

# Professor Jon Tonge

BA • MA • PhD

## *Professor of Politics*

Department of Politics, University of Liverpool

School of Histories, Languages and Cultures



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## PROFILE

I am Professor of Politics at the University of Liverpool, working on elections and political parties in the United Kingdom and Ireland, the politics and institutions of Northern Ireland, and reform of the voting age. Since 2010 I have been Principal Investigator on the Economic and Social Research Council's Northern Ireland General Election studies, the main academic survey series measuring electoral behaviour in Northern Ireland. Alongside the research I have broadcast on politics for three decades and have acted as a studio expert for the BBC during election coverage since 2000.

## APPOINTMENTS

|           |                                                                                                                              |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Present   | <b>Professor of Politics</b> , Department of Politics, School of Histories, Languages and Cultures, University of Liverpool. |
| 2007–2010 | <b>Head of School of Politics and Communication Studies</b> , University of Liverpool.                                       |
| 2001–2005 | <b>Professor of Politics</b> , University of Salford.                                                                        |
| 1999–2001 | <b>Senior Lecturer in Politics</b> , University of Salford.                                                                  |
| 1994–1999 | <b>Lecturer in Politics</b> , University of Salford.                                                                         |

## SELECTED ROLES AND LEADERSHIP

|           |                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2010–2024 | <b>Principal Investigator, ESRC Northern Ireland General Election studies</b> Five successive general election surveys.                                  |
| 2016–     | <b>REF outputs coordinator</b> , University of Liverpool                                                                                                 |
| REF 2029  | <b>Assessment-phase member, Politics and International Studies sub-panel, Research Excellence Framework</b> Official REF 2029 appointment.               |
| REF 2014  | <b>Assessment-phase member, Politics and International Studies sub-panel, Research Excellence Framework</b>                                              |
| REF 2021  | <b>Deputy Chair, Politics sub-panel, Research Excellence Framework</b>                                                                                   |
| 2022–     | <b>International Advisory Board, The British Journal of Politics and International Relations</b>                                                         |
| 2011–     | <b>Editorial Board, Irish Political Studies</b> Co-editor, 2003–07.                                                                                      |
| 2014–     | <b>Editorial Board, Irish Studies in International Affairs</b>                                                                                           |
| 2025–     | <b>Founding Fellow (FPSA), Political Studies Association of the UK</b> One of twelve founding fellowships awarded at the Association's 75th anniversary. |
| 2005–2007 | <b>Vice-President, Political Studies Association of the UK</b>                                                                                           |
| 2016–2018 | <b>President, British Politics Group, American Political Science Association</b> Executive member, 2014–16 and 2021–23.                                  |
| 2012–2022 | <b>Co-editor, Parliamentary Affairs</b> Associate Editor, 2003–11.                                                                                       |
| 2008–2009 | <b>Chair, Youth Citizenship Commission</b> Appointed by the Prime Minister.                                                                              |
| 2008–2011 | <b>President, Political Studies Association of the UK</b> Chair, 2005–08.                                                                                |
| n.d.      | <b>Committee member, Analysing and Researching Ireland, North and South (ARINS)</b>                                                                      |

## PRIZES AND HONOURS

|      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2026 | <b>Pippa Norris Prize for Outstanding Contribution to Research</b> , Political Studies Association. For the Northern Ireland General Election study.                                                            |
| 2024 | <b>Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize for Outstanding Contribution to Political Studies</b> , Political Studies Association.                                                                                               |
| 2024 | <b>Best article published in the journal</b> , Irish Political Studies. For ‘Beyond Unionism and Nationalism: do the “neithers” want a border poll and a United Ireland?’                                       |
| 2015 | <b>Choice Outstanding Academic Title</b> , American Library Association. For <i>Comparative Peace Processes</i> .                                                                                               |
| 2014 | <b>Brian Farrell Prize for best book of the year</b> , Political Studies Association of Ireland. For <i>The Democratic Unionist Party in Northern Ireland: From Protest to Power</i> .                          |
| 2012 | <b>Best research publication of the year</b> , Children’s Identity and Citizenship European Association.                                                                                                        |
| 2012 | <b>Civic Contribution Award</b> , University of Liverpool.                                                                                                                                                      |
| 2010 | <b>Brian Farrell Prize for best book of the year</b> , Political Studies Association of Ireland. For <i>Abandoning Historical Conflict? Former Political Prisoners and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland</i> . |
| 2004 | <b>Elected to the Academy of Social Sciences</b> , Academy of Social Sciences.                                                                                                                                  |
| 1997 | <b>Bernard Crick Prize for Outstanding Teaching</b> , Political Studies Association of the UK.                                                                                                                  |

## PUBLICATIONS

The complete record — 151 entries in all — is in the full edition of this CV. The books below are listed in full; articles and chapters are a dated selection.

### BOOKS (24 AUTHORED AND EDITED VOLUMES)

- The Alliance Party of Northern Ireland: Beyond Unionism and Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2024), with M. Braniff, T. Hennessey, J. McAuley, C. Rice and S. Whiting. doi:10.1093/9780191982699.001.0001
- Britain Votes: The 2019 General Election* (Oxford University Press, 2020), edited with Stuart Wilks-Heeg and Louise Thompson.
- The Ulster Unionist Party: Country Before Party?* (Oxford University Press, 2019), with M. Braniff, T. Hennessey, J. McAuley and S. Whiting. doi:10.1093/oso/9780198794387.001.0001
- Britain Votes 2017* (Oxford University Press, 2018), edited with Cristina Leston-Bandeira and Stuart Wilks-Heeg.
- Britain Votes 2015* (Oxford University Press, 2015), edited with Andrew Geddes.
- Comparative Peace Processes* (Polity, 2014).
- American Library Association Choice Outstanding Academic Title for 2015.
- The Democratic Unionist Party: From Protest to Power* (Oxford University Press, 2014), with M. Braniff, T. Hennessey, J. McAuley and S. Whiting. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198705772.001.0001
- Winner, Political Studies Association of Ireland Brian Farrell award for best book of 2014.
- Loyal to the Core? Orangeism and Britishness in Northern Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, 2011), with James McAuley and Andrew Mycock.
- Abandoning Historical Conflict? Former Political Prisoners and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland* (Manchester University Press, 2010), with Peter Shirlow, James McAuley and Catherine McGlynn. doi:10.7765/9781847793430
- Winner, Political Studies Association of Ireland Brian Farrell Prize for the best book published in politics in 2010.
- Britain Votes 2010* (Oxford University Press, 2010), edited with Andrew Geddes.
- Politics in Ireland: Convergence and Divergence in a Two-Polity Island* (Palgrave, 2009), with Maura Adshead. doi:10.1007/978-1-137-02032-1
- Irish Protestant Identities* (Manchester University Press, 2008), edited with Mervyn Busteed and Frank Neal.
- Northern Ireland* (Polity, 2006).
- Britain Decides: The UK General Election 2005* (Palgrave, 2005), edited with Andrew Geddes.
- Sinn Féin and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation* (Hurst, 2005), with Gerard Murray.
- The New Northern Irish Politics?* (Palgrave, 2005). doi:10.1007/978-1-137-10405-2
- British Elections and Parties Review 13* (Frank Cass, 2003), edited with Colin Rallings, Roger Scully and Paul Webb.
- British Elections and Parties Review 12* (Frank Cass, 2002), edited with Lyn Bennie, Colin Rallings and Paul Webb.

*Labour's Second Landslide: The British General Election 2001* (Manchester University Press, 2002), edited with Andrew Geddes.  
*Northern Ireland: Conflict and Change* (Pearson, 2002).

Second edition, 2002; first edition 1998, nominated for the W.J.M. Mackenzie Prize for the best book published in political science in 1998.  
*British Elections and Parties Review 11* (Frank Cass, 2001), edited with Lyn Bennie, David Denver and Lisa Harrison.  
*The New Civil Service* (Baseline, 2000).  
*Labour's Landslide: The British General Election 1997* (Manchester University Press, 1997), edited with Andrew Geddes.  
*Peace or War? Understanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Ashgate, 1997), edited with Chris Gilligan.

### SELECTED JOURNAL ARTICLES – 23 OF 63

- 'Why Northern Ireland's institutions need reform', *Government and Opposition*, Forthcoming, 2026, with S. Haughey and B. Rosher. Liverpool repository record
- 'How can 'votes-at-16' be successfully implemented? A framework of functional, institutional and relational dimensions of voting age reform', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Forthcoming, 2026, with T. Loughran, J. Eichhorn, C. Huebner, A. Mycock and K. Smith. Liverpool repository record
- 'Northern Ireland: Sinn Féin completes a hat-trick', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 78, Supplement 1, 162–181, 2025, with S. Wilks-Heeg. doi:10.1093/pa/gsaf005
- 'Beyond Unionism and Nationalism: do the 'neithers' want a border poll and a United Ireland?', *Irish Political Studies*, 39.4, 594–616, 2024, with T. Loughran. doi:10.1080/07907184.2024.2397342
- Winner, *Irish Political Studies* best article published in the journal that year.
- 'The Lessons of 1969: Policy Learning, Policy Memory, and Voting Age Reform', *British Politics*, 18.2, 173–191, 2023, with A. Mycock and T. Loughran. doi:10.1057/s41293-021-00192-6
- 'Public Opinion, Political Partisanship and the Votes-at-16 Debate in the United Kingdom', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 24.2, 297–323, 2022, with T. Loughran and A. Mycock. doi:10.1177/13691481211021216
- 'Voting into a Void? The 2022 Northern Ireland Assembly Elections', *The Political Quarterly*, 93.3, 524–529, 2022. doi:10.1111/1467-923x.13168
- 'A Coming of Age: How and why the UK became the first democracy to allow votes for 18-year-olds', *Contemporary British History*, 35.2, 284–313, 2021, with T. Loughran and A. Mycock. doi:10.1080/13619462.2021.1890589
- 'Voting Age Reform, Political Partisanship and Multi-Level Governance in the UK: The Party Politics of 'Votes-at-16'', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 74.3, 522–541, 2021, with T. Loughran and A. Mycock. doi:10.1093/pa/gsab020
- 'And I hereby declare the runner-up to be the winner'. The extraordinary 2021 DUP leadership election', *The Political Quarterly*, 92.3, 506–511, 2021. doi:10.1111/1467-923x.13035
- 'Beyond Unionism versus Nationalism: the Rise of the Alliance Party in Northern Ireland', *The Political Quarterly*, 91.2, 461–466, 2020. doi:10.1111/1467-923x.12857
- 'Northern Ireland: From the Centre to the Margins?', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 73, Supplement 1, 172–188, 2020, with J. Evans. doi:10.1093/pa/gsaa036
- 'Same but Different? The Democratic Unionist Party and Ulster Unionist Party compared', *Irish Political Studies*, 35.3, 399–421, 2020, with M. Braniff, T. Hennessey, J. McAuley and S. Whiting. doi:10.1080/07907184.2020.1816378
- 'Petitions, Polling Stations and Paisley: The first outworking of the Recall of MPs Act 2015', *The Political Quarterly*, 90.1, 143–147, 2019. doi:10.1111/1467-923x.12640
- 'The Recall of MPs Act 2015: Petitions, Polls and Problems', *The Political Quarterly*, 90.4, 713–718, 2019. doi:10.1111/1467-923x.12744
- 'Northern Ireland: Double Triumph for the Democratic Unionist Party', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 71, Supplement 1, 139–154, 2018, with J. Evans. doi:10.1093/pa/gsx067
- 'Partisan and religious drivers of moral conservatism: same-sex marriage and abortion in Northern Ireland', *Party Politics*, 24.4, 335–346, 2018, with J. Evans. doi:10.1177/1354068816656665
- 'Religious, political and geographical determinants of attitudes to Protestant parades in Northern Ireland', *Politics and Religion*, 10.4, 786–811, 2017, with J. Evans. doi:10.1017/s1755048317000487
- 'Supplying confidence or trouble? The deal between the Democratic Unionist Party and the Conservative Party', *The Political Quarterly*, 88.3, 412–416, 2017. doi:10.1111/1467-923x.12411
- 'New Members as Party Modernisers: the Case of the Democratic Unionist Party in Northern Ireland', *Electoral Studies*, 42, 65–74, 2016, with R. Gomez. doi:10.1016/j.electstud.2016.02.008
- 'The Impact of Withdrawal from the European Union upon Northern Ireland', *The Political Quarterly*, 87.3, 338–342, 2016. doi:10.1111/1467-923x.12288

'Another Communal Headcount: the Election in Northern Ireland', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 68, Supplement 1, 117–132, 2015, with J. Evans. doi:10.1093/pa/gsv031

'Shared Identity and the End of Conflict? How far has a common sense of 'Northern Irishness' replaced British or Irish allegiances since the Good Friday Agreement', *Irish Political Studies*, 30.2, 276–298, 2015, with R. Gomez. doi:10.1080/07907184.2015.1023716

### SELECTED BOOK CHAPTERS — 7 OF 40

'The Devolved Nations', in *The British General Election of 2024*, edited by R. Ford et al. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2025), 193–228, with A. Henderson, R. Wyn Jones and J. Larnier. doi:10.1007/978-3-031-95952-3\_6

'The Devolved Nations', in *The British General Election of 2019*, edited by R. Ford et al. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 421–459, with A. Henderson and R. Awan-Scully. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-74254-6\_12

'Northern Ireland', in *Britain Votes 2019*, edited by J. Tonge, L. Thompson and S. Wilks-Heeg (Oxford University Press, 2020), with J. Evans.

'Understanding the Policy Drivers and Effects of Voting Age Reform', in *Lowering the Voting Age to 16*, edited by J. Eichhorn and J. Bergh (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 43–63, with T. Loughran and A. Mycock. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-32541-1\_3

'Northern Ireland: Double Triumph for the Democratic Unionist Party', in *Britain Votes 2017*, edited by J. Tonge, C. Leston-Bandeira and S. Wilks-Heeg (Oxford University Press, 2018), with J. Evans.

'Dynamics of change in political parties: an all-island perspective', in *Dynamics of Political Change in Ireland*, edited by N. Ó Dochartaigh, K. Hayward and E. Meehan (Routledge, 2017), 129–144.

'Northern Ireland: Another Communal Headcount', in *Britain Votes 2015*, edited by A. Geddes and J. Tonge (Oxford University Press, 2015).

### SELECTED OTHER PUBLICATIONS — 1 OF 25

'A Border Poll in Northern Ireland: Still on the Table?', *Political Insight*, September, 24–26, 2026.

## RESEARCH FUNDING

Selected awards. Award values are as recorded in this CV; funders and dates are corroborated by the University of Liverpool staff profile.

|           |                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2024–2025 | <b>The 2024 Northern Ireland General Election Survey.</b> Economic and Social Research Council £353,000 (Principal Investigator).                                       |
| 2021–2023 | <b>Beyond Unionism and Nationalism in Northern Ireland: electors, voters and party members.</b> Economic and Social Research Council £402,000 (Principal Investigator). |
| 2021–2022 | <b>A membership survey of the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland.</b> British Academy £7,900 (Principal Investigator).                                                  |
| 2019–2020 | <b>The 2019 Northern Ireland General Election Survey.</b> Economic and Social Research Council £78,000 (Principal Investigator).                                        |
| 2018–2020 | <b>An evaluation of historical and contemporary debates on lowering the voting age.</b> Leverhulme Trust £119,980 (Principal Investigator).                             |
| 2017–2018 | <b>The 2017 Northern Ireland General Election Survey.</b> Economic and Social Research Council £51,215 (Principal Investigator).                                        |
| 2015–2016 | <b>The 2015 Northern Ireland General Election Survey.</b> Economic and Social Research Council £202,000 (Principal Investigator).                                       |
| 2013–2014 | <b>A theoretical and empirical analysis of dissident republicanism in Northern Ireland.</b> Economic and Social Research Council £289,000 (Principal Investigator).     |

## PARLIAMENTARY AND LEGISLATIVE EVIDENCE

|            |                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2025       | <b>Executive Review Committee</b> , Northern Ireland Assembly. Institutional reform. (oral and written)                                                                               |
| 2018, 2024 | <b>Northern Ireland Affairs Committee</b> , House of Commons. Various aspects of democratic reform. (oral and written)                                                                |
| 2018       | <b>Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee</b> , House of Commons. (oral)                                                                                          |
| 2017       | <b>Committee on Constitutional Affairs</b> , European Parliament. The implications of Brexit for Northern Ireland. (oral and written)                                                 |
| 2017       | <b>European Union Committee</b> , House of Lords. Brexit: devolution inquiry. (oral and written)                                                                                      |
| 2017       | <b>Defence Committee</b> , House of Commons. Public attitudes towards amnesties, truth, reconciliation and the identification and treatment of victims in Northern Ireland. (written) |

|      |                                                                                                                                                |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2016 | <b>Joint House of Commons and House of Lords committee</b> , UK Parliament. Youth political engagement and the age of the franchise. (written) |
| 2010 | <b>Dáil Éireann Constitutional Committee</b> , Oireachtas. Votes at 16. (oral and written)                                                     |
| n.d. | <b>Joint Committee on the Implementation of the Good Friday Agreement</b> , Oireachtas. (oral and written)                                     |
| n.d. | <b>Commission on electoral reform (Arbuthnott Commission)</b> , Scottish Parliament. (oral and written)                                        |

## MEDIA AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

I have broadcast on politics for more than three decades, and have acted as a studio expert for the BBC during coverage of local and general elections since 2000. Most of that work is election analysis, Northern Ireland politics, and the workings of parties and parliaments.

|            |                                                                                                                    |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5,000+     | <b>Television appearances</b> International, national and regional output.                                         |
| 3,000+     | <b>Radio broadcasts</b> BBC Radio 4, BBC Radio 5 Live, the BBC World Service, and BBC and independent local radio. |
| Since 2000 | <b>BBC election studio expert</b> Local and general election coverage.                                             |

**UK television.** BBC Ten O’Clock News, ITN News, Newsnight, BBC One Sunday Politics, BBC Breakfast.

**International television.** ABC (Australia), CBC (Canada), Al Jazeera, France 24.

**Radio.** BBC Radio 4, BBC Radio 5 Live, BBC World Service, BBC and independent local radio.

**Newspapers.** The New York Times, The Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Examiner, Financial Times, The Independent, The Guardian.

A representative selection from three decades of broadcasting and writing.

## SAMPLE OF MEDIA APPEARANCES, JAN–SEP 2026

This is a sample rather than a complete record. Professor Tonge made hundreds of media appearances during the period; the linked entries and additional appearances below illustrate the range of that work.

BBC News Channel, BBC Radio 5 Live, BBC Politics North West, BBC North West Tonight and ARD Germany - coverage of the Gorton and Denton and Makerfield by-elections, and Andy Burnham’s replacement of Keir Starmer as Prime Minister, various dates. • BBC News, ‘Who is Andy Burnham?’ - profile piece (BBC iPlayer). • BBC Radio 4, ‘Gordon Brown says a United Ireland is inevitable’. • Al Jazeera, Inside Story, ‘Andy Burnham replaces Keir Starmer?’ • TRT World, Turkey. • BBC Radio Ulster - Good Morning Ulster, Nolan and Talkback, various topics. • CBC.

## SELECTED LINKED EXAMPLES

|             |                                                                                                           |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 19 Jul 2026 | <b>Al Jazeera, <i>Inside Story</i>.</b> ‘The UK gets its seventh prime minister in 10 years’ (television) |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Further linked examples from 2026 appear in the full edition of this CV and on the media page of the website.

## DOCTORAL SUPERVISION

Nine completed doctorates supervised and thirty-two theses examined at other universities; both lists appear in full in the archival edition.

|      |                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2019 | <b>Sean Haughey</b> , ‘The intra- and extra-parliamentary behaviour of Members of the Legislative Assembly in Northern Ireland’.                                                |
| 2018 | <b>Andrew McCaldon</b> , ‘Sectarianism, seepage and secularism: the decline of the Orange Order in Northern Ireland, 1972–2012’.                                                |
| 2015 | <b>Keith Roberts</b> , ‘The decline of sectarianism on Merseyside’.                                                                                                             |
| 2013 | <b>Sophie Whiting</b> , ‘Is it still about the split? Dissident Irish republicanism, 1986–2010’. <b>Winner, Political Studies Association Arthur McDougall best PhD prize.</b>  |
| 2011 | <b>Alex Cooke</b> , ‘Can Sinn Féin policy still be considered republican?’.                                                                                                     |
| 2006 | <b>Andy Mycock</b> , ‘Post-imperial citizenship and national identity’.                                                                                                         |
| 2004 | <b>Catherine McGlynn</b> , ‘The political identity of new loyalism’. <b>ESRC funded. Nominated for the PSA McDougall prize for best PhD thesis on representation.</b>           |
| 2004 | <b>Penny Pardoe</b> , ‘The development of new nationalism in Northern Ireland: Sinn Féin–SDLP convergence explored’. <b>Funded by the British Association of Irish Studies.</b> |

**THE FULL RECORD**

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This selected edition is deliberately short. The full edition carries every publication, all research grants and conference awards, every parliamentary submission, all doctoral examinations, refereeing and external examinerships: University of Liverpool profile • full CV available on request or from the website.