

Leaving Cert History Grinds – **Week 6**

Topic 6:

Northern Ireland

The Welfare State



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Leaving Cert

Grinds

Week 6 :
Northern
Ireland
The Welfare
State

Sound & Visual Check

“I am now talking....”

“If you **cannot** hear me or see my screen please say “Cannot hear/see you” on the chat.

“If some of you can’t hear me, please restart your computer and join the class again.”

Leaving Cert

Grinds

Week 6:
Northern
Ireland
The Welfare
State

Lesson Overview:

By the end of this lesson you should:

- Understand What the welfare state was
- Understand impact of Gerrymandering on politics
- Describe discrimination against Catholic in N.I
- Describe why NICRA was set up
- Analyse how well Brookeborough and O'Neill coped with social and economic problems in N.I

Exam Questions (Higher Level)

- During the period 1949-1969, what was the **significance** of the developments in **education, health and housing** in N.I?
- What were the main **social and economic problems** facing N.I 1949-69 and **how effectively were they tackled?**
- During the period 1949-69, **how successful** was the government in N.I in responding to the problems posed by the **economy and/or community** relations?
- How was Northern Ireland affected by changes in one or more of the following: **housing, education, health?**
- How successful was the government of Northern Ireland in responding to **social and economic problems** 1949-1969?
- Who **handled social and economic problems better** : Brookeborough or O'Neill? Argue your case referring to both.



Exam Questions Ordinary Level

Paragraph

- Welfare State
- Sir Basil Brookeborough
- Terence O Neill
- Conn and Patricia McCluskey

Essay

- How did Terence O Neill bring about change to N.I?
- What did Conn and Patricia Mc Cluskey contribute to the CRM in N.I?



Key personalities



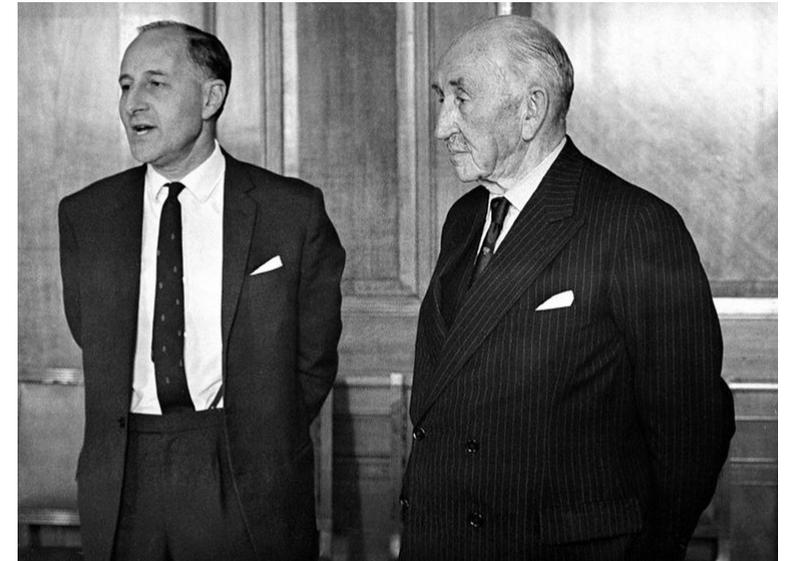
Lord Brookeborough /Basil Brooke

- 1. N.I. Prime Minister from 1943
- 2. Staunch Unionist and member of Orange Order
- 3. Believed Catholics were enemies of N.I. and should not be given any power
- 4. In 1933 stated about Catholics '*I have not one about my place*' and appealed to Loyalists '*wherever possible, to employ good Protestant lads and lassies*'



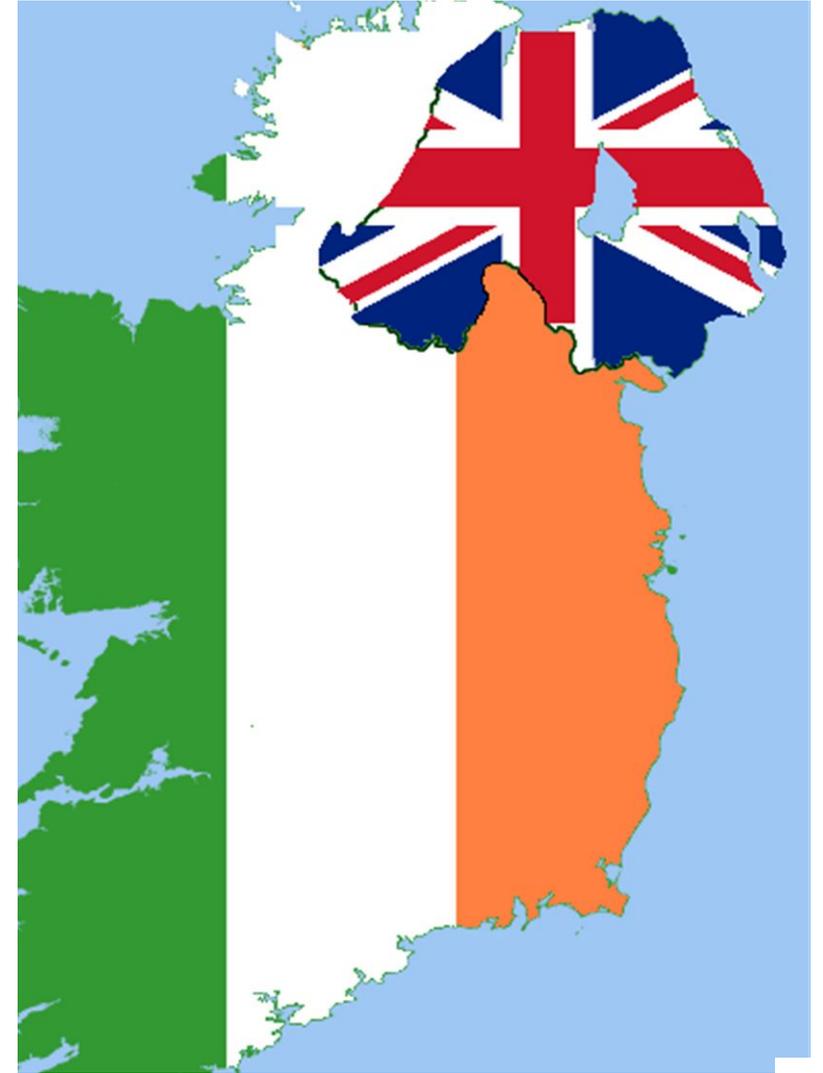
Terence O'Neill

- 1. Finance Minister under Brookeborough
- 2. Believed N.I. could be modernised and reformed without threatening British rule
- 3. Unemployment double the rest of UK
- 4. Tried to attract foreign industry to N.I.
- 5. Mainly established in Protestant areas and did not keep pace with job losses
- 6. O'Neill introduced an official policy of Protestant-Catholic reconciliation.



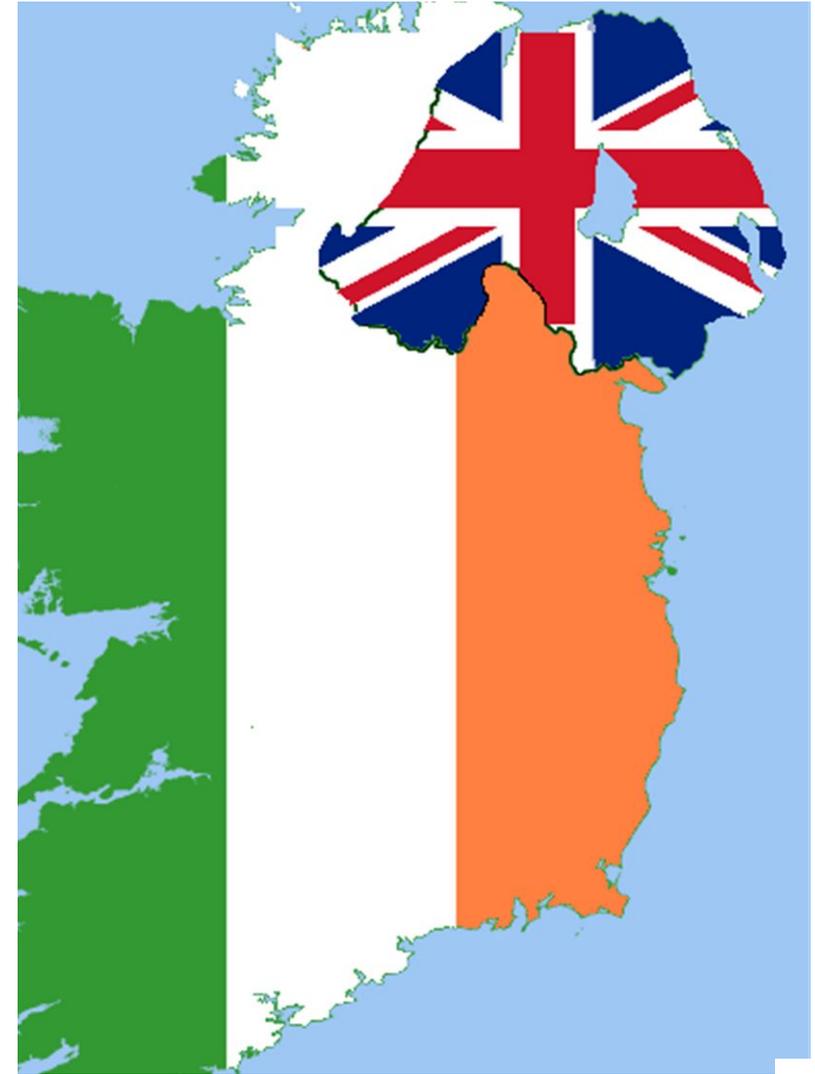
The Government of Ireland Act 1920

- Carson negotiated with British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George who introduced the Government of Ireland Act 1920. It divided Ireland into 2 parts:
 - Southern Ireland: had 26 counties and Catholics made up 93% of the population.
 - Northern Ireland: had 6 counties and Protestants made up 66% of the population.
 - Northern Ireland was given 2 houses of parliament: the Senate and the House of Commons which were based in Stormont.



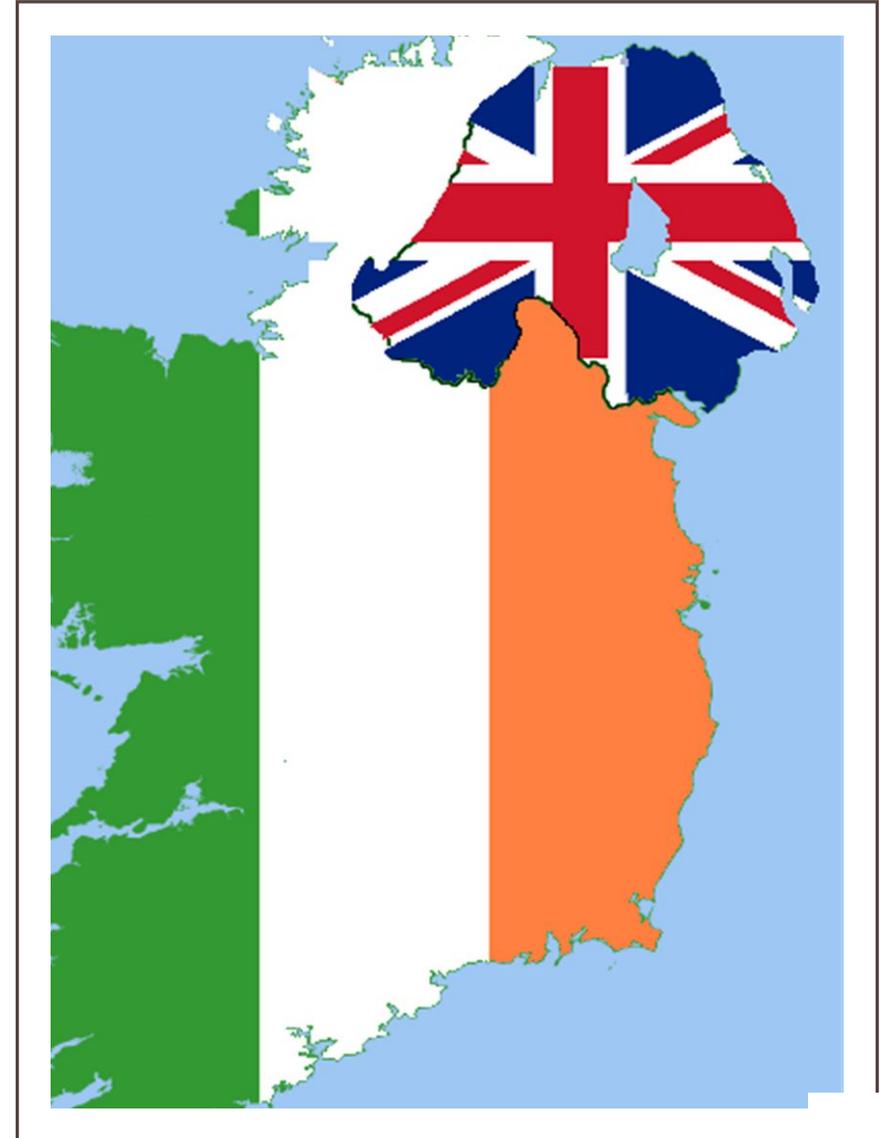
The Government of Ireland Act 1920

- Nationalists rejected the act and the war of independence broke out. It continued until 1921 when the Anglo- Irish Treaty was signed.
- Unionists welcomed the act which contained the constitution of Northern Ireland:
 - Northern Ireland was a self-governing region of the UK, though article 75 said that supreme power remained with the Westminster parliament.
 - The Northern Ireland government controlled internal affairs but Westminster controlled external affairs.
 - Northern Ireland commons had 52MPs, to be elected by PR (proportional Representation) to ensure the Catholic minority got its fair share of seats.
 - Voters in Northern Ireland elected 12 MPs to represent them in Northern Ireland



Context 1945-1969

- Period after WW2 there was peace
- Reforms introduced by Westminster gradually caused discontent
- Tension between catholics and protestants
- Catholic discrimination : Housing & voting
- Culminated in violence in 1960's that signified the beginning of the Troubles



Unionist Government



- Unionists believed that N.I could only survive if all the power was in safe protestant hands
- Catholics only made up 1/3 of the population, they had majorities in many regions
- Example in counties- Tyrone, Fermanagh, Derry city, south Armagh and south down
- Catholics were nationalists who resented the partition from the rest of Ireland- Unionists believed they could not be trusted with any power



To Stop Catholics getting power:

1. Impact Law and Order
2. Gerrymandering
3. Discrimination- Housing
4. A West of the River Bann Policy



1. Law and Order

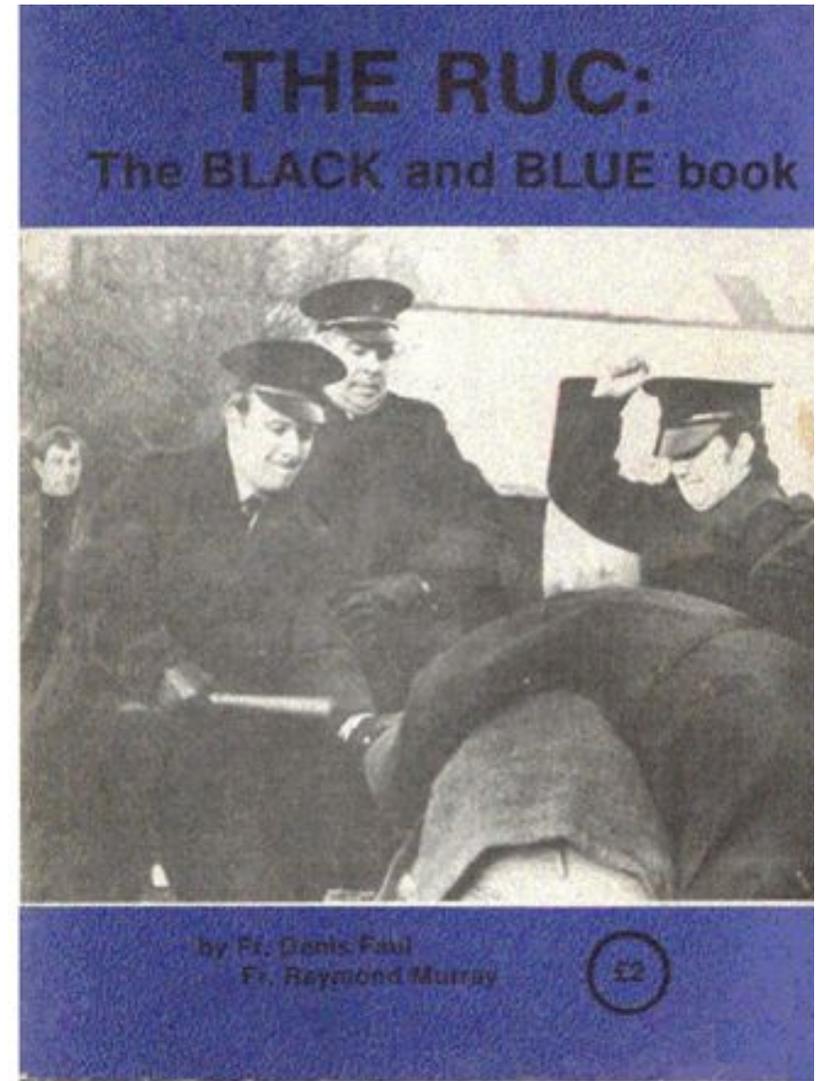


- Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was set up by the new state- 90% protestant
- Backing the RUC was the “B- specials” – 100% protestant
- The Police force was able to use the Special Powers Act (been passed in 1922) which allowed them to;
 - Arrest without warrant
 - To intern without trial
 - Unlimited powers of search
 - Authority to ban meetings and publications
- Almost all judges and magistrates were Protestant- closely associated with Unionist party

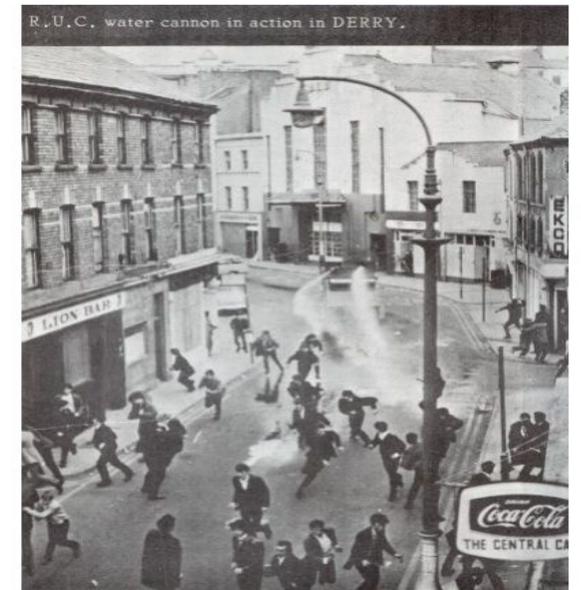
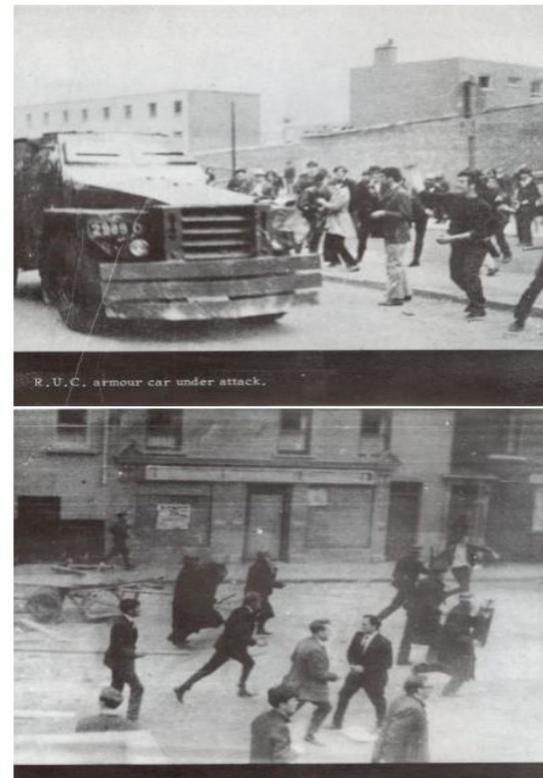
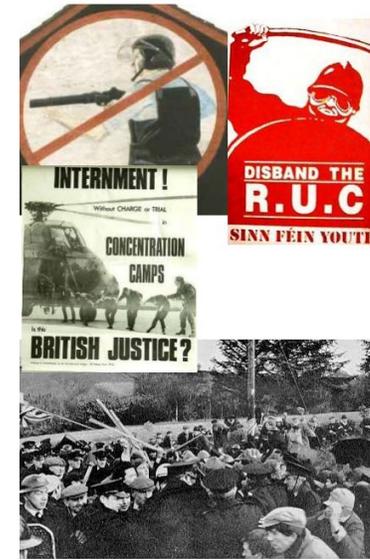


The Special Powers Act

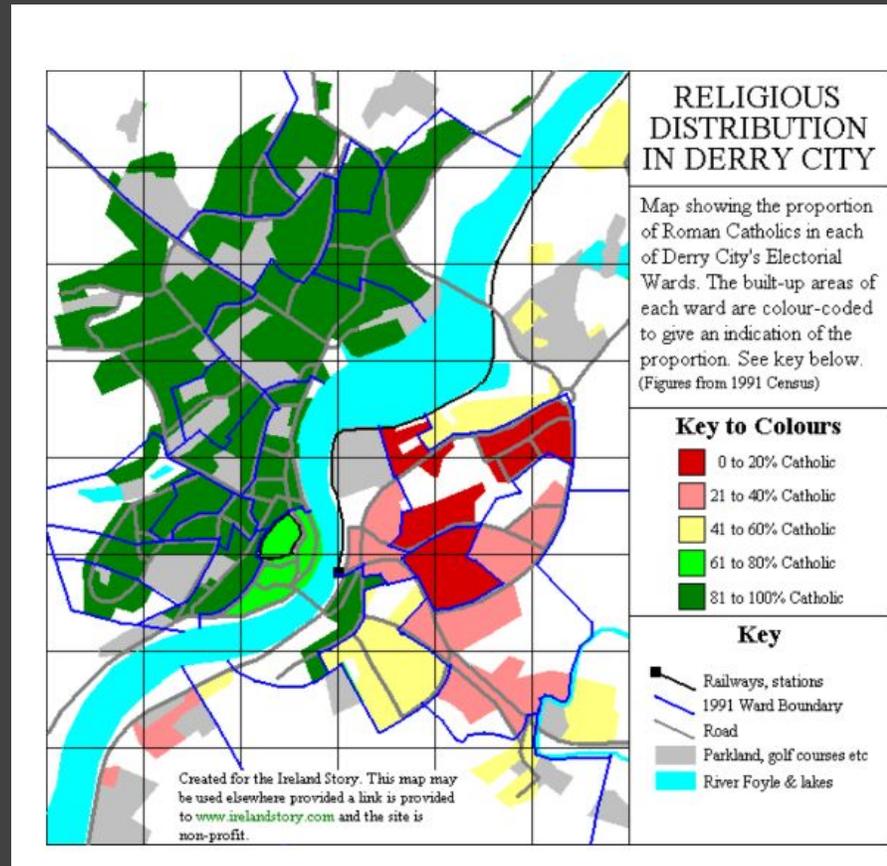
- Gave the police more power than any other police force in any other democracy in the western world



- Many accusations of police brutality were made by nationalists and human rights campaigners
- In the 1980s the Stalker inquiry was set up to investigate an alleged 'shoot to kill' policy by RUC
- Allegations and evidence of collusion between RUC and loyalist paramilitary organisations also emerged in 1980s and 1990s
- The RUC were targeted by the IRA and other nationalist paramilitary groups which may have added to their distrust and negative attitude towards the nationalist community



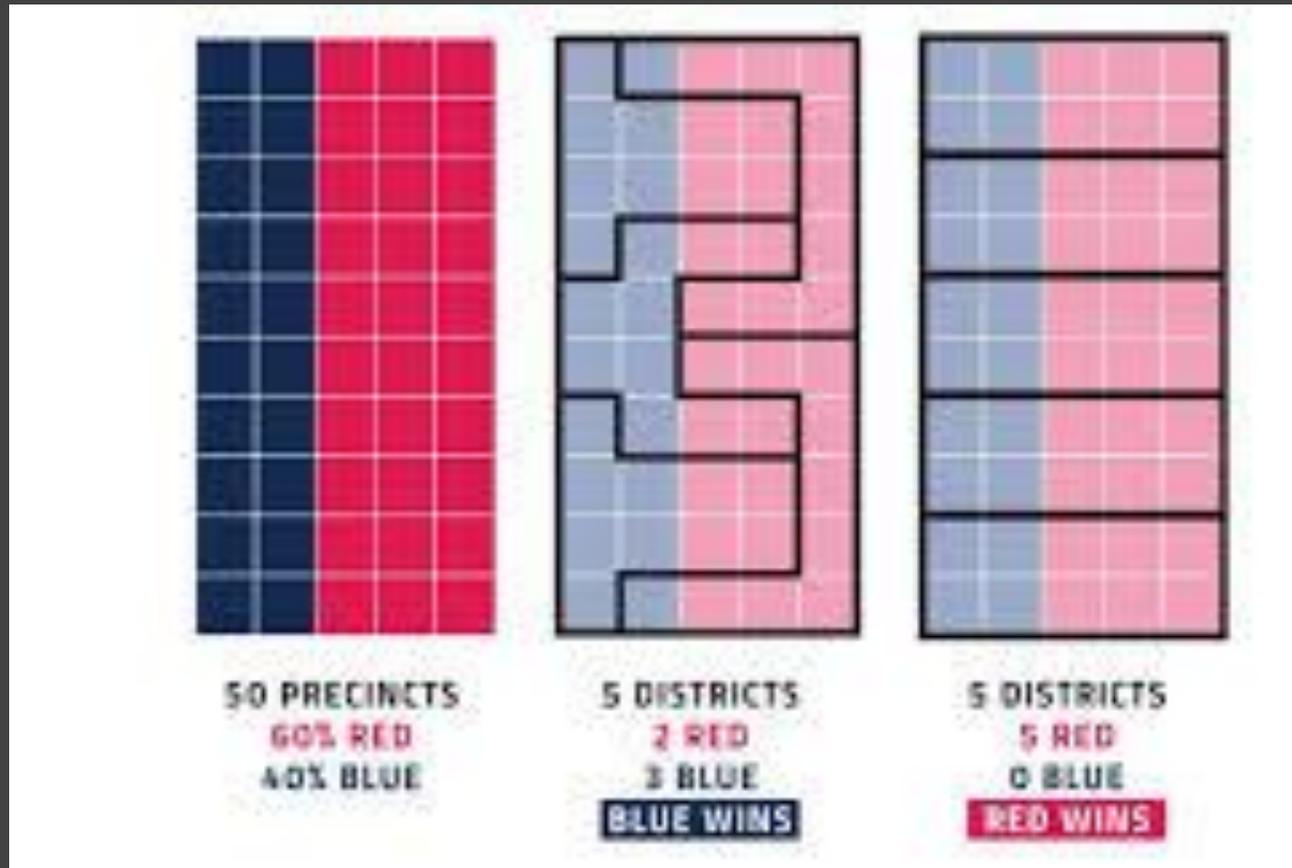
2. Gerrymandering



- Unionists rigged the voting systems
- Electoral constituencies were re-drawn to ensure Unionists always won election
- Areas that had a Catholic majority in their population still would be elected a unionist to local government



Gerrymandering in Derry City- Most extreme



- Example : Derry City Council always had a unionist majority although population was 70% Catholic
- The arrangement of wards in the city ensured that some 7,500 unionist voters could elect 12 members to Derry cooperation.
- While some 10,000 nationalist voters could elect only 8 members
- In this manner unionists controlled the city corporation, while the nationalist majority left without power or influence



Multiple Votes



- Owners of property and businesses received additional votes in local elections
- Most property and businesses owners were Protestant
- More votes than Catholics



Voting inequality in parliament



- In the early 1920's a Proportional representation system of voting was in place (party gets a number of seats roughly equivalent to their % of support) e.g a party with support of 20% of the voters gets 20% of the seats
- This was replaced by the “First to the Post” system which has 1 person with the biggest number of votes gets elected in each area
- This system favours the largest party which in most parts of N.I was the Ulster Unionist Party



3. Discrimination in Employment



- Civil Service= 90% protestant
- The 10% of Catholics remaining were mostly in lower ranks
- Catholics were excluded from Senior Posts in the civil service
- Many private companies discriminated against catholics
- The majority of people who were unemployed were Catholics – Almost 200% higher



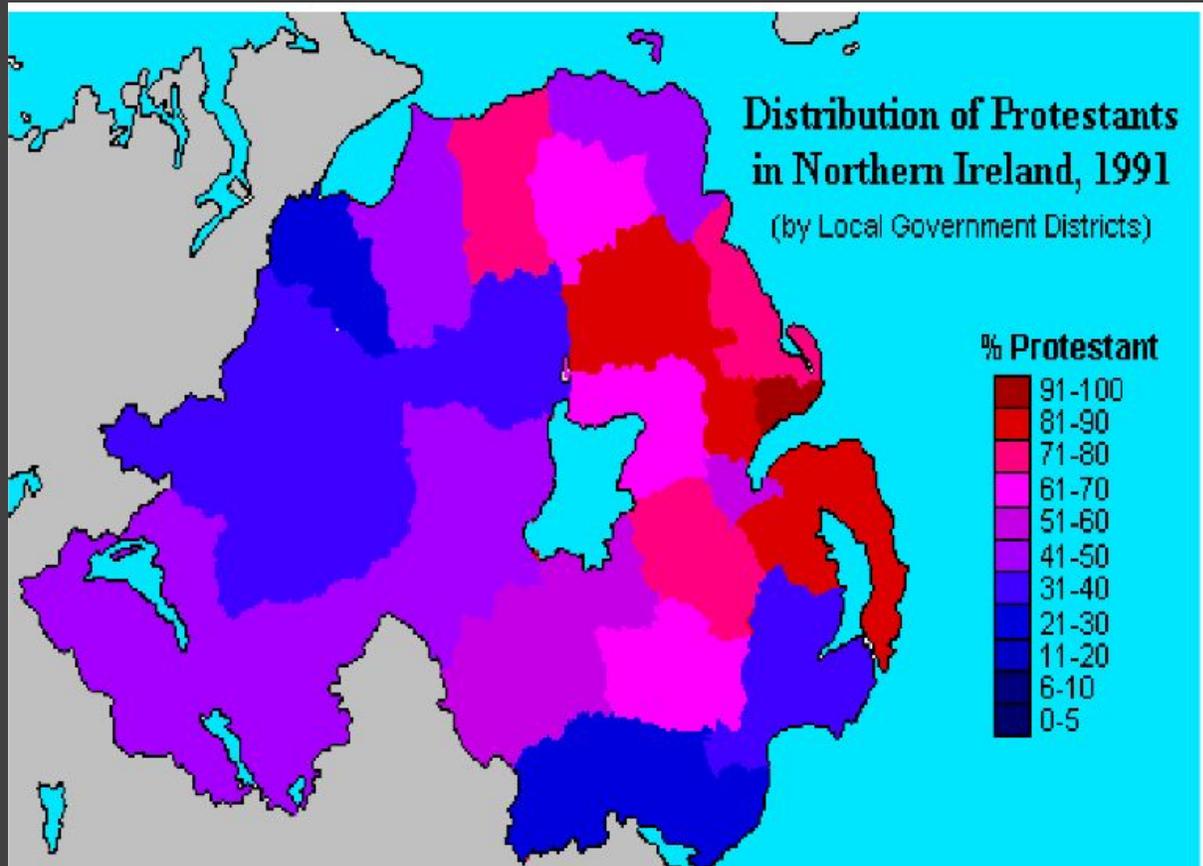
Discrimination in Housing



- Most serious charges of discrimination in area of public housing
- In the hands of the local councils, unionists controlled majority of councils
- Austin Currie organized a sit in at Calendon Co. Armagh in 1968 to protest at the allocation of a house to a 19 year old protestant woman over a catholic family



4. The West of Bann Policy



- The River Bann roughly divides N.I into east and west
- Generally Protestant east of Bann , Catholic – majority rural west of Bann
- Fermanagh, Tyrone and Derry city have catholic majorities
- Stormont decided to create employment opportunities in areas of east Bann to benefit protestants
- Area of West /Bann neglected
- Unemployment and emigration amongst Catholics were higher in these areas
- Decided not to put a new university in Derry city but 60km away in the protestant town of Coleraine



What was N.I like under
Brookeborough ?



Welfare State

- 1. General Election 1945 – Labour Party introduce the Welfare State.
- 2. Care for people in health, education and welfare
- 3. Higher taxes in return for (a) free healthcare – the NHS (b) free education (c) higher rates of pensions and unemployment benefits
- 4. British government provided extra money to NI to allow Stormont to introduce the Welfare State in the North
- 5. Unionists initially resisted the Welfare State fearing it would benefit Catholics and threaten Unionist Rule
- 6. Eventually implemented and NI became more prosperous and left the Republic far behind in social and economic terms



Impact of Welfare State

- Housing
- Education
- Healthcare



Housing

- 1. Before WW2 poor housing in Catholic and Protestant working class areas
- 2. In Derry Catholics lived in overcrowded houses and flats
- 3. Many houses had no running water or toilet facilities
- 4. Northern Ireland Housing Trust set up in 1945 – power to borrow money to build houses
- 5. By 1960s the Trust had built 113,000 new houses
- 6. Allocation of houses by the Trust did not discriminate between Catholics and Protestants
- 7. Local authority houses were controlled mainly by Unionists – discrimination



Housing

- 1945 the Housing Act created
- People had previously been living in dark, cramped cottages, families of up to 8 in 2 rooms, they were given much nicer homes.
- Bombing of Belfast destroyed many homes
- A survey in 1945 predicted that 200,000 new house would have to be built.
- A Housing Trust was set up to build and allocate houses to those in need and to clear the slums.
- By 1965 95,000 new homes had been built, about 40,000 of them by private companies.
- As well as this the building of these homes provided work temporarily for some of the 30% unemployed in NI at the time, improving the economy briefly



Problems

- Discrimination against Catholics when it came to selecting the new tenants of houses
- 12 local councils, all west of the Bann, most notably in Dungannon, Derry and Omagh discriminated against Catholics.
- In one case a family who was squatting in a new house were expelled and the house was instead given to a 19-year-old single Protestant woman.
- One reason why the Catholics were discriminated against here was because Brookeborough had refused to get rid of the property qualification to vote



Problems- property qualification to vote

- A property owner alone had the right to vote.
- As the area of Derry's voting system was heavily rigged at the time through gerrymandering to give an area which was 60% Catholic a local council controlled by Unionists, they feared that if Catholics were given houses they would quickly lose control.
- Once again these social reforms are seen to contribute to the tensions between these 2 religious groups.
- Despite the fact that it was really an excellent idea, never intended to benefit Protestants more than Catholics, it still managed to cause further discrimination



Politics
of Northern Ireland



Education

1. Education Act 1947 – responsibility on local councils to provide education
2. Many Protestants concerned it reduced the role of religious instruction in schools
3. Implemented the 11-plus exam. Allowed the top 20% to attend grammar school. The rest would follow a more 'technical' programme
4. Local authorities had to provide free medical inspection and treatment, transport, milks, meals and books in schools
5. Large school grants meant the majority of students did not pay fees
6. Numbers attending second-level increased by 100% by 1952
7. Catholic bishops complained that state grants were lower for voluntary Catholic schools
8. Negotiations saw grants increased to 65% and to 100% when a school allowed local council representation on its school committee
9. Catholics benefited from increased spending at third-level



Problems

- Welfare State set up a number of state schools which received grants of 100%, paying for everything.
- However there was contention between Catholic and Protestant groups over the curriculum.
- Catholics wanted Irish history and Catholicism to be taught in religious education, as well as Irish. Protestants wanted British history and Protestantism taught.
- The Catholics eventually decided to withdraw from these state schools and set up their own.
- These while still state subsidised only received 65% grants. This meant that once again Catholics had to pay for their own services while supporting the state services by taxes.
- However 90% of Catholic students received scholarships. Yet again this led to increased tensions.



...Problems

- But the new education had enormous effect.
- Bright young Catholics who previously could not afford education as they may have come from families of the 50% of unemployed Catholics at the time.
- They were now given the opportunity to attend school due to the free system.
- This led to the emergence of a new group, of young, educated Catholics in the 1960's who were ready to stand up and fight for their rights, against the abuses of the Unionists.
- John Hume, a figurehead of the NICRA was one example of this. Bernadette Devlin was another



Health Care

1. Health service in North under-funded and poorly serviced
2. Welfare State led to major changes
3. General medical, dental, pharmaceutical and eye services free to all
4. Increased spending on hospitals
5. New screening programme for TB reduced cases



The problem of the Mater Hospital

- Run by Catholic nuns.
- They rejected placing the hospital under the control of the hospitals authority, as they feared they would be compelled to provide abortions and contraception
- Opted out of the scheme and so received no grants.
- This meant that Catholics had to support their hospital while paying for the public system through taxes.
- This led to resentment among Catholics and increased tensions between the Catholic and Protestant population



The IRA Border Campaign



- 1. Dec. 1956 IRA launched 'Operation Harvest'
- 2. Mainly attacks on RUC stations near the border
- 3. Brookeborough implements internment
- 4. Southern Government also use internment
- 5. IRA campaign has little effect
- 6. Few Catholics in the North supported the campaign
- 7. IRA call off campaign in 1962
- 8. 12 IRA men and 6 RUC men killed

Economy 1943-63

- 1. By 1950s the post-war boom had faded. NI was most disadvantaged area of UK
- 2. Increased urbanisation
- 3. Traditional industries in trouble
- 4. Rising unemployment
- 5. In 1961 10,000 men laid off from shipyards
- 6. Traditional methods of discrimination were not preventing growing opposition from Protestants
- 7. Brookeborough forced to resign



Terence O'Neill



O'Neill Meets Lemass



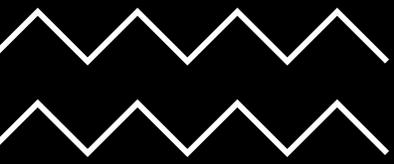
1. Taoiseach Sean Lemass had introduced a similar policy of attracting foreign industry to the South
2. As part of his policy of reconciliation O'Neill invites Lemass to visit Belfast in 1965
3. Visit a success
4. Visit provoked protests from Protestants led by Ian Paisley
5. In 1966 O'Neill visits Dublin
6. Many Protestants viewed these visits with dismay as they believed Catholics were their enemies

Leaders In Fight For Justice

Origins of the Civil Rights movement

- Dr Conn McCluskey & Patricia McCluskey
- Housing shortage reached crisis point
- Dungannon
- By 1963 no catholic family had been given a permanent house by local council
- Homeless Citizens league set up – protests and squatting in Dungannon
- Extended their campaign to all of Northern Ireland- Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland
- Equality – *“Racial discrimination in Alabama hits Dungannon”*
- The ‘Plain Truth’ Pamphlet published
- British did not want to intervene in N.I affairs
- Many pleas were ignored- became clear that change would not come from books and speeches but from action on the streets of Northern Ireland





Civil Rights



1. As a result of welfare state and investment in education many Catholics now better educated
2. Started to demand equal rights
3. 1966 Gerry Fitt becomes MP for West Belfast and gets support from British MPs for equal rights
4. Civil Rights Association inspired by the black Civil Rights Movement in USA
5. Demand was not to end partition
6. Catholics insisted that if they were part of UK they should have the same rights as all the citizens of UK
7. Many Protestants support civil rights



Five Demands



1. One person one vote
2. Redrawing of electoral boundaries and an end to gerrymandering
3. Laws against all forms of discrimination
4. The repeal of the Special Powers Act
5. Disbandment of B-Specials

Civil Rights Association

- Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA)
- NICRA set up in 1967
- 5 aims
- One person, one vote
- Laws to stop end discrimination
- End to gerrymandering Abolition of 'B-Specials'
- Repeal of Special Powers Act





Civil Rights Association

- Unlike Sinn Fein and the IRA, NICRA did not look for an end to partition
- Instead they sought civil rights for Catholics as citizens of United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- Members included the MP, Gerry Fitt, Teachers, John Hume and Austin Currie and student, Bernadette Devlin



Increasing violence in Northern Ireland 1968-1969

Derry City March October 1968

Burntollet Bridge (During Belfast to Derry March) in January 1969

RUC raid on the Bogside the day after Burntollet
Clashes between rioters and RUC in Bogside in April 1969

April 1969 Samuel Devenny very badly beaten by RUC men in his home in the Bogside (he died 3 months later)

Media coverage was turning international public opinion against the unionist government and putting pressure on British Government to act



O'Neill introduces some reforms 1969

- O'Neill summoned to London by Harold Wilson who demanded he introduce reforms
- O'Neill agreed but his Minister for Home Affairs, William Craig, refused to support him and O'Neill was forced to sack him
- Reforms introduced relating to local councils, local elections, and parts of the Special Powers were to be removed
- Reforms fell short of demands of NICRA but angered many unionists
- O'Neill made his 'Crossroads' speech on tv looking for public support





O'Neill's fall from power (April 1969)

- O'Neill under pressure for Westminster government to introduce reforms but many unionists within his party opposed reforms
- O'Neill called a snap election in February 1969
- Ian Paisley ran against O'Neill and almost defeated him in the Bann side constituency
- O'Neill resigned as leader of the Unionist Party and as Prime Minister in April 1969
- On 1 May James Chichester-Clarke was elected leader of the Unionist Party



Exam Focus :

What were the main social and economic problems facing N.I , 1949-1969, and how effectively were they tackled?



What were the main social and economic problems facing N.I , 1949-1969, and how effectively were they tackled?

- Social problems
- AND
- Economic problems
- 1949-69
- Effective



Essay Plan

- Introduction- Briefly outline challenges in Health , housing , education and employment.
- P1: Welfare state
- P2: Problems of Welfare State
- P3: Challenges in Agriculture and Industry – Failure of Brookeborough
- P4: O Neill Economic transformation
- P5: O Neill Lemass meeting
- P6: Contrast economic changes of 1960s with problems of discrimination
- P7: Rise of NICRA
- Conclusion : Assessment of Successes and failures



Next Week's Lesson: Leaving Cert Grinds -

Topic 7: Northern Ireland
–Apprentice Boys of Derry
& Coleraine Controversy



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