



SAMPLE A

Diploma Programme subject in which this extended essay is registered: Social Anthropology
(For an extended essay in the area of languages, state the language and whether it is group 1 or group 2.)

Title of the extended essay: An analysis of Loyalist youth
Identity in Northern Ireland from 1980 -
1990: How influential was boundary maintenance?

Candidate's declaration

If this declaration is not signed by the candidate the extended essay will not be assessed.

The extended essay I am submitting is my own work (apart from guidance allowed by the International Baccalaureate).

I have acknowledged each use of the words, graphics or ideas of another person, whether written, oral or visual.

I am aware that the word limit for all extended essays is 4000 words and that examiners are not required to read beyond this limit.

This is the final version of my extended essay.

Candidate's signature: _____

Date: 2/12/2008

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Supervisor's report

The supervisor must complete the report below and then give the final version of the extended essay, with this cover attached, to the Diploma Programme coordinator. The supervisor must sign this report; otherwise the extended essay will not be assessed and may be returned to the school.

Name of supervisor (CAPITAL letters) _____

Comments

Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the candidate was zero, you must explain this, in particular how it was then possible to authenticate the essay as the candidate's own work. You may attach an additional sheet if there is insufficient space here.

In her EE Tasha managed to strike a careful balance of objectivity and analytical distance by using Barth's groundbreaking theory on ethnicity. This is especially significant because of her family ties to Northern Ireland and the emotional attached to certain interpretations of events.

I have read the final version of the extended essay that will be submitted to the examiner.

To the best of my knowledge, the extended essay is the authentic work of the candidate.

I spent hours with the candidate discussing the progress of the extended essay.

Supervisor's signature: _____

Date: Feb 18, 09

IB Extended Essay 2008

Social and Cultural Anthropology

An Analysis of Loyalist Youth Identity in Northern
Ireland from 1980-1990: How influential was boundary
maintenance.

Candidate Number:

Word Count: 3,996

Abstract

In this paper I will conduct an analysis of Loyalist youth identity in Northern Ireland from 1980-1990, focusing on how influential boundary maintenance was. There have been various ethnographies written over the years discussing the conflict between the Unionists and Republicans. In order to obtain data outside of that I read in books I took part in Participant observation, as well as conducting interviews. I have read and examined many ethnographies and analyzed them in relation to Frederik Barth, Eric Hobsbawn and Max Weber. Barth's boundary maintenance theory can be related back to the various ways in which youth create a boundary between the two ethnic groups. Eric Hobsbawn explains traditions in his ethnography which can clearly be seen in the annual marches, as well as the murals that have been painted all around Northern Ireland. Finally, Max Weber discusses violence and how it is related to the government as well as private parties. Organizations such as the IRA for the nationalists and the UVF for the Loyalists are exceptions to his theories. It is through traits such as clothing, what sports they participate in, schools they attend etc that the Loyalist youth identify themselves. After discussing these identifiers I will explain how they play a vital role in maintaining the boundary between Nationalists and Loyalists. Without this boundary the two sides would be prone to even more violence. By the end of my research I am able to understand how the citizens of Northern Ireland are so easily able to identify those of each of the ethnic groups.

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"Out of Ireland have we come.

Great hatred, little room,

Maimed us at the start.

I carry from my mother's womb

A fanatic heart.

- from W.B. Yeats, *Remorse for Intemperate Speech* (1931)

Introduction

The division which exists between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland has been a widely researched issue both by psychologists and social anthropologists. Various ethnographies have been composed during the course of "The Troubles" from 1968 to 1998, which has resulted in a vast amount of information on the topic. Throughout these ethnographies there are various view points which attempt to discover the central causes of the conflict, commonly resulting in the focusing on the identities of the two sides.

The fact that I was born in Belfast, and that my parents and many of their friends were raised there, means that the topic of the troubles is commonly discussed in my household. However, having not lived in Northern Ireland since 1992, I found the idea of people fighting over something such as religion to be bizarre. When I go back and visit my family in Belfast it always fascinates me that wherever we went my grandmother was always able to identify whether an unknown person walking down the street was Protestant or Catholic. To me they spoke with the same accent, acted in the same way, and had no obvious physical

trademark which identified their religion. For this reason I decided to research the troubles in depth, in order to better understand the world my ancestors once lived in.

This investigation will analyze Loyalist youth identity in Northern Ireland during the 1980's, focusing on the influence of boundary maintenance.

- not well focused

Method

In order to obtain valid information on Northern Ireland during the times of the troubles I used two methods. Firstly, I took part in participant observation during a trip I took to Belfast. As well as this I conducted various interviews with people from both sides and different classes. It was essential for me to research both Loyalist and Nationalist culture in order to be non-biased when conducting my research, especially due to my mostly Protestant background. However I decided to focus on the Loyalist side because there are more apparent symbols to study, such as the marches and murals as compared to the Nationalists. Many aspects of youth identity mirror each other, but due to the Protestants having traditionally held political power, their expressions of identity have had the chance to be seen more publicly.

but N eth nationalist culture is not much represented later on

Theory

Anthropologist Frederik Barth introduced the idea of Boundary Maintenance in his ethnography *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969). Prior to his concept when studying the ethnicity of a culture anthropologists tended to have an

essentialist view point. They would observe a specific ethnic group and list the qualities which were revealed. Both insiders and outsiders would be able to identify these traits. Primordialism was also used in that anthropologists would state how ethnic groups of people had specific qualities which they had for a long time. Though Barth did agree that looking at these aspects of a culture were useful, he stated that what anthropologists needed to look at more carefully was the contact between ethnic groups. By looking at the way in which the groups differentiated themselves from one another, one was bound to obtain much more information about that group's ethnicity. When studying this interaction, it is possible to see the boundary maintenance which these groups create. He concludes that the social boundaries within a community have just as much significance as territorial boundaries. He explains how these created boundaries are not in fact set but negotiable. (Eriksen, 1995) This theory of social boundaries having great significance can be seen clearly in the case of Northern Ireland. Within the territorial boundary of Northern Ireland, society as a whole uses many methods in maintaining a boundary between the Protestants and Catholics.

but boundaries "are generated" in interaction - an ecological issue

Max Weber and Eric Hobsbawn also discuss concepts relevant to the Troubles dividing Northern Ireland. Hobsbawn speaks of the different forms of tradition, while Weber forms the idea of how violence works within communities in relation to the government as well as private parties. By comparing Weber and Hobsbawn's concepts of Northern Ireland the way in which the Loyalists portray their identity can be better understood.

History

The core of the troubles began in the 1500's when Protestants from Scotland were given land in the North of Ireland. The land they received was taken from the indigenous Irish Catholic people that resided in Ireland at the time. This created a conflict between the Scottish Protestants and the Irish Catholics which led to many battles, the most famous of which was the Battle of the Boyne. In this battle William III and his Scottish Protestant supporters defeated his uncle and father in law, King James VII of Scotland and James II of England and Ireland who supported the Irish Catholics. The battle took place on July 1, 1690 near the town of Drogheda. This defeat of the Irish Catholics established Protestant rule over Ireland and is an essential battle in Protestant history. It is still celebrated today on the 12th of July, through marches held all over Northern Ireland.

Irish Catholics continued to resist Protestant rule and between 1919 and 1923 the Irish Republican Army (IRA, the primary catholic resistance group) took part in a guerilla campaign known as the 'Anglo-Irish War', which led to the division of Ireland into the 6 counties of Northern Ireland and the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland.

The conflicts continued in Northern Ireland and required the intervention of British Troops in the 1960's to maintain peace. However, their arrival brought with it much more violence including the Bloody Sunday Massacre in 1972 and Loyalist and IRA terrorist attacks. Though they were meant to leave shortly after, the troops remained in Northern Ireland until 2006, when they left permanently.

In 1985 the Anglo-Irish Agreement was enacted which introduced power sharing between the groups and included the government of the Irish Republic in an advisory role in Northern Ireland's affairs. This agreement was extended further by the *Anglo-Irish Joint Declaration* in 1993 which is the basis of the relative peace experienced today. Despite this peace many remnants of the violence remain such as the peace lines, tall walls of cement and iron put up to divide the Catholic and Protestant communities.

Youth's growing up in the 1980's had only ever experienced civil unrest and violence in Northern Ireland. They were subjected to the traditions of their ancestors in the form of political, paramilitary, and religious organizations, stories and urban myths, and finally the emergence of aggression both organized by paramilitaries and spontaneous in the form of riots and boundary maintenance. (Hall, 2007)

Youth Loyalist Identity

It is necessary to first examine the identity of this group to be able to understand fully their culture. As with youth world wide there are various ways in which the Loyalist youths of Northern Ireland identify themselves, ranging from the clothing they wear to the schools and sport's they participate in.

Clothing

The first impression one gets about another person in Northern Ireland is based on their outer appearance and is used by Catholics and Protestant to distinguish between one another. During her fieldwork in Kilbroney, Sidsel Larsen observes that "a personal outfit will often contain some emblems that act as metonymic signs for the relation between the person and her/his place in society". (1982:11) This fieldwork was conducted in a small rural town, where the two communities seemed to co-exist without conflict. Upon first arriving she was unable to identify the division as there were no obvious differences between the two groups. However, it was these small differences in appearance that eventually helped make it possible for her to distinguish between the two. More specifically Allen Feldman (1991) when interviewing a Catholic boy, speaks of how "orangies" a.k.a Loyalists are known to wear specific articles to identify themselves. This includes Rangers Football Club badges, beatles boots, military gear, dark glasses, and combat jackets. If one were to see a person dressed in such attire in Northern Ireland during the 'troubles' they would immediately identify them as a Loyalist supporter. These different accessories and clothing articles are an outward expression of youth's support for the Loyalist belief system.

The wearing of certain colours in Northern Ireland also signifies important facts. . By incorporating the color orange into what you are wearing, one is expressing the celebration of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 and allegiance to the Protestant identity. By wearing green one is clearly showing allegiance to the Catholic nationalist identity which wants Ireland to be united with Northern Ireland.

✓

This celebration of different battles and events in history can be seen as a historical or mythical charter. Each side is expressing that they were the ones who were attacked and had to defend their land and people. By adorning themselves with these colours they are keeping the boundary between the two sides by making it apparent whom they support. Frederick Barth states "Some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of difference." (1969:14). The two colours are examples of these symbols of difference.

Sport

When having a conversation with a Northern Irish person, a simple way to find out whether they are Loyalist or Nationalist is by figuring out which sports they participate in or which teams they follow. A.D Buckley (1982) discusses how typical Nationalist sports are understood to include Gaelic football, Hurley and Irish Dance. On the other hand, Loyalist activities would include Football, Rugby, and Cricket. More specifically, as mentioned above, in Feldman's *Formation of Violence* he expresses the differences particularly in the football clubs which the Northern Irish people support. Loyalists are known to support Rangers Football Club which is a Scottish football club that previously excluded the participation of Catholic players. Opposed to this there is Celtic football club, which is supported by the Catholics, or Nationalist groups. Whenever there are games between the two there is great rivalry between the Protestant and Catholic groups as both are eager for their side to win. By wearing the football shirt of either of the two teams,

a person shows their obvious support for one of the two sides and therefore their allegiance to that tradition.

By supporting these specific sides youth are highlighting their separation in yet another light. Barth states "the identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies sharing a criteria for evaluation and judgement" (1969:15). By knowing which team a person supports one is identifying whether this person is a part of the same ethnic group as themselves.

Sport can also be seen as a tradition that has been created to make the division between the two sides even more prominent. This division of sports is another way in which the citizens of Northern Ireland are maintaining the boundary between the two ethnic groups. By participating in the sports favored by their group they need not face competition in yet another area of their life, and keep up an obvious division.

Marches

One of the main forms of expression for Loyalist youth are the annual marches that take place from Easter until the end of August. This is called the marching season and is an enormous part of Protestant culture. Neil Jarman (1997) does an excellent job of going into detail about the various events that occur during the marching season. The Parades take place in eighteen different locations with the 12th of July being the biggest day of celebration for the Protestant group known as the Orangemen, the 13th of July is the main day of marching for a separate Protestant organization known as the Blackmen, who

reside in counties Armagh and Down. Youth have a great deal to do with these parades. Up until the 1980's the younger members would have joined the Junior Orange Order, while the older boys could have joined one of many including the Orange Order, the Royal Black Institution, the Apprentice Boys of Derry, or the Independent Orange Order. However, in the early 1980's it was much more common for youth to break with tradition and create their own marching band. Desmond Bell (1984) discusses how "these young people are organized in networks which are centered on the membership of marching bands, but whose activities go beyond the musical and parading activities of the band". These bands created a strong sense of kinship among the youth involved.

During these parades, many of these organizations would march through the Catholic Areas in the different counties, holding up large banners and flags with logos supporting the Loyalist side. This is the largest form of celebrated identity in Northern Ireland for the Loyalist's and was a very overt demonstration of boundary maintenance. Barth makes the point that maintaining boundaries is essential to maintaining different ethnic groups in an area. By continuing these marches Protestants are keeping the boundary, between the two ethnic groups, apparent. These annual marches are just one example of tradition within Northern Ireland.

As Marxist Historiographer Eric Hobsbawn explains traditions are complex within a society. He describes some traditions as being old, but then often being recent and sometimes invented. One can see a clear example of an old tradition in the story of the Cruthin people of Ireland. (Buckley and Kenney, 1995) These

Cruthin are seen as a semi-mythical people whom were the first people to reside in Ireland. Protestants use this argument claiming that the Gaelic people do not infact deserve right over the Irish land because the Cruthin were there efore the Gaels. However, it is not even certain that these Cruthin people were the first to arrive, meaning this can be viewed as an invented.

- not what H. meant by 'invented'?

Another example of this invented tradition would be the marching season. As Rosanne Cecil (1990) explains both Catholics and Protestants invented this tradition of marching every year to strenghten and express their indentity.

Hobsbawn also states that traditions are created to create a unity between those who take part in the tradition. This can clearly be seen in the tradition of the marches in Northern Ireland. These marches bring the Protestant people together in that all of them are celebrating their culture. Though not every Protestant in Northern Ireland know each other, taking part in these traditions forms a connection between all of these people.

Murals

One of the more artistic and less violent ways in which Loyalist youth would express their support would be through the painting of murals¹ all around the city. Gordon Gillespie (2007) speaks of how big a role these murals play in life for these Loyalists. Many of the murals depicted are supporting the various paramilitary groups, with either pictures of the gunmen or the symbols used to signify the organizations. Additionally, one commonly finds murals of individual's

¹ A mural is a picture painted on a wall

who have died in the course of battle. These would be found in the housing estates of the people whom the murals were painted of. Though it is not known who painted these murals, many believe it to be members of the paramilitary groups, or youth who lived in the estates where the subjects resided. Though this was popular amongst Loyalists, one would also find murals painted by the Nationalists.

They were especially popular during the hunger strike, when members of organizations such as the IRA would depict the faces of the prisoners, such as Bobby Sands, the first hunger striker to die. Both sides used murals to express opinions during elections to do with the 'troubles'. These murals had a huge impact on the youth of the areas due to their prominence. It was a constant reminder of what was expected of them. As with today graffiti was another form of expression for youths with common themes including support for football clubs, paramilitary names, and defimation of the police. (Gerard, 2008) The creation of these murals kept the support of the different sides strong. Having paintings of the different sports teams, and groups names meant the members of each ethnic group were constantly reminded who they were loyal to. This in turn would keep the boundaries between the intermingling people strong.

School

Niens, Cairns, and Hewstone explain that schooling was almost completely separated with over 90% of students at segregated schools.(2003:16) This lack of integration was especially seen at primary and elementary levels. During the period in question there were primarily two types of schooling available. For

Protestants there were government schools, which were supported by the Northern Irish government. Whereas for Catholics there were Maintained schools which were partly funded by the Catholic church. This separation of schools meant that students were spending their school time creating separation for most of their everyday life.

In Northern Ireland the difference between well educated and lower educated children was notable in their perceptions of the 'troubles'. Bell comments on this stating how through one of his surveys he observed that the higher the level of education the more supportive of integrated schools pupils were. Students that had received less education, or a lower form were more supportive of keeping the segregated schools. When working class male – secondary school leavers were questioned on their opinion of mixed schools one 16-year-old responded by saying "Naw.....wouldn't like it. Dead against it. Sure there'd be fights steady" (1987, Bell) This belief that mixed schooling would create daily havoc, including fights and intimidation, was extremely common, particularly for less educated youth.

A major source of antagonism in the 1980's for youth was during the transportation of children to and from school with children being attacked, especially when they had to leave their home boundaries to travel through violent areas. The boundaries of their living areas created a sense of safety.

By keeping schools segregated, the citizens of Northern Ireland were consistently keeping boundaries between the two sides in order to keep violence down. Having children apart meant there was no cause for fights or disturbances

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the possibility of violence? 15

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during school. As well as this, the teachers would then have no need to tackle the problem of what to teach. Though both sides listed the facts of what had happened, and did not disagree with them, they choose to focus on different events. Protestants focus on the Battle of the Boyne and the Easter Uprising, whereas Catholics focus on when the original Scottish Protestants came in and took their land, and as their unequal rights under Protestant rule. If there were to be integrated schools, there would inevitably be arguments; over what to teach, this way both sides can learn what they want without hassle. Thus physical boundaries were more importantly ideological boundaries.

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Fear and Violence

Living as a youth in Northern Ireland during the 80's meant that a sense of fear was almost always prevalent in ones life. Loyalist supporters were constantly afraid of the threat of violence instigated by the police, the British government, the Irish government and Nationalist paramilitary organisations. As Catholics were afraid of para-military Protestant groups such as the B- men.

More so than all of these was the fear of their loss of territory. The boundaries set between the two communities has the same sense of importance as the boundary between two countries would have. It separated these two groups and helped prevent more trouble. These boundaries were essential to the Loyalist youths, and gave them a sense of security, pride, and identity. Losing these boundaries, in their eyes, would mean losing to the opposing side. Erin L.

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Lowell and E. Mark Cummings explain this in their piece "Protestants were concerned about an expansion of the Catholics into their neighborhood".

(1990:24) This fear became a reality in 1969 when there was a massive relocation of Catholics and Protestant working class due to over population of Catholics in certain areas, and a surplus of homes in Protestant.

↳ a power issue - but who brought about relocation?

Throughout the 'troubles' violence was an important part of everyday life for people from both sides. There were bombs and shootings almost daily, as well as more basic actions of harm such as fist fights and throwing stones.

This violence had a large impact on Loyalists youth identity. There were many names that were given to certain types of people. As Allen Feldman (1991)

explains there are two oppositional figures known throughout a community as either 'gunmen' or 'hardmen'. 'Gunmen' refer to those who take part in

paramilitary activities. These men are involved in these organisations irrespective of political affiliations. On the other hand 'hardmen', who were everyday men,

usually belonging to a specific neighborhood or area. They were bare-fisted street fighters and would often have reputations city wide due to their violent life

style. Though more commonly found before the troubles, prior to the use of guns becoming popular, there were still many hardmen around during the troubles

who would have no problem starting street fights, riots and such. These gunmen and hardmen were great icons to the loyalist youth of the time. Their exploits were

the topic of urban myths and many younger boys would try to reach the status of a 'hardman' by instigating violence themselves. The violence caused by these

'hardmen' hopefulls was primarily based around estate boundaries. (Murtagh, 1999)

The violence within Northern Ireland has resulted in thousands of deaths, and even more injuries. Sociologist Max Weber (1922) explains that violence

? should be allowed only within the army and police force, as well as private organizations, but only if given permission from the State. He uses violence as a marker of a successful state, with the state having a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. ? relev. not clear - this simply defines a state

However there are exceptions to this, such as the violence seen in family feuds as well as other intracommunity feuds. For example, the IRA in the Catholic areas where the police would not enter would police the people there. One would find this exception all over Northern Ireland, the IRA and UDF being a prime example. They are an organization unconnected to either the Army or the government, yet they cause more violence than the government do. They would then be seen as a private organization whom have not been given permission from the government. It is the same concept with the UVF from the Protestant supported Loyalist sides. Most importantly, the action of these paramilitary groups resulted in the boundary between Catholics and Protestans staying strong, due to the fear of the other side by each group.

this is not a question of prescription but one of analytical definition

descriptive

Conclusion

Frederick Barth wisely states that "If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion" (1969: 21). Membership for the Loyalist youth came from them making over signals as to which side they belonged to. This was done through the clothing which the youth wore, including the Loyalist colour orange, and the Nationalist colour green. As well as this supporting specific sports teams and attending certain schools maintained the boundary. Events such as the marches and symbolic pieces, such as the murals, kept the identity of the two groups alive. By creating these assorted differences between sides meant the citizens of Northern Ireland were maintaining the boundary which existed between them, this boundary once established was maintained equally by both sides.

Similar ethnographer Sidsel Larsen, by the end of my research it was easier for me to identify Loyalists and Nationalists. Larsen looked for the specific emblems and facts that indicated which side a person belonged to. I used the same methods to determine whether a person is Loyalist or Nationalist.

Though the division and boundary between the two groups has become less apparent as peace has evolved in Northern Ireland, these were an important part of youths life in the 1980's. When living in so close a proximity it was essential for these ethnic groups to keep a clear boundary. (The visible nature of which lead to more violence than that caused by political differences.) (Aretxaga, 1996)

The essay makes good use of boundary-maintenance theory in general. However, the functions attributed to maintaining boundaries does not always appear to be substantiated, and is sometimes questionable, such as the assertion that maintaining boundaries in N.Ireland reduces violence. (p.15). Also, the role of power, and state action in managing conflict is not really considered.

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p.15

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Assessment form (for examiner use only)

Candidate session number	0	0							
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Assessment criteria		Achievement level		
		First examiner	maximum	Second examiner
A	research question	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
B	introduction	2	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
C	investigation	3	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
D	knowledge and understanding	3	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
E	reasoned argument	3	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
F	analysis and evaluation	3	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
G	use of subject language	3	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
H	conclusion	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
I	formal presentation	3	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
J	abstract	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
K	holistic judgment	3	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Total out of 36		26		<input type="checkbox"/>



Name of first examiner: _____
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: _____

Name of second examiner: _____
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: _____