### REPLICATION OF:

# LEGACIES OF WARTIME ORDER: PUNISHMENT ATTACKS AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY KIT RICKARD & KRISTIN M. BAKKE

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### ABSTRACT:

"We argue that instead of going away, informal institutions that emerge in wartime have a sticky legacy, both because armed actors can benefit from the social control these institutions grant them long after the conflict ends and because both armed actors and civilians are socialized into relying on them."

"We explore how the informal
"justice" systems created during the
Troubles have long- lasting legacies
at the fringes of postwar society,
drawing on historical works,
interviews with stakeholders,
geocoded data on paramilitary-style
attacks, and survey data."

"This study speaks to broader debates about governance, the rule of law, and state-society relations in postwar peace and state-building."

### THE STUDY:

Assessing whether paramilitary groups' social control during the Troubles is associated with the location of paramilitary-style attacks today while also accounting for other variables that can account for the occurrence of such attacks today, not least deprivation.

Civilians rely on informal justice institutions persist into the post conflict period due to mistrust of police.

### DATA:



PSNI geolocated attack report



2016 survey



1998 - 2018



Split analysis of Protestant vs. Catholic

## Top-Down Bottom-Up

- Learned behaviour from Leader figures
- Proper support for informal institutions learned from peers
- Fear and respect vs. coercion

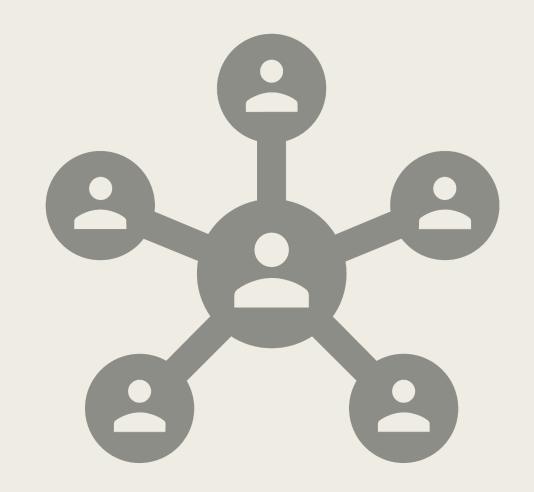


Table 1. Logistic regression models for paramilitary-style assaults (2016–18).

	Republican assaults	Loyalist assaults
Catholic in-group killings (1969–98)	0.27***	
3 ( )	(0.07)	
Protestant in-group killings (1969–98)	(3333)	0.45***
3		(0.13)
Total population	0.23	0.16
	(0.17)	(0.13)
Urban	1.99**	1.10***
	(0.63)	(0.33)
Catholic stronghold	1.78***	
_	(0.36)	
Protestant stronghold		1.61***
-		(0.26)
Income deprivation rate	12.54**	10.76**
	(4.54)	(3.55)
Violent crime rate	0.02	-0.04*
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Antisocial behavior rate	-0.01	0.03**
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Akaike information criterion (AIC)	289.42	529.60
Log likelihood	<b>–136.71</b>	-256.80
Deviance	273.42	513.60
Num. obs.	890	890

Table 2. Negative binomial models for paramilitary-style assaults (2016–18).

	Republican assaults	Loyalist assaı
Catholic in-group killings (1969–98)	0.15**	
	(0.05)	
Protestant in-group killings (1969–98)		0.18*
		(0.08)
Total population	0.18	0.17
	(0.16)	(0.12)
Urban	1.57**	0.97**
	(0.51)	(0.31)
Catholic stronghold	2.18***	
	(0.33)	
Protestant stronghold		1.41***
		(0.24)
Income deprivation rate	7.72*	8.80**
	(3.88)	(3.18)
Violent crime rate	0.04**	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.01)
Antisocial behavior rate	-0.02*	0.03***
416	(0.01)	(0.01)
AIC	423.56	741.21
Log likelihood	-202.78	-361.60
Deviance	192.83	337.53
Num. obs.	890	890
<i>Notes</i> : *** <i>p</i> < 0.001; ** <i>p</i> < 0.01; * <i>p</i> < 0.05.		

It can be concluded that areas of informal "justice" systems that existed during the Troubles are more likely to still exist after the conflict as well as experience PSAs

### FIGURES:

- 2016 survey
- Belfast & Derry
- 811 participants
- Groups are split

Table 3. Respondents' view of the effectiveness of contacting "the police."

	All respondents (%)	Catholic respondents (%)	Protestant respondents (%)
"This would make no difference"	17	20	15
"This might help a little"	46	47	46
"This would help a lot"	34	30	38
"Don't know" or refused to answer	2	3	1

**Table 4.** Respondents' view of the effectiveness of contacting "a member of the community who has influence."

	All respondents (%)	Catholic respondents (%)	Protestant respondents (%)
"This would make no difference"	19	19	18
"This might help a little"	48	48	47
"This would help a lot"	28	26	32
"Don't know" or refused to answer	6	7	4

**Table 5.** Respondents' rating of police as effective when faced with an antisocial behavior scenario.

	Catholic respondents	Protestant respondents
Republican paramilitary-style assaults	-0.19**	
, , ,	(0.07)	
Loyalist paramilitary-style assaults	, ,	-0.04
, , , ,		(0.09)
Age	-0.00	0.00
•	(0.01)	(0.01)
Male	-1.04***	0.27
	(0.30)	(0.30)
General trust	-0.39	-0.78*
	(0.32)	(0.33)
Trust in neighborhood	0.39	0.39
•	(0.23)	(0.25)
Discriminated	-0.65	-0.73
	(0.36)	(0.43)
Victim of state violence (1969–98)	-0.43	-1.00
	(0.41)	(0.74)
Community stronghold (SOA)	0.45	0.39
, -	(0.35)	(0.37)
Income deprivation (SOA)	-0.02	<b>-9.18*</b>
•	(4.22)	(4.36)
Urban (SOA)	0.48	-0.14
	(0.32)	(0.33)
AIC	320.45	332.86
Log Likelihood	<b>—149.23</b>	<b>—155.43</b>
Deviance	298.45	310.86
Num. obs.	333	399

**Table 6.** Respondents' rating of informal authorities as effective when faced with an antisocial behavior scenario.

	Catholic respondents	Protestant respondents
Republican paramilitary-style assaults	-0.05	
, ,	(0.07)	
Loyalist paramilitary-style assaults	• •	0.30*
, , , ,		(0.13)
Age	-0.01	0.01
•	(0.01)	(0.01)
Male	0.11	-0.16
	(0.30)	(0.28)
General trust	0.95**	-0.02
	(0.33)	(0.29)
Trust in neighborhood	0.92***	0.22
•	(0.25)	(0.24)
Discriminated	-0.28	0.20
	(0.40)	(0.48)
Victim of state violence (1969–98)	1.73*	-0.05
	(0.77)	(0.82)
Community stronghold (SOA)	0.43	0.08
	(0.35)	(0.34)
Income deprivation (SOA)	-0.16	-14.40***
•	(4.23)	(4.16)
Urban (SOA)	0.21	-0.52
	(0.32)	(0.30)
AIC	312.79	366.68
Log likelihood	<b>—145.40</b>	<b>—172.34</b>
Deviance	290.79	344.68
Num. obs.	320	386

*Notes:* \*\*\*p < 0.001; \*\*p < 0.01; \*p < 0.05.

### Informal vs. Police

**Table 7.** Respondents' rating of informal authorities as more effective than the police when faced with an antisocial behavior scenario.

	Catholic respondents	Protestant respondents
Republican paramilitary-style assaults	0.03	
	(0.06)	
Loyalist paramilitary-style assaults		0.25**
		(0.08)
Age	-0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Male	0.18	-0.06
	(0.27)	(0.25)
General trust	1.00***	0.47
	(0.30)	(0.26)
Trust in neighborhood	-0.19	-0.25
	(0.21)	(0.22)
Discriminated	0.70*	0.75
	(0.33)	(0.39)
Victim of state violence (1969–98)	0.12	0.37
	(0.41)	(0.74)
Community stronghold (SOA)	0.04	-0.29
	(0.30)	(0.30)
Income deprivation (SOA)	-1.13	-10.01**
	(3.79)	(3.86)
Urban (SOA)	0.19	-0.36
	(0.29)	(0.27)
AIC	366.60	429.79
Log likelihood	<b>—172.30</b>	-203.90
Deviance	344.60	407.79
Num. obs.	318	386

```
m1 <- glm(as.factor(ifelse(republican_PSAs>0, T, F)) ~ catholic_trouble_deaths + scale(total_population) + urban + catholic_stronghold + income_deprivation + violent_crime_rate + asb_rate, data = df, family = "binomial")

m2 <- glm(as.factor(ifelse(loyalist_PSAs>0, T, F)) ~ protestant_trouble_deaths + scale(total_population) + urban + protestant_stronghold + income_deprivation + violent_crime_rate + asb_rate, data = df, family = "binomial")
```

#### **TWIST**

- Poisson Models for Paramilitary-style Assaults (2016-2018)
- Logit vs Poisson

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Iable	Louisiic	rediession	IIIOUCIS IOI	paramilitary	-31416	assaults	(2010-10).

	Republican assaults	Loyalist assaults
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When changing the model we see less of a significance in the analysis

- Areas that were studied to hold significance
  - Urban
  - Strongholds
  - Income Deprivation

	Republican	PSAs Loyalist PSAs
 Catholic in-group killings (1969-1998)	0.13 **	
	(0.04)	
Protestant in-group killings (1969-1998)		0.12 *
		(0.05)
Total population	0.20	0.16
	(0.15)	(0.12)
Urban	1.66 **	1.01 **
	(0.53)	(0.31)
Catholic stronghold	1.59 ***	
	(0.33)	
Protestant stronghold		1.25 ***
		(0.22)
Income deprivation rate	10.23 **	9.44 **
	(3.57)	(2.94)
Violent crime rate	0.01	-0.03 *
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Anti-social behavior rate	-0.01	0.02 **
	(0.01)	(0.01)
AIC	313.60	564.63
BIC	351.93	602.96
Log Likelihood	-148.80	-274.31
Deviance	191.60	352.63
Num. obs.	890	890

### References

Rickard, K., & Bakke, K. M. (2021). Legacies of wartime order: Punishment attacks and Social Control in Northern Ireland. Security Studies, 30(4), 603–636. https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2021.1976822

Rickard, K., & Bakke, K. M. (2022, January 26). Replication data for "legacies of wartime order: Punishment attacks and Social Control in Northern Ireland". Harvard Dataverse.

https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi%3A10.7910%2FDVN%2FXXQX2G

Thank you, I'll take any questions now