

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 9/11 attacks helped end terror in Northern Ireland. *Church of England Newspaper*. 10.24. 08. P. 4.
- Allensbach Berichte*. January 1993. "Germans Shun Extremists: No Sign of a New Anti-Semitism." Institute fuer Demoskopie Allensbach.
- Almond, Gabriel and Verba, Sidney. 1965. *The Civic Culture: Citizen Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Amnesty International. "Northern Ireland: Time to Deal with the Past." September 2013. EUR 45/004/2013.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso.
- Aretxaga, Begona. 1997. *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Aughey, A. March 2012. "Northern Ireland Narratives of British Democracy." *Policy Studies*. 33 (2.):145–158.
- Aughey, Arthur. 1997. "A state of exception: The concept of the political in northern Ireland." *Irish Political Studies*, (12) 1:1–12.
- Aughey, Arthur. 1999. "Fukayama, the End of History, and the Irish Question." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. 9:85–92.
- Bailey, Harry. September 1968. "Negro Interest Group Strategies." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 4: 27–38.
- Baldwin, James. 1985. "Stranger in the Village." In *The Price of the Ticket: Collective Nonfiction 1948–1985*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Barak, Oren. November 2005. "The Failure of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, 1993–2000." *Journal of Peace Research*. 42, 6:719–736.

- Barber, Benjamin R. 2004. *Fear's Empire: War, Terrorism, and Democracy*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Best, Paul J.; Rai, Kul B.; and Walsh, David F. 1986. *Politics in Three Worlds: An Introduction to Political Science*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Beville, Maria and McQuaid, Sara Dybris. 2012. "Speaking of Silence: Comments from an Irish Studies Perspective." *Nordic Irish Studies, Special Issue: The Rest is Silence*. 11 (2):1–20.
- Bill McSweeney. 1998. "Identity, Interest and the Good Friday Agreement." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. (9):93–102.
- Bosi, Lorenzo. 2006. "The Dynamics of Social Movement Development: Northern Ireland's Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s." *Mobilization: An International Journal*. 11 (1):81–100.
- Brzezinski, Z. March 1993. "Power and Morality." *World Monitor*. 22–28.
- Bull, Hedley and Watson, Adam. 1984. *The Expansion of International Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Burke, Edmund. "Speech to the Electors at Bristol." <http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch13s7.html>
- Burns, John F. 2013. "New Violence in Belfast May Be About More than a Flag." *The New York Times*. January 18. A4.
- Butler, D. and Ranney, A. (eds.) 1994. *Referendums around the world: The growing use of democracy?* Washington, D. C.: AEI Press.
- Buzan, Barry. 1993. "From International System to International Society: Structural Realism and Regime Theory Meet the English School." *International Organization*. 47 (3):327–352.
- Byrne, Siobhan. 2009. "Women and the transition from conflict in Northern Ireland: lessons for peace-building in Israel/Palestine." IBIS Working Papers, 89.
- Campbell, Colm; Fionnuala, Ni Aolain; and Harvey, Colin. 2003. "The Frontiers of Legal Analysis: Reframing the Transition in Northern Ireland." *The Modern Law Review*. 66 (3):317–345.
- Campbell, Gregory. 1999. Democratic Unionist Party. In O'Malley, Padraig. "Northern Ireland and South Africa: Hope and History at the Crossroads." John W. McCormack Institute for Public Affairs Working Paper. January 7.
- Caroll, James. 2003. "Warring with God." *The Boston Globe*. October 21.
- Cavatorta, Francesco. April 2006. *Fortnight*. 443:5.
- Ceperkovic, Marko. 2013. "G8 Summit 2013: Why Hold a Summit in Rural Northern Ireland." June 19. <http://mic.com/articles/49787/g8-summit-2013-why-hold-a-summit-in-rural-northern-ireland>
- Clark, Ian. December 2003. "Legitimacy in a Global Order." *Review of International Studies*. 29:75–95.
- Clinton, Hillary. 2009. Speech in Northern Ireland. October 12.

- Cochran, Feargal and Dunn, Seamus. 2002. "Peace and Conflict-Reconciliation Organizations in Northern Ireland." In Gidron, Benjamin; Katz, Stanley N.; and Hasenfeld, Yeheskel, Eds. *Mobilizing for Peace: Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine, and South Africa*. 151–173. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen-Almagor, Raphael. 2012. "The failed Palestinian-Israeli peace process 1993–2011: an Israeli perspective." *Israel Affairs*, 18 (4): 563–576.
- Cox, Michael. 1998. "Thinking 'Globally' about peace in Northern Ireland." *Politics*. 18(1):57–63.
- Cox, W. Harvey. 1985. "Who wants a United Ireland." *Government and Opposition*. 20:29–47.
- Csepeli, Gyorgy. July 1991. "Competing Patterns of National Identity in Post-Communist Hungary." *Media, Culture, and Society*. 13:325–339.
- Curran, Ed. 2011. "9/11 attacks changed our view on terrorism for good." *Belfast Telegraph*. September 13.
- Dahl, Robert. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dartnell, Michael. 2000. "The Belfast Agreement: Peace Process, Europeanization and Identity." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*. 26 (1):72–85.
- Davison, W. Phillips. 1973. "International and Public Opinion." In Ithiel del Sola Pool, et. al., eds. *Handbook of Communication*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Dennis O'Hearn. May 2000. "Peace Dividend, Foreign Investment, and Economic Regeneration: The Northern Irish Case." *Social Problems*. 47 (2): 180–200.
- Dixon, Paul. 2002. "Northern Ireland and the International Dimension: The End of the Cold War, the USA and European Integration." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. 13: 105–120.
- Dixon, Paul. 2006. "Performing the Northern Ireland Peace Process on the World Stage." *Political Science Quarterly*. 121 (1):61–91.
- Donning, Hastings and Simpson, Kirk. March 2007. "Silence and Violence among Northern Ireland Border Protestants." *Ethnos*. Vol. 72 (1):5–28.
- Dooley, Brian. 1998. *Black and Green: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland and Black America*. Chicago: Pluto Press.
- Doyle, John. 1999. "Governance and Citizenship in Contested States: The Northern Ireland Peace Agreement as Internationalised Governance." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. (10):201–219.
- Ervine, David. 1999. (Progressive Unionist Party). Quoted in O'Malley, Pdraig. "Northern Ireland and South Africa." January 9.
- Filardo, Laura. March 2008. "A Comparative Study of the Discursive Legitimation of the Agreement by the Four Main Irish Political Parties throughout Time." *Ethnopolitics*. 7 (1):21–42.
- Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Foucault, Michel. 1990. *The History of Sexuality; the Use of Pleasure*. New York: A. A. Doubleday/Knopf.
- Gergen, K. J. 1992. "Social Construction in Question." *Human Systems: The Journal of Systematic Consultation and Management*. 3:163–182.
- Gillioomee, H. B. 2003. *South Africans: Biography of a People*. Cape Town: Tafelber.
- Gilligan, Carol. 1992. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gilligan, Chris. March 2008. "Northern Ireland Ten Years after the Agreement." *Ethnopolitics*. 7 (1):1–19.
- Gittus, E. J. 2002. "Berlin as a Conduit for the Creation of German National Identity at the End of the Twentieth Century." *Space and Polity*. 6 (1):91–115.
- Gormley-Heenan, Cathy. 2007. *Political Leadership and the Northern Ireland Peace Process: Role, Capacity, and Effect*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Greenfeld, Liah. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Grove, Michael. March 1998. *The Times*. In O'Malley, Padraig. "Northern Ireland and South Africa: 'Hope and History at a Crossroads.'"
- Guelke, Adrian. 2000. "Ireland and South Africa: A Very Special Relationship." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. 11:137–146.
- Guelke, Adrian. 2002. "The International System and the Northern Ireland peace process." *IBIS Working Papers, No. 21*.
- Guelke, Adrian. 1994. "The Peace Process in South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland: A Farewell to Arms?" *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. 5:93–106.
- Guelke, Adrian. January 1991. "The Political Impasse in South Africa and Northern Ireland: A Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics*. 23 (2):143–162.
- Guelke, Adrian. 1998. *Northern Ireland: The International Perspective*. Dublin: St. Martin's Press.
- Hackett, Caire and Rolston, Bill. September 2009. "The burden of memory: Victims, storytelling and resistance in Northern Ireland." *Memory Studies*. Vol. 2(3): 355–376.
- Hallsworth, Simon and Young, Tara. 2008. "Crime and Silence: 'Death and life are in the power of the tongue' (Proverbs 18:21)." *Theoretical Criminology*. 12 (3):132–152.
- Hancock, Landon E. June 2008. "The Northern Ireland Peace Process: From Top to Bottom." *International Studies Review*. 10 (2):203–238.
- Hazleton, William. 2000. "Encouragement from the Sidelines: Clinton's Role in the Good Friday Agreement." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. 11:103–119.
- Hedges, Chris. 1996. "Top Leader of the Bosnian Serbs Now Under Attack from Within." *The New York Times*. January 4. A1, A8.

- Henderson, Conway W. 2001. "Investigating International Society." *Global Society*. 15 (4):415–423.
- Herberichs, Gerard. Winter 1966. "On Theories of Public Opinion and International Organization." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 30 (4):624–636.
- Hill, Christopher J. January 1996. "World Opinion and the Empire of Circumstance." *International Affairs*. 72: 109–131.
- Hill, Christopher. 2003. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave.
- Hirsch, Fred. 1976. *The Social Limits to Growth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. Summer 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*. 72 (3):22–49.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- International Alert, 2006. "The Confederation of British Industry and the Group of Seven: A Marathon Walk to Peace in Northern Ireland." In Jessie Banfield, Canan Gunduz, and Nick Killick (eds.), *Local Business, Local Peace: The Peacebuilding Potential of the Domestic Private Sector, International Alert, London*, 438–443.
- Jelin, Elizabeth. 2003. *State Repression and Struggles for Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jennifer Todd. August 2005. "Social Transformation, Collective Categories, and Identity Change." *Theory and Society*. 34 (4):429–463.
- John, Lord Allardycce. 1999. January 6. In O'Malley, Padraig. "Northern Ireland and South Africa."
- Jones, Ros Wynne. 2013. "G8 summit 2013: How President Barack Obama's visit to Northern Ireland has inspired a nation." *Mirror*. June 19. <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/g8-summit-2013-how-president-1959295>
- Jones, Roy E. "The English School of International Relations: A Case for Closure." *Review of International Studies*. 7. (1981):1–13.
- Kennan, George. July 1947. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs*. 566–582.
- Key, V. O. 1961. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf.
- King, Martin Luther. 1970. "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." In *What Country Have I?* Herbert Storing, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- King, Martin Luther. 1970. "Pilgrimage to Non-violence." In *What Country Have I?* Herbert J. Storing, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kinzer, Stephen. 1994. "Germany Ablaze: It's Candlelight, not Firebombs." *New York Times*. January 13. A4.
- Knudson, Tonny Brems. 2000. "International Society and International Solidarity: Recapturing the Solidarist Origins of the English School." Paper presented at the workshop *International Relations in Europe: Concepts, Schools and*

- Institutions*, 28 Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research, April 14–19, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- Koehler, Rachel. 2013. "Identity Troubles; Establishing National Identity in Post-War Northern Ireland." International Center for Ethics, Justice and Public Life.
- Kornhauser, William. 1959. *The Politics of Mass Society*. New York: Free Press.
- Lewis, Bernard. 1990. "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic*. September:47–60.
- Lindblom, Charles C. 1977. *Politics and Markets: The World's Political Economic Systems*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1963. *Political Man*. Garden City: Doubleday and Co.
- Locke, John. *The Second Treatise of Government*. <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/assets/pdfs/locke1689a.pdf>.
- Loizides, Neophytos. March 2014. "Negotiated Settlements and Peace Referendums." *European Journal of Political Research*. 53 (2):234–249.
- Lopez, Ian Henry. 2014. *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lyons, James M. February 1999. "Economics Driving the Northern Ireland Peace Process." Global Executive Forum.
- Machiavelli, Nicolo. *The Prince*. Translated by W. K. Marriott. P. 120-121. <http://www.constitution.org/mac/prince.pdf>
- Maier, Charles S. 1988. *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Mayall, James. 1990. *Nationalism and International Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mazrui, A. A. 1986. *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. Little, Brown.
- McGuinness, Martin. 1999. In Padraig O'Malley, "Northern Ireland and South Africa: "Hope and History at a Crossroads"" (2000). John M. McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies Publications. Paper 27. http://scholarworks.umb.edu/mccormack_pubs/27
- McLoughlin, Peter and Wilson, Tim. May 2006. "Another Way Forward for Peace in the Middle East." *Fortnight*. 444:15.
- McSweeney, Bill. 1998. "Identity, Interest and the Good Friday Agreement." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. Vol. 9:93–102.
- McWilliams, Monica. May 2012. Private communication.
- Morris, Michael. 2000. In Padraig O'Malley, "Northern Ireland and South Africa: "Hope and History at a Crossroads"". John M. McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies Publications. Paper 27. http://scholarworks.umb.edu/mccormack_pubs/27
- Mowlana, Hamid. 1986. *Global Information and World Communication: New Frontiers in International Relations*. New York: Longman.

- Murtagh, Cera. 2015. "Reaching across; institutional barriers to cross-ethnic parties in post-conflict societies and the case of Northern Ireland." *Nations and Nationalism*. 21 (3):544–565.
- Newton, Huey. 1969. "The Black Panthers." In *The Black Revolution*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company.
- Niedermann, Bernd. 1995. Oeffentliche Meinung und Herrschaft in der Aera Richelieu: Zur Verflechtung von oeffentlicher und veroeffentlicher Meinung im Absolutismus. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. The University of Mainz.
- Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth. 1984. *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion—Our Social Skin*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Nordic Irish Studies, Special Issue: The Rest is Silence*. 2012. Volume 11, Number 2. *Northern Ireland House of Commons Debates*. April 1934. Volume xvi, cols. 1117, 1118 and 1120.
- O'Dowd, Liam and McCall, Cathal. March 2008. "Escaping the Cage of Ethno-National Conflict in Northern Ireland? The Importance of Transnational Networks." *Ethnopolitics*. 7 (1):81–89.
- O'Malley, Padraig. 2013. "Madiba' helped bring peace to Northern Ireland." *The Boston Globe*. December 7.
- O'Malley, Padraig. 2000. "Northern Ireland and South Africa: "Hope and History at a Crossroads"". John M. McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies Publications. Paper 27. http://scholarworks.umb.edu/mccormack_pubs/27
- Obasanjo, O. 1991. *Proceedings of the Conference on Europe in the New World Order*. Georgetown University.
- O'Dochartaigh, Fionbarra. 1994. *Ulster's White Negroes: From Civil Rights to Insurrection*. Oakland: AK Press.
- Paine, Thomas. "Common Sense." In *The Writings of Thomas Paine*. http://www.calhum.org/files/uploads/program_related/TD-Thomas-Paine-Common-Sense.pdf
- Peatling, G. K. Spring/Summer 2004. "Unionist Identity, External Perceptions of Northern Ireland, and the Problem of Unionist Legitimacy." *Eire-Ireland*. 39: (1 & 2):215–236.
- Prince, Simon. 2007. *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origins of the Troubles*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Pross, Harry. 1991. "On German Identity." *Media, Culture, and Society*. 13:341–374.
- Pye, Lucian. 1996. "China's Quest for Respect." *New York Times*. February 19. A15.
- Reich, Robert B. 1991. "What is a Nation?" *Political Science Quarterly*. 106:193–209.
- Reus-Smit, Christian. October 2002. "Imaging Society: Constructivism and the English School." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 4 (3):487–509.

- Rostow, Eugene. 1971. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2003. "Framing World Opinion in the Elite Press." In *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government, and the Public*, edited by Pippa Norris, Montague Kern, and Marion Just, 159–179. New York: Routledge.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis, et al. 1997. *World Opinion and the Emerging International Order*. Westport: Praeger.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2003. "World Opinion and the Imagined International Community." *International Journal of the Humanities*. (1):563–572.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis and Ebo, Bosah. 1997. "National Consciousness, International Image, and the Construction of Identity." In Rusciano, Frank Louis. *World Opinion and the Emerging International Order*.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis and Fiske-Rusciano, Roberta. 1990. "Towards a Notion of 'World Opinion'." *The International Journal of Public Opinion Research*. 2 (4):305–322.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2000. "Die Neuaushandlung der deutschen Nationalidentität nach 1989." In *Deutsche Umbrüche im 20. Jahrhundert*. 627–663. Köln: Boehlau Verlag GmbH & Cie.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 1996. "Media Observations on World Opinion during the Kuwaiti Crisis: Political Communication and the Emerging International Order." *Southeastern Political Review*. 24, (3):505–530.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2001. "The Three Faces of Cyberimperialism." *Cyberimperialism: Global Relations in the New Electronic Frontier*, edited by Bosah Ebo, 9–25. Westport: Praeger.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2006. *Global Rage after the Cold War*. New York: Palgrave publishers.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2001. "A World Beyond Civilizations: New Directions in Research on World Opinion." 2001. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*. 13:10–24.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2003. "The Construction of National Identity: A 23-Nation Study." *Political Research Quarterly*. 56(3):361–366.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis. 2013. "World Public Opinion." In *The Spiral of Silence: New Perspectives on Communication and Public Opinion*, edited by Wolfgang Donsbach, Charles T. Salmon, and Yariv Tsfati, 179–186. New York: Routledge.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis; Fiske-Rusciano, Roberta; and Wang, Minmin. 1997. "The Impact of 'World Opinion' on National Identity." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*. 2 (3):71–92.
- Rusciano, Frank Louis; Fiske-Rusciano, Roberta; and Wang, Minmin. 2000. "The Transfer of Hong Kong to China: A Study of the Construction of National Identity." *Proceedings of the World Association for Public Opinion Research*. Portland, Oregon.

- Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People*. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston.
- Seale, Bobby. 1968. *Seize the Time*. New York: Random House.
- Seitz, Charmaine. November 2013 "Tracking Palestinian Public Support over 20 years of the Oslo Agreements." Jerusalem Media and Communications Center.
- Shehata, Samer. 2003. "Islam and its Contemporary Relationship to the West." The New Republic Symposium on Public Policy. November 13.
- Shirlow, Peter. September 2003. "Who Fears to Speak?: Fear, Mobility, and Ethno-sectarianism in the Two 'Ardoynes'." *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*. 3 (1):76–91.
- Slack, Megan. 2013. "President Obama Speaks to the People of Northern Ireland." June 16. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2013/06/17/president-obama-speaks-people-northern-ireland>
- Smith, M. L. R. January 1999. "The Intellectual Internment of a Conflict: The Forgotten War in Northern Ireland." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944–1999)*. 75 (1):77–97.
- Smootha, Sammy. 2009. "The Tenability of Partition as a Mode of Conflict Resolution: Comparing Ireland with Palestine-Land of Israel." In *Northern Ireland and the Divided World: Post-Agreement Northern Ireland in Comparative Perspective*, edited by John McGarry, 309–335. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swidler, Ann. 1995. "Cultural Power and Social Movements." *Social Movements and Culture*. edited by Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans, 25–40. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Talmon, J. L. 1960. *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*. New York: Praeger.
- Tamir, Yael. 1991. "The Right to National Self-Determination." *Social Research*. 58 (3): 565–590.
- Text of United States President George W. Bush's Middle East Speech. June 24, 2002.
- The New York Times*. 1993. "Now a People's Peace." September 15. A26.
- The Portland Trust. 2007. "Economics in Peacemaking: Lessons from Northern Ireland."
- Transcript of President George W. Bush's address to a joint session of the U. S. Congress on Thursday, September 20, 2001.
- Usher, Graham. April 1995. "A New Apartheid." *Fortnight*. 338:23.
- Verba, Sidney; Nie, Norman; and Petrocik, John. 1976. *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Vinocour, John. 2001. "The New World Order is a Clash of Civilizations." *The International Herald Tribune*. September 13. 31.
- Waddel, Eric. 1990. "Language, Community, and National Identity: Some Reflections on French-English Relations in Canada." In *Canadian Politics: An*

- Introduction to the Discipline*, edited by Alain-G. Gagnon and James P. Bickerton. Lewiston: Broadview Press.
- Watson, Adam. 2001. "Foreward." *Review of International Studies*. 27:467–470.
- Wight, Martin. 1987/1960. "An Anatomy of International Thought." *Review of International Studies*. 13.
- Wight, Martin. 2003. "International Legitimacy." "Legitimacy in a Global Order." *Review of International Studies*.
- Young Life and Times 2004. "Young People's Attitudes to Politics and Elections." www.ark.ac.uk/ylt

INDEX

A

Adams, Gerry, 7, 27, 78, 126, 127
African National Congress (ANC), 23,
24, 27, 141, 142
Allensbach Berichte, 71
Almond, Gabriel and Verba,
Sidney., 80n1
Amnesty International, 86
Anderson, Benedict., 36, 132, 162
apartheid, 7, 23, 37, 39, 46, 75, 128,
137–41, 147, 153
Arafat, Yassar, 144, 146–8
Aretxaga, Begona., 95
Aristotle, 121
assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak
Rabin, 146
9/11 attacks, 78, 151, 153
Aughey, A., 18, 21, 35, 38

B

Bailey, Harry, 12
Baldwin, James, 184
Barak, Ehud, 144, 145, 147
Barak, Oren, 147
Barber, Benjamin R., 152

Berlin, 70, 72, 178
Best, Paul J., 80n2
Beville, Maria, 85, 89, 90
birth cohort, 171, 172, 174, 176
Black Panthers, 15–17, 22, 23
Black Power movement, 14
Blair, Tony, 7
Bloody Sunday, 22
Bosi, Lorenzo, 19
Bosnia, 2, 34, 73, 138
British identity, 166, 167
*Brown v. The Board of Education of
Topeka, Kansas*, 20
Brzezinski, Z., 81n9
Bull, Hedley, 30, 36
Burke, Edmund., 121
Burns, John F., 165
Bush, George W., 47, 48, 151–3
Butler, D., 141
Buzan, Barry, 36, 41, 44
Byrne, Siobhan, 158n63

C

Campbell, Colm, 132
Campbell, Gregory, 132

- Caroll, James, 159n88
 Cavatorta, Francesco, 158n65
 Ceperkovic, Marko, 169
 chameleonic leadership, 123, 124, 126
 China, 2, 57, 72, 73, 75, 76, 138
 civic culture, 5, 55
 Civil Rights Act of 1964, 14
 civil rights movement, Northern
 Ireland, 2, 3, 9–24
 civil rights movement, United States,
 2, 3, 9–24, 184
 Clark, Ian, 32–4, 39, 46, 47
 clash of civilizations, 2, 8, 75, 148–54
 Clinton, Bill, 7, 27, 126, 147
 Clinton, Hillary, 79, 80
 Cochran, Feargal, 134, 135
 Cohen-Almagor, Raphael, 146, 147
 cohort change
 and party affiliation, 8
 and religion, 170
 confidence in leaders, 97, 111
 consociational structure, 90, 94,
 111, 178
 construction of national identity, 28,
 32, 42–4, 56, 65, 74, 75
 Cox, Michael, 27, 28
 Cox, W. Harvey, 55, 62
 Csepeli, Gyorgy, 42
 cultural recodings, 12–13
 Curran, Ed, 78
- D**
 Dahl, Robert, 10
 Dartnell, Michael, 134
 Davison, W. Phillips, 51n44, 119n12
 De Klerk, F.W., 141, 142
 delegate, 7, 121–4, 126, 150
 Democratic Unionist Party (DUP),
 162, 163
 Dennis O’Hearn, 83n51
 Dixon, Paul, 66
- Donning, Hastings, 120n28
 Dooley, Brian, 9
 Doyle, John, 127, 128
 Dunn, Seamus, 134, 135
 Durkan, Mark, 162
- E**
 Ebo, Bosah., 50n21, 51n43
 end of history, 35
 English School of international
 relations, 4, 28, 29, 41, 137
 Ervine, David, 69
 ethno-sectarian enclaving, 104
- F**
 Filardo, Laura, 162–4, 182
 Finnemore, Martha, 34, 38
 Fionnuala, Ni Aolain, 157n39
 Fiske-Rusciano, Roberta, viii, 50n20,
 50n22, 51n33, 53n66, 82n41,
 157n54, 157n67
fortuna, 122
 Foucault, Michel, 40, 86
Fremdbild, 5, 55–80, 86, 87, 89, 92,
 113–18, 125, 128, 130–3, 135,
 138, 141, 142, 164, 170,
 179–81, 183
- G**
 Gergen, K.J., 52n63
 Germany, 2, 8, 43, 61, 70–3, 75, 76,
 80, 138, 177–9
 Giliomee, H.B., 141
 Gilligan, Carol, 53n65, 81n13
 Gilligan, Chris, 185n1
 Gittus, E.J., 186n26
 global opinion theory, 3, 4, 28, 29,
 31–7, 41–8
 global spiral of silence, 33, 87

Good Friday agreement, 1, 6, 77–9, 92,
94–6, 101, 102, 104, 108, 109,
111, 113, 115, 119, 127, 129,
130, 133–6, 147, 154, 161–85
Gormley-Heenan, Cathy, viii, 123–6,
155n7, 155n13
Greenfeld, Liah, 59
Grove, Michael, 156n28
G-8 Summit, 169
Guelke, Adrian, 28, 55

H

Hackett, Caire, 91
Hancock. Landon E., 124
Harvey, Colin, 132
Hazleton, William, 126, 127
Hedges, Chris, 82n43
Henderson, Conway W, 35
Herberichs, Gerard, 88
Hill, Christopher J, 44, 62
Hirsch, Fred, 59
historical narrative, 8, 177, 179, 182,
185
Hollsworth, Simon, 100
Hume, John, 162, 163
Huntington, Samuel P., 148–50

I

imagined community, 36–8, 47, 132,
134, 162–4, 166, 173, 176,
182, 185
imagined international community,
4, 38–41
India, 2, 73, 75, 76, 138
International Alert, 2006, 82n48, 83n53
international image, 5–6, 32, 43, 45, 57,
61–3, 66–77, 79, 86, 87, 89, 100,
113, 114, 118, 131, 140, 151, 180
internationalization of the Northern
Ireland conflict, 128

international legitimacy, 7, 32, 68,
137, 138, 140, 142
international opinion, 2, 8, 24, 35, 45,
48, 88, 137, 138
international society, 2, 4–5,
29–36, 39, 41, 44–9, 138,
161, 168–70
Irish identity, 4, 55–80, 87, 119,
132–4, 166, 167, 170, 173, 174,
176, 179, 183
Irish Republican Army, 22, 145
Israeli-Palestinian peace process, 142
Israel/Palestine, 2, 134, 147

J

Jelin, Elizabeth, 91, 92
Jennifer Todd, 18
John, Lord Allardyce, 156n31
Jones, Ros Wynne, 186n19
Jones, Roy E., 33

K

Kennan, George, 149
Key, V.O., 7, 123
King, Martin Luther, 10, 12, 22
Kinzer, Stephen, 82n37
Knudson, Tonny Brems, 49n10
Koehler, Rachel, 63, 64
Kornhauser, William, 10, 11

L

levels in the negotiating process, 124
Lewis, Bernard, 74, 75
Lindblom, Charles C., 122
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 10
Locke, John, 87, 88, 122
Loizides, Neophytos, 141, 142
Lopez, Ian Heny, 186n30
Lyons, James M., 83n58

M

- Machiavelli, Nicolo, 122, 123
 Maier, Charles S., 186n24
 Mandela, Nelson, 7, 27, 126, 128, 129, 140
 Mandela, Winnie, 140
 Martin Luther King, 10, 12, 22
 masterable past, 8, 87, 108, 177, 179, 182
 Mayall, James, 30, 31
 Mazrui, A.A., 52n59, 81n12
 McCall, Cathal, 164, 168
 McGuinness, Martin, 78, 162, 163
 McLoughlin, Peter, 153
 McSweeney, Bill, 77, 133
 McWilliams, Monica, viii, 154n26, 154n37
 moral component, 31, 32
 Morris, Michael, 156n33
 Mowlana, Hamid, 45, 88
 Murtagh, Cera, 183, 184
 nation's image, 32

N

- national character, 55, 70
 national consciousness, 5, 43, 56, 57, 61–3, 70–3, 76, 87, 113, 142
 national identity, 5, 18, 19, 28, 32, 33, 41–4, 49, 55–62, 64–9, 72–5, 87, 89, 100, 112, 113, 117, 125, 131, 133, 140, 141, 161, 165, 170–3, 176–8
 national status deficiency, 60
 nationhood, 36, 42, 74
 nation's reputation, 67, 140
 negotiation of identity, 128, 141
 Newton, Huey, 15
 The *New York Times*, 165
 Niedermann, Bernd, 119n8
 Nie, Norman, 186n22
 Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth, 39, 87, 89

Northern Ireland House of Commons Debates, 26n28

- Northern Ireland Life and Times survey, 64, 101–3, 105–7, 170
 Northern Irish identity, 4, 55–80, 87, 119, 132–4, 166, 167, 170, 173, 174, 179, 183

O

- Obama, Barack, 169, 170, 184
 Obasanjo, O., 59
 O'Dochartaigh, Fionbarra, 9
 O'Dowd, Liam, 164, 168
 O'Malley, Pdraig, 156n27–32
 opinion dikes, 7, 123, 124, 130, 131, 141, 144, 147, 148, 154, 168
 Orange Order, 130, 164
 Oslo accords, 76, 145, 147

P

- Paine, Thomas, 121
 Palestinian national movement, 145
 peace lines, 8, 179–82
 peace walls, 89, 164, 178–82
 Peatling, G.K., 82n29
 Petrocik, John, 186n22
 Plato, 121
 pluralism, 10–12, 17, 20
 political power, definition, 122
 polyarchies, 122
 The Portland Trust, 82n31
 threat of international isolation, 44
 post-Cold War context, 49, 56–60
 power of world opinion, 32
 power-sharing
 pragmatic component, 32, 138
 pre-referendum and post-referendum analyses of silencing, 110
 Prince, Simon, 9, 17, 123
 Pross, Harry, 52n62
 Pye, Lucian, 72

Q

quasi-Hegelian dialectic, 184

R

Rabin, Yitzhak, 144, 146

Rai, Kul B., 80n2

Ranney, A., 141

Reich, Robert B., 60

ressentiment, 59, 60, 63, 65, 70, 73–5

Reus-Smit, Christian, 29, 38–41, 45, 46

Rolston, Bill, 91

Rostow, Eugene, 81n4

Rusciano, Frank Louis, 50n20, 50n21, 50n22, 50n26, 51n33, 51n39, 51n43, 57n55, 52n57, 53n66, 53n75, 53n76, 71, 81n14, 81n21, 82n41, 82n42, 83n56, 157n54, 157n58

S

Schattschneider, E.E., 10, 11

Seale, Bobby, 15

Seitz, Charmaine., 59n79

Selbstbild, 5, 43, 55–80, 86, 87, 89, 92, 93, 113–15, 117, 118, 125, 128, 130–3, 135, 138, 141, 142, 164, 170, 179, 181, 183, 185

Shehata, Samer, 151

Shirlow, Peter, 104

silencing of the victims, 104

silencing processes, 6, 85, 86, 93, 111, 112, 125

Simpson, Kirk, 120n28

Sinn Fein (SF), 126, 128, 129, 143

Slack, Megan, 186n18

Smith, M.L.R., 1, 28

Smootha, Sammy., 143

Social constructivism, 29

Social Democratic Labor Party (SDLP), 162, 163

social isolation, 65, 113

South Africa, 2, 7, 23, 24, 27, 37, 55, 69, 75, 76, 128–31, 134–42, 147, 153, 154

South Africa and world opinion, 139

South African peace process, 142–3

spiral of silence, 33, 87

state of exception, 18, 22

Swidler, Ann, 15, 16

T

Talmon, J.L., 58

Tamir, Yael, 58

terrorism, 1, 24, 55–7, 66, 69, 75, 78, 92, 133, 136, 152

Troubles, 2–7, 9, 10, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 27–49, 55, 63, 67, 69, 77–9, 86, 92–7, 99, 100, 105, 107, 111, 112, 117, 118, 127, 134, 143–5, 147, 165, 168, 176–9

trustee, 7, 121–4, 126, 130, 131, 141, 154

typology of nations, 57

U

Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), 162, 163

Usher, Graham, 158n74

V

Verba, Sidney, 186n22

Vinocour, John, 159n54

Voting Rights Act of 1965, 14

W

Waddel, Eric, 43

Walsh, David F., 80n2

Wang, Minmin, 53n66, 82n41

war of all against all, 30

Watson, Adam, 30, 36, 41

Wight, Martin, 29, 32, 137, 138

Wilson, Tim, 153

world opinion

definition, 28, 32

and English School of International Relations, 4, 28, 29, 137

and international legitimacy, 7, 32, 68, 137, 138, 140, 142

and international norms, 34, 42, 44, 86, 137

and national identity, 5, 28, 32, 33, 42–4, 49, 55, 56, 62, 65–7, 69, 72, 75, 87, 89, 100, 112, 113, 125, 161, 177

world considered as a unit, 32

world stage, 33, 45, 46, 65, 68, 88, 89, 126

Y

Young Life and Times survey, 186n23

Young, Tara, 100

Z

Zionist national movement, 145