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Title

The Irish Party System:
A Criticism of Sartori's Contradictory Approach

By

David Alan Gatley

MA Dissertation 1979

Government and Politics

University of Kent at Canterbury

(Reprinted with minor alterations, 2014)

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PREFACE

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I have altered the title to remove the word 'schizophrenic' and replaced it with the word 'contradictory'. The use of the word 'schizophrenic' was unfortunate and I can only apologise to Giovanni Sartori for having used it. I can only offer my youth and inexperience as an excuse for having done so.

The other changes relate to the system of referencing which I have changed to the Havard system, I have numbered the tables and finally I have corrected a number of spelling and grammatical mistakes.

Finally, I would like to thank Charles Banda who proof read my work and Ruth Jenkins who typed the original manuscript.

David Alan Gatley
(May 2014)

INTRODUCTION

The idea for writing this dissertation came to me after reading Giovanni Sartori's book, "Parties and Party Systems". In reading this book it soon became obvious to me that Sartori's ideas about Eire (The Irish Republic) are, to say the least, contradictory.

The purpose then of this dissertation was to attempt to test how well Sartori's model of party systems could be applied to the Irish case. That is, to answer the question: does the conceptual framework devised by Sartori for studying party systems adequately describe the party system in Eire?

Sartori outlines his analysis of party systems in two sources: his book, 'Parties and Party Systems; A Framework for Analysts.' New York 1976, Chapter 5, and in *Typology of Party Systems - Proposals for Improvement* in Rokkan and Allardt, eds., 'Mass Politics; Studies in Political Sociology', Free Press 1970. All my references to Sartori in this dissertation are taken from the former work.

In carrying out my research I devised a questionnaire which I sent to Irish T.D's (*Teachta Dála*, members of the Dail) and party candidates at the last (1977) general election in Eire. The detailed results of this survey need not concern us in the main body of this dissertation, but the interested reader will find a detailed breakdown of the results in the appendix at the end of this work.

In layout the dissertation takes the following form: Chapter One briefly explains the model of party systems, in competitive polities, devised by Sartori; Chapter Two is an introduction to the party system in Eire, and a brief look at the contradictory manner in which Sartori analyses the Irish party system; Chapter Three looks at the Irish party system as an example of limited pluralism; Chapter Four concerns itself with a discussion of moderate pluralism - one of the two categories into which Sartori places Eire; Chapter Five is a brief interruption in the narrative necessitated by the need to outline my research findings; Chapter Six, drawing on the survey data, seeks to see whether Eire is a case of moderate pluralism; Chapter Seven looks at Eire as a case of

predominant pluralism; Chapter Eight examines Sartori's contention that Eire does not have a two-party system. Finally, in the conclusion, the divergent threads of Sartori's approaches are brought together in an attempt to examine whether Eire's party system can be said to conform to the various types of party system hypothesised by Sartori.

CHAPTER ONE: SARTORI AND PARTY SYSTEMS

Sartori (1976) in studying party systems has constructed both a classificationary and typological scheme.

Some writers, such as La Palombra and Weiner (Sartori, 1976 p. 119) have abandoned schemes based on the number of parties in their analysis of party systems insofar as such schemes have 'not led to sufficiently meaningful insights'. Sartori(1976, p. 120), however has rejected this approach, for he believes that the number of parties can indicate certain important features of a party system. Viz: -

1. "The number of parties indicates albeit roughly, ... the extent to which political power is fragmented in a political system".
2. It tells us how many interaction streams we can expect to find in a political system. And,
3. "Furthermore the tactics of party competition appears to be related to the number of parties, and this has, in turn, an important bearing on how government coalitions are formed and are able to perform".

This leads Sartori to construct his classificationary scheme, based purely on the number of relevant parties in a party system. The usual way of deciding whether to include a party in a classificationary scheme is to exclude all those which do not obtain a minimum of votes or seats (usually 5%). This approach is rejected by Sartori, since it leads to the inclusion of some parties with little power, and excludes some parties which, although small, have some power, perhaps holding the balance of power. Sartori tries to overcome this problem by including in his classification all those parties which possess either: - (i) coalition potential, that is, those parties which have sufficient seats to be able to participate in government; or (ii) blackmail potential, this implies that some parties (mainly the anti-system ones) are so extreme in their policies that other parties refuse to form coalitions with them. However, such parties are often of sufficient strength that they are able to block legislation they do not like, that is they have a VETO or blackmail potential.

Such a classificatory scheme is of limited value, insofar as it does not tell us anything about the 'mechanics' of a party system. That is, it does not tell us anything about:- (i) how the parties differ; (ii) whether or not the parties are pro- or anti- system (i.e. whether or not the party system is polarized or merely fragmented); and (iii) it does not tell us whether or not the parties are prepared to join in coalitions, or are acceptable coalition partners to one another. Sartori's typology of party systems is concerned with the 'mechanics' of a party system and attempts to overcome the limitations of Sartori's classificatory scheme. Sartori's typology is based on:- (a) the number of relevant parties as defined in his classificatory scheme; and (b) the ideological distance between political parties, in this political parties are placed on an ill-defined 'ideological continuum', such that the closer together the political parties are, on the continuum the more alike they are, and vice versa. Hence in a fragmented system the parties are similar, i.e. they are placed close together on the continuum: whilst in a polarized system they differ greatly, i.e. they are placed far apart on the continuum.

Breaking down Sartori's classification and typology we have (1976, p. 125-9): -

CLASSIFICATION.	TYPOLGY.
	Predominant Party System.
Two Party System.	Two Party System.
Limited Pluralism.	Moderate Pluralism.
Extreme Pluralism.	Polarized Pluralism.

In these schemes limited pluralism is a class of three to five parties and extreme pluralism is a class of six or more. Moderate pluralism differs from polarized pluralism in that moderate pluralism has a small ideological distance between its parties, whilst polarized pluralism has a greater ideological distance between its parties. Moderate pluralism generally has from three to five parties, and polarized pluralism generally has above five parties. The two-party system has only two relevant parties, there being only

a small ideological distance between them. The predominant party system exists in a competitive polity with any number of political parties one of which usually succeeds in winning an absolute majority of seats at general elections.

CHAPTER TWO: THE IRISH PARTY SYSTEM

Manning (1972, p. 112) tells us that: "It is not possible to find any easy or ready categorisation for the Irish Party System and in fact it would seem that the nature of the system has changed from decade to decade". Hence over the past fifty years or so both the class and type of Eire's party system has varied somewhat. This is hardly surprising given the State's short history and violent beginnings.

Eire was 'born' in 1922 in the midst of civil war over acceptance of the treaty with England, which had divided Ireland into two, and under which the North of Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom. Eire's two largest parties arose from this division of Ireland and the Civil War that followed (see Manning, 1972 and Coogan, 1966).

The Sinn Fein Party, created in 1916, sought to unite all republican sections in the population to 'fight' for independence through constitutional methods. By 1922 Sinn Fein had achieved its aim insofar as Eire (in the South of Ireland) had become independent. However, the Sinn Fein Party split since some members of the party, led by Edmond de Valera, refused to accept the partition of Ireland, and would not accept the legitimacy of the new state and abstained from the Dail. The rest of the Sinn Fein Party, led by William Cosgrave, accepted the treaty of partition, and they formed the pro-treaty Cumann na nGaedheal Party.

The Sinn Fein Party followed its policy of abstaining from the Dail till 1927 when the party split again. De Valera now argued that the party should accept the legitimacy of the state and take their seats in the Dail. The bulk of the party followed de Valera's advice, and left Sinn Fein to form the Fianna Fail Party. Fianna Fail became and remains Eire's largest political party. Fine Gael, Eire's second largest party, was created in 1933 from an amalgamation of the Centre Party, the National League and Cumann na nGaedheal. Eire's third largest party, Labour, was formed in 1912 and has never obtained more than 17% of the vote, or obtained more than 22 seats.

From time to time, other parties have existed (Manning, 1972, pp. 85-105), though only

two (Clann na Talmhan and Clann na Poblachta) for more than a decade. The country has also had a number of independents, though these have become virtually extinct. In 1977 only four were elected, three of whom had left one or other of the main parties.

Of the two main parties Fianna Fail is by far the largest and most successful. Since 1932 it has held office for all but nine years, it has never since 1933 obtained less than 41% of the vote, nor more than 52%. Fine Gael, Eire's second largest party, has been in office on only three occasions as the senior member of coalition governments. Fine Gael's success has fluctuated greatly, its proportion of first preference votes ranging from as little as 19.8% in 1948 to as high as 35.2% in 1973.

The number of seats and votes gained by Eire's political Parties, in the 1977 general election were as follows:

Table 2.1: First Preference Votes Caste and Seats Gained in the 1977 General Election

Parties	1000s	Seats	% Vote	% Seats
Fianna Fail	811.6	84	50.63	56.76
Fine Gael	488.8	43	30.49	29.05
Labour	186.4	17	11.63	11.49
Other	116.2	4	7.25	2.7

Source: Irish Times, 1977-June-20.

This table shows us that Fianna Fail 'won' the last (1977) general election with an overall majority of 20 seats over Labour, Fine Gael and others combined. The table overleaf summarizes the nature of Irish Governments since the creation of the Irish State. From this table it is evident that single party governments are the general rule having existed for all but ten of the past 55 years. Of 21 governments, therefore, three have been inter-party or coalitions; five single-party governments have held less than half the seats in the Dail; and there have been two dead heats (in which Fianna Fail, which formed the government on both occasions, held exactly half the seats). This leaves eleven government being returned with an absolute majority of seats.

Table 2.2: Southern Irish Governments 1922-77

Nature of Government	Period of Office
Cumann na nGaedheal majority with Sinn Fein abstaining.	1922-27
Cumann na nGaedheal minority, with Independent support.	1927-32
Fianna Fail with Labour support.	1932-3 and 1937-38*
Fianna Fail with Independent support.	1943-44*, 1951-54, 1961-65 and 1965-69
Fianna Fail majority.	1933-37, 1938-43, 1944-48, 1957-61, 1969-73 and 1977 onwards
Inter-Party.	1948-51 and 1954-57
Fine Gael and Labour Coalition	1973-77

Table compiled from various sources including Manning (1972) and Coogan (1966).

In his book Sartori (1976) makes only ten references to Eire (plus one to Northern Ireland). Of these, two are insignificant footnotes (pp, 113 and 215) and one is an important footnote (p, 212), which tells us that Eire does not have a two-party system; two place Eire in tables of countries under discussion (pp. 196 and 306); three of them are no more than passing references to Eire as belonging to the moderate pluralist type of party system (pp. 173 and 198); and the last two references tell us that Eire belongs to the type of a predominant party system (pp. 194 and 197).

This brief survey of Sartori's work indicates that Eire has been studied in no great detail by Sartori. For his statements tend to contradict one another. At one point Sartori tells us Eire belongs to the type of a moderately pluralist system; and at another he tells us that Eire has a predominant party system. For example on page 182 Sartori writes:-

"Ireland and Luxembourg, hardly lend themselves to dispute as cases of limited and moderate pluralism."

Unfortunately though (from our point of view) Sartori does not expand on this statement and nowhere does he offer any positive proof that Eire offers us an example of moderate and limited pluralism.

Later (p. 193-4) in Sartori's work we read that Eire has a predominant party system - but again he fails to expand, on this point offering the reader no proof whatsoever of the assertion.

Clearly we have a contradiction here. We could, however, be generous to Sartori and say that Sartori is referring to Eire at two different points in time. Sartori does in fact hint to us that this may be the case, for on page 197 he writes:-

"..the Irish party system has been predominant between 1933-48 and 1957-73 with a major interruption of ten years."

Yet at this point he (Sartori) fails to tell us exactly what type of party system Eire had in the decade 1948-57, and (presumably) from 1973 onward. It may well be that it was in these two periods (1948-57 and 1973 onward) that Eire did, in Sartori's words: "hardly lend... (itself)... to dispute as (a case)... of moderate pluralism." But, Sartori does not tell us that that is so. Consequently one is left wondering just how to classify Eire. In this thesis I intend to go on to examine how well Eire fits into both the TYPE of moderate pluralism and the predominant party system.

Firstly I intend to examine Sartori's claim (p. 182) that Eire belongs to the CLASS of limited pluralism.

CHAPTER THREE: A CASE OF LIMITED PLURALISM

As regards Sartori's classificatory scheme we are on relatively safe ground, since it will be recalled that Sartori's classificatory scheme is based purely on the number of relevant parties; that is those which possess either coalition or blackmail potential. Limited pluralism being that 'class' of party system which generally has between three and five relevant parties. At first sight, as the following table shows, Eire seems to 'fit' the limited pluralist class fairly well, in that, since 1922, there has always been at least three parties in the Dail, and on occasion as many as five.

Table 3.1: Number of Irish Political Parties by Time Period

TIME PERIOD	NUMBER OF POLITICAL PARTIES
1922-27	More than five and one abstentionist party
1927-33	Five political parties
1933-43	Four political parties
1943-48	Four political parties
1948-57	Five political parties
1957 to 1977	Three political parties

Table compiled from various sources including Manning (1972), Coogan (1966) and Mackie and Rose (1964).

Yet the class of limited pluralism is of restricted use, in that it merely tells us that we are dealing- with a polity in which there is low fragmentation, and power is held by a small number of political parties. This is fair enough, however the scheme hides certain important features in Irish politics. These are:-

1. One party, Fianna Fail, regularly outdistances all other parties in terms of votes and seats gained at general elections.
2. That Eire's second largest party. Fine Gael, is only a 'majority-bent' party, in a much weaker position to Flanna Fail. Fine Gael has never obtained. more than 35% of the poll and it has held office on only three occasions and then as senior member of a coalition. And,
3. Labour is in a much weaker position than its two partners, in that: (a) it has

never obtained more than 20% of the vote, and has only once had more than twenty seats; and, (b) Labour has never been the senior partner in a coalition nor has it ever provided a Taoiseach (Prime Minister). In addition Labour has little hope of improving on this performance in the foreseeable future.

Hence one does not have in Eire a case where each party has an equal influence as is implied in Sartori's limited pluralist class, but rather we have a case where one party is far more important than the other two, and one, Labour, is in a much weaker position than both its partners, Sartori tells us (see p. 125) that he is seeking to construct a schema which indicates how political power is fragmented or non-fragmented in a political system. Clearly then, a scheme which more adequately reflects conditions in Eire would be of more use to us in describing how power is distributed in the country.

Farrell (1970 and Blondel (1969) I believe are on better ground when they speak of Eire as having a ($2\frac{1}{2}$) two-and-a-half party system at least since 1957 when the present layout established itself. In his section, on two-party systems, Sartori dismisses (p. 170) the use of 'halves' insofar as they tell us little about the properties of a system, that is, its 'mechanics'. There is a fallacy here since we are now dealing with the class of the system, which is defined in terms of the number of parties. It is the type of party system that is concerned with a system's 'mechanics', not its class. Hence in discussing the class of the party system, I propose to make use of fractions as indicators of the relative strength of political parties.

The two-and-a-half party system is useful insofar as it tells us that we are dealing with a three-party class, one party of which is in a far weaker position than the other two. Even this scheme is of limited use since it does not adequately reflect the weaker position of Fine Gael relative to Fianna Fail. Perhaps a better way of classifying Eire would be, at the risk of sounding clumsy, 'one, three-quarters, one-quarter' ($1-\frac{3}{4}-\frac{1}{4}$) party system since such a scheme indicates more correctly the relative strength of the three parties.

Regarding the the period before 1957, the two-and-a-half party system serves well for the period 1933-43 when Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fail were the only parties of any

size once the centre party had joined Fine Gael. For the remaining periods of 1922-32 and 1943-57, Sartori's limited pluralist class does seem to offer a pretty reasonable statement of the position though, even here it does not adequately reflect the greater influence of Fianna Fail in the 1943—57 period - which although in opposition for over five of these years, could only be ousted from office by a coalition of all other groups in the Dail including independents

CHAPTER 4: MODERATE PLURALISM

Having discussed the classification of Eire's party system, this paper will now go on to examine the TYPE of party system in Eire. It will be recalled (see page 8 above) that Sartori (p. 182) has typologised Eire along with Luxembourg as;

"... hardly (lending) themselves to dispute as cases of moderate pluralism." I shall now attempt to test this proposition.

Sartori tells us that moderate pluralism is differentiated from polarized pluralism and the two-party system on seven grounds, six of which differentiate it from polarized pluralism,, and one from the two-party system.

Moderate pluralism is differentiated from, polarized pluralism on the following grounds.

Firstly, there "...is a relatively small ideological distance between, parties" (p. 179); this means that the political parties work within an accepted "political framework, and the differences which separate them are not so great. Hence the political parties are prepared to work together, accepting the legitimacy of the political system. From this follows follows the next point.

Secondly, "...moderate pluralism lacks relevant and/or sizeable anti-system parties" (p. 179). An anti-system party is a political party which, in Sartori's words, "undermines the legitimacy of the regime it opposes". It is, therefore, a party which does not accept the legitimacy of the polity in which it exists, and seeks to change it. "Its opposition," to quote Sartori (p. 133), "is not an opposition on issues", but an "opposition of principle". "Thus ... (anti-system parties) abide by a belief system that does not share the values of the political order in which it operates." Moderate pluralism (unlike polarized pluralism) lacks such anti-system parties. It follows then, that under moderate pluralism all the relevant parties accept the legitimacy of the polity in which they exist.

Thirdly, moderate pluralism lack bi-lateral oppositions, and the opposition is on either the left or right of the government (p. 131). Where the political system is polarized and there are great ideological differences between the political parties, the government tends to reside with the more moderate centre-based parties, which are prepared to work together. There is however no unified opposition, as the opposition parties are ideologically very much opposed to one another - existing on both the government's left and right. Moderate pluralism by contrast, is characterized by government of the left or right, with the opposition parties on the government's left or right.

Fourthly, there is no centre party or only a very small one (p. 135). This is because the main political parties are so similar that there is no ideological room available for a centre party to gain support and grow. Conversely, under a polarized polity the ideological distance between extreme parties is such that centre parties are able to form and grow. From this we have the fifth point.

Fifthly, moderate pluralism is characterized by 'centripetal competition' (p. 135-7, 179, 344-5). Again Sartori is nowhere very clear about what he means by 'centripetal competition' for he only mentions it as the opposite of 'centrifugal competition'. It seems that 'centripetal competition' implies that:

- a) Uncommitted voters are centre placed and tend to support the centre parties rather than the extreme ones. It follows that:
- b) Political parties will tend, over time, to become ideologically similar as they compete with one another for the centre vote.

The sixth and final feature which differentiates moderate from polarized pluralism is the absence of congenital ideological patterning (p. 137-8). Congenital ideological patterning would occur in a society where there are many ideological differences separating sections of the population, that is, within a very heterogeneous society. Moderate pluralism tends to exist in homogeneous societies, where the population is ideologically very similar. So similar, in fact, that congenital ideological patterning does

not exist, because it only becomes necessary where individuals are likely to be bombarded by a large variety of conflicting ideologies i.e. in heterogeneous society. This point I do not propose to examine in any great detail. Suffice it to say that Eire is characterised by an absence of congenial ideological patterning. For Southern Irish society is a remarkably homogeneous society, characterised by a very large degree of consensus.

These six factors differentiate moderate from polarized pluralism. Moderate pluralism does however share these factors with two-party systems. Moderate pluralism is differentiated from two-party systems by its seventh characteristic, namely, coalition governments. Under two-party systems there are, by definition, only two relevant parties. Under moderate pluralism there are from three to five (or six) relevant parties. Only rarely can one of these parties hope to gain an absolute majority of seats, so that resort has to be made to coalition government. By contrast, under a two-party system, coalitions are rare, and are generally resorted to only in time of national crisis, such as war.

This then, is how Sartori defines moderate pluralism. To test whether Eire is an example of moderate pluralism, a survey was carried out amongst T.D.'s and party candidates involved in the general election of 1977.

The purpose of this survey was to test the first and sixth points above. So that meaningful comparisons could be made for testing the first point, (namely that the ideological distance between parties is small), the survey results were compared with the results from similar groups of respondents from the Liberal, Labour and Conservative Parties in England (Scottish and Welsh MPs and party candidates were excluded from the study).

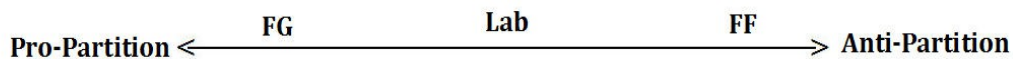
CHAPTER FIVE: INTERLUDE - A SURVEY OF IRISH POLITICAL LEADERS

Irish academics have tended to see Irish politics as differentiated on two major axes, the left-right and the pro-anti-partition axis.

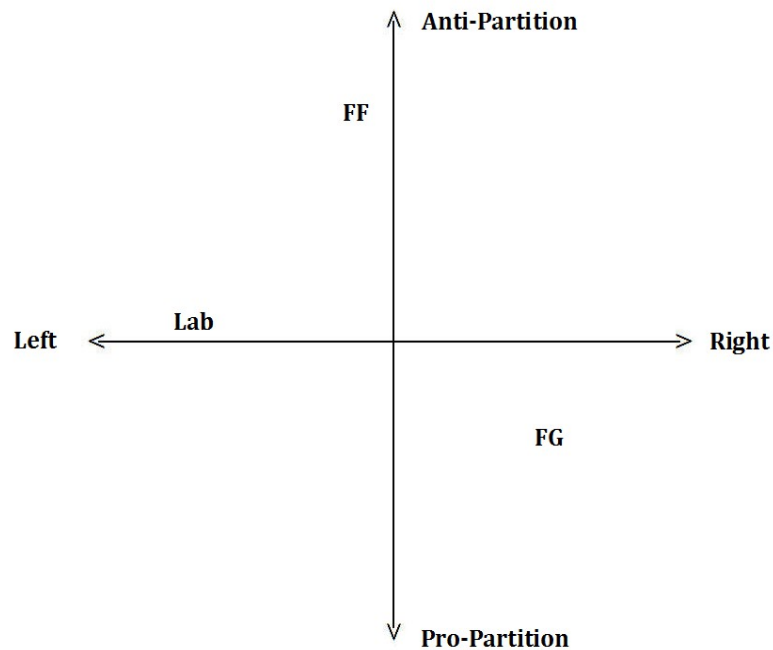
Historically the prevailing view is that in the early days of the Irish State, Fianna Fail and Labour were left-wing parties and Fine Gael a right-wing party. Over time, however, Fianna Fail became more moderate in its views, and today (1979), academics see it as a centre party between Labour on the left and Fine Gael on the right. This situation is illustrated below. (Manning, 1972, Chapter 2, 3 and 4).



However the main division between Fine Gael and Fianna Fail arose not from the familiar economic issues which divide parties on the left and right, but from the treaty issue. Eire, then, has a 'partition' axis on which its parties are differentiated. On this axis Fine Gael is seen as a pro-partition party, and Fianna Fail as an anti-partition party. Labour is seen as a centre party on this axis, between both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail. This situation is illustrated below:



Putting our two axes together, we see that Labour emerges as a left-wing party taking a centre position on the partition (or Treaty) axis. Fine Gael is a right-wing pro-partition party, and Fianna Fail is an anti-partition centre party. This is illustrated below: -



To test Sartori's views about Eire (and also the views of Irish academics regarding the ideological placing of Eire's three political parties on our two dimensional map) a questionnaire was sent to Irish T.D.'s and party candidates at the 1977 general election. The questionnaire contained a Likert scaling model which attempted to measure the ideological differences between Ireland's three main parties, not only on the left-right and partition axes, but also on the libertarian axis.

Respondents were also asked to rank Eire's political parties in the order they preferred - the purpose of this question being to see how respondents viewed themselves in relation to the other political parties.

Copies of the questionnaire were sent to T.D.'s (Dail Deputies) and party candidates at the last (1977) general election, and in all 47 replies were received; 20 from the Labour Party, 18 from Fine Gael, and nine from Fianna Fail (details of response rates can be found in the Appendix). Unfortunately Fianna Fail T.D.'s declined the invitation to

complete the Questionnaire, and the nine replies received were from party candidates, This is rather a small sample, but one which is remarkably homogeneous. Even so, comments and deductions about Fianna Fail should be treated with some caution.

In addition, as a control group, the results for Eire, on the left-right and libertarian axes, will be compared with the results of a similar survey carried out with the Labour, Liberal and Conservative Parties in England. England offers a useful guide with which to compare Eire given that Sartori and most other writers on the subject, classifies England as a two-party system. And, as was pointed out earlier two-party systems share many of the characteristics of moderate pluralism, including the low ideological separation between its main parties. Hence by comparing the mean scores on each attitude question, between the separate parties in both Eire and England we have a direct reference with which to test how polarized the Irish party system is. In all, 35 replies were received from respondents in England: thirteen each from the Liberal and Labour Parties, and nine from the Conservative Party.

Questionnaire Construction

Unfortunately Sartori is of little help to us in constructing our axes. He tells us merely that political parties are differentiated by their ideological distance, but at no point does he attempt to define the concept of ideology. Similarly, in Chapter 6 of his book, Sartori refers to political parties under moderate pluralism as being located at different points on a 'left-right continuum', yet he fails to define just what he means by a 'left-right continuum' and neither does he tell us how to measure the ideological distance between the political parties.

In consequence, I was forced to devise my own 'left-right continuum' for comparing Eire's three political parties. The resulting Likert scale consisted of twelve attitude questions, and a full discussion of its construction can be found in the appendix at the end of this dissertation. Suffice it to say here that it was assumed that the 'left-right continuum' could be divided into four sub-scales, these being:-

1. An egalitarian sub-scale (consisting of four questions), defined as a belief that income and wealth should be distributed more equally in society.
2. A nationalization versus private enterprise sub-scale (two questions)
3. A meritocratic sub-scale (four questions), defined as a belief that everyone, irrespective of background, should have the same opportunities in society. And,
4. A syndicalist or pro-trades union sub-scale (two questions), defined as a belief that trades unions are useful institutions insofar as they are beneficial to their membership.

In constructing the partition continuum, I worked on the assumption that demands for an ending to partition were based on two assumptions:-

1. Cultural and national similarities between the people of Eire and Northern Ireland, whether real or imagined, and,
2. Perceived economic benefits from ending the partition and unifying Ireland.

This led to the construction of a twelve-question Likert scale divided into three component scales. These were;-

1. Cultural (three questions), which attempted to examine whether or not respondents saw the people of Eire and Northern Ireland as culturally and nationally the same.
2. Economic (four questions), which sought to show whether or not respondents believed economic gains would accrue to Eire from ending partition. And,
3. Political (three questions), which sought to show whether or not respondents wished the partition to end and Ireland to be reunited.

Two other questions were also included in the partition scale: one sought to examine attitudes towards Westminster; and one sought to test whether or not respondents believed Northern Ireland would acquire benefits from ending partition.

In addition to these questions, respondents were also asked to state what their

preferences were regarding the future constitutional status of Northern Ireland, and six questions of a more general nature were included on Northern Ireland, though these were not included on the axis.

Libertarianism is a very difficult term to define. To some extent it refers to people who believe in a minimum of state interference (at least in personal as opposed to economic matters), maximum personal freedom, and a tender-minded approach to life. However, the term is fraught with many problems. Separating personal and economic freedoms is one for example; does one place questions of workers' control on the left-right or libertarian axis? Moreover questions about personal freedoms, such as gay rights and birth control, impinge on religious matters also.

In defining the libertarian axis, it was assumed that a libertarian believed in a minimum of state interference in personal matters, believed that political power should be as widely diffused as possible, and that those in positions of responsibility should be accountable to the people for their actions. By contrast, an authoritarian (i.e. the opposite of a libertarian) believes that life should be subject to state (or other institutional) regulations, political power should be held by an elite, and persons who transgress the law should be treated harshly.

Thus we have ten questions, divided as follows into four sub-scales :-

1. Those stressing personal freedoms (Two questions).
2. Those stressing the accountability of people in authority to the people (Two questions).
3. Participation by the 'people' in the decision-making process (Four questions)
And,
4. Tough- versus tender-mindedness, dealing with attitudes towards how those who break law should be treated (Two questions).

The questionnaire for England had very similar left-right and libertarian axes to those on the questionnaire sent to Irish T.D.'s and party candidates. Some questions did

however differ on the two questionnaires, owing to differences between the two countries, for example, the English questionnaire contained questions on the Monarchy and the House of Lords neither of which are applicable to Eire. Overall, eleven questions were the same on the left-right axis, and seven questions were the same on the libertarian axis, although two of the other questions were sufficiently similar to questions asked of Irish respondents that comparisons could be made.

Given the low response rate from Fianna Fail it would be superfluous to enter into a detailed discussion of the answers given to each attitude question included in the questionnaire. Consequently I propose only to summarize the main findings on each of the three axes included in the survey; and to illustrate the results by reference to two or three questions included in the three scales.

Table 5.1: Placing of Political Parties on the Left-Right Axis

Party	Left-Right	Egalitarian	National-ization	Merito-cratic	Trades Union
Fianna Fail	72.2	74.1	68.8	74.4	65.6
Fine Gael	50.0	52.4	34.0	62.5	36.1
Labour	43.8	49.2	21.9	60.2	21.9

To begin with the left-right axis, the actual results are as shown in the table overleaf in which a high score indicates a 'leftist' and a low score a 'rightist' response, we can see that :-

1. Contrary to the views of Irish political scientists, both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail are very similar to one another ideologically, with Fianna Fail (mean score 43.8% being slightly more right-wing than Fine Gael (mean score 50.0%), though the difference between them is not (statistically) significant,. And,
2. Labour (mean score 72.2%) is far more left-wing than both its partners.

Moreover, as the table shows, the same trend is also apparent on each of the four sub-scales. That is, on each of the four sub-scales, Labour is more Left-wing than both Fianna

Fail and Fine Gael which are ideologically very similar to one another. Further we also see that all three political parties are more pro-egalitarian and meritocratic than they are pro-nationalisation and trades unions; that is, the mean scores, for each political party, are higher on the egalitarian and meritocratic sub-scales, than they are on the syndicalist and nationalization scales.

These trends can be illustrated by reference to the replies to questions one (taken from the egalitarian sub-scale); and question eleven (taken from the pro-trades union sub-scale).

Q1. In society goods should be distributed on the basis of 'to each according to his/her needs'.

Q11. Trades unions have too much influence in the country.

Table 5.2: Examples of Two Questions on the Egalitarian Sub-Scale

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree & Strongly Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree & Strongly Disagree	Total
Question 1						
Labour	3.21	0.86	16	3	1	20
Fine Gael	2.00	1.19	8	3	7	18
Fianna Fail	2.13	1.36	8	4	6	18
Question 11						
Labour	3.20	0.83	1	2	17	20
Fine Gael	1.61	1.20	10	2	6	18
Fianna Fail	1.23	0.89	12	4	2	18

Answers to both questions reveal the trend as outlined above, that is, that Labour Party respondents tend to take a more left-wing stance (as shown by the mean scores) than do both Fianna Fail and Fine Gael respondents. Thus we see that Labour is more pro an egalitarian society (question 1), and more pro-trades unions (question 11) than both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail. Moreover the mean scores for Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, on both questions, are not statistically different from one another, although again it must be stressed that, because of Fianna Fail's low response rate, these results should be treated

with some caution.

Moving on now to England, the total score for each political party on the full 'left-right continuum', and four sub-scales is as shown in the table overleaf.

As we see from the table, the results for England follow the pattern which one would expect that is, Labour (mean score 72.8%) is the most left-wing of the political parties; the Conservative Party (mean score 23.4% is the most right-wing of the three parties; and the Liberal party (mean score 50.8%) is a centre party being located somewhere between the Labour and Conservative Parties.

Moreover this pattern, of Labour being on the left, the Conservatives on the right, and the Liberals in the centre, is followed on each of our four sub-scales.

Table 5.3: Placement of England's Political Parties on the Left-Right Axis

Party	Left-Right	Egalitarian	National-ization	Merito-cratic	Trades Union
Labour	72.8	73.7	57.7	80.4	56.7
Liberals	50.8	51.0	26.9	65.0	26.9
Conservatives	23.4	20.4	4.2	37.2	15.3
Ideology Ratio	0.57	0.47	0.88	0.33	1.05

If we compare the results for England with those for Eire we see that the mean score for the English Labour Party (72.8%) is almost identical to that for the Irish Labour Party (72.2%) suggesting that the two parties are ideologically very similar to one another. Though a comparison of the four sub-scales suggests that the English Labour Party is 'more' meritocratic and 'less' syndicalist and pro-nationalisation, than its 'fraternal' Irish brother, moreover the total score for the Liberal Party (50%) almost the same as that for Fine Gael (50.0%)

However the Conservative Party, the most right-wing of England's three political parties (mean score 23.4%) is far more right-wing than Fianna Fail (mean score 43.8%) the

most right-wing of Eire's three political parties. This clearly suggests that the ideological difference between Eire's three parties is less than the ideological difference between England's three political parties, that is, the Irish party system is less polarized than the English party system itself an example of a non-polarized party system. In all, the ideological distance between Eire's two most extreme political parties (Labour and Fianna Fail) covers only 28 percentage points. This compares with a difference of 49 percentage points, which separates England's two most extreme political parties (the Labour and Conservative parties).

We can compare the ideological differences between the two most extreme political parties in England and Eire by reference to the ideology ratio. The ideology ratio (I.R.) is a simple mathematical ratio expressing the difference between the ideological separation of the two most extreme parties in England and Eire. The I.R., is calculated as follows:-

$$I.R. = (I.h - I.l) \div (E.h - E.l)$$

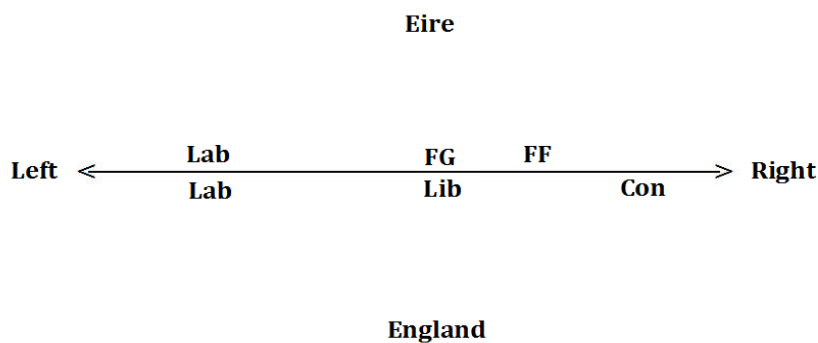
- where:-
- I.R. is the Ideology ratio
 - I. is Eire
 - E. is England
 - h. is the highest mean score.
 - l. is the lowest mean score.

Clearly, where the I.R. is less than one, the ideological difference between parties in Eire is less than in England; where it is equal to one, the ideological difference between parties is the same, where it is greater than one, the ideological difference between parties in Eire is greater than in England.

The I.R. has been calculated for the eleven comparable attitude questions on the 'left-right axis'; and we find that the ideology ratio is less than one on nine occasions; almost equal to one on one occasion; and above one on only one question. This strongly suggests that the Irish party system is less polarized than that in England (itself supposedly an example of a non-polarized system). The I.R. on the full attitude scale of eleven questions is 0.686 (or 0.57 when one compares the two full scales for both

countries with one another), On the individual sub-scales Eire is less polarized than England on the egalitarian and meritocratic scales (I.R.'s equal 0.47 and 0.33 respectively); almost as polarized on the nationalization versus private enterprise scale (I.R. equals 0.88); and slightly more polarized than England on the trades unions scale (I.R. Equals 1.05).

To conclude this section, we have seen that the ideological difference between the parties in Eire, on the left-right axis, is much less extreme than in England. The Irish and English Labour Parties are very similar politically, and Fine Gael and Fianna Fail are also very similar to one another. Both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail are closer to the Liberal Party than they are to the Conservative Party. All-in-all this suggests that the 'centre' of Irish politics lies to the left of that in England. The actual positions on the left-right scale are as follows:-



This diagram shows us that the Labour, Liberal and Conservative Parties in England occupy the positions which one would expect them to, i.e. Labour on the left; the Conservatives on the right; and the Liberals in the centre. This diagram also illustrates that the party system in England is more polarized than that in Eire. More interestingly though are my findings that, contrary to the views taken by many Irish intellectuals Fianna Fail is not a 'centre' party; ideologically it is little different from Fine Gael, and in fact Fianna Fail would appear, if anything, to be slightly more right-wing than Fine Gael. Though again it must be stressed that these findings should be treated with much caution, owing to the small sample size.

The Libertarian Axis

Section C. of the questionnaire attempted to examine whether or not the political parties were different from one another in how libertarian they were. This continuum was included in the questionnaire because writers (Brittain, 1968, pp, 87-94) in the United Kingdom consider that British political parties can be differentiated not only in terms of left-right politics; but also in terms of how Libertarian they are. Hence it was felt worthwhile to include such a scale in the Irish questionnaire.

In point of fact the survey results suggest that the Irish political parties are remarkably homogeneous and that differences between the parties can to some degree be explained by the position of respondents on the left-right axis. All three political parties can be described as libertarian as we can see from the Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Placement of Ireland's Political Parties on the Libertarian Axis

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Statistical Difference
Labour	29.00	5.46	0.016 Not significant
Fine Gael	23.50	5.52	
Fianna Fail	22.75	5.09	

(The full scale contained ten attitude questions, so that the most extreme libertarian could gain a maximum of 40 points and the most extreme 'authoritarian' a minimum of zero points. Hence 'roughly' speaking a score of less than 20 indicates an 'authoritarian' and a score of above 20 a 'libertarian').

We see from the table that all three political parties have scores of above 20 so they are placed on the libertarian end of the continuum (though the score for Fianna Fail is only just above 20), and they can be described as libertarian.

Further, the results for Fine Gael and Fianna Fail (with mean scores of 24.5 and 22.75 respectively) are so close to one another on this scale that they are virtually

indistinguishable from one another, although again I should stress that the results for Fianna Fail should be treated with caution, due to its low response rate . Moreover although Labour, the most libertarian of the three political parties, is (statistically) different from Fine Gael, its closest rival, it is only statistically different the 5% level (but not quite at the 1% level) of confidence. We see then that the three political parties are very similar to one another on the libertarian axis, and in fact Labour and Fianna Fail (the two most distant parties) are separated by only 6.25 points, or 15.6 percentage points.

Moving on now to a discussion of the individual attitude questions, we see that Labour is the 'most' libertarian party (i.e. it has the highest mean score) on eight questions; Fianna Fail is the 'least' libertarian on eight occasions, and the 'most' libertarian on one occasion; and Fine Gael is the 'least' libertarian on two questions and the 'most' libertarian on none of them. These trends can be illustrated by reference to three questions:

1. Unrestricted discussion on most matters is desirable in the press, on television, on the radio etc.
2. The death penalty is barbaric and is rarely justified - even for acts of terrorism.
3. The present laws relating to the sale and distribution of soft drugs are too strict and need to be liberalized.

The replies to these questions are shown in Table 5.5

Table 5.5: Examples of Three Questions on the Libertarian Scale

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree & Strongly Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree & Strongly Disagree	Total
Question 1						
Labour	3.15	0.88	18	0	2	20
Fine Gael	2.17	0.79	16	1	1	18
Fianna Fail	2.33	1.12	10	2	6	18
Question 3						
Labour	2.70	1.38	14	1	5	20
Fine Gael	2.39	1.58	11	0	7	18
Fianna Fail	2.89	0.93	14	2	2	18
Question 16						
Labour	1.68	1.16	4	6	10	20
Fine Gael	1.00	0.84	2	0	16	18
Fianna Fail	1.33	1.12	4	2	12	18

Here we see that all parties favour free speech (Q1); are opposed to the death penalty (Q3) and the liberalization of the laws relating to the sale of soft drugs (Q16). We see also how remarkably homogeneous the three Irish parties are in their views on these questions; and the differences between their separate mean scores are not statistically different from one another.

Hence it is clear that all three political parties in Eire are remarkably similar to one another in the views they take on libertarian issues (see table in the appendix). Moreover, if we exclude those libertarian Questions which relate to economic matters (question 5, relating to workers' control of industry, and question 7, relating to the public accountability of industry -see appendix), and carry out a T-test on the remaining questions included in our scale, we find that the two most 'extreme' parties on this scale (Labour and Fianna Fail) cease to be statistically different from one another.

It should perhaps also be noted that questions 5 and 7, which relate to economic matters, could perhaps best be placed on on our 'left-right' axis, for replies to those questions show a much greater variance in response between political parties than do

the other questions included on this scale; and the pattern of responses is vaguely similar to those questions included on the 'left-right continuum', namely of Labour being the 'most' left-wing of the three political parties and of Fianna Fail being the 'most' right-wing of the three political parties.

Moving on now to the English replies to the attitude questions included on the libertarian axis, we see that of the ten questions asked to Irish respondent seven were also asked of the English respondents. Of the other three questions though, two (questions 3 and 11) are sufficiently similar to questions included in the Irish questionnaire for meaningful comparisons to be made. Hence we have in all nine questions included on the English questionnaire on the libertarian axis with which to compare the responses made by Irish T.D.'s and party candidates.

The individual replies to the English questionnaire need not concern us here though they are listed in the appendix. Overall the total scores on the full axis for each of the English parties were as set out in the table overleaf.

This table shows us that, as in Eire, the political parties are remarkably homogeneous in their views. The Labour and Liberal Parties are particularly close to one another and both are statistically different from the Conservative Party. The two most extreme political parties in England (the Conservative and Labour Parties) are separated by only 8.21 points (or some 20.53% of the continuum). This suggests that the parties in Eire are slightly less polarized than in England on the libertarian axis, for the political parties in Eire are separated by only 6.25 points. Dividing Eire's score by England's score (i.e. $6.25 \div 8.21$) this yields an I.R. (Ideology Ratio) of 0.76 which is less than one, indicating that the Irish party system is less polarized than that in England on this axis.

This diagram shows us that there is very little difference between the Liberal and two Labour Parties, that Fine Gael and Fianna Fail are ideologically very similar to one another and both of them are more libertarian than the Conservative Party in England.

To conclude this section, we have seen that the political parties in Eire are very similar to one another on the libertarian axis, and that the Irish party system is about as polarized as England on this axis. It should perhaps also be mentioned that, in the Irish questionnaire, responses to the two questions relating to economic matters showed vaguely the same distribution pattern as those questions on the left-right axis. This may suggest that the left-right axis is more important than the libertarian axis in explaining the division between Eire's political parties.

The Partition Axis

Moving on now to our third and final axis, that of the partition. It will be recalled that the question of the partition was the original divide along which Cumann na nGaedheal (now Fine Gael) divided from Sinn Fein (the bulk of whose members later formed Fianna Fail). In the early 1920's a civil war had been fought over the acceptance of the partition of Ireland, and it was the importance of this factor (almost sixty years after the civil war) that the survey set out to examine.

In point of fact considerable support was found to exist, within all three political parties, for the reunification of Ireland and an end to partition. Question 19 (in Section D of the questionnaire) asked respondents to rank their preferences regarding the future constitutional position of Ireland, Three of the choices offered involved an end to partition and a return to a united Ireland, Choice (a)(ii), full integration of the North with the Republic; choice (b)(ii), offered integration within a devolved framework; and choice (c)(ii) offered integration within a federal framework.

The majority of respondents, in each of the three political parties, who answered the question 'plumbed' for one or more of these three options as their first choice. In Fine Gael ten (out of 15 who answered the question) did so; in the Labour Party 21 did so

(some Labour members gave two or more first choices); and in Fianna Fail all nine did so. Moreover, in the Labour Party and Fine Gael only one member within each political party wanted the North of Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom. In addition, three members of the Labour Party, and two members of Fine Gael, sought a condominium solution to the Northern Ireland problem. One member of both Fine Gael and the Irish Labour Party favoured a repartition of Ireland.

All-in-all though, this indicates considerable support within each party for a united Ireland. The parties only differ over details. In the Labour Party ten sought full integration of the North with the Republic; six sought a devolved solution; and five a federal solution. In Fine Gael the ten members who favoured a united Ireland were divided equally 5/5 between favouring full-integration and a federal solution. Finally, Fianna Fail's nine members were divided five in favour of full integration, two in favour of a devolved solution, and two in favour of a federal solution.

Examining the individual attitude questions, all three political parties clearly exist on the anti-partition side of the continuum. Fine Gael and Labour drop below the mean score of two on only one attitude question apiece, Fianna Fail is above the mean of two (an anti-partition response) on all of the attitude questions. The difference between the three political parties appears to be one of intensity, rather than substance, for Fianna Fail is the most opposed and Fine Gael the least opposed (but still opposed) to the partition of Ireland. This situation is clearly shown in the table overleaf which shows the mean scores for each of the political parties on the full partition continuum and on each of the three sub-scales.

Table 5.6: Placement of Ireland's Political Parties on the Partition Axis

	Fianna Fail		Labour		Fine Gael		Max Score
	Mean	Std Dvtn	Mean	Std Dvtn	Mean	Std Dvtn	
Full Partition Axis	40.2	6.8	32.2	7.1	28.9	7.5	48
Economic	13.8	2.9	11.4	2.8	10.2	3.2	16
Cultural	10.1	2.3	8.2	1.9	6.3	2.1	12
Political	9.6	2.4	7.2	2.4	7.6	2.4	12

The partition axis included 12 questions, the 'most' anti-partition score possible was 48 the 'most' pro-partition score possible being zero. Roughly speaking then, a score of below 25 indicates a pro-partitionist, and a score of above 24 an anti-partitionist.

Here we see that Fianna Fail with a mean score of 40.2 on the partition continuum is clearly the most anti-partition of Eire's three main political parties. Labour and Fine Gael are still clearly anti-partition parties but (with mean scores of 32.2 and 28.9 respectively) they are a lot less intense in their views than Fianna Fail. It will also be noticed that the standard deviation for Labour and Fine Gael 'overleap' and a T-test reveals that the mean scores for the two parties on the full continuum do not differ significantly from one another. In addition Fianna Fail is more intense in its degree of anti-partition feeling than are both Labour and Fine Gael on each of the three subscales. Again I must stress the need to treat the figures for Fianna Fail with considerable caution.

We can illustrate these trends by reference to four attitude questions:

Q1). The whole of Ireland can only solve its economic problems by being administered as a single political unit under a national government.

Q2). The Northern Irish are no different from the Southern Irish.

Q3). Northern Ireland should relinquish its ties with Great Britain and seek political union with the Irish Republic.

Q13). It is up to the people of Northern Ireland to decide where they are to be governed from.

Table 5.7: Examples of Four Questions on the Partition Axis

Party	Mean	Std Dvtn	S Agree & Agree	Neutral/ Missing	S Disagree (& Disagree	Total
Question 1						
Fianna Fail	3.00	1.23	10	6	2	18
Labour	2.50	1.15	11	5	4	20
Fine Gael	2.40	1.40	8	2	8	18
Question 2						
Fianna Fail	2.89	1.30	12	2	4	18
Labour	2.00	1.20	8	3	9	20
Fine Gael	1.47	0.87	3	4	11	18
Question 3						
Fianna Fail	3.56	1.01	16	0	2	18
Labour	2.74	0.93	12	6	2	20
Fine Gael	2.50	1.04	10	4	4	18
Question 13						
Fianna Fail	2.89	1.05	2	4	12	18
Labour	0.78	0.73	17	2	1	20
Fine Gael	1.11	1.18	14	1	3	14

(figures for Fianna Fail multiplied by two).

Of these four questions, only the first three were included in the 'partition continuum'; question 13 was analysed separately.

We see clearly that members of Fianna Fail are: the most in favour of a united Ireland (Q3); believe that culturally the people of Northern Ireland are basically the same as those from Southern Ireland (0,2); and that the partition of Ireland does little to help solve the economic problems facing Ireland, both North and South (Q1). To a large extent the other two are in agreement with Fianna Fail on these matters; but what is clearly apparent is that the intensity with which members of Fine Gael and Labour hold their views is considerably less than that of members of Fianna Fail. This trend is also revealed in more startling form in replies to question 13, for replies to this question clearly suggest that members of Fianna Fail wish the partition to be ended whether or

not the people of Northern Ireland agree to it. Conversely, it is also evident that whilst members of Fine Gael and Labour wish the partition to be ended they are agreed that the partition should, be ended only with the consent of the people living in the North.

Before concluding this section, I should stress again the need to treat these findings with caution, for, as we have seen, these figures suggest that Fianna Fail is the most anti-partition of Eire's three political parties. Clearly, however, the small sample size must throw some doubt on the validity of these results. However, given the absence of more detailed survey data, we must make do with the meagre evidence as outlined. In general then, we can say that the survey data, for what it is worth, clearly suggests that all three political parties in Eire take an anti-partition stance. It is merely the intensity with, which the political parties hold their anti-partition stances which differentiates them. We can say then that Fianna Fail is far more anti-partition in its viewpoint than are the Labour Party and Fine Gael, which are more moderate in the positions they hold on this axis. The placing of Eire's three parties on the partition axis can be shown in diagrammatic form as follows:-



Conclusion

This, then, finishes our summary of the main findings of the questionnaire, we have differentiated Eire's three main political parties on three axes (the left—right, the libertarian and the partition axes), and their actual positions are as shown in the three diagrams overleaf,

Diag. A. shows us that all three political parties can be described as being anti-partition, but Fianna Fail is clearly far more extreme in its degree of anti-partition feeling than are Eire's two other main political parties. Labour is clearly the most left-wing of Eire's three political parties, Fianna Fail is the most right-wing and Fine Gael is not quite as right-wing as Fianna Fail.

Diagram A:

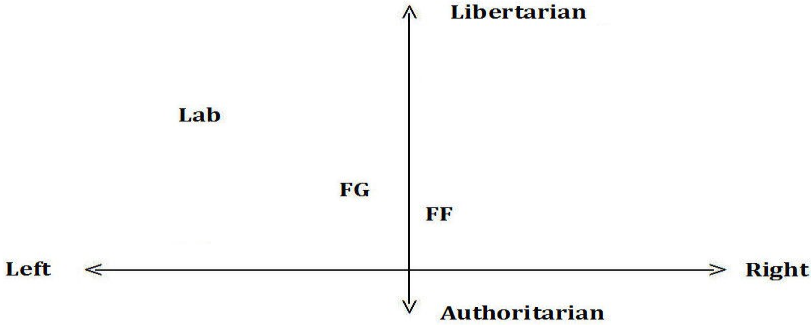


Diagram B

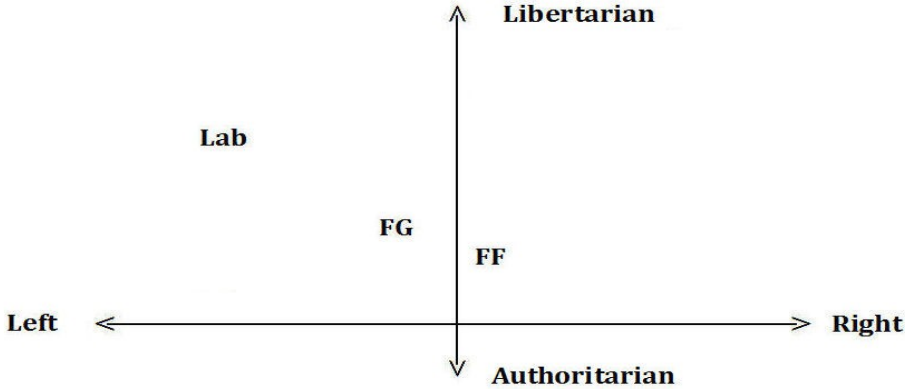
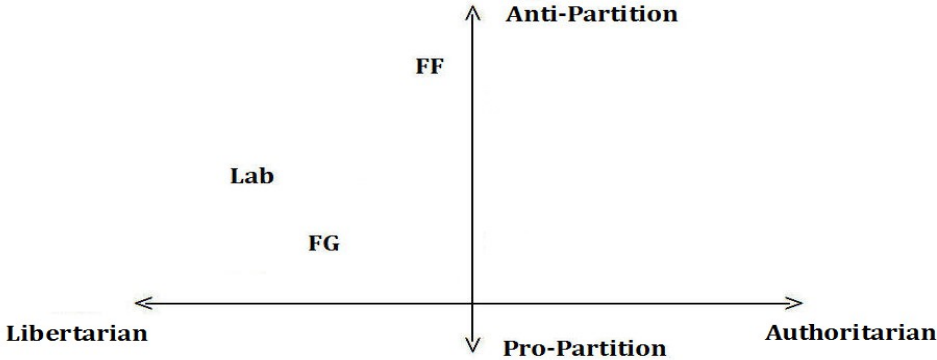


Diagram C



Diag. B. shows us that all three political parties can be described as libertarian; and the differences which separate them are not particularly great, though Labour appears to be the most libertarian, Fianna Fail the least libertarian, and Fine Gael slightly more libertarian than Fianna Fail.

Diag. C. shows its that Fianna Fail is the least libertarian and most anti-partition of the three parties. Fine Gael is slightly more libertarian than Fianna Fail and is the least anti-partition of the three political parties. Labour is the most libertarian of the three political parties and is slightly more anti-partition than Fine Gael.

We may now ask which of the three axes is most important in explaining; the differences between Eire's three political parties. To begin with, we can disregard the libertarian axis as being unimportant from our point of view. We have seen that the three political parties are particularly close to one another en this axis, and that the two questions which show the greatest variance relate to economic matters, this suggests that the left-right axis is more important in explaining the differences between the three political parties, than is the libertarian axis. Indeed if we exclude these two questions we discover that, after carrying out a T-test on the remaining questions, the difference between Fianna Fail and Labour (the two most extreme political parties), is not statistically significant. This clearly suggests that we can exclude the libertarian axis from our discussion.

We are now left with the left-right and partition axes, and we can now try to discover which of these two axes is the more important in explaining the differences between Ireland's three main political parties. There are in fact several good reasons for supposing that the partition axis is the more important of the two. Firstly, coalitions form on the basis of Labour and Fine Gael rather than Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, this suggests that the partition axis is more important than the left-right axis because Labour and Fine Gael are close to one another on the partition axis, and more distant from one another on the left-right axis. Conversely, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael are close to one another on the left-right axis and more distant on the partition axis, Clearly then, this suggests that coalitions form on the partition rather than the left-right axis, end this in

itself suggests that the partition axis is more important than the left-right axis.

Secondly, respondents were asked to rank Eire's political parties in the order they preferred, and the results were consistent with the thesis that the partition was the more important of the two axes. Of 18 members of Fine Gael, no less than eleven gave their second preferences to the Labour Party, four gave their second preferences to Fianna Fail, and three gave no second preference. This suggests that Fine Gael respondents see the partition axis as more important than the left-right axis, for Fine Gael is closest to Labour on this, the partition, axis. Members of the Labour Party were less loyal to Fine Gael than Fine Gael members were to the Labour Party. Only six Labour Party respondents gave their second preferences to Fine Gael, three their third preferences, and one his fourth preference. However this compares with one who gave Fianna Fail his second preference, six who gave Fianna Fail their third preference, and one who gave Fianna Fail his fourth preference. Labour Party respondents also gave four second preferences to Sinn Fein Workers' Party (a left—wing anti-partition party) and nine Labour respondents gave no second preference. This suggests that Labour sees itself as distinct from both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail, but members did show a slight preference for Fine Gael rather than Fianna Fail. Finally, of the nine members of Fianna Fail, six gave no second preference, two gave their second preference to the Labour Party, and one gave his second preference to the Provisional Sinn Fein, no members of Fianna Fail gave their second preferences to Fine Gael. This suggests that Fianna Fail respondents see themselves as distant from both the Labour Party and Fine Gael, however we saw earlier that Fine Gael and Fianna Fail are particularly close to one another on the left-right axis, so much so in fact, that it is difficult to see exactly what separates them, on this axis. Hence this is, like the dog in the Sherlock Holmes story, which did not bark in the night, highly suspicious since Fianna Fail members failed to give any second preferences to Fine Gael and this clearly suggests that members of Fianna Fail see the partition axis as being of mere importance than the left-right axis precisely because it is on this, the partition; axis that Fianna Fail is differentiated from Fine Gael.

In general, then, we can say that this analysis suggests that Fine Gael sees the partition

axis as being more important than the left-right axis and that to some extent Labour respondents also agree. Fianna Fail respondents are probably also agreed that the partition axis is the more important of the two axes, but this is deduced from the failure of Fianna Fail respondents to give Fine Gael any of their second preferences.

However, sceptics could still claim that coalitions in Eire have more to do with the relative strength of Fine Gael and the Irish Labour Party in the Irish Dail; which are such that if either Fine Gael or the Labour Party wish to participate in government, they can only do so if they form a coalition with one another. Since both parties are small relative to Fianna Fail it is only by forming a coalition together that Fine Gael and Labour can hope to gain enough seats between them to oust Fianna Fail from office. This view probably has much truth in it, yet it ignores the strength of feeling about partition which exists in Eire even today. After all, a civil war was fought over acceptance of the partition of Ireland, and many of the leaders of the two sides in the civil war were later to participate in the Dail, and helped to form both Fianna Fail and Cumann na nGaedheal (the forerunner of Fine Gael). In the 1922 Dail some 102 members (fully 80% of the Dail) had participated in the revolutionary movement and the civil war; in 1932, 87 members of the Dail had taken part in the revolutionary movement; and even in 1948, 63 (or 43% of Dail members) had taken part in the revolutionary movement (McCracken, 1958, p. 8). Indeed, even in the 1973 Dail four T.D.'s had taken part in the revolutionary movement (Nealon, 1974, pp. 12-66). What this meant was that, until comparatively recently, Dail members in both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail continued to stress the partition issue (which had provided, the original divide between the two parties) at every available opportunity, in the Dail and in election engineering, and thus the issue of partition came to dominate Irish politics even to this day (over 55 years after partition).

This, then, concludes our discussion of the main findings of the survey I carried out into the ideological beliefs of Irish T.D.'s and party candidates, Let us now return to the main body of my thesis to see what light these survey findings throw onto our understanding of the Irish party system as analysed by Sartori.

CHAPTER SIX: MODERATE PLURALISM REVISITED

Before returning to our discussion of moderate pluralism, I should perhaps mention, one major failing of survey data, namely that survey data can only give us information referring to a specific point in time, it can tell us nothing about conditions as they existed in the past. Hence the questionnaire survey I carried out gives us a rough idea as to how and where the three main political parties in Eire are placed on the three axes examined today (1979), it does not tell us anything about where the political parties were placed in the past, and especially prior to about 1950.

It will be recalled that moderate pluralism is differentiated from polarized pluralism by six factors, and from the two-party system by one factor. Let us now move on to an examination of the five factors I intend to discuss which differentiate moderate from polarized pluralism.

Firstly, moderate pluralism is characterized by there being a "relatively small ideological distance between relevant parties".

We have seen that if one accepts the assumption that England's political parties are separated by only a small ideological distance, then Eire would appear to have only a small "ideological distance between its relevant political parties" at least, that is, on the left-right and libertarian axes. Replies to attitude questions show us that the ideological ratio on the left-right axis is only 0.686 (see p. 24), that is the ideological separation between the two most extreme political parties in Eire is actually less than the ideological separation between, the two most extreme political parties in England. Moreover in only one out of eleven comparable attitude statements is the ideological ratio greater than one, (i.e. on only one out of eleven attitude statements is the ideological separation between the two most extreme political parties in Eire greater than the ideological separation between the two most extreme political parties in England) in the other ten statements it is less than one.

On the libertarian axis the ideological distance between the two most extreme political parties in Eire does not appear to be very great (p. 25). All three political parties can be described, as libertarian (as opposed to being authoritarian), and the ideological separation between the two most extreme political parties covers only 15% of the full continuum. Moreover if we exclude the two questions relating to economic matters from this axis (as was suggested on p. 26), then the ideological difference between the two most extreme political parties is not (statistically) significant.

Comparing our full libertarian scale in Eire with that in England, the ideology ratio is only 0.838, That is, Eire's political parties are slightly less polarized than in England on this, the libertarian axis. At the level of the individual attitude statements, though, Eire has an I.R. (Ideology Ratio) of above one on six questions (i.e. on six questions the two most extreme political parties in Eire are separated by a greater ideological distance than the two most extreme political parties in England), and less than one on three occasions. Yet the greater polarization on three of the six attitude statements in Eire appears to be due to the extreme similarity in viewpoint taken by political parties in England, rather than to fundamental differences between the political parties in Eire.

It would seem, then, that on our left-right and libertarian axes the Irish party system is indeed characterized by there being a small ideological distance between relevant parties. This presupposes that the ideological distance between relevant political parties in England is likewise small.

However, what of our partition axis? This is a more tricky question to answer without having a reference group with which to compare responses. It will be recalled that on the one hand the mean scores for Labour and Fine Gael are not statistically different from one another; and that Fianna Fail, on the other hand, is clearly (and statistically) far more anti-partition than both Fine Gael and the Labour Party. However neither the Labour Party nor Fine Gael can be described as pro-partition parties, rather they appear to hold their anti-partition viewpoints a lot less intensely than does Fianna Fail. Consequently there is agreement in all three political parties that Ireland should be

reunited. This suggests that the actual ideological differences between parties in Eire, on this axis, are not great.

We can say, then, that Eire does appear to obey the first characteristic of moderate pluralism on all three of our axes, namely, that "there is a small ideological distance between the relevant parties". Whether this was so in the early days of the Irish Republic is more difficult to say. Both Moss (1934) and Mansergh (1934), writing in the 1930's, give us the impression that this was the case during the 1920's and 30's though as we shall see in the next point, the partition issue appears to have divided the political parties far more than it does now (1979).

The second characteristic of moderate pluralism is that it "lacks relevant and/or sizeable anti-system parties".

Without reference to survey data we can say that there are no anti-system parties represented in the Dail today. Each of the three political parties represented in the Dail today is prepared, to accept the rules of the parliamentary game and co-operate with one another in the functioning of the Dail. Moreover as we saw in the first point above, the ideological distance separating the relevant parties is small, and on occasion Fine Gael and the Irish Labour Party have worked together inside a coalition government.

Historically, however, one does find anti-system parties in Eire, yet these were different from those identified by Sartori, since in Mansergh's words of 1934 (p. 291) "The parties are to a very considerable extent agreed as to the fundamentals of political action...In the manner by which (their nearly identical) objectives may be attained, they differ. Broadly speaking the two parties (Fianna Fail and Cummann na nGaedheal) are in agreement over the kind of state they want, they DIFFER profoundly over the merits of the state they have". Hence the parties were in agreement over the way the state and country were to be governed, unlike the anti-system parties of Sartori. The two main parties, in the 1920's, disagreed as to the territorial area of the new state. Sinn Fein, insofar as it did not accept the legitimacy of the Dail, since it had no powers in Northern Ireland, could be described as an 'anti-system party'. The Sinn Fein party, however, unlike those

anti-system parties of Sartori, abstained from the legislature.

Unfortunately Sartori does not tell us how to classify such abstentionist parties, however, it seems reasonable to argue that the effects of such an abstentionist party on policy formation would be very little, so it would seem that we would be justified in excluding them from our analysis, because such parties have neither coalition nor blackmail potential. What is apparent though, is that in 1927 once Fianna Fail broke away from Sinn Fein and entered the Dail, it at once showed its willingness to co-operate with the other parties.

It seems then that at least since 1927 the three major political parties in Eire have shown themselves to be willing to co-operate together within the Dail. In consequence we can say that Eire lacks relevant anti-system parties. True, Sinn Fein still gains the occasional seat in the Dail (and in 1957 actually held four seats) but at no point has Sinn Fein held sufficient seats to interfere in the actual workings of the Dail, and anyway it has always pursued an abstentionist policy.

We can say then, that Eire does in fact appear to exhibit Sartori's second feature of moderate pluralism, namely, an absence of anti-system parties.

The third defining characteristic of moderate pluralism is that it "lacks bilateral oppositions".

In 1979 this feature does appear to pertain to Eire, that is, Eire lacks bi-lateral oppositions. Today (1979) Fianna Fail is in office, and we see from the diagrams on page 36 that on the left-right axis Fine Gael and the Labour Party exist on the government's left; on the partition axis the opposition exists on the pro-partition side of government; and on the libertarian axis the opposition is slightly more libertarian than the government. Likewise in 1976, when the Labour-Fine Gael coalition was in office, the opposition existed to the right of the government on the left-right axis; on the anti-partition side of the government on the partition axis; and was slightly more

authoritarian (on the libertarian axis) than the government.

Hence, today (1979) we appear to be correct in saying that Eire lacks bi-lateral oppositions on all three of our axes. However, two provisos should be made to this. Opposition occurs on the left-right and libertarian axes almost totally because Labour adopts a far more extreme stance than does Fine Gael, and naturally pulls the opposition towards itself. Fine Gael is very similar to Fianna Fail on both the libertarian and left-right axes, so much so in fact, that we cannot be sure from the survey findings which is the more right-wing nor the more libertarian. Hence even though this condition (i.e. that Eire lacks bi-lateral oppositions) appears to hold in Eire, it holds almost totally because of Labour's more extreme position relative to Fianna Fail.

Secondly, though this condition appears to hold today, this is not to say that it has always been a condition of the Irish party system. Moss (1934) writing in the 1930's, considered that both Labour and Fianna Fail were left-wing parties - though Labour was to the left of Fianna Fail, and Fine Gael and the other parties were right-wing parties. If this were so, then Ireland in the 1930's had bi-lateral oppositions in which Fianna Fail occupied a centre-left position, and Labour and Cumann na nGaedheal existed on its left and right respectively. Given that Fianna Fail was in office from 1932 to 1948, it follows then, that Eire had a system of bi-lateral oppositions for much of the 1930's and perhaps also during the 1940's.

Given the absence of survey data from the 1930's and 40's it is difficult to test this assertion that Eire had bi-lateral oppositions during the 1930's and 1940's. However, it does seem reasonable to suggest that the opposition to Fianna Fail was unified on the partition axis. In the late 1940's though, a new political party, Clann na Poblachta (Manning, 1958, pp. 101-5) arose to challenge the prevailing three party hegemony. In the first election it fought, Clann na Poblachta obtained more votes than Labour but obtained only ten seats (compared to Labour's eleven). Placing Clann na Poblachta on our two main axes is difficult in a period when the placing of the three main political parties is the subject of some debate; but it appears to have been a very anti-partition party (some of its members being abstentionist before the Emergency) and about as left-

wing as Labour. What is strange about Clann na Poblachta was its decision to participate in the 1948 all-party coalition which ousted Fianna Fail from office in that period. Clearly we have an unusual situation here in that if one accepts that Fianna Fail was, in the 1930's and 1940's, a centre party on the left-right axis; and if Clann na Poblachta was as anti-partition, if not more anti-partition than Fianna Fail, then the opposition to Fianna Fail was bi-lateral not only on the left-right axis but on the partition axis also. However, these opposition parties did not behave in the way Sartori's model predicts they should have, insofar as they joined forces together in the all-party coalition, which held office from 1948-51.

To conclude this point, it appears that today Eire does indeed lack bi-lateral oppositions on all three axes. However, there is some doubt as to whether this has always been so, and it may not have been a characteristic of the Irish party system prior to the 1960's.

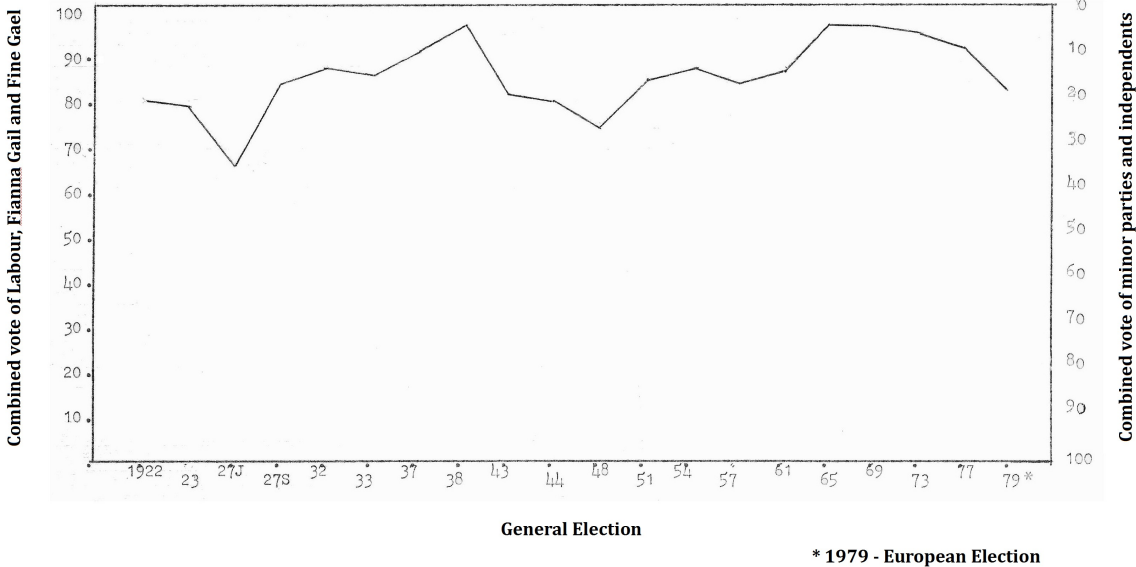
The fourth characteristic of moderate pluralism, that there is no centre party or only a very small one; and its fifth characteristics that competition is centripetal, are best discussed together. This being because under centripetal competition the centre placement of voters, and the competition between parties for these votes, makes the main political parties ideologically very similar to one another, and small parties are squeezed out of existence in the process.

The situation in Eire today (1979) would indeed seem to suggest that centripetal competition is a characteristic of the Irish party system. We have seen that the ideological separation between our three political parties is indeed very small on each of our three axes. Moreover, we saw earlier that writers in the 1930's suggested that the ideological differences between the political parties were more extreme then, in the 1930's, than they are today on both our left-right and partition axes. If this were so, than clearly the political parties have converged ideologically towards one another since then, not only on the left-right but also on the partition axis.

Moreover, as the survey data clearly shows there is no such thing as a centre party on either of our two relevant axes. On the left-right axis we have a divide between Labour

on the left, and Fine Gael and Fianna Fail on the right, with no party holding a 'centre' position. On our partition axis we have a divide between Fianna Fail on one side and Fine Gael and Labour on the other, with no party holding what can be describe as 'centre' position. However, given the intensity of the partition issue in the early days of the state, in which differences between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael were more polarized than they are today, Labour appears then to have occupied a 'centre' position on the partition axis. Labour, though, has manifestly failed to gain more than 15% of the vote at all but three elections (1943, 1965 and 1969), and this suggests that the Labour Party has suffered electorally from its 'centre' position on the partition axis, as voters came to identify with either the extreme approach of Fianna Fail or the more moderate approach of Fine Gael.

Graph showing the percentage vote gained by Eire's three major political parties and Eire's minor parties at each general election held between 1922 and 1979.



Moreover, as Graph 1 shows us, the percentage share of the vote going to the three major political parties has tended to grow over the life of the state, whilst the share of the vote going to fourth parties and independents has tended, to decline. This suggests that new parties find it difficult to establish themselves in Eire, and this would follow if centripetal competition exists in Eire. However the decade 1943 to 1953 saw the rise of two new political parties in Eire. These were Clann na Talmhan and Clann na Poblachta.

These parties grew remarkably quickly, polling over a fifth of the total poll between them in the 1948 election, and at one point it looked as though Clann na Poblachta was about to replace Labour as Eire's third major party. The success of these two parties has been explained in terms of voters becoming dissatisfied with the three main parties at a time of severe economic and social problems caused by the Emergency (the Second World War), which could not easily be coped with. Hence Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fail lost votes to their two new rivals.

Yet the success of Clann na Poblachta and Clann na Talmhan proved to be only a short term deviation from centripetal competition, for as economic conditions improved in the 1950's these new parties 'faded' away. By 1957 the three party pattern had re-established itself.

We can say, then, that Eire would appear to display both the fourth and fifth of Sartori's points; namely that competition is centripetal, and there is no centre party.

It seems, then that today Eire exhibits the five of the six characteristics, I intend to discuss of moderate pluralism which distinguish the Irish party system from polarized pluralism. There is, however, another point to discuss - and this point distinguishes moderate pluralism from two-party systems.

Moderate pluralism is characterized by the existence of coalition governments.

Clearly, the Irish party system is not characterized by coalition government. Referring to my table on p. 8 we see that in Henig and Finders' words (1969, p 503): "As in Britain the 'big coalition' is not a favoured expedient". In fact, far from being the general rule, coalition governments have existed on only three occasions. On only five other occasions have governments been returned with no clear majority, and on each occasion, a single party government was formed, with either (as in 1932) the support of Labour, or (as in 1943, 51 and 61) with the support of Independents. Hence we have a situation in Eire, in which, since 1938 either Fianna Fail governs alone with or without the support of Independents, or all the other parties in the Dail form a coalition government against

Fianna Fail.

This, then, concludes our discussion of the Irish party system as an example of moderate pluralism. We have seen that in many ways Eire exhibits the characteristics of moderate pluralism:-

- a) The ideological distance between relevant parties is small.
- b) Oppositions are not, at least today (1979), bi-lateral.
- c) Strictly speaking, there is no centre party in Eire, although Labour was a small 'centre' party, on the partition axis, in the early years of the state.
- d) There are no anti-system parties in Eire of any size with seats in the Dail
- e) Centripetal drives are greater than centrifugal drives.

However, coalition governments are not a characteristic of the Irish party system (which they should be under moderate pluralism). In fact, single-party governments are the general rule in Eire, coalition governments have existed on only three occasions. This brings us to the next part of the dissertation, namely testing whether or not Eire is an example of a predominant party system.

CHAPTER SEVEN: EIRE, AN EXAMPLE OF A PREDOMINANT PARTY SYSTEM

Insofar as the nature of a party system can change ever time, it should be clear that Sartori can be partially correct in saying Eire belongs to both the types of moderate pluralism and a predominant party system. This paper will now go on to examine whether Eire has ever had a predominant party system.

Sartori (1976, p. 197) defines a predominant party system as belonging to the type of party system in which, with "a stable non-volatile electorate", a single party gains an absolute majority of seats in at least three successive general elections. Further, we are dealing with a type - not a class - since a predominant party system can exist with any number of parties.

Moreover, the predominant party system can exist irrespective of whether the party system has a polarized or moderate division between its political parties. The important thing is simply that one party is able to govern alone over a length of time, irrespective of its ideology or the ideological differences between it and the other political parties in the party system.

Sartori's predominant party system is characterized by the following features (pp. 192-201): -

Firstly, party pluralism; in which parties are allowed to organize freely. A predominant party system is therefore different from systems in which parties ensure election by rigging. However, Eire does show two features of electoral rigging, these are:- (1). by the tactic of calling two general elections in quick succession in an attempt to bankrupt the smaller parties, so they are in no fit state to contest the second election; end, (2). by the process of 'gerrymandering'. The constitution states that the constituency boundaries should be revised at least once every twelve years to allow for population changes. Whyte (1974: 623-8) has shown us how the ruling party can use this constitutional provision to increase its share of seats at elections. This is achieved by having: (a) three-member constituencies where the government can hope to gain

around 50% of the vote, so gaining two of the three seats; and (b) four-member constituencies in seats in which the government can hope to gain only around 40% of the vote, so gaining two of the four seats. In this way governments are able to increase their seat/vote ratio, that is on a countrywide basis, to decrease the number of votes they need to win a seat. In the 1969 election, for example, Fianna Fail (which had revised the constituency boundaries since the previous election), increased its number of seats from 72 to 75 yet its vote fell by 2%. To be fair though, it should, be pointed out that the redistribution of constituencies did not work to the advantage of the governments in 1948 and 1977. Moreover, there has been a progressive reduction in the number of larger constituencies such that by 1948 constituencies returning more than five T.D.'s ceased to exist (Nealon, 1974, p. 122).

We see then, that Eire shows certain characteristics of a type of party system in which majorities are assured by election-rigging. It is interesting to note that Sartori tells us that Iran, Mexico, the Philippines, Bolivia and Paraguay cannot be regarded as predominant party systems although a single party succeeds in winning every election because the results are assured by election-rigging. Sartori does not tell us how to re-classify these states, which is unfortunate for us because, as we have seen, Eire has some characteristics of election-rigging.

The second characteristic of the predominant party system, is that other parties are allowed to organise freely for election, and in which the predominant party can be beaten at the polls. Bearing in mind the economic constraint mentioned above, in which smaller parties are bankrupted by calling two elections in quick succession, this condition does appear to pertain in Eire, as the elections of 1948, 54 and 73 demonstrate in that Fianna Fail was defeated, and replaced by a coalition. In addition, no party has ever attempted to outlaw another, and political parties are allowed to organise freely.

The third and final characteristic of the predominant party system is that the predominant party must win at least three consecutive general elections. Sartori writes (1976 p. 197) "Ireland does less well than the two Scandinavian countries in terms of

continuity — the Irish system has been predominant between 1933 and 1948, and 1957 and 1973, with a major interruption of ten years". This, then, implies that, taking the winning of three-general elections as a condition of a predominant party system, Eire has twice displayed the characteristics of a predominant party system, in the 1933-48 period (with Fianna Fail winning three general elections in 1933, 37 and 38); and in the 1957-73 period (with Fianna Fail winning three general elections in 1957, 61 and 65), with Eire exhibiting other characteristics in the periods 1922-27, 1948-57 and since 1973.

This, however, is not the whole story for in both periods of 'predominance' Fianna Fail failed to secure an absolute majority of seats at each election. In 1937 Fianna Fail required the support of Labour, and in 1961 and 65 the support of Independents, This need not destroy the substance of the argument, since Sartori writes (1976, p. 196): "A predominant party is generally qualified by its major party obtaining an absolute majority of seats, with the exception of those countries that unquestionably abide by a less-than-absolute majority principle". In other words, the predominant party need not gain an absolute majority of seats at each election, as long as it is able to govern without undue hindrance from the other parties.

This, then, at first sight would seem to settle the matter, that Eire has alternated between being a predominant party system, and some variant of moderate pluralism. There is, however, a further problem here, in that Eire shows certain characteristics of a two-party system.

CHAPTER EIGHT: EIRE AN EXAMPLE OF A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

We saw earlier that moderate pluralism and the two-party system share several features in common, notably a small ideological distance between political parties, and centripetal competition; both of which are characteristics of the Irish party system.

Sartori (1976, p. 188) gives the two-party system the following characteristics:-

- (1) Two parties are in a position to compete for the absolute majority of seats.
- (2) One of the parties actually succeeds in winning an absolute majority of seats, and is willing to govern alone.
- (3) Alternation or rotation in office remains a credible expectation.

Using such a strict definition of the two-party system, Eire clearly does not qualify as such, yet Australia apparently does (1976, p. 187-8), although Australia, along with Eire has three relevant political parties which compete for political power. At the national level, however, the Country and Liberal Parties form a strong unified coalition, and do not compete against one another in individual constituencies. In addition, Australia shows characteristics of being a predominant party system in that the Country and Liberal coalition has governed Australia for all but three or four of the last 34 years. Hence, along with Eire, Australia shows characteristics of both moderate pluralism and a predominant party system. Yet Sartori categorizes Australia as having a two-party system, since it exhibits in modified form the four characteristics of a two-party system, and especially the last one that "alternation or rotation in power regains a credible expectation."

Let us now see whether Eire exhibits the characteristics of a two-party system, referring to the four characteristics, we see that Eire scores well on points 'two' and 'three' in that Fianna Fail has succeeded in winning an absolute majority of seats and is willing to govern alone. This leaves us with points 'one' and 'two' above. Sartori later modifies

point 'one' to read: "the turnover may be one against two provided that 'two' is not a mere coalition "but a coalescence." (1976, p. 188). This amendment enables Sartori to include Australia within his two-party type, but he excludes Eire since: "...Ireland from 1948 to 1957, cannot be assimilated with Australia and has never had, therefore, a two-party system. During these ten years the Dublin governments alternated between Fianna Fail ... and a coalition inter-party government, which broke up in 1957. The Irish experience reinforces, then, the point that a mere alliance does not ... establish a two party pattern." (1976, p. 212 footnote, 95).

At this point I must admit to some confusion in my mind, for I fail to see just why, in Sartori's words, "The Irish experience reinforces, then, the point that a mere alliance does not ... establish a two party pattern." If I read Sartori correctly, he claims that Australia has a two-party system because the Liberal/Country party coalition is a permanent coalition, moreover the position of this coalition is reinforced by the fact that the coalition parties do not compete against one another at the level of the individual constituency (1976, p. 187-8). Given Sartori's failure to clarify his remarks about Eire one is left to assume that Eire is excluded from the two-party format both because the coalition is not of a permanent nature, and because Labour and Fine Gael compete against one another in the individual constituencies. However, this approach glosses over two important differences between Eire and Australia.

Firstly, Eire and Australia, have different electoral systems. Eire has multi-member constituencies, and Australia has single-member constituencies. Where single member constituencies exist it is clearly to the advantage of coalition partners not to contest the same seats for to do so would merely increase their opponent's chances of being successful in the constituency. (True, Australia uses the alternative vote, but if the two coalition partners contested the same seat then neither could count on a 100% transfer of votes from their coalition partners. Consequently the Labour Party's chance of winning the seat would increase.) Conversely, where multi-member constituencies exist, a political party (or coalition of parties) which wishes to win a general election is forced to contest almost every seat with more than one candidate, if they do not they will not win the general election. Hence coalition partners, as well as members of the same

political party, are forced to compete against one another in the individual constituencies, in order to win the election nationally.

Secondly, in Australia it is usually the coalition which wins the general election, in Eire it is the single party which usually succeeds in winning general elections. Hence Australia usually has coalition government, and Eire usually has single-party government. It may be (and this is difficult to test) that these facts of political reality explain the apparently 'strong' nature of Australian coalitions and the apparently diverse nature of Eire's opposition parties. Clearly it may be that if, in Australia, the coalition 'just' failed to win general elections, then the coalition may well have taken on a less permanent form; but if this were so, then Australia would not cease to be a two-party system, as long as the Liberal and Country Parties came together to form a government, whenever they gained between them sufficient seats to do so. In other words, Australia would still be a two-party system so long as alternation or rotation in office remained a credible expectation.

I hope this brief discussion of the Australian party system will help to clarify the point I am about to make, namely, that alternation in office has always remained a credible expectation for Fianna Fail no matter how weak or divided the opposition parties have appeared. Historically, as we have seen, Fianna Fail's majorities have been small, and at times have depended on the support of Independents. Moreover on three occasions since 1945 Fianna Fail has failed to gain an absolute majority of seats (in 1948, 57 and 73) and on each occasion it was ousted from office by a coalition. Moreover the inter-party government which ousted Fianna Fail from office in 1948 was, as we have seen, a very unusual coalition indeed, and this suggests to us that even the most ill-assorted group of parties will co-operate together if they are offered the chance of participating in government. This indicates, then, that alternation or rotation in office has always remained a credible expectation for Fianna Fail, which since at least 1948 has always faced the possibility of being ousted from office had it failed to obtain a majority of seats at a general election. Moreover it is interesting to note at this point that in 1969, to quote 'The Economist', "... the Labour Party had stated its flat rejection of the idea of joining a coalition." Yet four years later, once the opportunity of office became available, Labour joined Fine Gael in a coalition government.

We can conclude this chapter by saying that Eire could be regarded as having a two-party system if alternation or rotation in office remained a credible expectation for Fianna Fail, and if Fine Gael and Labour were to form a coalition government, whenever they had the opportunity to do so. Whether this is the case or not is very difficult to test, but I suspect it is so, in which case Eire would appear to have a two-party system.

CONCLUSION

Let us now try to sort out the muddle we are left with, and examine just how well Sartori's model of party systems helps us to understand the party system in Eire as it has evolved during the history of the Irish state.

It will be remembered that Sartori's model consisted of both a classificatory and a typological scheme. Regarding the classificatory scheme I argued, in Chapter Four, that Sartori appears to be broadly correct in placing Eire in the limited pluralist class of party systems, for since the early 1920's Eire has always had between three and six relevant parties represented in the Dail; and it will be recalled that Sartori defines limited pluralism as being that class of party system which has between three and five (or six) relevant political parties. However, as I also argued, I find the 2½ party system of Blondel more satisfactory than limited pluralism in describing the Irish party system, though the 2½ party system has its own shortcomings.

If, for a moment, we restrict our discussion of Eire to the post 1948 era, we have seen that the survey evidence outlined extensively in Chapters Five and Six suggests that Eire shares many of the characteristics of moderate pluralism. In that the ideological distance between the relevant political parties is small, bi-lateral oppositions do not exist, competition is centripetal, and Eire does not possess a centre party. However, Eire differs from moderate pluralism in one important respect, namely, it is not characterized by coalition government, in fact, since 1948, only three out of nine-governments have been coalitions, the other six governments have been single party governments. Moreover, these six single party governments have all been Fianna Fail governments, and it is presumably because of this that Sartori tells us that Eire has a predominant party system.

Yet I argued that this approach, of categorizing the Irish party system as predominant, is also unsatisfactory, for Eire could equally well, if not better, be placed in the two-party category of party systems. For two-party systems share all the characteristics of

moderate pluralism as outlined, on the previous pages, plus more importantly the feature of single party government. I argued, in Chapter Eight, that all one has to show is that alternation or rotation in office remains a credible expectation for Fianna Fail, and then Eire can be said to have a two-party system. It does not matter how weak or divided the other parties appear to be in opposition, as long as they are prepared to join in a coalition government together whenever, at a general election, they gain a majority of seats between them. We would then have a two-party system.

Hence we have a very simple question facing us, namely: "Is alternation or rotation in office a credible expectation for Fianna Fail?" If the answer to this question be "no", then Eire would appear to have a predominant party system with a predominant party which is occasionally ousted from office. If, as I suspect, the answer to this question be "yes", then Eire has a two-party system, similar to that existing in Australia, in which a single party, Fianna Fail, alternates (or expects to alternate) in office with a coalition of Fine Gael and Labour.

I should perhaps also mention at this point, that I disregard the view that the possibility of alternation in office means that the Irish party system, is an example of moderate pluralism, on the grounds that governments in Eire take the form of either a Fianna Fail single party government, or a Fine Gael/Labour coalition. And, moderate pluralism is not characterized by either single party government nor by a government in which the coalition parties do not change over time. In other words, if Eire was an example of moderate pluralism then one would expect to find, over time, not only Labour/Fine Gael coalitions, but also Labour/Fianna Fail and Fine Gael/Fianna Fail coalitions; and we find neither. Nor, for that matter, do I believe that Fianna Fail would consider trying to form a coalition whilst it remains Eire's largest political party, distinguished as it is from Fine Gael on our partition axis, and from Labour on both the partition and left-right axes.

To summarize at this point we can say that since 1948 Eire has had either a predominant party system (with a predominant party which has been ousted from office on three occasions); or else a two-party system, in which the second party is not one, but two main parties, which come together in a coalition government when between them

they have sufficient T.D.'s to do so.

What then of the period of Eire's history prior to 1948? How are we to categorize that? From 1932 to 1948 Fianna Fail was in a far stronger position than it is today, the opposition parties were particularly weak and divided amongst themselves; and, even given what has just been written, it is difficult to believe that they would have come together in a coalition government to oust Fianna Fail from office had the opportunity presented itself. Consequently I feel that we would be justified in claiming that Eire had a predominant party system from 1932 to 1948. As for the period before 1932 it would, I feel, be a waste of time to try to fit Eire into any of Sartori's types for this period, given the civil war and the abstentionist policies of Sinn Fein.

The nature of the Irish party system has been summarized in the table below:-

PERIOD.	TYPE OF PARTY SYSTEM.
1922-1932.	Unclassifiable.
1933-1948	Predominant Party System.
1948-1957.	Two-party system or major interruption in Eire's predominant party system.
1957-1973.	Two-party system (with expectation of a change of government) or a predominant party system.
1973	Two-party system or major interruption in Eire's predominant party system.

This table shows us that Eire, in the years 1922-32, had a party system which is simply unclassifiable owing to the unstable nature of the Irish state in the early years of its existence; in the period 1933-1948 we are on relatively safe ground in classifying Eire as an example of a predominant party system; since 1948 the Irish party system has been either an example of a predominant party system or an imperfect two-party system in which one party alternates (or has expected to alternate) in office with a coalition.

Having reached the end of this dissertation, I hope I have shown the extreme difficulties involved in trying to match Sartori's typology to a party system as it has existed in just

one country over the last fifty years. We have seen that all we can really say after over 18,000 words of discussion is that Eire has either a predominant party system, or, more likely its party system is not quite a two-party one. This being the case, one can only wonder whether I have chosen the one country to examine in which it is particularly difficult to apply Sartori's model; or whether any other political scientist would experience broadly the same problems in trying to apply Sartori's model to another country? If the former, I have been particularly unlucky in my choice of country, if the latter, then one wonders whether it is worth bothering to try to construct a model of party systems?

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APPENDIX

A copy of the questionnaire, sent to Irish T.D.'s and party candidates is included at the end of this appendix, and it will be observed that this questionnaire is divided into four sections.

Section A: included information which is mainly relevant to my MPhil and these questions need not concern us here.

Section B: included questions used in the 'left-right' scale. It will be recalled that the scale was broken down into four sub-scales.

- a) The egalitarian sub-scale consisted of questions 1, 11, 7 and 10.
- b) The nationalization versus free enterprise sub-scale consisted of questions 2 and 8
- c) The meritocratic sub-scale consisted of questions 3, 6, 9 and 12.
- d) The syndicalist or pro-trades' union sub-scale which consisted of questions 5 and 11

The mean score for each attitude question was calculated on the basis of using 4 for a very left-wing response, 3 for a left-wing response, 2 for a neutral response, 1 for a right-wing response and 0 for a very right-wing response. The scores made by each respondent on each attitude question were added together to give each respondents' position on the left-right continuum, and the position of each political party was calculated by finding the mean score of the party's members.

Section C of the questionnaire included questions not only included on our libertarian axis, but also included questions which aimed at calculating the degree of religious beliefs held by members of each political party. These questions, which were included in order to gain data for my MPhil, need not concern us here, and consisted of questions 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 17 and 18. In Chapter Five I argued that the 'libertarian continuum' could be divided into four component sub-scales. However, given the extreme similarity in responses by members of the three political parties it was felt to be a waste of time to disaggregate the full 'libertarian scale' into its component parts.

The mean score for each attitude question was calculated, on the basis of using 4 for a very libertarian response, 3 for a libertarian response, 2 for a neutral response, 1 for an authoritarian response and 0 for a very authoritarian response.

Section D: of the questionnaire consisted of three types of question: questions 1 through to 12 consisted of questions included in the partition continuum, and it will be noted that I have deviated from the normal rules used in constructing a Likert scale in that of the twelve questions, ten are anti-partition statements and only two are pro-partition statements. This approach was adopted because of the intensity with which feelings about the partition are held by Irish politicians, and it was felt that if too many pro-partition attitude questions were included in the scale the response rate might have been adversely affected. The full scale was divided into three component sub-scales consisting of:

- (1). Cultural questions, consisting of questions 2, 5 and 19.
- (2). Economic questions, consisting of questions 1, 4, 9 and 11, And,
- (3). Political questions, consisting of questions 3, 6 and 8.

In addition to these questions, question 7 sought to examine attitudes to Westminster; and question 12 sought to test whether or not respondents felt Northern Ireland would acquire any benefits from ending the partition. The mean score on each attitude question was calculated on the basis of using 4 for a very anti-partition response, 3 for an anti-partition response, 2 for a neutral response, 1 for a pro-partition response and 0 for a very pro-partition response.

Questions 13 through to 18 in Section D sought to examine respondents' opinions on a number of topics, which were not included in the partition continuum. The mean for these questions was calculated on the basis of using 4 for a strongly agree response, 3 for an agree response, 2 for a neither agree nor disagree response, 1 for a disagree response and 0 for a strongly disagree response.

Question 19 in Section D simply asked respondents to rank their preferences regarding their preferred future constitutional position of Northern Ireland, from a number of alternative offered to them, responses to these questions are given in pp xx of the text.

Response Rates

Questionnaires were sent to 113 T.D.'s and party candidates involved in the 1973 and 1977 general elections, and in all 47 replies were received, representing a response rate of only 41.6%. The replies were distributed between the three political parties as follows:-

- 1) 37 questionnaires were sent to members of the Labour Party, of which 20 were returned, yielding a response rate of 54%.
- (2). 38 questionnaires were distributed to members of Fine Gael, of which 18 were returned, yielding a response rate of 48.6%. and,
- (3) 39 questionnaires were distributed to members of Fianna Fail, of which only 9 were returned, yielding a response of only 23.7%.

The author of this dissertation was particularly unlucky, in that whilst carrying out his research a postal strike occurred in the Irish Republic. In all the strike lasted for over 19 weeks, and in consequence the questionnaires were collected over rather a long period of time, further it is possible that some questionnaires were lost in the post because of the strike.

Results

Beginning overleaf, the reader will find a detailed breakdown of the attitude questions relating to this piece of research. I should mention that I took the liberty of multiplying Fianna Fail responses by two, this procedure was carried out in order to make it easier to compare the responses from Fianna Fail with responses from the other two political parties. The mean score and standard deviation were calculated before multiplying the responses from Fianna Fail by two, and thus they can be readily compared with the mean scores and standard deviations for the other two political parties.

Questionnaire - Section B (Eire: The Left-Right Axis)

1. In society goods should be distributed on the basis of, 'to each according to his/her needs'.
2. Private enterprise in industry should be encouraged and government interference in industry reduced.
3. Employers and educational establishments should positively discriminate in favour of those people from disadvantaged backgrounds.
4. It is unfair that some people can earn considerably more money than others.
5. There are too many strikes and not enough discipline at work.
6. A woman's main duty should be the upbringing of children not the pursuance of a career.
7. A wealth tax should be introduced to redistribute wealth from the richer to poorer members of society.
8. It is the government's duty to create the conditions under which private enterprise can prosper.
9. The present laws relating to racial and sexual discrimination are not nearly as comprehensive as they should be and need to be strengthened.
10. Aid to underdeveloped countries should be made a top priority by the government.
11. Trade unions have too much influence in the country.
12. The government should have the right to intervene in society in order to give everyone a more or less equal opportunity of obtaining the good things in life.

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 1						
Labour	3.21	0.86	16	3	1	20
Fine Gael	2.00	1.19	8	3	7	18
Fianna Fail	2.13	1.36	8	4	6	18
Question 2						
Labour	3.15	0.99	2	2	16	20
Fine Gael	1.61	1.09	11	1	6	18
Fianna Fail	1.13	1.13	10	6	2	18
Question 3						
Labour	3.05	0.91	16	2	2	20
Fine Gael	1.94	1.61	6	4	8	18
Fianna Fail	2.50	1.20	8	6	4	18
Question 4						
Labour	2.37	1.07	9	6	5	20
Fine Gael	1.39	0.85	3	2	13	18
Fianna Fail	1.50	0.76	2	6	10	18
Question 5						
Labour	2.20	1.32	7	4	9	20
Fine Gael	1.29	1.18	13	0	5	18
Fianna Fail	0.63	0.52	16	2	0	18
Question 6						
Labour	2.40	1.31	7	2	11	20
Fine Gael	2.65	1.37	3	5	10	18
Fianna Fail	2.25	1.17	4	4	10	18

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 7						
Labour	3.65	0.49	20	0	0	20
Fine Gael	2.56	1.25	12	1	5	18
Fianna Fail	2.13	1.25	8	2	8	18
Question 8						
Labour	2.35	1.35	9	1	10	20
Fine Gael	1.11	0.90	14	2	2	18
Fianna Fail	0.63	0.52	16	2	0	18
Question 9						
Labour	3.25	0.85	17	2	1	20
Fine Gael	2.78	1.06	12	3	3	18
Fianna Fail	2.00	0.50	6	6	6	18
Question 10						
Labour	2.74	1.05	12	5	3	20
Fine Gael	2.44	0.92	11	3	4	18
Fianna Fail	2.13	0.47	6	8	4	18
Question 11						
Labour	3.20	0.83	1	2	17	20
Fine Gael	1.61	1.20	10	2	6	18
Fianna Fail	1.23	0.89	12	4	2	18
Question 12						
Labour	3.25	0.72	17	3	0	20
Fine Gael	2.67	1.09	12	2	4	18
Fianna Fail	3.12	0.32	14	4	0	18

Questionnaire Section C – (Eire: The Libertarian Axis)

1. Unrestricted discussion on most matters is desirable in the press, on television, on the radio, etc.
2. Abortion is wrong and should be outlawed except in very exceptional circumstances.
3. The death penalty is barbaric and is rarely justified - even for acts of terrorism.
4. People should pay more attention to what your religious leaders say.
5. Workers should have a greater say in the management of the firms for which they work.
6. Homosexual acts should be outlawed.
7. Industry should be subject to greater public accountability.
8. We can be almost certain that human beings evolved from lower animals.
9. We should try to cure criminals rather than punish them.
10. The state has the moral duty to pass laws preventing people from committing acts of blasphemy.
11. A strong leader is important for the successful running of the country.
12. Birth control, except where medically indicated, is wrong.
13. Major questions of national policy should be decided by referenda.
14. Ministers and Civil Servants should be more accountable to the people for their actions.
15. More power should be devolved to the people at the community level.
16. The present laws relating to the sale and distribution of soft drugs are too strict and need to be liberalised.
17. To be a true Christian one must have personal contact with Christ and be reborn in him.
18. The miracles in the bible happened just as they are described there.

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 1						
Labour	3.15	0.88	18	0	2	20
Fine Gael	2.17	0.79	16	1	1	18
Fianna Fail	2.33	1.12	10	2	6	18
Question 2						
Labour	0.65	0.99	18	1	1	20
Fine Gael	0.89	1.23	15	0	3	18
Fianna Fail	0.56	0.73	16	2	0	18
Question 3						
Labour	2.70	1.38	14	1	5	20
Fine Gael	2.39	1.58	11	0	7	18
Fianna Fail	2.89	0.93	14	2	2	18
Question 4						
Labour	2.05	1.13	6	9	5	20
Fine Gael	1.94	0.16	5	7	6	18
Fianna Fail	1.67	1.12	8	6	2	18
Question 5						
Labour	3.75	0.44	20	0	0	20
Fine Gael	2.94	0.87	15	1	2	18
Fianna Fail	2.11	0.93	8	4	6	18
Question 6						
Labour	2.63	0.90	2	7	11	20
Fine Gael	2.18	1.33	6	4	8	18
Fianna Fail	1.67	1.32	10	0	8	18

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 7						
Labour	3.47	0.84	17	2	1	20
Fine Gael	2.78	1.00	13	2	5	18
Fianna Fail	2.22	1.56	10	2	6	18
Question 8						
Labour	2.26	1.15	6	10	4	20
Fine Gael	2.29	1.31	8	4	6	18
Fianna Fail	1.44	0.88	2	6	10	18
Question 9						
Labour	3.16	0.83	16	3	1	20
Fine Gael	2.61	0.91	13	3	2	18
Fianna Fail	2.67	0.71	14	2	2	18
Question 10						
Labour	2.32	1.16	7	3	10	20
Fine Gael	2.33	1.15	5	4	9	18
Fianna Fail	2.11	1.05	6	6	6	18
Question 11						
Labour	1.32	1.29	14	2	4	20
Fine Gael	1.17	1.04	14	2	2	18
Fianna Fail	1.11	1.17	14	0	4	18
Question 12						
Labour	2.79	1.27	5	3	12	20
Fine Gael	2.78	1.22	3	3	12	18
Fianna Fail	1.33	1.23	10	4	4	18

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 13						
Labour	2.95	1.08	15	3	2	20
Fine Gael	2.33	0.91	9	5	4	18
Fianna Fail	2.22	1.30	8	2	8	18
Question 14						
Labour	3.74	0.77	18	1	1	20
Fine Gael	3.28	0.58	17	1	0	18
Fianna Fail	2.89	1.27	12	2	4	18
Question 15						
Labour	3.63	0.50	19	1	0	20
Fine Gael	2.83	1.15	13	1	4	18
Fianna Fail	2.00	1.12	6	4	8	18
Question 16						
Labour	1.68	1.16	4	6	10	20
Fine Gael	1.00	0.84	2	0	16	18
Fianna Fail	1.33	1.12	4	2	12	18
Question 17						
Labour	1.74	0.99	8	7	5	20
Fine Gael	1.94	1.03	5	10	3	18
Fianna Fail	1.44	1.01	8	8	2	18
Question 18						
Labour	1.79	1.34	8	8	4	20
Labour	2.29	1.16	5	7	6	18
Fine Gael	1.78	0.67	2	10	6	18
Fianna Fail						

Libertarian Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation
Labour	29.00	5.46
Fine Gael	24.50	5.52
Fianna Fail	22.75	5.09

Religious Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation
Labour	8.40	2.96
Fine Gael	8.89	3.64
Fianna Fail	7.22	2.64

Religious/ Libertarian Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation
Labour	6.00	2.20
Fine Gael	5.83	3.13
Fianna Fail	3.25	3.01

NB – Figures for Fianna Fail are multiplied by two for comparative purposes.

Questionnaire Section D – (Eire: The Partition Axis)

1. The whole of Ireland can only solve its economic problems by being administered as a single political unit, under one national government.
2. The Northern Irish are no different from the Southern Irish.
3. Northern Ireland should relinquish its ties with Great Britain and seek political union with the Irish Republic.
4. Eire has suffered economically from the partition of Ireland.
5. The people of Northern Ireland have a lot more in common with the Irish than with the British.
6. The people of Northern Ireland are likely to feel just as remote from a Dublin based government as from a Westminster based government.
7. Westminster governments are to blame for most of Northern Ireland's present problems.
8. The people of Northern Ireland would be more adequately represented by a Dublin based government, than by a Westminster or Belfast based government.
9. The economies of Eire and Northern Ireland are so interconnected, that it does not make sense to administer them by different national governments.
10. The people of Northern Ireland should take a greater pride in their Irish culture and traditions.
11. The people of the whole of Ireland would be a lot better off today if Ireland had not been partitioned in 1922.
12. Northern Ireland would be a much poorer place today if it had cut its links with Great Britain in 1922, and become part of the Irish Republic.
13. It is up to the people of Northern Ireland to decide where they are to be governed from.
14. Discussion and argument about the border of Northern Ireland, distracts attention away from the real causes of Ireland's many problems.
15. If necessary the border of Northern Ireland should be redrawn, with areas of Northern Ireland containing a majority of Roman Catholics being integrated into the Irish Republic.
16. Any future change in the constitutional position of Northern Ireland should only take place with the consent of a majority of its inhabitants in those area(s) of Northern Ireland affected by the proposed change.
17. Since the people of Northern Ireland form two communities, it is impractical to contemplate the total integration of Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic.
18. Any constitutional changes in the way Northern Ireland is governed must take into account the deep religious divide which exists in the community.

Economic Sub-Scale (Partition Axis)	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Party						
Question 1						
Fianna Fail	3.00	1.23	10	6	2	18
Labour	2.50	1.15	11	5	4	20
Fine Gael	2.40	1.40	8	2	8	18
Question 4						
Fianna Fail	3.70	0.50	18	0	0	18
Labour	2.70	1.10	12	5	3	20
Fine Gael	2.50	1.30	12	1	5	18
Question 9						
Fianna Fail	3.33	1.32	14	2	2	18
Labour	3.10	0.76	15	5	0	20
Fine Gael	2.80	0.88	13	3	2	18
Question 11						
Fianna Fail	3.80	0.40	18	0	0	18
Labour	3.20	0.80	16	4	0	20
Fine Gael	2.90	0.80	13	3	1	18
Total on sub-scale						
Fianna Fail	13.80	2.90				
Labour	11.40	2.80				
Fine Gael	10.20	3.20				

Cultural sub-scale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 2						
Fianna Fail	2.89	1.30	12	2	4	18
Labour	2.00	1.20	8	3	9	20
Fine Gael	1.47	0.87	3	4	11	18
Question 5						
Fianna Fail	3.67	0.50	18	0	0	18
Labour	3.00	0.67	15	1	4	20
Fine Gael	2.50	1.10	12	2	4	18
Question 10						
Fianna Fail	3.67	0.71	16	2	0	18
Labour	3.25	0.64	18	2	0	20
Fine Gael	2.35	1.06	8	7	3	18
Total (Cultural)						
Fianna Fail	10.10	2.30				
Labour	8.20	1.90				
Fine Gael	6.30	2.10				

Political Sub-scale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 3						
Fianna Fail	3.56	1.01	16	0	2	18
Labour	2.74	0.93	12	6	2	20
Fine Gael	2.50	1.04	10	4	4	18
Question 6						
Fianna Fail	2.33	1.80	6	0	12	18
Labour	1.89	1.20	10	3	7	20
Fine Gael	2.78	1.13	7	1	10	18
Question 8						
Fianna Fail	3.33	1.12	14	2	2	18
Labour	2.67	1.03	11	6	3	20
Fine Gael	2.82	0.95	14	1	3	18
Total (Political Sub-scale)						
Fianna Fail	9.60	2.40				
Labour	7.20	2.40				
Fine Gael	7.60	2.40				

Additional Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 7						
Fianna Fail	3.30	1.30	16	0	2	18
Labour	2.90	0.90	14	4	2	20
Fine Gael	2.40	1.10	12	1	5	18
Question 12						
Fianna Fail	3.44	0.73	2	0	16	18
Labour	2.50	1.15	3	5	12	20
Fine Gael	2.39	0.92	4	4	10	18
Question 13						
Fianna Fail	2.89	1.05	2	4	12	18
Labour	0.78	0.73	17	2	1	20
Fine Gael	1.11	1.18	14	1	3	14
Question 14						
Fianna Fail	1.56	1.59	10	4	4	18
Labour	1.10	0.91	17	0	3	20
Fine Gael	1.11	0.83	15	1	2	18
Question 15						
Fianna Fail	2.44	1.51	4	2	12	18
Labour	2.70	1.46	4	3	13	20
Fine Gael	3.22	0.94	1	0	17	17
Question 16						
Fianna Fail	2.33	1.66	6	2	10	18
Labour	0.95	0.91	16	2	2	20
Fine Gael	1.17	1.36	9	2	7	18
Question 18						
Fianna Fail	3.44	0.52	0	0	18	18
Labour	2.50	1.28	4	2	14	20
Fine Gael	2.89	0.93	1	3	14	18
Question 19						
Fianna Fail	1.78	1.48	10	0	8	18
Labour	1.15	0.88	15	3	2	20
Fine Gael	1.33	1.09	13	2	3	18

Questionnaire Section B – (England: The Left-Right Axis)

1. In society goods should be distributed on the basis of 'to each according to his/her needs'.
2. Private enterprise in industry should be encouraged and government interference in industry reduced.
3. Employers and educational establishments should positively discriminate in favour of those people from disadvantaged backgrounds.
4. The present laws relating to the inheritance of wealth and private property in Britain do little to redistribute wealth to the poorer members of society.
5. There are too many strikes, and not enough discipline at work.
6. A woman's main duty should be the upbringing of children not the pursuance of a career.
7. A wealth tax should be introduced to redistribute wealth from the richer to the poorer members of society.
8. It is the government's duty to create the conditions under which private enterprise can prosper.
9. The present laws relating to racial and sexual discrimination are not nearly as comprehensive as they should be and need to be strengthened.
10. Aid to underdeveloped countries should be made a top priority by the government.
11. Trade unions have too much influence in modern Britain.
12. The government should have the right to intervene in society in order to give everyone a more or less equal opportunity of obtaining the good things in life.
13. Local Authorities should be allowed to sell council houses if they wish.
14. Comprehensive schools are preferable to the old tripartite schools, because they give all children a more equal chance in life.
15. The Monarchy should be abolished.
16. The principle of peers sitting and voting in the House of Lords by right of birth should be abandoned.

England Left-Right Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Party						
Question 1						
Labour	3.70	0.48	10	3	0	13
Liberal	1.75	0.87	2	7	4	13
Conservative	0.98	0.00	0	3	6	9
Question 2						
Labour	3.00	1.18	1	3	9	13
Liberal	1.25	0.62	8	5	0	12
Conservative	0.11	0.33	9	0	0	9
Question 3						
Labour	3.00	0.74	9	4	0	13
Liberal	2.38	0.96	7	3	3	13
Conservative	0.78	0.83	0	2	7	9
Question 4						
Labour	3.23	0.83	12	0	1	13
Liberal	2.85	1.21	10	1	2	12
Conservative	1.78	1.30	3	1	5	9
Question 5						
Labour	1.77	1.01	6	3	4	13
Liberal	0.75	0.75	10	3	0	13
Conservative	0.78	0.83	7	2	0	9
Question 6						
Labour	2.77	1.24	9	2	2	13
Liberal	2.54	1.05	6	5	2	13
Conservative	2.13	0.83	3	4	2	9

England Left-Right Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 7						
Labour	3.62	0.24	13	0	0	13
Liberal	2.92	1.00	10	1	2	13
Conservative	0.44	0.73	0	1	8	9
Question 8						
Labour	1.77	0.93	7	2	4	13
Liberal	0.85	0.55	12	1	0	13
Conservative	0.00	0.00	0	0	9	9
Question 9						
Labour	2.77	1.17	9	1	3	13
Liberal	2.42	0.90	6	5	2	13
Conservative	0.78	1.39	1	1	7	9
Question 10						
Labour	3.08	1.11	10	1	2	13
Liberal	2.69	0.75	9	3	1	13
Conservative	1.22	1.20	2	1	6	9
Question 11						
Labour	2.77	0.73	1	2	10	13
Liberal	1.00	1.08	10	1	2	13
Conservative	0.44	0.73	8	1	0	9
Question 12						
Labour	3.69	0.48	13	0	0	13
Liberal	2.91	0.90	9	3	1	13
Conservative	2.13	1.55	5	1	3	9

England Left-Right Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 13						
Labour	2.62	0.96	1	6	6	13
Liberal	1.00	0.82	11	1	1	13
Conservative	0.44	0.73	8	1	0	9
Question 14						
Labour	3.92	0.28	13	0	0	13
Liberal	2.85	1.34	10	0	3	13
Conservative	1.67	0.87	1	5	3	9
Question 15						
Labour	1.85	1.21	4	4	5	13
Liberal	1.08	1.12	2	2	9	13
Conservative	0.22	0.44	0	0	9	9
Question 16						
Labour	3.69	0.63	12	1	0	13
Liberal	3.31	0.85	12	0	1	13
Conservative	1.33	1.11	2	1	6	9

Questionnaire Section C – (England: The Libertarian Axis)

1. Unrestricted discussion on most matters is desirable in the press, on television, on the radio, etc.
2. Every woman should have the right to terminate a pregnancy if she so wishes.
3. The death penalty should be reintroduced for crimes of premeditated murder.
4. People should pay more attention to what your religious leaders say.
5. Workers should have a greater say in the management of the firms for which they work.
6. The present laws relating to homosexuality in England and Wales are too lax and need strengthening.
7. Industry should be subject to greater public accountability.
8. We can be almost certain that human beings evolved from lower animals.
9. We should try to cure criminals rather than punish them.
10. The state has the moral duty to pass laws preventing people from committing acts of blasphemy.
11. The present local authorities are so large and bureaucratic that they are insensitive to the needs of the people they are there to serve.
12. The laws relating to the sale and distribution of contraceptives are too lax, and encourage permissiveness.
13. Major questions of national policy should be decided by referenda.
14. Ministers and Civil Servants should be more accountable to the people for their actions.
15. The present laws regulating the entry of foreign nationals into Britain are too liberal and need to be strengthened.
16. The present laws relating to the sale and distribution of soft drugs are too strict and need to be liberalised.
17. To be a true Christian one must have personal contact with Christ and be reborn in him.

England – Libertarian Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Party						
Question 1						
Labour	3.38	0.87	12	0	1	13
Liberal	3.80	0.51	11	2	0	12
Conservative	2.89	1.17	7	0	2	9
Question 2						
Labour	2.31	1.55	8	1	4	13
Liberal	2.38	1.33	8	2	3	13
Conservative	1.89	1.27	3	2	4	9
Question 3						
Labour	3.85	0.38	0	0	13	13
Liberal	2.92	1.19	3	0	10	13
Conservative	1.44	1.33	6	1	2	9
Question 4						
Labour	2.15	1.07	3	5	5	13
Liberal	2.33	0.89	2	7	4	13
Conservative	2.00	1.00	3	4	2	9
Question 5						
Labour	3.63	0.51	13	0	0	13
Liberal	3.47	0.52	13	0	0	13
Conservative	1.89	0.93	2	3	4	9
Question 6						
Labour	3.00	1.08	1	1	11	13
Liberal	2.33	1.07	2	5	6	13
Conservative	2.33	2.00	2	1	6	9

England – Libertarian Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 7						
Labour	3.69	0.48	13	0	0	13
Liberal	2.38	1.12	7	2	4	13
Conservative	1.44	0.88	1	3	5	9
Question 8						
Labour	2.92	1.12	10	2	1	13
Liberal	3.25	0.87	11	1	1	13
Conservative	2.00	0.92	2	6	1	9
Question 9						
Labour	3.00	0.91	10	2	1	13
Liberal	2.67	1.07	7	4	2	13
Conservative	2.75	0.89	6	2	1	9
Question 10						
Labour	2.85	1.21	2	1	10	13
Liberal	2.38	1.26	4	1	8	13
Conservative	1.87	1.36	4	2	3	9
Question 11						
Labour	3.15	0.99	10	2	1	13
Liberal	3.54	0.52	13	0	0	13
Conservative	2.22	1.30	5	1	3	9
Question 12						
Labour	3.08	1.32	2	1	10	13
Liberal	3.38	0.51	0	0	13	13
Conservative	2.67	1.00	1	2	6	9

England – Libertarian Axis	Mean	Standard Deviation	Agree	Neutral/ Missing	Disagree	Total
Question 13						
Labour	0.38	0.15	0	0	13	13
Liberal	1.75	1.14	3	4	6	13
Conservative	1.44	1.24	1	3	5	9
Question 14						
Labour	3.38	0.65	12	1	0	13
Liberal	3.38	0.65	12	1	0	13
Conservative	3.33	0.50	9	0	0	9
Question 15						
Labour	2.92	1.11	1	2	10	13
Liberal	3.00	0.91	1	2	10	13
Conservative	1.67	1.37	5	0	4	9
Question 16						
Labour	1.46	1.20	3	1	9	13
Liberal	1.31	0.94	2	2	9	13
Conservative	1.00	1.12	1	2	6	9
Question 17						
Labour	2.18	1.08	2	7	4	13
Liberal	2.64	1.29	2	4	7	13
Conservative	1.29	1.11	6	2	1	9

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1	2	3	4	5

Official Use

Section A.

General Questions.

Please tick (✓) or write the appropriate answer.

- 1) What was your date of birth? Day ___ Month ___ Year 19___ (6)
- 2) What is your present occupation or profession? Or previous occupation or profession if a T.D. or unemployed. (Please be specific about the type of work you do: eg medical doctor; machine operator; civil engineer; trade union official, etc.) (7)
- 3) What type of business is your firm or employer engaged in? Or previous firm or employer if a T.D. or unemployed. (8)
- 4) How, if at all, would you define your social class?
 - a) upper class ()
 - b) middle class ()
 - c) working class ()
 - d) no class ()
 or
 - a) Southern Irish ()
 - b) Irish ()
 - c) Other (please state) _____ (10)
- 5) Do you normally think of yourself as? (9)
- 6) In which Irish or British county or overseas country were you born? (Please state the name by which this county/country was known at the time of your birth) (11)
- 7) Do you speak Irish Gaelic?
 - a) fluently ()
 - b) some ()
 - c) very little or none ()
- 8) Have you ever belonged to any organisations concerned with the promotion or preservation of the Irish language or culture? Yes () No () (12)
- If 'Yes' which organisation or organisations? (13)
- _____ (14)
- _____ (15)
- _____ (16)
- 9) Which religion do you currently adhere to? Or if a non-practising Christian, or non-believer, in what religion, if any, were you christened or baptised?
 - a) none ()
 - b) Roman Catholic ()
 - c) Anglican or Episcopal ()
 - d) Other (please state) _____ (17)
- 10) Would you define yourself as a religious person?
 - a) very religious ()
 - b) slightly religious ()
 - c) agnostic ()
 - d) atheist ()
- 11) Roughly how often do you attend a religious service?
 - a) at least once a week ()
 - b) at least once a month ()
 - c) a few times a year ()
 - d) rarely or never ()
- 12) Have you ever held a position of responsibility within the Church or Chapel? Yes () No () (18)
- If 'Yes', what position(s)? (19)
- _____ (20)
- _____ (21)
- _____ (22)
- 13) Please rank (1,2,3 etc.) the following political parties in the order which you prefer
 - a) Fianna Fail ()
 - b) Fine Gael ()
 - c) Irish Labour ()
 - d) Other (please state) _____ ()
- 14) Have you ever been a member of a political party other than that to which you now belong? Yes () No () (23)
- If 'Yes', which party or parties? (24)
- _____ (25)
- _____ (25)
- _____ (25)

Official
Use

Section B.

In this section and in the following two sections are a number of statements on which I would like to know your opinion. Please indicate this by placing a tick (✓) in the appropriate column on the right. There are no right or wrong answers.

- | | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree/
Nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----|---|----------------|-------|--------------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| 26 | 1) In society goods should be distributed on the basis of, 'to each according to his/her needs'. | | | | | |
| 27 | 2) Private enterprise in industry should be encouraged and government interference in industry reduced. | | | | | |
| 28 | 3) Employers and educational establishments should positively discriminate in favour of those people from disadvantaged backgrounds. | | | | | |
| 29 | 4) It is unfair that some people can earn considerably more money than others. | | | | | |
| 30 | 5) There are too many strikes, and not enough discipline at work. | | | | | |
| 31 | 6) A woman's main duty should be the upbringing of children not the pursuance of a career. | | | | | |
| 32 | 7) A wealth tax should be introduced to redistribute wealth from the richer to poorer members of society. | | | | | |
| 33 | 8) It is the government's duty to create the conditions under which private enterprise can prosper. | | | | | |
| 34 | 9) The present laws relating to racial and sexual discrimination are not nearly as comprehensive as they should be and need to be strengthened. | | | | | |
| 35 | 10) Aid to underdeveloped countries should be made a top priority by the Government. | | | | | |
| 36 | 11) Trade Unions have too much influence in the country. | | | | | |
| 37 | 12) The Government should have the right to intervene in society in order to give everyone a more or less equal opportunity of obtaining the good things in life. | | | | | |

Section C.

Please answer these questions in the same way as those in Section B.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| 38 | 1) Unrestricted discussion on most matters is desirable in the press, on television, on the radio, etc. | | | | | |
| 39 | 2) Abortion is wrong and should be outlawed except in very exceptional circumstances. | | | | | |
| 40 | 3) The death penalty is barbaric and is rarely justified - even for acts of terrorism. | | | | | |
| 41 | 4) People should pay more attention to what your religious leaders say. | | | | | |
| 42 | 5) Workers should have a greater say in the management of the firms for which they work. | | | | | |

Strongly Disagree
Disagree
Neither Agree/
Nor Disagree
Agree
Strongly Agree

- 43 6) Homosexual acts should be outlawed.
- 44 7) Industry should be subject to greater public accountability.
- 45 8) We can be almost certain that human beings evolved from lower animals.
- 46 9) We should try to cure criminals rather than punish them.
- 47 10) The state has the moral duty to pass laws preventing people from committing acts of blasphemy.
- 48 11) A strong leader is important for the successful running of the country.
- 49 12) Birth control, except where medically indicated, is morally wrong.
- 50 13) Major questions of national policy should be decided by referenda.
- 51 14) Ministers and Civil Servants should be more accountable to the people for their actions.
- 52 15) More power should be devolved to the people at the community level.
- 53 16) The present laws relating to the sale and distribution of soft drugs are too strict and need to be liberalised.
- 54 17) To be a true Christian one must have a personal contact with Christ and be reborn in him.
- 55 18) The miracles in the Bible happened just as they are described there.

Section D.

- 56 1) The whole of Ireland can only solve its economic problems by being administered as a single political unit, under one national government.
- 57 2) The Northern Irish are no different from the Southern Irish.
- 58 3) Northern Ireland should relinquish its ties with Great Britain and seek political union with the Irish Republic.
- 59 4) Eire has suffered economically from the partition of Ireland.
- 60 5) The people of Northern Ireland have a lot more in common with the Irish than with the British.
- 61 6) The people of Northern Ireland are likely to feel just as remote from a Dublin based government as from a Westminster based government.
- 62 7) Westminster governments are to blame for most of Northern Ireland's present problems.
- 63 8) The people of Northern Ireland would be more adequately represented by a Dublin based government, than by a Westminster or Belfast based government.

