Transforming the Northern Ireland conflict
Exposing the patterns of its destructive nature

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Preface

In this bachelor-thesis the Northern Irish conflict is thoroughly examined using the concept of Conflict Transformation, which claims that conflict is an inherent part of every society. In looking for an actual peace in societies one should thus not focus on trying to resolve it, but rather on harnessing it in such a way that it will have positive and constructive consequences. Peace is not the absence of conflict but rather the ability to cope with it.

The purpose of this research is inspiring people to find new and creative ways in dealing with the Northern Irish conflict as well as with conflict in general. So the research is written for Northern Irish policy makers, scientists that study the conflict, politicians as well as anyone who wants to be stimulated to work towards a united and peaceful Northern Ireland. The concept of Conflict Transformation is one that was recently developed and, I believe, will prove to be of great value for the world of conflict-studies and in the same time has the potential for contributing greatly in coping with the Northern Irish conflict. I am very happy to have used this concept and know that it has greatly contributed in my personal process of understanding the complexity of the conflict.

During the process many people have contributed to this bachelor-thesis by listening to my stories about Northern Ireland, supporting me during the entire period in which I have written this research as well as by actively discussing the subject with me. Therefore I want to thank my girlfriend, friends, parents, sister, family, roommates, colleagues and fellow students. I also want to thank Dr. Joost Augusteijn of the Leiden University who has made time for me to lay the historical base of this research.

And finally I want to highlight the importance of my mentor, Dr. Olivier Kramsch, during this period of research. I believe that his way of steering me in this process fitted perfectly with my somewhat individualistic style of performing research. This has given me the freedom to do what I really like and, more importantly, gave me joy doing it. Besides that, I experienced the moments of contact as stimulating and very sociable. So thank you for that Olivier.

Nijmegen, June 2013

Lars-Olof Haverkort

Summary

In 1998, with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, there came an official end to the conflict between Catholics and Protestants. But now, one and a half decade later, traces of conflict can still be recognized in Northern Ireland. Violence between the two communities is still the rule rather than the exception, which was again illustrated when demonstrations by the Protestant community in January 2013 led to riots when the Protestants were directed through an area that is known for being predominantly Catholic. In the field of conflict studies we would say that Northern Ireland is the stage of what we call a 'negative peace' rather than a 'positive peace'. Basically there is a peace on paper, but not in the minds of people belonging to the communities.

This idea of a positive peace has developed greatly in the minds of conflict researchers in the last decades: they argue that the conflicting parties in the long term should be able to live, work and play together. One method to work to such a peace is the concept of Conflict Transformation (Lederach, 2003). The general conception of conflict is that it is destructive and negative. This concept rather sees conflict as part of everyday life, as normal and as not inherently negative. According to the idea conflict can be, if harnessed constructively, a force used to change a conflicting situation. It can transform a conflict in such a way that the outcome will be peaceful. This idea has been taken up by the Berghof Foundation for Peace Research, who have developed an analytical model called 'the Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts' in order to find patterns in identity conflicts that lead to the destructive nature of those conflicts (Miall, 2006). The model focusses on the history of the conflict, the needs of the people living in the conflict, the actors that play an important role in dealing with these needs and the capacity of these actors to do so. These elements together form patterns that either makes a conflict destructive or constructive. The analysis in this research will go through these four elements in order to find the patterns of destructive conflict in Northern Ireland.

So the goal of this research is exposing the patterns that lead to the destructive nature of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland by applying the model of 'the Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts' in order to give recommendations on how to begin transforming the conflict considering the concept of Conflict Transformation. The central question in this research therefore is: "*What patterns of conflict formation can be recognized that lead to the persistent destructive nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland and how should these patterns of conflict begin to be transformed, considering the concept of Conflict Transformation, in order to harness the conflict in a more constructive nature?*"

Identity conflicts and Conflict Transformation
But before we investigate the Northern Irish conflict using the model of 'the Transformation of Protracted Social Conflict', we should determine whether or not the model is applicable on the conflict between Catholics and Protestants. As mentioned above, it is meant to deal with identity conflicts. But what are the characteristics of these conflicts? According to Rothman and Olson (2001) identity conflicts are complex, meaning that the subject of conflict is not easily defined. It is about dignity, about norms and values and about recognition. Besides the complex nature of these conflicts, they are also intangible. This means that it is not clear what would solve the conflict for a party: one individual says it is about dignity, while another individual of the same community says it is about inequality. The last attribute of an identity conflict is the fact that there are opposing

interpretations between the two conflicting parties: what would solve the conflict for one party would not solve or even aggravate the conflict for the other party. Their needs are mutually exclusive.

And these attributes can be recognized in Northern Ireland as well. The conflict is complex and intangible: for some Catholics the issues include recognition of their Irish identity and social security where other Catholics would say it is about economic and political equality. On the other side, a Protestant might say it is about his or hers British identity while another Protestant states that it is only about physical security. And as if this is not complex enough, the needs of Catholics and Protestants are more often than not mutually exclusive, which can best be illustrated by the fact that Catholics basically want Northern Ireland to be a part of the Republic of Ireland while Protestants want Northern Ireland to stay a part of the United Kingdom. Living up to the need of Catholics would thus in turn deny the need of the Protestants. We can thus conclude that Northern Ireland is a typical example of an identity conflict and we can confidently continue in finding the patterns of destructive conflict by using the analytical model of the Berghof Foundation for Peace Research.

The model indicates that, in finding these patterns, we should first describe the history of the conflict (for example the frequent use of violence) from which then certain desires and needs can be deducted for both communities (the need for physical security). The third and fourth step is to find the actors who try to fulfill these needs and the capacity that they have in doing so (the government should live up to the need for physical security, and they have a great capacity because of the building of peace walls which separate the communities). By following these steps, the model has exposed two types of patterns that lead to the destructive nature of the conflict: the continuation of violence and the institutionalization of division.

The continuation of violence

Violence is continued by paramilitary groups from both communities (the IRA for the Catholics and the UVF for the Protestants) as well as individuals from the communities themselves (inter-communal violence). An important driving force in the continued violence is the fact that Northern Ireland became a heavily segregated society throughout history: peace walls arose between Catholic and Protestants areas to deal with the violence, the education system became separated on the same religious division and the political parties have developed to be either Catholic or Protestant.

The segregated education system meant that individuals from both communities would develop a mindset that was pro-Catholic or pro-Protestant and therefore anti-Protestant or anti-Catholic as the children who 'enjoy' such education will only get to know children from their own community and will only hear about the history as seen by the community in which they grow up. Catholics hear that they were discriminated against while Protestants will hear that they were violently abused. The IRA and the UVF can eventually benefit from this educational system by recruiting those who still feel that people from the other community are the bad guys. Furthermore the violence by the IRA is continued by the incapacity of Catholics to get united with the Republic of Ireland in a legal way; the IRA is the only group that is still actively seeking for the reunification. And when the IRA is still active, the UVF will answer with violence as well. In great lines this is how violence by the IRA and the UVF is continued.

As a result of the violent history both communities have developed a need for physical security which in turn has led to the building of peace walls by the Northern Irish government. This has given the communities a good capacity to deal with the need of physical security. But what these

peace walls also did is giving the communities the capacity to hold on to their own identity; the Catholics can safely be Catholic and the Protestants can live as Protestants without the other community interfering in this maintaining of identity. But what is important to remember is that the peace walls have given the communities a good capacity for physical security, and not a perfect one, because Catholics can still pass through Protestant area and vice versa, which is in turn considered a threat for the identity. This is exactly what happened during the protests at the beginning of 2013 when Protestants were led through Catholic area. The peace walls were not able to fully capacitate the need to protect the Catholic identity, meaning that individuals themselves felt that they had to undertake violent action against the intruders.

The institutionalization of division
But the conflict is not only destructive because of the violence that is still happening today. Patterns can also be recognized that lead to the further institutionalization of the division between Catholic and Protestants in both politics as society itself. We will first consider the political institutionalization of division and we should go back to the partition of Northern Ireland from Ireland to understand this. It was at this moment that the Catholics feared for losing their Irish identity, while Protestants felt threatened in relation to their British background. In an attempt to maintain their cultural identities political groups were established that protected either the Catholics (the Sinn Fein and the SDLP) or the Protestants (the DUP or the UUP). As a result Catholics vote for the Catholic-minded political parties and the Protestants for the Protestant-minded: a pattern of ethno-political voting developed. But what this does is it time after time reaffirms the division between Catholic and Protestant. Political parties will commit themselves to fulfill the desires of their voters even though the desires of the two communities may not correspond or even clash with each other. And then, when the next election comes, the political parties, who want to remain their power in the government, will again establish a program that corresponds with the desires of their followers who are either Catholic or Protestant. There is a democratic deadlock.

And besides that, the Good Friday Agreement introduced the idea of power-sharing in a respond to the notion that the power in Northern Ireland was not evenly balanced between Protestants and Catholics. This means that the role of Northern Irish First Minister will be filled in by two people: one Catholic, one Protestant. This again reaffirms and further institutionalizes the division to the point that it has become a part of the constitution.

And then there is the institutionalization of division through society which is the result of the mentioned peace walls and policy on segregated education. The peace walls separate the two communities so that Catholics and Protestants cannot meet each other in the streets, play with each other on playgrounds or live next door to each other. And this is strengthened by the fact that the educational system is also segregated. Children will either have a Catholic or Protestant mindset and are likely to develop negative images of their counterparts. The consequence of this all is that inter-communal friendships are unlikely to develop and the division will be kept alive.

The consequences
So we know that violence is continued in Northern Ireland and that the division becomes more institutionalized. According to Kriesberg (1998) these two types of patterns can be seen as highly destructive. Let us consider the consequences of both the violence and the further institutionalizing of the division. First of all the violence leads to trauma, anger, hate and it will (re)install or strengthen prejudice and feelings of resentment and distrust. The consequence of the institutionalization of

division is that it creates feelings of distrust and prejudice while it also creates the feeling of 'us versus them'. It widens the gap between the two communities.

Conclusion

So let us get back to the central question of this research: "*What patterns of conflict formation can be recognized that lead to the persistent destructive nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland and how should these patterns of conflict begin to be transformed, considering the concept of Conflict Transformation, in order to harness the conflict in a more constructive nature?*"

First of all we will answer the first part of the question. What patterns make the destructive nature of the conflict so persistent? It is simply because violence and division strengthen each other in Northern Ireland. Violence will lead to trauma in the minds of people, who in turn will support the building of new peace walls. These peace walls will then lead to a further developing of the idea of 'us versus them' and when people then do again meet violence is likely to happen. This violence can then lead to anger and hate: people do not want their children to relate with children from the other community and they let them get educated at a segregated school. Children will then develop either a pro-Catholic or pro-Protestant mindset and will maybe be indoctrinated with anti-Protestant or anti-Catholic history. They are then far more likely to have negative feelings towards the other community and thus join the IRA or the UVF. They will then again use violence and people will get traumatized and the support for peace walls rises…

Even though this sketch of events may be dramatized, it is clear that these patterns of destructive conflict can bring about. Violence strengthens the division and the division in turn induces violence. It is a very persistent pattern of destructive conflict that keeps the situation in Northern Ireland on the edge of spiraling out of control.

Recommendations and reflection

It is clear that things have to happen, and that is where the second part of the research question is aimed at. Vayrynen (1991) states that conflict transformers should consider four types of transformations. Actors have to be transformed: the political parties need to develop policy so that they are not inherently negative towards parties of the other community while the government should actively try to seek for a better situation rather than holding on to the status quo. Issues have to be transformed: parties should not try to deal with issues specific to Catholics or Protestants but rather need to see the wider picture of Northern Ireland as a whole. Rules need to be transformed: the political system should not be constitutionally divided in Catholic and Protestant and the educational system needs to be reviewed.

But I argue that the most important transformations conflict transformers should consider are structural transformations. Because for the Northern Irish people to finally find peace I believe that the political system should change vividly and actors should not protect either the rights of Catholics or Protestants; rather they should try to live up the needs of every individual in Northern Ireland, without looking at his or hers background. But how? Such changes are most likely to be opposed by the ones in power, who have some sort of interest in holding on to the status quo. But I argue that it are exactly these people, people with the ability to inspire and mobilize groups of people, who should step forward and make brave decisions and undertake courageous actions to break through

the idea of Catholic versus Protestant and rather promote the idea of a united Northern Ireland. These 'agents of peace', who understand the conflict and who have experienced it, are essential in coming to a long and lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

And that last notion puts this research in perspective, since I am just a student from the Radboud University. What power do I have in imposing change in Northern Ireland? I cannot be an agent of peace for Northern Ireland as my words and deeds are not likely to inspire and mobilize a large group of people. But this does not mean that my research is a waste of time. And this is precisely because of the reason that I am not either Catholic or Protestant and because of the fact that I have not experienced the conflict. This means that I am not biased towards one of the two communities and that I have a view on the situation that is not spoiled by the conflict. My research is thus a chance to again see the core of the conflict in Northern Ireland because it is written without any past experiences that may have blurred my view on the conflict.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research background

Belfast, 10 April 1998, Good Friday. It is on this day that after decades of clashes, collision and competition between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland a peace-agreement is signed that is supposed to end the conflict between them for once and for all. The Good Friday Agreement is supported by both the British and Irish government as well as most of Northern Ireland's political parties. And besides that, more than two thirds of the Northern Irish population voted in favor of the agreement in a referendum. This moment in history should finally bring peace to the Protestant and Catholics living in Northern Ireland.

But now, one and a half decade later, traces of conflict can still be recognized in the Northern Irish-society. Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland still have deep-rooted problems living side by side, which is obvious when walking through the capital city Belfast. One might stumble upon the so-called 'peace lines', which are walls that separate Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods with the purpose to minimize the violence between them. And besides this radical measure, Catholics and Protestants also go to different schools and are unlikely to meet each other during sports or other recreational, unifying activities in which friendships develop: the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland are highly segregated and remain so (Stringer et al., 2009, p. 241).

And this separation may still be needed as well. This can perhaps be illustrated best by how something what seems to be a minor issue can unfold and bring about major problems in Belfast. In January 2013 the Belfast City Council decided to end its policy of flying the British Union Flag 365 days a year, a flag that is an important symbol for the Protestant-society in Northern Ireland, who feel they are a part of Great-Britain. Therefore Protestants, who are known for being loyal to the British (the so-called "Loyalists"), decided to demonstrate against this decision of the council. The police responded with tactics that should route the demonstrators from the city-center towards the Protestant-areas in the East of Belfast. In doing so however, the Protestants had to pass the Catholic Short Strand Area, an area that has already seen much violence in the last decades. And that day the area would see violence once again. The presence of Protestants in Catholic area did not go unnoticed and the protest erupted in intense riots between Protestants and Catholics during which 29 police-officers got hurt.

1.2 Preview of theoretical background

So what does the Good Friday Peace Agreement actually mean in this context? Social scientist Galtung (1964) has made a distinction between what he called a positive and a negative peace: according to him a negative peace is simply the absence of war/conflict/violence, while a positive peace is the presence of a positive relation between the (at that point formerly) conflicting parties. It is already questionable to define the peace in Northern Ireland as being negative since there is still violence between Protestants and Catholics even though there is no actual warfare going on. But to define the peace as being positive is without doubt ruled out entirely. This idea of positive peace has grown the last decades and developed to be an idea that has nested itself in the minds of peacebuilders and peace-researchers: it is the type of peace that they are aiming for. Galtung (1964)

believes that a positive peace is more sustainable, as the risk of falling back into old habits of conflict is not as significant. So this is the utopia that the peacebuilders should keep in mind while working towards a positive peace. And this positive peace should in turn lead to a situation where Catholics and Protestants can not only live side by side with each other, but also work, play and live together.

One method to work towards such a positive peace is the concept of Conflict Transformation, thought of by Lederach (2003) and further developed by the Berghof Foundation for Peace Research (Miall, 2006) in the form of an analytical model called 'the Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts'. Their concept is based on the work of Azar (1990) on long-lasting, complex and social conflict. According to Conflict Transformation conflict is part of everyday life and therefore not inherently negative. Conflict can however have a negative, destructive nature as a result of the interdependent patterns of history, needs, capacities and strategies of actors in the conflict. This seems to be the case in Northern Ireland. Conflict Transformation aims to transform these patterns in such a way that the conflict is harnessed as a constructive force; conflict is thus not seen as negative, but rather as something which can be constructive in achieving change. This is important to remember as this notion is central in this research. Based on this idea of Conflict Transformation the Berghof Foundation developed the above mentioned model in order to trace the patterns that lead to the formation of a destructive conflict which can in turn serve as input for transforming the conflict towards a more positive and constructive nature by actor-, issue-, rule- and structural-transformations (Vayrynen, 1991; Miall, 2006).

1.3 Goal, research-model and research-question

The goal of this research is exposing the patterns that lead to the destructive nature of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland by applying the model of 'the Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts' in order to give recommendations on how to begin transforming the conflict considering the concept of Conflict Transformation. How this goal is pursued is visualized in the research-model in figure 1. This model is based on a confrontation of theory, the research-object and a research-perspective (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007, p. 72).
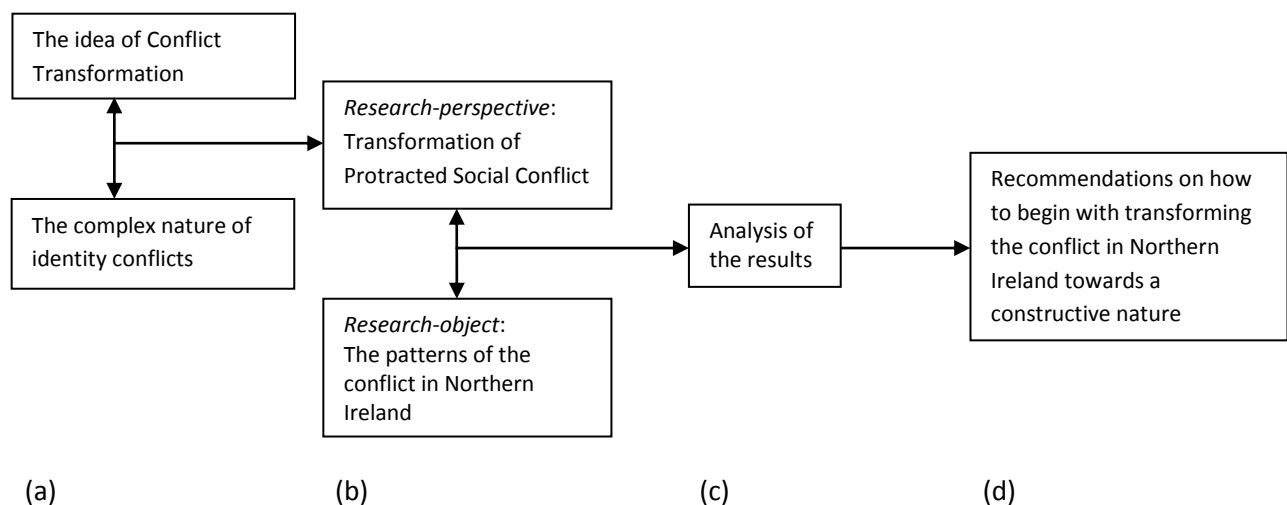

(a)   (b)   (c)   (d)

Figure 1: Research-model for research on Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland

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In the theoretical framework I will first confront the concept of Conflict Transformation with the complex nature of identity conflicts (a). This confrontation will result in the research-perspective on how to analyze identity-based conflicts, namely the model of 'Transformation of Protracted Social Conflict', which in turn will be linked to the research-object: the patterns of the conflict in Northern Ireland (b). After analysis, this linkage should lead to an understanding of the dynamics underlying the conflict in Northern Ireland and how the conflict happens to have a destructive nature (c) on the basis of which recommendations can be made on how to begin with transforming the conflict in Northern Ireland towards a constructive nature (d). The research question that summarizes my intentions as described above is the following:

"What patterns of conflict formation can be recognized that lead to the persistent destructive nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland and how should these patterns of conflict begin to be transformed, considering the concept of Conflict Transformation, in order to harness the conflict in a more constructive nature?"

What is the relevance on answering this question? It is solely aimed at contributing to the peace-process in Northern Ireland by using a relatively new framework that allows for creative and possibly valuable ideas to be developed, which will in turn contribute to ideas on how to transform the conflict in Northern Ireland towards a more constructive nature which in the long run should lead to a positive peace rather than a negative one (positive relations between Catholics and Protestants).

1.4 Structure

In the next part of this research, chapter 2, I will develop a theoretical framework based on ideas on identity conflicts and the concept of Conflict Transformation which will lead to a model for analyzing the conflict in Northern Ireland from the perspective of this concept. In chapter 3 I will then explain the methodology behind this research: how will I come to a well-substantiated answer on the research-question that is formulated above? Chapter 4 will focus on analyzing the Northern Ireland conflict using the model as described in the theoretical framework, exposing the patterns that lead to a destructive nature of the conflict. Based on this analysis chapter 5 will consist of conclusions in regard to the central question of this research and recommendations on how to begin in transforming the conflict between Catholics and Protestants towards a more constructive nature.

2. Identity Conflicts & Conflict Transformation

Earlier I mentioned that the concept of Conflict Transformation will be central in this research. But to fully understand the usefulness of this idea, one should know how the use of this concept should lead towards a well-substantiated claim on how to proceed in the peace-process of Northern Ireland. The use of a concept when analyzing a conflict, in this case the concept of Conflict Transformation, will lead to a certain understanding on the underlying, driving structures of a conflict. This understanding of the conflict should then lead to ideas on how to manage, to steer, intervene in or in this case to transform the conflict. It is important to note that the choice of another concept would

thus lead to another way of understanding a conflict, and as a result also different ideas for interventions. This means that there is not just one right way to intervene in the conflict, but several ways depending on the different concepts that have been developed in the field of peace-studies. In this research I will provide an answer on how to transform the Northern Irish conflict, using the concept of Conflict Transformation.

In this chapter I will describe the idea of Conflict Transformation and a model for transforming identity conflicts as it has been developed by the Berghof Institute for Peace Research (Miall, 2006). The model has been developed in order to deal with complex identity conflicts. Therefore, to fully understand the model, we will first explore the complex nature of identity conflicts in general in the **first paragraph**. Then the **second paragraph** will focus on the main assumptions of the concept of Conflict Transformation. Combining the concept of identity conflicts and Conflict Transformation will introduce the model of 'Transformation of Protracted Social Conflict' in the **third paragraph**, which will form the foundation for analyzing the conflict in Northern Ireland in order to expose its underlying patterns. We will also investigate the ideas of destructive and constructive conflict and make the terms more concrete. The **fourth paragraph** will then give theoretical possibilities to transform the nature of the conflict from destructive towards a more positive and constructive nature. The theoretical framework of this research is finally summarized in the conceptual model in **paragraph five**.

2.1 The complex nature of Identity Conflicts

The conflict in Northern Ireland is a conflict of identity. It is about the different grievances, needs, norms and values of Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists. To transform an identity conflict one should know that identity-based conflicts in its essence are complex conflicts. This notion can best be demonstrated by comparing this type of conflicts with interest-based conflicts. According to Rothman and Olson (2001) there are three main differences between the two types of conflict.

Clear versus complex
The first way in which the two types of conflict differ is that issues in interest-based conflicts are concrete and clearly defined (Rothman & Olson, 2001): they are usually about access to power or resources (examples are the conflicts in Angola, Sierra Leone and Congo which evolve around the "blood diamond"). Identity-based conflicts on the other hand are abstract, complex and difficult to define: they are about values and needs (Azar, 1990) as dignity, security, recognition, political access and distributive justice (such as the conflicts in Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine).

Tangible versus intangible
In interest-based conflicts the desired outcomes are defined in terms of tangible interests and resources (Rothman & Olson, 2001). It is clear what the conflicting groups want, and it can be easily identified: access over a mine, more political control or otherwise. The desired outcomes of an identity-based conflict are intangible and difficult to identify: for one individual it may be about security or stability, for another it may be about dignity and justice. This fact also adds to the complexity of identity conflicts.

Simple interpretations versus opposing interpretations

During an interest-based conflict the interpretations of the sources of the conflict and the conditions for settlement are relatively agreed upon between the conflicting parties (Rothman & Olson, 2001). Basically, both parties know what would solve the problem. An identity-based conflict however involves interpretative dynamics of history, psychology, culture, values and belief of groups that are often, at least initially, framed in ways that are mutually exclusive. What would solve the conflict for one party would not solve it for the other.

So now we know that identity-conflicts and interest-conflicts are different. Identity conflicts are more complex and enduring: they are so-called "protracted" conflicts (Azar, 1990). This complexity results in a different and complex approach on how to transform the conflict. But what exactly is this idea of Conflict Transformation?

2.2 Conflict Transformation

Conflict Transformation is, to put it simply, the process by which conflicts (such as identity conflicts) are transformed into peaceful outcomes (Lederach, 2003). The concept has been developed in a response to the notion that a positive peace should be developed from within society, rather than as a result of top-down interventions by organizations as the United Nations (Maiese, 2003). Lederach (2003): "*Conflict Transformation goes beyond merely seeking to contain and manage conflict; instead it is seeking to transform the root causes of a particular conflict*".

What is central to the approach of Conflict Transformation is that, according to Lederach (2003), both conflict and change are a normal part of human life: "*conflict is continuously present in human relationships and these relationships are constantly changing. Change involves a movement from one thing to another, and therefore peacebuilders must look at both the starting point and the goal of change*". The social scientists Coleman (1956) and Boulding (1962) have suggested that the dynamic nature of society is an important part of understanding conflict. Lederach (2003) states that with the concept of conflict transformation we can respond more effectively to this idea.

Also, according to Lederach (2003) conflict should not be seen as something which is inherently negative and destructive, which is the common notion on conflicts. Rather, and this may sound counterintuitive, conflict is a force that can, if harnessed constructively, be positive and productive in order to achieve a change. The concept is best summarized with the phrase "peace is not the absence of conflict, but the ability to cope with it". We will go in deeper on this notion of a constructive and destructive nature of conflict after first developing a framework for analyzing the Northern Ireland conflict in the next paragraph.

2.3 Analyzing identity conflicts from a Conflict Transformation perspective

Now the next question that arises is how does one capture the complex nature of the identity conflict of Northern Ireland from this perspective? This where the work of one of the forefathers of the conflict resolution field, Edward Azar (1990), comes into play. He states that: "*in brief, protracted social conflicts [or identity conflicts] occur when communities are deprived of satisfaction of their basic needs on the basis of the communal identity. However, the deprivation is the result of a complex*

causal chain involving the role of the state and the pattern of international linkages. Furthermore, initial conditions (colonial legacy, domestic historical setting, and the multi communal nature of the society) play important roles in shaping the genesis of protracted social conflict." The Berghof Foundation for Peace Support (Miall, 2006) has modified and extended Azar's model of protracted social identity conflict so that it can be used to capture both the formation as well as the transformation of this type of conflict. The result of this modification can be seen in figure 2, which will be the basis of analyzing the conflict in Northern Ireland and for exposing the patterns that lead to a destructive nature of the conflict.
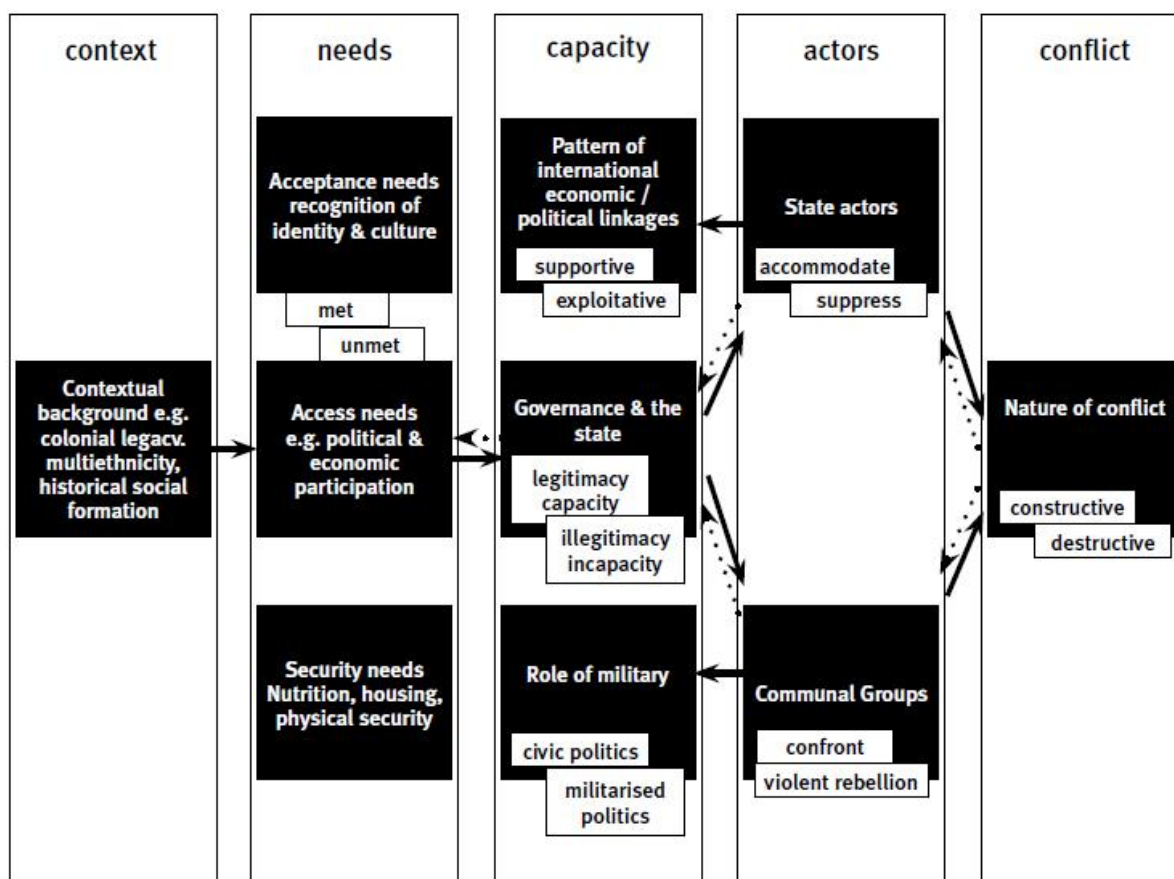

Figure 2: Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts (Miall, 2006; adapted from Azar, 1990).

The formation of a conflict

By reading this model from left to right we can trace the formation of a protracted conflict (Miall, 2006). The conflict arises from the historical **context**, the colonial legacy and the historical social formation during which religion, norms and values have anchored themselves in the structure of the conflicting society. These norms and values will in turn lead to certain **needs** for the conflicting parties, such as security, political representation and participation as well as acceptance of the identity and culture. The **capacity** of the conflicting parties to support or fulfill these needs and to govern the norms and values are then an important factor for the nature of the conflict. If there is little capacity then **actors** such as the state and communal groups might use suppression and/or violent rebellion as strategies, which then logically lead to a destructive **nature of the conflict**.

When we then read from right back to left, such strategies that lead to a destructive nature of the conflict will result in a more exploitative pattern of economic development, a distorted pattern

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of governance and a militarized form of politics, rather than a civic one. This leads to a further denial of the basic needs of the conflicting parties. The result is a protracted cycle of institutional deformation and destructive conflict (Miall, 2006). However, if there is enough capacity in governance and society, if politics are not too militarized, and if the international environment is supportive, state actors may be able to use accommodating-rather than suppressing-strategies and communal groups may choose to seek political confrontation rather than confrontation in a violent manner. These more peaceful strategies can lead to a pattern of constructive conflict that in turn promotes legitimate decision making capacity, strengthening autonomous development and sustains civil rather than military politics. This constructive form of conflict is far more likely to lead to the satisfaction of the basic human needs as acceptance of identity and culture, access to politics and economics by individuals of the conflicting groups and needs as security, political representation and participation (Miall, 2006).

From destructive to constructive conflict

Earlier it was already mentioned that conflicts are normal according to the concept of Conflict Transformation and that conflict can be either destructive or constructive (Lederach, 2003). But what do both types of nature's look like in concrete situations? What behaviour and effects would we see in a destructive conflict or a constructive conflict? Based on the book 'Constructive conflict: from Escalation to Resolution' by Kriesberg (1998) a small continuum is created in which different strategies and behaviour are placed in relation to their constructive or destructive nature. This is not a finite list of strategies and behaviour, but is a good handheld for finding destructive patterns of conflict.

Highly destructive conflict	**Negative effects**
Killing, violence, physical abuse	Severe trauma's, feelings of resentment and hate, escalation
Threatening attitude, coercion	Creates anger, re-establishes prejudices, escalation
Using names, disrespecting	Creates anger and distrust, shows no serious intentions
Acting without deliberation	Creates anger, confusion and distrust
Closed, secretive behaviour	Creates suspicion and distrust
Denial, storming out	Creates distrust and image of weakness in eyes of others
Pointing fingers, 'us and them'	Widening the gap between the conflicting parties
Avoiding, ignoring	Re-establishes or even strengthens ideas of distrust
Taking time out	Can create idea of serious intentions but also of distrust
Active listening and talking	Shows serious intentions of parties
Showing empathy	Shows good will of parties, sincere intentions
Direct, clear and honest communic.	Creates trust, supports ongoing relation between groups
Calm discussion, conversation	Creates trust, shows humane side, breaches prejudices
Showing feelings of connection	Creates feeling of 'us' rather than 'us and them'
Consensus	Creates trust, shows good intentions
Being committed to outcome	Creates trust, boosts relationship and chance of peace
Highly constructive conflict	**Positive effects**

Figure 3: Continuum of destructive and constructive conflict

So what we see here in the continuum is an arrangement of behaviour and/or strategies that are inherent to conflict, which gradually flows from highly destructive at the top of the continuum to highly constructive at the bottom. So what we basically want to see in the Northern Ireland conflict, considering the idea of Conflict Transformation, is that behaviour and strategies will as much as possible be lowered on this continuum: from violence and killing towards calm discussion and conversation. The people of Northern Ireland will then still be conflicting; but in a more constructive

manner rather than destructive. In the long run this should lead to a structural change in the conflict (Lederach, 2003).

Analytical framework for Northern Ireland
The model of Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts will be used in this research to find underlying patterns that contribute to the destructive nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Below I will sketch a table that encompasses the five central elements of the concept (context, needs, capacity, actors and nature of conflict). In the analysis (chapter 4) we will move through the model from left to right: the **first paragraph** aims to describe the historical context of the conflict in Northern Ireland and the **second paragraph** the needs of the Catholic and Protestant people. The **third paragraph** will then describe both the capacity of the community's to deal with their needs as well as the actors that play an important role in doing so. We merge these two elements together because it is close to impossible to describe the capacity of a community to deal with certain desires without naming the actors who are trying to do so. The **fourth paragraph** will finally merge the findings of the first three paragraphs together and will describe the patterns of the Northern Irish conflict that lead to its destructive nature. Below you will find an analytical framework with questions that have to be answered in order to find the patterns of destructive conflict.

Context	Contextual background	- How did the relation between Catholics and Protestants evolve, and how did it evolve to be conflicting? - Are there elements of historical social formation that contribute to the tensions between Catholics and Protestants?
Needs	Acceptance needs	- What needs do the Catholics have in relation to the acceptance of their culture and identity (e.g. equality, norms and values integrated in the law)? - What needs do the Protestants have in relation to the acceptance of their culture and identity (e.g. equality, norms and values integrated in the law)?
	Access needs	- What access needs do the Catholics have (e.g. political access, economic participation, performing religion)? - What access needs do the Protestants have (e.g. political access, economic participation, performing religion)?
	Security needs	- What security needs do the Catholics have (e.g. physical security, housing, economic security)? - What security needs do the Protestants have (e.g. physical security, housing, economic security)?
Actors & capacity	Actors	- What state and communal actors play an important role in fulfilling the acceptance, access and security needs of the Catholics? - What state and communal actors play an important role in fulfilling the acceptance, access and security needs of the Protestants?
	Capacity	- To what degree do the Catholic actors have the capacity to fulfill the needs of their community (patterns of linkages, governance and the state, role of military)? - What strategies do the Catholic actors use to fulfill the needs? - To what degree do the Protestant actors have the capacity to fulfill the needs of their community (patterns of linkages, governance and the state, role of military)? - What strategies do the Protestant actors use to fulfill the needs?
Nature	Nature of conflict	- What patterns of context, needs, actors and capacity can be recognized that lead to the conflict being destructive rather than constructive?

Figure 4: Analytical framework for analysis

2.4 Transforming Identity Conflicts

Now we know how to find the underlying destructive patterns of the conflict in Northern Ireland. But how do you then transform these patterns? Vayrynen (1991) stresses that it is important to understand how conflict is transformed in dynamic terms: "*The bulk of conflict theory regards the issues, actors and interests as given and on that basis makes efforts to find a solution to mitigate or eliminate contradictions between them. Yet the issues, actors and interests change over time as a consequence of the social, economic and political dynamics of societies*" (Vayrynen, 1991, p. 4). In his approach he suggests four different types of interventions that 'conflict-transformers' should be considering:

- Actor transformation: internal changes in parties (e.g. from aggressive politics towards peaceful politics and open-mindedness; stimulating actor behaviour towards a more constructive way of handling conflict rather than destructive) and the appearance of new players that can influence the conflict dynamics.
- Issue transformations: altering the agenda of conflict issues; finding common ground, which might require deep political changes within the parties.
- Rule transformations: changing the norms of the party's interactions; changes in the rules on how to govern a conflict. This for example means that certain rules are made and certain incentives are used that prevent people from threatening / disrespecting the other party and stimulates calm discussion and thus a growing of trust between the parties.
- Structural transformations: the entire structure of relationships and power distribution in the conflict is transformed (e.g. increase in interdependence or equal power for both parties). This may mean that the political system has to change to such an extent that the power becomes more balanced and fair.

Creativity is essential in the concept of Conflict Transformation (Lederach, 2003) and the uniqueness of every conflict allows for new possibilities on how to intervene. These four types of interventions for conflict-transformers are categories in which the interventions can be placed, and in the conclusion and recommendations part of this research they will serve as handhelds for creating ideas on how to transform the conflict in Northern Ireland.

2.5 Conceptual model

The causal relations that are presumed in a research are visualized in the conceptual model which is shown in figure 5. The conceptual model consists of three layers. In explaining this model we start at the bottom layer which consists of the theoretical relations that are presumed in this research.

Theoretical relations

The starting point is the nature of the conflict, which can be constructive or destructive (Lederach, 2003; Miall, 2006). When it is destructive the relationship between the conflicting parties will prove to be negative: irritations, occasional violence and thus a negative peace. When the nature of the conflict is constructive the relationship between conflicting parties will develop to be a more positive one: developing relationships and working together rather than against each other (Miall, 2006).

Elements of identity conflict

The middle layer of the conceptual model consists of the elements of identity conflict, as described by Miall (2006). He states that the historical context of the conflict, the needs and the capacity of the conflicting party's and the actors that play a part in the conflict together form structures that lead to a certain nature of a conflict (constructive or destructive).

Conflict Transformation

The big issue then is how to transform the nature of the conflict from destructive to constructive. This where the concept of Conflict Transformation (Lederach, 2003; Miall, 2006) has its part to play: first by analyzing and understanding the underlying patterns of the destructive nature of conflict. And when these patterns are clear, then the nature of the conflict can be transformed to be more constructive by actor, issue, rule and structural transformations (Vayrynen, 1991) so that a positive peace can develop.

Figure 5: Conceptual model of research

3. Methodology

Now we come to the more practical side of the research. With the goal of this research and the theory related to the subject in mind we will now develop a research-strategy in order to come to well-substantiated conclusions at the end of this thesis. This strategy focuses on the collection and processing of material and data to find a valid answer on the central research question (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). But first I will determine whether I should use qualitative or quantitative methods in collecting and analyzing the data.

3.1 Research strategy

Do I want to be doing a qualitative research or a quantitative research? Both methods have their benefits and flaws. Quantitative research allows a researcher to find empirical support for hypotheses in numbers and calculations, but focuses mainly on questions like "what, where and when" and have the quality to be generalized (Myers, 2000). Qualitative research on the other hand tries to explore a problem in-depth and empowers individuals to share their stories. It is hard to

capture interactions between people with statistical methods (Creswell, 2012, p. 48); qualitative research however does capture these interactions and tries to answer the "how and why" questions. On the other hand; qualitative research goes in depth on just a small number of cases means that it is hard to formulate generalizable conclusions (Myers, 2000).

To answer this question on qualitative or quantitative methods I should return to the goal of my research. As a reminder: "*The goal of this research is exposing the patterns that lead to the destructive nature of the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland by applying the model of 'the Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts' in order to give recommendations on how to begin transforming the conflict considering the concept of Conflict Transformation*".

The goal is thus, to put it very simply, much more aimed at "how and why" rather than the "what where and when". It is about how the underlying patterns of the conflict in Northern Ireland have led to a destructive nature of the conflict. Statistical methods will not be helpful in answering this question, so in order to find an answer I should preferably use methods that go more in-depth, such as analysis of documents and documentaries as well as interviews. And besides that, I should take into account the time-aspect of my research: there is only a few months available to perform the entire research. A quantitative-research is, in general, more time-consuming than a qualitative-research, which also allows for much more creativity to manage the time problem by choosing certain methods over others.

3.2 Case-study & desk-research

Then what qualitative research-strategy fits with the goal of my research? There are many methods that can be used, but the case-study seems to fit best with this research. I will try to expose the underlying patterns of the conflict in Northern Ireland using a method, Conflict Transformation, which focuses on the context of the conflict, the needs and capacity of party's that are conflicting and the most important actors in this conflict. This makes it a case-study of the Northern Ireland conflict: a case study is performed when trying to develop an in-depth description and analysis of a case (Northern Ireland) in order to provide an understanding of that case (Creswell, 2012).

According to Yin (2009) there are many types of case-studies (exploratory, descriptive and explanatory as well as extreme, deviant, typical, critical). The research I will be performing is an explanatory case-study because I aim to elaborate the complex interconnections of various factors in Northern Ireland that have contributed to the negative nature of the conflict (or the "destructive nature"). Besides this, the case-study will be 'deviant', meaning that is a unique case (because all conflicts are unique and have unique patterns and structures). This is important to remember because this means that there can be no generalizations towards other conflict-cases (such as in the Middle East) since the situations differ too much.

Besides the time-problem that was mentioned earlier, this research stumbles upon another problem: the combination of finances and geography. The study is about the situation in Northern Ireland, which is a costly place to visit. And since this research will not be financed I have chosen to perform it in a desk-research-manner. This however does not have to influence the quality of the research greatly, since many sources that are available in Northern Ireland are available in other places of the world as well (such as websites, documentaries, researches, policy-documents, etc.). The only

problem is that interviewing the right persons could be problematic as they mostly live in Northern Ireland. This problem will be tackled by analyzing documentaries and literature on the conflict that embraces the views of experts as well as trying to find any experts on the conflict in the Netherlands.

3.3 Research material

Besides developing a research-strategy, one has to determine what kind of material is needed for the research and how this material is attained (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). A case-study can be carried out using many different forms of data collection: interviews, observations, documents, artifacts and audiovisual material (Creswell, 2012). In deciding on what collection-forms to use we should be looking at the conceptual model and especially the elements of an identity conflict: the historic context of the conflict, the needs and capacity of the party's that are conflicting and the role of societal and political actors in a conflict (their strategies) (Miall, 2006). These are the objects of the research, which are visualized in figure 6.

Objects of research (a)   **Type of data (b)**   **Strategy (c)**

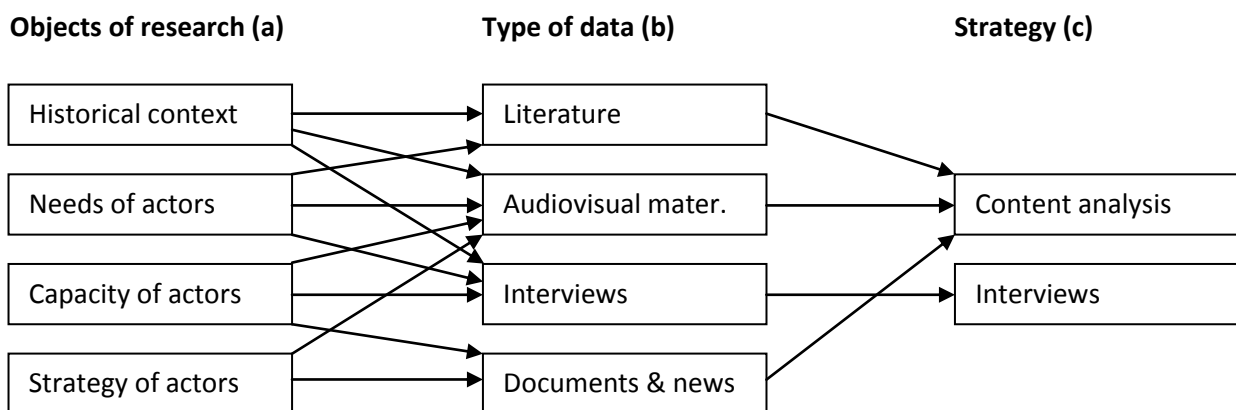| Historical context | | Literature |
Needs of actors		Audiovisual mater.		Content analysis
Capacity of actors		Interviews		Interviews
Strategy of actors		Documents & news

<div align="center">Figure 6: strategies for data-collection</div>

Then, what types of data are appropriate for retrieving the data from the four different objects of research? First the historical context: it is about how history has shaped the conflict as it is now and the historical social formation. The Northern Ireland conflict is a conflict that is thoroughly researched. In this research we can benefit from this fact by using this literature to describe the history of the conflict. Besides that, there are documentaries, lectures and conferences on the conflict available on the internet (audiovisual material) as well as experts on the history of the conflict who are living in the Netherlands (interviews). An analysis of these sources together will provide a complete picture on the history of the conflict.

Then the element 'needs of actors', which focus mainly on the feelings of Catholics and Protestant on what needs that they have and/or lack (identity needs such as acceptance as well as needs of economic and political nature). Again, researches have been performed to find out what the people of Northern Ireland want (literature). Besides that, people who live or have lived in Northern Ireland should be able to translate the feelings of the people in desires. Through audiovisual material and interviewing, and supplemented with literature, the needs of the Catholics and Protestants can be mapped.

The capacity of actors: what actors play an important role in fulfilling the needs of the people of Northern Ireland and to what extent are they able to do this? This capacity of actors can be

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retraced by interviewing people and asking how the political situation in Northern Ireland is favorable or unfavorable for Catholics and/or Protestants and besides that, also policy/evaluation-documents can be of interest: what actors try to support the Catholic and Protestant communities and what power and success do they have in doing so?

The last element, the role/strategies of the actors, can be retraced by analyzing audiovisual material (documentaries, conferences) as well as critically reviewing policy and evaluation-documents. It is mainly about mapping what strategies that the Catholic and Protestant state- and communal-actors use in order to pursue their needs. Are these violent or peaceful strategies? Reports and documentaries on religious violence and evaluations of strategies of political parties can therefore be very helpful in analyzing the Northern Ireland conflict.

3.4 Sources

This paragraph will summarize actual useful sources per data type (literature, audiovisual material, interviews and documents). We will discuss a number of sources and why these sources are relevant and can contribute to the research. The following figure gives an overview of the types of data and the sources that should provide the data for the research.

Type	Source	Strategy
Literature	Historical sketches of conflict	Content analysis
	Former researches on conflict	Content analysis
Audiovisual material	Documentaries	Content analysis
	Conferences	Content analysis
	Lectures	Content analysis
Interviews	Experts on Northern Ireland	Face-to-face interview
Documents & news-reports	Evaluation of peace process	Content analysis
	Reports on the current situation	Content analysis

Figure 7: The sources of the research

Literature

The conflict in Northern Ireland is a conflict that has been thoroughly researched. These researches should provide an insight in the conflict and especially in the historical context and the needs of the Catholics and Protestants. First we will look at some articles on the history of the conflict. Holloway (2005) has written his article called 'Understanding the Northern Ireland Conflict' from the perspective of history, naming and explaining the most significant moments in the timeline of the conflict, such as the medieval period but also recent events as the Troubles and the Good Friday Agreement. His work can be complemented with 'Religion, ethnicity and colonialism as explanations of the Northern Ireland conflict' by Clayton (1998) and 'The Conflict in Northern Ireland: Causes, Consequences and Controls' by Cairns and Darby (1998).

These articles will also be the basis of the description of the needs of the people of Northern Ireland, which can for a large part be deducted from history (needs related to identity, grievances and ongoing problems). Especially the article by Cairns and Darby (1998) should provide an insight in the current situation since it links the historic causes to consequences for the conflict now.

Audiovisual material

This research will for a large part be based on audiovisual material (documentaries, conferences, lectures, news-reports) which allows us to get a feeling for the Northern Irish conflict. This means that all the four central components from the research will be analyzed using this source of audiovisual material.

The historic context of the conflict can, of course, best be described by historians who have made the conflict an object of research. Tim Conway (2011) has also done so and gives lectures about the history at university level. The lecture titled "The Underlying Causes of the Conflict in Northern Ireland between Catholics and Protestants" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eW9TgEOPaLI) on the key moments in history of Northern Ireland is available online. This lecture, supplemented with articles and an interview, will be very helpful for describing the historic context in this research.

Moving on to analyzing the needs of the Protestants and Catholics, we should be looking at sources that are more aimed at the current situation in Northern Ireland. To begin, the documentary "Northern Ireland: the process of peace" (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cCzr8jvjXCE) in which both experts on the conflict as well as residents of Northern Ireland have their say and give their insights on the conflict. Besides this documentary, a conference held at the Georgetown University in the United States can provide ideas on what the Catholics and Protestants need. This conference is titled "the Northern Ireland Peace-process and where we are now" (which can be seen on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q6HM_o9ikkM) and is held by three experts on the conflict: the Northern Irish politician Dawn Purvis, Professor of Political Theory Shane O'Neill and the Political Anthropologist Dominic Bryan. They all come from and live in Northern Ireland and have different insights on the conflict. Their narratives, supplemented with the documentary, articles and an interview will provide an image of the needs of the people in Northern Ireland.

Then we will continue with analyzing both the capacity and the strategy of the actors in Northern Ireland. All the audiovisual sources that have been named above are appropriate to do this. Especially the documentary and the conference, which are both critically looking at the peace process, name actors and their role in coming to a peaceful or conflicting Northern Ireland.

Interviews

With an interview I should be able to generate additional data on the history of the conflict as well as the needs and the capacity of Catholic and Protestant actors. This interview will be held with Joost Augusteijn who is not only an expert on the history of Northern Ireland (he has taught history on the Queen's University in Belfast), but also a former resident of Belfast and an individual who still follows the developments of the conflict. So he is someone who has seen the conflict from two sides: the scientific and the practical. Therefore he should be able to not only give an insight in the history of the conflict, but also to translate this history in needs and desires of the Catholics and Protestants as well as the capacity of both communities to fulfill their needs.

Documents & news-reports

The last types of data that are being used in this research are policy/evaluation documents and news-reports on the Northern Irish conflict. These sources should provide additional information on how the situation is now and how the peace process is progressing. This data-type will be used for analyzing both the capacity of the actors as well as their strategy. The document titled "Northern Ireland: The Peace Process" written by Archick (2013) is a recent report that looks at the Good Friday

Agreement and the impact it had on the Northern Irish society. In the document different actors and their roles are evaluated. Besides this document there are several (news)reports on the Northern Irish situation related to politics, identity, education, violence and else. These news-reports will play an important role in analyzing the capacity and the strategy of both Protestant and Catholic actors.

4. Analysis of Northern Ireland conflict

In this chapter I will attempt to expose the underlying patterns of the Northern Ireland conflict using the model of Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, this concept consists of five elements: the historic context, the needs of the conflicting parties, their capacity, the key actors and their strategies and the nature of the conflict. In this chapter we will be moving through the model from left to right. However, we will make one side-step out of the model in the second paragraph, pointing out why the Northern Ireland conflict is such a complex subject of study and as a result fits well within the model of Conflict Transformation as described in the theoretical framework.

So the **first paragraph** will construct an image on how the conflict in Northern Ireland has evolved through time, describing important moments in history such as the Troubles and the Good Friday Agreement. It is only when we have captured this that we can point out the importance of the model of Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts for resolving the Northern Ireland conflict. In the **second paragraph** we will do this by relating the complexity of the conflict to the complex nature of identity conflicts before continuing to the next element of the model: the acceptance, access and security needs of the Catholic and Protestants, based on their current situation and history. **Paragraph three** will then focus on the most important actors in the Northern Ireland conflict and will take a closer look to what extent these actors have the capacity to fulfill the needs that have been described in paragraph two as well as how they try deal to with them. The **fourth and last paragraph** will finally construe an image on how the nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland is formed to be destructive by forging all the information of the previous paragraphs together.

4.1 Historic context

In this paragraph we will be looking at how through history the relation between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland has led to the current situation of conflict in Northern Ireland. In the theoretical framework we have established that, in Conflict Transformation, we should focus on the social formation of the Catholic and Protestant society in Northern Ireland (Miall, 2006). From the colonial history we will steadily move through time towards the independence of Ireland and the partition of Northern Ireland, the modern Troubles and the Good Friday Agreement. This historic sketch is largely based on the article 'Understanding the Northern Ireland Conflict' by Holloway (2005) and supplemented with other articles as well as an interview with the Dutch historian Joost Augusteijn (2013, appendix 1), who is an expert on British and Irish history and who has lived in Northern Ireland for a couple of years. It is important to note that this historic sketch does not intent to tell the entire story of the Northern Ireland conflict in every detail; books have been written about the conflict so I do not intend that I can tell the whole story in just a few pages. It however is a

summary of the most important developments through history that have contributed to the situation as it is now in Northern Ireland.

Colonial history

What are the historic roots for the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland? This is a question that may seem to have a simple answer but, as with many things, the conflicting groups have a different opinion. The Protestants have traced the roots not so far back into history while Catholics say that the problems started almost a thousand years ago when the English first came to the isle of Ireland. Augusteijn (2013) states that "*a good Republican [Catholic] goes back to 1169, when the English King Henry the II came to Ireland and seized the power of Ireland*". Former to that point the power was in hands of a number of regional dynasties who contested with each other over the control of the land (Duffy, 1999). The coming of the English to Ireland however did not go without resistance of the people living in Ireland: "*there were several moments of resistance*" (Augusteijn, 2013). This resistance ensured that the English could only exercise their power in the North and East of Ireland. And this remained so for a couple of centuries, until the authority of the English almost diminished in the late 15th century as a result of wars that were fought elsewhere by the English (Bean, 1968). So these are the first traces of conflict between the Irish and English. It is important to note that Catholicism and Protestantism did not play a part in the conflict at this point for the simple reason that the English were also Catholics. It was only until 1534 when King Henry the VIII, and with him the Church of England, broke with Roman Catholicism (Holloway, 2005). He did so because he wanted an annulment of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, which was denied by the pope in Rome.

In the decades after this, the power over England alternated between Catholics and Protestants depending on the faith of the ruling king or queen (MacCulloch, 2004). Life, however, dramatically changed when Elizabeth I became the queen of England. She made the Protestant Church flourish. Many powerful positions were filled by Protestants and many people converted to Protestantism and the new, free life that came with it. The downside of this story is that the quality of the lives of the people who held on to Catholicism in England would decrease dramatically. They were persecuted and discriminated (Turner, 2005).

And when the British once again came to Ireland at the beginning of the 16th century this same relation between Protestants and Catholics would develop. The Protestant English who came to the island took over total control: they displaced Irish landowners, successfully disarmed the native lordships, established a British government from which Catholics were banned and proclaimed the Kingdom of Ireland in 1542 (Holloway, 2005). This, of course, resulted in feelings of resentment against the British in the minds of the Catholic Irish and when the British felt that it became impossible to convert the Irish to the Protestant religion, they installed several 'penal laws' which were aimed at Catholics to encourage them to convert to the Church of England anyway. Some examples of laws: Catholics were banned from holding public office or serving in the army, Catholics had to pay fines for non-attendance at Protestant services, when a Catholic would die, his or hers legatee could benefit by converting to Protestantism and Catholics were forbidden to teach school or instruct youth. These are just some of the many laws which would discriminate Catholics. It goes without saying that Catholics as a result lacked the basic necessities for living a comfortable and

careless life and that these laws resulted in a society in which the Catholics were the poorest and least developed (Holloway, 2005).

This imbalance of power between Protestants and Catholics remained for the entire 17th and 18th century despite of many periods of uprising and rebellion by the Catholics with the Irish Rebellion in 1798 as one of the most concentrated outbreaks of violence in Irish history (Holloway, 2005). It is estimated that during this rebellion 20.000 to 50.000 people died, among them many Protestants. The Kingdom of Ireland ceased to exist when in 1801 the Act of Union proclaimed the United Kingdom of which Ireland would be a part (Holloway, 2005). This Act of Union is often seen as an attempt to prevent Ireland from destabilizing Britain or as providing a base for foreign invasion.

During this period of rebellion and uniting there were also developments in the power relation between Catholics and Protestants. Catholics became more accepted members of society, but not equal to the more powerful Protestants. Augusteijn (2013): "*all kinds of laws for Catholics were gradually abolished, but not quite to the end. In 1793, for instance, laws were adjusted so that Catholics could vote: they got active suffrage. However, the right to be voted for, passive suffrage, was not granted*." And when the Act of Union was being developed, the British offered the Irish Catholics "*total equality when they agreed with the union of the Kingdom of Ireland with the Kingdom of Great Britain*" (Augusteijn, 2013). This however was blocked by the British King and the House of Lords because, in their minds, England had to stay Protestant (Augusteijn, 2013), and Catholic emancipation did not fit in this idea. It was only until Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic who was inspired by American and French campaigns of resistance, united the Catholics in Ireland to force the Protestant government to accept their demands (Holloway, 2005). His campaign proved to be very successful as he was able to rally ten-thousands of Catholics and plan simultaneous meetings at over 1.600 places in Ireland, some of which were violent. The Government felt that it was impossible to stop this Catholic movement and therefore proclaimed the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, which made it possible for Catholics to take seat in the Irish government and repealed any remaining Penal Laws. So the Relief Act opened the way for political, social and economic reforms in Ireland. The emancipation however did not bring peace, prosperity and an end to sectarian tensions (Ó'Corráin & O'Riordan, 2011). According to Augusteijn (2013) the Catholics learned a lesson that would be repeated in the remainder of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century as well: "*Catholics did not get emancipation when they asked for it. It was only when they used force that the English granted them rights. The lesson that the Catholics had learned was that when you want to get something done, you need to use force. No debate, but battle*."

Irish independence and partition
And by using force, the Catholics took over the General Post Office in Dublin in April of 1916 as a part of the Easter rising. They declared the independent Republic of Ireland. This uprising was fought on two fronts: political, led by the political party Sinn Fein, and physical, led by the Irish Volunteers. The uprising by the Irish Volunteers, however, would fail and their leaders were executed. Many Catholics were furious about this and as a result Sinn Fein would win much sympathy (Holloway, 2005).

These tactics of force and violence would be continued in the Irish War of Independence during the period of 1919 till 1921. The uprising was once again led by the Irish Volunteers, who had renamed themselves to the Irish Republican Army [IRA], led by Michael Collins (Holloway, 2005). Over 2.000 people died of violence in these years and on 6 December 1921 Ireland got its independence from

Great Britain. According to Augusteijn (2013) "*the English had failed to make the Catholics feel like a part of the state*" and so agreed to sign the Anglo-Irish treaty in which the Republic of Ireland would be recognized. However, even though there were less Protestants than Catholics on the entire island, in the six most Northern counties the Protestants were a very large majority. Therefore, in the treaty, the British proclaimed that these six counties would remain to be a part of Great Britain, but with its own autonomy. It was the birth of Northern Ireland as we know it (Holloway, 2005).

The partition of Northern Ireland again led to new grieves and division: the Catholics in Northern Ireland wanted (and still want) to be a part of Ireland, while the Protestants wanted Northern Ireland to remain with the United Kingdom: since this moment the Protestants in Northern Ireland are called the Unionists or Loyalists, while the Catholics are known as the Nationalists (Holloway, 2005). But because the British left the Protestants in charge and let them introduce a new system in Northern Ireland "*a sort of Stalinist state arose: a one-party democracy*" (Augusteijn, 2013). In the beginning the Unionists always got around 40 of a total of 52 seats in the Northern Ireland government, which meant that it was virtually impossible for Catholics to pass laws, let alone to unite Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland (Augusteijn, 2013).

The years after this were characterized by what is generally considered a policy of discrimination against the Nationalist Catholic minority in both economic and political measures (Holloway, 2005; Augusteijn, 2013). In politics, for instance, the Protestants rigged local elections to ensure the Unionist control over councils with Nationalist majorities: voting districts were divided in such a way that in some districts the Catholics won with an overwhelming majority, while in other districts the Protestants won with small, but secure majorities. This maximized the Unionist representation in many local governments and meant that the Ulster Unionist Party (Protestant) could seize power and continue its one-party rule for a period of fifty years.

And, as stated above, a pattern of discrimination could also be recognized in economic affairs. It was close to impossible for Catholic Nationalists to promote to the top of the larger organizations in Northern Ireland, and there was a clear policy of discrimination in employment as well, particularly in the public sector (political and civil authority) and in the strongest economic sectors of Northern Ireland (shipbuilding and heavy engineering). But despite this all, the period between 1921 and the late 1960's was a relatively peaceful period in Northern Ireland (Holloway, 2005).

The modern Troubles

This discrimination had shaped the Northern Irish society to such an extent that the Catholics were the poor and undereducated while the Protestants lived good and secure lives. In the period after World War II this slowly began to change for the better. Augusteijn (2013): "*after WWII secondary education was liberated so that everyone could go to school. And in the 1960's also higher education became available for Catholics. This resulted in a better schooled Catholic class. And besides that, many multinational corporations established companies and factories in Northern Ireland, mostly coming from the United States. These companies did not have policies of discrimination which meant that now also Catholics could get well-paid jobs*".

So a wide middle class of Catholics could develop. Highly educated, working and therefore feeling empowered. And when they got aware in the 1960's of what black civil rights movements could achieve in the United States they mirrored themselves against this and established their own

civil rights movement: the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (Holloway, 2005; Augusteijn, 2013). This was a non-sectarian organization, concerned with social and legal reform through non-violent means.

Reforms were clearly needed and Protestant Prime Minister Terence O'Neill proposed some measures, such as an end to special powers for Protestants and a fair system for housing allocation. But this could not prevent the situation from spiraling out of control. According to the Nationalists his reforms did not go far enough while Unionists thought that they went too far and were suspicious that the civil rights campaign was just a cover for a Catholic assault upon the Northern Irish state (Holloway, 2005). And then, during a three-day civil rights march by Catholics, Unionists launched organized attacks on the Catholics who received no protection from the mostly Protestant police. These attacks by the Protestants were in turn answered with violence by the Catholics: a period of conflict that would be called 'the Troubles' had started (McGrattan, 2010).

In the beginning of this period the situation seemed to be manageable when British troops came to Northern Ireland to restore order and were welcomed as protectors by the Catholic population. But when they mainly used military methods against the Irish Republican Army the relationship between the British troops and the Catholics soon got negative. The increasing activity of the IRA in that period was mirrored by increasingly active Loyalist paramilitaries (the so called Ulster Volunteer Force or UVF) (Holloway, 2005).

Meanwhile, in an attempt to manage the inter-communal violence, many 'peace walls' were erected in Belfast, Derry and elsewhere (Stringer et al., 2009). In 1969 they were built as a temporary structure, but because of its effectiveness they increased in number and length to the point that Catholics and Protestants lived in highly segregated communities.

As a result of the negative relationship of the Irish with the British, the support for the IRA grew significantly during the beginning of the 80's (Holloway, 2005; McGrattan, 2010). In 1971 the British Government imposed internment of suspected terrorists without trial. This internment was both intended for the IRA as well as the UVF, but in practice most of the people who were interned were Catholics. And besides this, during a (peaceful) demonstration by Catholics in January 1972 fourteen demonstrators were killed by the British Army. This day is still seen as one of the blackest days in the history of Northern Ireland and is commemorated as 'Bloody Sunday'. Once again this was received with a lot of anger by the Catholics and it generated a wave of support across the Catholic community for the violent campaign of the IRA. At this point, in 1972, the British decide to temporarily suspend the Parliament of Northern Ireland until a generally acceptable system of governance was decided. But this proved to be hard to accomplish and attempts to do so in 1973 and 1982 failed (Holloway, 2005).

Another attempt to end the violence was made as well with the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Owen, 1994). In this agreement the United Kingdom together with Ireland decided that Northern Ireland would only join the Republic of Ireland when the majority of its people wanted so. Unfortunately it did not bring an end to the violence and neither did it reconcile the two separate communities. Violence held on during the entire period of the Troubles, but the intensity decreased slowly till the point that the IRA announced a complete cessation of its armed struggle in 1997 while the Loyalist-paramilitary group UVF had already announced a cease-fire in 1994, which opened the door for a multi-party negotiation (Holloway, 2005).

The Good Friday Agreement

Even though the Anglo-Irish Agreement did not succeed in ending the Troubles, it did improve the political relation between Ireland and the United Kingdom. This would play an important part in coming to the Good Friday Agreement or the Belfast Agreement that was signed on 10 April 1998 and which did bring an official peace and thus an end to the Troubles (Holloway, 2005; Aughey, 2005). It is an agreement between the governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom as well as eight political parties in Northern Ireland. The agreement sought to establish institutions to better the relations and deal with issues between the UK and Ireland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and within Northern Ireland itself (Aughey, 2005).

For Northern Ireland the most important institutions that were established with the agreement were the Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive (Aughey, 2005; Archick, 2013). The government of the United Kingdom has devolved its legislature over a wide range of areas over Northern Ireland to the Assembly, making it the most powerful organ in Northern Ireland. The Assembly is a democratically elected body with 108 members and is based on the principle of power-sharing: the Unionists and the Nationalists both participate in governing the region. This can also be seen by looking at the most important political groups in Northern Ireland, which are the DUP (38 seats), Sinn Fein (29 seats), SDLP (14 seats) and UUP (13 seats). The DUP and the UUP are both parties with a Unionist background while the parties Sinn Fein and SDLP are both Nationalist. The stability of the Assembly after the Good Friday Agreement is uncertain. The Assembly has been suspended several times, even for a period of almost five years between 2002 and 2007. This however seems to improve since in 2011 an entire term of four years has been completed by the Assembly, which has not happened in the forty years before that (Archick, 2013).

Another way in which the power-sharing principle is applied is the way in which the institution of the Northern Ireland Executive is operating (Aughey, 2005). It is the administrative branch of the Assembly and consists of the First Minister, the Deputy First Minister and various ministers with individual portfolios (such as education, environment, justice, etc.). The First Minister and the Deputy First Minister are by rule of another community (Catholic and Protestant). In 2007 the elected First Minister was Unionist Ian Paisley with the Sinn Fein Nationalist and former IRA-leader Martin McGuiness at his side as Deputy First Minister. However, in 2008 Ian Paisley stepped down as First Minister and was succeeded by Peter Robinson (Archick, 2013). Robinson and Martin McGuiness are still the Northern Ireland Executives in 2013.

Besides the arrangement related to power sharing, other agreements were made as well. They are all described in the article 'Understanding the Northern Ireland conflict' by Holloway (2005). Shortly summarized, the most noticeable are the following:
- Just like in the Anglo-Irish agreement earlier, the Good Friday Agreement stated that the status of Northern Ireland would only change if "the majority of its people" wanted so.
- All the parties agreed that the people of Northern Ireland got the right to "identify themselves and be accepted as Irish, British or both", making Northern Ireland a bi-national state.
- Articles 2 and 3 of the constitution of the Republic of Ireland, in which the Republic made a territorial claim on the six Northern counties, would be removed. Basically Ireland laid aside their claim on Northern Ireland.
- The agreement asked for the decommissioning of paramilitary groups of Northern Ireland as well as the reduction of the number and influence of British armed forces.

- The agreement states that the police-force of Northern Ireland should be representative of its people. At the time of the agreement 90% of the police-force came from a Protestant background and thus a re-arrangement was necessary.
- And finally the agreement affirmed a commitment to "the mutual respect, the civil rights and the religious liberties of everyone in the community".

4.2 The needs of people in Northern Ireland

So now we have a clear view on how the conflict has developed. But what do the people of Northern Ireland want now? This is a question that has many answers, some of which non-compatible to each other. This illustrates the complex nature of the identity conflict in Northern Ireland. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, these types of conflict are complex in its essence (Rothman & Olson, 2001): the subject of the conflict is not clear as with the 'blood diamond'-conflicts but rather revolves around many different subjects such as acceptance, security and political and economic access. The conflict in Northern Ireland is also intangible. For one individual it is about maintaining its Irish or English identity, while for others it is about economic, social and political equality. And like this is not enough complexity, the needs of Northern Irish are more often than not mutually exclusive: fulfilling the needs of a Catholic would in turn reject the needs of a Protestant.

So basically, the Northern Irish conflict cannot be resolved since the needs of both communities will always be conflicting. This is also where the concept of Conflict Transformation fits perfectly, since it is not aiming to resolve the conflict but rather harness it in such a way that, how counterintuitive it may sound, the conflict will be productive and constructive in achieving change (finding common ground through discussion and talking), rather than destructive and negative (widening the gap through violence and killing). We can at this point conclude that the model of Transformation of Protracted Social Conflicts, which is based on the idea of Conflict Transformation, is one that is highly applicable on the conflict of Northern Ireland.

We can therefore confidently continue with analyzing the Northern Ireland conflict using the concept. To return to the question at the beginning of this paragraph, what do the people in Northern Ireland actually want? The model classifies the needs of people in conflict into three different categories: acceptance needs, access needs and security needs.

Acceptance needs
Acceptance needs refer to questions of desire in relation to identity, culture, recognition and belonging (Miall, 2006). In the Northern Irish conflict these needs are obvious and play an important part in political debate. The conflict is in essence about the question of whether Northern Ireland should remain as a part of the United Kingdom, which is what the Protestants want, or if it should be united with Ireland, which is the dream of Catholics (Augusteijn, 2013; McGarry, 2012, Appendix 2). These needs can be deducted from the fact that the people want to hold on to their own Irish and English identity. Shane O'Neill (2011, Appendix 3) argues that "*we shouldn't underestimate that the members of the main national groups continue to need positive recognition of their group difference in the context of the long history of conflict*". The Unionist Protestants want to be recognized in their Englishness while the Nationalist Catholics want the same in their Irishness (O'Neill, 2011). And a part

of this recognition of the English and Irish identity is being a part of the country that harbors these identities.

But clearly these needs cannot both be fulfilled. A united Ireland would reject the need of Protestants while the current status of Northern Ireland does not live up to the needs of the Catholics. Therefore we have to accept that these needs will forever be conflicting. The Good Friday Agreement has made an attempt to meet the needs of both parties: the agreement states that a person born in Northern Ireland can choose its own nationality (Conway, 2011, Appendix 4). This means that Catholics can be Irish and Protestants be English, creating a bi-national state. But this is the limit to which extent the wishes can be granted. Then what is necessary to move forward in Northern Ireland? The only possible option is working towards a shared Northern Irish identity. And, opposite to fulfilling both 'homeland' needs of Catholics and Protestants, this is not impossible. This is illustrated by the fact that in the 2012 census around a fifth of the population of Northern Ireland defined themselves as belonging to the nation, with a peek in the age-category of 18 to 24 (Spencer, 2013). This does not remotely mean that differences between the two communities have been overcome since 80% still need to hold on to their own national identity which in turn feeds segregation and sectarianism, but it does indicate a move in the right direction and hope for the future.

Then what other needs do the Catholics and Protestants have in relation to their identity and culture? In the last paragraph we've in short gone through the long history of oppression and discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland. Laws prevented Catholics from being equal to Protestants so the power has always been in the hands of the Protestants in Northern Ireland (Conway, 2011; McGarry, 2012; Augusteijn, 2013): they were educated, had the best jobs, lived in the wealthier areas and filled the seats of parliament while "*the Penal Laws prevented the Catholics from education and from being a lawyer, joining the army and other government services*" (Conway, 2011). These laws were abolished at the end of the 18th century (Conway, 2011), but they has scarred Northern Ireland to such an extent, also in social, political and economic affairs, that Catholics still feel they are not equal to the Protestants. Catholics thus desire to be accepted as equals in Northern Ireland. Cairns and Darby (1998) state that this is also fed by the fact that Catholics are, even though just marginally, the minority in Northern Ireland (45% has a Catholic background) and as a result the democratically chosen government will always have slightly more Protestants (48% of the population) than Catholics. This means that laws introduced by Protestants will far more easily be accepted than those introduced by Catholics (Augusteijn, 2013). And another example of a concrete manner in which the Catholics feel they are unequal, and which is also a hot topic in the politics of Northern Ireland, is that of the composition of the police: the great majority of the police-force has a Protestant background (before the Good Friday Agreement it was 90% Protestant), which rejects the golden rule that the security force should reflect the general culture of the society that it represents (Augusteijn, 2013). Dawn Purvis (2011, Appendix 3) states that "*for a police service to deliver the best possible service to the community it has to be representative of that community*".

We will get back to this in the next paragraph that addresses the capacity of both societies. But it is important to know this imbalance of the Northern Ireland security forces to understand a need of the Protestants that has developed after the Good Friday Agreement. Because this agreement has tried to deal with feelings of inequality by Catholics and as a result established the '50-50'-rule for the police-force: Catholics should be equally represented in the police force as the Protestants (Archick, 2013). And how do you do this? In the extreme by firing a certain percentage of

Protestants, and in their place hiring Catholics (Augusteijn, 2013). This has happened in the recent history and is still continuing: Catholics now account for 30% of the police-force (Archick, 2013). The problem with this measure, and other measures that advantaged the Catholics and disadvantaged the Protestants, is that this has induced a new grudge in the minds of the Protestants: they feel that they are blamed for the problems in Northern Ireland (Augusteijn, 2013). There is now a need for acceptance, fair treatment and equality in the minds of the Protestants.

Access needs

Access needs refer to questions of desire in relation to economic participation, political representation and education (Miall, 2006). First we will look at the economic needs. As mentioned above, the Catholic community in Northern Ireland has been discriminated against on different levels (McGarry, 2012; Bryan, 2011). The same is true in economics. Most large companies were managed by Protestants who introduced policies that favored the ones who shared their culture and identity (Augusteijn, 2013). As a result Catholics have been underrepresented in the workforce of Northern Ireland for a long time, which is still evident when looking at the unemployment-numbers and the average income of the Catholics and the relative high number of Protestants in higher functions: the statistics point out that Catholics are still lagging behind (Augusteijn, 2013). Despite the fact that the numbers seem to develop to a more fair balance between the two communities (Young, 2012), differences are still apparent. Poverty is still higher in the Catholic community and many of them live in deprived areas (Archick, 2013). These factors have given the Catholics a strong need for more social and economic equality between them and the Protestants.

And how about the need for political representation and participation? The political needs of both Catholics and Protestants are closely linked to the needs that were discussed under the heading of 'acceptance needs'. Both communities want political parties to represent their needs in maintaining their cultural identity and background so "*political participants in Northern Ireland continue to vote as they do, primarily for ethno-political-parties that represent the national blocks*" (O'Neill, 2011). They thus want political parties to fight for the preservation of their norms and values. This can also explain why the political system of Northern Ireland is and always has been divided on the same religious lines that have parted its society: the Unionist-parties fight for the preservation of the Protestant identity; the Nationalist-parties for that of the Catholics.

Besides the fact both communities want political representation, the Catholics also have a strong need for a more evenly balanced power in the Northern Irish politics, which is of course closely related to the need for political equality. As mentioned earlier, the Catholics account for only 45% of the population which makes it a minority when comparing it to the Protestants. The government will therefore always see a higher representation of Protestants than of Catholics, meaning that Catholics will be somewhat powerless in comparison to the majority of the Unionists. To deal with this the Good Friday Agreement has introduced the concept of 'power-sharing' (McGarry, 2012), meaning that both the Unionists and the Nationalists participate in governing Northern Ireland. This measure also means that the posts of Assembly representatives, the Northern Irish executives, are filled by two people who are individually representing the conflicting communities (Archick, 2013). At this moment in time these persons are Peter Robinson, who represents the Protestants, and Martin McGuinness, who has a Catholic background.

Security needs

Security needs refer to questions of desire in relation to security, which can be security on a physical level (protection from violence and a violent death) as well as on the level of social security (proper housing, no poverty, a stable government and a secure future) (Miall, 2006). This need for physical security seems to be most important for the Protestant community, even though the majority of the Catholics of course also prefer a non-violent society. But Protestants still struggle with the violent history of Catholic uprising and especially the terrorist bombings and killings by the IRA (Purvis, 2011). According to Augusteijn (2013) the Catholics have learned through time that if you want to get something done, you need to use violence: "*violence has developed to be a part of the 'vocabulary' of people in Northern Ireland. There are so many instances of people who have used violence and who have also accomplished things using violence [think for instance of the Catholic emancipation and the Irish War of Independence]. It is experiences like that, which make the use of violence as an instrument more likely.*" Even though the number of killings have decreased vividly since the ending of the conflict (Rogers, 2010), certain violent events still illustrate that such a mindset still exists in Northern Ireland. There were riots between Catholics and Protestants relating to the policy of the Union-flag in Belfast in the first month of 2013 during which many people got hurt: when the protesting Protestants were diverted through a Catholic area both communities violently clashed once again (McDonald, 2013, January 12). And these riots were no incident, because violence occurs almost every year (it has occurred in 2010, 2011 and 2012) during the marching-season, when Unionists traditionally hold parades (Archick, 2013). This illustrates that there is still sectarianism (mutual dislike) between Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists (Clayton, 1998).

But there also seems to be a fear in both Catholic and Protestant minds for their 'in-group' as a result of the conflict. Dawn Purvis (2011) states that splinter groups of the IRA, who had originally been a paramilitary group fighting the Protestants, have now also turned to violence against those Catholics and Nationalist political parties (the Sinn Fein for instance) who want to settle as a Northern Irish citizen rather than as an Irish one. So now also Catholics are not safe for their own kind. And the same seems to be true for Protestants. Many Protestants want to move forward and overcome the differences, but there are also those who do not want to relate to Catholics. Dominic Bryan (2011) for instance argues that many Protestants wanted to vote in favor of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, but felt that there was not enough reassurance to do this coming from the Protestant community. This illustrates that there is not only a need for physical security against those coming from the opposing community, but also a need for both Catholics and Protestants to be safe against their own kin.

And then there is the need for a secure future and also 'normality'. As within any society insecurity about the future leads to worries, stress, tensions and fear. This possibly applies double for societies that are in conflict and whose future as a result is not as stable as of those living in peace. The need for political stability, trust and normality is a vital part of the conflict in Northern Ireland and possibly the most important need of the majority of the people who are sick of the conflict. The Northern Irish have always seen conflict between the Unionists and the Nationalists and also politicians that could not get along with each other. When in 2007 hardline Unionist Ian Paisley and former IRA-leader Martin McGuinness were elected First Minister and Deputy First Minister everyone thought that the Unionists and Nationalists would clash again. But the opposite was true. They turned out becoming best friends and known as the "chuckle brothers" because they were often seen laughing with each other (Tim Conway, 2011). This for the first time showed that Catholics and Protestants in

politics could overcome differences and work together: it was a "tectonic shift" (Tim Conway, 2011) and it created trust in a future with political stability. But this trust was for a great part again destroyed when Ian Paisley stepped back as First Minister and was replaced by Peter Robinson, with whom he has a more conflicting and negative relation. Dawn Purvis (2011): "*that change in leadership and dynamic led to more and new problems in the process [towards a peaceful Northern Ireland]*". So there is a clear need for stable and normal politics: no politics with leaders who have a cold and negative relationship but who can work together and talk about their differences.

Summary of the needs

So now we know what the people of Northern Ireland desire. In the next paragraph we will focus on the capacity of Catholic-, Protestant and neutral actors to fulfill these needs as well as their capacity to make a difference and the way in which they are trying to do this. In the next paragraph we will do this for all the needs that have been discussed above, and which are summarized in the figure below.

#	The need…	Community
1	for Irish reunification	Catholics
2	for remaining a part of the UK	Protestants
3	for maintaining and recognition of identity	Both communities
4	for social and economic equality	Catholics
5	for fair treatment and equality	Protestants
6	for political representation	Both communities
7	for political equality and balanced power	Catholics
8	for physical security	Both communities
9	for political stability and normality	Both communities

Figure 8: Summary of the Catholic and Protestant needs

4.3 The capacity of actors to fulfill the needs

So we now know the needs of the people in Northern Ireland. In this paragraph we will discuss the capacity of Catholics and Protestants to fulfill each of these needs as well as the actors that try to do this. In the model of Transforming Protracted Social Conflicts the capacity and actors are separate elements (Miall, 2006), but because they are so closely related we will discuss both at the same time in this paragraph: it is close to impossible to describe the capacity of a community to deal with issues without also mentioning the actors that play an important role in doing this.

We will systematically run through the 9 needs of both Catholics and Protestants by answering the following questions:

1. **Actor**: What state and communal actors play an important role in fulfilling the need?
2. **Capacity**: To what degree can they fulfill the need?
3. **Strategy**: If possible, how are they trying to fulfill the need?

The need for Irish reunification

The essence of the conflict in the mind of the Catholics in Northern Ireland is that they want to become part of the Republic of Ireland. There are a number of state actors who try to achieve this, being the government of the Republic of Ireland itself as well as the Nationalist Northern Irish

political parties the SDLP and the Sinn Fein. The Republic of Ireland has for a long time, in its constitution, claimed 32 counties for the Republic of Ireland, including the six counties of Northern Ireland (Conway, 2011). And also the SDLP and the Sinn Fein, who used to be the political wing of the IRA, tried to find legitimate, political ways for Northern Ireland to be reunified with the Republic (Purvis, 2011).

This however all changed in 1998 with the Good Friday Agreement. The Republic Of Ireland removed its claim for the six Northern counties from their constitution and all the parties (including the Sinn Fein and the SDLP) agreed that Northern Ireland would only become a part of Ireland if the majority of its people want so (Conway, 2011; Augusteijn, 2013). This means a drastic change in strategy by both the government of Ireland (they basically gave up their quest for a united Ireland) as the SDLP and Sinn Fein (their priority shifted from a united Ireland to a peaceful Northern Ireland) (Purvis, 2011).

The paramilitary group the Irish Republican Army has also always striven for a united Ireland, but in a more violent manner. They tried so by bombings, killing and terrorizing. Throughout history the IRA had separated many times. Some people have compromised and dropped their claim on a united Ireland while others were not inclined to do so (Augusteijn, 2013). As a result they have been marginalized many times. Just before the Good Friday Agreement the IRA had announced a ceasefire and a decommissioning of their weaponry, which meant that there was a breathing space for politicians to come to the agreement (Purvis, 2011). The agreement however made it virtually impossible for Northern Ireland to join the Republic of Ireland because the majority-rule had some strings attached as well: not only 50% of the entire population has to vote in favor of a reunification, but also 50% of both main political groups (Augusteijn, 2013). This means that also 50% of the Protestants should vote yes for a reunification, which is of course not likely to happen.

This has resulted in residual paramilitarism by the IRA: several splinter groups have crawled out of the margins and gained new support by Catholics who are opposed to the Sinn Fein's peace-strategy (Purvis, 2011). Their strategy is not as peaceful as that of the Irish government and the Northern Irish Nationalist parties. They have been targeting personnel and installations of the Northern Irish police and military. And, as stated in the last paragraph, where violence by the IRA was in the first place solely aimed at Protestants, they have now also turned to those Catholics who want to settle as a Northern Irish citizen (Purvis, 2011).

The need to remain a part of the UK
Opposite to the need of Catholics to be a part of Ireland, the Protestant people of Northern Ireland want to remain a part of the United Kingdom. The most important actors in fulfilling this need are of the Protestant political parties of Northern Ireland (most importantly the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)). The government of the United Kingdom has devolved the policy on the status of Northern Ireland towards the Assembly, so they have no real power in this matter (McGarry, 2012). The DUP is the largest political party of Northern Ireland and is commonly known to be right-wing (anti-Catholic) and conservative (Conway, 2011). It is the only major party that was opposed to the Good Friday Agreement because they felt that it was too much favoring the Catholics as well as that they could not agree with the fact that the political wing of the IRA, the Sinn Fein, would be a part of the Northern Irish Assembly.

But since they are the largest political party they have a great power in determining the future of Northern Ireland. And besides that, the Good Friday Agreement, which they so opposed,

does give the Protestants a great capacity to hold onto their beloved United Kingdom. They are able to fulfill in the need by political and peaceful strategies.

Besides the political-group the DUP there is also a paramilitary group who are also opposed to the Sinn Fein and especially the IRA: it is the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). They have also, like the IRA, announced a ceasefire and decommissioned their weaponry, but there is, again like the IRA, some activity of splinter groups. An example of this activity is the fact that in 2010 Bobby Mullett was shot by members of the UVF which caused a small political crisis (Purvis, 2011). The capacity of the UVF seems to be linked to the activity of the IRA: when they are active, the UVF gains support. It is no surprise that the strategy of this communal group is aggressive and negative; the magnitude of the violence however is only little when comparing it to the IRA.

The need for maintaining and recognition of identity
Both Catholics and Protestants want to maintain their identities and want to be recognized as respectively Irish and British. There are many actors who play an important role in preserving the identities of both communities. The most important actor in doing so is the Northern Irish government and the representing political parties. And they have a great capacity to fulfill this need. To understand this we have to point out the history of sectarianism in Northern Ireland, which has always been a part of its society (Purvis, 2011). The sectarianism and the violence that it alighted at one point became so intense that the government decided to build peace walls with the aim to prevent inter-communal violence from happening (Purvis, 2011). Northern Ireland became a very segregated society along religious lines, which also meant that Protestants and Catholics would go to separate hospitals, separate schools, separate doctors and were even buried at separate cemeteries (Purvis, 2011). Sandra McEoghain (2012, Appendix 2) says that as a child she was not able to meet children from the Catholic society in- or outside of school. And his hasn't changed. As a result of the segregation Catholic and Protestants can hardly meet each other.

This means that the identities of both Catholics and Protestants can easily be preserved. Education for instance is very important in regard to someone's political vision and view on the Northern Irish conflict (Augusteijn, 2013). This is illustrated by the fact that children on Catholic schools will get taught history from a more Irish/Catholic perspective while Protestant children learn history with a tint of Britishness (Augusteijn, 2013; Glover, 2012, Appendix 2). One could argue that already at the age of school going children the Catholics and Protestants are indoctrinated with stories about their 'enemy'. IRA-members for instance are by rule educated at Catholic schools (Augusteijn, 2013). This system of segregation thus results in the conservation of disparities between the two communities. And people became comfortable in living in this abnormal society, and when you get comfortable you have no desire to change and to move beyond the comfort-zone (Purvis, 2011). After the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, when the conflict was officially brought to an end, one would have thought that the peace walls would decrease in number and length. But the opposite is true: at this moment in time there are more peace walls than prior to the agreement (Purvis, 2011). And besides that, 90% of the children in Northern Ireland are still educated at Catholic or Protestant-schools (NICIE, 2012) while there is also the possibility for the so-called integrated education where both communities mingle (Cairns & Darby, 1998). So there is a large capacity for both communities to hold on to their identities by basically blocking out, avoiding and ignoring the other group.

But of course this capacity is not as large as it would be in respectively Ireland for Catholics and the rest of the United Kingdom for Protestants, because it is not like the Protestants live on one side of Northern Ireland and the Catholics on the other side: they will bump into each other eventually because they share the same area (McGarry, 2012). An example of such a bump was the demonstration of Unionists in regard to the policy of the Union flag that we earlier talked about. The result was a violent clash because the Catholics did not like the fact that Protestants were in their area. The communities themselves can thus also be seen as important actors in 'defending' their own identity.

The need for social and economic equality
The Catholics have a great desire for social and economic equality after centuries of discrimination against their kind. The inequality is historically fed by the Penal Laws and other policy of discrimination towards Catholics. But at this point in time such policies do not exist anymore so not much can be done to directly fulfill this need. The most important actor is of course the government of Northern Ireland: they should aim to establish a society in which every individual has equal chance for social and economic development. The Good Friday Agreement has tried to do this by for instance introducing the arrangement that the police should be representative of the Northern Irish society (Purvis, 2011; Augusteijn, 2013). The point is that the government does no longer hinder the Catholics from being socially and economically equal to Protestants. But they still are still lagging behind as a result of history (Augusteijn, 2013).

The only option is for Catholics to develop themselves to the point that they can 'match' the Protestants in their education. Maybe this can also explain the seemingly big difference between the needs of Catholics and Protestants for good education: the representation of students with a Catholic background at the Universities of Northern Ireland is significantly higher than the representation of their counter sides (Conway, 2011). And besides that, Protestant schoolboys seem to fall out of school to a much larger extent than the Catholics. Dawn Purvis (2011) states: "*Protestant working-class boys are the major non-progressor in our education system and that is beginning to show in our male-employment statistics*". One could conclude that the desire to get educated is higher in the Catholic society or lower in the Protestant society. They maybe do not have the motivations or the incentives to compete with the Catholics because they have always been the higher educated community and have never lacked the possibility to get schooled. However it is, it does give the Catholic community a capacity to deal with the problems of inequality by peacefully developing themselves to fit higher economic functions and thus climb up the social ladder.

The need for fair treatment and equality
After the Good Friday Agreement the Protestant community felt that they were blamed for 'the Troubles', which led to the feeling that they were not treated fairly and unequal in relation to the Catholics. The grievances were especially fed by the fact that the agreement includes a policy that should reshape the police force so that it will represent the Northern Irish society as a whole. According to Augusteijn (2013) this means that in the extreme 30% of the predominantly Protestant police force (which has a size of around 10.000 police offers) would lose their job, leading to anger in the Protestant society. According to Dawn Purvis (2011) these grievances were especially felt in the Protestant working-class: "*there have been no new recruits to the police service from the Protestant working-class background. Most of them have been Protestant middle-class or Catholic working or middle-class*".

So what capacity do the Protestants have to deal with this need of fair treatment and associated grievances? The political parties of the Assembly have themselves signed the Good Friday Agreement and as a result do not have the capacity to challenge the policy that they had earlier approved. Then it is up to the working-class Protestants themselves, who have the possibility to get educated and develop themselves in order to compete on the labor-market. However, as mentioned earlier, school-going Protestants from the working-class are underachieving in education (Purvis, 2011). Dawn Purvis (2011) adds: "*they [the Protestant working class boys who fall out of school] are open to exploitation from gangs, use of drugs and alcohol and also residual paramilitarism*". Tim Conway (2011) agrees with this and adds that "*the large problem is that the majority of the people involved in the violence are working-class*". And this has consequences for the capacity of the UVF, the paramilitary group that violently struggles to fulfill the need of the Protestants, including the need for fair treatment and equality. When the Protestants are unable to find ways for fair treatment in political debate they are more likely to turn to the UVF in accomplishing their goals, especially when the UVF's capacity is fed Protestants who are more likely to turn to paramilitarism and violence.

The need for political representation

Both communities still need to be politically represented in regard to their identity as Protestant or Catholic. Dominic Bryan (2011) agrees with this and illustrates the importance of having someone with your own identity as an important political figure: "*I think the likelihood of people wanting to bomb the city when they can always be the major of the city is greatly reduced*". That there is such a need for political representation can also be deducted from the fact that the people of Northern Ireland remain to vote as they do: primarily for ethno-political-parties, which represent the national blocks (O'Neill, 2011). The most important actor in this matter is the Northern Ireland assembly: ministerial responsibilities and portfolios are allocated depending on the strength of the party's representation in the assembly. Therefore, the members of the assembly reflect the free choice of individual voters (O'Neill, 2011). The current Northern Irish Assembly has 108 seats, 100 of which are filled by people from ethno-political parties. This automatically means that the capacity to fulfill this need for political representation for both communities can be fulfilled with the means of democracy: a peaceful and fair method.

The need for political representation was also one of the items on the agenda during the peace process that has led to the Good Friday Agreement. Part of the agreement was that the government would be based on "consociationalism", which is often viewed as synonymous with 'power-sharing' (McGarry, 2012). This means that both communities are represented in the Assembly, and the position of First Minister would be a post that would be shared by two persons: one Catholic, one Protestant. This gives both Catholics and Protestants the capacity to be represented in the governing of Northern Ireland and the possibility to find legitimate ways to fulfill their other needs. There has however been critique to this idea of power-sharing as well. Many people feel that it deepens the division between Catholics and Protestants because it becomes more and more institutionalized in the structures of the politics (O'Neill, 2011). The only neutral party in the Assembly, the Alliance Party (8 seats), sees this as one of the pin-points in their philosophy.

The need for political equality and balanced power

Besides the desire for political representation the Catholic-part of society also feels the desire for a balanced power in the politics of Northern Ireland. The most important actor to fulfill this need is of

course the central political organ in Northern Ireland: the Assembly. And as mentioned earlier an attempt to deal with the political needs for Catholics has been made with the Good Friday Agreement in which an agreement was made for power-sharing (McGarry, 2012): both Catholics and Protestants participate in the governing of the region. This has improved the imbalance vividly, because it resulted in Catholics being in charge of certain portfolio's (O'Neill, 2011) such as agriculture, education and otherwise.

But when taking a closer look at the political structures a great incapacity to deal with this need of a balanced power becomes apparent. Dominic Bryan (2011, Appendix 3): "*the difficulty is that the political structure, with the ethnically divided political parties, is not likely to vote these sorts of things in [equality for Catholics]*". So because the politics are divided over religious lines and especially because the Protestants remain the majority of democratic Northern Ireland the desire for political equality is not easily capacitated. Bryan (2011) adds: "*I worry that the system does not have the capacity to make the changes that are necessary for long-term stability of Northern Ireland*". This is of course one of the starkest issues because the religious division is heavily institutionalized in the Northern Irish society and its politics.

The need for physical security

As a result of the ongoing violence in Northern Ireland both Protestants and Catholics have a desire for physical security. It is the role of the government of Northern Ireland to provide this security to its people. Two distinct policies to do so can be recognized. Firstly, the government tries to control the violence between Catholics and Protestants by the building of peace walls between neighborhoods of the two communities (Purvis, 2011). This policy of building walls was first introduced as a temporary measure in the beginning of 'the Troubles', but they soon spread across the country. And also after the Good Friday Agreement these walls were left intact. Both Augusteijn (2013) and Purvis (2011) claim that after the agreement the number of walls has increased. So with continuing this policy the government leaves the impression that they consider it a useful and effective approach to contain the violence. And on some level it is true: as mentioned earlier, the number of deaths due to the conflict has decreased vividly (Rogers, 2010). But there is now a new development in the tactics of the paramilitary groups which the policy in regard to 'peace walls' is not capable to deal with: the people of Northern Ireland do not only fear people of the other community but also the violent people of their own.

The second policy by the government to fulfill the need for a physical security is of course related to the security forces in Northern Ireland: the British army and the police-force. And there have been major changes of the capacity of the security forces after the Good Friday Agreement. Both Glover (2012) and Augusteijn (2013) mention that, during the peace-process, it was not uncommon to have British soldiers walking past you in the streets. During that period there were approximately 20.000 soldiers and 13.000, mainly Protestant, police-officers in Northern Ireland (Cairns & Darby, 1998). This number of police officers amounts for 5 officers per 1000 Northern Irish residents. This is a lot compared to the 2 per 1000 in the rest of the United Kingdom. So there was a great capacity to deal with the violence by the Irish government. But a lot has changed after the Good Friday Agreement. The army has dismantled and left Northern Ireland (McDonald, 10 March 2013), while the police-force has changed in its composition after agreeing to make it more representative of the Northern Irish society. This means that the constant (negative) presence of military forces has disappeared and that the ability of the Northern Irish police-force to deal with both communities has increased.

So what about the capacity to fulfill the need of physical security now? It is highly questionable if the police force is able to do so considering the recent upsurge in sectarian violence during which also police officers themselves got hurt. This does not only show a non-capacity of the police force but also a lack of respect for them. It seems as if their strategy in working with the Protestants and Catholics is more likely to spark violence rather than contain it. In a reaction to this upsurge of violence the question has been raised if the British army should return to the streets of Northern Ireland, which is ruled out by the Northern Irish secretary (McDonald, 10 March 2013). But the fact that this question has been raised seems to confirm the presumption that the Northern Irish police-force itself cannot handle the violence on its own.

The need for political stability and normality

The last desire that most of the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland have is for political stability and normality. Basically the people need to have trust in the government and trust that they will work towards a future of stability and peace. The government should be a reflection of the society that it wants to see: one that talks with each other, exchanges ideas and does this with respect and without hate. How has this developed in the last decade in Northern Ireland? Obviously the most important actor in this matter is the government that represents the entire society, which in Northern Ireland are the Assembly, its political parties and the representatives of largest parties of each community (the First Minister and his deputy) who are of course critically observed by everyone who has a link with the state.

So what capacity do they have for political stability and normality? In the last paragraph it was already mentioned that the current representatives Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness have a cold relationship which led to more problems within the process of building a united Northern Ireland (Purvis, 2011). And besides that, the political parties who represent the respective communities have had a bad relation since the beginning of their existence. The Protestant political parties (DUP and UUP) even have difficulties to engage in conversation with the Sinn Fein (the largest Catholic party) who they regard as murderers and terrorists because of their close links to the IRA (Cairns & Darby, 1998). And just recently, after a period of relative peace, both the parties have acknowledged the worsening of their relationship (Moriarty, 16 April 2013). So it seems that the political parties of Northern Ireland do not have the capacity to fulfill this need.

4.4 The nature of the conflict

So now we know how the conflict has developed, what the people of Northern Ireland want now and how certain actors are able or unable in trying to fulfill these needs. These elements of history, needs, (in)capacity and strategies of actors lead to certain patterns that make the conflict destructive. In this paragraph we will put all this information together. What patterns of destructive conflict can we recognize in Northern Ireland? To answer this question we should recall the continuum based on the work of Kriesberg (1998).

Highly destructive conflict	Negative effects
Killing, violence, physical abuse	Severe trauma's, feelings of resentment and hate, escalation
Threatening attitude, coercion	Creates anger, re-establishes prejudices, escalation
Using names, disrespecting	Creates anger and distrust, shows no serious intentions
Acting without deliberation	Creates anger, confusion and distrust
Closed, secretive behaviour	Creates suspicion and distrust
Denial, storming out	Creates distrust and image of weakness in eyes of others
Pointing fingers, 'us and them'	Widening the gap between the conflicting parties
Avoiding, ignoring	Re-establishes or even strengthens ideas of distrust
Taking time out	Can create idea of serious intentions but also of distrust
Active listening and talking	Shows serious intentions of parties
Showing empathy	Shows good will of parties, sincere intentions
Direct, clear and honest communic.	Creates trust, supports ongoing relation between groups
Calm discussion, conversation	Creates trust, shows humane side, breaches prejudices
Showing feelings of connection	Creates feeling of 'us' rather than 'us and them'
Consensus	Creates trust, shows good intentions
Being committed to outcome	Creates trust, boosts relationship and chance of peace
Highly constructive conflict	Positive effects

As a reminder: this continuum shows behaviour and strategies that are related to the nature of the conflict. At the top of the continuum we see behaviour, such as killing and violence, which can be considered highly destructive as their effects will be very negative: trauma, hate, distrust and anger. At the bottom end of the continuum we see behaviour and strategies that are more constructive and in turn have more positive effects (especially trust) that should lead to a change in the conflict situation. In this paragraph we will point out the patterns of the Northern Irish conflict that lead to behaviour and strategies that lead to the destructive nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland; in the final chapter we will give recommendations on how to transform these patterns towards a more constructive nature of conflict.

The continuation of violence

And when we look at this continuum we can see that physical violence and killing is the behaviour or strategy that is the most destructive and thus obviously not the behaviour that is desirable for a stable future for Northern Ireland. But there is a great amount of violence nonetheless. How can this violence be explained? And how can it be that the people of Northern Ireland continue with this violent behaviour? We will look at four actors who use violence as a strategy: the IRA, the UVF and both the Catholic and the Protestant community.

The Irish Republican Army has been marginalized on several occasions in history, minimalizing their capacity at these moments. But how is it then possible that they are still active at this moment? The IRA today tries to fulfill one need: the reunification of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland. They have tried to do so since the partition of Northern Ireland and have officially discontinued their struggle just before the Good Friday Agreement. The Good Friday Agreement however meant that the government of the Republic of Ireland, the Sinn Fein, as well as other Catholic political parties would abandon their active search for a United Ireland. This means that there is an incapacity for Catholics to find a legal way for the reunification. As a result splinter-groups of the IRA gain support from within the Catholic community as it are the only actors who are actively seeking for reunification. And more support for the IRA means that violence is more likely to happen.

Another way in which the IRA is fed in its capacity is through the one-sidedness of the education of young Catholics. Through history the education-system has become segregated, resulting in pro-Catholic and therefore anti-Protestant education on the Catholic schools. The children learn the history of Ireland from only one perspective meaning that they get sort of indoctrinated with an anti-Protestant mindset. And those who are anti-Protestant are more likely to join the IRA, meaning that their capacity grows as a result of the segregated education-system.
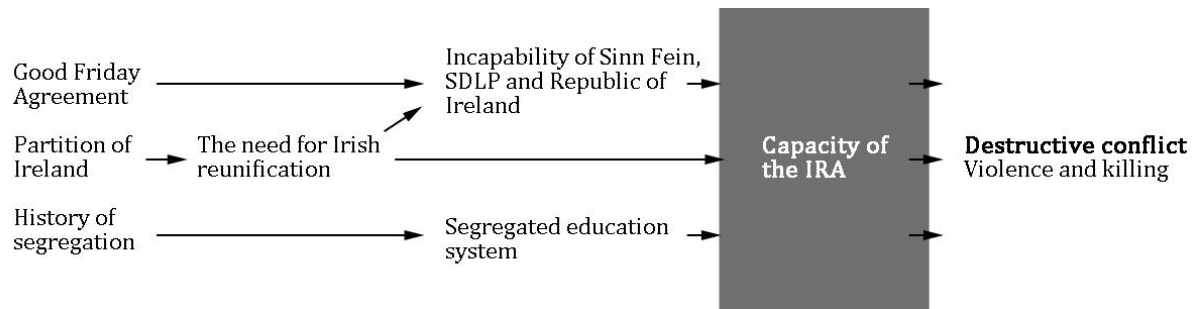

Figure 9: Continuation of violence by the IRA

Then there is the Protestant paramilitary group the UVF, who are, opposite to the IRA, fighting to fulfill the need to remain a part of the United Kingdom because the Protestant-community has strong colonial links with it. The Protestants do have a great capacity to fulfill this need (they are a part of the UK and will most likely remain so), but there remains a threat of the IRA who are still striving for the Irish reunification, as we have just established. Since the support of the UVF is closely related to the activity of the IRA this means that the capacity of the UVF will grow as a result of the IRA's violent struggle.

The capacity of the UVF is also depending on the likelihood for Protestants to join the UVF. There are two elements that contribute to this likelihood. Just like with the IRA, the UVF is fed by people who got educated at segregated schools (in this case Protestant education). An individual who got educated at a Protestant school is more likely to have an anti-Catholic mindset because they get indoctrinated with British history in which the Catholics are portrayed as being the bad guys. Another factor that feeds the capacity of the UVF is the fact that Protestant school-going children (especially boys) underachieve at schools and as a result leave schools uneducated and find themselves more vulnerable to criminality, drugs and also residual paramilitarism.

And the support for the UVF has also grown after the Good Friday Agreement in which some decisions were made that would induce equality for Catholics but automatically disadvantaged the Protestant-society. This led to the need for fair treatment and equality in the minds of Protestants; a need that cannot be fulfilled by the DUP and UUP since they themselves agreed on this renewed policy. As mentioned, this resulted in support for the UVF, meaning that the chance of violence and killing has increased in Northern Ireland.
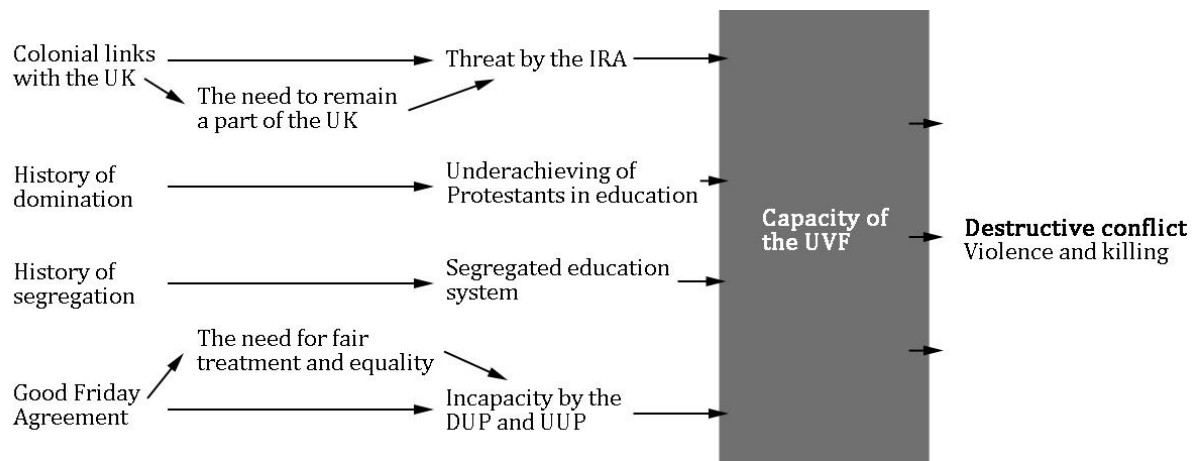
Figure 10: Continuation of violence by the UVF

And besides violence by the IRA and the UVF, there are members of the Protestant and Catholic communities who use violence because they want their identity to be recognized and maintained. Members from both the communities do have the capacity to fulfill in this need as a result of policy that was in the first place meant to deal with the need for physical security: the peace walls. These peace walls made it possible that the Northern Irish society got heavily segregated on religious lines and thus capacitated the need for maintaining and recognition of identity to a large extent. But since the people of Northern Ireland still live next to each other and they are able to walk into each other in the street this may lead to sectarian clashes: a Catholic walking through a Protestant neighborhood (and vice versa) is seen as an intruder and a threat to the identity. So we still see inter-communal violence in Northern Ireland because of the fact that people want to hold onto or better violently 'defend' their identity, making the conflict more destructive.

And then there are the security forces (police officers) of Northern Ireland. They are there to fulfill the need for physical security, but they also seem to induce the inter-communal violence. This can be deducted from the fact that more than once police-officers got hurt in riots between Protestants and Catholics. Their presence, in certain situations, thus also leads to violence by people of the both communities.
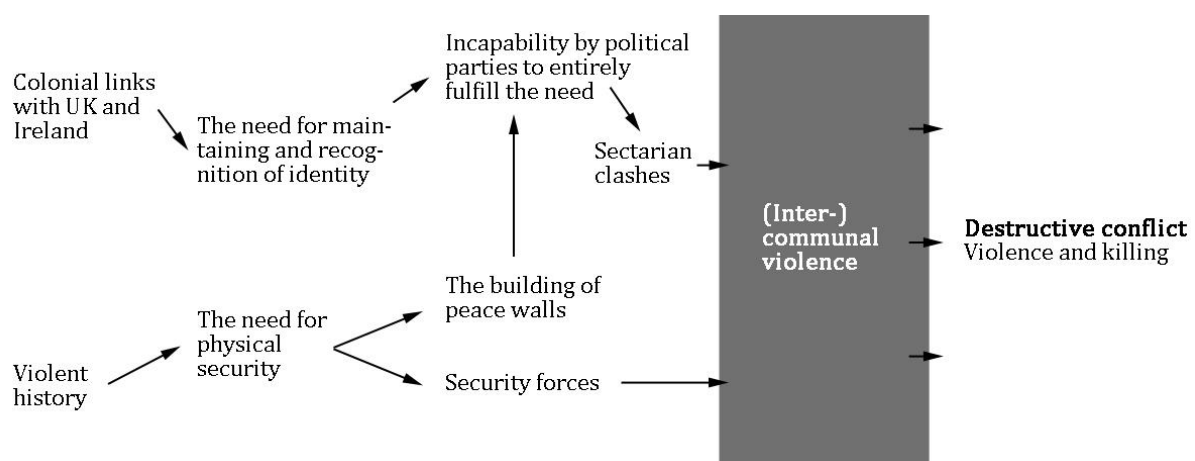

Figure 11: Continuation of inter-communal violence

The institutionalization of division

But the conflict is not only destructive because of patterns that lead to the continuation of violence. We have already established that Northern Ireland is heavily segregated on religious lines and that

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this division between Catholics and Protestants is still going strong. Patterns can be recognized that lead to the continuation and re-establishment or institutionalization of the division in Northern Ireland. When we look at the continuum at the beginning of the paragraph we see certain types of behaviour/strategies that are an integral part of a divided society and also what can be considered destructive. First of all two groups who are divided are more likely to have 'us versus them' kinds of mindsets: we live here and they live on the other side of the wall. Besides that, division allows people to avoid and ignore each other meaning that a positive relationship is unlikely to develop. This division in Northern Ireland is thus making the conflict more destructive. So what patterns can we recognize? We will first look at how the structure of the Northern Irish politics will lead to an institutionalization of the division between Catholics and Protestants after which we will look at elements that contribute to an ongoing societal division.

When looking at figure 12 we immediately recognize the complexity of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Three interdependent factors lead to the institutionalization of division through politics, which in turn strengthens the feelings of belonging to either the Catholic or the Protestant community: it divides rather than unites them. As described in this chapter the history of instability and conflict has led to the desire for a political stability in which parties do not fight each other but rather find ways to kindly debate and talk to each other. The Northern Ireland representatives and the political parties are the only actors who are able to fulfill this need. But they don't. Protestant/Unionists and Catholic/Nationalist political groups still have a very negative relationship. The Sinn Fein and the DUP recently once again admitted that their ties were weakening. This is also illustrated by the cold and distrusting relationship between their party-leaders who are also the highest representatives of the Northern Irish government: Robinson and McGuinness. This incapacity to fulfill the need for political stability leads to the strengthening of feelings of distrust between the two communities which widens the gap between them.

Another way in which the division between the communities is maintained is through ethno-political voting patterns. The colonial linkages that both groups have with the United Kingdom and Ireland lead to a need of maintaining and recognition of identity and in turn political representation, in which the political parties commit themselves to fulfilling this need of recognition of identity and other needs that are related to being Catholic or Protestant. This is what the SDLP and the Sinn Fein are doing for the Catholic-community and what the UUP and DUP are doing for the Protestants. The result is, obviously, that Catholics will vote for either the SDLP or the Sinn Fein and Protestants for either the UUP or the DUP. But what this also does, this ethno-political voting, is re-affirming the division and differences between Catholics and Protestants. The Protestant political parties will commit themselves to fill in the desires of their voters while the Catholic parties will do the same for theirs, even though the desires of the two communities may not correspond or even clash with each other. And when the next election comes, the political parties, who want to remain their power in the government, will again establish a program that corresponds with the desires of their followers. What we see here is what I would like to call some sort of "democratic deadlock".

And then there is the third way in which the division between Catholics and Protestants is institutionalized, namely through the policy of power-sharing. As a result of the need for political representation and political equality in the minds of the Catholics, the Good Friday Agreement installed the concept of power-sharing in the Northern Ireland Assembly. This idea of power-sharing meant that a rule was made in the Northern Irish constitution which prescribes that Catholics and Protestants together govern the region and will both deliver one representative that fills in the role

of First Minister or the Deputy First Minister. As a result the Catholics, who had before always been the more powerless, no longer have to fear for a society in which Protestants rule alone. However, this concept of power-sharing also means that by rule the Northern Irish politics will be divided in a Protestant-side and a Catholic-side. This means that it again re-affirms the division between the two communities, meaning that this idea of 'us and them' will be further institutionalized in the minds of the people of Northern Ireland.
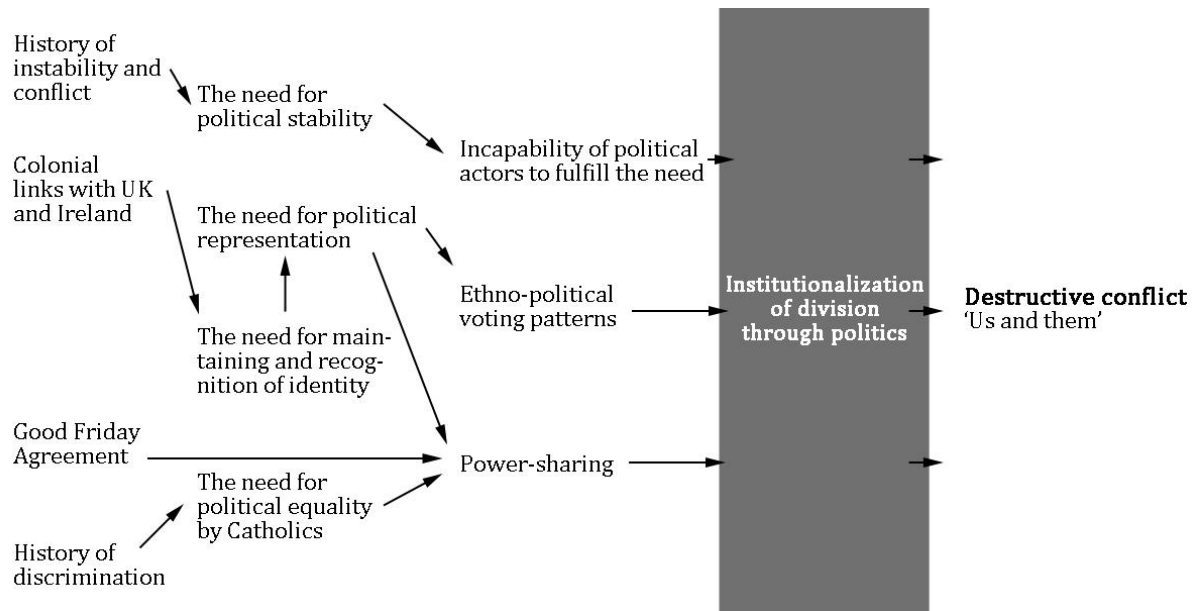

Figure 12: Institutionalization of division through politics

And then there is the institutionalization of division through society itself. Even though this pattern (figure 13) is far less complicated than the institutionalization of division through politics, it is evenly problematic and destructive. This division through society comes about as a result of continued policy of segregated education and peace walls.

First of all, the history of violence between Catholics and Protestants (and the continuation of this violence as described before) leads to a fierce need for physical security in both communities. These peace walls give them the capacity to fulfill this need to a large extent. That is why they were built during the period of the Troubles in the first place, but that is also why they are still growing in numbers. However, the result of these walls is, of course, that Catholics will not be able to meet Protestants on the street and vice versa. Friendships are unlikely to develop and prejudices will be kept alive. As long as these walls will remain a part of Northern Ireland, the institutionalization of division through society will continue.

Because these peace walls do not only serve the purpose for physical security, even though they were only built to fulfill this need. It also gives the Catholics and Protestants the ability to maintain their own identity as a result of the fact that they are unlikely to meet each other (as described above). This need for maintaining of identity has also translated itself to a policy of segregated education: Catholic children go to Catholic schools, Protestant children to Protestant schools. This has two negative effects. One, just like with the peace walls, children are likely to only have friends with a same background, meaning that also the future generation will develop an 'us versus them' kind of mindset. And two, which may even be more problematic, children get educated in an environment that is either Catholic or Protestant and therefore anti-Protestant or anti-Catholic.

Especially in teaching history the Catholic children will hear the Catholic side of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, that they were discriminated against and marginalized, while the Protestant children will get the idea that the Catholic community has always been violent. The children get indoctrinated with these negative mindsets that will in turn lead to a broader division of the two communities.
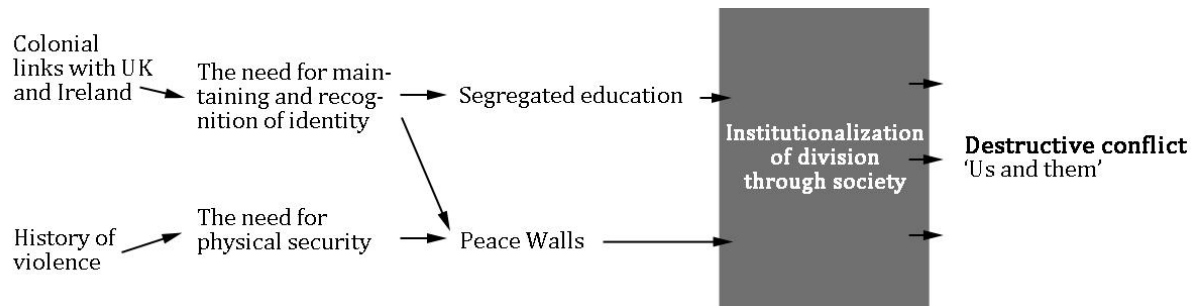

Figure 13: Institutionalization of division through society

The consequences of these patterns

Let us look back at the continuum at the beginning of this paragraph and consider the consequences of both this continuation of violence as this institutionalization of division in Northern Ireland. First of all we will consider the continuation of violent behaviour. The fact that it continues means that people will be traumatized and angry, it (re)installs or strengthens feelings of resentment and hate, it re-establishes prejudices and it will cause the conflict to (re)escalate (Kriesberg, 1998). This means that the patterns of violence are contributing to the highly destructive nature of the conflict.

And the consequences of the institutionalization of division through politics and society are clear. Both communities live side by side to each other but keep ignoring and avoiding their counterparts. This (re)establishes feelings of distrust and prejudice while it also creates feelings of 'us versus them' which of course widens the gap between the communities (Kriesberg, 1998). The continuation of such behaviour is not likely to lead to a Northern Irish society in which Protestants and Catholic can live peacefully together. Rather it is a form of persistent destructive conflict.

In the next chapter we should thus find ways to transform these patterns of violence and division in such a way that the behaviour and strategies in Northern Ireland become more constructive; in theoretical terms they should be lowered on the continuum of Kriesberg (1998).

5. Conclusion & recommendations

Northern Ireland is the stage of what we call a negative peace. There is no actual warfare going on, but Catholics and Protestants have serious difficulties living side to side to each other, let alone living with each other. The largest problem that peacebuilders have to deal with is the great complexity of the conflict: what would solve the conflict for one community would lead to anger within the other community. The Northern Ireland conflict cannot be resolved as if it is a difficult puzzle; the pieces do not match perfectly. And that is where the concept of Conflict Transformation fits perfect, because it does not try to resolve the conflict, but rather tries to harness it in a constructive manner. Conflict should be expressed in discussion, talking and finding common ground rather than in violence and hate. Basically "peace is not the absence of conflict, but the ability to cope with it". And this line of thought is what is central in this research because the Northern Irish clearly lack this ability.

Let us look back at the central question in this research as described in the introduction: "*What patterns of conflict formation can be recognized that lead to the persistent destructive nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland and how should these patterns of conflict begin to be transformed, considering the concept of Conflict Transformation, in order to harness the conflict in a more constructive nature?*".

5.1 The persistent destructive nature of the conflict

In this conclusion we will first answer the first part of this question which comprises the main part of this research: finding the patterns of persistent destructive conflict in Northern Ireland. In the analysis we have traced these patterns by systematically looking at the history of the conflict, how this history has induced certain needs in the minds of the Catholics and Protestants and what capacity both communities have to fulfill these needs. This information blended together resulted in patterns that lead to the destructive nature of the Northern Irish conflict. But how exactly is this destructive nature persistent?

We know that as a result of many factors violence by the IRA and the UVF as well as the communities is continued. The incapability of the Catholic political parties to unite Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland and the segregated education system lead to the continuation of the violent struggle by the IRA. In turn, the threat by the IRA as well as the underachieving of Protestant youth, the segregated education system and the incapability of the Protestant political parties to fulfill the need for fair treatment results in continued violence by the UVF. And finally the incapability to fulfill the need of total security as well as the security forces themselves triggers violence in the communities of Northern Ireland. As a result of all these patterns violence is still the rule rather than the exception.

And besides the patterns of violence, there are also patterns of division contributing to the destructive nature of conflict. First of all political division: the incapability to deliver political stability by the political parties of Northern Ireland as well as continued ethno-political voting patterns and the rules on power-sharing time after time validates and reconfirms the division between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. And then there is also the pattern of societal division: the segregated education system and the peace walls separate the two communities to such an extent that they are unable to develop positive relationships.

But what are the consequences of this continuation of violence and division? The answer to this question can also tell us why the destructive nature of the conflict in Northern Ireland is so persistent. First of all we consider trauma, which is just one of the many consequences of the violence. Violence will lead to trauma by those who are affected in a physical and psychological manner. The traumatized people want more security and are afraid to relate with people from the other community who they do not trust. For these people the peace walls are an excellent measure and they will most definitely support the growing in numbers of these walls as it will keep out 'the other', with whom they feel not safe, as much as possible. So basically violence leads to support for the building of new peace walls.

But then imagine the consequence of this development when looking at the patterns of institutionalization of division of Northern Ireland. Because we have established that the peace walls contribute to the idea of Catholic versus Protestant in the minds of the people. The two communities

avoid contact with each other and people do not know what is happening on the other side of these peace walls. Positive inter-communal relationships are not likely to develop; rather the two communities will drift further apart as a result of on-going distrust and prejudice. And when these two communities then do meet each other violence is far more likely to happen. So violence leads to the building of peace walls and the peace walls lead to the worsening of the relationship between Protestants and Catholics which in turn again induces violence.

Then think of another consequence of violence. Violence between Catholics and Protestants will, besides trauma, also lead to anger, distrust and hate in the minds of people from both communities. These people do not want to relate with individuals from the other community and will transmit their own mindset to the people who live around them, like for instance their children. When such hate exists it is likely that parents will choose to let their children get educated at either a Protestant or a Catholic school which again has consequences for the mindsets of the children. They will learn history in a one-sided manner and will only learn about the other community by stories rather than own experiences. Children who enjoyed such an education are far more likely to see the injustice done to their own community rather than the entire picture, resulting in possible support for the IRA, the UVF or ethno-political parties.

So the IRA and the UVF gain support. This will of course result in a larger likelihood of violence in Northern Ireland since these are inherently violent actors. The incapability of the politics to contain this violence will in the long run lead to the growing tensions between the Protestant and Catholic political parties. This added up to the relationship that is already very negative means that the political groups cannot deliver the political stability that the Northern Irish so desire, resulting in unrest in the minds of the people. Tensions will rise and violence may happen. Then this violence leads to trauma and the support of the building of peace walls…

Even though this sketch of events may be dramatized, it is clear what the patterns of destructive conflict in Northern Ireland can bring about. Violence strengthens the division between Catholics and Protestants while the division in turn again induces violence between the two communities. It is a very persistent pattern of destructive conflict that keeps the situation in Northern Ireland on the edge of spiraling out of control. The Northern Irish society has to change structurally to break through this downward spiral. In the next paragraph I give recommendations for transforming these patterns of destructive conflict towards patterns that should lead to a more constructive nature of conflict in Northern Ireland and as a result a great step to transform the situation in Northern Ireland to a more sustainable peace.

5.2 Recommendations for transformations

So we recognize quite a few patterns that lead to the conflict having a destructive nature. The idea behind Conflict Transformation is that these patters should be transformed in order to harness the conflict in a more constructive manner. Above we have answered the first part of the research-question that is central in this research, which focused on exposing the persistent nature of these patterns. This paragraph will focus on the second part of the question and aims to give recommendations on how to begin to transform the patterns so that they contribute towards a more constructive nature of conflict. So these are just ideas how the process towards a more constructive conflict should start. I do not pretend to have the final answers on how this conflict should be transformed; rather I intend to open doors for creativity in finding ways to transform the patterns.

This constructive nature of conflict means that the patterns of conflict should lead to parties actively listening to each other, actively discussing the conflict and showing respect towards each other. This will result in the breaching of prejudices, the creation of trust between the conflicting communities and in the long run a positive peace.

In the theoretical framework we distinguished four types of interventions that we should consider in Conflict Transformation. As a reminder: they were actor transformations, issue transformations, rule transformations and structural transformations. It is important to remember that these types of transformations are interrelated. So when an actor transforms, meaning that they switch or alter their strategy, it is also likely that the actor transforms the issues that it deals with. Even though there is spillover between the types of transformation, in this paragraph we will consider transformations of the patterns in Northern Ireland for the four distinct types.

5.2.1 Actor transformations

Actor transformations are aiming to change the internal structures and strategies of the actors as well as the creation of new actors that might influence the conflict dynamics. From the analysis of the conflict in Northern Ireland we have distinguished several actors that in some way, purposefully or not, contribute to the destructive nature. There are the IRA, the UVF, the political parties of both communities, the security forces and the government itself that should consider changes in their strategy and structure.

The IRA and the UVF are both inherently aggressive actors and are not actors who are easily persuaded to change their structures and strategies. When one leader agrees to cease his violent attempts to pursue a certain goal, another leader, who does not agree with such a measure, may again stand up and continue the violent battle. It is because of the disjointedness of the both actors that it seems impossible to transform the actors. And that is of course a pity, because if these parties would discontinue their aggressive conduct a giant leap towards a positive peace would have been made. The alternative is to transform the patterns of the conflict in such a way that the IRA and the UVF would lose support and in such a way can be marginalized. We will come back to this in the next paragraphs.

But first we will take a look at the structure and strategies of the political parties as the DUP, UUP, SDLP and the Sinn Fein. We know that, as a result of the religious division of Northern Ireland, these parties are totally opposite to each other. The DUP and UUP are Protestant while the SDLP and Sinn Fein are Catholic. As a result of their fierce rivalry they are not able to form a stable government for Northern Ireland which in turn results in more division between Catholic and Protestants. Instead they should be a reflection of what they themselves want to see from the society: a group of people who can respectfully interact with each other and develop friendships. But how to do this then? The parties should try to employ people who understand the division of Northern Ireland and accept it, but who are also able to look further than this religious division. People who do not use nicknames for their counterparts and who are not inherently aggressive and negative towards working together with parties from the other community. This will most probably be very hard to accomplish, but along with other transformations (next paragraphs) should be possible in a society that for a large part is sick of the conflict.

Then what about the government itself? Their policy is for a large part aimed at dividing the Northern Irish society in Catholic and Protestant parts. They are continuing the policy of peace walls and segregated education that institutionalizes the division even further and do not seem to take fierce actions to change this situation. The government thus shows no intention, or at least too little, to unite the both communities and that is of course not inducing constructive conflict. Rather the government should try to stimulate intergroup contact between Catholics and Protestants. This can be with projects, think for instance of simple things as demolishing the peace walls by Protestants and Catholics who live near to these walls as well as projects or policies that stimulate people from both communities to enter a mixed school rather than a Catholic or Protestant one so that they can learn about other religious views and, more importantly, understand their point of view. These projects and policies would show their intention of moving towards a peaceful society rather than a government that tries to hold onto the status quo.

And then there are the security forces who have just recently changed their structure to be representative of the society that it protects. This is of course a step in the right direction since they will be more easily accepted as keepers of the peace. However, there are still situations in which they induce aggression rather than contain it. This is of course not something that is easily managed, but as a start they should try to, as much as possible, shun violence against demonstrators and be trained to stimulate discussion between the groups that are violent towards each other. Not trying to get them apart but trying to get them together and talk. As a result they would not only be security force but also some sort of peace force. This may be a risky endeavor and something which may fail from time to time, but it does show their intentions to unite the people rather than to divide them.

5.2.2 Issue transformations

Issue transformations are aimed at altering the agenda of the conflict issues (not only in politics, also in governing). It is about finding common ground and might require deep political and societal changes. Different actors deal with certain issues that all seem to be related to the religious division in Northern Ireland. And even though most of the actors have positive intentions, it does strengthen the idea of a division between a Catholic community and a Protestant community. The political parties are fighting to live up to the needs of either the Catholics or the Protestants while the government is finding ways to deal with the violence, the peace walls and the segregated education that separate the Catholics and Protestants. It is all aimed at the division of the two communities.

Rather I would suggest that this division should be acknowledged but not be emphasized all the time. This means that the political parties should not solely aim to live up to the needs of the Catholics or Protestants but as much as possible try to live up to the need of the Northern Irish, meaning for instance that they should not try to stimulate education for the Protestant working-class, but for the entire working-class in Northern Ireland. Such a political endeavor is however hard because the ethno-political parties still rely on the votes of the communities which in turn conserve the ethno-political voting patterns. This result in a politics that is committed to work for a society in which respectively Catholics and Protestants feel comfortable in: a society which is segregated. Parents want their children to share their background so they send them to a segregated school. And this is just one of the results of the segregation. To deal with these issues structural changes are needed. Therefore we will return to this issue in the last paragraph of this chapter.

The government in turn is trying to contain the violence in Northern Ireland by continuing the policy of peace walls, which seems to be the main issue. They are trying to avoid the violence rather than trying to cure it. I would recommend that they would look at the problems in society that lead to the continuation of this violence. In the analysis we for instance recognized the underachieving of Protestant working-class youth in education, the segregated education system and the security forces who seem to attract violence rather than prevent it. By educating the (Protestant) youth and by the closing of segregated schools the UVF and IRA would for a great deal lose input and support since the youth would be less sensitive to join such paramilitary groups as they have other prospects and a mindset that is not either anti-Catholic or anti-Protestant. These are issues that should be at the top of the governmental agenda in Northern Ireland, along with trying to stimulate people of both communities to come together rather than trying to avoid each other.

5.2.3 Rule transformations

Rule transformations focus on changing the norms of party's interactions and changing the rules on how to govern the conflict. Rules and incentives are used to prevent people from threatening and disrespecting the other party and to stimulate calm discussion. Official rules can only be installed by the government in affairs in which they play an important part. These affairs that lead to the destructive nature of conflict in Northern Ireland are the relationship between the political parties of both communities and the segregated education system.

In the analysis we have established that the institutionalization of division is strengthened by the cold and negative relationship between political parties of the both communities. Therefore certain rules should be established to deal with this relationship. As simple as it may sound, verbally disrespecting of politicians towards other politicians should be penalized. It may just look like a minor event when such a thing happens, but it is not unthinkable that it severely damages the image of the Northern Irish politics in the minds of the people. By penalizing this verbal abuse the politicians will be more eager to have a constructive discussion rather than destructive one. This of course is only a starting point in bettering the relationship between the parties. Another problem in Northern Ireland is the fact that Martin McGuinness and Peter Robinson, who should be the two faces of the union of Catholics and Protestants, have a very bad relationship with each other. They are pushed forward as the party-leaders of the two biggest political parties of Northern Ireland to be First Minister and his Deputy and are thus forced to work with each other. So when they have personal problems with each other that is just bad luck. Therefore I would suggest that rules need to be installed that try to prevent such a situation from happening in the future. For example, a rule that gives the 'sitting' First Minister a voice in deciding who his colleague will be from the other community. This may be a rule that is hard to live up to, with the difficulties that democracy brings along, but it is a rule that is definitely worth looking into.

Then there is the problem of segregated education which institutionalizes the division from the perspective of society as a result of one-sided history. Rules should be developed to stimulate Catholic and Protestant parents to send their children to mixed schools where the children do have the ability to meet members of the other society. Think for instance of making the mixed schools more financially accessible to parents by lowering the costs to go to such a school. Or, when such a policy fails, rules that every Catholic and Protestant school should also visit the schools of the other community every once in a while, meaning that the children do have the possibility to meet each

other more often. These are just two possibilities of several rules that can be installed to stimulate interaction between the two communities on an educational level.

5.2.4 Structural transformations

And finally we distinguish structural transformations. It is about transforming the entire structure of relationships and power distribution in the conflict. These are the most radical types of transformation and would most likely suffer much criticism and opposition. But for the Northern Ireland conflict to move forward I argue that especially the political structure needs to be transformed to a large extent. In the analysis we have established that the structure of the politics as it is now leads to a further institutionalization of division between Catholic and Protestants in the Northern Irish society. We know that this is not desirable as it strengthens feelings of 'us versus them' and keeps prejudices and distrust alive.

First of all we have recognized that the need for political representation by both Catholics and Protestants has led to the division between Unionist and Nationalist parties in the Assembly. This has given the communities of Northern Ireland a great capacity to fulfill this need for representation by simply voting for those parties who defend the identity of that community. The result: ethno-political voting became an important part of the Northern Irish politics. And also, in an attempt to deal with the imbalance of power in Northern Ireland, in the Good Friday Agreement an agreement was made that would further institutionalize the division as a result of power-sharing. The division has actually become a part of the constitution at this point. I argue that this all has to change radically to break through the idea of Catholic versus Protestant and rather embrace the idea of Catholics and Protestants living side by side. How can politicians bring two communities together when they themselves time after time emphasize the division? Political parties should therefore not be Protestant or Catholic; rather they should be neutral in this matter and defend the rights of all the Northern Irish. But such an image is of course a highly improbable utopia since the division has institutionalized itself to the deepest roots of society.

So what should happen? That is a question that is hard to answer. Should there be small steps towards an eventual large-scale change? Or should there be a full blown revolution? As mentioned, the structural transformation as I have suggested above will most definitely be subject to critique by those who have some sort of interest in holding on to the status quo; primarily those with power. But I argue that it are these people, the influential individuals who have got the ability to inspire and to mobilize people, should step forward and make brave decisions and undertake courageous actions to break through the idea of Catholic versus Protestant and rather promote the idea of a united Northern Ireland. This can be subtle things as waving with the Northern Irish flag rather than the Irish or the British flag at major events, a Catholic priest and a Protestant pastor who openly work together or a politician who actively supports ideas of a political party of the opposing community. Such people, those agents of peace, are the most important figures in Northern Ireland to finally find a long and lasting peace. This should be people who thoroughly understand the conflict and people who can comprehend the driving motivations behind those who are conflicting; basically it should be people who have 'lived the conflict' in Northern Ireland.

5.3 Reflection and future research

And that last notion puts this research in perspective. Because what power does a non-Catholic and non-Protestant student from the Radboud University in Nijmegen have in imposing change in Northern Ireland; a place that is over 500 miles away from Belfast. In my life I have only spoken to a handful of people who have lived in Northern Ireland and experienced the conflict while I myself have never set foot in Northern Ireland. I would certainly understand the driving forces behind the conflict better if I would live in Belfast for several years, if I would speak with the people on a daily basis and if I was the one who is experiencing the conflict. This fact means that I cannot be an agent of peace for Northern Ireland as my words and deeds are not likely to inspire and mobilize a large group of people.

But this does not mean that my research is a waste of time. On the contrary, I would say that this research can be very useful in coming to ideas on how to break through the idea of Catholics versus Protestants in Northern Ireland. And this is precisely because of the reason that I am not either Catholic or Protestant and because of the fact that I have not experienced the conflict. This means that I am not biased towards one of the two communities and that I have a view on the situation that is not spoiled by the conflict. People in Northern Ireland may carry so many experiences with them that they cannot observe the conflict in a neutral and rational way anymore. My research is thus a chance to again see the core of the conflict in Northern Ireland because it is written without any past experiences that may have blurred my view on the conflict.

Having said that, another reflective remark has to be made. This research has focused on the Northern Irish conflict using the concept of Conflict Transformation. When I had approached it from another perspective within the field of conflict-studies I would probably have found different patterns within the relation between Catholics and Protestants. That puts this research in perspective, making it useful but not the final solution for the conflict. Therefore I argue that future research should take the patterns that I have found and combine them with patterns and problems that other researchers have found to come to a more complete and therefore even more useful idea on what should happen in Northern Ireland to finally find a positive peace.

This broader image can then function as input for policy makers, politicians, scientists or whoever is concerned with the conflict in Northern Ireland. They can further develop ideas on how to transform the conflict considering actor-, issue-, rule- and structural transformations.

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Appendix 1

Interview: **Dr. Joost Augusteijn**

Functie: Docent aan de Universiteit Leiden, expert op het gebied van Ierse en Engelse historie.

Lengte: 50:50

Introductie: Ik ga in gesprek met Dr. Joost Augusteijn over het conflict in Noord Ierland en in bijzonder over de historie van het conflict en hoe het zich heeft ontwikkeld tot de situatie zoals hij nu is in Noord Ierland. Het gesprek is in het Nederlands terwijl de bijbehorende scriptie in het Engels is geschreven. De reden hiervoor is dat Nederlands zowel mijn als Joost Augusteijn's moedertaal is en dat maakt het logisch om in het Nederlands een gesprek te voeren. Hierdoor begrijpen we elkaar ook beter. Hieronder volgt een transcriptie van een geluidsbestand dat het interview bevat. Op het moment dat ik de recorder aanzette heb ik Joost Augusteijn al verteld waarom ik geinteresseerd ben in Noord Ierland, dus het gesprek is al deels gaande.

De dikgedrukte tekst zijn de woorden die ik heb gesproken, de normale tekst is het spreken van Joost Augusteijn.

Als je strict juridisch kijkt is Noord Ierland niet gekoloniseerd want het is gewoon onderdeel van het gebied (lees: Verenigd Koninkrijk) en het is politiek vertegenwoordigd op gelijke wijze als andere delen van het land. Anders zou je ook kunnen zeggen dat Limburg een kolonie is.

Ja oke, maar in de perceptie van een Katholieke Ier..

In de perceptie van een Ier is het koloniseren, maar dat ligt aan de perceptie. Dat is het lastige als je kijkt naar dat soort regionale afscheidingsbewegingen of regionale identiteiten... die kunnen zichzelf altijd afschilderen als zijnde "we zijn gekoloniseerd", maar als je naar het staatsvormingsproces kijkt op de lange termijn dan is dat heel normaal. Ik bedoel, Frankrijk bestaat ook uit allerlei regio's die vroeger ook niet één waren. Ergens in de middeleeuwen waren die met elkaar aan het vechten en op een gegeven moment is er een overkoepelend gezag gekomen en toen zijn sommige delen zich Frans gaan noemen, sommige delen hebben ook wel Normandisch en Frans of Bourgondisch en Frans... maar ook een bepaalde regionale identiteit van mensen die zeiden "we zijn Bretons en niet Frans". We zijn wel onderdeel van Frankrijk, maar we zijn niet Frans. Die hadden hun eigen identiteit. En dat is in het Ierse geval ook zo. Dus die definitie gekoloniseerd is afhankelijk van de insteek die je hebt. Maar puur juridisch gezien is het geen kolonie.

Okee dat is goed om te weten natuurlijk, zodat ik die fout in de toekomst niet nog een keer maak. Maar zal ik eerst iets vertellen over het onderzoek dat ik aan het uitvoeren ben? Ik kijk vanuit een bepaald concept, Conflict Transformation, van waaruit ik de structuren van het Noord Ierse conflict probeer bloot te leggen. En op die manier te kijken naar wat er nu voor zorgt dat het conflict in plaats van een constructief karakter een destructrief karakter heeft.

En daar bedoel je mee dat?

Dat het een negatieve uitwerking heeft. En Conflict Transformation dat probeert het conflict van destructief naar constructief te transformeren. En in mijn onderzoek wil ik gaan kijken naar hoe dat gedaan zou kunnen worden. En waarom ben ik dan hier? Dat concept begint eigenlijk vanuit de historie, dat kijkt heel erg naar de koloniale context en de geschiedenis van de sociale formatie van het conflict, in dit geval Noord-Ierland. En ik denk dat u me daar wel het één en ander over kunt vertellen.

Dat ga ik proberen.

Dat zou ik mooi vinden. Maar ik zal allereerst wel het één en ander van u zelf willen weten. Want u heeft in Belfast gewoond... hoe bent u daar terecht gekomen?

Ik ben gepromoveerd op Ierland en de IRA (de oude IRA). En na mijn promotie ben ik naar Ierland gegaan, toen ben ik daar werk gaan zoeken en mijn vrouw is Iers dus deels vanwege haar ging ik ook naar Ierland toe. Toen heb ik een jaar in Dublin gewerkt, met tijdelijke contracten. En dan ben je op zoek naar werk en kon ik toevallig een contract krijgen in Belfast. Daar kreeg ik een goed contract dus daar heb ik vijf jaar gezeten en daar heb ik gedoceert aan de universiteit over moderne Ierse geschiedenis.

En u bent niet zelf Katholiek of Protestants?

Nee ik ben neutraal en dat is denk ik ook deels waarom ze me hebben aangenomen in zekere zin. In Noord Ierland is de moderne geschiedenis nogal conflicterende stof dus het was best voordelig om iemand aan te nemen om iemand aan te nemen die van buiten komt. Een Ier wordt altijd op een bepaalde plek geplaatst, ben je voor die kant of voor die kant [lees: als Katholiek of Protestants], waar ben je dan voor? Ben je SDLP of Sinn Fein of ben je DUP, UUP of UVF of iets dergelijks. En ik zeg altijd zelf, gekscherend, mijn vader is Protestants en mijn moeder is Katholiek. Ik ben niet religieus opgevoed en ik kom uit een oranje land (kleur van de Protestanten) maar ik doe onderzoek naar de IRA (Katholiek). Dus ik zit altijd in het midden. Dat is mijn verhaal.

Maar heeft u dan ook gemerkt dat de mensen die u les heeft gegeven, dat die eerder les hebben gekregen van een Katholieke docent of van een Protestantse docent?

Zeker. Zeker in de zin van waar ze naar school waren geweest. De middelbare school is erg bepalend in Noord-Ierland maar het schoolsysteem is heel erg sektarisch georganiseerd. Dus dat betekent dat

je als een Katholiek naar een Katholieke school gaat en dan krijg je Ierse geschiedenis. En als een Protestant ga je naar een staatsschool en dan krijg je Engelse geschiedenis.

En dat is nog steeds?

Ja. Toen ik daar was waren ze er mee bezig om ook een Iers curriculum te introduceren, over Ierse geschiedenis, om het een beetje breder te trekken. Maar dat betekent nog steeds dat het wel heel bepalend is wie dat dan geeft. In een staatsschool zijn het bijna alleen maar Protestanten die er werken en die interpreteren de geschiedenis wel even iets anders dan de Katholieken die in de Katholieke scholen werken. En de invloed daarvan was erg merkbaar en dat was in de geschiedenis ook vaak zo. IRA-leden zijn ook vaak opgeleid in een heel nationalistische omgeving en onderwijs op school heeft ook een invloed wat dat betreft. Wat de politieke vorming van mensen betreft.

Ja, dat is wel logisch. En u volgt de problematiek daar ook nog steeds?

Ja, jazeker. Niet meer zo intenstief als toen, maar ik kijk nog regelmatig naar de website van de Ierse krant op het internet en ik heb er nog schoonfamilie zitten natuurlijk en vrienden dus.. en ik heb er in totaal ongeveer 9 jaar gewoond... Wel veel in het Zuiden dus ik ken het Zuiden beter dan het Noorden, maargoed..

En die periode dat u daar woonde, heeft u toen veel van het conflict gemerkt of.. in hoeverre merk je dat uberhaupt?

Nou je aan de ene kant merk je dat het elke dag in het nieuws is, want er gebeurt elke dag wel iets. Als wij iets over Noord Ierland horen dan hoor je het alleen als er iets heel groots is, vooral toen het conflict nog gaande was. Dat is nu nog steeds wel gedeeltelijk, maar toen was het helemaal zo. Toen hoorde je elke dag wel over een bomaanslag die mislukt of een poging tot een aanslag of iemand die verwond wordt. Maar als er iemand in zijn been geschoten wordt in Belfast dan ga je dat hier niet op het nieuws horen. Maar als je in Belfast woont, dan hoor je dat wel. Het nieuws is daar elke dag over het conflict. Ik woonde daar ten tijden van het einde van het vredesproces en toen ging het daar constant over. En als je in het Zuiden woont dan is het conflict ook altijd onderdeel van het nieuws. Dus op die manier merk je het, maar je merkt het ook aan de studenten. Ook al zijn de studenten, bij geschiedenis in ieder geval, nogal conflict-mijdend. Ik heb maar zelden gehad dat er echt een discussie ontstond over het conflict bij het college, maar dat is eigenlijk ook bedenkelijk want dat betekent ook dat ze niet zeggen wat ze denken. Dus er was een soort "licht-groene" consensus zoals ik het noemde. Want de Katholieken zijn natuurlijk niet zo aardig behandeld, dus zij zeggen "dat was vervelend, dat mag niet meer gebeuren". Zo'n houding had iedereen wel (ook de Protestanten), maar als je de werkstukken van die studenten las dan kwam je een heel spectrum tegen. Met alle vooroordelen die daar bij horen. Maar dat betekent dus als we aan het discussieren waren over evenementen in de geschiedenis, welke meestal over de politiek gaan, dan komen die kwesties altijd

wel om de hoek kijken. Maar dan hielden ze zich gewoon in en ze lieten niet echt zien wat ze dachten.

Dan zijn er waarschijnlijk ook niet echt vriendschappen tussen Protestanten en Katholieken gegroeid in de klas?

Dat gebeurde wel hoor, maar dat waren dan de apolitieke mensen. Mensen waren bewust apolitiek, want zodra je politiek werd creerde je een afstand en conflict met de andere groep. Dus er waren best wat mensen die bewust niet met het conflict meededen en het er daarom niet over hadden. En dat konden ze in colleges ook en dat ging heel aardig, maar het was dus wel een voorwaarde dat je dat niet uitsprak.

En wat voor leerlingen waren dit? Een hogeschool? Universiteit?

Een universiteit.

Oke, dat is wel bizar opzich want dat zijn dan de hoger opgeleiden..

Ja want het is op dat niveau natuurlijk de bedoeling dat je in de discussie meegaat maar dat gebeurde dan niet. Daar heb ik wel eens een stuk over geschreven dat dat kwalijk is. Maargoed, je merkt verder ook wel dat het conflict wel langs komt. Mijn oudste dochter is er geboren toen ik daar in het begin kwam, toen ik daar net woonde. En als je dan op straat liep met je kinderwagen dan komen er gewoon legerpatrouilles langs die met mitrailleuren richten op de stoep waar jij loopt. Nou dat is wel een rare ervaring. Dat maak je in Leiden niet vaak mee en zelfs niet in Amsterdam [synische opmerking]. En als je daar aan het winkelen bent zie je gewoon patrouilles die in militaire formatie, met tien meter tussenruimte, telkens van positie wisselen en alle hoeken veiligstellen. En daar loop je dan rustig door te winkelen. Dat is vrij bizar. Er zijn dus allerlei militaire aspecten die je ziet. En er wordt iemand op de hoek doodgeschoten.

Dat heeft u ook wel eens gezien?

Nee dat niet gelukkig, maar wel eens dat er een student van mij is doodgeschoten. Ik kende hem zelf niet echt goed, maar het was een geschiedenis-student dus ik had hem wel eens college gegeven. En die was alleen maar doodgeschoten omdat hij Katholiek was. Hij was taxi-chauffeur en vanuit de Protestantse hoek zijn alle Katholieken verkeerd dus als je iemand wil doodschieten dan mag je een Katholiek doodschieten. En ook taxi-bedrijven waren sektarisch georganiseerd, dus als je bij een bepaald taxi-bedrijf kwam dan wist je dat dat allemaal Katholieken waren. Dus dan zorgde ze ervoor dat ze hem ergens op een afgelegen plek kregen, en dan werd hij doodgeschoten. De taxi-bedrijven waren daar natuurlijk wel voorzichtig mee, maar dat ging natuurlijk niet altijd goed. Het gekke met het conflict is dus dat er iemand op de hoek doodgeschoten kan worden en dat je dat helemaal niet merkt en later op het nieuws pas meekrijgt. Maar alles wat om de hoek gebeurt zie je niet. Er zou vast wel een sirene zijn geweest, maar die zijn er zo vaak. Daar nog vaker dan hier. Dus het is wel raar

dat je middenin een conflict kan wonen en dat je eraan gewend raakt. Als je er over nadenkt is dat heel bizar...

Maar voor die mensen is dat het helemaal niet meer natuurlijk? Want voor hen is dat het normale leven...

Nou ja, als ze erover nadenken dan zullen ze ook wel denken dat het niet normaal is, maar voor hun is het op dat moment de normaliteit. Ze zijn eraan gewend. Dus op die manier merkte ik het conflict wel ja.

Oke. Dan wil ik nu eigenlijk even helemaal terug naar het begin. Want ik vraag mij af waar volgens u de basis ligt van het conflict?

Nou je kan altijd teruggaan naar 1169, zoals een goed Republikein dat doet. Want dat is het eerste moment dat de eerste Engelse koning naar Ierland komt en daar macht kreeg. Maargoed, zoals ik net ook al even zei toen we het over de kolonialisme hadden, dat gebeurde natuurlijk op heel veel plekken waar een centrale macht zich probeerde uit te breiden en delen die voormalig onafhankelijk waren opnamen in hun rijk. Engeland was vroeger ook opgebouwd uit zeven koninkrijken. En op een gegeven moment werden dat er één. En vanaf 1169 zijn er allerlei momenten van weerstand geweest, maar ook allerlei momenten dat Ierland weldegelijk onderdeel van het Verenigd Koninkrijk werd. Eerst als een duale monarchie en vanaf 1800 als een deel van het Verenigd Koninkrijk. Dus waar het mis gegaan is, is vooral in de ontwikkeling van ervoor zorgen dat die mensen [lees: de Ieren] zich onderdeel van de staat gingen voelen. Zoals je dat in Frankrijk hebt maar allerlei delen van Frankrijk moest dan in Engeland ook gebeuren. Met Schotland is dat ook maar deels gelukt, want Schotten voelen zichzelf nog steeds anders. Meer anders dan de gemiddelde regio in Frankrijk. Maar dat kun je sturen. Want Schotland heeft heel lang geen onafhankelijk gehad tot de jaren '70 wanneer ze merkten dat ze ineens allemaal olie hadden en geen onderdeel meer wilden blijven van het Verenigd Koninkrijk als uit een soort van economisch determinisme. Maar dat was wel duidelijk aanwijsbaar, politiek gesproken. Nou in Ierland is het in de 19^e eeuw een beetje misgegaan, in de zin dat er vanuit de verlichting natuurlijk allerlei ideeen van gelijkheid ontstonden en ideeen over de natie en het nationalisme dat zich ontwikkelde. De macht van de staat is niet gebaseerd op het koningschap en daarmee op god, maar op volkssoevereiniteit. En zelfs als je een koning bent.. dan ben je daar op basis van het volk vertegenwoordigd. En niet omdat je god vertegenwoordigd. Dat creerde wederzijdse afhankelijk tussen staat of overheid en burgers en in Ierland zijn ze er niet in geslaagd om Katholieken onderdeel te laten worden van de staat. Of ze het gevoel te geven dat ze een onderdeel van de staat uitmaken. En dat had wel degelijk gekund. Het Verenigd Koninkrijk heeft best lang bestaan (inclusief Ierland, van 1801 tot 1921), 120 jaar. En dat is best lang in de zin van "rijken". Of voor staatkundige experimenten zullen we maar zeggen. Dus dat had best gekund en wat eigenlijk mis is gegaan is dat de elite van Engeland teveel weerstand vertoonde om aan de terechte

"griefen" van de Ieren tegemoet te komen. Dus bijvoorbeeld te beginnen bij het feit dat Katholieken achtergesteld werden in het Verenigd Koninkrijk. Katholieke gelijkschakeling gebeurde ongeveer ten tijden van de verlichting. Allerlei wetten voor Katholieken werden geleidelijk afgeschaft. Maar dat ging net niet helemaal tot het einde. Bijvoorbeeld in 1793 hebben ze ingevoerd dat Katholieken mochten stemmen, en dat was voor het eerst want daarvoor mochten alleen Anglicanen stemmen. Maar ze hebben toen alleen het actieve stemrecht gekregen en niet het passieve stemrecht: ze mochten alleen stemmen, maar ze mochten niet verkozen worden. Nou, toen hebben ze Ierland en Groot-Brittannie tot één staat weten te brengen met de Act of Union en toen hebben ze gezegd van "als jullie toestemmen met het éénworden dan zullen Katholieken helemaal gelijk worden gesteld met Protestanten". Maar dat werd tegengehouden door de koning en de house of lords, want die wilden dat Engeland Protestants bleef en vonden ook dat dat moest. Katholieke emancipatie valt daar dus een beetje moeilijk binnen. Als een gevolg daarvan hebben Katholieken die emancipatie wel gekregen, maar niet door erom te vragen zoals ze eerst deden. Ze probeerde ze te overtuigen in het parlement zo van "het is toch een goed idee om ons gelijke rechten te geven". Dat kregen ze niet. Ze kregen het pas toen ze erom gingen vechten. Toen er een grote volksmobilisatie kwam en Engeland bang werd voor een revolutie. Pas toen heeft Engeland dat gedaan. En daar hebben de Katholieken een les uitgeleerd en dat hebben ze ook gecontinueerd in de 19^e eeuw: als je iets wil bereiken dan krijg je dat alleen als je druk uitoefent, en niet als je er aardig om vraagt. Niet uit debat, maar uit strijd. En Zuid-Ierland is natuurlijk ook onafhankelijk geworden uit strijd en daar is het dus misgegaan. Omdat ze in de 19^e eeuw niet geslaagd zijn om Ierse burgers onderdeel te laten voelen van de staat van het Verenigd Koninkrijk. En het Noord-Ierse conflict is daar in principe een uitvloeisel van. En eigenlijk een repetitie daarvan want toen Zuid-Ierland onafhankelijk werd en Noord-Ierland een eigen staat kreeg, een eigen autonomie kreeg, toen hebben de Engelsen dat zeg maar aan de Protestanten over gelaten en die hebben hun een systeem laten introduceren waaruit een soort van Stalinistische staat voortkwam: een éénpartijen democratie. Unionisten kregen vrijwel altijd 40 van de 52 zetels en de Nationalisten de andere twaalf. Dus dat betekent dat de Nationalisten in de gehele tijd dat Noord-Ierland bestaat nooit een wet aan kunnen nemen. Er is slechts één wet aangenomen die is geintroduceerd door de Nationalisten en dat is de "wild-birds"-act, dus over de wilde vogels die voor de politiek totaal niet belangrijk was. De rest van de tijd regeert de Unionistische partij gewoon en die wordt elke keer weer verkozen. Nou ja dat heet wel democratie maar het is eigenlijk de dictatuur van de meerderheid. Want de wetten die zijn aangenomen die worden natuurlijk zo geimplementeerd dat die discrimineren ten opzichte van Katholieken. En dat is ook logisch want de Unionistische partij werd gekozen en hoe krijg je mensen zover om op je te zullen stemmen, de benadelen. Dus dan krijg je institutionele discriminatie van Katholieken en dat werd in de jaren '60 niet meer houdbaar. Dat kwam door twee belangrijke elementen: ten eerste het

feit dat er na de tweede wereldoorlog het middelbaar schoolonderwijs werd vrijgemaakt, dus iedereen mocht naar school. En hoger onderwijs werd toegankelijk gemaakt gaandeweg de jaren '60. Dat betekende dat je een beter geschoolde Katholieke klasse kreeg. Een Katholieke middenklasse. Omdat er ook via multinationals fabrieken kwamen en bedrijven kwamen naar Noord-Ierland (metname Amerikaanse bedrijven) om te produceren voor Europa en die niet aan discriminatie deden in principe. De bedrijven die er tot die tijd waren, waren metname Protestantse bedrijven die in handen waren van Protestanten die af en toe wel Katholieken aannamen maar die kregen dan vooral de lagere functies. Nu kreeg je opeens een hooggeschoolde Katholieke middenklasse die ook geld verdienden. De enige Katholieke middenklasse die je tot die tijd had waren de Katholieke advocaten die ook alleen werk verrichten voor de Katholieken of Katholieke doktors. Dus je had een hele kleine professionele klasse van Katholieken en die bewogen zich alleen in de omgeving van de Katholieke kerk. Nu kreeg je een veel bredere middenklasse die hoogopgeleid zijn, die een baan hebben en die, in de jaren '60, op TV zien wat zwarte burggerrechten-bewegingen in Amerika voor elkaar krijgen. En daar spiegelen zij zich aan en ze richten een eigen burggerrechten-beweging op.

Oke. En dat moment dat zij ook het recht krijgen om naar school te gaan, dat heeft natuurlijk een enorme impact gehad op de sociale formatie/verschillen in Noord-Ierland. En is dat nu nog steeds merkbaar? Is dat nog steeds recht aan het trekken?

Ja dat is nog steeds bezig. Indertijd, in de ambtenarij, de overheid nam bijna geen Katholieken aan. Er is ook een hele bekende statement dat de Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken in de jaren '30 dat hij er trots op was dat er geen enkele Katholiek in zijn ministerie werkte. En dan diskwalificeer je dus een groot deel van je bevolking. Maar daardoor kreeg je natuurlijk een grote scheiding in zowel de private als de publieke sector. Er was een grote achterstand op de arbeidsmarkt. Dus dat is na de jaren '60, de jaren '70... in de jaren '40 begon al de leerplicht maar voor de arbeidsmarkt duurde dat nog wat langer... is die achterstand minder geworden. Maar die achterstand is er inderdaad nog steeds. Statistieken wijzen nog steeds uit dat Katholieken zoveel meer werkloos zijn, en proportioneel meer vertegenwoordigd zijn in de lagere sociale klassen. Maar er zit wel ontwikkeling in hoor. Ze bewegen naar een evenwicht toe, maar die is nog niet helemaal bereikt.

En dat zal dan natuurlijk ook nog een belangrijk onderdeel van het conflict zijn? Dat dat nog steeds niet gelijk is?

Ja dat is soms moeilijk in te schatten omdat een individu niet naar die cijfers zal kijken, maar die kijkt gewoon naar wat hij zelf meemaakt. Het is moeilijk om de relatie tussen economische positie als groep en geweld te zien. Geweld komt alleen maar door arme mensen zeggen ze in Noord Ierland. Als je in Belfast bent.. de arme wijken zijn tegen de heuvel aangebouwd, dus je kijkt vanuit het centrum, waar de rijkeren wonen, kijk je naar de armen: "kijk daar is het geweld" en daar zit het probleem. Maar zo simpel ligt het natuurlijk niet, want er zijn ook veel rijkere mensen en mensen van

hogere afkomst en hoger opgeleide mensen die ook bij de IRA zitten. Dus dat is niet zo helder. Aan de andere kant is die systematische van de bevolkingsgroep [Katholieken], die wordt door iedereen gevolgd, dus die mobiliseert zeker mensen tot betrokkenheid bij het conflict.

U stelt dat het conflict niet persee economisch is, maar in hoeverre is het religieus? Daar kan ik mezelf niet veel bij voorstellen omdat het conflict verdeeld wordt tussen Katholieken en Protestanten, maar de normen en waarden die bij beide geloven horen lijken in mijn ogen niet echt een grote rol te spelen? Klopt dat?

Aan de ene kant is het conflict niet religieus omdat het niet over religieuze kwesties gaat. Niemand vraagt naar dat iedereen Protestants wordt of iedereen Katholiek of dat er ruimte komt voor Katholieke expressie of iets dergelijks. Religie is geen onderdeel van het conflict in die zin. Religie is meer een label waarmee men zich kan identificeren en deze valt heel goed samen met de politieke tegenstellingen, omdat je wel gediscrimineert wordt op basis van je positie van je religie. Maar je wordt niet religieus gediscrimineert, maar in andere zin. Uiteindelijk zitten er wel economische en religieuze aspecten aan het conflict, maar feitelijk is het toch meer een identiteitsconflict: waarmee identificeer jij je? Een etnisch conflict is het eigenlijk. Het gaat over de etnische positie en die bepaald hoe je behandeld wordt en niet je religie persee. Maar onderdeel van je etnische positie is je religie en je politieke overtuiging, maar het zit meer in die hoek. Daar is ook wel een nuttig boek over geschreven: "Explaining Northern Ireland" van McGarry en O'Leary. In het eerste hoofdstuk daarvan staat: Is het een economisch conflict? Dit is de discussie, dit is wat mensen zeggen. Is het een sociaal conflict? Is het een religieus conflict? Is het een etnisch conflict? Ze noemen vijf of zes aspecten en geven alle argumenten weer en komen tot een conclusie. Dat is een nuttig boek voor het basisbegrip van het conflict.

U zei net eigenlijk dat alle Katholieken zeggen dat de basis van het conflict in 1169 ligt. Maar wat zou een Protestant zeggen? Die wijzen volgens velen naar een moment in de recentere historie?

Ja... Die zou het conflict waarschijnlijk eerder in Rome leggen. Zij vinden dat Katholieken disloyaal zijn. En waarom zijn ze dat? Omdat ze luisteren naar een buitenlandse mogendheid, de Paus. Ze hebben een soort idee dat alle Katholieken precies doen wat de Paus zegt, dat is natuurlijk niet zo. Het is een soort conspiracy-achtige samenzwering van waarom Katholieken nooit zouden instemmen met de staat. De Protestanten zeggen dat Katholieken per definitie disloyaal zijn dus hoef je ze ook geen burgerrechten te geven, want dit heeft geen enkel nut. Ze streven niet naar burgerrechten maar naar overname van de staat of omverwerping van de staat. Dus kan je ze beter niets geven want dan zijn ze minder in staat om de staat omver te werpen. Dat is natuurlijk wel een beetje gechargeerd. Je zult niet als je op straat een Protestant tegenkomt.. die zal dat niet meteen tegen je zeggen. Maar in een beetje discussie komt dat vaak wel als argument naar boven. En als je ze kwaad

maakt hoor je dat vaak ook. Dat is hetzelfde als de Ieren in Zuid-Ierland die zeggen dat ze niets met geweld hebben, maar als je een beetje doorkrabt dan vinden ze toch eigenlijk dat Noord en Zuid bij elkaar horen. Dat zeggen ze dus ook in het Zuiden, terwijl je ook kan zeggen... Groot-Brittannie bestaat ook uit drie naties. Waarom kan Ierland dan niet uit 2 naties bestaan? One Ireland, two nations. Dat is ook een bekende slogan over de hele discussie of Protestanten een hele andere natie zijn of zijn ze onderdeel van de Ierse natie en weten ze dat niet? Worden ze door de Engelsen misleid door te denken dat ze een andere natie zijn? Dat ze onderdeel zijn van de Engelse natie, maar dat het eigenlijk gewoon Ieren zijn die misleid zijn. Dat is een perceptie die bij veel Katholieken leeft. Altijd als je het wat gechargeerd zegt zeggen ze "nee zo zit het niet in elkaar", maar als je een harde discussie aangaat komt het toch eigenlijk vaak daar op neer. Dus de Protestanten leggen de oorsprong eigenlijk in de constante disloyaliteit van de Katholieken en de opstanden van de Ieren, het vechten van ze om iets te bereiken, wordt vanuit het Protestantse perspectief gezien als de oorzaak van het probleem. Waar zouden zij [Protestanten] de oorsprong leggen? Bij de plantaties. Want waarom zijn er Protestanten in Noord-Ierland? Vooral vanwege de plantaties. Vanwege de opstanden die er waren in de beginperiode, hebben de Engelsen in de 15^e, 16^e en 17^e eeuw gezegd van nou we lokken Protestanten naar Ierland toe, en we verplaatsen de lokale bevolking die opstandig is om loyaliteit te creeren. Dat creerde een soort van contract tussen Protestanten in de 17^e eeuw. Wij gaan daar zitten om Ierland veilig te maken voor de Engelsen en daartegenover moeten de Engelsen ons steunen in ons handelen, want wij zitten hier voor hun. Dus zij zeggen daar ligt het probleem. Of het probleem... daarom zijn we hier en daarom hebben we gelijk. We zijn hier om disloyale Katholieken eronder te houden en wat hebben die Katholieken gedaan sinds we hier zijn? Ze [de Katholieken] zijn vanaf de 19^e eeuw in opstand en daarmee laten ze zien dat ze niet loyaal zijn en dat bevestigd alleen maar ons beeld (het beeld dat de Protestanten hebben). Dus okee het ligt bij de plantaties, maar uiteindelijk bij het gedrag van de Katholieken. Waarom zijn ze disloyaal? Omdat ze Katholiek zijn. Omdat ze de Paus volgen en niet de koning. Dat is een beetje de argumentatie die er speelt. Daar komt het wel op neer.

Wat ik mij afvraag... in hoeverre denkt u dat het conflict ooit opgelost zal worden?

Dat kan ik natuurlijk niet voorspellen, maar er zijn wel tekenen dat er enige vooruitgang in zit. Maar ik spiegel het bijna altijd aan de Nederlandse situatie. Als je naar het eind van de 19^e eeuw kijkt, dan zijn Ierland en Nederland heel goed vergelijkbaar. Er is een verdeling tussen twee religies, in grote lijnen. Je hebt het Katholieke religie die al eeuwenlang de onderliggende partij is, en je hebt de Protestantse bevolkingsgroep die al eeuwen de baas is. Bovendien wonen de Protestanten in het Noorden en de Katholieken in het Zuiden. En er is conflict, ook. De passificatie van 1917 is eigenlijk vergelijkbaar met de Belfast Agreement van 1998. Want wat gebeurt daar in 1917, het begin van de verzuiling? Er is een passificatie tussen de elite van de verschillende politieke stromingen.

Passificatie wat houdt dat precies in?

Ja 1917 dat is het einde van de schoolstrijd, dus er is een soort vrede getekend want er is een conflict. De Katholieken willen een Katholieke doorbraak maken en mee gaan doen met de politiek in Nederland. Ze willen voor hun eigen achterban iets bereiken. En de Protestanten zijn de baas en het gaat een beetje ten koste van hun. Dus om die strijd te slechten hebben ze in 1917 een soort van verdrag gesloten van elites die gaan samenwerken in de politiek en daarnaast gaan alle bevolkingsgroepen in hun eigen zuil.. worden ze daarin gefinancieerd door de overheid om hun eigen identiteit te behouden. Dus Katholieken mogen Katholiek blijven. Ze krijgen hun eigen vakbonden, hun eigen onderwijs en hun eigen gymnastiekorganisaties, hun eigen dit, hun eigen dat. En Protestanten ook. En dan is er ook nog een soort niet-religieuze zuil. Maar dat betekent niet dat de verzuiling opgeheven is, dat er vrede is. Mijn moeder bijvoorbeeld werd nog geregeld gestenigd als ze door de verkeerde wijk liep omdat ze Katholiek was en dat wilden de Protestanten natuurlijk niet. Dat was heel normaal [normaal of normaliteit]. Dat ligt er natuurlijk wel een beetje aan waar je woont. Als je op het platteland woont en niet in de grote stad dan kun je dat meemaken. Maar voordat die tegenstellingen op basis van religie zich echt ophiefen op het niveau van de gemeenschap... dat duurde tot de jaren '60 in de grote steden. Maar als je kijkt in de Bible-Belt van Nederland.. dan gebeurt dat nog steeds. Er zijn nog steeds van dat soort uitsluitings-processen gaande. Er is nog steeds geen volledige opheffing van die conflicten. Dus daar gaat vrij veel tijd overheen want we zijn inmiddels bijna een eeuw later. En wat er in Noord-Ierland gebeurd is in 1998, is dat er de elites tot een vergelijk zijn gekomen. Maar dat betekent niet dat de bevolkingsgroepen ook zover zijn. En daar zijn ook genoeg tekenen van, want het communale geweld, het geweld tussen de gemeenschappen, in Noord-Ierland eigenlijk sterker geworden na de vrede. Zeker in de beginjaren. En nu ook weer met die vlaggenkwestie. Die is eigenlijk puur tribaal.. of althans een pure identiteitskwestie. "Wij willen die vlag". Natuurlijk niet alleen vanwege die vlag maar waar die vlag voor staat. Ook omdat Protestanten wel een beetje de verliezer zijn van het vredesproces. En dat kan natuurlijk ook niet anders want deels is het proces een "zero-sum"-game: als de ene wint, verliest de andere. En zeker als het gaat om een thema als discriminatie kun je niet en de Protestanten meer geven en ook de Katholieken. Je kunt alleen de Katholieken meer geven en dat betekent automatisch dat de Protestanten minder krijgen. Bij de politie bijvoorbeeld. Voor het verdrag was 90% van de politie Protestants en toen is in het verdrag opgenomen dat de politie een afspiegeling moet zijn van de gemeenschap. Dat betekent dat 40% Katholiek moet zijn. Hoe zorg je daar dan voor? In extremis door 30% van de Protestanten te ontslaan en dan 30% Katholieken voor in de plaats te nemen. Oftewel: de Protestanten verliezen, de Katholieken winnen. En dat geldt voor veel van die maatregelen omdat die periode daarvoor natuurlijk het omgekeerde liet zien. De Katholieken werden benadeeld ten koste van de Protestanten. Dus als je het gelijk wil trekken moet je nu de Katholieken

bevoordelen en de Protestanten benadelen. Dus die verliezen aan het proces. Dus er is potentieel meer conflictstof en er is ook geen controle meer door paramilitaire organisaties, dat scheelt ook, want die gebruikten communaal geweld als een politiek instrument vaak. Dus er zijn niet minder.. Je hebt misschien wel eens de foto's gezien van de peace-muren in Belfast.. daar zijn er niet minder van gekomen sinds het tekenen van de Belfast Agreement. Terwijl je dat wel zou verwachten. Dus dat laat zien dat het conflict, het potentiele conflict tussen de verschillende bevolkingsgroepen nog steeds levendig is. Nou, in Nederland heeft het in ieder geval 50 jaar geduurd tot het in de steden helemaal opgelost was en na 100 jaar zijn we er nog steeds niet helemaal uit.

Dus het zou in Noord-Ierland met die redenering tot 2050 duren totdat..?

Voordat het significant merkbaar zou zijn.. Natuurlijk merk je best wel verschillen. Maar het conflict in de mensen hun hoofd dat bestaat nog steeds. Dat is nog niet afgelopen.

U had het over het Belfast Agreement, de Good Friday Agreement. In die agreement is ook opgenomen dat zolang de meerderheid van Noord-Ierland wil dat Noord-Ierland onderdeel blijft van het Verenigd Koninkrijk dan blijven ze dat ook. En nu blijkt eigenlijk dat de Katholieke bevolking sneller groeit dan de Protestantse bevolking. Wat zou er gebeuren als die verhouding omslaat?

Nou daar zitten twee kanten aan... de eerste kant. Het staat wel in het Belfast Agreement, maar het stond eigenlijk al langer in de wet, sinds 1948. In 1948 werd het Zuiden een republiek en toen heeft Engeland gezegd.. in principe gaat Engeland daarover. Engeland kan bepalen of Noord-Ierland Iers wordt of niet. Daar zijn ze wettelijk toe in staat. Toen hebben ze in de wet vastgelegd nee dat doen we niet. Want de Noord-Ieren werden ineens buitenlanders, dus moesten ze een soort citizens-act maken. En toen hebben ze bepaald dat Noord-Ierland pas Iers kan worden, met Ierland samen kan gaan, als de meerderheid van Noord-Ierland het daarmee eens is. Niet wij bepalen, maar de Noord-Ieren zelf. Dus de Ieren moeten het met de Noord-Ieren uitzoeken en niet met ons. In de Belfast Agreement staat eigenlijk iets anders. Er moet wel een meerderheid zijn.. maar door het systeem kan je pas een beslissing nemen als 60% van het parlement er mee eens is en 40% van de beide bevolkingsgroepen. Althans, van de beide politieke stromingen: de Nationalisten en de Unionisten.

Dus dat zal nooit gebeuren?

Nee zelfs als er een Katholieke meerderheid is, dan zal dat nooit gebeuren. Dat is eigenlijk de grap. Behalve als je 40% van de Protestanten, of beter de Unionisten meekrijgt. Dat maakt het de grap. Dat het systeem zo is dat die concent-rule, die geldt alleen voor Nationalisten en Unionisten. Stel nou dat de neutrale politieke partijen zo groot worden dat de Nationalisten en de Unionisten beide maar één lid hebben. Dan kun je nog steeds geen enkele beslissing nemen als je niet die beide personen mee hebt. Want beslissingen kunnen alleen maar genomen met mistens 40% van de Nationalisten en 40% van de Unionisten. Dus die vraag heb ik ook gesteld toen ik in Noord-Ierland woonde aan één van de

architecten van dat idee.. die zeiden dat het praktisch niet zal voorkomen maar dat dat in theorie wel zo is. Maar over die demografische vraag heeft men het wel vaak gehad, maar dat gold eigenlijk meer voor die oude regel, toen het nog echt om een meerderheid ging, dan voor de nieuwe regel. Maar er is wel discussie over. Die projecties over dat er een Katholieke meerderheid zou komen gaan er van uit dat de Katholieken het zelfde aantal kinderen blijven krijgen als nu. En de Protestanten ook. Terwijl je normaal ziet, in demografische studies, dat als een bevolkingsgroep zich sociaal-economisch ontwikkeld ze zich steeds meer gaan gedragen als de bevolkingsgroep waarmee ze leven. Dus op een gegeven moment zal er een stabilisatie zijn van die verschillen. Aan de andere kant heb je wel meer Katholieke jongeren dan Protestantse jongeren, dus het gaat eigenlijk om twee dingen. Hoeveel Katholieke en Protestantse jongeren heb je die in de toekomst kinderen gaan krijgen? En hoe gaan die zich gedragen? Dus eerst was er een voorspelling dat er een Katholieke meerderheid komt. Toen was er het idee dat het niet meer gaat gebeuren. En recentelijk is er weer de gedachte dat het zou kunnen gaan gebeuren. Maar nu is het politieke systeem zo dat dat helemaal niet genoeg is. En daarbij: recentelijk zijn er best veel opinion-polls geweest en daaruit blijkt dat er momenteel ook best veel Katholieken zijn die vinden dat Noord-Ierland moet blijven bestaan. Dat was recentelijk, een paar maanden terug. Daaruit bleek dat circa 20 tot 30% van de Katholieken voor het voortbestaan van Noord-Ierland was. Dat heeft dan misschien weer iets met de economische situatie in het Zuiden te maken. Maar er is altijd wel een deel van de Katholieke bevolking geweest die meewerkte met de staat. Ik zei net dat 90% van de politie Protestants was, dat betekende dat de andere 10% Katholiek was. Die wel met de politie mee wilden werken tegen de IRA.

Maar was er geen beleid dat ze alleen Protestanten aannamen of was het zo dat Katholieken helemaal niet bij de politie wilden?

Dat laatste. Misschien allebei wel een beetje, maar zeker dat laatste. Voor Katholieken was dat natuurlijk heel moeilijk. Als je hele omgeving zegt dat ze eigenlijk bij het Zuiden willen horen en dat ze niet bij de staat willen horen… En bovendien wordt je door de IRA niet goed behandeld als je een Katholieke politie-agent bent. Zij gingen dan ook in speciale politie-wijken wonen bij wijze van spreken. Die woonden niet in een wijk waar de Sinn-Fein dominant was, want dan was je je leven niet veilig. Maar dat betekent wel dat wat men "Castle Catholics" noemt, Katholieken die zich met de overheid commiteren uit economisch belang of politieke overweging.. Katholieken hoeven niet persee Nationalist te zijn. Maar omdat de meeste Katholieken worden gediscrimineert, worden ze vanzelf nationalist. Dat is natuurlijk niet per definitie zo. Er is altijd wel een groep Katholieken die pro-Unionist is. En zo is er ook een klein groepje Protestanten die Nationalistisch zijn. Maar dat is een nog kleiner groepje.

En wat is daar dan de reden voor?

Dat is meer uit toevalligheid. Omdat iemand dat mooi vindt. Persoonlijke ervaringen en dat soort dingen.

Wat zijn, denkt u, op dit moment de grootste knelpunten in het conflict waardoor er nog steeds sektarisch geweld is?

Nou er is altijd een groep nationalisten die niet tevreden is want er is geen verenigd Ierland. Dat blijft zo. Dat is een beetje omdat het altijd al zo geweest is. Het ontstaan de IRA is dit jaar precies 100 jaar geleden. En sindsdien zijn er steeds afsplitsingen geweest en zijn er steeds mensen die compromissen hebben gesloten en die dan op een gegeven moment gezegd hebben dat ze er mee instemden, maar anderen niet. Er zijn altijd radicalen die er niet tevreden mee zijn. Het is nooit goed genoeg (behalve als er een verenigd Ierland is). Het compromis is nooit het einddoel dus er zijn altijd mensen ontevreden. En dan is er de vraag in hoeverre die mensen weer anderen kunnen mobiliseren om door te strijden. Dus de IRA is heel vaak in zijn geschiedenis gemarginaliseerd. Maar op zijn tijd komen ze ineens weer terug. In de jaren '60 waren ze ook heel marginaal. Maar toen kwam er het conflict en toen waren ze ineens weer heel centraal. Dat kun je niet altijd voorspellen.

En ze zijn nu weer marginaal?

Ja ze zijn marginaal, maar wel iets minder marginaal dan 5 jaar geleden. Want dat komt deels omdat ze de IRA zelf in het begin onder de controle hielden. En de IRA mag zelf niet meer handelen dus die verdwijnt langzaam. En tegelijkertijd gaven veel Katholieken het nieuwe Noord-Ierland [na de Belfast Agreement] de voordeel van de twijfel. Maar er zijn altijd mensen die weer ontevreden raken. Er zijn altijd dingen die gebeuren.. die de overheid doet.. die een bepaald beeld bevestigen van dat de overheid niet goed handelt. Dus dat soort mechanismen.. en dan ligt het er heel erg aan wat er gebeurt. Wat heel erg in Noord-Ierland het geval is, is dat geweld een onderdeel is van het vocabulair. Een vocabulary of conflict. Een vocabulair van het handelen. In Nederland hebben we zo'n vocabulair niet. Het zou theoretisch wel kunnen natuurlijk. Een mooi voorbeeld. In de jaren'70 had je natuurlijk links radicaal geweld in Nederland en dan was er een groepering die afgesplitst was in een Amsterdams deel en een Eindhovens deel. En het Amsterdamse deel wilde helemaal geen geweld en in Eindhoven wilden ze wel geweld gebruiken, maar het moest wel leuk blijven. Geweld is natuurlijk nooit leuk. Dat zit niet in het hoofd bij ons. Terwijl je in Noord-Ierland zoveel voorbeelden hebt van mensen die geweld gepleegd hebben en dat het ook deels gewerkt heeft, dat kan niet ontkent worden. Dus dan grijp je veel eerder naar dat instrument dan dat je in Nederland zou doen. En door die ervaring zouden mensen nu ook eerder naar dat instrument grijpen. Een hongerstaking is bijvoorbeeld ook zoiets typisch wat in Noord-Ierland veel gebruikt werd en nog steeds wordt. Dat komt omdat dat een onderdeel van hun vocabulair is. In Nederland ga je niet zomaar in hongerstaking omdat je geen goede thee krijgt.. maar dat doen ze in Noord-Ierland wel.. bij wijze van spreken.

Dus dat zou uit hun hoofden moeten verdwijnen voordat er echt vrede zou kunnen zijn?

Ja, maar dat is natuurlijk heel moeilijk want de geschiedenis haal je niet zomaar weg. Daarom zeggen ze ook vaak, en dat is een hele bekende uitspraak, "wat de Engelsen zouden moeten leren en wat de Ieren zouden moeten vergeten". Engeland zou wat beter moeten begrijpen hoe Ierland in elkaar zit en de Ieren zouden niet zo geobsedeerd moeten zijn met de oude conflicten. Dus het is moeilijk om te voorspellen waar het naartoe gaat. Ze zeggen van de economische crisis dat het best wel eens een negatief effect zou kunnen hebben. Dat zou een beetje kunnen verklaren dat er nu wat meer activiteit is. Die relatie tussen economie en geweld is een beetje een moeizame natuurlijk, maargoed het is niet geheel uit de lucht gegrepen.

Okee. Op dit moment heb ik verder geen vragen meer en ik zie dat u zo doormoet naar een andere afspraak. Ik heb veel nieuwe waardevolle inzichten gekregen en daar dank ik u hartelijk voor.

Content Analysis of Interview

I will now perform a content analysis of the transcription above. I will those this by systematically coding phrases in the text and then classify the code to one of the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict: either historic context, needs of actors, capacity of actors, actors and strategies and the nature of the conflict [destructive or constructive] plus the way in which this phrase is of relevance for the concept. For instance: "Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process", which can be coded as "the feeling that they are blamed" and can then be categorized under the concept "needs" or "need for acceptance".

Phrases	*Code*	*Concept and relevance*
"Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process"	*The feeling that they're blamed*	*Need for acceptance, equality.*

The result of this content analysis will be an overview of the relevant phrases of the text in relation to the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict. These phrases can then be implemented in a systematic and clear fashion in the research.

Phrases	Code	Concept and relevance
"Secondary school is very important in someone's view on the conflict, but the school-system in Northern Ireland is very much organized in a sectarian fashion"	Sectarian education	Capacity to maintain own cultural identity.
"Education is also important in regard to the development of someone's political vision. IRA-members have all been educated at Catholic schools"	Sectarian education	Communal actors, who maintain own views on history.
"The students are very much conflict-avoiding. There were only a few occasions in which a discussion arose… that is questionable because that also means that they are not saying what they think"	Conflict avoidance	Communal actors, the strategy of avoiding rather than talking about it.
"When I lived in Belfast it was not uncommon for army-patrols to pass, aiming their weapons on the sidewalk where you were walking"	Negative presence of security-forces	Need for security, but actors that use strategies with negative sense.
"When the people think about it, they do know that their situation is not normal, but it has become the normality. They got used to it"	Institutionalization of violence and conflict	Historic context, how history has shaped Northern Ireland
"The Catholics have learned a lesson in the	Institutionalization of	Historic context, how an

19th century and also practiced it in the recent history: if you want to achieve something, you will only be successful when using pressure, not by asking nicely"	violence	violent mind set has developed.
"Higher education became accessible for Catholics during the '60s. This meant that a better schooled Catholic-class could develop. A Catholic middle-class"	Social development of Catholics	Historic context, the development of Catholics; the capacity to develop.
"Many American multinationals came to Northern Ireland which did not have policy of discrimination. Most of the organizations at that point were Protestant who mainly hired Protestants and only Catholics for the lower functions"		Historic context, Catholics finally got social upward mobility. Their capacity grew because they got international economic linkages. Foreign companies can thus play an important part as a communal actor.
"A wider middle-class developed and they saw what black civil-right movements got done in the US. They then mirrored themselves to this and started their own movement"	Social development of Catholics	Historic context; the development of Catholics; the capacity to develop.
"The Catholics are still lagging behind. Statistics still point out that Catholics are more likely to be workless and they are proportionally more represented in the lower social classes"	Catholics lagging behind	The need for equality: economic access and social security.
"The Protestants will more likely lay the cause of the conflict in Rome. They think that Catholics are disloyal because the listen to a foreign power. That's why they shouldn't get citizenship because they are aiming to take over or overthrow the state"	Protestants needing the state [the King/Queen]	The need for security and acceptance of the state.
"Protestants feel that they have kind of lost in the peace process."	The feeling that they're blamed	Need for acceptance, equality.
"Before the agreement, 90% of the police was Protestant. The agreement then included an arrangement that told that the police had to be representative for the community, meaning 40% Catholic"	Ending of discrimination of Catholics	Historic context, discrimination of Catholics; need for equality and security; the Police as an important state actor.
"How do you then get a fair representation? In extremis by firing 30% Protestants and hiring 30% Catholics. The Catholics win, the Protestants lose"	Feelings of blame; mixed feelings.	The need for "fair treatment", maybe loss of capacity to prevent violence.

"You would expect that the amount of peace-walls in Belfast had decreased. But they haven't since the Belfast Agreement"	Remaining segregation	The <u>need</u> for security and segregation for preservation of identity.
"Of course the situation is different now than before the agreement, but the conflict in the minds of the people still exists"	Remaining feelings of conflict	The <u>need</u> for justice.
"The agreement also stated that Northern Ireland will be united with the Republic of Ireland when the majority of the Northern Irish want it (60%) and 40% of the both political sides (so also the Unionists)"	Small potential for United Ireland	Non-<u>capacity</u> for Catholics to be united.
"Recently many opinion-polls have showed that there are a reasonable amount of Catholics (20-30%) who feel that Northern Ireland should remain"	Potential for resolving of conflict	<u>Capacity</u> for Northern Irish to resolve conflict.
"Catholics do not have to be Nationalist, but because they are discriminated to such an extent means that they will become one automatically"	Feeding of the conflict	<u>Need</u> for acceptance and equality. Feeding the <u>capacity</u> of IRA in support.
"The IRA had separated many times in history. Some people have compromised while others were not inclined to do so. The question is to what extent these people can mobilize others to continue the battle"	The dynamics of the IRA	IRA is a <u>communal actor</u>, who uses negative strategies to find goals. Their <u>capacity</u> depends on the level of satisfaction of Catholics. Also: they have had no political capacity.
"A problem in Northern Ireland is that violence has become a part of the vocabulary. A vocabulary of conflict"	Institutionalization of violence	<u>Communal actors</u> are inclined to use violence as a strategy.
"A famous saying in Northern Ireland is that 'the English never remember and the Irish never forget'. Meaning that the Irish should not be so obsessed with old conflicts while the English should acknowledge the suffering of the Catholics"	Remaining grievances	The <u>need</u> for acceptance and understanding in the minds of Catholics; the need for security in the minds of Protestants.
"They say that the economic crisis could have a negative effect on the intensity of the conflict, but that relation is always a bit difficult to make"	Role of economics	The economic <u>capacity</u> for Catholics and Protestants is important.

Appendix 2

Documentary: **Northern Ireland: The Process of Peace**

Organization: Catholic Focus, Canadian TV.

Length: 0:21.38

Source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cCzr8jvjXCE

Summary: It is about the Northern Irish conflict and how it has been relatively successfully resolved when comparing it to other conflicts. For my research this documentary is used to pinpoint the positive results that the peacebuilders have accomplished in Northern Ireland and how they have done this. But, as the documentary also states at the end, a lot of work has to be done still as well.

Speaker	Fragment
Presenter	Long after Saint Patrick had come and gone, Northern Ireland became the sight for one of the longest and ugliest conflicts in modern history. At the forefront of this conflict were two communities. One Catholic and one Protestant. Their politics were different, their neighborhoods were segregated and their coexistence was under constant threat. In this episode of Catholic Focus we will look at the relationship between Catholics and Protestants in the Northern Ireland conflict. We will also look at how a once violent nation became a model for peace and reconciliation.

The partition of Ireland into two separate states created new tensions in the North. Catholics were treated as second-class citizens: they had no power, few civil rights and even fewer jobs. The opposing political ideologies and the inequalities between Catholics and Protestants lead to a bitter conflict that would last over thirty years. This conflict is often referred to as "the Troubles". |
| Narrator | John McGarry is a Professor of Political Science at Queen's University (Belfast, Northern Ireland). He is the author of several books on the conflict and peace-process. |
| John McGarry | What the British government did in 1921 was that they portioned Ireland and then the question became how much of Ireland and what part should stay with the United Kingdom. So choices had to be made. And the two main choices were including six counties that are currently in Northern Ireland or |

including another three counties. The decision was made by the British government and by Protestants in Northern Ireland to keep it to six, because within those six counties Protestants had a strong majority of about 56%. So they knew that the majority would not be threatened. Northern Ireland was governed by a regional government in Belfast which was exclusively Protestant, even though the population was 40% Catholic, and that government used its power to discriminate against Catholics in jobs, in public housing and various other ways, starting from the school system.

Narrator	Sandra and Benedict lived through the troubles, both growing up in strict Protestant and Catholic households.
Sandra McEoghain	When I went to school there was a couple of school-busses that were run and Protestants would get on the one bus and Catholics would get on the other school bus. So we didn't even have that opportunity, like outside of school, to mix even on the school bus.
Benedict Glover	There would have been a difference in the way we were taught history in school. As a Catholic we were taught a lot of Irish History and it was certainly slanted from a very Irish angle and perhaps slightly anti-English, anti-British, anti-Unionists. We wouldn't have known that at the time, because that was what we were taught and that is what we believed.
Sandra McEoghain	It was really just an excuse for tribal-warfare. At that level, that is how I see it.
John McGarry	On the Protestant side of course, in their schools they would not play gaelic-football or hurling and they would play rugby and cricket. So different schools, different histories, different sports. And of course the two communities lived in different neighborhoods that were sometimes up against each other. So it wasn't that all the Protestants lived in one part of Northern Ireland and the Catholics in the other. They were right aside to each other.
Benedict Glover	Retrospectively when I think back it was very unusual. When I grew up it really was probably the height of the Troubles as they were called. There was a lot of danger, it was a very fearful society. Al though I think by the 1980's these people have grown accustomed to it, so it seemed very normal to have soldiers walking past you in the street, it seemed normal to have armed policemen walking past you in the street.
Sandra McEoghain	You did grow up with a very narrow mind of view of life like this is the only way, when obviously it is not. The unfortunate thing of Northern Ireland is

	that religion and politics are all mixed together.
John McGarry	Because they lived in different residential neighborhoods people would also go to different workplaces. Shipyards in Belfast for example were big employers which were almost exclusively Protestant. When you came from a Catholic ghetto you might not meet a protestant unless you went to university.
Narrator	Mark McGowan is the principle of Saint Michael's college at the University of Toronto. He offers his insight into how the modern Troubles broke out.
Mark McGowan	Catholics have almost no social upward mobility within their occupation but one thing that they have in the 1960's though is access to education, and good education. And it is an interesting coming together of elements, an interesting synergy, because you also have now worldwide tremors. You have the student protest movements in Europe, in Paris and other major European centers, you have the civil rights movement in the United States. You have the sixties, sort of exploding. Those civil rights that are to be accorded to blacks in the United States. Well, shouldn't Catholics be accorded those in Northern Ireland?
Narrator	The conflict began with Catholics protesting for civil rights. Paramilitary groups got involved and things quickly got worse.
John McGarry	On the Catholic side, hardline Irish Nationalists, who called themselves Republicans because they support the 33-county United Irish Republic. And these were people who during the conflict supported the IRA, the Irish Republican Army, as it is called. And they were responsible for, I think, most of the killing. 3.500 people were killed during the conflict between 1969 and 1998. Almost all Catholics were Nationalists, but many Catholics didn't support this campaign of violence at all. On the other side were Protestants. And Protestants are sometimes called Unionists because they support the union between Northern Ireland the United Kingdom and they are very strongly opposed to any idea of reunifying Northern Ireland with the Irish republic. Unionists had their moderate elements too. They were also very much against violence, just like on the Catholic side, but they also had this extreme element and they were tend to called Loyalists. These people would kill Catholics. Many often were innocent Catholics. These loyalist-organizations would sometimes drive into a Catholic-area and know with a reasonable degree of certainty that anyone marching down the street, or walking down the street,

	was a Catholic. And therefore they could be killed.
Benedict Glover	The lessons that my parents would've taught us all would've been if you had seen a parked car on the street right outside the police station you move away from it very quickly. If you were walking down the street and a car would slow down behind you, you have to move away quickly in case someone is trying to attack you. If there is ever a bomb-scare you move away very quickly. You don't ware around to see what is happening. A chapel was blown up when I was a small child. There was a bomb planted near a small chapel and the timer of the bomb was set to go off when we were all leaving. But the priest had suddenly realized that he had forgotten to mention an additional message. So he kept everyone back by five minutes. And therefore, apart from one person, no one was injured.
John McGarry	These Loyalists killed Catholics and the Republicans killed Protestants. But Republicans also killed and deliberately targeted members of the security forces. And the security forces were made up of two components. One of which was the police, which was called the Royal Ulster Constabulary or RUC. The RUC was a locally recruited service. And then there was the British army. The British army was there from 1969 and the British army had as many as 20.000 troops in Northern Ireland, which is only a very small area. So they had many more troops in Northern Ireland than they had in Iraq. So that can give an idea of the magnitude of the British involvement in Northern Ireland. British soldiers were initially brought into Northern Ireland because they were considered to be a more impartial agency compared to the Northern Ireland Protestant police force. They were brought in to some extent protect Catholics in the late 1960's. The IRA would say that the enemy was back again. These were the British imperialists. These people were unacceptable and like a guerilla movement they launched attacks in the British army and the British army reacted with heavy hand and then the IRA would say "we told you so". And the rest is history.
Narrator	Coming from this culture of violence what do Ben and Sandra think of life in Canada, compared to Northern Ireland?
Benedict Glover	The difference coming from Northern Ireland to Toronto is amazing. It is so vast. Religion here is your own personal belief. If you so wish you can go to any church, you can belief whatever you want to belief. You can worship

	whoever you want to worship. No one tries to influence your opinions and you don't try to influence other people's opinions.
Sandra McEoghain	I chose Canada because it is known to be tolerant. Toronto especially is known to be multi-cultural. All the religions are accepted. I find that when I came here that back in the day, maybe 120 years ago, Toronto was not so tolerant and actually had its own issues.
Narrator	The dividing issues between Irish Catholics and Protestants were hardly exclusive to the Troubles. Similar acts of sectarian violence among Irish immigrants also took place in Canada.
Mark McGowan	Any immigrant group, whether they were Irish or non-Irish, would bring as much of their old country with them as they possibly can, to provide those links and those chains with the homeland. So it is not surprising that the Irish brought substantial baggage and they tend to also become pronounced over specific issues. So for example Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant communities could live in peace with one another, virtually integrated with one other in small-town Ontario and in larger cities. But it would take an issue like for example separate Catholic schools that might ignite some passions between them.
Presenter	Why is Canada different? Why do Catholics and Protestants move past some things from their homeland and learn to coexist together.
Mark McGowan	I don't think there is anything distinctive about what has happened in Canada, but certainly… I mean the Irish found themselves, when they came here even in the 19th century, to be one of many groups. Protestants had to share their terrain with Scots, with the English, with Welsh, with Germans and with Americans who had come from a variety of backgrounds as well. Irish Catholics had to share their church where they found themselves actually a minority. So on both sides you have a mosaic in which the Irish had to sort of navigate as just one other group. It is not just us and them, but it is us among all of the "thems".
Narrator	So how did Northern Ireland become the peaceful place it is today? It is thanks to the document known as the Good Friday Agreement.
John McGarry	So what the Good Friday Agreement did in 1998 was address two dimensions. The agreement addressed the first dimension by making sure that the government of Northern Ireland, instead of being made up of just of

Protestants, it was made up of both communities. This is called power sharing. So instead of the government being simply comprised of a party representing the majority of the population all the major parties in Northern Ireland, whether they were Catholic or Protestant, were represented in the government. And of course Catholics now have a role in the government and they have a stake in the government and the government cannot discriminate against them in the way that they did in the past. The second dimension is the fact that Northern Irish Catholics wanted to have links with the Irish republic. That was also dealt with in the Good Friday Agreement. Because the agreement not only set up a regional government in Northern Ireland but it required that that government joined with the government of the Irish republic in a common body called the Northside Ministerial Council, which means that the two governments must cooperate with each other, overcoming matters. In addition the British government said that at any point if a majority of people in Northern Ireland want to join the Irish republic, they can. In a referendum they can vote to join the Irish republic. So what the English government is saying to the IRA is that "we are not holding onto Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is a part of the United Kingdom only for as long as the majority of its people want. And as soon the majority change their mind, we will let it go". And that sort of took the rug out from underneath the IRA's campaign of violence. What was there for the IRA to fight over? And these were the two dimensions of the agreement. There was a third dimension which was important because it was controversial, because a large number of prisoners in jail in Northern Ireland often convicted from quite horrific crimes. The question arose well... if we want peace, we are going to have to do something about these prisoners. These paramilitary organizations to which these prisoners are attached to are never put down their weapons when their comrades are in jail serving life sentences. So what do we do? And some people of course said well we can't let these people out there, because they are guilty of egregious crimes. I think that senior heads prevailed... they said "look, if we want to put this violence behind us, we will have to release those prisoners." They were released under the condition that if they re-offended they would be put in jail not just for the new crime but for the balance that they would have served. And what that did, it gave the prisoners

an interest in making peace. Because they knew if thing broke down again they would be back in jail. These prisoners have since become pillars of peace in Northern Ireland, paradoxically.

Mark McGowan	When you do cross the border now, the only profound difference initially you come across is that Northern Ireland uses the pound and miles per hour when you are driving as opposed to the euro and kilometer. It is a very different atmosphere than what it was twenty years ago, thirty years ago.
Benedict Glover	Belfast has changed dramatically since the peace process. Suddenly I realized that you could go out and have fun in the city center, which never existed before because everyone would stay in their own neighborhoods and stay out of the city center because it was far too dangerous. As time goes on, and we are further away from the Troubles, I hope things change to such an extent that people do not want to go back to the way the things were before.
Presenter	The Peace process in Northern Ireland is an inspiration to society's where ethnic and religious conflicts still persists. It demonstrates how a nation can put behind its violence past and choose to negotiate rather than continue to fight. Of course there is still work to be done, but the majority of the people want, and promote peace among the six counties. The lesson learned is that political identity and religious identity should never be considered to be the same.

Content Analysis of Documentary

I will now perform a content analysis of the transcription above. I will those this by systematically coding phrases in the text and then classify the code to one of the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict: either historic context, needs of actors, capacity of actors, actors and strategies and the nature of the conflict [destructive or constructive] plus the way in which this phrase is of relevance for the concept. For instance: "Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process", which can be coded as "the feeling that they are blamed" and can then be categorized under the concept "needs" or "need for acceptance".

Phrases	*Code*	*Concept and relevance*
"Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process"	*The feeling that they're blamed*	*Need for acceptance, equality.*

The result of this content analysis will be an overview of the relevant phrases of the text in relation to the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict. These phrases can then be implemented in a systematic and clear fashion in the research.

Speaker & Phrases	Code	Concept and relevance
Narrator: "We will also look at how a once violent nation became a model for peace and reconciliation"	The bright future	Historic context, how the current situation has developed.
Narrator: "The partition of Ireland into two separate states created new tensions in the North. Catholics were treated as second-class citizens: they had no power, few civil rights and even fewer jobs."	Partition; grieves for Catholics	Historic context, partition; Needs of the Catholics for equality.
John McGarry: "The decision was made by the British government and by Protestants in Northern Ireland to keep it to six, because within those six counties Protestants had a strong majority of about 56%. So they knew that the majority would not be threatened."	Majority-minority problem	Historic context; need for equality by Catholics, as well as Capacity for the Protestants: they are the majority. And therefore incapacity for the Catholics.
John McGarry: "that government used its power to discriminate against Catholics in jobs, in public housing and various other ways, starting from the school system"	Discrimination against Catholics	Historic context, how Catholics have developed to be the lower class; the need for equality for Catholics.
Sandra McEoghain: "we didn't even have the opportunity to meet Catholics, like	Continuation of segregation	Actors & strategies: education-system. No

		capacity to end segregation
Benedict Glover: "There would have been a difference in the way we were taught history in school. As a Catholic we were taught a lot of Irish History and it was certainly slanted from a very Irish angle and perhaps slightly anti-English, anti-British, anti-Unionists. We wouldn't have known that at the time, because that was what we were taught and that is what we believed."	Colored views on history	Actor: education broadens the division between Catholics and Protestants. Clearly this can be deducted from the need to maintain own identity.
Benedict Glover: "There was a lot of danger, it was a very fearful society. Al though I think by the 1980's these people have grown accustomed to it, so it seemed very normal to have soldiers walking past you in the street."	Institutionalization of conflict and violence	Historic context, how conflict became institutionalized. State actors using negative strategies.
Mark McGowan: "Catholics had almost no social upward mobility within their occupation but one thing that they have in the 1960's though is access to education, and good education."	Education for Catholics	Historic context and actors, how education came to play an important role. The capacity of the Catholics grew.
John McGarry: "Protestants are sometimes called Unionists because they support the union between Northern Ireland the United Kingdom and they are very strongly opposed to any idea of reunifying Northern Ireland with the Irish republic"	Plea for remaining within UK	A need for the Protestants is to stay with the UK.
John McGarry: "These Loyalists killed Catholics and the Republicans killed Protestants. But Republicans also killed and deliberately targeted members of the security forces"	Violent nature of conflict	The IRA and UVF are communal actors whose strategy was violent and negative.
John McGarry: "The agreement addressed the first dimension by making sure that the government of Northern Ireland, instead of being made up of just of Protestants, it was made up of both communities. This is called power sharing."	Power sharing	The political capacity for the Catholics grew: political linkages and governance. The state as an actor became less one sided.
John McGarry: "In addition the British government said that at any point if a majority of people in Northern Ireland want to join the Irish republic, they can. In a referendum they can vote to join the Irish	Loosened grip of UK	Historic context, the role of the British. Another important actor is the British government. They decided to loosen their

republic.		grip on Northern Ireland. This however does clash with the <u>need</u> of Protestants who want to hold onto the strong ties with the UK. Catholics are in favor of this loosening grip.
Narrator: "The Peace process in Northern Ireland is an inspiration to society's where ethnic and religious conflicts still persists."	Inspiring transformation	The <u>historic context</u>, the conflict has evolved greatly, and for the better.
Narrator: "Of course there is still work to be done, but the majority of the people want, and promote peace among the six counties."	Positivity in the minds	The <u>needs</u> of the majority: peace and an ending of the conflict. This can be seen as a positive <u>capacity</u> that could be used for the better by state- and communal <u>actors</u>.

Appendix 3

Conference: **The Northern Ireland Peace-process and Where We Are Now**

Organization: Georgetown University, Washington, United States of America.

Length: 1:28.36

Source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q6HM_o9ikkM

Summary: it is somewhat of a lecture / conference during which experts on Northern Ireland and Conflict Resolution in general show their insights on the conflict in Northern Ireland while at the same time answering questions about the peace-process and the current situation. The four experts in this conference:

- **Dr. Lise Howard**: founder of the masters-program of Conflict Resolution at the Georgetown University and the organizer and hostess of the conference.
- **Ms. Dawn Purvis**: a politician from Northern Ireland and the former leader of the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) and member of the Northern Irish Assembly. The PUP is a political party that is closely linked to the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), the Loyalist paramilitary group.
- **Dr. Shane O'Neill**: he's the Dean of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at the Queen's University of Belfast. He researched the Peace-process in Northern Ireland from different perspectives.
- **Dr. Dominic Bryan**: he's the director of the Institute of Irish studies at the Queen's University of Belfast. He works on things as flags, parades, symbols and murals and understanding the meaning behind these symbols.

What follows is a summary of the most relevant passages of their stories and answers on questions that were asked to them.

Speaker	Fragment
Lise Howard	[Addresses Dawn Purvis] So I'm going to ask a couple of questions and the first has to do with the key-challenges of the conflict in Northern Ireland. What do you think that were the key-challenges, what do you think has been overcome and what are some challenges that remain?
Dawn Purvis	First of all can I say a very big thank you to the Georgetown and Queen's Universities for inviting me to take part in this conference. I am absolutely

delighted to be here. And also a thank you to the Georgetown staff and students who have looked after us very well. Perhaps I can first introduce myself in a few words… maybe some people would like to know why I have resigned from my political party in 2010. I was a member of the Progressive Unionists Party [PUP] and my previous party leader David Ervine sadly died at 52-years of age in January 2007. He was someone who senator Mitchell actually talks about in his book 'making peace' as one of the most impressive politicians that he met during his time in Northern Ireland. And I took over the leadership of the party after David died and fought the election and retained the seat for the party. And during that time, the Ulster Volunteer Force, which was the paramilitary organization associated with the PUP signaled their intent to civilianize and decommissioned all their weapons in June 2009. Sadly at the end of May 2010 the UVF murdered a man called Bobby Moffett in West-Belfast. They shot him… they blasted him with shotguns in broad daylight. Bobby Moffett posed no threat to the peace-process. The posed no threat to the Good Friday Agreement. It was purely about saving face. And at that stage I made the decision that I could no longer continue as a member and as leader of the PUP, because the signal of intent of the decommission that had taken place had just been buried along with Bobby Moffett. And that is why I resigned in May 2010 and I subsequently stayed in the Northern Ireland Assembly as an independent member. That is a bit of background as to what happened.

But if I could just say some of the key-challenges of the conflict in Northern Ireland were… one it was very long protracted… there is still a debate and discussion in Northern Ireland as to how long the conflict has been going on. Some people say hundreds of years. The conflict that I knew lasted 35 years from 1969 up until the Good Friday Agreement [is 29 years?]. And I think during that time sectarianism grew… Sectarianism has always been a part of Northern Ireland society… but with people being intimidated and burned out of their homes at both sides [both Catholics and Protestants]. It scarred particularly urban areas in such a way that peace walls began to appear and Northern Ireland became a very segregated society along religious lines. So people were born in separate hospitals, they went to separate schools, they

went to separate doctors for surgeries and to add insult to injury we were buried at separate cemeteries. So over 35 years sectarianism became institutionalized. And something I grew up with and my family grew up with… we became comfortable amongst our own tribe… we became comfortable in an abnormal society. And when you are comfortable you have no desire to change. You have no desire to move beyond that comfort-zone or that comfort-blanket. So I think the violence… the paramilitary groups were recreating themselves… the violence had become violence for violence-sake. There was to a certain extent a military stalemate between paramilitary organizations and state military… There was a lack of political leadership… It was only when the extremes were brought to the center that things started to move. For a very long time we had forms of political leadership… We had Ian Paisley who had a very consistent and negative political leadership. There was no movement. We then had John Hume who took very brave steps in talking to the Sinn Fein and Jerry Adams… that started some movement on the Nationalist/Republican side. But add to that… very opposing ideologies... those who wanted a united Ireland and those who wanted to stay within the United Kingdom. And in many respects for Unionism the conflict was about a security issue: the IRA was a security problem. And for Nationalists and Republicans the conflict was about social, economic and political change. So there was very opposing views on what the conflict was about. I think what challenges have been overcome, certainly when the ceasefires were called 17 years ago in 1994… it was a breathing space for politicians and political leaders to get together and find an agreement. But included in those negotiations for the first time were the extremes… the representatives of paramilitary organizations, progressive loyalism and Sinn Fein. For the first time in any negotiation progress in Northern Ireland they were inclusive. And that lead very successfully. We had a political agreement, the Good Friday Agreement, and from that we have a functioning, to a degree, Assembly… a government… We have North-South cooperation, which gives practical expression to Nationalist-aspirations and we have East-West relationships between the Assembly and the Government at Westminster. We have had a review of our criminal justice system which was longer overdue. We have had a review of our policing service. A very extensive review which resulted in 198

recommendations on the human rights framework for policing, etc. etc. But there are still issues in policing and I may come back to that later. We had the incorporation of the European Convention of Human Rights in Northern Ireland and the establishment of a human rights commission. We had the release of political prisoners. We had the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons… more about symbolism than about substance I have to say because the intent to use weapons are more important and the fact that they were given up was more about the intent not to use than the amount that was given up. The process has mainly about human relationships and how people work together. And I think the best example of that, from 2007 to the present day, is how Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness [First Minister and Deputy First Minister] were able to work together when devolution was restored in 2007. They were nicknamed the chuckle-brothers because they laughed and got on so well together. But there was change in leadership when Ian Paisley retired as first minister and when his deputy Peter Robinson took his place. That change in leadership… that change in dynamic led to more problems in the process, which culminated in the Hillsborough negotiations in January 2009. And just to give you an example again about human relationships and where negotiations are about. Before we even ended those negotiations in January 2009… it was about the devolution of peace and justice from Westminster to the Northern Ireland assembly… we all knew that needed to happen. We all knew what the outcome was going to be. And when the agreement was reached [the Hillsborough Agreement], there was no surprises at all. So what the process was really about was how Robinson and McGuinness were going to work together for the next period. And it worked out very well.

So what remains in terms of our process? One of the starkest issues that still remains… are a political issue, but we know that poverty and conflict are related, is the inequalities. The poverty and the discrimination that still exists in Northern Ireland to this day. And that is most stark and something that I've looked at very closely is in terms of education and our education system. Protestant working-class boys are the major non-progressor in our education system and that is beginning to show in our male-employment statistics. We know that this will lead to dissatisfaction amongst young people who get

disconnected from the process. They are open to exploitation from gangs, use of drugs and alcohol and residual paramilitarism. That is a political issue that has to be dealt with, but it has the potential and remains a potential to cause conflict. Policing remains an issue, although it is largely resolved. Policing has gone to massive process of change, but they have failed to deliver the community-policing model. There have been repercussions of this as we have seen in recent weeks and months. The 50-50 recruitment that Patton recommended ensured that there were more recruits into place from the Catholic community. A side effect of those reforms is that the average age of the recruits of the police now is 30 years of age. Because of what I've outlined earlier as one of the factors around education, there have been no new recruits to the police service from the Protestant working-class background. Most of them have been Protestant middle-class or Catholic working or middle-class. And for a police service to deliver the best possible service to the community is that is has to be representative of that community. Sectarianism is a massive issue in Northern Ireland. We have more peace-walls since the Good-Friday Agreement than we had prior to the agreement. That sectarianism is fueled by continued segregation in housing and education. 96% of our education is segregated along religious lines and around 95% of our housing. We have other issues as well… this isn't helped of course by the two largest parties in government who have failed, not only in the last Assembly term, but also in the current Assembly term… they seem reluctant or unable to deal with the issue of sectarianism or to come up with a strategy or policy to tackle the issue of sectarianism. That is probably because those parties are built on division and require a divided voter-base in order to secure their vote. We are also facing a decade of centenary celebrations that are significant to one side of the community or the other. For example the formation of the UVF in 1912, the outbreak of the war, the Easter Rising in 1916. It is a test of our society and our progress, how we commemorate these centenaries in the next decade. And there is also the issue of residual paramilitarism. There has been, on the Republican side… we have the Real IRA, the Continuity IRA and other Republican groups who are opposed to Sinn Fein's peace-strategy. Who have been targeting police and military personnel and installations and who are really ignoring the will of the people North and South who have voted in favor

of the Good Friday Agreement. Some of it is related to criminality and some not. And on the Loyalist side we have separate groups with an aging and weak leadership… I suppose a maturing membership that want to cling on to any rational for continued existence… and a lot of that is connected to status, finance and criminality.

Lise Howard   Okay. We will hear next from Dr. Shane O'Neill. Thanks for coming today and we are very looking forward to what you have to say.

Shane O'Neill   Thanks again very much for the invitation. It has been fantastic. I will come at the conflict from the more academic kind of view rather than the practical I'm afraid. I want to give you a flavor on some of the debates that are going around on the issues regarding what has been agreed in 1998 and particularly some of the key-features of the institutional arrangements that were agreed. So I am not going to resume too much knowledge I hope. I don't have time to go in deep detail. There were critics on the agreement from all sorts of perspectives as you can imagine. I am not going to consider the objections that were raised by dissident Irish Republicans and by anti-agreement Unionists and Loyalists actors. Mainly because I think they have very obvious objections. I am going to focus rather on a set of critics that may be of more interest of those of us who share more progressive political values. So there is a strand of opinion within who you might call progressive, liberal egalitarian thinkers. Thinkers who give a very high priority to individual human freedom. There is a strand of criticism on certain aspects of the political institutions in Northern Ireland now which have been articulated from that kind of point of view. So I am interested in those progressive egalitarian critics of the agreement, mainly because as a fellow progressive egalitarian I take that criticism slightly more seriously than criticisms coming from other points of view.

Now it has been suggested from that kind of point of view that the arrangements, the power-sharing arrangements, have kind of us taken us in the wrong direction in means of resolving the conflict. Mainly because they have somewhat given to much recognition, as it where, to the national differences which in turn may entrench or exacerbate the vary kind of structures of group differences that have generated the conflict in the first

place, thus perhaps making those structures harder than ever to dismantle. And obviously the challenges with sectarianism are related to this. Now, I'm going to consider three specific kinds of worries that have been articulated from this perspective on the current arrangements. And I am going to try an suggest that they, even though well-intentioned, have typically kind of failed to grasp the national group differentiated realities of structural inequality, that were successfully, I think, handled with by those achieving the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. So primarily how to work out some arrangements with on the one hand Unionists who want to retain the integrative and constitutional with the United Kingdom and Irish Nationalists who are spurring for a United Ireland. A contested battle of claims of sovereignty and self-determination and so on. So I think unless we fully understand what that challenges involved, some of these kinds of more high-minded critics go slightly down the wrong the track. So I'm going to pick up three of those criticisms and then explain why I think they are somewhat misplaced.

So the first worry is that the first kind of power-sharing by national arrangements privileged certain national group-identities over other group-identities. And that they also failed to give equality to individuals who haven't got any sense of belonging to both the national groups [Catholics and Protestants]. Now I think those critics who made those points may have overlooked the fact that there is in fact an unrestricted competition for votes at elections. Ministerial responsibilities and portfolios are allocated depending on the strength of the party's representation in the assembly. Therefore, the members of the assembly reflect the free choice of individual voters... under a proportional system that is far more likely to give representation to smaller parties without any clear affiliation to national traditions perhaps, than would be possible under most alternative electoral systems. So I guess the point is that it is important to bear in mind that the reasons that political participants in Northern Ireland continue to vote as they do, primarily for ethno-political-parties, and parties represent the national blocks. I guess that surely reflects the need that they have for ongoing reassurance that their national identities will in fact be recognized and respected within the constitutional order. And that shouldn't come as a surprise considering the long history of antagonism

between the two national communities and the strong resistance that both have engaged in with respect to the integration- and ambitions of members of the other community. So basically Irish Nationalists within Northern Ireland need to feel respected as equals in their Irishness and likewise Unionists need to be respected on the island or Ireland as equals in their Britishness. And if we can't grasp that we can't really get to the core of what was agreed and the process through which we got there. So even the very controversial rules of designation through which the members of the Assembly should designate themselves as Unionist, Nationalist or other… I think they have to be understood in that context… they are there to ensure that neither national community can be denied an effective voice on key matters that affect them. But in some point in the future, and I hope we get to this point in the near future, they could be modified by agreement at any stage and they could be dispensed if maybe needed.

Okay so let me get to the second worry about the constitutional architecture and the arrangement which requires kind of power-sharing and an all-inclusive executive. It is argued that this entrenches or exacerbates community division and thereby potentially reproduces sectarianism across society. Mainly this point is made by advocates of a much more radical integration policy. But again their real danger is in moving too quickly. I mean I think that we need to move in the direction of integration and I think that we need to tackle sectarianism effectively, but it is all about the pace in which we do it and how we do it. I think we have to acknowledge the kind of society that Northern Ireland actually is… and we shouldn't underestimate that the members of the main national groups continue to need positive recognition of their group difference in the context of the long history of conflict. So the agreed institutions are designed to defuse and to render manageable causes of division between those national communities by facilitating a power-sharing arrangement in a bi-national context where each tradition enjoys "parity of esteem". So in forcing integration, or moving far too quickly in a radical way, would to my mind hardly be a liberal solution to the realities of group differences and the strength of national traditions, which are reinforced by the decisions that people continue to make about education, culture and so on… it

seems to me that it would not only be unproductive but also unjust to force people of either community to assimilate either a British or an Irish ethos. Now within the bi-national context, that I think Northern Ireland requires as a part of justice actually, there are unquestionably some significant challenges particularly with the public expression of cultural and national differences. That does remain a very immediate challenge and one that politicians haven't been taking sufficiently seriously.

Let me just come to the third and final worry I wanted to look at. And that has focused on the suspicion that the approach to the central and contiguous issue of self-determination within the agreement whereby we could have referenda in the future about whether or not wanted to become a united Ireland. It is argued that by these critics that that quite of entrenches a kind of ongoing conflict over sovereignty instead of establishing a more post-national form of politics in Northern Ireland. But I think that downplays the significance of both the North-South institutional dimensions and the East-West dimensions which are there simply to defuse a conflict over national sovereignty. So the bi-national features of the agreement and the sort of constitutional ethos in which it is embedded I think represents in some ways a significant break from the politics of nationalism. If by the term nationalism we understand the dividing principle of one nation, one state… clearly the agreement is post-nationalist by those standards. It is not based on a naïve assumption however that we can thereby move beyond the conflicting aspirations that are held here between the two nationalist traditions that have such a long history of antagonism.

So I think these are some of the important debates that have gone between the political scientists regarding the architecture of the political agreement and I've tried to suggest that the criticism that has come from some of those kind of egalitarian liberal perspectives should be considered well intentioned and somewhat moving in the right direction in the long term, but potentially misguided and misplaced and potentially destabilizing if we move too quickly towards a post-national utopia. We're on a journey and I think it is vital to move through this stage of assurance between the two national groups.

Lise Howard	We'll hear now from Dominic Bryan from the Queen's University in Belfast and he works on things like flags, parades, murals and symbols in social spaces and the meaning behind these symbols. So thank you very much for coming here and we look forward to what you have to say.
Dominic Bryan	Thank you very much. Now I would like to echo my thanks to the Georgetown University for your generosity. Yeah I am going to tell a little story about lampposts… streetlights… because I do have a strange relationship with streetlights… We have territories of space in Northern Ireland that are often demarcated by the use of flags and emblems and now I've got myself into a project where we, three times a year, go round and count every flag on every lamppost on every main road in Northern Ireland. And that amounts to about 4.500 flags which we count in GPS and see how things are changing… that was the theory because I had done this 5 year and found out that no bloody thing had changed, which was bit… yeah… But it was deepened that because in 1998, when the Agreement was signed, I was a PhD-student or just finished my PhD and a party of the women's coalition… I was doing some work for at the time… and they volunteered me for a job on the night of the referendum. It was understood that we felt that many Protestants in the society were keen to vote yes, but the areas that they lived in… there was not enough reassurance for them do it. For instance lots of election-posters that said 'yes to the agreement' weren't put up. So I agreed that I would go in a mini-van with four other people that I didn't know at three in the morning to go to a whole range of Protestant towns and climb the lamp-posts and put up these posters and at one point we ended up with a ladder going down and me stuck in a lamppost, thinking how the hell did I ever end up here. It was an inspiring time, going through a peace-process. It is a very existing time. But over the years we had the potential of going back and taking a look and why it took place. Peace processes often look like they are events. They often look like there were talks and there was an outcome of the talks… but I think in reality we have to accept that they are processes that are often well beyond the narrow confines of either the political parties or the people in those process. You clearly need the politicians that do that job at that time. But clearly other things have to take place and I want to suggest that the time period for the process in Northern Ireland can be seen as a lot longer. And let me put one

thing down that I think is important. And that is the nature of equality or inequality. It is quite clear that during much of the period of Northern Ireland Catholics were heavily discriminated against in a number of spheres. Not many people would now disagree with that. And right from the 1970's onwards very strong employment legislation was induced into Northern Ireland to try and deal with processes of discrimination. And it is interesting to sort of look at that period of twenty years in which we had terrible violence in society, but things were changing. There was a sense of growing equality, and what I think that did, over a period of time, was offering Catholics in society a greater sense of citizenship. And as we started to solve those problems in the 70's and the 80's and there were lots of setbacks and lots of things were done badly… it did allow for Irish Nationalism to come into the civic space in a way that it had never been allowed to in Northern Ireland before. Let me give you a very classic example of that. Through much of the period of Northern Ireland where Unionist politics dominated, you would barely have been able to wave an Irish-tricolor on any street anywhere in Northern Ireland, let alone take one in the center of Belfast and wave it in front of the City Hall, in front of the statue of Queen Victoria. And in 1993, the year before the IRA ceasefire and the Loyalist paramilitary ceasefire, the police decided to allow the Republicans… a Republican prisoner-group into the center of Belfast to hold a demonstration in front of the City Hall. This was meaning that these people were now into the central civic space of the city. And I think that why that was importance because by doing that… even though you were letting in a group that was trying to destroy the state and planting bombs to try and do so… by doing that you were offering the potential of them entering a civic space, entering an engagement that had not been there before. So one of the key-aspects to learn from the process is how you open your civic and political spacing to let these diverse groups in. Because in the end the process has not solved the bigger issues that we have talked about. It has not solved the nature of the state of Ireland and Northern Ireland. What it has done is create a number of political institutions which allow politics to be manifested through those institutions. And what we've also tried to do is begin to create a civic society that potentially allows all those diverse of politics to exist. Now that creates enormous difficulties and problems, some of which have always been

alluded to. I think it has meant… and when you look at surveys and polls of people's views in Northern Ireland there's no doubt that people feel a greater sense of citizenship… Unionists have felt quite threatened about this, but Nationalists undoubtedly more feel like they are a part of politics in Northern Ireland like than they did. Without any question… we have had two members of Republican movements as majors of Belfast now… and to put this in a very blunt way… I think the likelihood of people wanting to bomb the city when they can always be major of the city is greatly reduced. In other words… if you manage to create that public space… and that is not only creating institutions, but also allowing people to represent themselves in that civic space… you offer yourself a much greater chance of peace. So sharing space, both political space and physical space is an important thing. However, as also has been mentioned, that offers you a heck of lot of moral dilemmas that you then have to overcome. One of them is how you wrestle with is how you deal with people either with violent views, who want to continue a violent struggle in some ways, where is your boundary of civic space? Who are you going to exclude and who are you going to include? And in Northern Ireland we have been quite lapse in the sense that we allow an awful lot of representations that other societies wouldn't allow. Just recently two large paramilitary murals from the UVF, to most people very threatening their nature, got painted in a part of East-Belfast and it was allowed to happen. Police decided not to police it. Now there are a number of reasons around that, but our civic space sorts of accepts within symbols and representations of violence which can become quite problematic for the democratic and civic sphere. So it places you with a whole lot of moral dilemmas, and I'm not sitting here saying that I've got the answers, and it also means that we have an ongoing problem that we have a hugely divided society. There are different views on policies on housing, education. I would probably have very radical views on this… I would argue for a much more demanding set of policies to bring people together, not only Catholic and Protestant but also social-classes. We have an enormously divided education-system in my view in Northern Ireland. The difficulty I have is that the political structures, which these ethnically divided political parties, are not likely to vote these sort of things in. I worry that the system does not have the capacity to make the changes that are necessary for long-term

stability of Northern Ireland. And I speak as someone who climbed up those lampposts to support that process. Alright. So there are real concerns about the way this system works.

Content Analysis of Conference

I will now perform a content analysis of the transcription above. I will those this by systematically coding phrases in the text and then classify the code to one of the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict: either historic context, needs of actors, capacity of actors, actors and strategies and the nature of the conflict [destructive or constructive] plus the way in which this phrase is of relevance for the concept. For instance: "Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process", which can be coded as "the feeling that they are blamed" and can then be categorized under the concept "needs" or "need for acceptance".

Phrases	Code	Concept and relevance
"Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process"	The feeling that they're blamed	Need for acceptance, equality.

The result of this content analysis will be an overview of the relevant phrases of the text in relation to the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict. These phrases can then be implemented in a systematic and clear fashion in the research.

Speaker & Phrases	Code	Concept and relevance
Dawn Purvis: "And during that time, the Ulster Volunteer Force, which was the paramilitary organization associated with the PUP signaled their intent to civilianize and decommissioned all their weapons in June 2009. Sadly at the end of May 2010 the UVF murdered a man called Bobby Moffett in West-Belfast. They shot him… they blasted him with shotguns in broad daylight. Bobby Moffett posed no threat to the peace-process."	Paramilitary activity	The UVF is a <u>communal actor</u> who uses violence as a strategy.
Dawn Purvis: "Sectarianism has always been a part of Northern Ireland society… but with people being intimidated and burned out of their homes at both sides [both Catholics and Protestants] sectarianism grew even further."	Institutionalization of sectarianism	<u>Historic context</u>, how sectarianism has shaped Northern Ireland. Now there is <u>need</u> for security (no intimidation, no burning of houses)
Dawn Purvis: "It scarred particularly urban areas in such a way that peace walls began to appear and Northern Ireland became a very segregated society along religious lines. So people were born in separate	Institutionalization of sectarianism	<u>Historic context</u>, the formation of peace walls and segregation. This illustrates the <u>need</u> to hold onto own identity

hospitals, they went to separate schools, they went to separate doctors for surgeries and to add insult to injury we were buried at separate cemeteries. So over 35 years sectarianism became institutionalized."		and ideas for both communities. Also, the high level of segregation has become a non-capacity for the need to find peace in Northern Ireland by state-actors.
Dawn Purvis: "we became comfortable amongst our own tribe… we became comfortable in an abnormal society. And when you are comfortable you have no desire to change. You have no desire to move beyond that comfort-zone or that comfort-blanket. So I think the violence… the paramilitary groups were recreating themselves…"	Institutionalization of sectarianism & creation of paramilitary groups	Historic context, how the society became segregated and also as to how communal actors as paramilitary groups were kept in power.
Dawn Purvis: "There was to a certain extent a military stalemate between paramilitary organizations and state military… There was a lack of political leadership… It was only when the extremes [Catholics and Protestants] were brought to the center that things started to move."	Political integration	Historic context, how Catholics and Protestants came closer together. Also, the capacity for Catholics grew to fulfill in their needs. Catholics became a political actor with different political parties.
Dawn Purvis: "And in many respects for Unionism the conflict was about a security issue: the IRA was a security problem. And for Nationalists and Republicans the conflict was about social, economic and political change."	Security & equality	The needs for Protestants: mainly about security (physical) because the IRA as a communal actor of the Catholics used/uses violent strategies. The need for the Catholics: social, economic and political change.
Dawn Purvis: "I think what challenges have been overcome, certainly when the ceasefires were called 17 years ago in 1994… it was a breathing space for politicians and political leaders to get together and find an agreement."	Ceasefires	Historic context, the ceasefires opened the door for progress.
Dawn Purvis: "The process has mainly about human relationships and how people work together. And I think the best example of that, from 2007 to the present	Political cooperation	The state-actors and their strategy towards each other seems to be important. Ian Paisley and

day, is how Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness [First Minister and Deputy First Minister] were able to work together when devolution was restored in 2007. They were nicknamed the chuckle-brothers because they laughed and got on so well together."		Martin McGuinness showed that good relation could exist between a Catholic and Protestant. This strategy creates hope in the minds of the Irish, especially for those with the <u>need</u> of normality; an end to violence.
Dawn Purvis: "But there was change in leadership when Ian Paisley retired as first minister and when his deputy Peter Robinson took his place. That change in leadership… that change in dynamic led to more problems in the process [because they couldn't get along very well]"	Political enemies	<u>Historic context</u>, downfall for the conflict. The <u>need</u> for positive politics (friendship) rather than negative: when <u>state actors</u> get along their <u>capacity</u> seems to be bigger.
Dawn Purvis: "One of the starkest issues that still remains… the poverty and the discrimination that still exists in Northern Ireland to this day.	Catholic needs	The <u>need</u> for Catholics to end discrimination and poverty.
Dawn Purvis: "Protestant working-class boys are the major non-progressor in our education system and that is beginning to show in our male-employment statistics. We know that this will lead to dissatisfaction amongst young people who get disconnected from the process. They are open to exploitation from gangs, use of drugs and alcohol and residual paramilitarism. That is a political issue that has to be dealt with, but it has the potential and remains a potential to cause conflict."	Protestant education	<u>Historic context</u>, how it can be explained that Protestants care less for good education? Also, the <u>capacity</u> for Protestants has lowered as a result of this education problem. But this also means that the <u>capacity</u> for <u>communal actors</u> as the UVF can rise, meaning that violence could again prevail.
Dawn Purvis: "Policing remains an issue, although it is largely resolved. Policing has gone to massive process of change, but they have failed to deliver the community-policing model. And for a police service to deliver the best possible service to the community is that is has to be representative of that community."	Role of the police	Important <u>state actor</u> is the police. Their <u>capacity</u> is greatly influenced by their composition as it influences the support it has from society. Both communities <u>need</u> a fair balanced police-policy.
Dawn Purvis: "We have more peace-walls since the Good-Friday Agreement than we	Continuation of sectarianism	The <u>state actors</u> use strategies of division

had prior to the agreement. That sectarianism is fueled by continued segregation in housing and education. 96% of our education is segregated along religious lines and around 95% of our housing."		(peace-walls) and segregation (education and housing).
Dawn Purvis: "the two largest parties in the government seem reluctant or unable to deal with the issue of sectarianism or to come up with a strategy or policy to tackle the issue of sectarianism. That is probably because those parties are built on division and require a divided voter-base in order to secure their vote."	Downside of democracy	The capacity of the state actor (assembly) is largely influenced by democracy: they cannot tackle sectarianism if people vote in favor of such policies (non-capacity)
Dawn Purvis: "there is also the issue of residual paramilitarism. There has been, on the Republican side… we have the Real IRA, the Continuity IRA and other Republican groups who are opposed to Sinn Fein's peace-strategy. Who have been targeting police and military personnel and installations"	IRA	These are splinter groups that have formed new communal actors with negative strategies. Their capacity is highly depending on the support of the people of Northern Ireland.
Shane O'Neill: "Ministerial responsibilities and portfolios are allocated depending on the strength of the party's representation in the assembly. Therefore, the members of the assembly reflect the free choice of individual voters…"	Downside of democracy	The capacity of Catholics and Protestants to be represented in the state.
Shane O'Neill: "political participants in Northern Ireland continue to vote as they do, primarily for ethno-political-parties, and parties represent the national blocks.	Continuation of segregation	They do this as they need to hold onto their identities. This also means that the capacity for the Assembly as a whole is limited.
Shane O'Neill: "I guess that surely reflects the need that they have for ongoing reassurance that their national identities will in fact be recognized and respected within the constitutional order. And that shouldn't come as a surprise considering the long history of antagonism between the two national communities and the strong resistance that both have engaged in with respect to the integration- and ambitions of members of the other community"	Respect and recognition of identity	The need for assurance that their [Catholics and Protestants] identities are recognized and respected within the constitutional order. This has evolved from a long history of antagonism.

Shane O'Neill: "we shouldn't underestimate that the members of the main national groups continue to need positive recognition of their group difference in the context of the long history of conflict."	Respect and recognition of identity	The <u>need</u> of positive recognition of their group differences in the context of long <u>history</u> of conflict.
Dominic Bryan: "on the night of the referendum. It was understood that we felt that many Protestants in the society were keen to vote yes, but the areas that they lived in… there was not enough reassurance for them do it. For instance lots of election-posters that said 'yes to the agreement' weren't put up."	Fear for own society	This is again part of the <u>need</u> for security: not only security versus the other group [so Protetants fearing Catholics] but also the in-group. The need for security of violence.
Dominic Bryan: "It is quite clear that during much of the period of Northern Ireland Catholics were heavily discriminated against in a number of spheres. And right from the 1970's onwards very strong employment legislation was induced into Northern Ireland to try and deal with processes of discrimination	Discrimination of Catholics	<u>Historic context</u>, how the Catholics have been discriminated and how this situation has been improved recently. There is still the <u>need</u> for equality in the heads of the Catholics.
Dominic Bryan: "when you look at surveys and polls of people's views in Northern Ireland there's no doubt that people feel a greater sense of citizenship"	Citizenship of Catholics and Protestants	This means that the <u>need</u> for a united Ireland seems to get lesser. This is very important.
Dominic Bryan: "we have had two members of Republican movements as majors of Belfast now… and to put this in a very blunt way… I think the likelihood of people wanting to bomb the city when they can always be major of the city is greatly reduced."	Capacity of Catholics	The <u>capacity</u> of Catholics in relation to politics has grown. This means that some <u>needs</u> have been fulfilled to a certain amount.
Dominic Bryan: "The difficulty I have is that the political structures, which these ethnically divided political parties, are not likely to vote these sort of things in. I worry that the system does not have the capacity to make the changes that are necessary for long-term stability of Northern Ireland."	Political stalemate	The <u>capacity</u> of the political system to fulfill in all needs seems unlikely because there seems to be a sort of stalemate.

Appendix 4

Lecture: **Underlying Causes of the Conflict in Northern Ireland**

Person: Tim Conway, historian and Academic Director for the Peace & Conflict Seminar in Northern Ireland for the IFSA-Butler program at Queens University, Belfast.

Length: 0:55.20

Source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eW9TgEOPaLI

Summary: Tim Conway is a Northern Irish historian and he has studied the history of Northern Ireland and is a doctor in the field of peace-studies. In this lecture he talks about the foundations in early history for the conflict in order to understand the situation as it is now. This lecture is used in my Bachelor-thesis for sketching the history as well as for a sketch of problems in the current times.

Today I am very happy to welcome Dr. Tim Conway. He is with the IFSA-Butler program and he's the director for the program in Ireland. This man is a very interesting person. I just met him today but just by looking at his CV… served in the world air force, founded his own areal engineer company, historian, PhD in language and literatures… this is quite a trail. A fascinating journey you have been on Tim. So we are delighted you could be here today, to really talk about some of the issues, the history, the background of this seemingly never ending conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. So Tim, thank you again for being here.

Well good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. The reason that I'm here and that I've started teaching a IFSA-butler program in Ireland is that… we already had students coming to Northern Ireland who wanted to know more about the Troubles themselves. They wanted to know the reasons… what is being done about it in sorting the issues out… and also for how it was being done. Was there really anything being done to really try and foster the relationship between the Unionist side and the Nationalist side? And what I would say the fall-out parties… all of the people in Belfast… if an organization got a I in it, it is a Republican one and if an organization has a V in it, it becomes a Loyalist one. Essentially areas, organizations and people are easily identified by where you come from and who you associate with and where you are. Now in most places these areas can be quite large. But in Belfast the majority of the conflict has been in an area of probably two square miles, with a dividing road down the middle… and they have built a wall along that road. Only in Irish terms can they built a 45 feet high wall and call it a peace-wall, separating communities…

But if I may, I will start off by quoting from an incore statement [Incore is in the University of Ulster: International Conflict Research Institute], and Paul Arthur has been and is still involved in it. He said: *"people in many parts of the world live among one and other, despite vast differences, but there isn't always an easy road to peace and separate communities. Northern Ireland has witnessed more than its fair share of conflict, which has been symbolized by religious differences between Catholics and Protestants but primarily occasioned by significant political and economic disparity between the two communities."* However we are lucky that today we've seen significant changes in what has been happening. And essentially, what I am going to do now is primarily prompted by the first students that we had, 16 of them… When we started teaching 'the peace and conflict', we started with home rule and then we went into 1916 and then we looked at all the troubles in Ireland and the separation and partition of Northern Ireland… But the question that they asked themselves was… why did it get to that stage? Why suddenly did you need the partition? Why was it there? Myself and another teacher suddenly realized that we were starting at the wrong place. We needed to look at the origins. We needed to go way back and explain, even quite quickly, to students how the issues came about in Ireland. Why suddenly by 1905/1910 was something like 95% of the land in Ireland owned by 12 to 15% of the people? And why were the Irish disenfranchised? So we started looking at the events in Ireland and basically I got to say that the English came to Ireland and over the space of 600 years or perhaps slightly more… they pretty much took over the country. And we can look at these English incursions… The first invasion of Ireland by the English was in 1179 [1169?], but they were invited. They didn't come without an invitation. The King of Ulster had a personal fight with someone called O'Hanluain from somewhere in the midlands or the West who had ran off with his wife or something… So anyway… he needed help to get his wife back and to beat up O'Hanluain. Nobody else in Ireland would help him, so he turned to King Henry II in England who said "I am not interested but you can ask this guy in Wales". So they sent over a man who is known in Irish as Strongbow, and Strongbow came to Ireland with 300 knights and 2.000 men… to cut a long story short, in the space of about 5 years he had married the King of Ulster's daughter, who had conveniently died, and the Norman's had taken over Ireland. First English invasion, very clever, like the Normans always did… their method to become a part of their community was just to marry the daughters of the local chiefs, and that worked extraordinarily well. In the space of 100 years everybody was talking Irish and playing Hurling and doing things, and just getting on with their lives quite nicely. And you had suddenly huge families… the Desmonds Fitzgeralds, the Kildere Fitzgeralds, etc. So the Normans were entrenched, even though not forming a huge part of the country. Maybe only 2 or 3% of the population was actually Norman… sort of Northern Irish without it existing. The became known as the 'Old English'. But they were very Irish in their ways, but it wasn't until Henry the VIII getting concerned about his accessions and suchlike that they actually decided that they needed to do

something. So essentially what they did… Henry the VIII in about 1541… they declared the Lordship of Ireland, in which Henry was the Lord and until that point Ireland has just been… it was just like America in those days… Ireland was pretty much treated like a colony. The English were there, they were in charge, and the Irish were good for carrying wood, stoking fires and plowing the fields and such things. But when Henry the VIII needed his succession and he needed to be assured he basically made himself Lord of Ireland and then everybody was appointed to it. And various people after Henry the VIII… the first attempt of colonization was really done under his daughters rule, Mary. They changed the name of the counties in Ireland so they had Kings and Queens names… and they started a plantation in some counties. Slightly later in 1570 we had another plantation which was going to be in Munster… and Sir Walter Raleigh, who owned significant areas of land, before Queen Elizabeth chopped his head off somewhat later on… they were the first attempts for sorting out the land. But really the Old English were not very keen on this at all because they saw these English newcomers… these newcomers thought 'we need to take a bit of action here. These guys are old fashioned, we need to move in here and we can actually take this over'. So essentially that's pretty much what they did. They got 12.000 acres per individual and in Munster they took over 300.000 acres. It was terribly successful… eventually at the end of the century the Earl of Desmond objected to what the new English were doing… he was caught and he was executed. So that was the end of the Desmond dynasty, and he was the 23th Earl of Desmond and so a period of 400 years of Desmond-rule in that area ended.

At that time the most of the Irish had inter-married with the Normans, except for the set in the North of Ireland. Now all of the coastal strips in the East of Ireland had been taken over by the MacDonnells of Antrim who came over from Scotland and they had established that. So they were there and quite safely. So those areas were very well planted and in the remainder of Ulster it was Hugh O'Neill who was titled as 'the Great O'Neill' in Irish terms while the English called him the Earl of Tyrone. For those of you that are not aware of 'surrender and regrant'… Elizabeth and her people were very clever in the latter part of the 16th century… they said to the remaining Irish chiefs: "if you surrender to me and acknowledge me as your lord and give me your service I will then give you an English title and you can continue to do what you are already doing". Now it was Hugh O'Neill who was the Earl of Dungannon at that time who said: "how can you give me what is already mine?" But a lot of people for the sake of an English title or an English whatever… they actually went along with it and they gave away what they owned for the sake of getting a title, which is a bit odd really when you think about it. Hugh O'Neill was an important character. He was brought up by Queen Elizabeth and educated in England and all of these things and he eventually came back to Ireland and completely changed. He became 'the O'Neill' and 1594 he set up an army and pretty much took over most of

Ireland. They fought the English to a standstill but at the battle of Kinsale in 1601, fighting with the Spanish, they were actually beaten by Marshal Bagenal and his people so that 9 years rebellion came to an end and all of the last Gaelic-lordships, these were the Northern ones, were all beaten and for a few years they actually lived under a new king because James the VI of Scotland had become James the First of England and he was new, he didn't have the authority or power that Elizabeth had and he had a lot of people on his back looking for land. People had younger sons, America was a long way away and that was the land where people went to get grants of land, plantations… all of this area in America was available… all the East coast… but Ireland was just closer and it was a very good place to send your second or third son. It was a fair chance that he wouldn't die on the way home because its only really… when you think about it… the closest point from Ireland to the United Kingdom (Scotland) is only about 18km… it is not exactly a long way. And even if you left from Dublin or from a county down you could always stop on the Isle of Man along the way and you could sort off go over. So it is a close place. But it was a very odd place because the English came over, expecting to take over, but they suddenly found that there was somebody else in charge. But the Irish didn't speak English. The Old Irish spoke French, but by now most of them were talking Irish. So you had a very peculiar situation… where these people that looked the same as you, they dressed slightly different to you… it was very different to arriving in country like America where you had the native Indians that were clearly not the same as you, but the English had a really good way of sorting this out. They just killed them. They just sad, so what, and 'bang'. But eventually in 1603 we had all of this happening and… in 1607 there was a decision made which was very bad for the Irish and probably very bad for history, really, because O'Neill and O'Donnell left Ireland and they took their families with them and essentially that was the flight of the Earl's. And that in 1607 was probably the end of the Irish clansystem, it was the end in its entirety. They were gone at that stage. I mean we talk nowadays about Irish clans and all the rest of it, but it was finished. It was over and done with it. There was no major effort to try and reinstall it at all. And what James did, and his advisors, that basically he said: "what you have done is treason. You have left your lands which is high-treason. Therefore your lands are forfeit". So essentially the British, James himself, took this lands and he took about 3.000.000 acres. And that is a huge amount of property to take. And actually let me state something here before we go any further. There was a big problem in Ireland, but we have county Londonderry and we have Londonderry in Northern Ireland. And in the Republic of Ireland it is called Country Derry and Derry City… there never ever was a County Derry. Derry was invented in the Ulster plantation. They took County Coleraine and a part of Antrim, Donegal and Tyrone and they made it into a county and they called it County Londonderry. And that is what they gave to the London companies… so the London mercers, the grocers, the drapers, the fishmongers the goldsmiths, the skinners, cloth workers, merchant-tailors, haberdashers, sorters, ironmongers… all ended up with a

share of Ireland. And the deal there was… with this three million acres they would sell this land to people in large chunks and they were expected to come over with groups of people, with families to repopulate the country and that is what they were there for. And that really, significantly shaped Ireland. We have the same counties now as we had in 1613. This was quite a significant act. It wasn't terribly successful because what actually happened is that a significant number of Irish people that would have been subservient to the O'Neill's or the O'Donnell's… ended up far better of under the English system because with the Irish system it was the clan-chief who owned everything, but when the English came in they gave them a leases… they gave them tenure on significant acres of land and quite a lot Irish actually got did get tenure on lands… not the good land because that was gone to the English…

So that was fine and everything was good but then James didn't last so long and he died. And his son Charles the 1st took over and he was a very ineffectual king in most ways. He was very much in favor of absolute monarchy. And I suppose as a king, being an absolute monarch isn't a bad thing to wish for. But England had moved on. Charles couldn't get the support that he needed so essentially he tried looking for support in Ireland at one stage and eventually he let one rebellion which he lost and everyone thought he'd give up and let parliament take over, but then he had a second one eventually in 1649 and at that point he was executed himself which was the first case of regicide in England for a number of years. In 1641 the Irish in Ulster decided that they would take the opportunity while the English were involved in their own problems with Charles and the struggles for Puritanism and we had the rebellion of 1641 which was the confederation of Kilkenny… unfortunately and it grieves me to say this, that was a really successful rebellion, but the Irish ended up as we've always done. We ended up fighting ourselves. On one side we had Owen O'Neill (a nephew of Hugh O'Neill who had come back from foreign service in which is now Holland) who was probably the best soldier of his time and he lead the Irish and he had the only significant victory in battle against the British. He beat the Scottish general Monroe at the Battle of Benburb in 1743 I think it was and then they all went down to Kilkenny where they all started fighting each other. Cardinal Rinuccini arrived from the Vatican as the Papal Nuncio and he was fighting very much on behalf of the Vatican and the Catholic church so we ended up with three major individuals: Owen O'Neill, Rinuccini and then we had a man called Thomas Preston who was another soldier and the fighting was with them. They had a deal with the English Royalists… when the Royalists got beaten they then ended up fighting against the Earl of Ormonde who later became the Marquess of Ormonde there… and eventually that whole thing petered out and it lost all its importance and it was quite ineffectual. There are huge fingers of blame that can be pointed in several directions. But essentially it seems to be the fault seems to be an Irish thing… because instead of having a leader and following him and going where they should have

gone… they went against each other. Thomas Preston took over one set of battles, Owen O'Neill took over another set. And eventually Owen O'Neill died, perhaps he was poisoned I don't know but he died. But to cut a long story short… the bad news was that in 1649 we ended up with Oliver Cromwell arriving in Ireland with his army. And in the space of 2 years he beat everybody inside and… basically he had 2 objectives: he wanted to put Ireland firmly under English control and all valuable agricultural land he wanted to be controlled by his army or by English people. And these two objectives were very successful and the result of his actions was almost 40% of the land of Ireland was redistributed from the Catholics, born in Ireland, to the Protestants born in Britain. So Cromwell destroyed the Irish in two battles and after that… he was quite brutal… he killed all of the officers and all the clergy and one man was battered to death, which was pretty grim thing to be doing. But from Cromwell's perspective it worked. Afterwards the down-survey was done and that's where the expression came from: "to hell or to Connaught". Basically Irish landowners were given the choice: "you can either stay here and die or you can move to the West of Ireland, because this is ours". And the down-survey reapportioned all that land to the English. Essentially it worked extremely well and by that stage 75% of the land in Ireland was actually owned by Protestants (at around 1650).

To return back to England, after Charles the 1st had died, Cromwell had taken over. And at Cromwell's death the English invited his son Charles the 2nd back into the country. Now Charles the 2nd just liked being the king. He had lived in France and he had been living on the subsidy provided by Louis the XIV… and whilst he liked the idea of an absolute monarchy and all the rest of it, it was much better to be a king in England than being at someone's service in France. So Charles came back, minded his own business… his one unfortunate downfall was however that he didn't have any children. His brother, James the 2nd took over and James the 2nd was a nominal Protestant (married to a Protestant and with 2 daughters), as was Charles the 2nd by the way, but James decided to marry again and he then ended up having a son, which was a critical thing for the English. Essentially we have a situation in England in which the aristocracy and the land-owners run parliament, run the house of lords and they effectively run the country. And we have here… they know that if the Catholic restoration takes place again… the Catholic church and the Vatican have an extraordinary long memory… and all of these landlords and land-owners had benefited quite substantially from Henry the VIII time which was only 150 years before this… So essentially they are thinking if we have a Catholic restoration it is not going to be terribly long before we have the Catholic church coming back saying "and by the way, we would like our land back, please, because it was taken then". So 95% of the aristocracies in England were really not in favor of the Catholics coming back. So when James got married for the 2nd time and got a son, that was disaster for them. And so the aristocrats in England invited William of Orange, who was a relatively… I mean he was from a small

establishment and he was a very small man, probably less than 5 feet tall… he was married to James his daughter, Mary, and so there was a connection there… Mary was a Protestant, that was fine as was her sister Anne. And William was a very convinced Protestant and absolutely hated Louis the XIV… So William took on this and in a very short space of time he had established himself in England and then James chose Ireland as the battleground to fight for his kingdom back. So in 1688 we had James coming to Ireland and this was the beginning of the Williamite Wars. In the space of two years, Derry closed its gates on the Marquess of Antrem who was leading the Jacobite forces and they closed the gate and that was an unsuccessful strategy.

In 1691, at the Siege of Limerick, the Jacobite forces surrendered and they were allowed to leave Ireland with their banners and arms. The treaty of Limerick was actually a significant treaty which was negotiated by Patrick Sarsfield, but… and that actually allowed Catholics to maintain their arms and it allowed Catholics to live in Ireland and to maintain establishments… but again as soon as they had surrendered and Sarsfield and his troops (8.000 of them) were elected to go to France. Louis the XIV had offered them a place in France in his army and they went and that was the beginning of the Wild Geese, that immigration to France. So we ended up with the Williamite Wars in which we had a complete success on the Protestants. At the end of that particular time, we have what we've termed the long 18th century, so from 1691/1692 going right through to the 1798 rebellion… we had a very quiet time in Ireland. This is when Dublin is built as a city and this is when Georgian Dublin is formed and any Jacobites things that happened (rebellions which failed)… essentially it was really in the mids 1700's that England fought France for control of what was the trade world. So England beat the French in India and essentially had beaten the French here [Ireland] and then England's only drawback the 18th century was this place. It actually lost America. It was lost by complete stupidity on the part of George the 3th. Then we had the 1798 rebellion and that was led by primarily the originators of 1798 were the prespetarions and descanters of Northern Ireland. In the intervening years we had seen significant acts of government brought in to prevent for descanters taking over. The running of towns and body's… so you had the test and corporations act which were essentially based on religious ground: that said you must take communion under the auspices of the Church of England or the Church of Ireland or else you may not become a servant. So this was applied in several ways and the Penal Laws prevented the Irish youthful people from learning, they were not allowed secondary or tertiary education… it prevented Irish Catholics from becoming lawyers, from joining the army, from joining the government-services… so there was nothing left to them, except trade. So they started to trade and they traded with France so the connection between them and the French grew. And if you actually look at France today you will see vast amounts of… a lot of wines in France still have Irish names. And the connections in Galway with Spain were quite significant as well. But

essentially the Irish Catholics stayed quiet, minded their own business and in 1798, when the rebellion arose, they got another severe blow unfortunately… they lost pretty much everything they had at Wexford. And it was really only… the Catholics were doing alright until then because they hadn't got involved in the Scottish rebellions in 1745 they needed soldiers to fight here in America so Irish soldiers had come over here [America] to fight. So essentially the Irish had got most of the Penal Laws… by 1782, 1793… they were pretty much gone and the Catholics were in a pretty good position and if anything the 1798 rebellion really reversed the situation because, and this is my belief, if things had maintained we would never have seen an Act of Union. And the Act of Union was where the Irish parliament that actually had made its own rules, was closed. And it merged with the parliament in England. That had two dramatic effects: it meant that the Irish could no longer generate its own laws and it also meant that Dublin as a city had lost literally all its political importance. So all the areas around Dublin that had survived of the winter-business of the parliament had suddenly just stopped. What was the Irish house of Parliament was left idle and it still is the bank of Ireland's building today. So you had… Dublin really lessening itself as an important place. And again by that time they estimated that by 1776 that 5% of the land in Ireland, only 5% was owned by Catholics. And the remaining 95% was owned by 10 to 12% of the population [the Protestants].

Things moved on and things changed slightly… George the III reneighed on his promise to give Catholic emancipation with the Act of Union. Basically on January the 1st 1801 the two parliaments became one, everything moved to England, everything was gone and then we have a fight for Catholic emancipation which came about in around 1829. The next battle is for home rule, is to get the parliament back. In that meantime we lost a huge amount of population in Ireland as a result of the famines… the population went down from somewhere near 8,2 million to somewhere around 3,5 million. Mainly there was a huge amount of immigration to America and to other places. Lots of people died and lots of people went to England.

Parties arose in British politics that tried to establish a government in Dublin. And eventually Ireland/Irish got some leverage because the Act of Union gave Ireland a 100 seats in the British government and with that 100 seats they could move their vote to suit whoever. And basically they really went for the home rule thing and eventually after 3 attempts, the third home rule bill passed in 1912… But before it could be implemented the 1st world war broke out and then we ended up in 1916. And in 1916 it is when we begin to teach our 'peace and conflict', because that act of government really formulated the situation in Ireland with the Ulster Unionists coming together and forming a body. I probably have gone long enough at this stage. Thank you very much indeed for listening. Does anybody have any questions?

I am just curious as how you would describe the situation in the Present?

Currently things, I personally belief, are excellent. We have a government that works… the most amazing thing that I have ever seen in my life was Ian Paisley sitting down, chuckling with Martin McGuinness… I mean they were just laughing and having a good time and they actually became known as the Chuckle brothers, which was quite amazing. I don't know what happened to Paisley, but I actually guarantee that something had happened. Martin McGuinness was hardline, he was IRA and these two guys got on like a house on fire. And it's amazing. I mean there has been a tectonic shift in Northern Ireland and these guys have political differences but they work together. I mean the Ulster Unionists are now seen as the people not willing to move. And the DUP that was supposed to be the ultra-right party are the people who now are actually doing things. There will be an election in May… and that is going to be very interesting to see what happens there. I mean I don't know if you are aware of it, but Robinson who is the leader of the DUP now… his wife was caught, having an affair with a 22 year old guy… but he has even survived that. He is still in power. It is amazing. I think Northern Ireland has a real possibility and one of the reasons for that, I think, is that when the Good Friday Agreement was put together in 1998… there is two significant conditions: one of them was that the Irish Republic got rid of articles 4 and 5 of its constitution which gave it a claim to 32 counties in Ireland. So they got rid of that and they are saying that the only time that they will ever make a claim on a united Ireland is when there is a referendum in which more than 50% of the people really want a United Ireland. They haven't given up on it, but they have laid aside that claim. And the British and the Northern Irish in their turn have agreed that people can now be entitled to be a citizen of both countries. So one who is born in Northern Ireland can be an Irishman or a Brit. So you can be a British citizen and you can be a Irish citizen. So we have a united Ireland but we don't. But anybody that wants to be Irish is, and can be Irish. And I think that they are the significant things because they are what they always wanted to be. And there is a significant working-ethos between the two governments, the government of Northern Ireland and the government of the Republic of Ireland. It is now quite common to see a picture in the paper or to even see them on the street. Ireland is a pretty small place. We've only got 4,5 million people in the whole country and we are trying to be international movers and shakers which makes me smile really. It is working.

The large problem, and this is what we are trying to address in a small way in the 'peace and conflict program', is that the majority of the people involved in the violence were very working-class. They were very poor, they had very dependent jobs (they depended on other people) and most of these are now coming around to significantly important events. Education is important and you will find that the Catholic community is far more interested in getting its children educated. A significant thing

was the 1944 British Education Act that was implemented in Ireland in 1947… that allowed for examinations at 11-years old and the formation of grammar-schools. And again at grammar-schools… if you get a-level results, you got a grant and you could go to universities. And the Catholic community had supported that right through the system and still do. So if you look like Universities now like Queen's [Belfast]. Queen's is about 62% Catholic now, which is quite significant. But the Protestant population, the working-class Protestant population, has never embraced education in the fashion that the Catholic community has. Even when you had prisoners who were guys from the IRA… the biggest spend from the government on the IRA-prisoners was actually on educational means. There is a joke in Northern Ireland that states that the biggest expense for Protestants in prison was actually for weightlifting but I don't know about that. It is all about education and what we do in our program is that we put American students into the poorer areas, into elementary schools and we start talking to the youngsters, the six, seven, eight years olds and ask them what their opinions are about things and seeing how we can help.

How about institutions as the police-force? How is the balance between Catholics and Protestants?
It had some difficulties in the beginning. It isn't 50% yet, but it is around the 30-40%. And the police-force just works. It is just getting on with its job and the police commissioner works perfectly. Now there is some descent… terrorism was a job for such a long time and the retirement things weren't great in it. So essentially there are still people that still want something. They are still looking for things. But most people are just saying that it is enough. You still got distant IRA-groups and nobody knows what they still want, but they are still around. I personally think that they just want something to do.

Content Analysis of Lecture

I will now perform a content analysis of the transcription above. I will those this by systematically coding phrases in the text and then classify the code to one of the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict: either historic context, needs of actors, capacity of actors, actors and strategies and the nature of the conflict [destructive or constructive] plus the way in which this phrase is of relevance for the concept. For instance: "Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process", which can be coded as "the feeling that they are blamed" and can then be categorized under the concept "needs" or "need for acceptance".

Phrases	Code	Concept and relevance
"Protestants have kind of lost in the peace process"	The feeling that they're blamed	Need for acceptance, equality.

The result of this content analysis will be an overview of the relevant phrases of the text in relation to the central concepts in the model for Transforming Protracted Social Conflict. These phrases can then be implemented in a systematic and clear fashion in the research.

Speaker & Phrases	Code	Concept and relevance
"Essentially areas, organizations and people are easily identified by where you come from and who you associate with and where you are."	Deep-rooted segregation	This influences the capacity of people to move beyond the Catholic-Protestant divide, but it also clearly indicates the need for such a division.
"But in Belfast the majority of the conflict has been in an area of probably two square miles, with a dividing road down the middle… and they have built a wall along that road."	Segregation of areas	Historic context, how Belfast has become segregated. It also shows the strategy of state actors which have built this wall.
"Northern Ireland has witnessed more than its fair share of conflict…"	Institutionalization of violence	Historic context, how violence has become normality rather than abnormality.
"…which has been symbolized by religious differences between Catholics and Protestants but primarily occasioned by significant political and economic disparity between the two communities."	Disparity between communities	The conflict is about political and economic needs of Catholics and also the non-capacity that is has in economics and

		politics.
"So essentially what they did… Henry the VIII in about 1541… they declared the Lordship of Ireland, in which Henry was the Lord and until that point Ireland has just been… it was just like America in those days… Ireland was pretty much treated like a colony."	English colonization	<u>Historic context</u>, how the conflict has started in the first place. These are the early roots of the conflict.
"The English were there, they were in charge, and the Irish were good for carrying wood, stoking fires and plowing the fields and such things."	Early signs of discrimination	<u>Historic context</u>, how discrimination has become a part of the Northern Irish society in early history.
"if you surrender to me and acknowledge me as your lord and give me your service I will then give you an English title and you can continue to do what you are already doing"	Early signs of overpowering of Catholics by Protestants	<u>Historic context</u>, how the relation between Catholics and Protestants has evolved to be so uneven in terms of power.
"So essentially the British, James himself, took this lands [Derry County] and he took about 3.000.000 acres."	English colonization	<u>Historic context</u>, how the Protestants became the landowners and the powerful in Northern Ireland
"With this three million acres they would sell this land to people in large chunks and they were expected to come over with groups of people, with families to repopulate the country and that is what they were there for. And that really, significantly shaped Ireland."	English colonization	<u>Historic context</u>, how the Protestants became the majority in Northern Ireland
"At the end of that particular time, we have what we've termed the long 18th century, so from 1691/1692 going right through to the 1798 rebellion… we had a very quiet time in Ireland. This is when Dublin is built as a city and this is when Georgian Dublin is formed"	English colonization	<u>Historic context</u>, how Protestant politics is embedded in Ireland (Dublin is the political capital at that stage)
"So this was applied in several ways and the Penal Laws prevented the Irish youthful people from learning, they were not allowed secondary or tertiary education… it prevented Irish Catholics from becoming lawyers, from joining the army, from joining the government-services… so there	Early signs of discrimination	<u>Historic context</u>, how the Catholics had become so marginalized throughout history. This had led to the <u>need</u> for equality, acceptance and security and also a non-<u>capacity</u>

was nothing left to them, except trade."		economic and politically.
"Essentially the Irish Catholics stayed quiet, minded their own business and in 1798, when the rebellion arose, they got another severe blow unfortunately… they lost pretty much everything they had at Wexford."	Early signs of violence	<u>Historic context</u>, another psychological blow for the Catholics.
"Essentially the Irish had got most of the Penal Laws… by 1782, 1793... they were pretty much gone and the Catholics were in a pretty good position and if anything the 1798 rebellion really reversed the situation because, and this is my belief, if things had maintained we would never have seen an Act of Union."	English colonization	<u>Historic context</u>, how Ireland became a part of the United Kingdom.
"And the Act of Union was where the Irish parliament that actually had made its own rules, was closed. And it merged with the parliament in England. That had two dramatic effects: it meant that the Irish could no longer generate its own laws and it also meant that Dublin as a city had lost literally all its political importance."	English colonization	<u>Historic context</u>, Ireland became part of the UK and its power was totally devolved to the English parliament. The political <u>capacity</u> of the Catholics was thus diminished.
"And again by that time they estimated that by 1776 that 5% of the land in Ireland, only 5% was owned by Catholics. And the remaining 95% was owned by 10 to 12% of the population [the Protestants].	Early signs of overpowering by Protestants	<u>Historic context</u>, how the Protestants became the rich and higher class in Ireland.
"Parties arose in British politics that tried to establish a government in Dublin. And eventually Ireland/Irish got some leverage because the Act of Union gave Ireland a 100 seats in the British government and with that 100 seats they could move their vote to suit whoever. And basically they really went for the home rule thing and eventually after 3 attempts, the third home rule bill passed in 1912…"	The Irish independence	<u>Historic context</u>, how Ireland became independent again but without Northern Ireland.
"the most amazing thing that I have ever seen in my life was Ian Paisley sitting down, chuckling with Martin McGuinness… I mean they were just laughing and having a good time and they actually became known as the Chuckle brothers, which was quite amazing. I don't know what happened to	Hope for the future	Here you see the importance of the <u>political actors</u> that are the First Minister and the deputy First Minister. They were the face of a united Northern Ireland

Paisley, but I actually guarantee that something had happened. Martin McGuinness was hardline, he was IRA and these two guys got on like a house on fire. And it's amazing. I mean there has been a tectonic shift in Northern Ireland and these guys have political differences but they work together."		which in itself created a great capacity for them: people were seeing how two communities could work together. They were overcoming political differences by working together. Unfortunately the relation between McGuinness and Robinson, the successor of Paisley, is not good.
"I mean the Ulster Unionists are now seen as the people not willing to move. And the DUP that was supposed to be the ultra-right party are the people who now are actually doing things."	Changing politics	Historic context, how relations has changed over time in Northern Ireland. The political parties are important actors with different strategies: moving forward or staying put?
"And the British and the Northern Irish in their turn have agreed that people can now be entitled to be a citizen of both countries. So one who is born in Northern Ireland can be an Irishman or a Brit. So you can be a British citizen and you can be a Irish citizen."	Choice of identity	This means that the agreement created a capacity to fulfill in certain needs of identity: the need for being Irish or English.
"And there is a significant working-ethos between the two governments, the government of Northern Ireland and the government of the Republic of Ireland."	Bonds with Ireland	After the agreement the relation between Ireland and Northern Ireland has developed in a very positive manner. This means that the Northern Irish and especially the Catholics have more capacity as 'international linkages'.
"The large problem, and this is what we are trying to address in a small way in the 'peace and conflict program', is that the majority of the people involved in the violence were very working-class."	Roots of the violence	The roots of the violence lie in the working-class. This is important because the communal actors of paramilitary groups as the UVF and IRA (who are now criminal) find their followers in the working-

		class. This means that the non-capacity for a certain group (non-education for instance) leads to a growing power of UVF and IRA.
"Education is important and you will find that the Catholic community is far more interested in getting its children educated. If you look at Universities now like Queen's [Belfast]. Queen's is about 62% Catholic now, which is quite significant. The Protestant population, the working-class Protestant population, has never embraced education in the fashion that the Catholic community has."	Education	Education is an important part of the capacity of both Catholics and Protestants. The need for good education is higher in Catholic-community, so this means that the capacity for Protestants is lower. They will fall back to criminality and paramilitaries faster than Catholics.