

# Contents

## Special Issue: The Twentieth Anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement Guest Editor: Etain Tannam

### Articles

- The Twilight of the United Kingdom & *Tiocfaidh ár lá*: Twenty Years after the Good Friday Agreement  
*Brendan O'Leary* 223
- Intergovernmental and Cross-Border Civil Service Cooperation: The Good Friday Agreement and Brexit  
*Etain Tannam* 243
- The Irish–Northern Irish Economic Relationship: The Belfast Agreement, UK Devolution and the EU  
*John Bradley* 263
- The EU's Influence on the Peace Process and Agreement in Northern Ireland in Light of Brexit  
*Katy Hayward and Mary C. Murphy* 276
- Brexit, Bordering and Bodies on the Island of Ireland  
*Cathal McCall* 292
- The British–Irish Relationship in the Twenty-first Century  
*John Coakley* 306
- Postscript: New British Questions or *2019 And All That!*  
*Brendan O'Leary* 325

Please follow *Ethnopolitics* on Twitter: <https://twitter.com/Ethnopolitics>  
Or 'Like' our page on Facebook: <http://en-gb.facebook.com/Ethnopolitics>



# Ethnopolitics

Special Issue  
The Twentieth Anniversary of the  
Good Friday Agreement

Guest Editor  
Etain Tannam

## Ethnopolitics

### EDITORS

**Stefan Wolff**, *University of Birmingham, UK*  
**Karl Cordell**, *Plymouth University, UK*

### ASSOCIATE EDITORS

**Jon Fraenkel**, *Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand*  
**Chris Gilligan**, *University of the West of Scotland, UK*  
**Annemaria Peen Rodt**, *Royal Danish Defence College, Denmark*

### EDITORIAL BOARD CHAIR

**Maya Chadda**, *William Paterson University, USA*

### EDITORIAL BOARD

**Fiona Adamson**, *School of Oriental and African Studies, UK*; **Katharine Adeney**, *University of Nottingham, UK*; **Dominique Arel**, *University of Ottawa, Canada*; **R. William Ayres**, *Wright State University, USA*; **Florian Bieber**, *University of Graz, Austria*; **Richard Caplan**, *University of Oxford, UK*; **David Carnert**, *Carleton University, UK*; **Nina Caspersen**, *University of York, UK*; **Danielle Converst**, *University of the Basque Country, Spain*; **Zsuzsa Csergo**, *Queen's University, Canada*; **Wolfgang Danspeckgruber**, *Princeton University, USA*; **Stephen Deeds**, *Babson College, USA*; **Oya Dursun-Ozkamca**, *Elizabeth Town College, USA*; **Caroline Hartzell**, *Gatysburg College, USA*; **Michael Hechter**, *Arizona State University, USA*; **Matthew Hoddle**, *Towson University, USA*; **Shabnam Holliday**, *Plymouth University, UK*; **Donald Horowitz**, *Duke University, USA*; **Erin K. Jenne**, *Central European University, Hungary*; **Stuart J. Kaufman**, *University of Delaware, USA*; **Soren Keil**, *Canterbury Christ Church University, UK*; **Caroline Kennedy-Pipe**, *University of Hull, UK*; **James Ker-Lindsay**, *London School of Economics, UK*; **Maria Kovacs**, *Central European University, Budapest, Hungary*; **Alan Kuperman**, *University of Texas, Austin, USA*; **Will Kymlicka**, *Queen's University, Canada*; **Tove H. Malloy**, *European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany*; **John McGarry**, *Queen's University, Canada*; **Edward Newman**, *University of Leeds, UK*; **Gerd Nonneman**, *Georgetown University, Qatar*; **Breardan O'Leary**, *University of Pennsylvania, USA*; **Brieg Powell**, *Aberystwyth University, UK*; **Benjamin Reilly**, *Murdoch University, Australia*; **Philip G. Roeder**, *University of California, San Diego, USA*; **Aviel Koschwald**, *Georgetown University, USA*; **Steve Sabol**, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte, USA*; **Stephen M. Saideman**, *Carleton University, Canada*; **Levente Salat**, *Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania*; **Ulrich Schneckener**, *University of Osnabrück, Germany*; **Asaf Sinner**, *University of Birmingham, UK*; **David J. Smith**, *University of Glasgow, UK*; **Gareth Stansfield**, *University of Exeter, UK*; **Sherrill Stroschein**, *University College London, UK*; **Ethan Tannam**, *Trinity College Dublin, Ireland*; **Peter Vermeersch**, *University of Leuven, Belgium*; **Myra A. Waterbury**, *Ohio University, USA*; **Marc Weller**, *University of Cambridge, UK*

*Ethnopolitics* is an authoritative peer-reviewed journal for exchange on one of the political phenomena that had a decisive impact on global affairs during the last decades of the 20th century and continues to be of great significance in the new millennium. The journal gives a voice to established as well as younger researchers and analysts from academic as well as practitioner backgrounds. We publish articles of the highest quality in the field of ethnopolitics: our section 'Briefings and Analysis' in particular offers such articles with a specific focus on current events and developments. The 'Symposium' section provides a forum for engagement and discussion on issues that are of fundamental importance for theoretical and policy debates in our area of interest.

**Editorial correspondence**, with regard to proposed special issues, special sections and symposia, should be emailed to the Editor, Stefan Wolff, at [stefan@stefanwolff.com](mailto:stefan@stefanwolff.com).

**Business correspondence**, including orders and remittances relating to subscriptions, advertisements, back numbers and offprints, should be addressed to the publisher, Taylor & Francis, T&F Customer Services, T&F Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex CO3 3LP, UK. Tel: +44 (0)20 7017 5544. Email: [subscriptions@tandf.co.uk](mailto:subscriptions@tandf.co.uk)

## Notes for Contributors

The editors of *Ethnopolitics* invite the submission of original research articles (up to 10 000 words), research notes (up to 5000 words) and review essays (3000–4000 words). By submission of a manuscript an author certifies that the work is original and is not being considered simultaneously by another publisher.

**All such submissions** should be submitted via Editorial Manager. Please refer to: <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/authorSubmission?journalCode=reno20&page=instructions#VAVJDimVWLIU>. Papers for special issues, special sections and symposia should be submitted directly to the editors at [k.cordell@plymouth.ac.uk](mailto:k.cordell@plymouth.ac.uk) and [stefan@stefanwolff.com](mailto:stefan@stefanwolff.com).

Once you have submitted your manuscript, the editors will contact you and acknowledge your submission. Each manuscript receives an initial internal screening by the editors determining its suitability for the journal. This is followed by an anonymous peer-review process at the end of which the editors will make a decision about your manuscript.

The review process normally takes approximately 8–10 weeks, but can occasionally exceed this time frame. The editors endeavour to reach an informed decision quickly and to keep you up-to-date about the status of your manuscript.

**The cover page** should contain the title and a short abstract of around 100 words. The abstract should be clear and informative, giving an indication of the scope of, and results contained in, the paper. A separate sheet should give the name(s) and affiliation(s) of the author(s).

**The main text with endnotes**. All notes should be numbered sequentially and appear as endnotes. They should be referred to in the text by superscripts 1, 2, 3 etc. The notes themselves should be gathered together at the end of the manuscript before the references section.

**References** should be cited in the text by giving the last name of the author(s) followed by the year of publication in parentheses, e.g. Smith and Jones (2003); (Smith 2001a, 2001b).

**The full references** must be listed at the end of the manuscript in APA style:

*For books:*

Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2012). *This is a book title*. And subtitle. Abingdon: Routledge.

*For articles in journals:*

Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231.

*For chapters in edited collections:*

Author, A. A. (2012). This is a chapter. In J. J. Editor & B. Editor (Eds.), *Book title: And subtitle* (pp. 300–316). Abingdon: Routledge.

*For websites*

Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article/paper. Retrieved from <http://www.w.xxxxx>

**Electronic page proofs** will be sent to authors if time permits, in PDF format, via email. Any essential corrections must be notified immediately to the publisher. Major corrections are not acceptable.

**Reprints**. Corresponding authors receive free online access to their article through our website ([www.tandfonline.com](http://www.tandfonline.com)). For enquiries regarding reprints, please contact the Taylor & Francis Author Services team at [reprints@tandf.co.uk](mailto:reprints@tandf.co.uk)

**Copyright**. It is a condition of publication that authors assign copyright or license the publication rights in their articles, including abstracts, to the Editor of *Ethnopolitics*. This enables us to ensure full copyright protection and to disseminate the article, and of course the Journal, to the widest possible readership in print and electronic formats as appropriate. Authors retain many rights under the Taylor & Francis rights policies, which can be found at [www.informaworld.com/authors\\_journals\\_copyright\\_position](http://www.informaworld.com/authors_journals_copyright_position). Authors are themselves responsible for obtaining permission to reproduce copyright material from other sources.