as normal prisoners, were forced to wear prison clothing, do prison labor, and were forbidden regular correspondence and visitation, as well as other measures new to the former Special Category prisoners. This change was a perceived wrongdoing against the Irish nationalists and was the reason for extensive rebellion by Irish terror criminals, including the Blanket Man protest, Dirty protest, and two separate periods of hunger strike.

The policy implementation of internment and continued struggles for Irish civil rights in the 1960s and early 1970s directly caused the escalation of the intensity and violence of the period known as the Troubles. This escalation will be seen as a continuation of “onset” as the number of dead and the intensity of the conflict rose greatly. The historical narrative for this decade clearly shows that there was a clear and continuing lack of democracy as citizens’ rights were limited and freedom of expression of dissatisfaction with the government of Northern Ireland was frowned upon. Although Northern Ireland was still technically a democracy at this point it is fairly obvious that this state may not have been so democratic after all, falling more towards the middle of the polity scale near anocracy and further from the democracy end of the spectrum. When measuring the level of democracy in Northern Ireland during the 1970s using a historical approach, it is easy to see why escalation occurred during this period. Unfortunately

there are limited data concerning housing in Northern Ireland during this time due to a massive focus on the violence that was so close to home for the inhabitants of this region.

Chapter 7

Case Study: The 1980s

The decade of the 1980s was an interesting decade in the context of the Troubles because it continued a lot of the violence of the 1970s while breaking some of the ground that led to the start of the peace process in the 1990s. The historical narrative of this time period provides insight into how both violence and peace were fostered, ultimately leading to a smaller number of deaths and a decreasing tendency to escalate, which contributed to eventual resolution. With the violence and political and democratic turmoil of the 1970s still fresh, there was still a great need for change. In 1981 this change came in the form of the second hunger strike of the Troubles, started by a member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army, Bobby Sands. Sands and other Republican inmates decided to strike in order to try to win back the loss of special rights for political prisoners. The strike brought a lot of attention to the plight of the Irish nationalists and how far they were willing to go for the freedom of their homeland. Support from the Irish communities within Northern Ireland surged and on April 11, 1981, roughly a month into his symbolic March 1, 1981 hunger strike start, Sands was elected a Member of Parliament for the Fermanagh and South Tyrone constituency. Due to his imprisonment and failing health, Sands was never able officially to take his seat or swear the oath before his death by starvation on May 5, 1981; he was 27 years old. Despite his place in the British Parliament, there was no mourning the death of Bobby Sands. Although only 10 people died in the 1981 hunger strike before the Irish prisoners officially called it off, it certainly demonstrates the perceived lack of equality and democracy felt by the Irish nationalists that perpetuated the Troubles into the 1980s.

Additionally, many protests and riots occurred after the deaths of these often greatly revered Irish nationalists. These protests and riots caused many additional deaths when many of them turned violent, making 1981 the most deadly year of the decade in terms of Troubles-related violence (Guardian).

In 1985 history was made as Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland sat down for the first time since Irish independence in 1920 to try to assuage the continued violence between Irish nationalists and British loyalist groups within Northern Ireland. The Anglo-Irish Agreement made it official that in order to solve the Northern Ireland conflict and for the foreseeable future until peace was fully achieved, the government of the Republic of Ireland would have a role in the politics of Northern Ireland. This role was more than merely consultative, but did not give the Irish government any real power in the decision making of the British government. It also expanded on the Sunningdale Agreement by restating and filing with the United Nations a clause that if the majority of the population of Northern Ireland ever voted to rejoin with the Republic of Ireland, that would be strongly considered by the British government. The Anglo-Irish agreement made some headway in the peace process to solve the Troubles by including the Republic of Ireland and trying to make some amends between the two governments. It was hoped that if relations were peaceful and successful between the homelands of the two ethnic groups, then that sentiment would be relayed to the terrorists. Unfortunately this result did not come about. Unionist groups were angered that the British government included the Irish government in what they deemed to be a strictly British matter, giving the Republic some level of influence in Northern Irish politics. On the other hand, Irish nationalists did not think the agreement gave the Republic of Ireland as much say as it should have and that the Republic should have pushed harder in order to reclaim its rightful territory.

Due to the frustrations caused by continued tensions and the Anglo-Irish agreement, the rest of the decade continued to be plagued with lots of relatively small, but

continual deaths at both the hands of the nationalist and loyalist forces. Overall the number of deaths compared to the 1970s decreased greatly, with only about 700 individuals dying due to Troubles-related violence. In terms of determining escalation the 1980s is an interesting case. Northern Ireland still struggled to operate in a fully democratic manner by continuing the policy of criminalization of Irish nationalists and employing direct rule. However, some redemption was made in this category by the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1985. There are some gaps in the data relating to housing segregation, which affects the terrain and ethnic grievances variables, between the 1960s and 1990s, however, some data do exist. In a study from 1961 to 1981 evidence exists to suggest that that housing segregation between Protestant and Catholic communities continued to rise until the data series ends in 1981. Catholic communities became more segregated and closely knit while there was not a substantive difference within Protestant communities. These data show that although violence overall decreased and in some ways the level of democracy within Northern Ireland increased, there were still some variables including steadily high ethnic grievance and terrain that caused the civil conflict within Northern Ireland to extend into the 1990s.

Chapter 8

Case Study: The 1990s

As the Troubles in Northern Ireland moved into their fourth decade of civil conflict temperaments started to change as the leaders of both the Irish and British sides of the movement started looking towards an actual end to the conflict. On December 15, 1993 the Downing Street Declaration was issued stating that “the ending of divisions can come about only through the agreement and cooperation of the people, North and South, representing both traditions in Ireland. This movement towards including the Republic of Ireland into the settlement helped appease some of the ill-will felt by Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland against the British government. At this point, the civil war had turned more from a movement that strove for civil rights for Irish citizens within Northern Ireland, to an issue of a united Ireland and British control over the northern six counties. The United States helped legitimize the feelings of the IRA by allowing Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams a temporary visa to visit the country in February of 1994. The slow process kept moving when on September 15, 1997 for the first time since the division of the island in 1922, the Irish Free State, Sinn Fein, and British representatives of Ulster all sat down to negotiate, starting the All Party Peace Talks. Despite various hiccups, including both Sinn Fein and the Ulster Democratic Party leaving the peace talks for periods of times due to more killings, the peace process continued, producing the Good Friday Agreement on April 10, 1998. This agreement brought about the formal end of the conflict stating that Northern Ireland was to remain part of the United Kingdom as a majority of the citizens of the six counties wished it. It also prompted the transition of governmental power in Northern Ireland back to Stormont and

away from Westminster and set up a number of bodies to foster good relationships between the governments of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and to look into the situation of human rights within Northern Ireland. On May 23, 1998 a referendum occurred in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland to allow the people to vote on the provisions and plans laid out by the Good Friday Agreement. The measure passed 71 percent to 29 percent in Northern Ireland while it had a 94 percent approval rate in the Republic of Ireland. Although the Good Friday Agreement effectively put a stop to the civil war within Northern Ireland, it did not end the civil unrest that occasionally still plagues Belfast, Derry, and sometimes even finds its way into the Irish Republic. Although this violence still does occasionally occur, it does follow that the start of a more equal and inclusionary government, as well as the evolution to more democratic processes within Northern Ireland did lead to the official end to the civil conflict, a clear indicator that what was really causing this prolonged issue was directly tied to ethnic fractionalization and the level of democracy in government.

One of the most violent events associated with the Troubles actually occurred after the signing and referendum of the Good Friday Agreement. The Omagh Bombing of August 15, 1998, often attributed to the Real IRA, killed 29 people and wounded over 200 individuals, a significant amount of the 530 deaths that occurred during the Northern Ireland conflict in the 1990s. Although some may say that this escalation suggests that the civil conflict was not really over and therefore the causes of the Troubles are not what have been suggested, this event clearly fits as a “spoiler” mechanism, enacted by a splinter group of the main body of the IRA. The Real IRA was not included in the peace talks, and was displeased with the settlement between the Irish Republic, Sinn Fein, and the British Government, which caused them to commit this act of violence in order to try to spoil the agreement and plunge the region back into interspersed and random violence.

Chapter 9

Discussion

The Troubles within Northern Ireland represent an interesting conflict that occurred within the territory of Northern Ireland for the better part of four decades. Its roots extend back to the colonial control of the island of Ireland by the British centuries ago, and was strongly shaped by the Irish independence movement that resulted in a divided Ireland in 1922. Although this conflict is normally seen as abnormal because it occurred in what is often deemed as a fairly homogenous society and in a nation that was coded as both developed and democratic. Through the case studies above one can see that in reality, the society in Northern Ireland was very divided and lots of segregation and discrimination was occurring. Indeed, this discrimination produced ethnic grievances which was one of the main factors that contributed to the onset and escalation of the Troubles. Additionally, the steps taken by the British and Northern Irish governments to nip the conflict in the bud (unsuccessfully) and mitigate or resolve the situation were in fact not very democratic as well, which raises the question of how democratic the actual governmental situation in Northern Ireland during the onset, continuation, and resolution of the Troubles, was.

It is important to note that the conflict within Northern Ireland changed from a struggle for civil rights and equality between those of British and Irish ethnicities within Northern Ireland to more of a struggle for territory and power. This can be seen particularly in the changes between the case studies of the 1960s and 1970s. Whether this change in the goal of the conflict came about due to the violence and anger that resulted from the all-but-ignored civil rights

movement, or whether the violence started to occur because of a shift in the goals of the Irish Nationalists, will never entirely be clear.

Violence related to the grievances of Irish Nationalists and of British Loyalists still occur today within Northern Ireland and sometimes spill over into the Republic of Ireland as well. Although this thesis does not cover the scope of the Troubles up to the present day, it would be interesting to evaluate the levels of inequality in schooling, employment, housing, and others in Northern Ireland today and compare them to the numbers during the height of the Troubles. One wonders whether the goals of today's Irish Nationalists are similar to those at the height of the Northern Ireland Conflict, or whether they are merely attempting to revenge fallen comrades and family members.

Many questions surrounding this recent conflict persist today. More time must lapse to see the entirety of the conflict in perspective and compare different levels of inequality, terrain, and governmental polity prior, during, and after the Northern Ireland conflict. Only then can onset and escalation be truly analyzed within a political and historical context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

“Archive: Bloody Sunday.” BBC History. Web. 2013. 20 January 2013.

“The Good Friday Agreement in full.” *BBC News*. British Broadcasting Corporation, 2004. Web. 18 March 2012.

“Background Information on Northern Ireland Society – Population and Vital Statistics.” *CAIN Web Service*. University of Ulster, 2012. Web. 10 March 2012.

Buhaug et al. “Disaggregating Ethno-Nationalist Civil Wars: A Dyadic Test of Exclusion Theory.” *International Organization* 62.3 (2008): 531-551. Cambridge University Press. JSTOR. Web. 13 March 2012.

Collier, Paul and Hoeffler, Anke. “On Economic Causes of Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 50 (1998):563-573. Oxford University Press. Web. 20 March 2012.

Clarke, Kathleen. *Revolutionary Woman*. Dublin: The O’Brien Press, 1991. Print.

Doherty, Paul and Poole, Michael A. *Residential Segregation in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine: University of Ulster, 1996. Web. CAIN Web Service, University of Ulster. 2013. 17 January 2013.

Fearon, James D. “Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country.” *Journal of Economic Growth* 8 (2003): 195-222. Web. 1 April 2013.

Fearon, James D. and Laitin, David D. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97.1 (2003): 75-90. JSTOR. Web. 14 March 2012.

Lawless, Emily, *The Story of Ireland*, 1896. Project Gutenberg, 2004. Web. 12 March 2012.

“Deaths in the Northern Ireland conflict since 1969.” The Guardian. 2013. Web. 10 January 2013.

Hegre et al. "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results of Civil War Onset." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50.4 (2006). Proquest. Web. 15 March 2012.

McKittrick, David and David McVea. *Making Sense of the Troubles*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2000. CAIN Web Service. University of Ulster, 2012. Web. 11 March 2012.

Melaugh, Martin. "Internment – Summary of Main Events." *CAIN Web Service*. University of Ulster, 2012. Web. 11 March 2012. (1)

Melaugh, Martin. *Majority Minority Review 3: Housing and Religion in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine: University of Ulster, 1994. CAIN Web Services. University of Ulster, 2012. Web. 13 March 2012. (2)

McKenna, Fionnuala. "Employment in Northern Ireland." *CAIN Web Service*. University of Ulster, 2012. Web. 10 March 2012.

Morton, Alan. "Anglo-Irish Agreement – Description of Contents. CAIN Web Services. University of Ulster, 2013. 20 January 2013.

"Northern Ireland: The Troubles." *BBC History*. British Broadcasting Corporation, 2007. Web. 13 March 2012.

The Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland. *Northern Ireland: The Plain Truth*. Castlefields, Dungannon, 1964. CAIN Web Service. University of Ulster, 2012. Web. 13 March 2012.

Woodham-Smith, Cecil. *The Great Hunger*. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1991.

ACADEMIC VITA

Allison Kinsey

ark5230@psu.edu

Education

B.A., International Politics, 2013, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania

B.A., Spanish, 2013, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania

Research Experience

- De facto states and autonomous political entities with Dr. Douglas Lemke
- Terrorist disengagement with the International Center for the Study of Terrorism, University Park, Pennsylvania