

Contents

<i>List of Boxes, Figures and Tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>Glossary of Irish Terms</i>	xviii
Introduction	1
1 Becoming a Member State	6
Introduction	6
Establishing and consolidating independence	8
Choosing Europe	12
Applying for membership	19
Preparing for membership	22
Negotiating membership	23
Legitimizing membership	26
Conclusions	28
2 Ireland's EU Experience	30
1973–86: learning to live within the European system	35
1987–97: the emergence of the Celtic Tiger	42
1998 and beyond: a new Ireland living in the new EU	48
A different relationship	54
3 Managing Europe	56
Executive adaptation to EU membership – framing the analysis	57
Managing EU issues in Ireland: origins and development	60
Dissecting the system	62
The Holy Trinity: Departments of Foreign Affairs, the Taoiseach and Finance	64
The inner core and outer circle	67
Horizontal structures	68
The permanent representation	71
Processes	72

Information pathways	73
Executive–parliamentary relations	76
The balance sheet	79
4 Parties and Parliament	81
Irish political parties and the EU	83
European Parliament elections in Ireland: second-order?	93
Voting on Europe	104
5 Referendums and Public Opinion	105
EU referendums in Ireland	107
Irish attitudes to European integration	122
The National Forum on Europe	130
6 Multi-level Governance and Territorial Politics	132
Multi-level governance	132
Territorial organization in Ireland	134
Brussels money	138
Agenda 2000	144
European regulation	147
Over there in Brussels	147
Conclusions	148
7 The EU and Irish Public Policy	151
Ireland and European economic governance	154
Irish agriculture and the CAP	160
Protecting Ireland’s environment?	164
Out on a limb? Ireland and EU Justice and Home Affairs policy	170
8 Irish Foreign Policy in the EU	175
From isolation to interdependence?	178
New horizons – Ireland and European political cooperation	180
After 1989 – Ireland’s new security choices	184
Towards a common European defence? Ireland’s ongoing security dilemma	189
Irish foreign policy into the future	195
9 British–Irish Relations: The European Dimension	197
Introduction	197
Membership of the European Union	198

Managing the conflict	201
EU involvement in Northern Ireland	202
The Good Friday Agreement	213
Conclusions	216
10 Ireland as a Model?	219
Model I: what not to do	222
Model II: economic catch-up	224
Model III: conflict resolution and development cooperation	236
Challenges	237
Conclusions	241
11 Ireland: A Small State in a Large Union	243
Ireland: a small state in the Union	244
Just how Europeanized?	253
What this ‘Union’ has meant to Ireland	256
What the Irish experience tells us about the EU	263
<i>Further Reading</i>	265
<i>Bibliography</i>	267
<i>Index</i>	290

Introduction

The purpose of this volume is to examine the relationship between Ireland and the European Union. What difference has participation in European integration made to Ireland? The decision taken in 1961 to seek membership of the European Economic Community (EEC/EC), the original manifestation of the now European Union (EU), formed part of a new national project for Irish political elites begun in the late 1950s – the economic modernization of Ireland. Since accession in 1973, the Irish story of membership has been, on balance, a positive one. Despite such upsets as the Nice and Lisbon Treaty referendums along the way, European Union membership has allowed Ireland to take her economic and political place amongst the nations of Europe.

Given its subject matter, the key analytical concept underpinning this volume is that of *Europeanization*. Having gained widespread currency amongst political scientists since the late 1990s, Europeanization denotes the impact of participation in European integration processes on EU member states themselves. As a framework for research, it has reflected the trend of scholars working on the EU to switch their focus of attention from the European to the national level and revisit the impact of the EU on the domestic. This is in large part due to the increased salience of the EU as a result of over 15 years of continuous treaty reform and task expansion (beginning with the Single European Act). ‘Europe’ has hit virtually all policy areas, has added new dimensions to the domestic political arena and has also given rise to institutional change at the national level, most notably in national administrations. As a concept, Europeanization is essentially contested, yet as a research agenda Europeanization connects domestic and European politics and is an extremely useful entry-point for greater understanding of the important changes occurring in Irish politics, economy and society as a result of EU membership (Graziano and Vink, 2006, p. 4; Featherstone, 2003, p. 3; McGowan and Murphy, 2003).

2 *Ireland and the European Union*

The most common interpretation of Europeanization is the top-down ‘institutionalist’ perspective where the EU is seen to impact on the policies, administrative structures and patterns of intermediation of its member states. Within the top-down perspective, a myriad of definitions of Europeanization exist with little agreement on how to define the term. Keatinge (1984b) was one of the first authors to refer to the ‘Europeanization of foreign policy’ in his study of how Irish foreign policy had been reoriented as a consequence of European Community entry. The most commonly cited definition describes Europeanization as ‘an incremental process re-orientating the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organisational logic of national politics and policy-making’ (Ladrech, 1994, p. 69). Héritier has defined Europeanization as ‘the process of influence deriving from European decisions and impacting member states’ policies and political and administrative structures’ (Héritier *et al.*, 2001, p. 3). Radaelli defines it in broader terms as consisting of

processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’, and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated into the logic of domestic (national and sub-national) discourse, political structures, and public policies. (Radaelli, 2003)

These definitional examples illustrate the common tendency amongst political scientists to assess the relative degree of Europeanization across three domains or dimensions of change: policy, politics and polity (Bache and Jordan, 2006; Bulmer and Radaelli, 2005; Börzel and Risse, 2003, 2006). In the literature, the EU is found to impact on the nature and content of domestic public policy (policy), the issues, actors and actions of the domestic political process (politics), and the constitutional and institutional architecture of the system (polity).

Yet Europeanization is more than that; it is also a process of structural change, variously affecting actors and institutions, ideas and interests. Europeanization can represent the strengthening of subnational governance within member states as a result of the EU’s economic and social cohesion policies. It can ‘represent the restructuring of the strategic opportunities available to domestic actors, as

EU commitments, having a differential impact on such actors, may serve as a source of leverage' (Featherstone, 2003, p. 20). Moreover it encompasses the international positioning of the state in the global economy, as membership of the EU is used as a way of managing globalization. Its impact is typically incremental, irregular and uneven over time and between locations, that is national and subnational (Featherstone, 2003). It can also encompass the projection of member state priorities into the EU. This volume adopts this broader perspective of Europeanization.

It must also be acknowledged, however, that Europeanization on its own is not a stand-alone theory. In order to answer *how* European policies, rules and norms affect domestic political systems, Europeanization scholars have employed, either explicitly or implicitly, the broad spectrum of theories which, according to Graziano and Vink (2006, p. 17) fall 'under the umbrella of the so-called 'new institutionalism''. Using the methodology of process-tracing (the systematic description and analysis of empirical evidence), this volume unpacks the historical context of key decisions, political events and policy adaptations and also illuminates the causal mechanisms through which European integration has mattered for the Irish political system. The adoption of a broad institutionalist perspective helps us isolate the key moments or critical junctures in European and national policy and institutional change and the interaction between the two. Where necessary, our investigations are couched within longer-established meta-theoretical frames, for example historical institutionalism and multilevel governance (as we will see in Chapters 3 and 6 for instance).

Before dissecting how the relationship between Ireland and the European Union has led to changes in the politics, polity and policies of the contemporary Ireland, we examine the path taken towards membership of the EU. Chapter 1 examines the rationale behind the choice for Europe by focusing on the key political and official players. It explores the way in which the Irish state elite opted to use membership of the EU as a way to modernize Ireland. The decision to apply for membership intersected with profound changes in Ireland characterized by industrialization, urbanization and social change. This decision was born out of the failure of the 1950s when the Irish economy and society was trapped in stagnation and social conservatism. Ireland was a poor rural country characterized by high levels of emigration, economic dependence on the United Kingdom and reliance on agricultural exports. In 1958 a decision was taken

to open the Irish economy to international market forces and move away from high levels of protectionism. Choosing Europe became part and parcel of Ireland's new national project. Chapter 2 provides an overview of how, once a member, Ireland adapted to the demands of membership over time, tracing the impact of the EU on the Irish economy, society and political system across time as Ireland developed and the EU itself experienced deep change.

Chapter 3 explores the impact of the EU on the Irish polity focusing on a key element of Ireland's political system, the core executive of government and administration. Employing an historical institutionalist framework, we map the formal and informal organizational and procedural devices or structures used to manage EU affairs in Ireland, as well as dissecting the key relationships that govern this management process and the role of the domestic agents actively involved in the EU's governance structure. The chapter also explores the development of the capacity for the management of EU affairs in Ireland over time.

Has Irish politics become Europeanized? Every five years, Irish parliamentary politics takes on a European hue as candidates contest European Parliament (EP) elections. European Parliament elections across the EU have been cast as 'second-order elections', where they become either votes of confidence for the incumbent governments or 'markers' for future domestic electoral competitions. It is posited that those who vote in second-order elections tend to vote in a less strategic manner as these elections do not involve the creation of an executive and thus it is perceived that less is at stake. In Chapter 4, we see that Irish EP elections are clearly second-order elections, in terms of both trends in electoral results and important campaign issues. Irish political parties fight European election contests on national issues and voters decide accordingly.

Chapter 5 continues our investigation into the impact of the EU on Ireland's political arena. We examine Irish attitudes to the EU over time as expressed through referendums and public opinion polls. The case of Ireland is unique in the EU because of the constitutional and legal framework within which referendums are conducted. The 1987 Supreme Court judgement has established a very entrenched norm of holding a referendum on all European treaties. In addition, two landmark cases prescribe the conditions for financing referendums and providing balanced information to the public. Pro- and anti-EU actors in Ireland operate within a context whereby political communication on European matters is carefully regulated. The

challenge of referendums on European treaties is analysed in this chapter.

Next we excavate the impact of the EU on domestic policy and policy structures. Looking at territorial politics (Chapter 6), economic governance, agriculture, environment, justice and home affairs (Chapter 7) and foreign policy (Chapter 8), we investigate how the EU has had an impact on key national policies. We show how EU priorities and policy agendas can act as new opportunities for domestic change in a positive direction. EU obligations can also pose serious challenges for domestic policy makers as Irish priorities come under pressure. For example, a core feature and value of Irish foreign and security policy is non-membership of military alliances (military neutrality). The recent development of a European security pillar has proved deeply problematic for Ireland during key periods of change.

Chapter 9 reflects on an important dimension of Ireland's EU membership: relations with Ireland's nearest neighbour, Great Britain, in the context of Northern Ireland. EU membership coincided with the outbreak of communal conflict in Northern Ireland in 1969, and the management of this conflict was and remains a major focus of British–Irish relations since then. Membership of the EU helped Ireland overcome the post-colonial legacy and provided a multilateral context for the asymmetrical relationship between these large and small states. Finally, Chapters 10 and 11 explore how EU membership contributed to deep structural change within the Irish economy in a globalized world. As a result of unprecedented economic growth in the 1990s and the success in achieving economic convergence and catch-up, Ireland has been invoked as a model for other states in Europe and more widely. Chapter 10 examines the Irish model of economic development in the EU, how it emerged, what lessons can be learned and the challenges it faces in the future. The concluding chapter, Chapter 11, reviews Ireland's contribution to the EU and what the EU has meant for Ireland.

Index

Note: entries refer to Ireland unless otherwise indicated.

-
- abortion issues 111, 112, 115, 119
 abstention in referendums 54, 114
 Nice I 115–16
 Nice II 117, 118
 reasons for 119, 120
 adaptation to membership 57–80
 management of EU issues 60–2
 Adshead, M. 164, 217
 Afghanistan 192
 Afri (Action from Ireland) 115, 186, 188
 Agenda 2000 75, 144–6, 163
 agricultural policy 151, 153
 effect of EU 161–2
 agriculture
 1973–2004 EU receipts 161
 and CAP 160–4
 exports 160–1
 and membership 25, 26, 28, 35, 36
 Northern Ireland 204
 subsidies 160, 162
 workforce 161, 162
 see also Common Agricultural Policy
 Agriculture and Food, Department of 63, 67, 73, 161, 162
 Ahern, Bertie 85, 116, 190, 191, 197, 198–9, 217, 243, 251
 negotiating skills 76
 Ahern, Dermot 196, 237
 Ahern, Nuala 87, 92
 aid, development 182–3, 196, 261–2
 Aiken, Frank 13, 179
 ALDE (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe) 92, 94
 Allen, K. 225, 234, 239
 Alliance Party: Northern Ireland 205, 206, 216
 Allister, Jim 204
 ambassadorial effect 102–4
 Amsterdam Treaty (1997) 34, 52, 88, 89
 electorate knowledge 118
 referendum 48, 106, 108, 112–14;
 security and defence 186, 187, 188

 AnCo 37
 Andrews, David 113, 190
 Anglo–Irish Agreement (1985) 201, 213
 Anglo–Irish Treaty (1921) 6, 9
 Annan, Kofi 196
 Anti-Discrimination Act (1974) (Ireland) 39
 Archer, C. 244, 247
 area-based partnerships 143–4
 army: overseas operations 192, 193
 Asia strategy 261
 Attorney General's Office 63, 64, 68, 71, 73
 Aylward, Liam 94

 Bache, I. 2, 217
 Bacik, Ivana 103
 Baker, T. 46
 Baltic group 247
 Banking, Finance and International Services Division (BFID) 66
 Bannotti, Mary 93
 Barrett, Justin 111, 115
 Barrington D./Report (1992) 143
 Barrington, Tom 136
 Barry, F. 43, 224, 225, 226, 228, 231, 233
 Barysch, K. 78
 BATNEEC principle 166
 battlegroups 177, 193, 194
 Beef Tribunal Inquiry 162
 begging-bowl mentality 31
 Benelux cooperation 247
 Bergin, A. 157
 Berlusconi, Silvio 91
 Better Regulation agenda 78–9
 Bew, P. 202, 203, 206
 Bilateral Aid Programme 182
 Binzer Hobolt, S. 120
 Blair, Tony 189, 217
 Boel, Mariann Fischer 131
 Bonde, Jens Peter 93

- Bonn Declaration 20
 border controls 171, 172–3
 Börzel, T. 2, 166
 Bosnia 187, 191
 Bradley, J. 43
 Brady, H. 78
 Brady, Royston 103
 Braiden, Olive 102
 briefing documents 72–3, 77
 British–Irish Council 215, 218
 British–Irish relations 197–218
 effect of EU membership 198–201
 see also United Kingdom
 Broad Economic Policy Guidelines
 (BEPG) 153, 154–5
 Brown, Terence 38
 Brown, Tony 130
 Brunt, B. 137
 Bruton, John 52, 69, 90, 101
 Buchanan Report (1969) 138
 Budget and Economic Division 66
 budget, EU *see* EU budget
 Bulmer, S. 2, 56, 57, 58, 72
 Burch, M. 56, 57, 58, 72
 Burke, Colm 94
 Burke, Richard 52, 53
 Business and Employers' Confederation
 115
 Byrne, David 53

 Cabinet, Irish 68, 70–1
 sub-committees 70, 71
 Caherty, T. 219
 Callanan, M. 136, 143, 147, 149
 Capoccia, G. 59
 Cassells, P. 39, 40
 catch-up *see* development; economic
 Catholic Church 23
 Catholic values 89
 EU as threat 111, 115
 Cech, Z. 157
 Celtic Tiger economy 31, 33, 220
 emergence of 42–8
 as model 220, 221
 reasons for 43
 Chambers of Commerce of Ireland 115
 Chirac, Jacques 41, 189
 Christian Solidarity Party 89
 Clancy, P. 226
 Coakley, J. 99
 coalition building 247–8
 cohesion policy, EU 148, 149, 152,
 153
 cold war 11–12

 Cole, Roger 111, 113
 Coleman, S. 239
 Collier, D. 59
 Collier, R.B. 59
 Collins, N. 164
 Commissioners 248–9
 Committee on Industrial Organization
 22
 Committee of the Regions 148
 Committee of Secretaries 60
 committee system 68–71
 and chairs 69
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) 28,
 30, 35, 152, 257
 and Irish agriculture 160–4
 negotiations 74–5
 and Northern Ireland 207
 receipts from 138
 reforms of 163–4
 common fisheries policy 25, 36–7
 Common Foreign and Security Policy
 (CFSP) 88, 152, 153, 175, 195
 High Representative 187, 194
 and Ireland 33, 185–8, 196
 Common Market Defence Group 26,
 110
 Common Market Study Group 27, 107
 Commonwealth, engagement with 10
 communautaire approach 25, 62, 85
 Communicating Europe initiative 131
 Communications Regulation Act
 (2002) 159
 community initiatives 142, 143–4,
 148–9, 150
 Community Workers Co-operative 142
 competition: telecoms 159–60
 Competition Authority, Irish 44
 competition policy 151
 competitiveness 43, 45, 157, 238
 ComReg 44
 Concordia project 203
 conflict resolution: as model 236–7,
 262
 conflict resolution unit 196, 262
 Connaughton, B. 164
 Constitutional Treaty (2004) 52, 194–5
 and Irish presidency 40, 41, 80
 negotiations 62
 public attitudes to 127–8
 Sinn Fein attitude to 89
 contribution to EU, Irish 250–2
 Conway, A. 160
 Coombes, D. 31, 35, 41
 coordination and consultation 74–5

- COPS (Political and Security Committee) 191
- core executive 56, 58, 62–4, 80
- adaptation to membership 57–80
 - agents 58–9
 - components of 57–8
 - coordination 74–5
 - executive–parliamentary relations 76–9
 - horizontal structures 68–72
 - information pathways 73–6
 - inner core and outer circle 67–8
 - institutionalist perspective 56–7
 - managing EU issues 60–2
 - processes 72–3
 - structural component 58
- COREPER 71, 72
- Coreu* link 181, 184
- Cortell, A.P. 59
- Cosgrave, Liam 39
- Coughlan, Anthony 47, 108–9, 110, 112, 115
- Coulter, C. 239
- Council of Europe 12
- Council of Ministers 152
- Irish voting power 249
 - rotating Presidency issue 250
- County Enterprise Boards 143, 144
- county managers 135–6
- Cowen, Brian 48, 105, 221, 248, 249
- Cox, Pat 32, 36, 52, 92, 101, 103, 258
- Coyle, C. 135, 165
- crisis, economic 222–4
- crisis management, EU 184, 186, 190, 191
- Headline Goal 2010 193
 - Irish participation 195, 196
- cross-border cooperation 207, 215, 217
- Crotty, Raymond 27, 47–8, 107–9, 110, 223
- Crowley, Brian 92, 94
- Crowley, E. 160
- Daly, M. 7, 36, 162, 164
- Day, Catherine 52
- De Búrca, D. 87
- de Gaulle, Charles 18, 21–2, 181
- de Rossa, Prionsas 86, 94, 103
- de Valera, Eamon 6–8, 10–11, 14, 23, 55
- de Valera, Síle 50
- De Villiers, Philippe 93
- de-parliamentarization 62
- defence
- attitudes to 126, 127
 - expenditure 195–6
- DEHLG 168
- Delors, Jacques/packages 42, 61, 111, 139
- I 139–42
 - II 142, 144–5
 - task force 204
- Democratic Left 99
- demographic groupings
- attitudes to integration 125–6
 - knowledge of EU 128–9
- demographic patterns 38
- Denmark 21, 28, 198, 237
- globalization level 220
- Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment 63, 64, 67, 70
- Department of Environment 61, 63, 64
- Department of External Affairs 179–80
- Department of Finance 63, 64, 66, 67
- control of EU receipts 138–9, 141
 - information sharing 74
- Department of Foreign Affairs 61, 63, 70
- EU Coordination Unit 77
 - and information pathways 73
 - report writing 73
 - role of 64–5, 67, 79
 - staffing 65
- Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 61, 63, 64, 67, 70
- information sharing 74
- dependence on UK, economic 14–15, 19, 29, 31, 197, 199
- decline in 227
- depression 1970s/1980s 222–4
- devaluation (1993) 45
- development aid 182–3, 196, 261–2
- development strategy
- attracting capital 225–6, 227, 229–30, 238, 241–2
 - education 225, 226–7, 239, 242
 - EU and US influences 234–6
 - industrial policy 225–6, 229–30
 - investing in education 225, 226–7
 - labour market 230–1, 242
 - partnership model 228–9
 - and single market 231–2, 241
 - and structural funds 233
 - and taxation 229–30, 232, 242
- Devine, K.M. 178
- d'Hondt system 211

- Dimas, Stavros 168
Dinan, D. 91, 92
Disability Alliance 116
dissolution question 122
Doherty, R. 187
Dooge, Jim 34
Dornbusch, R. 223
Dorr, N. 179
Downing Street Declaration (1993) 213
Doyle, Avril 94, 103
Doyle, Maurice 46
Drudy, P.J. 31, 35, 36
dumping 25, 26
 agriculture 163
Dunleavy, P. 58
DUP: Northern Ireland 204–5, 207,
 216
- ECOFIN 66
economic dependence on UK 14–15,
 19, 29, 31, 197, 199
 decline in 227
economic development 156–7
 catch-up 224–36
 export-led growth 225
 failure 222–4
 and membership 35
 as model 220, 221
 Nordic states' routes 237–8
 societal costs 239–40
 success 42–3, 219–20
Economic Development (Whitaker) 15,
 17
economic issues: attitudes to 126
economic policy, EU 153
economic policy, Irish 13–14
 impact of EU on 154–5
 paradigm shift 8, 15, 17, 19, 22
 path to liberalization 14–16
Economic and Social Committee: Irish
 Border Areas 207
- economy
 1970s/1980s performance 222–3
 benefits from membership 43
 governance 154–5
 growth of 42–3, 219–20
 pre-membership 3–4, 219
 and US recession 157
 see also economic development
- education 151, 242
 higher 226–7
 impact of EU membership 255
 investment in 225, 226–7
 and labour force skills 43
- EFTA 16
Eircom 159–60
elections
 1918 8
 EP and Dáil elections compared
 100
 impact of EU on national 83–4
 party share of vote 98
 turnout 95, 96–7, 102
 voting behaviour in EP and national
 101
 women candidates 104
 see also EP elections; referendums
- Emergency *see* Second World War
emigration 7, 223, 261
Employment Equality Agency 44
employment inequality 38–9
 legislation 39–41
EMS (European Monetary System)
 44–5, 200
EMU (Economic and Monetary Union)
 33
 impact on Irish economy 154–5,
 156–60
 and Irish economic governance 44–5
 reasons for joining 45–6
English language and growth 225
English, R. 8
enlargement
 1970 negotiations 25
 attitudes to 127–8
Enterprise Ireland 238
environment
 EU influences on policy 164–70
 EU policy 68
 impact of NDPs 141
 lobby groups 258
 policy 67–8, 151, 153
environmental legislation, EU 147
 Irish compliance problems 166–8,
 169–70
 number of Irish infringements 167,
 168
Environmental Protection Agency 44,
 165–6, 259
EP elections 258–9
 1979–2004 results by party 99
 ambassadorial effect 102–4
 candidate selection 102–4
 and Dáil elections compared 100
 independent MEPs 101
 and national issues 93, 104
 Northern Ireland 204, 205
 party share of vote 98

- EP elections – *continued*
 as second-order elections 4, 81–2,
 95–104
 simultaneous contests 96–7
 small party gains 95, 98, 100, 102
 turnout 95, 96–7, 102
 episodic change 59
 EPP (Christian Democrat European
 People's Party) 90
 EPP–ED (Christian Democrat European
 People's Party–European
 Democrats) 90, 91, 92, 94
 equality legislation 39–41
 equal pay 39
 EU27
 GDP per capita 246
 population 245
 states by area 246
 EU budget
 Ireland as net beneficiary 25, 49
 Ireland as net contributor 55, 146,
 147
 transfers to Ireland 138–44
 EU Scrutiny Act (2002) 77
 EU Scrutiny sub-committee 77, 78
 proposals/documents received 79
 EUFOR missions 191, 192, 193
 EUL/NGL (European United
 Left/Nordic Green Left) 92–3,
 94
 Eur-lex 37
 euro 154, 156–7
 attitudes to 127
 joining 200
see also EMU
 Eurobarometer surveys 128–9
 attitudes to issues 126–8
 on EU defence policy 188
 EU-25 benefits from membership
 122, 123, 124
 identity 255
 Irish support for integration 121–8
 knowledge of EU 47, 54, 106, 128–9
 Europe of the Regions 133
 European Commission 152
 European Communities Committee
 61–2
 European Court of Human Rights 12
 European Court of Justice 152, 258
 and environmental infringements
 167
 European Defence Agency 195
 European Democratic Alliance 91
 European Movement 115
 European Parliament 249–50
 2004–09 Irish MEPs 94
 and Northern Ireland conflict
 209–10
see also EP elections
 European Political Cooperation 41, 42,
 175, 180–1
 and Irish presidency 181–2
 European Rapid Reaction Force 88,
 177, 189, 191, 193
 European Regional Development Fund
 37, 138, 148
 cross-border cooperation 207,
 208–9
 European Security and Defence Policy
 (ESDP) 190–1
 European Social Fund 37–8
 engagement with 262–3
 and vocational training 226
 European Union
 as arena 258–9
 as framework 257–8
 Ireland's contribution 52, 53, 250–2
 as policy 259
 as polity 259–60
see also membership
 Europeanization 1–2, 256, 262
 definitions 2–3
 institutional adaptation 56–7
 level of 253–6
 as structural change 2–3
 Euroscepticism 87–90
 hard and soft 87
 in member states 84, 89–90
 Northern Ireland 206
 exchange rates 43, 44
 executive–parliamentary relations 76–9
 export-led growth 225, 227
 exports 227
 changing pattern of 199
 to UK 14–15, 19
 Fahey, E. 78
 Fahey, T. 225, 239, 241
 Falklands crisis and neutrality 183
 Falkner, G. 49, 166
 Fanning, R. 10
 farmers
 advocates of membership 22
 environmental complaints against
 169
 incomes 36, 257
 voting at referendums 118
 farming lobby 161, 164, 169, 170

- Farrell, B. 23
 Featherstone, K. 1, 3, 56
 Federated Union of Employers 39
 Ferriter, D. 39
 Fianna Fáil 7, 25, 26
 1932 government 10
 candidate selection 103
 election results 98, 99, 100–1
 and EP party group 90, 91, 92
 opposition to EU 49–50
 support for EU 82, 85, 107
 Fianna Fáil–Progressive Democrat
 government 50
 finance from Brussels 138–44
 Fine Gael 25, 26
 candidate selection 103, 104
 election results 98, 99, 100, 101
 and EPP–ED 90–1
 support for EU 82, 84–5, 107
 Fingleton, J. 159
 Finland 237
 Finlay, F. 142
 fiscal policy 46
 fishing industry 25, 36
 discriminatory regulation 37
 Fisk, R. 11
 FitzGerald, Garret 30, 52, 85, 90, 183,
 201, 251
 on economy 42, 43, 44, 230–1
 on EMU 45, 46
 on interdependence 29
 FitzGerald, J. 157
 Fitzgerald, M. 20, 21
 Fitzgibbon, J. 87, 88
 Flinter, D. 227, 228, 232, 235
 Flynn, B. 165, 166–7, 169, 170
 Flynn, Pádraig 53
 Food Safety Authority 44
 foreign direct investment 225–6, 227
 competition for 238
 incentives 16
 increase in 43
 and tax regime 229–30
 US 232, 234, 235
 foreign policy 175–96
 and CFSP 185
 and EPC 183–4
 future 195–6
 impact of EU 176–7
 multilateral tradition 9–10
 post-Cold War 184–9
 postwar 12–13
 Forfás 238
 Forza Europa 91
 Foster, R. 7, 221, 234, 239, 254
 Framework Document (1995) 213
 Frampton, M. 89, 206
 Franklin, M. 95, 120, 122
 free movement of persons 170–4
 Friedman, Thomas 219
 Gabel, M. 122, 126
 Gallagher, M. 58, 99, 107, 109, 113
 Ganley, Declan 110
 Garland, Roger 165
 Garry, J. 106, 121
 Garvin, T. 14, 200, 223, 224
 GATT 17, 18
 GDP
 EU27 by state 246
 growth 156, 225
 gender
 and attitudes to membership 125,
 126
 inequality 38–9, 255
 and knowledge of EU 128
 and voting behaviour 118
 Genschel, P. 57
 Geoghegan Quinn, Maire 32, 69
 geographical location
 impact of 247
 and strategic relationships 247–8
 Gilland, K. 50, 84, 87, 89, 113, 116,
 118
 Gillis, Alan 103
 globalization 224, 234, 235, 256, 258,
 261
 and Europeanization 3
 Globalization Index 220
 GNP 42–3
 Good Friday Agreement (1998) 196,
 198, 204, 211, 213–17
 as conflict-management model 222,
 242
 power-sharing 236, 237
 strand one 213–14
 strand two 214–15
 strand three 215–16
 Gormley, J. 88, 167, 176, 186, 188
 government
 central–local relations 138, 139,
 149, 150
 impact of EU 260–1
 local 134–8
 multi-level 132–4
 regional 137–8
 Graziano, P. 1, 3
 Greece 166

- Green Party 47, 48, 190
 anti-Nice campaign 115, 116
 attitude to EU 49, 82, 87–8, 90
 election results 99, 100, 101
 EU party alliance 92
 women candidates 104
- Green/EFA (Greens/European Free Alliance) 92, 94
- Greenpeace 165
- Guerin, Orla 102, 103
- Haagerup, N.J./Report 209–10
- Hague Summit (1969) 18, 23, 24
- Hain, Peter 237
- Hainsworth, P. 202
- Handoll, J. 173
- Hannan, A. 43
- Harkin, Marian 92, 94, 101, 103
- Harmsen, R. 57
- Harney, M. 86, 113, 234
- Hart, J. 35, 37, 38
- Haughey, Charles 52, 61–2, 69, 85, 101, 140, 183, 228
 and German unification 251
- Hayes, Maurice 130
- Hayward, K. 54, 115, 116, 117, 146
- Headline Goal 2010 193
- health policy 151
- Health and Safety Authority 44, 259
- Helsinki summit 190–1
- Héritier, A. 2, 152
- Higgins, Jim 94
- Hillery, Patrick 6, 31, 34, 40, 52, 180, 182
- historical institutionalism 57, 58–9
- Hix, S. 83, 95, 126, 152
- Holmes, M. 82, 88, 99, 118, 183, 184
- Honohan, P. 43, 45–6, 157, 238
- Hooghe, L. 132–3
- House, J.D. 228, 229
- housing market 157
- Hume, John 139, 204, 205–6, 211
- Humphreys, P. 40
- Hussey, G. 31, 32, 47
- spatial location 240
 statistics 240
- Independence/Democracy EU group 93, 94
- Industrial Development Agency (IDA) 137, 232
- industrial policy 225, 229–30
- industry, indigenous 16, 222, 225, 227
- inequality, social 239–40
 gender 38–9
- inflation 45, 157
- information pathways 73–6
- infrastructure, domestic 42
- Ingebritsen, C. 179, 244
- Inglis, T. 221, 223, 241, 254, 256
- institutional development
 critical junctures 59
 episodic and incremental 59
 path-dependence 59
- institutionalist perspective 2
 new institutionalism 3
- integration
 EU policy 151–2
 Irish support for 121–8; by demographic grouping 125–6
- Interdepartmental Coordinating Committee on EU Affairs 69, 70
- interdependence, route to 29, 199
- interest rates and EMU 46
- Intergovernmental Conferences 249–50, 251, 252
- internationalism, post-war 11
- INTERREG initiative 208–9
- investment, inward 43, 227, 229–30, 238
 attracting 16, 225–6
 from US 232, 234, 235
- Irish Alliance for Europe 116
- Irish Bishops' Conference 115
- Irish Congress of Trade Unions 27, 107, 109, 115, 116
- Irish Creamery and Milk Suppliers Association (ICMSA) 164
- Irish Farmers Association 115, 116, 164
 election candidate 103
- Irish Free State 8, 9
- Irish Regions Office 148
- Irish Sovereignty Movement 47
- Ishizuka, K. 190
- Israel 182
- Italy and EU party groupings 91
- ICEM (Irish Council of the European Movement) 26, 27
- identity
 impact of EU 255
 and neutrality 12, 178, 180
- Ikenberry, G.J. 59
- immigration 222, 240–1, 256, 261
 returning migrants 225, 227, 230

- Joint Oireachtas Committee 77
 Jordan, A. 2
 Justice and Home Affairs, EU 153–4
 emergency brake 174
 and Ireland 170–4
 and Ireland–UK relationship 248
 opt-outs 172–3, 174
 reforms to 171–2
- Kassim, H. 57, 61, 62, 74
 Kearney, A.T./globalization index 220
 Kearney, B. 36
 Kearney, R. 202
 Keatinge, P. 11, 179, 187, 189, 198
 on EP elections 97
 on EPC 41
 Europeanization 2
 on foreign policy 64, 175, 176, 178,
 180, 182, 183, 188
 on Presidencies 85
 Keleman, R.D. 59
 Kennedy, F. 106, 126
 Kennedy, L. 10, 199, 209, 210
 Kennedy, M. 12
 Kenny, L. 137
 Keogan, J.F. 136
 Keogh, D. 7, 26
 Kettle, Thomas 199
 KFOR 192, 193
 Kirby, P. 225, 239
 Kitt, 69
 Klemenčič, M. 247, 248
 Knill, C. 57
 knowledge of EU, public 128–30
 improvement in 129
 and social class 125, 126, 128, 129
 Kohl, Helmut 251
 Kosovo 187, 189, 192
- labour market 43, 230–1, 232, 242
 flexibility 222
 and immigrants 240
 Labour party 26, 27, 86
 attitude to EU 82, 84, 86, 107
 candidate selection 103, 104
 election results 99, 100
 and PES 90, 91
 Ladrech, R. 2, 83
 Laffan, M. 9
 Lane, Paddy 103
 Laver, M. 58, 164
 LEADER programme 143, 149
 League of Nations 9, 10, 176, 178, 243
- Leddin, A.J. 157, 238
 Lee, J.J. 7, 14, 31, 35, 223–4
 Lemass, Sean 6–7, 17, 54, 60,
 179–80, 257
 economic policy shift 15–16
 membership application 19, 21,
 22–3
 Lenihan, Mary 111
 Libertas 110
 Lisbon Treaty (2007) 78, 108
 agenda 64, 153, 155–6
 attitudes to 127–8
 and Green Party 88
 JHA chapter 248
 security matters 194–5
 local development 143–4, 146
 area-based partnerships 143–4
 enterprise development 143,
 144
 local government 134–8
 2001 reorganisation 134, 135
 county managers 135–6
 EU regulation 147
 finance 136–7
 functions of 134–5
 Local Government Acts 136, 137
 2001 Act 134, 135, 136
 Loftus, Sean 103
 Lomé Convention (1975) 183, 251
 Loyal, S. 240, 241
 Ludlow, P. 40–1
 Luxembourg Process 155
 Lynch, Jack 6, 8, 34, 101, 180, 199,
 262
- Maastricht Treaty (1992) 33, 34, 171
 convergence criteria 155, 156
 electorate knowledge of 118
 media coverage 112
 referendum 108, 109–12
 structural funds 142
 Maignette, P. 250
 Maher, D. 8, 18, 20, 21, 26
 Maher, T.J. 103
 Mair, P. 58, 83, 87, 89, 151
 Maitre, B. 239
 Makenci, Patricia 111
 Mallon, Seamus 213
 Malone, Bernie 102, 103
 management of EU affairs 60–2, 252–3
 Mansergh, L. 113
 market liberalization 157–60
 market-building policies, EU 152, 153

- market-correcting policies, EU 152, 153
- Marks, G. 132–3
- Marsh, M. 81, 85, 86, 95, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 120, 121
- Marshall Aid 12
- Massey, P. 159
- Matthews, A. 31, 35, 163
- MacCoille, C. 156
- MacGinty, R. 178, 186, 188
- MacKernan, Pdraic 175
- Macmillan, Harold 20
- MacSharry, Ray 53, 163, 231
- McAleese, D. 31, 32, 35, 36, 199
- McCabe, I. 11
- McCoy, D. 156, 157
- McCreivy, Charlie 50, 53, 155
- McCutcheon, P. 47, 48, 109
- McDaid, Jim 103
- McDonald, M.-L. 89, 92, 94
- McDowell, Michael 86, 255
- McGowan, L. 1, 151, 165, 166
- McGrath, K. 228, 229
- McGuinness, Mairéad 94, 103
- McGuinness, Martin 216, 237
- McKenna, Patricia 48, 87, 88, 92, 112, 188
- McLaren, L. 126
- media coverage
National Forum 131
referendums 112–13, 115, 117, 118, 119
- Meehan, E. 202, 203, 206
- membership of EU, Irish
1973–86 period 32–3, 35–42
1987–97 period 32, 33, 42–8
1998–present 32, 48–54
application for 16, 19–22
attitudes by demographic groupings 125–6
and British membership 26–7
challenges to consensus on 47, 49–52
criticisms 110–11
Eurobarometer surveys 121–8
Europeans in Ireland 261
impact of 30, 31, 254–6
Irish concerns 25–6
and Irish identity 199–200
Irish impact on EU 254
key dates 17–18, 34
legitimizing 26–7
motivation for 13, 14–17
and nationalism 200, 260–1
negotiating 23–6
obligations and choice 262
as opportunity 262–3
preparing for 22–3
public perception of benefit 122, 123
referendum on 34
reservations 20–1
significance of 256–62
as small state 244–53
utilitarian perspective 122, 126
White Papers 23–5, 26, 35
- MEPs 94
number of 96
- Middle East 182, 192
- Milan European Council 201
- Millan, Bruce 141
- Mitchell, Gay 69, 93, 94
- Mitterrand, François 251
- model, Ireland as 219, 220, 221
catch-up 224–36
conflict resolution 236–7
as failure 222–4
reasons for 221–2
- modernization 200, 244, 257
and membership 3–4, 14–15, 28
- monetary policy 45, 46, 151
and EMU 154
- Moss, B. 33, 156
- Moxon-Browne, E. 81, 98, 101, 103
- Mullally, G. 165, 169
- multi-level governance 132–4
- Murphy, A. 230, 232
- Murphy, C. 164
- Murphy, G. 15, 22, 164
- Murphy, M. 1, 151
- National Development Plans 139–42, 145–6, 148
1999–2006 period 145
environmental impact 141
local development 143–4
NDP II 142–4, 148
sectoral approach 140, 142, 149
- National Forum on Europe 53, 80, 85, 106, 116, 130–1
impact of 131
public awareness of 130
- National Platform for Employment, Democracy and Neutrality 110–11, 116
- National Spatial Strategy (NSS) 145–6, 149
- nationalism 8, 200, 260–1

- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 24, 178, 180, 181, 184, 186
 and Irish EU membership 21
 Partnership for Peace 89, 113, 177, 179, 189–90, 192; mission areas 188
 postwar 11–12
 negotiations: Irish policy on 76, 251–3, 260
 neo-liberalism 234, 254
 NESC 43, 239
 report 219
Strategy for Development 224, 227–8
 neutrality 10, 42, 85, 119, 175–6
 and anti-Nice campaign 115
 defining identity 12, 178, 180
 and EPC 181
 EU as threat 206
 and Falklands crisis 183
 and membership 21, 47, 110
 and Second World War 11
 Seville European Council 116
 Nice Treaty I referendum 5, 32, 33, 35
 aftermath 53–4, 57, 79–80, 85, 105
 as critical juncture 60, 62, 76
 electorate knowledge 50–1, 80, 114
 EU reaction 51
 and parliamentary scrutiny 72, 77
 results 49, 50–1, 108, 117
 turnout 113, 114, 115–16
 voting behaviour 118, 119
 Nice Treaty II referendum 32, 34, 85, 106
 campaign 116–18
 electorate knowledge 117–18
 results 54, 108, 117
 turnout 117–18
 voting behaviour 120
 Nicholson, Jim 204
 Nicolaidis, K. 250
 Nitrates Directive (EU) 169–70
 No to Nice group 111, 115, 116
 Nolan, B. 239
 Noonan, Joe 111
 Nordic battle group 177, 194, 248
 Nordic cooperation 247
 Norman, P. 250
 North–South Ministerial Council 214
 Northern Ireland
 assembly elections results 216
 EU involvement 202–12
 EU as model 210–11
 EU officials in 211–12
 EU policies/reports 207–10
 EU as political arena 203–7
 Objective One status 208
 outbreak of conflict 197, 198
 party attitudes to EU 205
 peace funds 212
 Political Affairs Committee report 209–10
 results of EP elections 204, 205
 role of EU in 207–10
 Single Programming Document 208, 212
 underrepresentation in EU 203–4
 Northern Ireland Centre 203
 Northern Ireland conflict 5, 28
 and conflict-resolution unit 196
 effect of EU membership 201–2
 managing 201–2
 US involvement 201
 Northern Ireland Partnership Board 212
 Norway 21, 198
 Nugent, N. 244, 247
 NUTS II regions 145, 149
 Ó Cinneide, S. 38
 Ó Cuiv, Eamon 50
 O Loinsigh, Micheal 27
 Ó Neachtain, Sean 93, 94, 103
 Objective One status 141, 144–5
 Northern Ireland 208
 NUTS II regions 145, 149
 O'Brennan, J. 106, 114, 131
 O'Cleireacain, S. 202
 O'Dea, Willie 50, 193–4
 O'Donnell, R. 31, 33, 43, 44, 45, 156, 202, 224, 227, 228–9
 OECD report 223
 on education 226
 OEEC 12, 17, 243
 officials 75–6
 training for 75
 O'Halpin, E. 77, 178, 190
 O'Hanlon, Roderick 115
 O'Hearn, D. 223, 224, 239
 oil crises 31, 241
 Oireachtas 176
 and core executive 76–9
 impact of EU 255
 O'Kennedy, Michael 53
 Olsen, J. 132
 O'Malley, Desmond 103

- Open Method of Coordination 156
 opposition to membership 47, 49–52
 O’Riain, S. 225, 235
 O’Rourke, Mary 159
 O’Sullivan, David 52
 O’Sullivan, S. 221, 254
 O’Toole, F. 19, 221, 223, 239, 257
- Paisley, Ian 204, 216, 237
 parliamentary scrutiny 72, 77, 116
 partition 9
 partnership model 228–9, 235
 and local governance 143–4, 148, 149
 Partnership for Peace 89, 113, 177, 179, 188, 189–90, 192
 mission areas 188
 path dependency 59
 Patten, Chris 41, 76
 Payne, D. 215
 Peace and Neutrality Alliance 113, 115, 116, 176
 and EU security issues 186, 188, 190
 Peace and Reconciliation fund 204, 210, 212
 peacekeeping activities 179, 185, 187, 192
 ESCP 191
 opposition to 188, 191
 Peers, S. 173
 Permanent Representation 59, 65, 71–2
 local 147–8
 ministries represented 71
 staffing 40, 71
 Persson, Goran 51
 PES (Party of European Socialists) 90, 91, 92, 94
 Petersburg tasks 185, 186, 187, 195
 Peterson, S. 59
 Pierson, P. 57, 59
 Poland and UEN 91
 policies, EU 151–4
 typology 153
 policy 2
 domestic; and EU obligations 5
 policy, Irish
 paradigm shift 8, 15, 17, 19, 22
 policy-making
 impact of EU policy 151, 259
 partnership model 228–9
 selective centralization 74–5
 Political Affairs Committee report 209–10
- political impact of membership 41–2
 political parties
 attitudes to EU 82, 83–90
 and EP party groupings 90–4
 and referendum voting 118
 and transnational EP groupings 90–4
 political union: attitudes to 126–7
 politics, territorial 2
 impact of EU 132, 133–4
 local government 134–7
 regional government 137–8
 polity 2, 259–60
 polity-building, EU 152, 153
 pollution control 165–6
 population
 1950s decline 7
 changing patterns 38
 EU27 by state 245
 Powell, Enoch 207
 PR-STV 96
 Presidencies of Council 30, 34, 250–1, 258
 and adjustment to membership 61
 rotating 250
 success of 40–1, 42, 62, 80
 Prodi, Romano 51
 Progressive Democrats
 ALDE affiliation 92
 attitude to EU 86–7
 candidate selection 103
 election results 99, 100, 101
 protectionism, abandonment of 13, 15
 public opinion
 before Nice I 105
 and EU knowledge 106
 see also Eurobarometer
- qualified majority voting 253
 Quinlivan, A. 81, 97, 103, 104
- R&D 233, 238
 Radaelli, C. 2, 56
 rapid reaction force, EU 88, 177, 189, 191, 193
 REACH Committee 70
 Rees, N. 62, 188, 194, 195, 196
 Referendum Acts (1994, 1998) 48
 Referendum Commission 48, 112, 113, 117
 referendums 4–5, 107–21
 altering Constitution 24, 26, 27, 107
 changing conduct of 112–14

- and Crotty injunction 47–8
dissenting voices 110–11
electorate knowledge 50–3, 80, 113, 116
Euro-critical groups 110–11
funding 112–13
reasons for No votes 118–19
results 114
second-order effects 121
turnout 107, 108, 109, 113, 115–16
voting behaviour 118–21
Yes voting characteristics 119–20
Regional Assemblies 145, 148
regional development 142–3
Regional Development Organizations 138
regional government 137–8
Regional Partnership (East Central Europe/Asia) 247
regional policy, EU 32
Regional Review Committees 141, 142, 148
regionalism 133, 217
regionalization 217
regulatory impact assessments 78–9
regulatory regime, Irish 43, 44, 259
Reif, R. 81, 82
Reinhardt, N. 205
reporting on negotiations 73
Reynolds, Albert 44, 111, 185
Rhodes, R.A.W. 58
Risse, T. 2
Roche, D. 69, 91, 245, 250
RTE referendum coverage 112
Ruane, J. 202
Rural Environmental Protection Scheme 163
Ryan Air 221, 256
Ryan, Eoin 94, 103
- Sabel, C.F. 144
Saint Malo summit 189
Salmon, T.C. 11, 178
Sargent, T. 88, 165, 188
Sbragia, A.M. 152
Scallon, Dana Rosemary 101, 103, 111
Schengen area 67, 154, 171, 172–3, 174
 and UK opt-out 201, 248
Schmitt, H. 81, 82, 93, 95
Schön-Quinlivan, E. 81, 97, 103, 104
Scotland 203, 204, 215, 218
Scott, D. 32, 44
Scott, R.W. 59
SDLP: Northern Ireland 204–5, 206, 213, 214, 216
Sea Fisheries regulation 37
Second World War 11, 243
security issues: attitudes to 47, 126, 127
Senior Officials Group 69, 70, 71
SEUPB (Special EU Programmes Body) 214, 215
Seville European Council 116, 191
SFI (Science Foundation Ireland) 238
Sheehy, S.J. 35, 36
Single European Act (1986) 31, 33, 34, 47
 ratification injunction 47–8, 107
 referendum 108, 109
Single Programming Document 208, 212
Sinn Féin 8, 88–9, 190
 anti-Nice campaign 115, 116
 attitude to EU 49, 82, 87, 90
 election results 99, 100, 101
 and EUL/NGL 92–3
 Northern Ireland 204–5, 206, 216
 SEA referendum campaign 109
Sinnott, Kathy 93, 101, 103
Sinnott, R. 84, 107, 109, 126, 135
 abstentions 116
 on candidates 102, 104
 Nice referendums 50, 51, 117–18, 119–20, 121, 122
 public knowledge of EU 47, 128–9
 public support for EU 106
 results of referendums 114
Skelly, J.M. 12
small states
 representation and voice 248–50, 260
 strategic relationships 244–8, 249
Smith, M. 58, 202
Smith, N.J. 225
social agenda 30
social class and EU knowledge 125, 126, 128, 129
social impact of membership 37–41, 254, 255–6
social partnership 221, 228–9, 235
Socialist Party 89
Socialist Workers' Party 89
Solbes, Pedro 50
Somalia 187

- sovereignty 154–5
 concerns 110, 119, 206
 Green Party concerns 88
 Irish Free State 9
 and membership 24, 25, 30, 31, 244
 and neutrality 11
 Sinn Fein on 89
- Spain 166
- sponger syndrome 31
- Spring, Dick 102, 188
- Stabenau, Wolfgang 38
- Stability and Growth Pact 153, 154–5
- staffing in permanent representation 40
- Steinmo, S. 58
- strategic relationships 247–8
 Ireland–UK 248
 small states 244–8, 249
- structural funds 208
 1988 reform 31
 impact on Irish economy 43
 Irish management of 139–44, 233, 253, 259
 and Irish regulatory regime 44
- Sutherland, Peter 53
- Svensson, P. 120, 121
- Sweden 237
- Szczerbiak, A. 83, 87
- Taggart, P. 83, 84, 87, 89
- Taoiseach Department 58, 60
 role in management 61, 66–7, 79
- taxation 242
 and FDI 229–30, 232
 negotiations 253
 policy 229–30
- Taylor, G. 164, 165, 166, 170
- Taylor, John 204
- TDs
 as local councillors 137
 women 104
- Teague, P. 202
- telecoms liberalization 158–60
- Thelen, K. 58
- Thorhallsson, B. 244
- Tindemans Report (1975) 259
- Todd, J. 202
- Tonra, B. 51, 54, 176, 177, 180, 184, 185, 187, 188, 195
- Tovey, H. 144
- trade
 changes in composition 227
 impact of membership 35
 with UK 14–15, 19
- Trade Agreement, Anglo-Irish 17, 18, 23
- trade unions 228, 229
 and equality legislation 38–9
 ICTU 27, 107, 109, 115, 116
- training for officials 75
- Traistaru-Siedschlag, I. 156, 157
- Treaty of Accession
 final negotiations 18
 signing ceremony 6
- Treaty on European Union *see*
 Maastricht
- ‘triple-lock mechanism’ 177, 191, 193, 194, 196
- Trojan, Carlo 211
- turnout
 in EP elections 95, 96–7; and general 97
 referendums 107, 108, 109; Nice I 113, 114, 115–16; Nice II 117–18
- UEN (Union for Europe of the Nations) 91–2, 94
- UK Independence Party 93
- United Kingdom
 devolved interests 204, 214, 215–16, 217
 and environment 166
 EU membership 19–20, 21–2, 26–7; application 21–2, 197–8; experience 200–1
 Irish access to market 14–15
 Schengen opt-out 172, 173
see also British–Irish relations
- United Nations 186, 244
 Irish membership 12, 13, 176
 in Lebanon 182
 peacekeeping activities 187–8
- United States 189
 NATO and Ireland 11–12
 recession 157
 role in Ireland 258
 and WEU 186
- urbanization 38
- utilitarian perspective on membership 122, 126
- UUP: Northern Ireland 204–5, 206–7, 214, 216
- van der Eijk, C. 95, 120
- Venice Declaration (1980) 182
- veto 85

-
- Vink, M.P. 1, 3
Visegrád cooperation 247
vocational training 37–8, 226
 gender equality 40
voting behaviour 118–21
 and gender 118
- wage bargaining 43
wage growth 156
wage restraint 228
Wales 203, 204, 215, 218
Walsh, B. 43, 45
war of independence (1919–21) 9
waste disposal: environmental
 infringements 168–9
Weeks, L. 87
welfare system 240
Wessels, W. 59
- WEU (Western European Union) 184,
 185, 189
 observer status 186
Whitaker, Ken 14–15, 17
White, P.A. 231
White Papers 23–5, 26, 35
 D for Democracy 131
 foreign policy 188–9, 200
 Irish aid 196
 local government 136
women 258
 election candidates 104
 and employment legislation 39–41
 rights 30, 38–9
Workers' Party 89, 99,
 100, 107
 SEA referendum campaign 109
Wulf-Mathies, M. 212