

Summer 5-2015

# A More Durable Peace: The Nexus Between Local Influence and Power-Sharing Governance

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*Honors Theses*. 138.  
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A More Durable Peace: The Nexus Between Local Influence and Power-Sharing Governance

An Honors Thesis  
Presented to the Faculty of the Department of Politics  
Bates College  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By  
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Lewiston, ME  
March 30, 2014

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my advisor, Professor Senem Aslan, for her advice, support, and patience throughout the year. Thanks to the entire Politics Department for fostering my interest in political science, and encouraging my pursuit of extended study.

Thank you to Joshua Rubin, Nicole Watts, and James Richter for participating in my defense and for their constructive edits and suggestions.

In addition I would like to extend my thanks to all my friends who supported me, and helped with the editing process throughout the year. In particular, I would like to thank Steph and Evan for their thoughtful edits.

Thank you to my sister, Hanna, whose wise advice and perspective has helped to shape a considerable proportion of my political and academic viewpoints. Thank you to my brother, Per, whose life outlook I can only hope to emulate, and whose authenticity inspires me.

Finally, thank you to my parents, Kate and Bjorn, for their continuous support. Without their unrelenting optimism in my abilities and their tireless willingness to encourage me, I would not be where I am today.

## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Literature Review.....	13
I.    Internal Environment.....	13
II.   Third Party Guarantors.....	17
III.  Causes of the Conflict.....	23
IV.  Local Actor Influence.....	28
V.   Power-Sharing.....	33
VI.  Argument.....	39
From Sunningdale to the Good Friday Agreement.....	44
I.    Overview.....	45
II.   Civil Rights Movement.....	46
III.  Sunningdale.....	53
IV.  Good Friday Negotiations.....	58
V.   Good Friday Agreement.....	65
Incomplete Power-sharing, Insecurity, and the Failure of the Sunningdale Agreement.....	68
I.    The Sunningdale Agreement: Historical Context.....	70
II.   Incomplete Power-sharing.....	71
III.  Ethnic Outbidding Culture.....	83
IV.  Third Party Guarantors.....	86
V.   Correlation Between Public Opinion and Trends of Violence.....	91
The Good Friday Agreement: A Success, A Missed Opportunity, or Both?.....	98
I.    The Good Friday Agreement: Historical Context.....	101
II.   Third Party Guarantees.....	103
III.  Power-sharing.....	106
IV.  Local Influence.....	117
V.   Limited Local Empowerment.....	129
Conclusion: Hybrid Peace in Communally Divided Peace Processes.....	133
Appendix .....	140
Works Cited.....	145

## Abstract

This thesis explores factors conducive to successful settlements within communal civil wars. Through a comparative analysis of the Sunningdale Power-sharing Agreement and Good Friday Power-sharing Agreement in Northern Ireland, it enters a vast literature surrounding both the case study as well as the theoretical underpinnings of successful peace settlements. This thesis identifies five potential factors contributing to the success of a peace settlement: a third party guarantor, inequality reducing measures, power-sharing measures, influence of local actors, and the nature of the conflict itself. Each of these factors is attached to specific indicators that are then cross-analyzed against public opinion data and trends of violence. This analysis is conducted in a four-phased approach: during the negotiations to get to the table, during the settlement negotiations, during the implementation, and during the aftermath of the settlement. This thesis posits that complete power-sharing creates a moderated culture that allows non-sectarian power blocks to develop and challenge communally exclusive blocks, so long as they are given a political space to develop. Contrary to arguments that suggest that power-sharing confines countries to ethnic exclusivity, this thesis explores whether it can in fact create a political space where those divisions may be broken down.

## Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War global conflict has shifted away from inter-state wars, and towards internal conflicts.<sup>1</sup> Negotiated settlements to those conflicts, complicated by the necessity of joint governance, have been few and hard to come by. Alexander Downes, coalescing a series of statistical analysis of negotiated settlements, highlights the bleak picture negotiators face in the post-conflict reconstruction process, finding that two thirds of negotiated settlements to communal civil wars ended in failure.<sup>2</sup> Military victories, in contrast, are over three times more likely to end in a stable regime.<sup>3</sup> The salient question becomes, when do peace settlements succeed, and which particular conditions facilitate agreements that are able to overcome those odds? Inter-communal conflicts plague their countries with brutal violence, pitting former neighbors, friends, and sometimes even family members against each other. Existent alliances are diminished as the script of communal antagonism takes center stage. This results in intense mistrust begat by episodes of violence in which those targeted are selected on the basis of their communal identity rather than individual attributes and actions. Despite those histories, some settlements are able to move beyond, or through, those divides into a durable and lasting peace.

Specifying the conditions that facilitate those anomalies helps to illuminate the foundations upon which successful peacemaking policy is created. In the face of an increasingly militarist peacemaking style from international interveners, it is critical that these factors be rigorously assessed in the hopes of informing a more nuanced policy of intervention. To do so, this thesis specifically asks what factors helped negotiators to the Good Friday Agreement overcome the difficulties that the trajectories of communal conflicts present, which, in turn, doomed the previous

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<sup>1</sup> Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Downes "The Problem With Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars," *Security Studies* 13, no. 4

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Downes "The Problem With Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars," *Security Studies* 13, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 230-1.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara F. Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002), 169-70.

Sunningdale Agreement. The Northern Irish case represents an important variation on this question. A series of attempted peace settlements, ceasefires, and negotiations all receded into conflict. Even settlements predicated on the same basic principles as the Good Friday Agreement failed to prevent this regeneration. Understanding why the Good Friday Agreement escaped those trajectories offers a valuable and interesting insight into the complexities of peace settlements.

This thesis argues that in the Good Friday Agreement, the coordinated effects of strong third party guarantees to the settlement, along with complete power-sharing within political and security sectors, created a moderated political climate in Northern Ireland. By guaranteeing the protection of communal interests through political, military, and cultural power sharing backed up by a third party guarantee, these interests became a less relevant factor to the continued wellbeing of Northern Irish citizens. As a result, parties were forced to shift to moderated policy platforms in order to remain electorally palatable. This climate allowed for the beginnings of cross community cleavages to develop, forming social networks around issue areas that cut across communal divides. However, while these networks were effective in their isolated implementation, disempowerment of local actors within the agreement undercut their capacity to challenge identity-based political parties.

This argument fills gaps in existent literature by building bridges between theoretical arguments that have isolated themselves. Power-sharing theorists have been excluded from debates about dissolving identity divides, because they have been portrayed as reifying communal divisions through institutionalizing them. This thesis bridges those two literatures by examining how power-sharing can, counter-intuitively, create the climate necessary for divides to dissipate. In addition, this thesis introduces local actor theorists to both those literatures. As of yet this literature has only entered the identity conflict debate tangentially or in isolated contexts. This thesis seeks to identify the importance of that literature in a far more comprehensive way by demonstrating the application of their arguments to breaking down identity-based divides. Through both of these connections this

thesis reformulates power-sharing theory in a way that expands the discussion surrounding its long-term effects.

### Why Northern Ireland?

The Northern Irish conflict (1968-1998), otherwise known as the Troubles, provides a compelling window into this question for three reasons. First, the conditions that would seem to exacerbate the most deleterious effects of these conflicts are magnified. Divides and insecurities regarding contact between communities are traditionally more prevalent when populations have direct exposure to violence. Table One shows the percentages of population who have experienced violence from 1973 to 1998 in Northern Ireland. By 1998, one in seven people were direct victims of a violent incident. In that same time frame, one in five had an injured or killed family member. Strikingly, over half of the polled citizens personally knew at least one person who had been killed in the conflict. Moreover, in the same year, a quarter had been caught in an explosion, and a quarter had been caught in a riot.<sup>4</sup> Because the statistics indicate that large proportions of each population

**Table One: Exposure to Political Violence, 1973-1998, Northern Ireland**

	Percentages			
	1973	1978	1995	1998
<b>Direct Experience</b>				
Intimidated	15	-	19	18
Victim of violent incident	3	-	10	14
<b>Indirect Experience</b>				
Family member/relative killed or injured	8	-	18	21
Know someone killed/injured	26	-	69	56
<b>Collective Exposure</b>				
Caught up in explosion	12	20	21	25
Caught up in Riot	34	14	20	23

(Source: Hayes and Mcallister, 2000)

have significant exposure to violence, Northern Ireland is a useful case study to examine what factors can ameliorate these significant insecurities.

<sup>4</sup> Bernadette Hayes and Ian Mcallister, "Sowing Dragon's Teeth: Public Support for Political Violence and Paramilitarism in Northern Ireland," *Political Studies* 49, no. 5 (December 2001): 9.



Second, the two similar peace attempts – Good Friday and Sunningdale-- conducted within the same country and a similar time frame, provides a comparison that is not stunted by radical differences between cases. Given the vast discrepancies between different conflicts, the presence of this comparison within one conflict offers valuable insights into the mechanisms of successful negotiated settlements. This case study, particularly given the similarities in settlements, offers a useful comparison that allows for more meaningful and nuanced inferences.

Third, the conflict in Northern Ireland is unique in that it spawned a series of databases and an army of researchers devoted to providing data about the conflict. This plethora of data is useful in so far as it grounds the theory of peace settlement literature in a far more substantial way than conflicts in which access to participants and communities is limited. In particular, the availability of information from non-urban areas helps to prevent urban skews within these theories.

### **Basic Definitions**

It is useful, at this point, to define what I mean by communities, and communal conflict. The conflict in Northern Ireland broadly followed a split between the Protestant and Catholic communities, and as a result represents a communal civil war. When discussing these identity-based conflicts, comparative literature often fails to precisely define what it means by terms like ethnicity or community.<sup>5</sup> Understanding these terms is necessary to formulating our conceptions of how and why these conflicts evolve. I have purposely left the term at the vague level of “communal,” rather than specifying the religious component of identity in Northern Ireland. This helps to prevent misconceptions of the effects of those identity subsets on conflict that often lead to misidentifications of motivations for continuing conflict. The types of communities that relate to this research are nonetheless important to specify, as it will help clarify the way in which these particular communities affect the evolution of conflict.

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<sup>5</sup>Kanchan Chandra, “What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (June, 2008): 399.

This thesis will use the work of Kanchan Chandra's criteria to define ethnicity, as a model that clarifies the role of each community within Northern Ireland. The relevant aspects of each community involved are based upon three characteristics: descent based membership, constrained change, and community visibility. Membership through descent can be acquired genetically, but in this case is acquired through cultural inheritance through a myth of association.<sup>6</sup> This qualification is closely tied with the attribute of constrained change. While change in between these communities is possible, the borders between these communities are not wholly fluid.<sup>7</sup> Change can occur rapidly, however there are transaction costs that make those changes from, for example, Protestantism to Catholicism difficult to make. The final characteristic of the communities this thesis is discussing is visibility. The degree of visibility can change between two communities. Although visibility is more pronounced when communities are defined by racial characteristics, there are a number of more subtle characteristics that can create visibility.<sup>8</sup> For instance Catholics in Northern Ireland can often be identified by accent, terminology, and clothing. However, given that these identities can change, these characteristics are highly imperfect markers of community.

The usefulness of this definition is that it specifies that components of community which affect the conflict. Each of these three characteristics highlights the, at least potentially, exclusive nature of these communities. Importantly, exclusivity does not require conflict, so long as those identities are not mobilized antagonistically. Exclusivity does, however, mean that in times of conflict, groups are not only easily identified and separable, but it also means that mixing becomes more difficult.

Equally important, this definition excludes certain characteristics that have become associated with terms like religious community and ethnic community. A myth of common ancestry

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 399- 400.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 415.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 417.

and culture, while sometimes a feature of these identities, is not integral to them. This suggests that those myths are less important to the conflict. However, they may contribute to exclusivity of the particular community. When developing the theory behind peace settlements to this particular type of conflict, it is important to reach this understanding to more effectively evaluate arguments proffered in the literature.

The Northern Irish conflict did not simply follow a non-state actor on state actor model, but instead was defined by divides between these communities. Parties to the conflict while sometimes using varied terminology defined themselves as representatives of each of these communities. Even state on non-state conflict took a decidedly communal path at times, with state actors, British troops or the Royal Ulster Constabulary, becoming associated with the Protestant community. This conflict, in its most simplified form, can be described as a conflict over power relations between the Protestant and Catholic communities.

Finally, it is critical to clarify terminology that will be used to describe sets of actors throughout the thesis. Throughout this thesis I will refer to a dichotomy between moderate and radical actors. Given that these terms are attached to certain stigmas, it is essential to clarify precisely what I mean by each grouping. Broadly this split refers to the repertoire of tools that each group employs, rather than the desired final outcome. Radical actors are those willing to utilize more violent tools to the ends desired. They are willing to challenge political methods with violent behavior if their goals are not met. Moderate actors, in contrast tend to confine themselves to political methodologies of change, even if they are forced to sacrifice goals. That does not mean that they will accept every political solution, but rather that they will not abandon those solutions in the event that they do not succeed. Two things are important to note at this stage. First, this is a highly murky dividing line. Critics will be correct to point to the grey area between groups in these classifications. With that in mind, it is nonetheless useful to create a split to instill a clarity in the

theoretical discussion surrounding peacemaking. By creating groupings based on similar repertoires and preferences it allows us to analyze how certain policies affect the way actors will respond to them without getting bogged down in the enormous complexity of varied motivations from a multitude of actors. Second, this split is not meant to attach normative valuations on either grouping. Often there is a bias towards ‘moderate’ actors over ‘radical’ actors; I wish to eschew those biases. Neither set of actors is considered more legitimate in this thesis; they are analyzed, to the extent that it is possible, impassively.

In addition, this thesis will make blunt categorizations in its use of ‘local actor’ terminology. By local actors this thesis is referring to individuals and organizations that are members of each locality that are not part of elite organizations involved in the negotiations. The distinctions between local and international actors, as well as local and elite actors are less clear than this term presupposes. For example, some local organizations have strong connections to internationalized networks. With the rise of transnational advocacy networks this is more and more the case. In addition, some elite actors may fit other characteristics of local actors, particularly if they are members of local manifestations of elite organizations. However, I chose to carve out this particular term in order to create a theoretical understanding of the characteristics necessary to make peace settlements work. These murky boundaries should not affect those arguments, but rather pose a problem for implementation efforts, which is not a subject of this thesis.

### **Road Map**

The remainder of this thesis unfolds in five parts. It first explores relevant peace settlement literature. It then provides a chronological overview of the conflict in Northern Ireland to situate the literature within the context of the Northern Irish case. This background is followed by two chapters exploring the failures in Sunningdale, and the success of the Good Friday Agreement.

Finally, it concludes by exploring how these arguments should affect the evolution of peace building policy.

The first chapter, which analyzes existent literature on negotiated settlements to communal conflict, examines five arguments within three core groups that current literature has proposed. The first group looks at the internal environment. They highlight the cost of war to elites, the cost of war to domestic populations, and the type of conflict as the principal factors determining the success or failure of settlements. The second group evaluates the external environment; this group highlights third party guarantors as the critical factor for success. The final group includes three distinct sets of arguments, each studying the content of the agreement itself. Within this group the factors highlighted as critical to ending a war are: the presence of an inequality-reducing mechanism, the ability of local actors to influence peace processes, and the presence of power-sharing mechanisms. It is the goal of this chapter to identify weighted importance of each factor in order to create a holistic understanding of the reasons for success, and in doing so create bridges between literatures which are currently disconnected.

The second chapter provides a descriptive understanding of the way the conflict in Northern Ireland evolved from its beginning in 1969 until the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Research into the Northern Irish conflict is plagued by its complexity. The conflict is often called the alphabet soup of conflicts due to the many groups (and their corresponding acronyms). It is the goal of this chapter to contextualize and crystallize the conflict for the reader in order to situate the remaining two chapters. In addition, I hope to confront biases replete within popular narratives of ancient hatred, and move towards more thorough understandings of motivations towards conflict. As this thesis forms its theoretical understandings of the ways conflicts evolve, it is particularly important to understand the complexities of actors and actions that form the contours of the conflict.

The third chapter investigates which factors led to the failure of the Sunningdale Agreement in 1974. This chapter argues that a failure to create security power-sharing, exacerbated by insufficient third party guarantees, created insecurities that became prohibitively difficult to overcome. The agreement both excluded traditional community protection groups and then failed to replace them with a neutral security force that each community could accept. As a result, the security sector became an unguaranteed aspect of the agreement, undercutting the ability of other facets of the agreement to operate. With no neutral security force to target communal violence, excluded radicals acted as spoilers and created an atmosphere in which moderates lost out to ethnic outbidding. Ethnic out-bidders were empowered within that context, because inter-ethnic cooperation leads to very concrete and immediate potential security costs. At the same time, the benefits of the agreement were long-term and threatened by the question of security.

The fourth chapter analyzes the factors contributing to the success of the Good Friday Agreement. This chapter will argue that the confluence of a strong third party guarantee and a complete power-sharing created a political climate in which radicalism failed. When identity interests, like protection against discrimination on the basis of community, were secured they became less relevant to voters. The more radical nationalist parties, Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and Sinn Fein, were forced to moderate their platforms to remain electorally relevant. Within this climate, local actors began to make inroads into the process of diminishing communal segregation. In the isolated platforms in which they operated, they began to dissolve barricades between these communities. However, the peace architecture severely disempowered local actors. As local populations lost ownership over efforts to bridge divides, these attempts became less relevant to these communities and were stunted. As a result, incipient cross-communal cleavages failed to

budge traditional communal parties like the DUP and Sinn Fein from their electoral position of power.<sup>9</sup>

While the results of Good Friday indicate that peace processes should empower local actors, the mechanism by which to do so is less clear. The conclusion explores the difficulties in locating that mechanism. In the aftermath of intense conflicts, local actors can often be highly conservative, and propagate communal divides. Finding a balance that limits the effect of divisive actors, while still giving autonomy to local peacemakers, is a necessary step for the peace building community to reach.

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<sup>9</sup> Sinn Fein was the political wing of the IRA, taking its current form in 1970. The DUP was the radical unionist party led and founded by firebrand Ian Paisely.

## Chapter 1: Literature Review

The theoretical debate to conflict resolution within communal conflict is heated and at times divisive, leaving subsets of the literature to be isolated. It is the goal of this chapter to both analyze that debate and provide necessary bridges between literatures that have been absent previously. This chapter will analyze three core groups within the literature that seek to answer why some negotiated settlements to communal conflicts work and others do not. The first group looks at the internal environment. They highlight the cost of war to elites, the cost of war to domestic populations, and the type of conflict as the factors that determine the success or failure of the settlement. The second group evaluates the external environment to explain the success or failure of a negotiated settlement; this group highlights third party guarantors as the critical factor for success. The final group includes three distinct sets of arguments, which look at the content of the agreement itself. Within this group there are three factors highlighted as critical to ending a war: the presence of an inequality-reducing mechanism, the ability of local actors to influence peace processes, and the presence of power-sharing mechanisms.

There is some overlap within these theorists, as will be noted; however this thesis will treat each type of argument as distinct in order to attach a weighted importance to each factor. This chapter will evaluate each of these arguments in turn, and identify both gaps and important concepts within each grouping. It will then propose a theory that fills these gaps.

### **Internal Environment**

Internal environment scholars identify three sets of factors relating to the conflict that explain why negotiated settlements succeed: war costs to elites, war costs to the public, and the type of conflict occurring. This group tends to assume that once these conditions favor negotiations, success is likely.



The first group, within internal environment theorists, expect negotiated settlements to occur on the basis of militaristic cost-benefit analysis from the elites. Donald Witman argues that the expected utility of continuing the war must be less than the expected utility of the settlement for peace to occur. These utilities can be political, but Witman argues that elites tend to concentrate on military costs like the destruction of key resources, or the number of soldiers who have been killed.<sup>10</sup> Therefore the military calculus is about both the probability of winning and the expected utility of winning. A full military victory is less attractive as these costs increase.<sup>11</sup> The conditions that are likely to lead to peace then are those in which no one side can achieve a great enough superiority to be sure that military action will achieve success.<sup>12</sup> This seems to explain why Serbia came to the table in Bosnia once the Croat-Muslim alliance began retaking significant portions of territory within Bosnia. Not only did the expectation of victory recede, but the expected utility of a future settlement also became increasingly reduced. Moreover, these stalemates can indicate a determined opponent who promises a war of attrition that is likely to increase the costs.<sup>13</sup>

These factors are neither necessary nor sufficient for a peace agreement to be successful, but should be considered as helpful facilitators. First, international actors can help to artificially create these conditions. The United States put immense pressure on the Protestant and British community, as well as the Irish community, to come to the table in Northern Ireland for example. Second, once actors have come to the negotiating table these factors become harder to act on. There are a number of international and domestic pressures to give peace efforts a good faith attempt in order to avoid adopting the reputation of a violent instigator.

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<sup>10</sup> Donald Wittman, "How a War Ends: A Rational Model Approach," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 23, no. 4 (December 1979): 744-6.

<sup>11</sup> Witman, 749.

Walter 2002, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Walter 2002, 9.

<sup>13</sup> William Zartman, "The Unfinished Agenda: Negotiation in Internal Conflicts," in *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*, ed. Roy E. Licklider (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 24.

The second group within internal environment theorists argues that war costs to domestic populations create conditions whereby those domestic populations begin to demand cessation to conflict. According to these scholars, higher casualty rates make populations think they cannot prevail. As intensity of conflict leads to greater civilian exposure to that conflict, domestic pressures are likely to increase on leaders to halt their campaigns.<sup>14</sup> However, it is unclear what mechanisms local populations have to pressure militant leaders. This is particularly true when militant leaders become the only means of securing safety within communities, and thus have a pedestal that often elevates them over political spaces where critique is possible. Moreover it is difficult to identify when costs to the domestic population become 'significant' enough for this pressure to come into play (i.e. does the conflict have to drag on for five years, ten years, or 15 years?).

The third group within internal environment theories takes this last argument and advocates that within identity-based conflicts in particular, increased violence can exacerbate insecurities and reduce the likelihood of incentives towards peace. As a result, contrary to the previous group's expectations, duration and intensity of violence should decrease likelihood of peace. There are two factors that make identity conflicts more difficult to resolve.

First, for these scholars identity conflicts tend to revolve around indivisible stakes. These scholars assume that identity conflicts are total wars where reconciliation between groups is prohibitively difficult.<sup>15</sup> This can be a culturist claim, where these conflicts are value conflicts fought over issues close to the heart and are thus less amenable to strategic calculations.<sup>16</sup> More convincingly, it can be seen as an insecurity-based claim. This is the second factor highlighted by these scholars. Once violence erupts, identities become cemented in ways that preclude combatants

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<sup>14</sup> Hartzell, Hoddie, and Rothchild 2001.

Walter 2002, 8.

<sup>15</sup> Walter 2002, 13.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Randle, *The Origins of Peace: A Study of Peacemaking and the Structure of Peace Settlements* (New York: Free Press, 1973), 430.

from working together.<sup>17</sup> Frank Wright, in his theory of representative violence, argues that a feature of ethnic conflicts is that some violent targeting is based upon the community the victim came from, rather than their individual actions. As a result, “Everyone might be a target for reprisal for something done in their name and without their approval”.<sup>18</sup> In this way Wright argues that a relatively small group of people could create a generalized danger. This means that short-term measures necessary for settlements to progress, like disarmament, are met with increased suspicion. The result is that negotiated settlements become increasingly difficult to implement as the peace process develops.

While communal conflicts can exacerbate insecurity, the stakes within these conflicts should not be thought of as drastically different from other conflicts. Ethnicity scholars have identified three arguments that indicate that communal conflicts may revolve around similar stakes to other conflicts. First, these conflicts are often manipulated by elites seeking to draw attention away from domestic crises by increasing the potency of threat rhetoric.<sup>19</sup> Second, local actors often use the guise of ethnic conflict to engage in violence that leads to materialistic gains.<sup>20</sup> Third, ethnic conflict, they argue, is often the result of weak institutions which allow elites to exploit cleavages for their own benefit. This exploitation takes the form of patronage being doled out along those ethnic divisions. As a result the foundations of the conflict are materialist, and based upon relative deprivation rather than ethnic biases.<sup>21</sup> This chapter will not go into an extensive discussion of the dynamics of identity conflicts; suffice it to say that conflicts, which on the ‘front stage’ appear to

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<sup>17</sup> Paul R. Pillar, *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 24.

<sup>18</sup> Frank Wright, *Northern Ireland: a Comparative Analysis* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1988), 11.

<sup>19</sup> V.P. Gagnon Jr., “Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia”, *International Security* 18, no. 3 (2005): 132.

<sup>20</sup> Stathis Kalyvas Jr., “The Ontology of Political Violence”, *Perspectives on Politics* 3, no. 1 (2005):475-6.

<sup>21</sup> Beverly Crawford “The Causes of Cultural Conflict: An Institutional Approach”, *International and Area Research Studies* 98 (1998):25.

have identity based motivations, are often very similar to other conflicts on the ‘back stage’.<sup>22</sup> So, for example, Protestant and Catholic clashes often split along economic divides between the communities. When evaluating the importance of the type of conflict to the success of negotiated settlements, we should be wary of exaggerating the importance. The next group of scholars argues that these insecurities can be targeted by effective third party guarantees to the conflict.

### **Third Party Guarantors**

Third party theorists advocate that the presence of third party guarantors is necessary to ensure that the negotiated settlements are effectively implemented, by creating trust and compliance. The majority of these scholars do not see the presence of a third party guarantor as a sufficient condition, but rather a necessary condition. Often these theorists also advocate additional mechanisms that reduce insecurity, like power-sharing.<sup>23</sup> However this thesis will deal with this group as separate and distinct in order to more clearly elucidate the weighted importance of a third party guarantor.

Barbara Walter argues that the success of a negotiated settlement is not predicated on the content of the agreement, but rather on the ability of actors to successfully implement said agreement. Finding that 62% of all negotiations led to a signed bargain, she infers that the meaningful difficulty must be the implementation phase.<sup>24</sup> These scholars identify relative insecurities between parties to the negotiation as blocks to implementation, as they reduce trust necessary to effectively install parts of the negotiated settlement. Negotiations, under this theory, fail

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<sup>22</sup> For a more extensive analysis see, Devotta (2005), Kalyvas (2005), Hale (2008), Crawford (1998), Gagnon (2005), Fujii (2009), Brass (1996).

<sup>23</sup> Barbara F. Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Caroline Hartzell, Mathew Hoddie, and Donald Rothchild, “Stabilizing the Peace After Civil War: An Investigation of Some Key Variables,” *International Organization* 55, no. 1 (Winter 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Walter 2002, 5.

because combatants cannot provide a credible commitment to abide by the terms of the agreement, which often leaves numerous opportunities for exploitation after the agreement is signed.<sup>25</sup>

These scholars identify insecurities on two levels that can increase the fragility of a negotiated settlement. Paul Collier classifies them as micro and macro level insecurities. On the micro level there are fears that disarmament and demobilization will decrease your individual security. As a result, there are likely to be pressures from each base not to sign or to implement necessary disarmament and demobilization measures. On the macro level there is a fear that your group will be cheated out of any meaningful position in the post-war government.<sup>26</sup> Thus the problem of giving arms away represents a further reduction in their ability to check abuses from the first post-war administration.<sup>27</sup> These insecurities are likely to be felt more keenly by the smaller groups, dissuading them from signing peace agreements. The more damage the party feels they can suffer as a result from a cheating opponent the less likely they are to implement a treaty.

The end result of these conditions is that combatants who want to end war are more likely to shy away from peace agreements because they know that those agreements will entail disarmament policies. When they do enter into negotiations, they are more likely to be highly sensitive and reactionary to violations. Given the opacity of information in post-war contexts this behavior is likely to manifest even under instances of vague actions, which may or may not be a violation of the agreement.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, this theory argues, even if you have signed a 'perfect' peace agreement that targets the underlying causes of the conflict, the implementation of the agreement is the critical juncture determining its success.

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<sup>25</sup> Walter 2002, 5-7.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Collier, "Demobilization and Insecurity: A Study in the Economics of the Transition from War to Peace," *Journal of International Development* 6, no. 3 (November 2006): 344.

<sup>27</sup> Walter 2002, 19-21.

<sup>28</sup> Walter 2002, 21.

For these scholars third party guarantors provide an answer to general insecurity that parties to a negotiation feel. Third party guarantors can provide key functions that reduce these insecurities at two stages of the conflict. First, they provide the necessary initial incentive for parties to come to the table, either through coercive pressure or through creating a trust in the process. In addition, they provide a valuable role during the negotiation process as facilitators and guarantors. Second, they play both enforcement and verification roles during the implementation phase of the conflict. This section will analyze the effect of these third party guarantors at each of these stages.

In the first stage of the negotiation process—getting to the table—third parties can serve two functions. The first is primarily a procedural function. Third party actors can supply missing information, pass messages, neutrally highlight common interests, and encourage better communication. In addition they can arrange for initial interactions between the parties. Within those meetings they can structure the agenda and control the content of the meetings so as to avoid escalations.<sup>29</sup> Second, strong third party actors can also pressure parties into negotiations. They can use a combination of incentives, not limited to financial inducements, recognition and legitimation, and economic sanctions.<sup>30</sup> From these two functions international parties solve for heightened insecurities in two ways. First they reduce the worries of abuse, particularly for the minority party. Second, they can force actors into these uncomfortable negotiations by leveraging their economic, political, and military influence.

Similar reassuring functions also serve to encourage the likelihood of a signed agreement.

The ability of a third party guarantor to promise force can both reassure the weaker side that it will

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<sup>29</sup> Walter 2002, 20.

<sup>30</sup> William Zartman and Saadia Touval, “Mediation: The Role of Third-Party Diplomacy and Informal Peace Making,” in *Resolving Third World Conflict: Challenges for a New Era*, ed. Sheryl J. Brown and Kimber M. Schraub (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1992).

Donald S. Rothchild, *Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997).

not be defeated, and deter the strong side from instigating military action.<sup>31</sup> However, the commitment needs to be believable. Parties to the conflict may question both the quality and quantity of troops, as well as the veracity of the commitment.<sup>32</sup> This suggests that a number of factors may impact the inclination to buy into the third party's guarantee. These include, but are not limited to, a past history of interventions, the domestic audience for intervention in the third party country, and the resources available to the third party.

The implementation phase represents the most critical stage for third party actions. As Joanna Spear argues, without security on the ground there cannot be a deep implementation of any facets of the peace agreement.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the effect of a failure at this level in particular is presumably magnified, as it further empowers leaders who are resistant to peace processes with an example of a failed process. In Northern Ireland, members of IRA leadership used the failure of an IRA ceasefire and the Sunningdale Agreement in the early seventies to avoid entering into negotiations for almost two decades.

Walter identifies two relevant strategies that parties to a peace agreement can use to encourage cooperation from the opposite group. However, each of these three strategies is likely to be very difficult to implement in the absence of a third party guarantor.

First, as was the case with the Paris Accords in Cambodia, negotiators can structure the demobilization reciprocally. In his seminal book, *Evolution of Cooperation*, Robert Axelrod argues that, given certain discount rates, individuals who have short-term incentives to cheat will typically choose to cooperate if implementation was established in a tit-for-tat mechanism. Walter applies this principle to demobilization. It would be possible, for example, in the case of Northern Ireland, to have had Unionist and Nationalist paramilitaries agree to parallel disarmament plans. The second

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<sup>31</sup> Walter 2002, 27.

<sup>32</sup> Hartzell, Hoddie, and Rothchild 2001, 183-6.

<sup>33</sup> Joanna Spear, "The Disarmament and Demobilization of Warring Factions in the Aftermath of Civil Wars: Key Implementation Issues," *Civil Wars* 2, no. 2 (1999):141.

strategy outlined was verification. Through strategies like random inspection visits, observers, and surveillance cameras groups can reduce the likelihood of cheating and sooth insecurities of vulnerable groups.<sup>34</sup>

These strategies are unlikely to work without international intervention for three reasons. Tit-for-tat demobilization can only work if combatants can reliably identify non-compliance and consistently sanction it.<sup>35</sup> As will be discussed later, the immediate aftermath of the civil war is filled with static, or bad information, conflicting signals, and inadvertent mistakes which all together make it difficult to determine violations. In addition monitoring and verification is difficult for two reasons. First, groups, particularly weaker groups, often lack the money, man-power, and technology to effectively implement these verification schemes. Second, the exchange of observers also exacerbates fears and defensive vulnerabilities. These problems become aggravated when you consider that elites have to compete against radicals within their own parties, thus highlighting the salience of each of these incidents.<sup>36</sup>

Third party guarantors can begin to solve for these problems in two ways. First, they can solve for verification problems. Walter argues that third party actors can provide prompt reliable information necessary to pursue a tit for tat strategy. In addition they can more easily distribute observers through the country, including at sensitive military sites, without exacerbating insecurities and defensive vulnerabilities. When there are neighborhoods that are sensitive to foreign incursions, as we see with Catholic and Protestant no-go neighborhoods, this can be extremely important.<sup>37</sup> As Joanna Spear highlights, this verification is often critical during unique conditions of opacity in the aftermath of conflict. There is often a genuine uncertainty of the amount of troops and weapons

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<sup>34</sup> Walter 2002, 22-24.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Axelrod and Robert Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions," *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (October 1985): 249.

<sup>36</sup> Walter 2002, 24-5.

<sup>37</sup> Walter 2002, 36.



that each party has. The presence of casual fighters who aren't apart of the hierarchy of the army, but were still combatants in the war, complicate demobilization efforts. In addition where there were weak chains of commands there may be no inventory of weapons available. Moreover there are often incentives to lie about your troop numbers prior to the settlement. This 'gamesmanship' is used to secure concessions during the negotiation process.<sup>38</sup> The presence of an international verifier can assuage fears of lying and cheating that are likely to be rampant under these conditions.

This accurate verification then plays three roles. First, it provides a determination of compliance and non-compliance. Second, it is a deterrent to cheating parties. Third, it builds confidence in the process from both parties as they are both able to demonstrate their compliance to each other.<sup>39</sup>

The presence of a third party guarantor force, or a credible guarantee of one, can also alleviate fears of parties to the agreement in cases of sudden and quick attacks. The ability to meet an attack with a countervailing force can both reassure the weaker side that it will not be defeated, and also reassure it that the threat of force cannot be leveraged over it.<sup>40</sup> This reduces the likelihood that the larger party will launch a counter attack, but also reduces the likelihood that the weaker side will try to launch a preemptive attack while it has the advantage of surprise. In addition the threat of force can ensure that the implementation is conducted fairly. When South Africa was integrating the ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe into the South African National Defense Force the British military advisory team was there to ensure that the integration process and procedures were applied fairly to individuals.<sup>41</sup>

Clearly, though, not all intervention is going to be successful. The content and quality of third party intervention must also be judged. Patrick Regan, conducting a statistical analysis of 150

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<sup>38</sup> Spear 1999, 149-50.

<sup>39</sup> Spear 1999, 144.

<sup>40</sup> Walter 2002, 27.

<sup>41</sup> Spear 1999, 147.

conflicts, finds that poorly constructed international interventions can increase the duration of civil wars by causing opposition groups to think that they can achieve total victory through international support.<sup>42</sup> Page Fortna, provides compelling analysis that the type of international intervention is critical. For example, enforcement missions are associated with much shorter peace than consent-based missions.<sup>43</sup> This may seem obvious, but it illustrates a critical point when determining the weighted importance of third party guarantors: while they may be a beneficial—and perhaps even necessary—condition for a successful negotiation, the factors within the settlements themselves are critical to the success or failure of peace.

### **Causes of Conflict**

The first group of literature highlighting the content of the agreement identifies solving the underlying causes of conflict as the key variable determining the success or failure of the negotiated settlement. These scholars identify two main causes to conflict, or grievances: inequality based upon political, economic, and social exclusion, and a history of ‘injustices’.<sup>44</sup>

Questions over the relation of inequality to conflict have provoked a series of theoretical and statistical assessments arriving at contradictory answers. Collier and Hoeffler (2004) as well as Fearon and Laitin (2003) each came to the conclusion that inequality does not increase the risk of civil war.<sup>45</sup> However, as Gudrun Ostby notes, these studies neglect group-based inequalities which have high statistical relation to conflict. In fact, when economic inequality was paired with social inequalities those cases lead disproportionately more often to conflict.<sup>46</sup> Despite this, Hartzel and Hoddie note that out of all negotiated settlements from 1948 to 1998 economic ‘power sharing’ was

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<sup>42</sup> Patrick Regan, “Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1 (February 2002): 60.

<sup>43</sup> Fortna, 284-5.

<sup>44</sup> There is a huge literature examining a multiplicity of different causes to conflict. This list is hardly exhaustive, it merely highlights those scholars who advocate that these particular causes are important to target in negotiated settlements.

<sup>45</sup> Gudrun Ostby, “Polarization, Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Civil Conflict,” *Journal of Peace Research* 45, no. 2 (March 2008): 143.

<sup>46</sup> Ostby, 154-5.

the least-used method of targeting conflict.<sup>47</sup> These scholars tend to advocate that we should evaluate peace settlements on their recognition of inequalities as a source of conflict, their implementation of solutions to resolve those inequalities, and the effectiveness of those implementations.<sup>48</sup>

Horizontal inequalities, or group-based inequalities that Ostby is concerned with, consist of four primary areas of inequality: political participation inequality, economic assets inequality, income and employment inequality, and social inequality. Political participation inequalities can occur at multiple different levels, including the cabinet, bureaucracy, and the army. Economic assets include land, livestock, and human capital etc. Finally social inequalities include indicators such as access to education, health services, water services, or housing.<sup>49</sup> Inequality theorists advocate that inequality facilitates conflict through two related mechanisms. It provides an individualized sense of relative deprivation and second, perceived institutional breakdown facilitates large-scale radical mobilizations.

These scholars argue that inequality facilitates a sense of relative deprivation, where the minority group feels discriminated against and feels an injustice has been done to them. This, as Gurr argues, creates a tension between value expectations and value capabilities.<sup>50</sup> Horizontal inequality then facilitates violent mobilizations centered around group characteristics since the frustration is grounded in relative performance to those doing well in society.<sup>51</sup> Cramer notes that this inequality is hugely important, but only when conceived from the outset in political economy

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<sup>47</sup> Caroline Hartzell and Mathew Hoddie, "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management," *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 2 (April 2003): 2003.

<sup>48</sup> Arnim Langer, Frances Stewart, and Rajesh Venugopal, eds., *Horizontal Inequalities and Post-Conflict Development*, Conflict, Inequality and Ethnicity (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 8-9.

<sup>49</sup> Frances Stewart, "Policies Towards Horizontal Inequalities in Post-Conflict Reconstruction," *World Institute For Development Economics Research* 149 (November 2006):3-4.

<sup>50</sup> Kristin Bakke and Erik Wibbels, "Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States," *World Politics* 59, no. 1 (2006): 47.

Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, 40th ed. (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Pub., 2011).

<sup>51</sup> Wayne Nafziger and Juha Auvinen, "Economic Development, Inequality, War, and State Violence," *World Development* 30, no. 2 (2002):154.

terms, whereby inequalities are tied to past histories of political oppression.<sup>52</sup> This rhetoric, for example, was replete within the Civil Rights Movement of the 60's and 70's in Northern Ireland.

Communal conflicts, for these scholars, are actually the result of institutional discrimination rather than pre-existing ethnic biases. When institutions are discriminating on the basis of a communal identity, the sense of relative deprivation mentioned above is then coordinated through group-based mobilization that the communal identity provides.<sup>53</sup> Kristin Bakke and Eric Wibbels argue that high levels of inequality exacerbate redistributive claims coming from minority communities. This becomes particularly important when cultural policies of the state institutionally repress communities on the basis of those identities. This can come in the form of policies towards language—as we see with the Turkish state's ban on Kurdish speaking—or through policies towards religious ceremonies, national holidays etc. For these scholars, ethnicity's usefulness as a mobilizing tool means that when inequality is centered along communal divisions it contributes to the causes of conflict. This suggests that if you solve for those inequalities within the negotiated settlements, then communal identity will become a less relevant mobilizing tool for violence.

These inequality reduction theories advocate that negotiated settlements will succeed or fail on the basis of their targeted solutions towards inequalities. These scholars critique traditional peace frameworks of liberalization and democratization. Liberalization, they argue, enforces long-lasting privilege of some groups relative to others by putting them in a stronger position to exploit the market due to better education and more starting capital. Democratization similarly reinforces anti-minority biases with distribution of government jobs, infrastructure projects etc. Moreover, often the discrimination is difficult to target in free market systems as disadvantage can be hidden. For example, job advertisements are often in newspapers which are read by one group, or spread in

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<sup>52</sup> Christopher Cramer, "Does Inequality Cause Conflict?," *International Development* 15, no. 4 (May 2003): 399.

<sup>53</sup> For a detailed description of why ethnicity is easily mobilized in these cases, see Hale (2008).

social networks with similar problems. Equal opportunity is not enough to prevent these inequalities from being mobilized.<sup>54</sup>

Stewart identifies three policy actions that post-conflict regimes can take:

First, one can change policies towards processes which are directly or indirectly discriminatory. Second, one can direct assistance to particular groups, e.g., training people for interviews, subsidizing housing. Third, one can introduce targets and quotas for education, land distribution, financial and physical assets etc.<sup>55</sup>

Nancy Bermeo, in concurrence, argues that through decentralizing governance, you can reduce discrimination within that government, and reduce motivations towards violence. Reductions in discrimination diminish senses of relative deprivation. When, for example, Jawaharlal Nehru gave Tamils a separate state, their separatist movements lost power.

However, inequality based theorists advocate that post conflict regimes should move beyond those mitigating policies to actively target inequalities. Beath, Fotini, and Enikolopov advocate that insurgencies begin to lose their support when relative deprivation is mitigated by a sense of economic improvement, and credit for that improvement is attached to the government.<sup>56</sup> Analyzing development packages in Afghanistan they found that communities who had received development projects had better images of the government and reduced security threats.<sup>57</sup> These theorists identify a multiplicity of potential policies that can target inequalities. Social inequalities can be challenged, for example, by quotas for education, housing etc. Economic inequalities can be targeted with public sector employment quotas, land transfers, subsidization policies etc.<sup>58</sup> The specifics of inequality-reducing policies are necessarily case dependent, but the uniting factor behind each scholar within this group is that the ability to reduce these inequalities is the measure of a successful peace agreement.

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<sup>54</sup> Stewart 2006, 6.

<sup>55</sup> Stewart 2006, 6.

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Beath, Christia Fotini, and Ruben Enikolopov, "Winning Hearts and Minds through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan," *Centre for Economic and Financial Research at New Economic School Working Paper* 166 (2011), 3-4.

<sup>57</sup> Beath, Fotini, and Enikolopov, 12.

<sup>58</sup> A full list can be found in Stewart 2006, 4.

The second type of grievance that can be necessary to address is a history of targeted repression, not necessarily based upon inequality. When a government has targeted an ethnic community violently, politically, or culturally, that history can create resentment within communities.<sup>59</sup> Certain historical memories, like Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland, fueled motivations towards violence. The success of a peace agreement under this theory is predicated on its ability to do two things. First, it must create checks to prevent future injustices. Second, it must create some sort of social catharsis that is able to target and ameliorate the resentment held on the basis of past repression.<sup>60</sup>

While the contribution of these scholars is undoubtedly important, its importance should not be overstated. First, it is unclear that the reasons that conflict begins are the same reasons that explain why conflict ends. It seems reasonable that conflict and the psychological trauma therein changes the preferences of actors. As a result, while inequality reduction is important to prevent regeneration of conflict, it should not be considered sufficient for peace. Inequality reduction should be considered an important function to prevent long-term regeneration of conflict. It should also be considered a facilitator of short-term peace, but there are at least plausible conditions in which it becomes less important to short-term peace.

The final response to these authors is that grievances exist in many minorities that do not rebel, which suggests that they cannot be the most salient, or only, factor explaining success of violent mobilizations. These critiques argue that grievance has to be coupled with an opportunity to rebel, facilitated by resources, alliances, etc.<sup>61</sup> As a result, it seems that negotiated settlements should target those opportunity structures rather than the grievances. At this point then we can classify this

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<sup>59</sup> Havard Hegre et al., "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992," *American political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (March 2001):320.

<sup>60</sup> The literature on transitional justice mechanisms is large, and this thesis will not enter it. For a good summary see (RG Teitel, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (2004): 565.

factor as a sometimes necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition to create a successful peace agreement. The next group of scholars coopts these arguments under the umbrella of empowering local actors within peace processes.

### **Local Influence**

A growing group of scholars have highlighted the importance of local influence within peace processes. As of yet these scholars have only entered the debate surrounding ethnic conflicts tangentially and intermittently. This section will argue that they ought to play a more prominent role in the debate surrounding post conflict institutions within deeply divided societies. These scholars make three primary claims. First, they argue that violence in both its origins and its effects is highly localized. Second, they argue that local solutions are needed to target the underlying causes of conflict. Finally, they argue that local influence is necessary to create ownership over the peace process. Local actors within this context refers to local networks not including existing national political and militaristic elite.

These scholars base their analysis on locating both the causes and effects of violence at the local level. Paul Risly and Timothy Sisk argue that motivations to enter into conflict for actors within civil wars are generated at the local level.<sup>62</sup> Kalyvas finds that despite claims of cohesive group-based violence, most violence during wars can be explained by local motivations. He argues that local citizens use the guise of war to carry out personal vendettas or to gain 'booty'. Kalyvas argues that the concept of group violence implies the interchangeability of individual persons within those groups. He argues that this limits individual agency that is most often the salient explanatory factor in their decision to participate in violence. For example, he argues that much of the communal conflict in Afghanistan was generated from preexisting familial and economic feuds.<sup>63</sup> These back

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<sup>62</sup> Paul Risely and Timothy Sisk, "Democracy and United Nations Peace-Building at Local Level: Lessons Learned," *International insittute for Demcoracy and Electoral Assistance* (2005):13.

<sup>63</sup> Kalyvas 2005, 480-2.

stage feuds are then played out on the front stage of ethnic conflict. Fotini concurs, examining inter-Muslim fighting in the Cazinka Krajina region in Bosnia. She argues that only local economic incentives can explain this fractioned violence.<sup>64</sup> Group centered claims hold no answer to why internal fighting within groups occurs.

Predicated in the previous analysis, these scholars advocate that peace processes will be successful only when they are led by local level initiatives. These scholars criticize internationally imposed ‘cookie cutter’ solutions that place emphasis exclusively on market liberalization and democratic governance, without consultation of local needs. Roger MacGinty and Oliver Richmond question whether we should expect the same basic model to be successful in the diverse societies emerging from conflict.<sup>65</sup> When heavily engineered governance institutions are imposed in post-conflict regimes, in what Fukayama calls ‘getting to Denmark’, peace processes are marked by “continuing citizen insecurity, persistent inter-communal mistrust, slow and poorly distributed economic growth, and a perception among many citizens that the benefits of peace are exclusive and poorly shared.”<sup>66</sup>

The result of this priority of a cookie cutter model, they argue, is that local needs in post-conflict zones are ignored. Oliver Ramsbotham argues that these processes have ignored economic and social dimensions, as well as the psycho-social dimensions of post conflict needs.<sup>67</sup> This priority of a Westphalian system of rights limits the capacity of local actors to meet their needs in times when they are most vulnerable. These conditions have led many communities in Colombia, for example, to cooperate with Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) when their basic

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<sup>64</sup> Christia Fotini, “Following the Money: Muslim Versus Muslim in Bosnia's Civil War,” *Comparative Politics* 40, no. 4 (July 2008): 470.

<sup>65</sup> Roger MacGinty and Oliver Richmond, “Myth or Reality: Opposing Views On the Liberal Peace and Post-War Reconstruction,” *Global Society* 21, no. 4 (2007): 491.

<sup>66</sup> MacGinty and Richmond 2007, 494-496.

<sup>67</sup> Ramsbotham, 170.



needs were ignored in conflict resolution programs in preference of democratic process rights.<sup>68</sup> If we at least partially accept the inequality-based argument, then failure to target localized structures of inequality empowers radical actors to mobilize.

Finally, it is often the case that local actors can best target solutions to the varied conditions that plague post conflict governments. Naomi Roht-Arriaza elucidates this argument within the context of post conflict justice. She argues that insufficient attention is paid to the local subnational town or village, even though this is where people most keenly felt the impact of the conflict. The degree of variation and complexity of violence within local atmospheres makes international and national response both inadequate, and in some cases locally irrelevant. Post conflict justice structures are often necessary to change local power dynamics that have been created by conflict. However it is difficult for the peace process as a whole to gain ownership from survivors when foreign systems of justice are imposed upon them.<sup>69</sup>

The second mechanism by which lack of local involvement dooms peace processes is through limited local ownership over the negotiated settlement. When societies have little say in the shape and orientation of the peace, they are more likely to view the process as an imposition rather than a collaborative venture.<sup>70</sup> Without this legitimacy, reconstruction processes will always be unsustainable.<sup>71</sup> MacGinty argues that peace processes often lose this ownership in three ways. First, the decisions are top down as the only actors involved are national and international elites with little recognition of local elites. This is exacerbated by the technocratic nature of the content of these

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<sup>68</sup> Oliver Richmond, "From Peacebuilding as Resistance to Peacebuilding as Liberation," in *Rethinking Peacebuilding: The Quest for Just Peace in the Middle East and the Western Balkans*, ed. Karin Aggestam and Annika Björkdahl, Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution (London: Routledge, 2013), 4.

<sup>69</sup> Naomi Roht-Arriaza, "Human Rights and Strategic Peacebuilding: the Roles of Local, National and International Actors," in *Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World*, ed. Daniel Philpott and Gerard F. Powers, Studies in Strategic Peacebuilding (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 232, 239.

<sup>70</sup> Roger MacGinty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," *Nordic International Studies Association* 43, no. 2 (2008).

Richmond 2013,4.

<sup>71</sup> MacGinty and Richmond 2007, 495.

deals. Second, the deals made are often made in private and have limited transparency. Finally, as a result of the previous two factors, these processes often ignore local cultures by placing a primacy on the individual at the expense of the collective.<sup>72</sup>

These scholars argue that the degree to which peace agreements can attain success can be measured through their ability to hybridize local and international peace processes. MacGinty argues that successful peace settlements will be marked by four factors. First, there will be compliance powers of the international community. Through the use of material and moral power they can pressure more powerful actors to include less powerful actors in the process. Second, there should be incentive power of the international community. Through economic and political rewards they can incentivize powerful actors to give up important concessions. Where these theorists differ from third party guarantor theorists is in the third and fourth factors. There must be an ability of local actors to resist, ignore, or adapt international interventions to local needs and desires. Finally, local actors must be empowered to present and maintain alternative forms of intervention.<sup>73</sup>

This hybridity increases feelings of local ownership and creates innovative solutions to localized problems. When local NGO's and actors are brought into the debate within the negotiation process they are more likely to feel ownership over that process. This makes it harder for radical actors to spoil that process without sacrificing popular support.<sup>74</sup> Wendy Pearlman argues that spoiling processes is less likely when more actors are included in the process. This decreases the capacity of those groups to highlight fears that they will be excluded by future governments, and thereby successfully spoil the agreement.<sup>75</sup> Second, it allows for local solutions that can target underlying causes of conflict. This is especially important in the context of inequality as a motivation

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<sup>72</sup> Roger MacGinty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace*, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17.

<sup>73</sup> MacGinty 2011, 70-87.

<sup>74</sup> Richmond 2013, 6.

<sup>75</sup> Wendy Pearlman, "Spoiling Inside and Out," *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2008): 85.

towards conflict. However, particularly in the context of communal conflicts, this can also be critical to healing communities. Roht-Arriaza argues that local influence in transitional justice processes allows them to resonate with local cultures and communities. This makes them accessible and meaningful to those populations, which can often be a critical step in allowing ex-neighbors to coexist, and to allow intermediate social structures to rebuild.<sup>76</sup> For example, in Peru local communities used traditional methods to first dehumanize and then rehumanize locals who had joined Sendero Luminoso through public reincorporation ceremonies involving truth telling, apology, and symbolic punishment.<sup>77</sup>

These scholars run into a couple of problems. First, local responses to conflict can be conservative, particularly in the aftermath of conflicts when radical actors are more likely to have control. A former UNDP worker, Roddy Brett, described an experience in Guatemala in which he was asked to aid the local community in lynching a member of a paramilitary group who was responsible for multiple atrocities during the conflict.<sup>78</sup> As a result of incidents like this it is difficult to determine what line should be drawn between international involvement and local control.

Second, it is possible that local actor theorists are less relevant to short term peace. They seem to recognize this through their distinction between negative peace, an end to violence, and positive peace, and end to the reasons for violence.<sup>79</sup> It seems plausible, for example, that a cessation of violence, a negative peace, can be achieved simply by targeting the actors involved in perpetrating violence. If those who own the weapons and direct the foot soldiers agree to end the conflict, the violence should, at least temporarily, stop. If that is true, then it may be possible to achieve a negative peace without involving local actors. As a result, the main theoretical footing for

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<sup>76</sup> Ariazza, 232.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Roddy Brett, "Peacebuilding in Latin America" (lecture, St Andrews University, St. Andrews, United Kingdom, February 4, 2013).

<sup>79</sup> Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 1-2.

these theorists seems to be in the long-term peace arena. That being said, high levels of ownership from local populations may dissuade spoilers to the peace process in the short term as well. Moreover, if those mechanisms to achieve short-term peace damn efforts to achieve long-term peace then their usefulness is radically diminished.

However, in order for local actors to gain traction they have to be given a space by an institutional framework that empowers them and gives them a legitimacy to act with importance in their communities.

### **Power-sharing**

Power-sharing creates that political space. This group of theorists, similar to third party guarantor theorists, advocates that the success of negotiated settlements is determined through mechanisms to reduce fears of cheating. However, they locate those mechanisms in the content of the peace agreement, rather than in external actors. These theorists advocate that power-sharing mechanisms in particular can reduce insecurities and empower moderate actors within the new electoral regime.

These scholars argue that democratic solutions to conflict that offer only a chance of winning are not enough to assuage the fears of vulnerable parties.<sup>80</sup> Parties to the negotiation will not trust them to prevent a rapid grab for power while the demobilized party has given up their own enforcement mechanism.<sup>81</sup> As a result, Charles Call argues that fears of political exclusion trigger renewed armed conflict. However, through mechanisms like power sharing, negotiated settlements can provide security guarantees for rebels that give them guaranteed voice in government.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Walter 2002, 28-9.

<sup>81</sup> Walter 2002, 31.

<sup>82</sup> Charles Call, *Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War Recurrence* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 4.

The strength of democratic traditions will also affect the perceived strength of democratic institutions. However, even with a strong institutional memory, the history of conflict is likely to dent trust in them.

Power-sharing is a complex concept that has evolved through heated debate, and as a result it necessitates a thorough exegesis. Brendan O’Leary defines power-sharing as an arrangement of political institutions to prevent the monopoly of executive, legislative, judicial, bureaucratic, military, or cultural power. This can be achieved through four primary methods. Those monopolies can be challenged in overtly political bodies by organizing them to ensure shared and self-rule among each community. In addition, the military, police, and intelligence agencies must be organized between the communities to ensure the political organization is a meaningful check. This should be supplemented by economic policies which encourage wealth sharing through a combination of parity, proportionality, and autonomy. Finally, cultural pluralism should also be encouraged.<sup>83</sup>

There are three principle types of power-sharing: centripitalism, territorial pluralism, and consociationalism. For a discussion of centripitalism and territorial pluralism see O’leary 2014. This chapter will focus itself on consociationalism.

Consociationalism is defined at its core by four characteristics. There must be participation of the representatives of all significant groups in government, and there should be a high degree of autonomy for these groups. In addition, governance and distribution institutions should be defined by proportionality. Finally, there should be a minority veto.<sup>84</sup> Consociationalism can be split into three categories: complete consociation, concurrent consociation, and weak consociation. Complete consociation refers to the process whereby leaders of all significant segments of an ethnically differentiated territory are represented. Thus, if one ethnicity splits its vote, then both parties would be represented. Concurrent consociation only requires majority parties to be included. Finally, in

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<sup>83</sup> Brendan O’Leary, ed., “Introduction,” in *Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places*, ed. Joanne McEvoy and Brendan O’Leary, National and Ethnic Conflict in the Twenty-First Century (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 4.

<sup>84</sup> Aend Lijphart, “The Power-Sharing Approach,” in *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, ed. Joseph V. Montville (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, ©1991),494.

weak consociation parties represented must have a plurality of votes.<sup>85</sup> Each of these mechanisms speaks to a broad split between consociationalist theories. Corporate consociationalism empowers nationalist parties by giving them a guaranteed vote. Liberal consociation, in contrast, allows self-governance over who represents the group. This, liberal consociationalists argue, allows for the evolution of politics in post conflict power-sharing states.<sup>86</sup>

Consociationalism serves three primary functions that overcome risks of association and facilitate long lasting peace. First, by shifting control over certain decisions to subunits it mitigates fears that the certain policies will threaten survival of the group. Often issues such as language, education, and access to government services are issues which groups feel are essential to their ability to survive. By giving them control over those areas of policy, they are more likely to enter into post-war regimes. Second, through dividing planes of power, groups can check against capture of the political center of the state. Third, it reduces disparities among groups by giving them proportional access to resources and enabling minorities to rise within local state bureaucracies.<sup>87</sup> As a result, promises of power-sharing assuage fears that have, up until this point, allowed hardline elites to justify war as a security precaution.

In the long term, inter-elite cooperation in the power-sharing executive and military normalizes cooperation as a method to resolve conflicts.<sup>88</sup> As cooperation becomes the primary locus for interaction between the communities it becomes an increasingly plausible option for the public. The result of this is highlighted by Mitchel, Evans, and O'leary, in their concept of ethnic tribune parties. As power-sharing institutions incentivize cooperation and compromise through institutions like the minority veto and the cross community executive body, moderate policies

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<sup>85</sup> Brendan O'leary, "Debating Consociational Politics: Normative and Explanatory Arguments," in *Studies in Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. S J R. Noel, vol. 2, *From Power Sharing to Democracy: Post-Conflict Institutions in Ethnically Divided Societies* (Montréal Que.: McGill-Queen, 2005), 12-13.

<sup>86</sup> O'leary 2014, 37.

<sup>87</sup> Hartzell, Hoddie, and Rothchild 2001, 191.

<sup>88</sup> Arend Lijphart, *Thinking About Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2008),32.

become more realistic options in the electoral game. Moderate parties then shift their policies to capitalize on an increasingly moderate base that is tired of extremist politics. Radical parties respond in turn by being nominally ethno-nationalist, but in reality moderating their policies.<sup>89</sup> This logic is what prevents the ethnic outbidding game, and allows elites to feel comfortable moderating their policies.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, for elites who would challenge the negotiated settlement, the opposite community has enough military, economic, and political access to power to punish infringements.<sup>91</sup> Importantly though, these power-sharing regimes must be reflected in each institution of power. If military or economic regimes are not divided then fear and uncertainty will still be the most salient factor, and moderates will be undermined.

Criticisms of power-sharing are generally located in three conceptual areas. First, they argue that power sharing only works in places where it is not needed.<sup>92</sup> They argue that existing political pressures from domestic populaces, or international actors, could have facilitated a peace agreement without power-sharing, in the cases where it has been successful.<sup>93</sup> Beyond being impossible to prove one way or the other, this argument seems to fly in the face of the difficult conditions on the ground during many successful negotiations. Often violence is still occurring leading up to the conflict, and past settlements have left groups weary of negotiations writ large. The second concern critics of power-sharing have is that it leads to gridlock within the postwar regime. These critics advocate that leaders only agree to consociationalism because it gives them power, and they are unlikely to moderate given the presence of the veto that allows them to consolidate that power. Ineffective governance, they argue, will only regenerate into conflict.<sup>94</sup> While this may have some

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<sup>89</sup> Paul Mitchell, Geoffery Evans, and Brendan O'leary, "Extremist Outbidding in Ethnic Party Systems Is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland," *Political Studies* 57, no. 2 (June 2009): 401.

<sup>90</sup> O'leary 2005, 28-9.

<sup>91</sup> Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 27.

<sup>92</sup> O'leary 2005, 12.

<sup>93</sup> O'leary 2013, 31.

<sup>94</sup> O'leary 2005, 34.

validity, there are two key responses. First, the harms to effective governance should be compared to a majority-based system which threatens violence through exclusion. Second, it is unclear that this gridlock will remain a feasible electoral strategy after the atmosphere of violence that empowers it dies down.<sup>95</sup>

The final, and most trumpeted, critique of power-sharing argues that power-sharing institutions retrench the identity divides which begat the conflict in the first place. Paul Brass argues that consociationalism reinforces elites who retrench ethnic identities. If Posner is right, and institutions form and consolidate ethnic identities, than consociationalism seems to empower those who would institutionalize ethnicity's exclusivity. As Valerie Bunce argues, power-sharing gives ethnic elites mobilizing building blocks including:

the recognition of a common language, the creation of a nationally defined intelligentsia, the establishment of a stable core of institutions led by a nativized elite, and the allocation of political and economic resources to regional leaders who could use them for divisive, nationalist purposes.<sup>96</sup>

Both Brass and Rupert Taylor argue that ethnicity is not as objective as consociationalists assume.<sup>97</sup> As a result, they advocate integrationist institutions could achieve the same ends that power-sharing theorists advocate are exclusive to consociationalism.

As of yet the response to the claim that power-sharing has entrenched ethnicity has limited the ability of the academic debate to evaluate the ability of post-power-sharing institutions to evolve. The first response has been that power-sharing is still better than the alternative. Majoritarian democracy, they argue, can breed violence, and as a result, prevent integration.<sup>98</sup> In contrast, they argue that power-sharing seems to do comparably better. Mattes and Savun examined forty-six civil

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<sup>95</sup> O'leary 2005, 11.

<sup>96</sup> Bermeo 2002, 97.

<sup>97</sup> O'leary 2005, 5-6.

<sup>98</sup> O'leary 2005, 11.

O'leary 2013, 32.



wars which ended in peace agreements between 1945 and 2005. They concluded that political and military power sharing reduced likelihood of violence.<sup>99</sup>

Power sharing theorist's second response is that power-sharing is a necessary means to reduce uncertainty given that ethnic identities become fairly durable after conflict. Lijphart acknowledges that ethnicity is in part a construct of elite manipulation and that identity is not fixed. However, he, and others like Brendan O'leary and Eric Nordlinger, base their responses to these criticisms upon assumptions of ethnic identity that are contrary to fluid conception of ethnicity. Lijphart himself alludes to Walker Connor and argues that it takes anywhere from 300 to 700 years to assimilate an ethnic group. As a result, for him, it is not practical to try to break down divides.<sup>100</sup> O'leary echoes this sentiment when he states that power sharers do not believe that ethnic divisions are as malleable as constructivists suggest.<sup>101</sup> Instead they suggest that it is because of these rigid divides that power-sharing must be instituted.

It is important that I qualify my previous claim about limiting the academic debate. The concerns about more rigid ethnic identities should not be taken lightly. Indeed, after conflict, periods of mistrust are likely to deepen the drive to resort to ethnicity as a means to reduce uncertainty. This is particularly true when violence has been indiscriminate, and people were driven by fear to begin identifying by those ethnic characteristics. So power-sharing theorists are correct to note that integrationist strategies are unlikely to be successful in the immediate aftermath of a conflict. However, the power-sharing community has relied on this argument at the expense of analyzing the conditions under which ethnic identities break down. Even when they do propose that ethnic identities can eventually break down, after stability isn't the primary concern, that argument is unsubstantiated by a mechanism. Moreover there is little analysis about how those claims interact

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<sup>99</sup> O'leary, 2013, 42-44.

<sup>100</sup> Lijphart 1991, 492-3.

<sup>101</sup> O'leary, 2013, 32.

with their previous claims that ethnicity can be prohibitively durable.<sup>102</sup> This thesis will seek to fill that void.

## **Argument**

This thesis will advance a three-part argument. First, it will argue that a third party actor is necessary to create a credible commitment to the negotiated settlement. Second, it will argue that power-sharing creates a moderating effect on the political climate that both reduces radicalism and creates a potentiality for cross community cleavages to develop. Third, it will argue empowered local level actors are critical to capitalize on the moderate political space that power sharing has created. This argument begins to fill the gap in existent power-sharing and negotiated settlement literature by providing an avenue by which divides can break down in the aftermath of power-sharing institutions. In this way it seeks to bridge the power-sharing literature with identity and integrationist literature and thereby provide a platform to expand the debate surrounding power-sharing.

### **Third party guarantor**

This presence of a third party guarantor allows parties—particularly smaller parties—in the conflict to feel that the settlement represents a credible commitment. This capacity to reduce fears of cheating induces cooperation at each stage of the negotiation process. These arguments are replete within the existent negotiated settlement literature. However, organizations with a track record of remaining in the post-conflict rebuilding process for a lengthier duration are likely to be more successful. Reconstruction processes take time, and the typical framework for reconstruction used by the liberal peace framework. John Paul Lederach has called for international interventions that reconceive of the time frame within which post-conflict transformations take place, from X-year to twenty-year increments.<sup>103</sup> The more committed an intervener, the more credible their

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<sup>102</sup> O'leary, 2013, 11-12.

<sup>103</sup> John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1998), 5-9.

guarantee of the post conflict institutions. Critically, as will be discussed later, this proposal should not be mistaken for an argument that interveners should control those processes.

In the initial aftermath of a peace process, the presence of a third party guarantor creates conditions where people begin to feel safe distancing themselves from hardline ethnic entrepreneurs. They create temporary cultures of trust that the opposite community will not act violently towards them. This allows secondary considerations, like economic development, that will usually not favor those hard line elites, to factor into their decisions about which groups to support. While this is not a permanent condition, it is a necessary first step. Power sharing institutions allow this culture to develop.

### **Power-sharing**

At the initial stage, as power sharing theorists advocate, power-sharing creates conditions where parties to the conflict feel secure in entering into a peace agreement. Smaller communities are unlikely to enter into an agreement when they think that they will simply be outvoted, and the same exclusionary policies that instigated violence will be imposed. Moreover, promised inclusion in government, as well as a veto power, can give representatives from those communities a powerful tool to combat against radical elements of their community during the negotiation process. Drummed up fears become much less salient to communities when they know they have a guaranteed significant influence over the direction and shape of the government.

In the aftermath of the agreement's implementation power-sharing moderates the political culture. First, it reduces instances of cultural, political, social, and economic attacks on the basis of those identities. Cultural autonomy, as well as veto power, makes it such that the dominant population can no longer easily discriminate on the basis of the other community's cultural identity. Some scholars have argued that power-sharing incentivizes people to identify along ethnic divides; ironically that guaranteed power to each community makes it such that those divides become less

important. If you no longer feel that you are being targeted on the basis of your identity, you are less likely to support exclusionary policies designed to protect it. Other issue areas that affect your 'life chances', like economic policies, come to the political main stage as they become more relevant towards increasing well-being.

Second, visible images of cooperation reduce insecurities community members feel during interactions with the opposite community. These images, like leaders shaking hands, are particularly powerful when they are of former hardline combatants. They send a message of cooperation with the other community, from the very people who were most vehemently opposed to it during the conflict.

The converse effect of this argument is that incomplete power-sharing, particularly within the military and policing sectors heightens, insecurities within communities. Without a security force that each community can accept, the security sector becomes an unguaranteed aspect of the agreement. This bleeds over into other functions of the agreement, as a stable security situation is necessary for other facets of the agreement to operate. With no neutral security force to target communal violence, excluded spoilers are able to create an atmosphere in which moderates lose out to ethnic outbidding.<sup>104</sup> Ethnic outbidders are empowered within this context because inter-ethnic cooperation leads to very concrete and immediate potential costs, while the benefits are long term and threatened by the question of security. This suggests that the only way power-sharing can access its benefits is to entrench identity interests in each sector of government.

The last thing to note with regards to power sharing is that liberal consociationalism should be used to allow politics and party identification to evolve. If hardline nationalist parties are granted a guaranteed electoral base then they have less incentive to moderate their policies. There have to be electoral challenges from the center within their communities, and that is not allowed by a corporate

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<sup>104</sup> Ethnic outbidders refer to actors who seek to portray moderating parties as betrayers of their ethnic community, and conversely portray themselves as the strongest protectorates of the ethnic community.

consociationalist model. A liberal consociationalist model, which allows communities to define their representatives is more likely to allow for this eventual evolution. This is likely more difficult to achieve during negotiation processes; nonetheless, given the strong base of support these groups are likely to have during times of conflict it should not be insurmountably difficult. However, in order for alternative and competing groups to challenge them electorally, organic local challenges have to be encouraged.

### **Local**

Establishing local level peace initiatives will allow for actors to capitalize on the moderated climate to form cross-communal cleavages. First, empowering local actors gives authority, legitimacy, and political space to alternative groups separate from communal elites, which often hold significant control in a post-conflict space. International pressure will often be necessary to ensure that national elites accept this. This does not have to occur exclusively within the electoral realm. The development of a strong civil society can be an important first step to developing national parties with crosscutting policies. Financial and political support of these actors establish them as focal points for transition. Grants should be targeted towards the creation of crosscutting civil society organizations. Importantly they must also have some control over the direction of the new state, otherwise they will be a second tier grouping that has limited potency.

Second, local level solutions are likely to create conditions whereby people begin identifying with alternative sources of groupings. Transitional justice mechanisms, for example, that can be critical to healing are more likely to have relevance when they are attached to local institutions that people have a shared history with. In addition, ownership over these solutions is critical to moving beyond ethnic identities. If international solutions are imposed upon local populations local populations will just revert to ethnic identification because those international solutions have little meaning to them. Local level solutions are more likely to foster trust and legitimacy in those

solutions. Local actors have knowledge of the intricacies of the way the conflict operated in their region and can tailor their programs to the unique needs their communities have. This makes these agreements more relevant to the populations therein. Giving local-led initiatives, that challenge ethnic parties, a prominent place in the post conflict process makes it more likely that they will be seen as a viable platform for change. Empowering local actors with both political space and institutional legitimacy is necessary to help break down the incentives that power sharing gives for people to identify along exclusive communal divisions.

Not all local actors will reflect the necessary drive towards communal reconciliation that these processes will require. Indeed, it seems reasonable to argue that local actors, hardened by conflict, could be highly conservative and reflective of communal divides. The challenge that the conclusion will begin to take on is how peace process should seek to empower local actors with autonomy, while at the same time preventing divisive local actors from coming to power. The primary goal of this thesis, however, is to introduce these arguments into the power-sharing debate.

## Chapter 2: From Sunningdale to the Good Friday Agreement

When the ‘Troubles’ broke out, the world was confronted with a brutal communal conflict that had previously been confined as problem of the ‘developing world’. The response from the media and the public was to make primitive each community involved. That tendency, motivates this thesis’s entrance into the Northern Irish case study. When understanding how these conflicts evolve, there is a need to confront our biases and move beyond narratives of ancient hatred and towards more thorough understandings of motivations towards conflict. As we form our theoretical understandings of the ways conflicts evolve it is therefore important to understand the complexities of actors and actions that form the contours of the conflict. This chapter will seek to provide that understanding.

The aim of this chapter will be to provide a comprehensive contextualization of the conflict and conditions surrounding both the Sunningdale Agreement and the Good Friday Agreement. This chapter does not purport to provide complete analysis as to why the Sunningdale Agreement failed where the Good Friday Agreement succeeded. The next two chapters will serve that function. Instead this chapter will provide a descriptive understanding of how the conflict evolved over time. It will be structured with five components. First, it will provide a generalized overview explaining the parties to conflict. It will then analyze the trajectory of the conflict in four phases: the inception in the civil rights movement, the Sunningdale Agreement, the Anglo Irish Agreement, and the Good Friday Agreement. Through these descriptions this chapter will create a platform that allows readers to contextualize the following evidence chapters.

### *Overview*

To make a necessary oversimplification, the Northern Irish conflict centers around a divide between predominantly Catholic nationalists, or republicans, who desire independence from Great Britain in the form of a united Ireland government; and the other side, the predominantly Protestant

unionists, or loyalists, wish to remain within the United Kingdom. At the inception of the conflict the Protestant community largely controlled a devolved government, Stormont (est. 1921), that was a semi autonomous part of the United Kingdom. As will be discussed later, the conflict between Protestants and Catholics began with the partitioning of Northern Ireland from the Republic of Ireland in 1921. From that point onwards, the Protestant community subjected the Catholic community to a series of discriminatory policies that undercut their influence within the government. Stormont maintained control over nearly every aspect of Northern Irish life with key exceptions of: succession to the Crown, making of peace or war, armed forces, honors, naturalization, and some central taxes and postal services.<sup>105</sup> The split within the conflict can then be broadly seen as a desire to maintain this status quo versus a desire to increase Catholic leverage within the political process through a united Ireland. At the inception of the conflict in 1969 the population was predominantly Protestant, representing a strong majority of the population.

There were of course varied interests within each group. Some factions within each side were willing to countenance moderations of those end goals. Moreover the supported mechanism towards change varied radically within each group, from para-militarism to political agitation. Within the Catholic community, for example, there was a heated internal conflict between the paramilitary group the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and their political counterpart Sinn Fein, and the more moderate Social Democrat and Labor Party (SDLP).<sup>106</sup> The sheer magnitude of groups within each side of the conflict, often called an alphabet soup of conflicts due to the many group acronyms, lends credence to this claim of diversity within each community. It would be far too dense to explain each group in this section. However, the appendix attached to the back gives a brief description of

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<sup>105</sup> Fionnuala Mckenna, "The Sunningdale Agreement," accessed December 2, 2014, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/sunningdale/agreement.htm>.

<sup>106</sup> The IRA was the militant nationalist wing of the Catholic community, founded in 1919. The SDLP was the more moderate, socialist nationalist, party within the Catholic community, founded in 1970.



the aims of each group in order to provide a reference point throughout this chapter. This is by no means a complete list of parties within the conflict, however it suffices for the purposes of this chapter. The following sections will descriptively show how these actors evolved and responded to key junctures in the conflict.

Critically, neither the communities nor the organizations discussed herein should be considered monolithic or static. Identity within communities was highly fluid both between individuals, and within individuals. Moreover, the organizations discussed equally had large diversity of membership. The identities of these communities and organizations should be considered multifaceted and ever-changing as a result of a complex interchange of symbolic politics, violence, and political intercourse. This chapter will endeavor to reflect that within the constraints of a background chapter. However, in some instances referring to those organizations as broad labels helps to clarify the chronology of events.

### *Civil Rights Movement*

The Troubles, or the Northern Irish Civil War, began in the context of a growing Catholic civil rights movement in the late 1960's. As political and economic exclusion created senses of relative deprivation, the Catholic community was mobilized into increasingly radical action. The tensions arising from communal clashes centered around this movement gave rise to an increasingly empowered paramilitary community, within both sides to the conflict, that justified its actions on the basis of protecting a threatened community. This section will highlight the development of these conditions.

Unionist leaders within Northern Ireland trumpeted the fragility of their political advantage over Catholic Nationalists in order to justify policies of radical disempowerment. In 1969 Ulster Unionist leader Harry West highlighted this mantra, "If the Unionist Government ever goes out of power it will never get back in again. The opposition will so manipulate things that it will be

impossible for the Unionist party ever to return to power”.<sup>107</sup> This claim was not totally unfounded. Of the fifty-two single member seats, and four Queens University seats, that made up the Northern Ireland House of Commons between 1929 and 1972, twenty five were lost by unionists at least once, seven were held with less than fifty-one percent of the vote, and six were held with only fifty-one to fifty-five percent of the vote. Those losses were often offset by gains, but at least sixty eight percent of seats were lost or marginally won.<sup>108</sup>

Within this context Liberal Unionist Prime Minister, Terrence O’Neil, was elected to Stormont. He, unlike more hardline unionists, was more willing to countenance negotiations with Catholic representatives. In 1964 and 1965 he met twice with the Taoiseach (PM) of Ireland Sean Lemass. In 1973 Lemass’ widow, Kathleen Lemass, commented on the content of those meetings, “Sean explained to me that they wanted to convey the impression to the outside world that the talks were just about routine matters. In fact, both men wanted to see Ireland united. Their idea was to have several meetings at various levels between Government officials so that the cooperation would begin, eventually leading to Irish unity”.<sup>109</sup> It is unclear the extent to which this purported desire is substantiated. However, O’Neil did represent a reformist movement that incited fear of losing power within his Unionist base.

Hardline unionists justified a policy of radical political and economic disenfranchisement of the Catholic minority on the basis of this electoral fragility. This repression was based on three prongs: political disenfranchisement, judicial discrimination, and economic discrimination.

Protestants began political disenfranchisement of the Catholics in the 1920’s with the abolition of the proportional representation system that would have guaranteed the Catholics forty

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<sup>107</sup> Marc Mulholland, *Very Short Introductions*, vol. 82, *Northern Ireland: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002),33

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, 34.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, 35-6.

percent of local councils.<sup>110</sup> In addition to that abolition Stormont, the Northern Irish legislative body, created two categories of voters. The ratepayer category consisted of primary occupiers of a household as either a tenant or an owner. However, only two people were allowed from each household. This excluded adult children living at home as well as lodgers; both of which tended to be Catholic due to lower socioeconomic conditions. The second category included owners of commercial property valued at ten pounds or more per year. These people were allowed to nominate special voters per every ten-pound value increment of their property, up to a maximum of six voters. Given that ninety percent of commercial property was Protestant owned, this gave them vastly increased power vis-a-vis their Catholic counterparts.<sup>111</sup>

In addition Protestants began crudely gerrymandering districts for political ends to the extent that one fifth of Catholics lived in gerrymandered districts.<sup>112</sup> The Cameron Commission, a 1968 report commissioned by the British Parliament, found that in Derry, Catholics made up sixty percent of the electorate but only won forty percent of seats due to this system of redistricting.<sup>113</sup> This was facilitated by a crude housing policy designed to confine Catholics to certain areas. In the County of Fermanagh Catholics constituted a majority of the population but were only given one third of the public housing units in the post World War Two period.<sup>114</sup> This policy was summated by the Unionist Chairman of the Enniskillen Housing committee, George Elliot, “it is only common-sense, after all, that a Unionist Council is not going to put people into houses who are going to vote against them at the next election”.<sup>115</sup>

This political policy was paired with repression in both the law enforcement and judicial communities. In 1922 Stormont passed the Special Powers Act which allowed the police to hold

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<sup>110</sup> Bob Rowthorn and Naomi Wayne, *Northern Ireland: The Political Economy of Conflict*, Aspects of Political Economy (Cambridge: Polity, 1988), 28.

<sup>111</sup> John Darby, *Conflict in Northern Ireland: The Development of a Polarised Community* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1976), 50.

<sup>112</sup> Mulholland, 38.

<sup>113</sup> Rowthorn and Wayne, 30.

<sup>114</sup> John Henry Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland, 1923-1979*, 2d ed. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980), 19.

<sup>115</sup> Mulholland, 41.

individuals for an indefinite period without charges or trial.<sup>116</sup> In addition members of the Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) B Specials squadron, a supplemental force to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), had clear connections, including membership, with illegal paramilitary groups like the Ulster Volunteer Force.<sup>117</sup> Within the judicial system Protestants outnumbered Catholics sixty-eight to six in the late 1960's. Moreover, fifteen of the twenty-eight appointments to the high court of Northern Ireland, between 1921 and 1972, were affiliated with Unionist political parties.<sup>118</sup>

The third prong of oppression came in the economic sphere. Protestant elites were complicit in deliberate employment discrimination. In 1957 they made formal arrangements with an American Company, Dupont, to have the hiring manager be Protestant so as to limit Catholic employment.<sup>119</sup> In 1959 Catholics made up forty percent of the manual laborers, but held only six percent of senior positions.<sup>120</sup> The Cameron Commission found that Unionist Councils were actively using their power to discriminate against Catholics in the hiring process.<sup>121</sup> This was coupled with educational inequality as well. By refusing to secularize schools the effect was “an educational system that allowed bible teaching of predominantly Protestant ethics and the withdrawal of Catholics to religious schools that received funding equal to only 65 per cent of that given to the state-sector, Protestant-affiliated schools.”<sup>122</sup> Terrence O’Neil tried to represent reformism, but it was too little too late. Cardinal William Conway famously responded to questions of O’Neil’s intent by stating, “most people see when they are being fobbed off with words and gestures”.<sup>123</sup> Catholics saw his reforms as empty appeasements designed to diffuse their anger.

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<sup>116</sup> Darby, 56.

<sup>117</sup> Rowthorn and Wayne, 37.

<sup>118</sup> Darby, 64.

<sup>119</sup> Mulholland, 40.

<sup>120</sup> Whyte, 9.

<sup>121</sup> Rowthorn and Wayne, 32.

<sup>122</sup> Darby, 128.

<sup>123</sup> Mulholland, 49.

Within this context the civil rights movement of the late 1960's began in earnest. On October Fifth, 1968, radical elements of the Civil Rights Movement steered a civil rights march in Derry through Protestant parts of the city. The RUC in conjunction with B Specials were caught on camera brutally oppressing the march.<sup>124</sup> In response to the media led outrage, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Harold Wilson, pressured O'Neil into reform. O'Neil put fourth a five pronged plan. First, he promised fairer housing policies. Second, he promised an impartial ombudsperson to hear complaints against the government. Third, he promised an end to company votes in elections. Fourth, he promised to review the Special Powers Act. Finally, he promised to create a Londonderry Development Corporation to displace the current gerrymandered council. Prominently missing from this package was a promise of one man one vote, that would later become a key slogan of the civil rights movement.<sup>125</sup> Prior to the troubles sixty-five percent of Catholics believed that community relations had improved as a result of the O'Neil Premiership.<sup>126</sup> In the intermediary his five-point proposal was therefore enough for leaders of the movement to call for a temporary halt to the marches. However, it was not enough to quell the bubbling frustrations from both communities.

Around this time the Reverend Ian Paisley began stirring up radical Protestant action in the form of counter demonstrations. Ultimately, O'Neil's appeal for calm could not stave off the oncoming violence. In January 1969 a splinter group of the Civil Rights Movement, the People's Democracy, organized a march through mostly protestant territory between Belfast and Derry. B-Specials savagely attacked the march at Burntollet Bridge, which in turn created retaliatory Catholic riots in both cities.<sup>127</sup> Within this context the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), a radical Protestant paramilitary group, which had been active since 1966 gained force within the Protestant community.

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 50- 51.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>126</sup> Richard Rose, *Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1971).

<sup>127</sup> Mulholland, 53.

As violence increased, and was communally targeted, communal paramilitary groups gained power as sources of control within the anarchy of this upheaval. The UVF group planted three bombs to look like IRA attacks in order to outflank O’Neil and demonstrate that he had lost control over the situation.<sup>128</sup> Slowly, it seemed, political avenues to reform were dimming in hope.

O’Neil’s failure to attract Catholic voters in the February 1969 elections signaled the beginning of the end. James Chichester Clark soon replaced O’Neil, heralding the end of O’Neilist reformism.<sup>129</sup> As political reform died, violent para-militarism exploded. The Shankill Butchers, named for the butchers knives with which they imparted ‘order’, joined the RUC to target Catholic marches. On August 12<sup>th</sup> Protestant paramilitaries in combination with the RUC tried to infiltrate the Catholic Bogside community after Irish nationalists threw nails and stones at a nearby Protestant parade. The resulting three-day battle culminated with the arrival of British troops on August 15<sup>th</sup> to ‘calm’ the conflict.<sup>130</sup> Despite initial ‘promising’ actions, like the abolition of the B Specials, the British soon responded to increasing IRA activism with a war on republicanism.<sup>131</sup>

Increasingly isolated the IRA splintered into more violent factions. The Irish Taoiseach, Jack Lynch, had been trying to covertly support republicanism. However, when British pressure forced him to stop, the IRA lost that buttress. In September 1969, in response to criticisms from the Catholic community over their inaction during the Civil Rights Movement calling them ‘I Ran Away’, a group within the IRA splintered off to form the Provisional IRA, or Provos.<sup>132</sup>

In response to growing IRA radicalism, which Chichester Clark was unable to stem, Brian Faulkner replaced Chichester Clark in 1971. Faulkner immediately began a practice of more consistent targeting of the IRA. On August 9<sup>th</sup> 1971 he began a practice of interment, which resulted

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid, 54.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 57.

<sup>130</sup> Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, new updated ed. (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Blackstaff Press, 2001), 670-1.

<sup>131</sup> Mulholland, 63.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, 64-5.

in 342 Catholics being taken in without hearing or trial. While prisoners they were tortured and completely isolated.<sup>133</sup> This escalation of tension culminated in Bloody Sunday, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1972. In a struggle between protestors and the British, British troops gunned down thirteen unarmed protesters.<sup>134</sup> In the angry aftermath of this period, the Provisionals (“Provos”) became the army of the people. They used their communal protector status to enforce a brutal martial law, justified by a threat rhetoric which highlighted brutal police and paramilitary violence against the Catholic community.<sup>135</sup>

However, the Provisionals were unable to balance their political demands with their violence, and were forced to call a seventy-two hour truce. This violence had created a public relations nightmare for the British. They were seemingly unable to keep control over their own backyard. In response the British dissolved Stormont, thus ending devolved governance in preference of direct rule. This was a huge victory for the IRA as it ended a system of government that had radically disempowered the Catholic community. British direct rule was certainly not an end goal for them, nonetheless it was enough to call a seven day ceasefire on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1972. However, unable to come to an agreement with the British Northern Ireland Secretary, William Whitelaw, the ceasefire ended after a clash in the Lenadoon Housing Estate in Belfast created casualties within both communities. The British, exasperated with stalled progress, instituted Operation Motorman, a large offensive designed to root out IRA sympathizers. However, the operation had the perverse effect of increasing sympathy for a rejuvenated IRA campaign.<sup>136</sup> These cycles of tit for tat violence between RUC and British forces and the IRA formed the context that set up the Sunningdale Negotiations in 1973.

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, 84.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid, 73-5.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 85.

Political exclusion and repression had led to conditions where paramilitary organizations were increasing in popularity. In 1968, just prior to the onslaught of the troubles, thirteen percent of Catholics supported paramilitary groups. However in 1973 twenty five percent of Catholics believed violence was a legitimate way to achieve goals. Catholics were two and a half times more likely to experience intimidation, twice as likely to be a victim of a violent incident, and one and half times more likely to know someone who had been killed or injured.<sup>137</sup> While this by no means constituted a majority of support, it suggests an increasingly willingness to support paramilitary groups when two conditions were met: safety was threatened, and political avenues were cut off.

### *Sunningdale*

The Sunningdale Agreement was created within the context of a costly war of attrition that, to some degree, had created significant political pressures on each side to reform. However, its failure to stem paramilitary violence, and a powerful move from the hardline members of each community to outbid the negotiators, created conditions where there could be no credible commitment that the tenants of the agreement would be upheld.

While negotiations began within the context of failed talks between the IRA and Whitelaw, most Catholics were willing to support a political agreement well short of united Ireland.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, while IRA popularity was increasing, they were not seen as a legitimate or plausible avenue for political change. Within that atmosphere, the negotiations excluded paramilitary groups, by only welcoming those who were willing to participate in immediate elections. Given that the preceding negotiations excluded Sinn Fein, this effectively excluded the IRA. However, in March of 1973 the British government published its White Paper, Northern Ireland Constitutional Proposals, which stated willingness to discuss a limited framework of political cooperation between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. This was enough to get the SDLP, a more moderate party

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<sup>137</sup> Hayes and Mcallister ,11-12.

<sup>138</sup> Mulholland, 93.



willing to aim at reform rather than Irish unification, to the table. Under the leadership of Brian Faulkner the Ulster Unionist Council voted 381 to 231 to also enter into the negotiations. However, this was belied by the subsequent assembly which saw twenty six unionists regain election who had explicitly opposed the White Paper and negotiations.<sup>139</sup>

In November of 1973 the UUP, SDLP, and the cross ethnic Alliance Party, agreed to a power-sharing government at the Civil Service College at Sunningdale.<sup>140</sup> The agreement was based upon three key principles. First, there was a power-sharing executive of unionists and nationalists that presided over a Northern Irish assembly. The assembly had primarily a consultative role, which was a far cry from the previous devolved Stormont. Second, there was a council of fourteen ministers that would form one tier of an All-Ireland (or Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland cooperative government) governing institution. Seven ministers would come from Northern Ireland and seven would come from the Irish Republic. The final tier was a 60 member Consultative Assembly which was half elected by Ireland and half by Northern Ireland. All of this was undergirded by a British constitutional guarantee, and an Irish declaration that there could be no change in the status of Northern Ireland without a majority of the people indicating a changed preference. However this last statement was belied by the remainder of Articles Two and Three in the Irish Constitution, which lay claim to Northern Ireland.<sup>141</sup>

Opposition to Sunningdale came swift, particularly from the Protestant community. The Reverend Ian Paisley led to the charge. Protestant objections centered around two facets of the agreement, the power-sharing agreement and the Irish dimension codified through the Council of Ireland. Protestants, long accustomed to dominating politics, saw the power-sharing agreement as a

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>140</sup> The UUP was the moderate block of Protestant community, which governed Northern Ireland from the 1920s to 1970s.

<sup>141</sup> Jonathon Tonge, "From Sunningdale to the Good Friday Agreement: Creating Devolved Government in Northern Ireland," *Contemporary British History* 14, no. 3 (2000): 42.

threat to that power. As a result Paisley ‘outbid’ Faulkner by portraying the agreement as threat to their economic security. This would gain particular prominence, when played against the expectation of disproportionate benefit that years of institutional decay had created. Catholics were portrayed by Paisley and other Protestant community leaders as servants of Rome, and thus likely to discriminate against Protestants. This was compounded by the Irish dimension to the agreement, which exacerbated fears that Sunningdale would lead to a Dublin dominated Northern Ireland.<sup>142</sup>

Faulkner initially held off these objections. At the Sunningdale Conference he commanded a large proportion of moderate unionists. However, in the aftermath of the agreement, anti Faulkner unionists waged a war against the agreement. The Ulster Unionist Council voted 427 to 374 to reject the Council of Ireland. Brian Faulkner was forced to resign, signaling the beginning of the end of the Agreement.<sup>143</sup> In February 1974 anti-Sunningdale unionists won the majority of Northern Ireland's seats. Eleven of the Twelve Seats were won by members of the United Ulster Unionist Council, which was formed from the three major unionist parties in opposition to the agreement.<sup>144</sup> Despite this setback, the Northern Ireland Executive was able to gain enough support amongst Faulkner unionists, SDLP members, and Alliance party members to ratify the agreement.<sup>145</sup>

However, Protestant anti-Sunningdale sentiments remained potent, helped in no small amount by the rhetoric coming from the SDLP and the Irish government. Both parties were facing internal pressures from their constituencies not to ‘abandon’ their people. The Irish government consistently denied claims that they were abandoning their claims to Northern Ireland. The Irish attorney general when pressured responded by saying that “Any person living on this island and knowing our history could not possibly construe the declaration as meaning we did not lay claim

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<sup>142</sup> Rose, 139.

<sup>143</sup> Mulholland, 96.

<sup>144</sup> Tonge 24

<sup>145</sup> Rose 138

over the six counties”.<sup>146</sup> Liam Cosgrave, the Irish Taoiseach, was forced to become increasingly radical in his claims to Northern Ireland, given the pressures he faced from former Taoiseach Jack Lynch who was eager to reclaim his seat.<sup>147</sup> This was solidified in an Irish Supreme Court Case, *Boland v. Taoiseach*, which found that Sunningdale did not infringe on the Irish Constitution’s articles two and three which laid claim to Northern Ireland. Rather, they stated it amounted to a statement of reality, that the Irish government could not currently lay claim to the territories.

The SDLP, facing significant pressures from republican elements of their constituency who thought they were not pushing hard enough for a unified Ireland, also hold some of the blame. In response to a Republican heckler, a senior representative of the SDLP famously stated that the Council of Ireland was “the vehicle by which unionists would be trundled into a united Ireland”.<sup>148</sup>

Within this context any hope for the implementation of Sunningdale died.<sup>149</sup> Unionist campaigns led by Ian Paisley, William Craig, and Harry West united behind the slogan ‘Dublin is just another Sunningdale Away’. On May 14, 1974, the Northern Irish Assembly rejected a motion condemning power sharing and the Council of Ireland by a vote of forty-four to twenty-eight. In response the Ulster Workers Council called a general workers strike. The Ulster Defense Association enforced the strike. They were led by Andy Tyrie, who announced at the start of the strike that, “It’s going to be up to us to do the dirty work again”. Massive intimidation efforts, coupled with genuine disgruntlement, led to a successful strike marked by power and fuel shortages throughout the country. The new British Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees, was unwilling to use British troops to break up the strike, and back to work campaigns fizzled out. On the fourteenth day

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<sup>146</sup> Tonge, 45.

<sup>147</sup> P.J McLoughlin, “‘dublin Is Just a Sunningdale Away?’ the Sdlp and the Failure of Northern Ireland's Sunningdale Experiment,” *Twentieth Century British History* 20, no. 1 (2009):88.

<sup>148</sup> Tonge, 45.

McLoughlin, 94.

<sup>149</sup> Rose Amanda Marie, “From Sunningdale to Peace?,” *Peace Review* 11, no. 1 (March 1999): 139.

of the strike, in the face of a near total power blackout, Faulkner and his Unionist colleagues on the executive resigned, and the entire agreement collapsed.<sup>150</sup>

The ability of radical parties to outbid negotiators to the conflict signaled the end of the settlement. On the republican side, nationalists were able to play on the fears of republicans that any non-Irish government would just be a protestant-dominated government. The power-sharing government was unable to provide credible commitment to this community. Without a mechanism to enforce the agreement should the Protestant community decide to cheat, Irish hardline nationalists were able to plausibly highlight conditions of potential disenfranchisement. On the Protestant side, expectations of a government that would preference their community led to general sense of disgruntlement with the agreement, which counteracted those expectations, that empowered Paisley-ites within the protestant community. In addition the rhetoric of the Irish and SDLP, in response to radical elements within their community, also empowered a fear that the agreement would lead to a Dublin dominated government.

Increased paramilitary violence enabled this rhetoric.<sup>151</sup> Figure two demonstrates that the period surrounding the agreement saw a spike of death within the conflict. The three years surrounding the conflict saw thirty percent of the deaths in the entire thirty-year conflict.<sup>152</sup> These ‘spoiling actions’ dramatically increased fears that segments of the agreement would not be followed, or that it would not be enough to stop the violence from occurring. If military power was not shared, in a similar manner to political power, then the agreement would be unenforceable. IRA members feared the agreement would solidify a ‘Northern Free State’, copper fastening the partition, and that it would empower the SDLP within the Catholic community. The Republican News, and IRA affiliated news source, even called the UUUC strike progressive, and capable of uniting the

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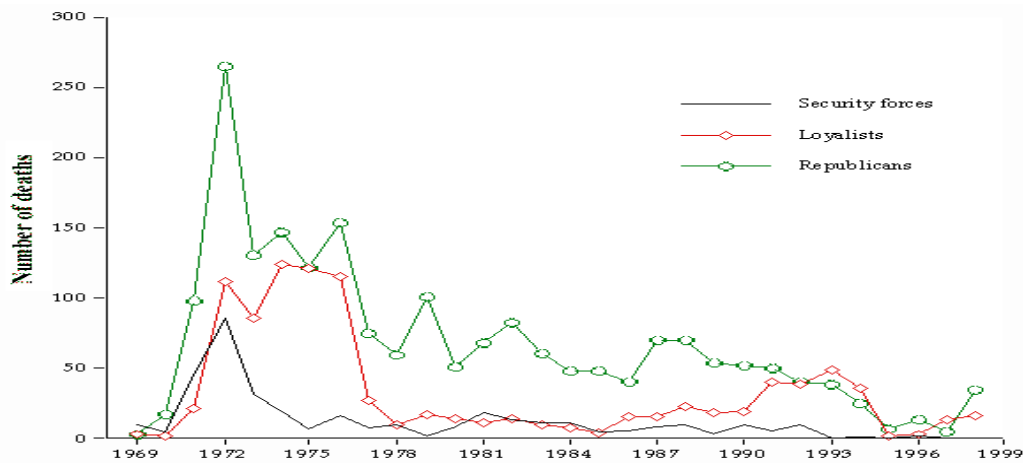
<sup>150</sup> Mulholland, 96-8.

<sup>151</sup> Rose, 139.

<sup>152</sup> Marie-Therese Fay, Mike Morrissey, and Marie Smyth, *Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Costs*, Contemporary Irish Studies (London: Pluto Press in association with The Cost of the Troubles Study, 1999).

working class.<sup>153</sup> Protestants in turn, held similar fears of a loss of power to moderate community members. In addition they were able to capitalize on a

**Figure 2: Sources and Scale of Violence 1969 to 1999**



Source: <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk>.<sup>154</sup>

preexisting disgruntled community. The failure to include paramilitary groups within the negotiations ultimately defeated the agreement before it began.

### *Intermediary: Ulsterization and the Anglo Irish Agreement of 1985*

British policy after Sunningdale, while initially ameliorating, soon transitioned into a widespread crackdown on republicanism. This in turn gave rise to a new possibility for the IRA, the ability to successfully enter into the political realm. Within that context a political framework became a viable end to the conflict, in a way that it had not been since Sunningdale. This section will detail the progression from ulsterization towards a context conducive to negotiations.

Immediately following the fall of the Sunningdale the British tried to ameliorate both sides by legalizing both the Ulster Volunteer Force and Sinn Fein. From December 1974 through January 1975 the Provisional IRA announced a truce.<sup>155</sup> However the Protestant paramilitary community responded to that legalization with violence which resulted in a tit-for-tat cycle of violence through

<sup>153</sup> Tonge, 44.

<sup>154</sup> Hayes and Mcallister.

<sup>155</sup> Mulholland, 101.

1975 and 1976 which ended the truce. The British, in turn, responded to this cycle by criminalizing the conflict, and describing the IRA as lawless.<sup>156</sup> When Roy Mason replaced Merlyn Rees in 1976 he described his job as squeezing the IRA like toothpaste.<sup>157</sup> His arrival signaled the beginning of ulsterization. The British cracked down on the IRA through intensive and invasive operations within Catholic communities, and high levels of incarceration. However, the IRA maintained a solid minority of the Catholic community that allowed it to operate. Moreover, there were very few people willing to stand up to them given their extensive internal policing.<sup>158</sup> British policy, it seemed, had given up on a political solution. However, ironically, this new British policy set up conditions which would lead to a rejuvenation of political rather than violent action.

The IRA began to couple their violent actions with a new strategic political game. IRA prisoners began to utilize a previous tactic from the early 1970's, the hunger strike. In 1979 Ciaran Nugent refused to wear prison clothes, and demanded prisoner of war status. The British refused him, and as a result he clothed himself in only a bed sheet. By 1980 340 other prisoners joined him in what had then evolved into a hunger strike. British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, responded with a firm line, "There is no such thing as political murder, political bombing, or political violence. There is only criminal murder, criminal bombing and criminal violence."<sup>159</sup> The IRA sought to capitalize on the international outcry the images of hunger strikers were creating. Sinn Fein, under the auspices of an independent candidate, nominated Bobby Sands for election. Bobby Sands had easy appeal to the public, portrayed as an easygoing activist through publications of his poetry. He won his election by a vote of 30,492 to 29,046. However on May Fifth, 1981, he died due to medical complications from the hunger strike. Over 100,000 people attended his funeral, and Sinn Fein road the public backlash to a prominent role within electoral politics.

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid, 103.

<sup>157</sup> Tonge, 48.

<sup>158</sup> Mulholland, 106.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid, 108.

This confluence of events led to a rare moment within each group in which moderate factions were empowered. Sinn Fein, fresh off a surge in public opinion was keen to try its hand in electoral politics. Moreover, John Hume was taking control of the SDLP and shepherding it towards anti-nationalist territory under the dictum “You can’t eat a flag.”<sup>160</sup> Unionists were satisfied with direct rule, particularly when contrasted with Sunningdale’s potentiality. Ian Paisley sought to instigate a strike to encourage the British to crack down more on the IRA, however it fizzled out with little support.<sup>161</sup> When political avenues became meaningful strategies to create change, actors within both those communities who advocated political action became empowered.

Finally both the British and the Irish were willing to negotiate. Garret FitzGerald, the new Irish Taoiseach, entered into secret negotiations with Thatcher in 1985. On November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1985, the British and Irish governments signed the Anglo Irish Agreement. The United Kingdom recognized the Irish government’s right to be consulted in issues pertaining to Northern Ireland. Fitzgerald described this role as less than joint authority but more than consultation. This was a large step for the British for two reasons. First, even the labor party had been unwilling to make this stance within parliament, and had supported conservative policies.<sup>162</sup> As a result this was a radical policy which did not result from internal pressures. Second, this was a treaty registered at the United Nations which at least perceptually bound them more than insular negotiations. This was an equally large step for the Irish who, under said treaty, promised not to lay claim to a united Ireland unless the majority voted for it.<sup>163</sup>

The agreement also sent a critical message to Northern Ireland that only a devolved government that appealed to both communities would be accepted by the British. Initial Protestant retaliatory violence was met with firm impatience from Thatcher who won reelection in 1987 and

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid, 116.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, 115.

<sup>162</sup> Tonge, 48.

<sup>163</sup> Mulholland, 118.

made no changes to the agreement.<sup>164</sup> However, Paisley, and his DUP, was able to fluctuate between twelve percent and thirty percent of popular support meaning that innovative protestant policies would find difficulty in overcoming the outbidding game.<sup>165</sup> Despite this, increasing demographic changes created new political opportunities that would set the stage for the 1990's. Protestant emigration to England climbed, spurred by exhaustion with the conflict, and Catholics stayed home. The old ration of two thirds of Protestants to one third Catholics gave way to a population that was forty-five percent Catholic.<sup>166</sup>

### *Good Friday Negotiations*

The increased plausibility of political action to create change, complimented by a growing international context that promised a guarantee of political negotiations created the context in which the Good Friday Agreement was negotiated. This section will detail the development of both of those factors.

In the immediate aftermath of the agreement the IRA, supported by an influx of funds from the Catholic community in the United States and weapons from the Gaddafi government in Libya began an increased campaign to delegitimize the peace movement. Initially this campaign, headed by new leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGinnis, was at least marginally accepted by Catholics who were increasingly agitated by Britain's continued use of a shoot to kill policy.<sup>167</sup> This was a perceived policy that had been implemented during ulsterization, in which the Catholic community accused the British troops of shooting to kill without even attempting arrest. However growing exhaustion with the war strained the IRA support base. On November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1987 an IRA attack on a Remembrance Day Service in Enniskillen killed eleven Protestant civilians. The public outcry and

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 118-122.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, 123.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, 126.



backlash to this event forced Gerry Adams to reign in his paramilitary factions, and the IRA began focusing on British targets rather than Northern Irish ones.<sup>168</sup>

In addition, this IRA violence fed a re-escalation of Protestant paramilitary violence. Between 1989 and 1992 twenty-one Catholics died at the hand of Protestant loyalist paramilitaries in the Derry area. This created vicious cycle of tit-for-tat violence, illustrated by two gruesome episodes. On January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1992 an IRA landmine murdered seven Protestant workers in Cookstown. In retaliation, on February 5<sup>th</sup>, the Ulster Freedom Fighters murdered five Catholics in a betting shop in Belfast.<sup>169</sup> This violence was relatively indiscriminately targeted, created a heightened sense of insecurity.

However, dissimilar to other episodes, this period of violence created a general sense of public exasperation with violence that created conditions conducive to negotiations. Within this atmosphere a number of key actors were able to initiate steps towards meaningful negotiations. On November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1991, British Secretary of State Peter Brooke publicly stated that Britain had no selfish, strategic, or economic interest in Northern Ireland and began exploratory talks directly with the IRA. John Hume, and the SDLP, sensing an opportunity opened up talks with Gerry Adams. On August 28<sup>th</sup> 1993, they were able to issue a joint statement calling for an Irish solution, but allowing for a vote from the Northern Irish population. This statement brushed the limits of Republican ideology. The Irish and British governments followed suit with a joint declaration from Downing Street on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1993. In this they called for reconciliation within a political framework that included the whole Ireland.<sup>170</sup> In response a secret republican strategy paper highlighted the necessity to focus on political dynamics of the conflict in order to create a

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid, 127-129.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 129.

<sup>170</sup> Mulholland, 131-2.

Republican consensus, “for the first time in 25 years...all the major Irish nationalist parties are rowing roughly in the same direction.”<sup>171</sup>

This directive towards political consensus was further bolstered by the arrival of the United States. A year after his inauguration Bill Clinton granted a visa to allow Gerry Adams to visit in January, 1994. The presence of a third party, willing to act autonomously of Britain, gave the IRA significant security to enter into negotiations. On August 31, 1993, the IRA called a complete and unequivocal ceasefire, which was followed six weeks later on October 13<sup>th</sup> by the loyalist paramilitaries.<sup>172</sup>

Increasing British pressure, adjusted Unionist expectations and willingness to negotiate. In February, 1995, the UK government passed two framework documents in which north-south bodies were discussed in the context of the recognition of Irish identity in the North’s Catholic minority, rather than just intergovernmental cooperation. The UUP, eager to return to devolved government, publicly warmed to both a north-south governance plan as well as power-sharing. By the mid 1990’s almost half of the twenty-six local councils shared responsibility amongst both communities, including in some communities with infamous reputations for vicious sectarianism.<sup>173</sup>

Despite this, the tension of decommissioning processes still remained salient within the negotiations. Prime Minister Major called for the IRA to decommission weapons prior to formal talks. However in November 1995, a joint communiqué between the United States and Great Britain proposed a twin path of decommissioning at the same time as all party talks. The Mitchel Commission, established by the U.S, argued that decommissioning before talks was too much to be hoped for. Instead Senator Mitchel proposed that all parties have to declare that they are willing to

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<sup>171</sup> Paul Dixon and Eamonn O’Kane, *Northern Ireland Since 1969* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2011), 76.

<sup>172</sup> Mulholland, 133-5.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*, 135.

Tonge, 50.

pursue peaceful means of resolution before reaching the tables. Major added onto this that the negotiating convention be constructed and identified through elections.<sup>174</sup>

The IRA was initially unwilling to meet this demand, and responded with a bomb in the London, costing 85 million pounds in damage. However, recognizing public opinion was against it, due to an exasperation with decades of violence, the following campaign was small scale compared to their previous efforts. This is especially striking given that the IRA was given a perfect opportunity to break down the negotiation process. A long standing Twelfth of July Orange Order March, returning from Dumcree Church, was initially routed around the Catholic Garvaghy Road. However, the RUC reversed its decision on July 11<sup>th</sup>. Catholic areas erupted into protest and were immediately quashed by the RUC firing plastic bullets. One unarmed youth was killed. However, the IRA stayed its hand and corralled violent factions of its paramilitaries.<sup>175</sup>

In the previous May 1996 elections political avenues toward change had become feasible for each party within the conflict. The UUP had won 30 seats, the DUP had won 24, the SDLP had won 21, the APNI had won 7, and UKUP had won three seats. Four other fringe parties did not win seats, however creative counting squeezed them into the convention as a top ten most successful party. Sinn Fein won seventeen seats, but was never the less still excluded from talks, due to their failure to renounce violence.<sup>176</sup> The political context was set in which each group had a viable platform to compete politically.

Labour's victory in the 1997 United Kingdom elections signaled a change to this policy of excluding Sinn Fein. Tony Blair won by a landslide, and, unlike his conservative predecessors, he was not reliant on Unionist MPs to hold his coalition together. In July, 1997, the IRA, recognizing this was a critical movement for them, resumed their cease fire and was admitted to the talks. The

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<sup>174</sup> Mulholland, 137.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, 138-9.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 138.

DUP immediately walked out, but the UUP, led by David Trimble, kept his team in the negotiations.<sup>177</sup> The context was finally set for a serious negotiation process.

Decreasing paramilitary support, as political options became a meaningful alternative, and increased international action created the conditions for what would become known as the Good Friday Agreement. The IRA no longer felt they had moral justification to continue a violent campaign, and were losing already low popular support. Similarly, particularly after the IRA ceasefire, Protestants feared being labeled aggressors in the conflict and were lacking in justification to keep the fight going.<sup>178</sup> This was reflected in a polling data at the end of the conflict. Twenty eight percent of Catholics and thirty one percent of Protestants had at least some sympathy for their respective militaries. This represents a significant reduction from 1978 levels where just under half of each group supported their paramilitaries.<sup>179</sup> Within this context, the arrival of the United States, and an increasingly active Great Britain was able to induce parties to the table.<sup>180</sup>

### *Good Friday Agreement*

The Good Friday Agreement was signed on April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1998. There were seven main components to the agreement.<sup>181</sup> First, it created a 108 member devolved Northern Ireland assembly. The assembly was to be constituted through a principle of proportionality. In addition it created a Executive Authority, First Minister, and Deputy First Minister, and up to ten other ministers with departmental responsibilities. All of these positions are allocated on a proportional level. Importantly, and distinct from Sunningdale, all decisions made by a simple majority must

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<sup>177</sup> Mulholland, 140.

Tonge, 50- 51.

<sup>178</sup> Rose, 139.

<sup>179</sup> Hayes and McAllister, 12-13.

<sup>180</sup> Rose, 139.

<sup>181</sup> A more thorough explanation of the agreement is forthcoming in Chapter 4.

either correspond to majorities among both nationalist and unionist members, or get at least sixty percent of total vote if it is support by 40 percent of nationalist or unionist votes.<sup>182</sup>

The second element of the agreement was a North South ministerial council. This was coupled with a British Irish council with representatives from British and Irish governments, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands.<sup>183</sup> The Irish also pledged to change their constitutional claims to sovereignty over Northern Ireland, and Britain did similarly, thereby committing to a Northern Irish vote on independence.<sup>184</sup> In addition the agreement created a British Irish intergovernmental conference, to increase dialogue between the two governments.

In addition to this there were two facets of the agreement designed to create discussion surrounding the initial causes of conflict. The agreement created a civic forum of voluntary groups to create solutions targeted at breaking down divides between the communities, and to include fringe groups within the process. In addition it created a substantial micro agenda on policing, equality, human rights, prisoners and military weapons.<sup>185</sup> On the Human Rights level this was backed up by the creation of a Human Rights Commission in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. On the militaristic end it was backed up by a commission to oversee the decommissioning of paramilitary groups, as well as by a commitment from the British to de-securitize.<sup>186</sup>

The entire agreement was undergirded by two sets of vetoes. Members of each community had veto power over legislation proposed by the other community. In addition, the Northern Irish

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<sup>182</sup> Tonge, 52.

Rose, 139.

<sup>183</sup> Rose, 139.

<sup>184</sup> Tonge, 52.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Rose, 139.

assembly had veto power over the North South Council.<sup>187</sup> These vetoes could then assuage fears from each community that they would be bullied into certain marginalizing policies.

Republicans were quick to endorse the agreement. At Sinn Fein's 1998 annual conference, ninety seven percent of delegates voted in favor of changing their internal constitution to allow members to take seats in the new Northern Ireland Assembly. While the DUP rejected the deal, the UUP tacitly endorsed the agreement including the all-Ireland dimension.<sup>188</sup> When submitted to popular referendum it won with 71.1 percent of the vote, including 95 percent of republican votes. This was reaffirmed in the following election in which pro-agreement candidates won resoundingly. Candidates in favor of the agreement won 75.5 percent of votes, leading to a ratio of eighty to twenty-eight seats.

On August 15<sup>th</sup> 1998, the agreement suffered its first setback. An explosion killed twenty-nine people in Omagh, the largest single atrocity of the conflict. However the IRA was quick to disown the attack, and even pledged to begin decommissioning. The following election stabilized electoral politics with a big four of parties dominating the elections. The UUP won 26.8 percent of the vote, the DUP won 22.5 percent, Sinn Fein won 21.7 percent of the vote, and the SDLP won 21 percent of the vote. This election marked the beginning of a period of stability and the end of a conflict that had begun in the 1960s.<sup>189</sup>

Why was this negotiation successful where Sunningdale had failed so dramatically? What had changed in the twenty plus years between the two agreements? In the remaining chapters of this thesis I will seek to answer those questions.

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<sup>187</sup> Mulholland, 142-4.

<sup>188</sup> Tonge, 56-8.

<sup>189</sup> Mulholland, 149.

### **Chapter 3: Incomplete Power-sharing, Insecurity, and the Failure of the Sunningdale Agreement**

The Sunningdale Agreement negotiations occurred within the context of growing disgruntlement with radical actors. A trade unionist movement was beginning to formulate a class-consciousness that had the potential to cut across communal divides, and paramilitaries were increasingly unpopular. Members of the once staunchly unionist Protestant community were beginning to question anti-Catholic narratives about key episodes of the conflict. Yet despite this, the United Ulster Unionist Council was able to enact a protest strike that crippled the energy supplies of the country, and forced the power-sharing regime into collapse.<sup>190</sup> This chapter will explore which factors led the Sunningdale Agreement to fail. Understanding why peace settlements fail is critical to formulating the building blocks necessary to wholly evaluate why other settlements succeed; it allows us to understand which factors changed, as well as which particular items in the agreement are most relevant. The goal of this chapter is to provide that understanding in order to facilitate a more complete comprehension of the factors which contributed to the success of the Good Friday Agreement.

This thesis will argue that incomplete power-sharing in the military and policing sectors within the Sunningdale Agreement heightened insecurities between the two communities. The agreement both excluded traditional community protection groups and then failed to replace them with a neutral security force that each community could accept. As a result the security sector became an unguaranteed aspect of the agreement. This uncertainty bled into other functions of the agreement, as an unstable security situation undercut the ability of other facets of the agreement to operate. With no neutral security force to target communal violence, excluded radicals were able to act as spoilers and create an atmosphere in which moderates would lose out to ethnic outbidding. Ethnic out-bidders were empowered within that context, because inter-ethnic cooperation lead to

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<sup>190</sup> Amanda Marie Rose, "From Sunningdale to Peace?," *Peace Review* 11, no. 1 (March 1999): 139.

very concrete and immediate potential costs, while the benefits were long-term and threatened by the question of security. This problem became further exacerbated by an insufficient third party guarantee to the conflict, which heightened the salience of the aforementioned insecurities. The inability of the British to act as a neutral third party acted in parallel with incomplete power-sharing, as it compounded fears that there was no security guarantee of the conflict.

If this theory is correct, we should see four points of evidence. First, we should see evidence that security power-sharing was incomplete. This should be indicated within the peace settlement itself; however, additionally, we must also see evidence that this failure to power-share became salient within the community. This would manifest in key episodes in which the security and police forces were unable to respond to incidents of communal violence. We would expect these episodes to dominate media and public discourses, indicating that these episodes were highly relevant to each community's decision calculi. Second, we should see evidence of an ethnic outbidding culture capitalizing on these insecurities. This would be indicated by moderate parties being challenged by and/or utilizing the rhetoric of their radical fronts. Third, we should see insufficient third party guarantees. We should see evidence of this in both public speeches and in private meetings between parties to the conflict. This should also be mirrored in the complaints of both parties to the conflict. Fourth, we would expect to see public opinion to begin with significant support for this peace settlement, but to decline and rise in parallel with trends of violence. That would indicate that support for the agreement was contingent on the security situation, thus corroborating that incomplete security power-sharing explains the agreements failure.

This chapter will first provide a brief chronological exposition of the Sunningdale Agreement. In the second section it will analyze each of the four points of evidence outlined above. Within this section it will begin by exploring key episodes of violence that heightened the importance of the agreement's failure to fully address the security sector. It will then analyze how



those episodes translated into a culture of ethnic outbidding, where moderates either radicalized or lost influence. Next, it will analyze how an insufficient third party guarantees accentuated these pre-existing security concerns. It will then verify that these factors are the core factors explaining the failure of the agreement by analyzing how public opinion reacted to critical failures in security stability. Finally, it will conclude by exploring areas of future evidence necessary to fully corroborate this argument.

### **The Sunningdale Agreement: Historical Context**

In November, 1973 the moderate alliance of the UUP, SDLP, and the cross ethnic Alliance Party, agreed to a power-sharing government at the Civil Service College at Sunningdale. The agreement was based upon three key principles. First, there was a power-sharing executive of unionists and nationalists that presided over a Northern Irish assembly. The assembly had primarily a consultative role, which was a far cry from the previously devolved Stormont. Second, there was a council of fourteen ministers that would form one tier of an All-Ireland (or Northern Irish and Republic of Ireland cooperative government) governing institution. Seven ministers would come from Northern Ireland and seven would come from the Irish Republic. The council was to have unspecified executive and harmonizing functions. It would operate on economic and social matters, and would be consulted on policing appointments. Moreover, it required unanimity in its decision-making process. The final tier was a 60-member Consultative Assembly which was half elected by Ireland and half by Northern Ireland. All of this was undergirded by both a British constitutional guarantee and an Irish declaration that there could be no change in the status of Northern Ireland without a majority of the people indicating a changed preference.

Unionist campaigns were quick to attack the agreement. Led by Ian Paisley, William Craig, and Harry West, they united behind the slogan ‘Dublin is just another Sunningdale Away’. On May 14, 1974, the Northern Irish Assembly rejected a motion condemning power-sharing and the

Council of Ireland by a vote of forty-four to twenty-eight. In response, the Ulster Workers Council, a close ally of the UUUC, called for a general worker's strike demanding the end of the agreement. This strike was enforced by the Ulster Defense Association, led by Andy Tyrrie. At the start of the strike, Tyrrie mobilized supporters by announcing that "it's going to be up to us to do the dirty work again".<sup>191</sup> Massive intimidation efforts, coupled with genuine disgruntlement, led to a successful strike whose impact was felt by power and fuel shortages throughout the country. The new British Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees, was unwilling to use British troops to quell the uprising, and, as a result, back-to-work campaigns fizzled out. On the fourteenth day of the strike, in the face of a near total power blackout, Faulkner and his Unionist colleagues in the executive resigned and the entire agreement collapsed.<sup>192</sup>

This chapter's aim is to analyze why those campaigns were so successful at reducing support for the agreement. Radical factions of each community will usually have incentives to spoil the agreement so as to maintain their own authority. The question becomes which factors make that spoiling and those radical actors palatable.

### **Incomplete Power-sharing**

The agreement both excluded traditional security forces and failed to implement a new security force that had cross-communal support. Both the militant factions of the Catholic and Protestant communities were excluded from the Sunningdale talks. On the Protestant side the Vanguard and DUP parties, associated with Protestant para-militarism, were banned from entry into the agreement. On the Catholic side, the British similarly banned Sinn Fein. This was a reversal in policy from the White Paper platform, which was to allow representatives based upon public opinion. As a result it was seen by Protestants as a further example of the British distancing

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<sup>191</sup> Mulholland, 97.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, 97-8.

themselves from the ‘Northern Ireland Problem’.<sup>193</sup> The result of this exclusion was both communities feeling vulnerable and unprotected by an already unpopular British military and police force that had been previously unable to staunch the violence.

For the Catholic community, their history with both the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Security Forces lead to a general distrust in the State’s protection. This resulted in an increasing distrust that the security sector would intervene in the advent of the Protestant community renegeing on their portion of the agreement. The Protestant community, for their part, was growing increasingly disgruntled with what it saw as the British abandoning their interests. This was compounded by the Hunt Report, which had led to the abolishment of the Special B’s in 1970.<sup>194</sup> In addition the Hunt report advised that:

The R.U.C. should be relieved of all duties of a military nature as soon as possible and its contribution to the security of Northern Ireland from subversion should be limited to the gathering of intelligence, the protection of important persons and the enforcement of the relevant laws...The need to retain some police stations in border areas should be reviewed...Vigorous efforts should be made to increase the number of Roman Catholic entrants into the force.<sup>195</sup>

Thus while the Protestants maintained significant influence within the RUC and the British Army, the failure to include military power-sharing would compound fears of abandonment by the British. Incorporation of each militant faction would have at the very least created some symbolic security surrounding the agreement.

This section will explore a number of key episodes that indicate heightened salience of these insecurities within both communities in the lead up to Sunningdale. However, it is important to first identify the general trends within which these episodes occurred. Violence from both Unionist and Nationalist paramilitaries spiked dramatically in the run-up to the agreement. Figure one depicts

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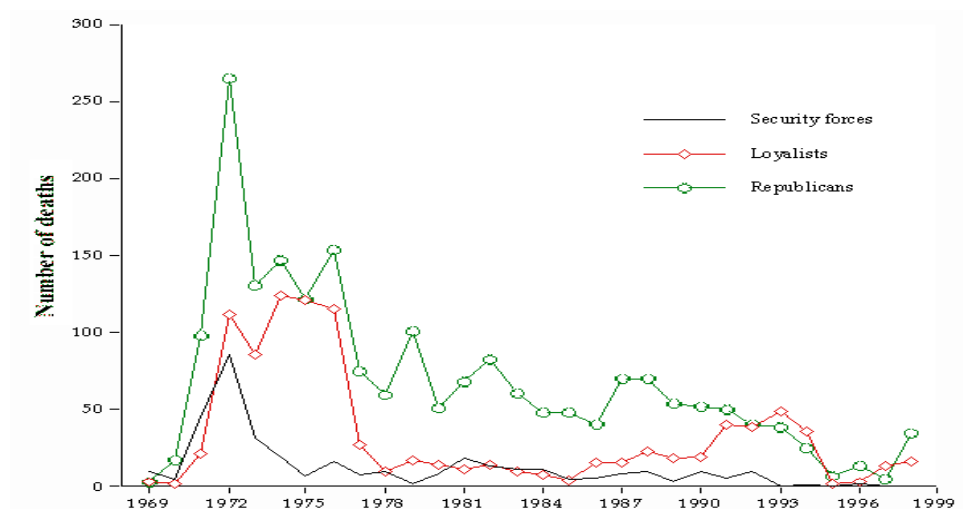
<sup>193</sup> Brendan O’Duffy, “British and Irish Conflict Regulation from Sunningdale to Belfast Part I: Tracing the Status of Contesting Sovereigns, 1968–1974,” *Nations and Nationalism* 5, no. 4 (1999):535.

<sup>194</sup> Special B’s were Protestant community police forces that had a history of violently targeting Republican militarism, and the Catholic community.

<sup>195</sup> Fionnuala McKenna, “Hmso: Hunt Report, 1969,” accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/hmso/hunt.htm>.

scales of violence during the war from 1969 to 1999 and shows a massive surge of violence surrounding this period. Martin Dillon and Dennis Lehane describe the violence around this moment as a vicious cycle of tit-for-tat violence. They highlight one period in particular, from September to October 1972, where Protestants killed two Catholics for every Protestant killed.<sup>196</sup> One member of the protestant Red Hands described the logic behind this indiscriminate retaliatory killing, “At the time I thought more or less that all Taigs were bad and all Prods good.”<sup>197</sup> This pattern was, if not mirrored, paralleled by Republican paramilitaries. Dillon and Lehane explain that they retaliated to this Protestant campaign with similar tit-for-tat discriminatory killing.<sup>198</sup> The context of the agreement was one in which security was of significantly heightened importance.

Figure 1: Sources and Scale of Violence 1969 to 1999



Source: <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk>.<sup>199</sup>

This chapter will examine three episodes that highlighted insecurities for the Catholic community: Bloody Sunday, the Lenadoon Housing Estate clash, and of course the Strike. It will

<sup>196</sup> Martin Dillon and Denis Lehane, *Political Murder in Northern Ireland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1973), 118-139.

<sup>197</sup> Sarah Nelson, *Ulster's Uncertain Defenders: Protestant Political, Paramilitary, and Community Groups, and the Northern Ireland Conflict*, *Irish Studies* (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1984), 120.

<sup>198</sup> Dillon and Lehane, 75-90.

<sup>199</sup> Bernadette Hayes and Ian Mcallister, “Sowing Dragon’s Teeth: Public Support for Political Violence and Paramilitarism in Northern Ireland,” *Political Studies* 49, no. 5 (December 2001): 9.

then analyze the growing IRA bombing campaign within the context key Irish and British security policies towards the Protestant community. While some of these events took place prior to the explicit negotiations surrounding Sunningdale, all took place during the context in which discussions of peace were ongoing. As such, they would form the context in which people evaluated the agreement. While the agreement would still be initially possible to sign due to exasperation with extremism, these incidents made the agreement fragile and highly susceptible to collapse due to increasing and high profile violence. People would be willing to attempt peace to avoid these vicious cycles of violence, but when that peace left them vulnerable they would quickly abandon it.

### *Bloody Sunday*

Perhaps the most infamous incident of the entire civil war, the effects of Bloody Sunday ricocheted throughout the Catholic Community. On Sunday January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1972 the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association held a march to protest the British internment policy. Ten to twenty thousand people showed up to demonstrate their support of the protest. In the last few hours of the protest, a number of the demonstrators began throwing stones at the Parachute regiment of the British army, which proceeded to move into the Bogside neighborhood. Within thirty minutes, the Army had killed 13 people and injured 13 more. Eight of those killed were under twenty years old.<sup>200</sup>

The reaction in Catholic newspapers reflected the general dissatisfaction with security responses to these incidents. One letter to the editor in the Irish Times reflected the broad frustration with British intransigence, "Will even yesterday's slaughter in Derry reach the heart and mind of that cold, unfeeling man in Downing street?...Edward Heath has been told time and again, that a major catastrophe was preparing."<sup>201</sup> Dick Grogan and Martin Crowley published a similar article in the same paper titled, in all caps, "SOLDIERS KILL 13 IN BOGSIDE." Reports decrying

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<sup>200</sup> Martin Melaugh, "'bloody Sunday', 30 January 1972 - Summary of Main Events," CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/bsunday/sum.htm>.

<sup>201</sup> Irish Times, "In Blood Stept in so Far," *Irish Times (Dublin)*, January 31, 1972.

the fragility of the Catholic community in the face of an inept and corrupt security apparatus were replete in editorials in the following few weeks.<sup>202</sup>

The response from both the Protestant leadership, as well as the British legal response, was severely underwhelming to a Catholic community demanding justice. Northern Irish Prime Minister Brian Faulkner placed the blame with the Civil Rights Association for “having again provided the IRA with an opportunity of again bringing death to our streets...The Association”, he finished, “bears a tremendous responsibility.”<sup>203</sup> The British gave control of the tribunal investigating the violence to Baron Widgery, the Lord Chief Justice of England. The Tribunal, which lasted from February 21, 1972 to March 14, 1972, got off to a rocky start when Widgery decided to move the trial to Colleraine, thirty-two miles away from Derry. Particularly notable about this decision was Colleraine’s predominantly Protestant population, in stark contrast to Derry which was predominantly Catholic. In addition to the change in venue, he found that the soldiers acted without fault, and that there was a “strong suspicion” that some of those killed “had been firing weapons or holding bombs”.<sup>204</sup> This served as a reiteration of Faulkner’s claim that the blame did not lie with the soldiers, but rather with those marching.

Resentment towards the Widgery Tribunal Report would only escalate as Catholics were forced to wait for a formal inquest into the matter. Over a year later the Secretary of State held a meeting with the coroner responsible for investigating the deaths. The meeting was held over “concerns expressed over the time elapsed since the tribunal and before the arrangements were made for an inquest”. The Secretary of State discussed holding off the inquest, and even discussed using Section 10 of the Special Powers Act to prohibit the inquest. In the end, he stated that he

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<sup>202</sup> Ruairi Wiepking, “The Path to Peace: Conflict Theory and Northern Ireland’s Troubles (1968-1998)” (master’s thesis, University of San Francisco, 2012), 28.

<sup>203</sup> Simon Winchester, “From the Archive, 1 February 1972: Derry’s Bloody Sunday,” *Guardian*, February 1, 1972, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2012/feb/01/derry-bloody-sunday-1972>.

<sup>204</sup> Fionnuala McKenna, “Report of the Tribunal Appointed to Inquire Into the Events On Sunday, 30th January 1972 [Widgery Report],” CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/hms0/widgery.htm>.

“assumed the coroner would wish to curtail the proceedings so far as possible”, and they agreed that the inquest would be made in London rather than Northern Ireland.<sup>205</sup>

The State’s reaction instilled anger within the Catholic population, and caused distrust in the ability of the current security forces to prevent harm to their community. Reflecting on the events years later, Bishop Edward Daly, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry, remarked “what really made Bloody Sunday so obscene was the fact that people afterwards, at the highest level of British justice, justified it and I think that is the real obscenity.”<sup>206</sup> These concerns, echoed by numerous Catholic leaders at the time, reflected an inability of Catholics to check extreme and violent actions against their community. At a meeting of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Commission on February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1973 the Secretary of State responded to claims that he was unwilling to target Protestant paramilitary squads by pushing the matter away and saying he would “look into this matter and see what could be done”.<sup>207</sup> In the face of increasing Catholic insecurity, this answer was radically insufficient. Bloody Sunday exemplified the inadequacies of the security forces to act as a stabilizing force against conflict. The failure of the Agreement to create a power-sharing security sector would mean that these past episodes would maintain their salience within public discourses. The agreement effectively left the same security forces that were in charge of Bloody Sunday in charge of the continuing security situation in Northern Ireland in the post-agreement government.

### *Lenadoon and Operation Motorman*

The British reaction to the Lenadoon Housing Estate violence, by instating Operation Motorman, would only serve to reinforce Catholic preconceptions that the British Army was a Protestant puppet. The 1972 violence at the Lenadoon Housing Estate occurred during a meeting

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<sup>205</sup> 'Londonderry Inquests', (1 May 1973), *Memo presented to Meeting on 2 May 1972, (Bloody Sunday)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/list-year.html#1973>.

<sup>206</sup> Martin Melaugh, “bloody Sunday”, 30 January 1972 - Summary of Main Events,” CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/bsunday/sum.htm>.

<sup>207</sup> 'Northern Ireland Commission'... *Twenty-Ninth Meeting of the Northern Ireland Commission, (5 March 1973), [8 March 1973], (Political Developments)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CAB-9-J-86-2\\_1973-03-05.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CAB-9-J-86-2_1973-03-05.pdf).

between British Secretary of State William Whitelaw and IRA leaders, and would effectively end the IRA truce. The South Belfast Ulster Defense Association, led by Sammy Murphy, refused to allow Catholics to occupy newly constructed houses in the Lenadoon Housing Estate. Despite the local IRA's insistence, the army refused to target the UDA. Instead, following a violent confrontation at the estate, and exasperated with stalled progress in the peace settlements, the British instituted Operation Motorman, a large offensive designed to root out IRA sympathizers.<sup>208</sup>

However, the operation had the perverse effect of increasing sympathy for a rejuvenated IRA campaign.<sup>209</sup> The Catholic community saw the army as contributing to the brutality and instability that they faced. They were forced to distance themselves from the British and align with other protection networks, namely the Provisional IRA.<sup>210</sup> This response, in the lead-up to Sunningdale, demonstrated that political solutions reflective of their community's interests, in this case the Lenadoon housing project, would be ineffective so long as there was not a neutral security force which could enforce those policies.

### *The UUUC Strike*

In response to a power-sharing executive that was ignoring them, and sensing the fragility of the Northern Irish Administration, radical unionists under the banner of the UUUC enacted a strike demanding the resignation of the power-sharing executive. British and RUC inaction during the strike would be the last straw for a Catholic community exasperated with the British response to Protestant militarism. The UUUC, in coordination with paramilitary UDA enforced a nationwide strike, physically intimidating any who wished to go to work.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Bruce, 63.

<sup>209</sup> Mulholland, 85.

<sup>210</sup> Niall Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of Irish Troubles*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 252.

<sup>211</sup> Mulholland, 97-8.



The new British Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees, was unwilling to use British troops to break up the strike, which signaled the end of back to work campaigns. As Nicholson writes, “Without local control over the police, the new power-sharing executive lacked legitimate power to confront the strikers. The results were predictable. Loyalist paramilitary groups put up barricades on major roads and forced businesses to close.”<sup>212</sup> On Thursday the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1974 the Northern Ireland Executive received a deputation from a series of labor representatives. This commission echoed concerns that the police stood by while workers were being intimidated by Andy Tyrrie and the UDA. Mr. Binks, from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, reflected those concerns. He described waiting for two hours to get through to the Queen’s Bridge, with many cars being turned back while the security forces did nothing.<sup>213</sup> Every reporter could find numerous examples of police standing idly while loyalist gangs blockaded roads and intimidated motorists from going to work.<sup>214</sup> This was reinforced by The Department of Commerce’s retrospective review of the UWC strike, in which they found that the security forces were ineffective or inactive in blocking the strike.<sup>215</sup> On the fourteenth day of the strike, in the face of a near total power blackout, Faulkner and his Unionist colleagues on the executive resigned, and the entire Sunningdale Agreement collapsed.<sup>216</sup>

This failure to respond to a belligerent and radical Protestant community ended Catholic hopes that an executive, as detailed within the Sunningdale Agreement, could function. Without a security apparatus to enforce political processes, they feared being trundled into an all-too-familiar pattern of Protestant-dominated politics. Thus, while the Catholic community was not the major instigator of the demise of the Agreement, these key failures by the British and RUC to respond to

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<sup>212</sup> Nicholson, 10.

<sup>213</sup> *Note of Meeting between Northern Ireland Executive and Deputation from Business People and Trade Unionists, (23 May 1974), [24 May 1974], (Sunningdale; Uwc Strike)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-16\\_1974-05-23.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-16_1974-05-23.pdf).

<sup>214</sup> Bruce, 96-7.

<sup>215</sup> *The May 1974 Uwc Strike: A Review by the Department of Commerce', (3 July 1974)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_COM-58-1-305\\_1974-07-03.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_COM-58-1-305_1974-07-03.pdf).

<sup>216</sup> Mulholland, 97-8.

security incidents gave the IRA a strong enough minority of support to justify increased violence which would in turn feed a vicious and radical Protestant militarism.

### IRA Violence

The Protestant community, similarly responding to upscale in targeted violence, grew progressively more frustrated with the British and Irish responses to an increasingly vicious IRA campaign. The IRA had been engaging in relatively indiscriminate violence through their bombing campaign. The result was that “daily life in Belfast,” and other areas “with regular city centre bombings, often took place in an atmosphere of tension in fear.”<sup>217</sup> The effect of this indiscriminate violence is highlighted by Frank Wright, stating that “everyone might be a target for reprisal for something done in their name and without their approval”.<sup>218</sup> This created a generalized danger for community members that heightened their insecurities dramatically.

The Blood Friday attack, and a similar attack ten days later, would play a similar role to the one Bloody Sunday did in the Catholic community. On July 21<sup>st</sup>, 1972 the IRA exploded nineteen bombs between 2:10 and 3:15 in Belfast. Nine were killed, including a fourteen-year-old boy. Over 130 were injured in the blasts. Protestant newspapers reflected the tragedy and vulnerability that reverberated through their community in the aftermath:

The three year bloodbath in Ulster reached a new level of savagery when terrorists unleashed a -killer blitz of stunning ferocity.

Belfast is rocked and racked by the most ferocious blitz yet mounted by the IRA. Not even the German bombs could inflict more devastation on the capital of Ulster in the last war.

On this unforgettable day 26 bombs, borne by car and planted to take the greatest toll of life, shattered the bodies of men, women and children in a fiendish holocaust of murder and hate.<sup>219</sup>

These headlines reflect the Protestant community’s feelings of vulnerability that the IRA bombing campaign, which continued the following Monday with three car bombs in Country Derry, had

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<sup>217</sup> Nelson, 119.

<sup>218</sup> Frank Wright, *Northern Ireland: a Comparative Analysis* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1988), 11.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

instilled.<sup>220</sup> The result of this continued campaign was increasing uneasiness with the British security apparatus, and increasing recruitment for the UDA with over 26,000 due paying members leading up to 1973.<sup>221</sup> Within that context, the agreements post-security apparatuses looked woefully insufficient.

*British and Irish Security Policy*

Irish government intransigence in responding to Republican violence fueled Unionist mistrust of the Council of Ireland within the Sunningdale Agreement. IRA militants continued to be able to escape to Ireland after launching attacks within Northern Ireland.<sup>222</sup> Brian Faulkner met with the British Secretary of State at Stormont on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December, 1973. Within this meeting he expressed concerns from his party and community that Ireland was not enforcing laws across the border pertaining to security threats in Northern Ireland.<sup>223</sup> He expressed similar concerns at a meeting at Baldonnel Airport on January 16, 1974 with the Irish Taoiseach, where he cited the release of 14 out of 15 terror suspects arrested in Ireland, and the unused Enniskelen border base as evidence of Ireland's refusal to cooperate with Northern Irish security apparatuses.<sup>224</sup> In addition, the Arms Crisis in Northern Ireland fueled further distrust of the Irish government's cooperation. Two Cabinet ministers, Neil Blaney and Charles Haughey, were caught trying to import guns for the IRA, which only heightened tensions with the Irish government.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> Bruce, 59.

<sup>222</sup> P.J McLoughlin, "Dublin Is Just a Sunningdale Away? The Sdlp and the Failure of Northern Ireland's Sunningdale Experiment," *Twentieth Century British History* 20, no. 1 (2009): 87.

<sup>223</sup> DG McNeil, 'note of a Meeting between the Secretary of State and Mr Faulkner', (18 December 1973), [20 December 1973], (*Sunningdale*), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CENT-1-3-40\\_1973-12-18.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CENT-1-3-40_1973-12-18.pdf).

<sup>224</sup> K P Bloomfield, 'note of the Meeting at Baldonnel Airport... B. Faulkner ... Chief Executive Member of the Northern Ireland Executive and ... Taoiseach...', (16 January 1974), (*Sunningdale; Uwc Strike*), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-29\\_1974-01-16.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-29_1974-01-16.pdf).

<sup>225</sup> Martin Melaugh, "Chronology of the Conflict," CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/chron/ch70.htm>.

British security efforts were also seen as radically ineffective. Despite significant military operations, the general sentiment was that the government was unable to protect the citizenry. This led to an increased recruiting drive for hard-line militants who were seen as the only avenue of protection.<sup>226</sup> Additionally, interviews with local protestant community members highlighted rising tensions. One senior Orangeman remarked, “What’s needed is a return to basic Christian standards. Law and order, rooting out terrorism.”<sup>227</sup> This reflected growing sentiment that the security apparatuses were weak on Republican crime. The Dundonald UDA published the following poster excerpt in a drive for money and recruitment:

The Mountain View, The Blue Bell, The Four Step Inn, where will it happen next? We ask you, will it be Glengormley, Ormeau, Catleragh, Albertbridge or Newtownards Road, or will it be the Dundonald area? We are concerned for our Protestant people and the protection of our homes and local shopping centres, the loss of life, the maiming of men, women and children for life...This we will maintain, if the force of law and order cannot give or afford us immediate protection.<sup>228</sup>

This play on the insufficiency of current security apparatuses was one of the major rhetorical drives that led to the UDA’s recruitment spike. The oath to enter the UDA further reflects that distrust:

I further acknowledge that I will never divulge to friend or foe, or to any member of the security forces, any information detrimental to the well-being of my fellow soldiers in the organization, neither will I reveal any knowledge of the workings of the UDA in the event of capture by the security forces.<sup>229</sup>

Such an attitude reflected an antagonistic attitude between the UDA and the security forces, rather than a cooperative venture. For many, the attraction to violent factions like the UDA became a survival tactic. One UDA recruit described his rationale, “If we hadn’t done something they had been all over us. We had to stop them. Tribal survival. We had to hit back.”<sup>230</sup>

UDA attitudes were intensified by British policies that indicated fatigue with Northern Ireland conflict, as opposed to a renewed commitment to protect the Protestant community. Table One shows the amount of British Security Personnel in Northern Ireland from 1972 to 1975,

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<sup>226</sup> Nelson, 101.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid, 110.

<sup>228</sup> Bruce, 46.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, 47.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid, 55.

portraying a steady decline of troops on the ground.<sup>231</sup> The British public was growing tired of the Northern Irish problem, making sending troops over politically unpalatable. This would serve to increase fears from the Protestant community that the force which was protecting their interests was going to leave in the near future. Protestant concern at these reductions in troop totals was reflected in a meeting between the Northern Irish Executive and Prime Minister Wilson, Faulkner expressed concerns about British policy, including rumors that the Prime Minister was considering removing all troops from Northern Ireland. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State were quick to step in and say that was not a current policy. However, this failed to appease Faulkner, who said that expressions of support were welcome, but not enough.<sup>232</sup>

These frustrations were accentuated by British decisions to inter Protestant soldiers. Between 1973 and 1975, the British military interred 22 Protestant paramilitary members per month. While this was dramatically less than the Catholic internee population, it would serve to instill fear in the Protestant population that their security forces were under attack. This was only compounded by an increase in internment during the Sunningdale Executive.<sup>233</sup> Within the context of a growing IRA bombing campaign, this would heighten insecurities within the Protestant communities by threatening the only effective protection that they had.

The failure of the Sunningdale Agreement to create power-sharing within the security sectors heightened insecurities within both communities. On the Catholic side, fears that Protestant paramilitaries would be given free reign would ultimately create a minority of support for an IRA bombing campaign. Protestants, conversely, feared abandonment by the British created security concerns. Such fears were exacerbated by the IRA bombing campaign and the State's inaction in

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<sup>231</sup> For all tables see the Appendix.

<sup>232</sup> L. Duncan, 'Note of the Meeting between Ni Administration and Prime Minister', (18 April 1974), [22 April 1974], (*Sunningdale; Unc. Strike*), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-24\\_1974-04-18.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-24_1974-04-18.pdf).

<sup>233</sup> Robert White, "Comparing State Repression of Pro-State Vigilantes and Anti-State Insurgents: Northern Ireland, 1972-75\*," *Mobilization: An International Journal* 4, no. 2 (1999):197-9.

response. The Agreements failure to replace paramilitaries with a neutral security force resulted in a culture of ethnic outbidding, rather than one of moderate politics.

### **Ethnic Outbidding Culture**

Failures to include provisions detailing how security and order would be enforced heightened turmoil among Protestants and Catholics and created a culture of ethnic outbidding. This either doomed parties who stayed moderate, or forced those parties to radicalize. Critically, what this indicates is that the moderating culture that power-sharing creates will never succeed unless each community believes security forces will neutrally protect their interests. This seems to give some credence to the power-sharing theorist's claim that power-sharing is, at the very least, a necessary first step before long term reconciliation can be considered. However, this should not be seen as an argument that power-sharing sacrifices that long-term reconciliation. This section will analyze the role of ethnic outbidding, or the outflanking of politic parties based upon claims of abandonment of the ethnic community, within both the Protestant and Catholic communities.

#### *Protestant Outbidding*

Unionist campaigns to end Sunningdale would play on this mistrust of the British security apparatus. Campaigns led by Ian Paisley, William Craig, and Harry West united behind the slogan 'Dublin is just another Sunningdale Away'.<sup>234</sup> At his meeting with the Irish Taoiseach at Baldonnel Airport, Faulkner expressed these security concerns, and indicated that he was facing significant internal political problems from being attached to an agreement which left the security of the Northern Irish state in question.<sup>235</sup> Capitalizing on Faulkner's inability to court widespread support for a more moderate settlement proposal, Paisley and West would capitalize on the precariousness of the island relations by forming the highly radical UUUC. After the UUUC's formation, they

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<sup>234</sup> Mulholland, 96.

<sup>235</sup> K P Bloomfield, 'note of the Meeting at Baldonnel Airport... B. Faulkner ... Chief Executive Member of the Northern Ireland Executive and ... Taoiseach...', (16 January 1974), (*Sunningdale; Uwc Strike*), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-29\\_1974-01-16.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-29_1974-01-16.pdf).

issued a press statement saying that the Council of Ireland was “so obviously a preparation for a United Ireland that to deny it is to deny the meaning of truth.”<sup>236</sup> This rhetoric gave space to a particularly radical element of the Unionist community that played upon fears of a Catholic dominated Northern Ireland. One member of the anti-Sunningdale campaign targeted Faulkner directly by claiming that “any Government which shared power with Republicans was indeed a traitorous administration.” He would further accuse Faulkner of “conduct unbecoming an Orangeman”.<sup>237</sup>

The UUUC’s fear-mongering undercut the influence of moderate factions remaining within the Unionist block. Anti-agreement unionists won 26 seats, two more than pro-white paper candidates in the 1973 Assembly elections. This limited Faulkner’s space to maneuver in the run-up to Sunningdale.<sup>238</sup> He was further undermined at the end of 1973, when five of his seven Westminster MPS allied themselves with Harry West. Weeks later, on January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1974, the UUC rejected the Council of Ireland by a vote of 427 to 374.<sup>239</sup> As a result, many saw the next month’s Westminster general elections as a referendum on the Executive. Opponents to the agreement won fifty one percent of the vote and eleven of twelve parliamentary seats in Northern Ireland.<sup>240</sup> The Faulkner wing of the Unionist coalition was effectively outbid by slogans and rhetoric which played upon the only element which had not been power-shared, the security apparatus.

### *Catholic Outbidding*

The Catholic community, plagued by internment and an increasingly violent Protestant paramilitary regime, was subjected to similar, if not more severe, outbidding, both within Ireland and Northern Ireland. In Ireland, Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave was sensitive to opposition from the Fianna

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<sup>236</sup> Eric P. Kaufmann, *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 95.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid, 96.

<sup>238</sup> Kaufmann, 161.

<sup>239</sup> Stefan Wolff, “The Peace Process in Northern Ireland Since 1998: Success or Failure of Post-Agreement Reconstruction?,” *Civil Wars* 5, no. 1 (2002): 10-11.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

Fail party keen to highlight him as abandoning the Catholic community. As a result, The Irish government consistently denied accusations that they were abandoning their claims to Northern Ireland.<sup>241</sup> Moreover they were unwilling to give any concessions on the Council of Ireland, extraction, or security issues.<sup>242</sup> The Irish attorney general, when pressured on the relation of the Sunningdale Agreement to Articles Two and Three of the Irish constitution, which laid claim to Northern Ireland, responded by saying that “Any person living on this island and knowing our history could not possibly construe the declaration as meaning we did not lay claim over the six counties”.<sup>243</sup> Liam Cosgrave was forced to become increasingly radical in his claims to Northern Ireland, given the pressures he faced from former Taoiseach Jack Lynch who was eager to reclaim his seat.<sup>244</sup> This was solidified in the Irish Supreme Court Case, *Boland v. Taoiseach*, which found that Sunningdale did not infringe on the Irish Constitution’s Articles Two and Three, which laid claim to Northern Ireland. Rather, they stated it amounted to a statement of reality, that the Irish government could not currently lay claim to the territories.<sup>245</sup>

All the blame does not belong on the Irish government. The SDLP was facing significant pressures from Republican elements of their constituency who thought they were not pushing hard enough for a unified Ireland. In response to a Republican heckler, a senior representative of the SDLP famously stated that the Council of Ireland was “the vehicle by which unionists would be trundled into a united Ireland”.<sup>246</sup> SDLP member Hugh Lougue echoed this statement, arguing that

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<sup>241</sup> Henry Patterson, *Ireland Since 1939: The Persistence of Conflict* (Dublin: Penguin Ireland, 2006), 239.

<sup>242</sup> Mary Alice C. Clancy, *Peace Without Consensus: Power Sharing Politics in Northern Ireland* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, ©2010), 35, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&an=389756>.

<sup>243</sup> Jonathen Tonge, “From Sunningdale to the Good Friday Agreement: Creating Devolved Government in Northern Ireland,” *Contemporary British History* 14, no. 3 (2000): 45.

<sup>244</sup> McLoughlin, 88.

<sup>245</sup> Clancy, 45.

<sup>246</sup> Tonge, 45.

McLoughlin, 94.



the British were in the process of disengaging from Northern Ireland.<sup>247</sup> This radicalization within Ireland and Northern Ireland resulted from a political atmosphere in which security was the dominant concern. The moderate Unionist factions disappeared while moderate Republicans simply radicalized their policies to maintain electoral legitimacy.

### **Third Party Guarantees**

In negotiating Sunningdale, the British and Irish rather myopically put themselves forward as neutral third parties. Their failure to effectively guarantee the settlement's provisions exacerbated these insecurities. This failure is evident through official promises for guarantees, key public speeches that indicated a weak guarantee, and finally private promises as well as private expressions of discontent. The importance of this failure operated primarily within the Protestant community. While the Catholic community had similar mistrusts, as I already mentioned, they made significant advances with the Sunningdale Agreement. The potency of a weak third-party guarantee was much more significant for a Protestant community who had been accustomed to British support.

Official guarantees of the peace settlement were purposefully vague, which increased speculation of the veracity and strength of the guarantee. The British promised, "as soon as the security problems were resolved and the new institutions were seen to be working effectively, they would wish to discuss the devolution of responsibility for normal policing."<sup>248</sup> This reflected the implicit guarantee that they would provide security services for that intermittent period. The agreement also discussed a process for reform to the police forces which would include influence from the Council of Ireland.<sup>249</sup> The language here was extremely vague and, as we will see later, led to extreme confusion as to the role of the Irish government in security matters. As Paul Bew noted,

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<sup>247</sup> Clancy, 50.

<sup>248</sup> Fionnuala McKenna, "The Sunningdale Agreement (December 1973)," CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/sunningdale/agreement.htm>.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

the ambiguous language, when combined with a preexisting unease, created a growing sense of frustration and uncertainty regarding the nature of the commitment.<sup>250</sup>

Public speeches from the guarantors to the settlement did little to assuage these fears. When Reginald Maudling, British Home Secretary under the Conservatives, departed Northern Ireland after his first trip, he famously quipped, “For God's sake bring me a large Scotch. What a bloody awful country.”<sup>251</sup> That attitude represented the worst fears of the Protestant community: that the British saw Northern Ireland as a problem they wanted off their table. In the lead up to Sunningdale, their public appearances would do little to assuage those fears. The Green Paper, published in 1972, distanced the United Kingdom from a lengthy stay in Northern Ireland, “No United Kingdom Government for many years has had any wish to impede the realization of Irish unity.”<sup>252</sup> Prime Minister Edward Heath reflected this sentiment in a press conference in Dublin on September 17, 1973 stating that “these are problems which to a large extent the parties themselves must sort out...it's up to them to get together and work out how to do it.”<sup>253</sup>

As the Sunningdale Agreement was passed and implemented, the British were not shy to express their distaste for the radical Protestant community. Prime Minister Wilson noted that should the Protestant community refuse to implement Sunningdale, people would “get very fed up”. While Whitehall noted he may have to “face a complete reappraisal of policy”.<sup>254</sup> An IRA press conference in May 1974, quoted Secretary of State Merlyn Rees as saying “We have not the faintest interest to stay in Ireland and the quicker we are out the better.”<sup>255</sup> He was further quoted stating

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<sup>250</sup> Clancy, 50.

<sup>251</sup> BBC, “The Politics of Drinking Power,” *BBC*, January 6, 2006, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/4587382.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4587382.stm).

<sup>252</sup> Ezequiel Merceau “Abandoned Britons? The Sunningdale Agreement and Ulster Britishness” (diss., University College Dublin, 2010), 1, accessed February 8, 2015, 25.

<sup>253</sup> “Ted Heath Visits Ireland 1973” (video), 1973, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://www.rte.ie/archives/2013/0917/474712-ted-heath-visits-ireland-1973/>.

<sup>254</sup> Merceau, 26.

<sup>255</sup> Wolff, 10.

that the problem of Ireland could only be solved by the people of Ireland.<sup>256</sup> In the early days of the strike Prime Minister Wilson would seal this impression in stone. Making a statement about the strike, Wilson criticized the Protestant Community, “Yet people who benefit from all this now viciously defy Westminster, purporting to act as though they were an elected government; people who spend their lives sponging on Westminster and British democracy and then systematically assault democratic methods. Who do these people think they are?”<sup>257</sup>

The atmosphere was one in which the British guarantee was up for grabs. Many Unionists thought the British were willing to allow unification of Ireland and Northern Ireland in exchange for Irish membership in the commonwealth.<sup>258</sup> The ambiguous back-and-forth policy of the British fueled a resentful response in protestant press.<sup>259</sup> Ian Paisley’s *Protestant Telegraph* had no qualms actively accusing the British of abandoning their own ‘brethren’. One October 1973 issue depicted a cartoon strip which showed Prime Minister Edward Heath shaking hands with immigrants around the world with a caption reading, “2,000,000 Asians’, ‘500,000 West Indians’ and ‘2,000,000 S. Irish aliens.” The next strip showed Heath at a press conference stating, “Integrate British Citizens from Ulster? – My dear fellow, the whole idea is out of the question.”<sup>260</sup> The message was clear, the British were willing to abandon the Protestant community.

The reaction from the Catholic community would come after the UWC strike, but images of policemen standing by while gangs of loyalists blocked roads and intimidated motorists served as a visceral check to the assurance that they would be protected in this power-sharing world.<sup>261</sup> At that

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<sup>256</sup> Merceau, 26.

<sup>257</sup> Fionnuala McKenna, “Uwc Strike - Text of Broadcast Made by Harold Wilson, 25 May 1974,” CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/uwc/docs/hw25574.htm>.

<sup>258</sup> Brendan O’Leary and John McGarry, *Conflict and Change in Britain Series*, vol. 3, *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland* (London: Athlone Press, 1993), 138-141.

<sup>259</sup> O’Duffy, 531.

<sup>260</sup> Merceau, 28.

<sup>261</sup> Bruce, 96-7.

point, vague British commitments to the settlement would hold a similar effect for the nationalist community.

Internal meetings between settlement guarantors and parties reflected these concerns, with Protestants most vocal in their expression of the perceived unease. Protestant concerns focused on two key areas, the influence of the Republic of Ireland, and the vagueness regarding the British commitment to Northern Ireland. The SDLP had increased its position vis-à-vis Sin-Fein in these talks, and had secured major concessions from the Protestants. As a result, they were less likely to complain. However, as was discussed earlier, the Catholic community certainly held widespread distrust of the British security force, particularly in the aftermath of key violent Protestant episodes.

The role of the Council of Ireland, particularly as it related to security concerns, dominated meetings between the British and parties to the conflict. At a meeting between the Secretary of State, the Alliance Party, the SDLP, and the UUP at Stormont in November 1973, UUP representatives expressed fears about the Council of Ireland encroaching on Northern Irish security efforts. The Secretary of State responded with vague statements of the role the council would play, stating that there would be discussions of a possible common law area.<sup>262</sup> These concerns would grow as the settlement developed. At a meeting with the Secretary of State in December 1973, Faulkner noted that he was facing immense internal pressure due to Ireland's unwillingness to enforce security laws.<sup>263</sup> At a meeting between the Northern Irish Executive and the Prime Minister of England in April 1974, Faulkner expressed concerns that there were little signs of north-south security cooperation, and that the British were doing little to help.<sup>264</sup> These statements reflected

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<sup>262</sup> *Note of a Meeting between the Secretary of State, the Alliance Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Ulster Unionist Party*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1980/proni\\_FIN-30-R-2-A-3\\_1973-11-21\\_a.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1980/proni_FIN-30-R-2-A-3_1973-11-21_a.pdf).

<sup>263</sup> David Mcneil, *'note of a Meeting between the Secretary of State and Mr Faulkner', (18 December 1973)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CENT-1-3-40\\_1973-12-18.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CENT-1-3-40_1973-12-18.pdf).

<sup>264</sup> L Duncan, *'Note of the Meeting between NI Administration and Prime Minister', (18 April 1974)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-24\\_1974-04-18.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-24_1974-04-18.pdf).

Protestant community attitudes that the Irish were either inept, or actively siding with Republican militants.

These concerns were compounded by Irish internal politics. At a meeting with Irish Ministers in February 1974, Faulkner worried that the Fianna Fail opposition would push the Irish government even farther away from its duty to target security threats across the border.<sup>265</sup> This sentiment had been expressed a month earlier to the Taoiseach after the Government had immediately released 14 out of 15 terror suspects right after their arrest.<sup>266</sup> These meetings demonstrated significant concerns about the role of the Irish as a guarantor of agreement, as well as the role of the British in checking the Irish.

The unwillingness of the British to create a clear policy platform as to what their role would be and how long their duties would last compounded Protestant concerns. While much was shrouded in uncertainty, the British were clear in one thing: they would retain control over responsibilities for security.<sup>267</sup> The role they would play and the length that role would last was less clear. At a meeting between the Secretary of State and the Ian Paisley, Paisley noted the lack of clarity about which elements of the White Paper the British government stood by. After receiving a vague answer, Paisley stormed out of the meeting.<sup>268</sup> This concern over the White Paper was further addressed in a letter from David Holden of the Protestant Future Policy Group to William Whitelaw, in which he asked the British to reaffirm their intention to remain involved in Northern

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<sup>265</sup> K Bloomfield, 'meeting with Irish Ministers, 1 February 1974: Brief for Chief Minister', (*Sunningdale; Uwc Strike*), (30 January 1974), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-28\\_1974-01-30\\_a.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-28_1974-01-30_a.pdf).

<sup>266</sup> K P Bloomfield, 'note of the Meeting at Baldonnel Airport... B. Faulkner ... Chief Executive Member of the Northern Ireland Executive and ... Taoiseach...', (16 January 1974), (*Sunningdale; Uwc Strike*), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-29\\_1974-01-16.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-29_1974-01-16.pdf).

<sup>267</sup> K Bloomfield, 'working of the Executive', (7 June 1973), *Memorandum by K. Bloomfield, (Political Developments; Sunningdale; Uwc Strike)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CAB-9-J-89-1\\_1973-06-07.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CAB-9-J-89-1_1973-06-07.pdf).

<sup>268</sup> N Abbot, 'note of a Meeting between the Secretary of State and Rev Dr Ian Paisley', (4 December 1973), [5 December 1973], (*Sunningdale*), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CENT-1-3-40\\_1973-12-04.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CENT-1-3-40_1973-12-04.pdf).

Ireland.<sup>269</sup> It is clear through these letters, and a number after them, that the British intent to quash terrorism was being questioned by the Protestant community.

Protestant organizations became increasingly agitated as they saw the British increasingly rebuffing them. At a meeting between the Future Policy Group and the Secretary of State in January, 1973 the group complained that the British government saw Northern Ireland as a burden, and demanded increased representation in Westminster for fear of losing the protection of the British.<sup>270</sup> In a meeting between the Secretary of State and the Grand Orange Lodge, a conservative Protestant organization, in January, 1973 the Orange Lodge complained that they were being rebuffed. The Prime Minister was inviting Catholic groups to meet with him, while he ignored the Orange Lodge. They wished to express concerns that the security forces were insufficiently targeting terrorist groups, and they worried that since the abolition of the Protestant volunteer police force (B specials), the RUC was losing its power.<sup>271</sup> Protestants fears about insufficient Government security protection, coupled with concerns about the Irish, would make security the most important issue to the Protestant community, eroding the ground of moderate Protestants.

### **Correlation between Public Opinion and Trends of Violence**

Public opinion trends correlated with trends in violence, indicating that the failure to secure power-sharing in the agreement was the critical factor precipitating the fall of the Sunningdale Agreement.

Public support for a settlement was initially high, indicating that the conflict was ripe for resolution and that there was some space for communal reconciliation. In the 1970 elections, the

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<sup>269</sup> D. Holden, *'the White Paper and After'*, (9 January 1973), *Letter from D. Holden to W. Whitelaw, Then Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, (Political Developments)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CAB-9-J-90-3\\_1973-01-09.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CAB-9-J-90-3_1973-01-09.pdf).

<sup>270</sup> J. McCalister, *'future Policy Group: Meeting with the Secretary of State'*, (16 January 1973), [18 January 1973], *(Political Developments)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CAB-9-J-90-1\\_1973-01-16.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CAB-9-J-90-1_1973-01-16.pdf).

<sup>271</sup> R. Whalley, *'note of a Meeting between the Secretary of State and Representatives of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland'*, (2 January 1973), [3 January 1973], *(Political Developments)*, in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni\\_CAB-9-J-90-10\\_1973-01-02.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1973/proni_CAB-9-J-90-10_1973-01-02.pdf).

NILP, a cross-community labor party, came second in the elections with 12% of the vote. At the same time, the trade union movement was gaining public accolades for their work in keeping communal violence out of the work place. Leading up to the Sunningdale agreement a powerful coalition of moderates, including the APNI, MILP, Liberals, NIC, ICTU and disenchanted unionists, met together to create a concerted stance in favor of the White Paper. British Army intelligence memos at the time spoke of a mass silent moderate populace waiting to gain public dominance. This would be confirmed by both a Fortnight Magazine poll, as well as the office of William Whitelaw who found that there was a substantial swing towards non-sectarian ideology, and a clear shift towards support of the White Paper.<sup>272</sup>

Leading up to the agreement, the concept of power-sharing was also popular in both communities. Clancy writes that, rather than traditional narratives that describe it as unpopular, “survey evidence suggests that elite opposition to power-sharing was unrepresentative of the wider community.”<sup>273</sup> The June 1973 elections would bear this out, with twenty-two pro-assembly unionists were elected, nine SDLP members, and eight alliance members. Meanwhile, anti-power-sharing groups fared much worse, with only eight anti-power-sharing unionists, eight DUP members, seven Vanguard members, and three independent unionists elected. This would give Faulkner and the moderates a healthy majority.<sup>274</sup> In a meeting with the Taoiseach of the Irish Republic, Faulkner noted that his office estimated that eighty percent of Catholics and sixty percent of Protestants supported the Sunningdale Agreement.<sup>275</sup>

While this support would wane in the rise of sectarian violence, many scholars overemphasize its loss. The UUUC winning eleven of twelve seats in the 1974 Westminster elections

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<sup>272</sup> Paul Dixon, “Paths to Peace in Northern Ireland (ii): The Peace Processes 1973–74 and 1994–96,” *Democratization* 4, no. 3 (2007): 2-5.

<sup>273</sup> Clancy, 35.

<sup>274</sup> Bruce, 91.

<sup>275</sup> K P Bloomfield, 'note of the Meeting at Baldonnell Airport... B. Faulkner ... Chief Executive Member of the Northern Ireland Executive and ... Taoiseach...'; (16 January 1974), (*Sunningdale; Uwc Strike*), in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, accessed February 8, 2015, [http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni\\_OE-1-29\\_1974-01-16.pdf](http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/proni/1974/proni_OE-1-29_1974-01-16.pdf).

was seen as a death knell for the agreement. However, this blow is softened by the fact that candidates supporting power-sharing ran against each other while those running against it coordinated and did not run against each other. There would still be a 51 to 41 percentage split for anti-agreement unionists, but this is far less severe than most commentaries account for.<sup>276</sup>

Part of this initial public support was driven by the development of an alternative source of social capital, the trade unionist movement. For the first time, Protestants were beginning to think that the Unionist movement had failed to protect their interests. As a result, Catholics were no longer the sole focal point of their anger, thus resulting in the beginning of a socialist labor movement. Within Protestant neighborhoods, socialist and Marxist terminology became common parlance. The Woodvale Defense Association published a newsletter reflective of this trend:

For too long the Unionist Party has been maintained by massive working class support, yet its policies seldom reflected the problems of the working man. The working class has been represented too long by land lords and such as O'Neil and factory owners such as Brian Faulkner. For mild socialist polices we had to turn to the labor party and the nationalist minded parties.<sup>277</sup>

One vanguard organizer reacted to this development, "One of our problems is, how can we keep the masses away from Communism? In Sandy Row they're not talking like they used to, they're influenced by people who want disruption and uniting the working classes! Rumor has it LAW may be out-and-out communists."<sup>278</sup> This reaction reflected growing worries within the unionist movement as these ideologies attracted large supports for their rallies and strikes.<sup>279</sup>

As this movement grew, Protestants began to find increased sympathy for the Catholic community. Furthering this sympathy were similar economic and political strains felt by Protestants, which in turn began the development of cross community empathies. These sentiments allowed members of both groups to coalesce and challenge radical narratives about some of the most fractious episodes between the two communities. One Loyalists Association of Workers member

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<sup>276</sup> Bruce, 92.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid, 88.

<sup>278</sup> Nelson, 128-9.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid, 133.



described his changed opinions of Bloody Sunday, “I was on the Shankill the night the Paras went mad and couldn’t believe what I saw. I thought: suppose they [Catholics] were right about Bloody Sunday? This put awful doubts in my mind, and everything I had believed in looked different then.”<sup>280</sup> One long-standing Paisley follower described his transition towards moderation after being interned:

I couldn’t trust him any more, and realized we were on our own...also, I met Catholics [internees] in there I believed were innocent...We used to think we did better than the RCs. I realized the civil rights people had been right about us being conned for so long. That’s how I got interested in the redevelopment and I believed from now on we’d have to do things for ourselves...I realized some of the Catholic councilors had things in common with us.<sup>281</sup>

These drastic changes in ideology had profound effect on the Unionist movement.

Paramilitary recruiting went down, and many activists described distancing themselves from those groups in favor of local community organizing. Groups like the Hammer Redevelopment Association began to challenge paramilitary groups (admittedly in small ways).<sup>282</sup>

However, while the sentiment of cross community endeavor was there, the violent political culture would prevent it from flourishing. An inability to trust Catholics as the violence continued would prevent any relationships from developing.<sup>283</sup> As violence undercut moderation, moderate parties formerly wielding great influence began to rapidly lose public support, eventually leading to the end of Sunningdale. However, it is important to reiterate that moderate sentiments did not entirely dissipate. Immediately after the collapse of the agreement, the leaders of the strike unconditionally condemned internment. Finally, even the UDA stopped condoning and claiming assassinations. Radicalism certainly had not swept the day.<sup>284</sup>

This suggests that while the agreement failed, it was not the result of an initially extremist culture, but rather the result of a failure to share security that intensified insecurities. However, if

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid, 135.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid, 148-52.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid, 136.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid, 157-60.

this theory is correct we should see that support for radical parties, and decreased support for moderate parties occurs most drastically in communities with the largest uptick in violence. This would suggest that the most salient factor explaining the failure of the settlement is the inability to power share security that led to ineffectual responses to this violence.

This next section will analyzing voting trends in the years 1970, 1973, and 1974 and determine how they react to differing levels of violence. The results of each election will be viewed specifically within the seven voting districts: Belfast, Antrim, Down, Derry, Fermanagh and South Tyrone, Mid Ulster, and Armagh.

On the macro level, we would expect to see initially high levels of voting for moderate parties to fade dramatically after the 1972 spike in violence, and then hover around those levels as the violence stagnated but remained significant. This would indicate that insecurity is driving the reduced support for the peace settlement. Tables two, three, and four show general election results from each of these three time slots.<sup>285</sup> Moderate parties, and parties which supported the Sunningdale Agreement, have been shaded in.

As Table Three indicates, the 1970 elections saw an overwhelming win for Faulkner's Unionist Wing, who would go on to be the Protestant figurehead of the Sunningdale agreement. Moderate parties got a total of 69.7% of the vote. However as the paramilitary violence increased, a result of them being left out of the agreement talks, the amount of moderate voting declined rapidly. Within the 1973 elections moderates took only 42.5%, a 27.2% drop from their previous total.

In Table Four, we can see that the moderate share in 1974 hovered in a similar amount total, around 41.1% of the vote. This pattern reflects what seems to be a self-evident claim that moderate politics suffer during times of violence. However, it is important nonetheless as it seems to

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<sup>285</sup> See appendix.

corroborate that the specific lack of power-sharing security which fueled this violence, and the inability to respond to it, was the most salient factor leading to the fall of Sunningdale.

Broad trends away from moderation in times of violence are not enough to fully corroborate the argument that failure to power-share security prevented the agreement's success. In order to see the complete pattern we have to look at more specific trends of violence occurring in local areas, and how those electorates responded. This will help us to come to more precise understandings of how moderate politics operated in response to trends of violence.

Localized voting trends indicate that moderate voting totals decline in response to inabilities of security apparatuses to target violent episodes. In order to compare these trends I first collected local district election data from 1970, 1973 and 1974. I coded each party as either radical or moderate based upon their policy platforms at each episode. In a very few cases, such as candidates of independent parties, it was prohibitively difficult to isolate their platform in relation to negotiations between the communities. In those instances, where the vote total was minute, and therefore statistically insignificant, I excluded them from the calculations. I then mapped trends of violence in each area. I was, unfortunately, limited in access to data about general violence in each area. As such, I was forced to only consider deaths as a measure of localized violence. While this limits the inferences I can make, it will still serve as a useful reference point. Table Five shows trends in violence juxtaposed to trends in moderate voting. District elections in which voting followed the pattern laid out previously are shaded in grey.

The trends indicate, with the exception of three district elections over three years, that moderate voting does correlate with trends in violence. In the 1973 elections, with the exceptions of Mid Ulster and Fermanagh and South Tyrone, which already had low moderate voting, most districts saw dramatic decreases in moderation in response to spikes in deaths related to the conflict. The 1974 elections show the most interesting data. While moderate politics still suffered, as a result of

continued violence, in districts where violence decreased significant levels (Antrim, Belfast, and Down) moderate voting increased slightly. This reaction seems to indicate that where security becomes less important, moderate politics that allow power-sharing agreements to succeed are empowered. However, we should be careful in the inferences we draw given the incomplete data relating to violence that did not result in deaths.

## **Conclusion**

The failure to include security apparatuses in the power-sharing agreement led to a situation where the existent security forces were unable to neutrally respond to security threats. This empowered spoilers to the conflict by shrinking the space where moderate politics could occur. So long as security remained a salient concern it would supersede other political concerns. This problem was magnified as parties to the conflict consistently expressed concerns about a limited third party guarantee, which could help to alleviate those problems. Under those conditions the politics of ethnic outbidding were highly salient decreasing further the ground on which moderates stood. In the Catholic community this atmosphere resulted in a strong minority of support prior to Sunningdale, and an increasingly radicalized community after it. In the Protestant community this led to increased support for anti-Sunningdale leaders. This does not suggest that power sharing is doomed to failure, but rather that security power-sharing is a necessary antecedent to other types of power sharing. This analysis is not remarkable or surprising by itself. However, it is an important building block towards understanding the way power-sharing can moderate political climates as we will see in the next chapter.

## Chapter 4: The Good Friday Agreement: A Success, A Missed Opportunity, or Both?

On June 11<sup>th</sup> 1996 the Royal Ulster Constabulary reversed its previous decision to reroute a long standing Protestant Twelfth of July Orange Order March, returning from Dumcree Church, around the Catholic Garvaghy Road. Catholic areas erupted into protest and were immediately quashed by the RUC firing plastic bullets, which resulted in the death of an unarmed youth. This event provided the IRA leadership with a perfect opportunity to renew violence justified by the brutality of this episode. However the IRA refrained from responding, and was able to—for the most part—corral its militant factions into the same path.<sup>286</sup> Following this period, despite provocations on both sides, militant groups reduced their violence dramatically. Two years later the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) was passed with 71% of the vote. This chapter will explain what changed between Sunningdale and the Good Friday Agreement and which factors contributed to the success of the agreement. In order to create a holistic understanding of the agreement, it will identify a weighted importance of each variable's contribution to that peace, and identify where the GFA failed to capitalize on its potential.

This chapter will argue that a confluence of a strong third party guarantee to the settlement and complete power-sharing ensured by the agreement led to a moderated political climate conducive to peace. However, under-empowerment of local actors within the agreement led to imperfect capitalization on that climate resulting in an imperfect peace.

First, a strong third party guarantee to the conflict created the initial space that allowed parties to the conflict to accept the agreement without fear of cheating from the other side. This was not a sufficient cause of the success, but rather a necessary precursor that allowed for critical steps in the agreement, like disarmament, to take place.

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<sup>286</sup> Marc Mulholland, *Very Short Introductions*, vol. 82, *Northern Ireland: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 138-9.

Second, complete power-sharing of political and security sectors created two effects. First it enticed parties to the table by guaranteeing them a say in the future of the post-conflict state. In the long run it allowed for the development of a moderated political climate in which security lost its position as the exclusive electoral issue for Northern Ireland. Ironically, once each identity group was guaranteed representation and protection through the agreements provisions, communal identity lost its salience as relevant division. Radical elites could no longer easily target economic and political discrimination, and could less easily threaten the physical safety of the opposite community. When each community was no longer at threat as a result of their identity, other factors which had a more substantial effect on their wellbeing gained prominence (e.g. when your economic class has more relevance to your performance in the workforce than your communal identity, you are more likely to define yourself by groups associated with that class than with your identity group).

As other issues came to the political forum, the potential for cross-communal cleavages about those issues developed. While this devaluation of the importance of identity severely undercut the influence of radical actors, it was only partially taken advantage of due to an insufficient emphasis on local actor empowerment within the agreement and the post-agreement government. Local actors are critical to creating these cross-communal cleavages in two ways. First, the local knowledge they possess ensures that the programs they develop have relevance to their communities, making it more likely that they will achieve ownership within those communities. Second, these cleavages are granted extra legitimacy as a result of the trust that local actors have within their community. When they are not empowered, attempts to break down identity divides are likely to fail as they are seen as less relevant and less effective than 'traditional communal parties'. The result, in the aftermath of the GFA, was a reduction in radical policy, but the failure to budge 'communal parties' from their role as advocator of communal interests.

If this argument is correct we should expect to see seven core indicators. First, we should see, in contrast to Sunningdale, an initial and continuing third party guarantee to the conflict that is marked by significant political, financial, and military support for the agreement. This should be reflected in the rhetoric used to sell the agreement both internally within parties and externally to the populace. Second, we would expect to see that the agreement contained power-sharing provisions that extended beyond political sectors into the security sectors. Third, complete power-sharing, discussed within negotiations and codified in the agreement, should lead to decreased support for paramilitaries and radicalism. This would indicate that power-sharing had created trust in the government's institutions to neutrally respond to crises, and to execute impartial legislation. Fourth, in the long term we should see that the moderating effects of power-sharing in both the electoral sector as well as in attitudinal surveying. Electoral support would indicate that the agreement was successful due to its popular support, rather than elite support. This partially corroborates the effects of power-sharing by indicating that the agreement had a transformative effect on the population, and did not just represent a utility calculation by elites. In addition it would suggest that power-sharing does not simply alleviate threats from the opposite community, but actively changes political and social cultures.

Fifth, we would expect to see that local (non-political or paramilitary) actors played critical roles in selling the agreement, fostering trust in its implementation, and opening up new political spaces in its aftermath. This would corroborate the potentiality and importance of local actors in creating ownership and investment in the peace process. Finally, we would expect key spaces in which local actors failed due to insufficient institutional support. This should be further marked by failures to create cross-communal cleavages, and incomplete moderation of communal attitudes.

This chapter will first provide a brief contextualization of the GFA. It will then analyze each factor (third party guarantees, power-sharing, and local actors) within three stages to the conflict: the

negotiation phase, the implementation phase, and the post implementation phase. The goal of this methodology is to evaluate the changing relevance and importance of each of these factors in order to better understand each of their contributions towards peace. It will then, in the conclusion, explore key gaps in current research that necessitate future research.

### **Background**

The GFA was signed on April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1998. There were seven main components to the agreement. First, it created a 108 member devolved Northern Ireland assembly. The assembly was to be constituted through a principle of proportionality. In addition it created an Executive Authority, First Minister, and Deputy First Minister, and up to ten other ministers with departmental responsibilities. All of these positions are allocated on a proportional level. Importantly, and distinct from Sunningdale, all decisions are made by a simple majority that must either correspond to majorities among both nationalist and unionist members, or get at least 60% of total vote if it is supported by 40% of nationalist or unionist votes.<sup>287</sup>

The second element of the agreement was a North South ministerial council. The ministers in the assembly and the Irish government were required to consult each other, reach agreement on common policies, make decisions on separate implementation in each jurisdiction where applicable, and to take decisions on an all-Ireland basis with a newly created implementation body. This necessitated a minimum of six new all-island implementation bodies. This was coupled with a British Irish council with representatives from the British and Irish governments, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands. The council was given ownership over issue areas including tourism, environmental protection, transport planning, social security fraud, animal and plant health, teacher qualifications, and EU programs.<sup>288</sup> The Irish also pledged to

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<sup>287</sup> Jonathen Tonge, "From Sunningdale to the GFA: Creating Devolved Government in Northern Ireland," *Contemporary British History* 14, no. 3 (2000): 52.

Rose Amanda Marie, "From Sunningdale to Peace?," *Peace Review* 11, no. 1 (March 1999): 139.

<sup>288</sup> Rose, 139.



change their constitutional claims to sovereignty over Northern Ireland, and Britain did similarly, thereby committing to a Northern Irish vote on independence.<sup>289</sup> Finally, the agreement created a British Irish intergovernmental conference, aiming to increase dialogue between the two governments.

In addition there were two facets of the agreement designed to create discussion on the initial causes of conflict. The agreement created a civic forum of voluntary groups to develop solutions targeted at breaking down divides between the communities, and to include fringe groups within the process. In addition it formed a substantial micro agenda on policing, equality, human rights, prisoners and military weapons.<sup>290</sup> On the human rights level this was backed up by the establishment of a Human Rights Commission in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. On the militaristic end it was backed up by a commission to oversee the decommissioning of paramilitary groups, as well as by a commitment from the British to de-secureitize.<sup>291</sup>

The entire agreement was undergirded by two sets of vetoes. Members of each community had veto power over legislation proposed by the other community. In addition, the Northern Irish assembly had veto power over the North South Council.<sup>292</sup> These vetoes could then assuage fears from each community that they would be bullied into certain marginalizing policies.

Republicans were quick to endorse the agreement. At Sinn Fein's 1998 annual conference, 97% of delegates voted in favor of changing their internal constitution to allow members to take seats in the new Northern Ireland Assembly. While the DUP rejected the deal, the UUP tacitly endorsed the agreement including the all-Ireland dimension.<sup>293</sup> When submitted to popular referendum it won with 71.1% of the vote, including 95% of republican votes. This was reaffirmed

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<sup>289</sup> Tonge, 52.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Rose, 139.

<sup>292</sup> Mulholland, 142-4.

<sup>293</sup> Tonge, 56-8.

in the following election in which pro-agreement candidates won resoundingly. Candidates in favor of the agreement won 75.5% of votes, leading to a ratio of 80 to 28 seats. This chapter will explore why radical anti-peace parties were thoroughly defeated in the aftermath of the GFA, despite their previous success in the dissolving of Sunningdale.

### **Third Party Guarantees**

In a stark contrast from the Sunningdale Agreement, the GFA was undergirded by a strong third party guarantee. Pre-existent third parties, Ireland and Britain, provided more compelling guarantees to the settlement, while new third parties, the U.S. and Europe, were able to provide a stronger sense of commitment and neutrality.

Measures taken by the British and Irish governments were able to counteract previous impressions of partiality that had in the past weakened the potency of their third party guarantee. The signing of the Anglo Irish Agreement in 1985 sent a message that they would only accept an agreement acceptable to both communities: ending the Protestant veto. In addition, from the Irish perspective, the commitment to allow for the consent principle undercut concerns that they would eventually seek a united Ireland, which had abounded in the Sunningdale negotiations.<sup>294</sup> This neutrality towards each community was reaffirmed by British statements, including a statement by British Secretary of State Peter Brooke that became well-circulated in the run-up to Good Friday: “Britain has no selfish, strategic, or economic interest in Northern Ireland”.<sup>295</sup> This statement was a significant step to challenging Catholic narratives that Britain’s economic self-interest would mitigate their effectiveness as a third party actor. However, by itself it was not credible. Both governments backed up this rhetoric with a financial commitment to the peace. In 1986 the British and Irish

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<sup>294</sup> Mulholland, 118-122.

The consent principle refers to the policy of require a majority of each communities approval for any change in status of Northern Ireland’s relation to the United Kingdom.

<sup>295</sup> Paul Dixon and Eamonn O’Kane, *Northern Ireland Since 1969* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2011), 76.

Governments created the International Fund for Ireland to increase cooperation, understanding, economic activity and reconciliation.<sup>296</sup>

These policy changes resulted in very different perceptions of these governments within the domestic population. A 1998 poll found that strong majorities of each community thought that both the British and Irish governments were facilitating a successful peace agreement. A total of 81% of those polled thought the British were having a positive impact on the trajectory towards peace. 73 % of Protestants held this view, and 93% of Catholics held this view. A total of 73% of those polled thought that Ireland was having a similar positive impact. Fifty-nine% of Protestants held that view, and 95% of Catholics held that view. This created an increased sense of trust in their influence over the new state. A 2000 poll regarding North-South political bodies reflected this change of heart, with only 16% of Protestants 1% of Catholics opposing north south bodies.<sup>297</sup> Whereas during Sunningdale British and Irish involvement was marked by distrust, in 1998 they acted as bulwarks of the agreement. The introduction of the United States and the European Union created an additional guarantee that signified a long-term commitment to the agreement.

The introduction of the United States, and their willingness to act separately from the United Kingdom, provided an important guarantee for the Catholic community. The Clinton Administration's decision to admit Gerry Adams both prior to and after the IRA ceasefire signaled to the Catholic community that the United States would be willing to represent their interests. A number of policies indicated Clinton's willingness to intervene.<sup>298</sup> A Sinn Fein strategy paper outlined the importance of this new actor: "...there is potentially a very powerful Irish-American lobby not in hock to any particular party in Britain or Ireland" and "Clinton is perhaps the first US

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<sup>296</sup> Scott Byrne and M. J. Ayulo, "External Economic Aid In Ethno-Political Conflict: A View From Northern Ireland," *Security Dialogue*, 1998, 424.

<sup>297</sup> "NI Life and Times Survey - Political Attitudes," NI Life and Times Survey - Political Attitudes, January 1, 1998. Accessed March 1, 2015.

<sup>298</sup> He established the Morrison delegation which met with parties at each stage of negotiations, he both visited Northern Ireland and welcomed Northern Irish political leaders to the White House, and he persuaded George Mitchel to lead negotiations for the Agreement and was known to intervene personally quite often.

President in decades to be influenced by such a lobby”.<sup>299</sup> In addition USAID was a substantial contributor to the International Fund for Ireland, to date giving 628 million pounds in conjunction with a number of other countries.<sup>300</sup>

These new policies created a strong image of a commitment to peace that fostered trust in the process from both communities. A total of 70% of those polled thought that the U.S played a substantial role towards the peace process in 1998, while 93% of Catholics and 55% of Protestants held this same belief.<sup>301</sup>

These third parties demonstrated their capacity to enforce the agreement at key junctures in the disarmament and security reform processes. An independent commission, constituted by third parties, oversaw the decommissioning of paramilitaries. John de Chastelain, a Canadian General, oversaw the entire process. In addition Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari and Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC witnessed IRA acts of decommissioning.<sup>302</sup> Given the stumbling blocks to implementation of decommissioning processes, their announcement that the IRA had successfully decommissioned all of its weaponry was critical to creating trust in that outcome.

Closely linked with the decommissioning process was the reform process to the police services. Decommissioning would be difficult to implement without a reform of the security sector that ensured power-sharing within it. International actors were critical to ensuring successful reforms. The United States and Canada, represented by Tom Constantine and Al Hutchinson, helped ensure that the Patten Commission Report (ICP), discussed below, was enforced.<sup>303</sup> The European Union, the United States, and Canada each exerted significant influence over the UK and

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<sup>299</sup> John McGarry and Brendan O’Leary, "Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict, and Its Agreement. Part 1: What Consociationalists Can Learn from Northern Ireland," *Government and Opposition* 41, no. 1 (2006): 47.

<sup>300</sup> Byrne, 330-335.

The European Union followed suit, 300 million Euros were set aside from 1995 to 1997 to finance 4,000 plus projects. (Byrne and Ayulo, 426.)

<sup>301</sup> "NI Life and Times Survey - Political Attitudes," NI Life and Times Survey - Political Attitudes, January 1, 1998. Accessed March 1, 2015.

<sup>302</sup> McGarry and O’Leary 2006, 53.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid, 54.

Northern Ireland to ensure that the ICP report was honored in implementation. The U.S. Congressional Committee banned the FBI from training with the Northern Irish police until they made progress on the reform process. While President Bush lifted that ban in 2001, he did so with stringent conditions. This was coupled with significant pressure from human rights organizations, which eventually led to progress on reforms in 2003.<sup>304</sup> This progress was later critical in facilitating decommissioning from the IRA in 2005, when they felt comfortable with the security apparatuses.

The content of third party guarantees to the settlement certainly changed dramatically from the Sunningdale Agreement to the GFA. Clearly each community felt more comfortable with the guarantee. However, the analysis cannot end here. These guarantees were only an initial step that gave a platform for power-sharing and local actors to create durable change to communal relationships.

### **Power-sharing**

Power-sharing, at its core, is an attempt refocus mechanisms that protect communal interests away from informal paramilitary groups and towards political institutions. In contrast to Sunningdale, 1973, both the negotiations and the agreement itself created substantial trust in the security sector from both communities. The details of the political power-sharing have already been discussed previously; however, the details of security power-sharing are worth exploring further as it represents the key difference between Sunningdale and Good Friday. The agreement called for a complete reformulation of the police force to make it reflective of the diverse needs of both communities. In addition, the agreement called for greater accountability of the police force.<sup>305</sup>

In order to facilitate these goals, the agreement called for an independent commission with representatives from both communities to detail the path forward. This was further undergirded by

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<sup>304</sup> Graham Ellison, "A Blueprint for Democratic Policing Anywhere in the World? Police Reform, Political Transition, and Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland," *Police Quarterly* 10 (2007): 253-4.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.

British guarantees that its previous security installments and its emergency powers, which threatened the legitimacy of the security apparatus, would be removed.<sup>306</sup>

In practice the agreement manifested into a series of proposed reforms within the newly formed Police Services of Northern Ireland (PSNI). In 1999 the ICP published its report calling for a series of 175 reforms.<sup>307</sup> These reforms, as relates to this chapter, centered around four thematic areas: accountability, training, recruitment, and culture.

Perhaps most importantly, the commission recommended significant reform to create accountability. The report advocated that “everything should be available for public scrutiny unless it is in the public interest- not the police interest- to hold it back”.<sup>308</sup> To this end the commission set up four bodies to hold the police accountable to the community. First, they recommended a policing board which had: capacity to audit the finances of the police, influence over short and long term policing plans, oversight over operational decisions, control of appointment and discipline of chief officers, monitoring of human rights compliance powers, monitoring authority of recruitment levels, power to hold inquiries, and control over creating and supervising local oversight mechanisms. They then recommended the creation of District Police Partnership Boards, which shared governance with the local police by giving them input in district policing plans. Third, they recommended the creation of an Ombudsperson who would be civilian-controlled and would have wide statutory and investigative powers. Finally they recommended a senior judicial figure, bound by the European Convention on Human Rights, have oversight over covert operations.<sup>309</sup>

The ICP additionally recommended significant overhaul in training and recruitment practices. They recommended changing training practices from counter-insurgency-style practices to the training style of the Canadian Mounted Police. In addition, it recommended that the training

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<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

<sup>307</sup> Ellison, 246.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid, 249.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, 248-50.

process be civilianized. The report advocated that this be coupled with a radical change in recruitment policy. In order to recruit more Catholics they recommended a 50/50 recruitment policy whereby one Catholic and one Protestant were selected from a pool of suitable qualified candidates. Finally they also recommended downsizing the entire police force.<sup>310</sup>

These reforms were coupled with recommendations designed to reduce the cultural bias of the police force. The report changed the name of the Police force from the Royal Ulster Constabulary to the PSNI. It created a new oath for the force that did not require pledging to the British Crown, and created a new badge that similarly reflected communal diversity. In addition, it recommended removing photos of the Queen from police stations, and removing the Union Jack from Police Stations.<sup>311</sup> All of these reforms were to be overseen by an independent commissioner.

This report, although only a series of recommendations, formed the initial understanding of what the power-sharing security sector would look like. It promised significant influence from each community and, importantly, accountability measures over inappropriate police actions. This, particularly in the earlier years of the agreement, would strongly assuage fears of one community using the security sector to its advantage.

While these reforms were imperfectly implemented, the reforms that were created were strong enough to ensure power-sharing. Initially the reaction to the report created fears that the government was gutting the report's principles. However, significant international pressure from the European Union and United States in the early 2000's resulted in a more loyal interpretation of the report's reforms. By December 2006, the Office of the Oversight Commissioner found that 129 of the reports 175 recommendations had been successfully implemented.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Ibid, 250-2.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid, 251.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid, 250-4.

Accountability has been one of the fulcrums of the reform process. The Policing Board, according to the Committee on the Administration of Justice, "established itself as a more effective and powerful body than the previous Police Authority for Northern Ireland". This report indicates that it has been successful at holding the Chief Constable to account and monitoring the recruitment and operations of the police. However it has been less than proactive in deepening its role with the Ombudsperson.<sup>313</sup> Despite this the Ombudsperson has overwhelming support, with a majority of the Northern Irish Community believing that complaints would be handled fairly.<sup>314</sup>

While some implementation of accountability reforms has been imperfect, the force itself is becoming more representative.<sup>315</sup> The PSNI is meeting ICP targets to increase Catholic officers to one third by 2010-2011. The percentage of Catholics has risen from 8.2% to 19% from 2001 to 2006.<sup>316</sup> This, along with the previous reforms has led to increased trust in security apparatuses.

This power-sharing guarantee was marked by decreased support for para-militarism from both communities. Political, military, and economic institutions were rearranged such that political institutions prevented discriminatory targeting of communal groups. As those identities were no longer tied to outcomes that affected wellbeing, mobilizers who sought to gain power through communal divisions became increasingly less successful.

Sympathy within each community for militant factions, just before the Good Friday Agreement, was down markedly from the early part of the conflict. Twenty-eight percent of Catholics and 31% of Protestants had at least some sympathy for their respective militaries. This

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<sup>313</sup> Ibid, 254-5.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid, 262.

<sup>315</sup> See Ellison 2007, for a full list of problems with implementation.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid, 256-7.



represents a significant reduction from 1978 levels where just under half of each group supported their paramilitaries.<sup>317</sup>

This reduced sympathy was paralleled by an increasing pressure to enter into negotiations. In a September 1997 nationwide poll, 70% of those interviewed thought that unionist parties should enter into face-to-face negotiations with Sinn Fein. This was corroborated by polling of the Protestant community that found that 93% of UUP supports and 76% of DUP supporters wanted their parties to remain within the talks. Unionists also expressed desires for moderation within those talks. UUP leader David Trimble held a 15% lead over Ian Paisley when the unionist community was asked who they wanted to dictate unionist policy within negotiations. Nationalists were similarly desirous of moderation from their leaders, with 75% saying they would be willing to settle for less than a united Ireland.<sup>318</sup> With security guaranteed by an international presence and shared control over the post conflict security apparatus, paramilitaries lost significant recruitment and sympathy. While reduction in paramilitary support could also be explained by a general tiredness with conflict, corresponding increases in support for de-securitization reflect a willingness to move beyond paramilitaries that could only result if the post-conflict state security-apparatus garnered trust.

Overwhelming support for decommissioning processes reflect a trust in the post-conflict state's capacity to prevent paramilitary violence. In a January 1996 poll 60% believed that before serious talks could take place paramilitary organizations would have to decommission all of their weapons. A June 1996 poll found that 58% believed that Sinn Fein should not be allowed to join talks in the absence of the IRA renewing its ceasefire. These polls indicate a public pressure for paramilitaries to reform before being granted legitimacy as political parties. These numbers,

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<sup>317</sup> Bernadette Hayes and Ian Mcallister, "Sowing Dragon's Teeth: Public Support for Political Violence and Paramilitarism in Northern Ireland," *Political Studies* 49, no. 5 (December 2001):, 12-13.

<sup>318</sup> "CAIN: Issues: Politics: Polls of Opinion and Attitude in Northern Ireland, 1973-2004," CAIN: Issues: Politics: Polls of Opinion and Attitude in Northern Ireland, 1973-2004. January 1, 1998. Accessed March 1, 2015. <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/polls.htm>.

however, were skewed between the two communities, with Catholics overwhelmingly less likely to support decommissioning.

However, post-settlement polls indicate that initial, pre-settlement Catholic reluctance to support decommissioning reflected a desire to prevent themselves from losing leverage prior to the imposition of the agreement, rather than a fear of cheating during the power-sharing executive. A 1999 poll found that 50% thought there needed to be total decommissioning before the power-sharing executive was put in place, while 36% thought there should be at least partial decommissioning. Only 10% thought there should be no decommissioning. A poll in 2000 found that only 4% thought the IRA had done enough towards decommissioning. The results were even lower for Protestant paramilitaries, with only 1% believing the UVF had done enough, and 4% thinking the UDA and UFF had done enough. This was coupled with a faith that the agreement could prevent or prosecute violence, with 80% believing that the agreement would either decrease or stagnate violence in 2001.<sup>319</sup> These trends indicated a desire, within both communities to dissolve paramilitaries, and a belief in the agreement to guarantee the security sector.

In the long-term this power-sharing security led to a substantially moderated electoral culture. Paul Mitchell, Geoffrey Evans, and Brendan O'leary argue that post-agreement electoral politics became dominated by what are known as "tribune parties." These parties, usually more extreme, move to more moderated positions to increase their relevance for governance, while at the same time remaining the "strongest 'defender' of the ethnic cause".<sup>320</sup> These parties are simultaneously pragmatic in regards to resources while intransigent in regards to identity. Within Northern Ireland, Mitchel et al. argue that the DUP and Sinn Fein have fit this mold of extreme

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<sup>319</sup> "NI Life and Times Survey - Political Attitudes," NI Life and Times Survey - Political Attitudes, January 1, 1998. Accessed March 1, 2015.

<sup>320</sup> Paul Mitchell, Geoffrey Evans, and Brendan O'leary, "Extremist Outbidding in Ethnic Party Systems Is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland," *Political Studies* 57 (2009).

parties that moderate.<sup>321</sup> Power-sharing created a political climate that required moderation from these extreme parties, in order for them to survive electorally.

Initial analysis of voting patterns from 1998 to 2003 seem to conflict with moderation arguments, instead showing a growth in radicalism. In Republican politics, Sinn Fein quickly replaced the SDLP as the Catholic community's representative, maintaining a steady upward trajectory from the late 1990's. One fifth of 1998 SDLP voters switched to Sinn Fein in the 2003 elections, while only 5% of Sinn Fein voters switched to the SDLP. Sinn Fein was clearly profiting from an SDLP collapse. Unionist voting trends followed similar patterns. In 1998 the UUP lost 13% of its voters to the DUP, and lost an additional 22% in 2003, while the DUP only lost 4% of its voters to the UUP.<sup>322</sup> Electoral trends within both communities indicate a rise of radicalism in the aftermath of the GFA, contradicting the argument that power-sharing moderates political spaces. However, two parallel trends suggest that we should not be so quick to discount that argument.

First, the electoral victories that these parties achieved coincided with distinct moderate policy changes. On the republican side, Sinn Fein's growth was predicated on its acceptance of the consent principle, as well as its participation in the agreements institutions. These policy changes gave nationalist politics a much more acceptable face. As Mitchell et al. noted, Sinn Fein went from being a party violently opposed to consociation in the late 80's to a party that in 2006 nominated the leader of the DUP to be the First Minister of Northern Ireland. The DUP's rise similarly coincided with its moderated platform. In the face of IRA stalling its decommissioning process the DUP called for a renegotiation of the GFA rather than its disbandment.<sup>323</sup> These moderated policies allowed them to portray themselves as more reasonable parties that were simultaneously the strongest actors to protect the interests of their communities.

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<sup>321</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid, 16.

For a complete analysis, see Mitchel, Evans, and O'leary, 2007.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid, 14-15.

Changing polling data on key election issue areas seems to reflect this argument by demonstrating that the voting bases for each of these parties was also moderating. First, support for the consent principle, and parallel support for the Northern Irish Assembly rose within members of Sinn Fein and the DUP. Between 1998 and 2003 support for the assembly increased from 76% to 94% amongst Sinn Fein voters, and from 57% to 76% amongst DUP voters. Amongst Sinn Fein voters, support for the consent principal reached 75% by 2003.<sup>324</sup> Within the protestant community opposition to North South cooperative bodies declined by 13% among UUP supporters and 25% among DUP voters.

Polling for decommissioning and overall support for power-sharing corroborates these trends. Within the Catholic community, support for decommissioning rose from 81 percent to 93 percent, while within Sinn Fein it rose from 63% to 85% from 1998 to 2003. Support for power-sharing rose amongst all major parties between 1998 and 2003, with a 12% increase in Sinn Fein voters, a 18% increase in UUP voters, and a 33% increase in DUP voters. This is despite significant difficulties in decommissioning, suspended assemblies, and stagnation.<sup>325</sup> This moderation of party members seems to indicate that the success of 'radical' parties resulted from the parties' decision to moderate their platforms. However, this alone does not explain this trend, as clearly the SDLP and UUP were equally— if not more— moderate.

Both Catholic and Protestant voters indicated that Sinn Fein and the DUP respectively were the most effective party to represent their interests. This was not a result of seeing the more moderate parties as selling out, which would seem to confirm an ethnic outbidding thesis, but rather the result of these parties being seen as more likely to strongly and effectively stand up for communal interests.<sup>326</sup> This demonstrates that within this period more moderate politics won out,

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<sup>324</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid, 26.

but within the guise of traditionally radical parties. Without the rise of alternative power sources to rival these parties as strong advocates of each community's interests, these parties became the voter's logical path towards increasing life chances of community members.

The 2007 elections saw the rise of non ethno-national issues taking the forefront within party competition, demonstrating decreasing significance of identity politics. Both Sinn Fein and the DUP significantly moderated their platforms to appeal to moderate voters. Sinn Fein facilitated the decommissioning of IRA weaponry in 2005 and recognized the legitimacy of the Police Services in January of 2007. The DUP, for its part, committed itself to the power-sharing principle.<sup>327</sup> This moderation led to a campaign that was muted with regard to communal differences. Papers at the time described the election as "humdrum" and noted that it lacked excitement because the extremes had moderated. This shift, in turn, led to a campaign that focused on policy issues like water rates, corporation tax, health, education and housing costs. Media reports consistently found that the most important issue in their doorstep polling was the prospect of water charges.<sup>328</sup>

As power-sharing guaranteed protection of communal interests and those issues lost relevance to voters in comparison to alternative issue areas, people began to see communal divides as less relevant to their political identity. John Garry conducted a study by interviewing over 1,000 voters following the March 7<sup>th</sup> election. Only 15% of those interviewed described themselves as strongly unionist or nationalist, and over 40% opted to call themselves neither unionist nor nationalist.<sup>329</sup> With regards to power-sharing, only 10% ruled it out as an effective system of governance, and 75% preferred to remain in the UK with a strong devolved assembly. While a large percentage of Catholics wanted a United Ireland, they were still a minority. This moderation was

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<sup>327</sup> John Garry, "Consociationalism and Its Critics: Evidence from the Historic Northern Ireland Assembly Election 2007," *Electoral Studies* 28, no. 3 (2009): 458-60.

Joanne Mcevoy, "The Northern Ireland Assembly Election 2007," *Irish Political Studies* 22 (2007): 372-3.

<sup>328</sup> Mcevoy, 369.

<sup>329</sup> Garry, 462.

reflected within identity preferences, with a fifth of each community self-describing as “Northern Irish”. This preference represents a significant change from Evans and Duffy’s analysis in the early 1990’s in which communal identities were still strong. These changes curbed the actions of party leaders. Dissident republican violence in March 2009 was strongly condemned by Sinn Fein Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness, and unionist colleagues welcomed that condemnation. The political atmosphere increasingly moderated to the point where violent militarism did not significantly affect moderate voting. The 2011 election, called the most mundane in living history, followed this trend, reflecting a growing moderation in inter-communal interactions.<sup>330</sup>

That moderation was reflected within attitudinal surveys, although to a lesser extent. A 2007 survey by Muldoon et al. found evidence of a community desirous of breaking down boundaries, but not yet capable of doing so. Within their interviews all participants downplayed themes of division and opposition, and instead emphasized common ground.<sup>331</sup> The interviews found respondents increasingly able to identify with the opposite community. As one third-generation Catholic noted:

I can identify with a lot of . . . individuals and they might be the exact opposite of me in terms of their identity and beliefs, people like David Ervine, you know, who I really admire and I really, I respect him, you know, I don’t agree with . . . he has just one outlook, I’ve another outlook, but I really like how he carries himself.<sup>332</sup>

This kind of tolerance of the opposite community was accompanied by some decrease in importance of communal identity. From 1998 to 2010 the percentage describing themselves as Northern Irish increased from 23% to 29%, while the percentage describing themselves as unionist dropped by 7% and the percentage describing themselves as nationalist dropped by 14%. Finally, the percentage describing themselves as neither nationalist nor unionist rose from 33% to 46%.<sup>333</sup>

Within that time period the percentage preferring to live in a mixed religion area rose from 65% to

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<sup>330</sup> Neil Matthews, "The Northern Ireland Assembly Election 2011," *Irish Political Studies* 27, no. 2 (2012): 341-2.

<sup>331</sup> Muldoon et al., "Religious and National Identity after the Belfast GFA," *Political Psychology* 28, no. 1 (2007): 94.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid*, 95.

<sup>333</sup> "SOL: Community Relations – Identity," SOL: Community Relations - Identity. January 1, 2010, Accessed March 3, 2015.

82%, the percentage preferring a mixed workplace jumped from 82% to 94%, the percentage wishing to see mixing in schools jumped from 49% to 69%, and the percentage who would mind a lot or a little if a close relative married someone of a different religion dropped from 25% to 19%.<sup>334</sup> Moreover, where national identities remained strong, there were increasing trends towards religious and national identity being seen as personal rather than social.<sup>335</sup> When political power-sharing alleviated discrimination based on identities, those identities became increasingly less relevant and charged.

These trends towards decreased communal confrontation were, however, incipient rather than widespread and stabilized. Without cross-community architecture ready to take the place of entrenched enmity, these trends towards moderation failed to positively impact communal segregation. Nic Craith argues that both Catholic nationalists and Protestant unionists have developed separate cultural infrastructures. Each group has separate schools, newspapers, organizations etc.<sup>336</sup> This limitation has allowed communal divisions to remain. Many interviewees previously discussed in Muldoon et al. continued to emphasize the salience and importance of national and religious identity. Members of mixed marriages reported prejudice and stigmatization as a result of their marriage. These trends were reflected in 2003 and 2004 surveys of 16 year olds which found that these children were much more likely to identify themselves based upon communal characteristics.<sup>337</sup> Moreover, a number of studies including Brewer and Pierce (2005) and Roccas and Brewer (2002) found lingering oppositional identity construction, meaning that for many people, these identities were still seen as incompatible.<sup>338</sup> This sense is reflected in demographic statistics, including the troubling fact that 90% of people still live in an area where their group

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<sup>334</sup> "Community Relations: Contact and Mixing." Surveys On Line. January 1, 2010. Accessed March 3, 2015.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid, 97-98.

<sup>336</sup> Nic Craith, *Culture and Identity Politics in Northern Ireland*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003: 48.

<sup>337</sup> Muldoon et al., 99.

<sup>338</sup> M. B. Brewer, "Social Identity Complexity and Outgroup Tolerance," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 31, no. 3 (2005): 428-37.

comprises the majority.<sup>339</sup> Moreover, electoral data indicates that there is very little crossover in voting. Only 1.4% of UUP and DUP voters were Catholic in 2003, while only 1% of Sinn Fein voters and 1.7% of SDLP voters were Protestant.<sup>340</sup> Evidently, while power-sharing has significantly moderated communal interaction, communal divides remain.

The presence of communal divides decades after the GFA has been used as an argument that power-sharing will always confine societies to their communal divides. However, institutionalization of identity is not capable of producing division and conflict by itself. It must be coupled with unequal treatment of each identities within those institutions, as that confirms that identity is critical factor effecting life wellbeing. If they are treated equally, then your participation within an identity does not affect your wellbeing. This next section will argue that the culprit lies with an imperfect and internationalized implementation of power-sharing.

### **Local Influence**

It is easy to denigrate local institutions, and particularly religious institutions, as propagators of divisiveness and conflict that peaceful solutions must avoid. However, those institutions can also be critical tools for peace that break down the divides conflict has erected. This section will explore the effect of local actors on the peace process in two stages of the agreement: the negotiation stage and the post-conflict recovery stage. By examining evidence from local projects related to policing, local church actors, district partnership programs, and transitional justice program I will demonstrate two things: first, that these local actors have capacity to break down identity divides, and second, that their disempowerment resulted in limited application of that capacity. Local actors are distinguished within this context from paramilitary groups and existent political elites. Instead, local actors represent new or old civil society organizations or figures, as well as community control over

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<sup>339</sup> Roger Mac Ginty, Orla T. Muldoon, and Neil Ferguson, "No War, No Peace: Northern Ireland After The Agreement," *Political Psychology* 28, no. 1 (2007): 7-11.

<sup>340</sup> Mitchell, Evans, O'leary, 10.



post-conflict planning that is distinct and separate from elite control. The aim of this section is to construct a bridge between research relating to local actor empowerment and identity divides.

In the first stage of the negotiations local religious actors were critical to normalizing and legitimizing peace narratives. The Ecumenism movement, a movement designed to increase interactions between churchgoers from Protestant and Catholic denominations, helped standardize the language of peace within religious discourses. Progressive Presbyterianism, Methodism, and the Evangelical Contribution on Northern Ireland (ECONI) all converted mainstream religious discourse into a discourse that was accepting of reconciliation.<sup>341</sup> These actors used their authority within their religious traditions and trusted symbols, terminology, and arguments of their faiths towards the service of peacemaking. Mervyn Gibson, a Protestant Evangelical reverend described the role this played in converting community members to peace narratives:

I spoke at [a] local Ulster Rally at the Shankill. I made an extremely conciliatory speech at a hardline rally and that speech was cleared by everybody present, because I wrote it and then said to everybody, “this is what I’m going to say, anybody with any objections, tell me now, so I’ll not get it the neck afterwards.” Everybody said, that’s great, and that speech accepted IRA decommissioning, that speech said we need to build new relationships with our neighbours and with the South. All those things are in that speech and that was a hardline rally. So you can say things coming from those sectors that [other] people can’t, but the idea is that you can bring people with you.<sup>342</sup>

By owning the discourse of peace and reconciliation they made it easier for people to stand up to radicalism. When Paul Reid, the leader of the Protestant Christian Fellowship Church, announced to his congregation in East Belfast that he had been in dialogue with Republicans for years, his congregation began a series of ‘bridge building’ initiatives including seminars that created forums for discussions between Catholics and Protestants including paramilitary members from each community.<sup>343</sup> These discourses were given extra legitimacy because they came from local actors

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<sup>341</sup> John D Brewer, and Gareth I. Higgins, *Religion, Civil Society, and Peace in Northern Ireland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: 27.

<sup>342</sup> Brewer, 77-8.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

with existent, trusted social capital. As a result they helped to change the way communities saw each other.

The authority that these actors had allowed this discourse to thrive during contentious episodes that threatened security. Local mediation efforts were built upon these ecumenical relations. These relationships allowed for cross-community responses to local conflicts. These responses were more readily accepted by local actors, because they already had a sense of local legitimacy due to their capital in trusted religious networks.<sup>344</sup> For example, when the IRA murdered Ray Smallwood, a leading Protestant peace activist, just prior to a Loyalist Ceasefire in 1994, Fathers Gerry Reynolds and Alec Reid used their protestant ecumenist connections and publicly prayed beside his coffin. This gesture helped to minimize tensions during this period. In addition to making reconciliation, discourse palatable church actors were also critical conduits for negotiations between paramilitary groups.

Church venues offered neutrality and a sacred safe space that encouraged paramilitary groups to engage in negotiations. Both the Clonard Monastery and Fitzroy Presbyterian church held sacred spaces within their local populations which “allowed church people from the Protestant, Methodist, and Presbyterian background to engage with Republicans and try to get an understanding of just what Republicans were about... it forced us to challenge some of our misconceptions.”<sup>345</sup> As Anglican Primate Robin Eames noted, these spaces allowed them to maintain talks during some of the most fractious periods of the conflict, “It was awesome. These were the faces of those I had condemned, but...I found them open to talk, open to listen. Not dogmatically attacking the position that I held.”<sup>346</sup> These venues illustrate the need to engage with local networks of trust in order to

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<sup>344</sup> Brewer, 60.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid, 66.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, 102-103.

create stable negotiations. That trust is a necessary precursor for actors to feel comfortable to the extent where they can let go of communal prejudices.

In addition to the venues, local religious leaders also exerted significant social capital that encouraged negotiations. Religious leaders were able to build relationships of trust between parties to the conflict. They gradually developed relationships with these parties by using their position within the community to create contact. This would then blossom into a trust in the Church that facilitated dialogue. As Father Alec Reid noted, “It was a question of trust. People would believe that the churches had no selfish interest in it and they were not following some kind of agenda—private agenda or personal agenda; they were following the principles of the Christian faith, the principles of peace”.<sup>347</sup> Those networks created opportunity for critical negotiations during a number of key moments throughout the peace process.

These local religious leaders played critical roles in the 1994 loyalist ceasefire, the Downing Street Declaration, and the negotiations between Gerry Adams and John Hume. Anglican Primate Robin Eames and Presbyterian minister Roy Magee were critical interlocutors during the ceasefire negotiations that, as Roy Garland, a member of the UPP, notes, gave legitimacy to the deliberations.<sup>348</sup> Brian Rowan, a former security correspondent for BBC Northern Ireland, recalls a meeting between Eames, Magee and the Combined Loyalist Command:

You then have that ceasefire being pushed away because of the killings that are going on. It then gets to the point of writing the Combined Loyalist Military Command ceasefire statement and Eames is behind the line of [them admitting] ‘abject and true remorse’ in the statement and [having] to say sorry. Eames continues to be involved in the background, you have that stalemate over decommissioning and Eames then persuades the Loyalists towards this statement of ‘no first strike’. This is about giving greater confidence to the nationalist community.<sup>349</sup>

Eames was able to use the trust from the Protestant community to confer legitimacy and importance upon the negotiations in a way that would have been impossible otherwise. Their involvement gave

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<sup>347</sup> Ibid, 203.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid, 58.

a neutral local influence over the process. When Ireland and the United Kingdom were getting ready to distribute the Downing Street Declaration, the British went to Eames and gave him veto power over its content. Eames then used his connection to loyalist paramilitaries to ensure their input. This act of empowering local actors who had legitimacy in the community conferred a similar legitimacy on the declaration and the proceeding peace negotiations.<sup>350</sup>

Catholic clergy played similar roles within Republican negotiations. When Gerry Adams and John Hume began talks in the late 1990s they reached out through Father Alec Reid and Bishop Edward Daly in Derry. These were both actors that the local community trusted and thus made the discussions relatively immune to critique. In addition, the sacred spaces wherein they met— the Clonard Monastery and Bishop Daly’s house— offered a confidentiality and neutrality within the discussions that protect the incipient talks.<sup>351</sup>

In the first stage of the peace process, local actors would be critical to grant legitimacy to the negotiations. By empowering existent trusted religious networks, these talks were less susceptible to outbidding, and held more local ownership. Discussions that verged away from communal biases and discourses of insecurity gained footholds as result of those factors.

The most important role local actors can play is within the post-conflict reconciliation phase. They have the capacity to form cross-communal cleavages that can break down the divides of conflict. They do this by granting local ownership and legitimacy to civil society and political efforts to challenge those divides. This section will explore the role local actors had in breaking down divides through four case studies: local policing boards, religious ecumenism, district partnership programs, and a transitional justice program in Ardoyne.

### *Policing Boards*

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid, 116-17.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid, 58.

Police practices formed one of the most significant fissures throughout the conflict. The GFA established the beginnings of localized control over their governance. The Agreement established the Commission on Policing for Northern Ireland in order to reform the policing system and to ensure “there are clearly established arrangements enabling local people...to articulate their ... concerns about policing and to establish...policing priorities and...to ensure police impartiality and freedom from partisan political control.”<sup>352</sup> This manifested in the creation of a policing board to hold the Chief Constable accountable, with authority to approve annual policing plans and determine policing priorities. The Policing Board would have 19 members: ten would be members of the legislative assembly, but not ministers, the remaining nine would be independent representatives of various parts of society including businesses, trade unionists, etc. Through the specification of its composition the agreement ensured this board was representative of the entire community. In addition to instating the board, the agreement declared that each district council should establish a district policing partnership board (DPPB). These were designed similarly to the national board and were designed to be representative in terms of religion, gender, age, and cultural background. These boards would meet monthly with the local police commander and could compel the police to consider these views.<sup>353</sup>

This local infrastructural control has begun to make inroads into communal divisions surrounding policing. Nearly 80% of both groups are willing to engage the police. Strikingly, Catholics seem to have more faith in the system than Protestants, with two thirds of Protestants believing it to be too lenient while only 45% of Catholics hold this belief. Moreover, only 8% of Protestants and 19% Catholics thought the police were not representative of their community.<sup>354</sup> About a third of Protestants and Catholics said they were confident that DPPs were helping to

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Ibid, 45.

Ibid, 46.

address local policing problems. One participant described the tenor of discussion at a West Belfast District Policing Partnership:

On one side, those with a long history in the IRA and Sinn Fein and their community. On the other, those once with the RUC ... The meeting was a constructive and critical encounter. The cut and thrust of the exchange reflected clear progress being made in tackling anti-community crime.<sup>355</sup>

This indicates a willingness to cooperate in policing from within both communities.

However, these boards were not an unqualified success. Only 30% of Protestants and 33% of Catholics were completely satisfied with policing in their districts. Moreover Sinn Fein members who endorsed these partnerships were consistently threatened for attendance at these meetings. About half of each group did not have confidence in these district partnerships. The reasons for this failure will be discussed more extensively later. However, critics of the agreement regularly cite the decision to strip these boards of their as a key source of frustration. This seems to suggest that the failure in these boards results from the disempowerment of local actors.<sup>356</sup>

### *Religious Ecumenism*

Local religious peacemaking served three primary functions in the aftermath of the agreement. It opened spaces where people could feel comfortable talking about sectarianism and the history of the conflict, it created cross-communal issue areas, and it helped to diffuse crises as they arose. Religious peacemaking facilitated dialogue and interaction between communities by using their ecumenist networks to bridge communal divides.<sup>357</sup>

Church peacemakers used their moral authority to create platforms capable of reconciling with the past. On a symbolic level they helped to revise rituals that had previously enshrined communal differences. Through things like shared liturgy, worship, bible study, and prayer meetings they were able to bridge divides within religious ritual processes. They used these rituals to facilitate social transformations within individuals, which allowed them to look at the other community

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Ibid, 48-50.

Ibid, 46-49.

<sup>357</sup> Brewer, 27.

differently. This helped to create the grounds for social solidarity to open up discussions capable of more directly targeting the past. Groups like the Magherafelt Interdenominational Group capitalized on these platforms and created forums to respond to local community issues. They were designed to create church cooperation to address shared communal reconciliation needs, and other community issues. The Irish School of Ecumenics completed a six-year project titled “Moving Beyond Sectarianism”, which conducted workshops on identity and anti-sectarianism and taught people skills to help their neighbors to move beyond sectarianism.<sup>358</sup>

In addition, many groups held forums to specifically address the atrocities of the past. The Church of Ireland held a series of public lectures on forgiveness; ECONI similarly published a series of fifteen reflections on forgiveness. These were coupled with courses which encouraged cross-community contact. The church used its moral authority to delve into an area that other actors had no social capital to effect. They were able to use this to great effect, transforming parishioner narratives and remembrance of the conflict.<sup>359</sup>

From those foundations religious peacemakers helped to form networks to target issue areas that bridged communal divides. Churches partnered with groups like the Ballynaveigh Community Development Association to create development programs that provide services on a cross-community basis. They provided help to elderly in both communities, help with people with learning difficulties, and other similar programs. This had the effect of creating new social networks that bridged identities, thus creating cross-community cleavages.<sup>360</sup> By mainstreaming diverse issue areas they sought to help dissolve the lines of fissure that perpetuated the conflict. This potential to form cross-communal bridges resulted from the application and usage of preexisting local networks.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Ibid, 75.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid, 71-2.

Finally church activists were critical to diffusing incidents that threatened the stability of communal relationships. The events surrounding the Holy Cross Protests in 2001-2001 are illustrative of the importance of this localized response to a communal fissure. Loyalists protested Catholic parents and children walking through area to attend a girls primary school. This 'intrusion' had become a particularly touchy subject, as Catholic population growth had led to the encroachment of Catholic neighborhoods on traditional Protestant areas. The protests quickly became violent with bottles of urine thrown at children as they walked by. The Reverend Norman Hamilton, a Presbyterian, and Father Aidan Troy, a Catholic, stepped in to help escort the children through these districts. Their joint work formed the foundation of future cooperative ventures to diffuse tense communal encounters. From their partnership came the development of the North and West Belfast Parades Forum, a grouping of paramilitaries, political representatives, community people, and churches. This forum not only created a formalized reconciliation platform to tackle contentious boundary issues, but also normalized interactions amongst these groups.<sup>362</sup>

The GFA, in specific instantiations, formalized the role of these local religious leaders. For example, the British government used Reverend Harold Good and Father Alec Reid to witness acts of decommissioning.<sup>363</sup> These actors created trust that decommissioning was being faithfully executed, in a similar way to that of the international oversight. Religious peacemakers were critical conduits of peacemaking, by utilizing existing networks and trust to help found cross community endeavors.

### *District Partnerships*

The GFA was paralleled by a limited peace architecture that provided localized control over special funds. The European Commission for Peace Program created 26 district partnership representatives that controlled a budget of 55 million euros from 1995 to 1998, a further 17 million

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<sup>362</sup> Ibid, 62-4.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid, 85.



from 1998 to 1999, and a further 400 million from 1999 onward.<sup>364</sup> Each partnership was controlled with equal weight from local government, community and volunteer sectors, and other local interest sectors.<sup>365</sup> This had the effect of creating non-confrontational mechanisms to target community issues. Members of these partnerships described effective working relationships between members of each community: “tensions are diffused by respectful banter...and by non-confrontational methods”. Members described the growth of cross community friendships, as enmity gave way to trust. It also formed local alliances where “the community could make decisions for itself” separate from the political wrangling of national elites.<sup>366</sup>

A survey conducted by Nicholas Acheson and Arthur Williamson provides some cautiously optimistic evidence regarding the effects these organizations had. Over 90% of respondents said that their organizations had provided opportunities for people to do things together and to cooperate on common tasks. Well over three quarters said that these activities had indirect community relations spinoffs, with only 9% saying their staff felt anxious about those programs. While very few reported moving away from their background community, nearly half of those that did reported doing so because of being involved in a cross-community project.<sup>367</sup> These organizations were able to tackle divisive issues, with 60.1% reporting addressing equality of access to services between communities, and 78.1% finding that those discussions were not at all divisive. Indeed, 65.7% of workers found that they had developed friendships across communities as a result of these partnerships.<sup>368</sup>

However, a failure to directly target communal divides suggests that communal bridges remained

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<sup>364</sup> Arthur Williamson, Duncan Scott, and Peter Halfpenny, "Rebuilding Civil Society in Northern Ireland: The Community and Voluntary Sector's Contribution to the European Union's Peace and Reconciliation District Partnership Programme," *Policy & Politics* 28, no. 1 (2000): 50-1.

<sup>365</sup> Williamson, Scott, and Halfpenny, 54-5.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid*, 57.

<sup>367</sup> Arthur Williamson and Nick Acheson, "Voluntary Action and Community Development in Northern Ireland," In *A Sustainable Peace?: Research as a Contribution to Peace-building in Northern Ireland*, Belfast: Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, 2008: 35.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

weak. As will be discussed later, external funders played a large role in preventing these developments.

These programs demonstrate the capacity to create localized cleavages that exist separately from communal divides through strong local actor civil society programs. By empowering local networks, groups were able to begin to form bridges between the communities that would not have been formed had the peace architecture been exclusively targeted at national elites.

### *Transitional Justice*

The Ardoyne Commemoration Project is illustrative of the importance of utilizing local knowledge and trust to tackle past atrocities that had erected boundaries between the two communities. Ardoyne is a working class Republican community in North Belfast. In the immediate aftermath of the GFA the community undertook a reflection project to record and reflect on thirty years of conflict. Over a four-year period they collected and edited over 300 interviews, testimonies, and eyewitness accounts relating to the 99 people who had died within their community. This resulted in the publication of a 543 page book, *Ardoyne: The Untold Truth*, which displayed that process. This process was driven by local community actors who felt that the peace process had excluded them and their need for catharsis.<sup>369</sup>

Through a series of interviews with participants in the Ardoyne Commemoration Project (ACP) Patricia Lundy and Mark McGovern identified two key benefits this project had in local reconciliation. First, it offered a sense of recognition of the individualized harms that had been perpetrated on the members of the community. Many of those involved noted that it was therapeutic simply by providing an audience and a space to talk about the traumatic events they had

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<sup>369</sup> Patricia Lundy and Mark McGovern. "Community, Truth-Recovery and Conflict Transformation 'From Below,'" In *A Sustainable Peace?: Research as a Contribution to Peace-building in Northern Ireland*, Belfast: Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, 2008:159-60.

faced.<sup>370</sup> This became particularly important within the context of what was seen as a denial of truth from national peace infrastructures. Participants described a national peace process that had shrouded the experiences of conflict in silence. In addition, media was identified as a perpetrator of systemic misrepresentation of the costs of the conflict.<sup>371</sup> As one participant described, this project became a way of truth-telling in the face of that dual-pronged denial.<sup>372</sup> A localized atmosphere where they could feel comfortable expressing their harms was critical to reaching that catharsis.

The second benefit offered by the ACP was the possibility to regain control of the narratives of suffering. One participant described this capacity to individualize and own the suffering they faced:

I think the success of the book [Ardoyne: the Untold Truth] was that it allowed people's own voices to tell the story. That's where everybody could identify with it because it was very much their story, it wasn't somebody else telling it. It was how they felt and saw things, and it worked for them, and people became real again. They no longer were just a statistic or a name on a wall, and it brought people to life again.<sup>373</sup>

The testimony allowed them to regain a sense of control over their experiences and memories of the conflict. Through this mechanism they were able to challenge the label of victimhood that was closely linked with helplessness and powerlessness. At the end of each testimony they were handed back their testimonies in a symbolic gesture that indicated they controlled and owned that history. Through this process they could redefine themselves as proactive agents capable of feeling like they were productive members of that community once again.<sup>374</sup>

None of this would have been possible with a truth process that was conferred by outsiders who lacked the trust and understanding of local experiences of conflict. Local control over this reconciliation process conferred legitimacy on the process. Local knowledge made sure that the process was relevant to its participants which made them more likely to feel ownership over the

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<sup>370</sup> Ibid, 161.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid, 164.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid, 162-3.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid, 162.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid, 163.

process. By making the experience bottom-up locals owned the project and were able to gain substantial catharsis. This indicates the transformative process that local influence can have over social and communal relationships. However, this effect is severely limited when peace frameworks undercut the influence of local actors.

### **Limited Local Empowerment**

This section will argue that the impact of local peacemaking was severely undercut by an international peace process that failed to empower local actors, or actively constrained them. This section will look at each of these failures in turn.

Local peacemaking was significantly under empowered by the international peace framework. Local peacemaking efforts are often difficult to maintain, as existent institutions are reluctant to support them. As a result it is imperative that the international peacemaking effort utilizes its resources to free those groups from the confines of those institutions. The religious ecumenist movement serves as a useful example of this. Ecumenist leaders like Ken Newel, Harold Miller, and Charles Kenny, all described facing significant blockades from within their own church hierarchies who preferred to subscribe to doctrinal differences.<sup>375</sup> Roy Garland, a loyalist politician, described this attitude towards the Corymeela Community, “it was sidelined from the churches. If you ask me I think the churches were not all that keen on Corymeela”.<sup>376</sup> Women’s groups often found it difficult to create autonomy from their churches who operated on patriarchal structures that denied these groups support. If there weren’t active constraints, these groups would have to battle significant apathy within these institutional structures.<sup>377</sup>

The result was that many peace groups simply failed to continue. The Enniskillen Together Peace Group, formed in the aftermath of the bomb that exploded on Remembrance Day in 1987,

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<sup>375</sup> Brewer, 44-45.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid, 65.

but petered out as it failed to get any funding or institutional support to maintain its profile. The Drumcree Faith and Justice Group was founded to respond to violence associated with Orange parades, but has since fallen into anonymity due to limited resources.<sup>378</sup> Even when local peacemaking efforts were continued they were significantly limited in their capacity. Andries Odendaal describes limited financial and external support for the previously mentioned local policing boards.<sup>379</sup> With limited funding it became difficult for local peace efforts to remain sustainable. This is of course difficult to quantify, and there were substantial resources poured into these programs, however the mechanisms by which funding was attached limited the sustainability of these programs. Funding recipients described funding as insufficient, inconsistent, and with limited long-term application.<sup>380</sup> Perhaps more importantly, these groups were often restricted by a limited peace framework that excluded non-political actors from influence in the trajectory of the post conflict state.

Even when the architecture of the Good Friday Agreement sought to give space to local actors, it was often coupled with a parallel restriction that made those institutions paper tigers. While the policing boards were supposed to have review over their local police, the Police Act of 2000 stripped the boards of any effective powers. The act had three primary effects; district policing partnerships were confined to consultative powers, persons convicted of terrorist offense could not serve on DPP's, and DPPS could not deal with any past issues.<sup>381</sup> This reflects a general policy within the agreement that limited the authority of local peacemakers in preference of political actors. Without any institutionalized authority any social networks built upon cross-communal cleavages are seen as less realistic alternatives to existent power structures.

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid, 73-74.

<sup>379</sup> Odendall, 177.

<sup>380</sup> Acheson and Williamson, 35-7.

<sup>381</sup> Odendall.

Funding systems for peacemakers discouraged, or at the very least did not encourage, cross community groups. Participants in Acheson and Williamson's study on district partnership programs noted that engaging in cross community work was "like pushing water up a hill".<sup>382</sup> One interviewee described a "lack of willingness" from European funding sources to support reconciliation work. Instead they followed "the path of least resistance" which was to "just go along the communal ground".<sup>383</sup> More than 80% of respondents reported no external pressure to work in a cross community way. Some participants described this as actively inhibiting cross community work even when there was a demand among community organizations. As a result local actors who had the capacity to create cross-communal cleavages found it very difficult to work within the international peace framework. While limited local empowerment is difficult to prove, as a counterfactual, these indicators suggest that local actors were undercut in significant ways that would prevent the formation of alternative cleavages with social capital and legitimacy to challenge nationalist elites. This does not by itself substantiate the connection between limited local empowerment, and failures to target communal divides but it does suggest a strong correlation between the two.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has demonstrated that the confluence of power-sharing and a third party guarantee created a moderated political climate where radicalism ceded authority to moderation. This created a significant opportunity to break down identity divides. However, as was detailed above, reconciliation between the communities was far from perfectly implemented, with communal fissures remaining highly relevant for local actors. The common explanation for this result is that power-sharing institutionalized identity divides constricting people into them institutionally. If institutions constricted people into certain identities then the evidence presented above that

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<sup>382</sup> Acheson and Williamson, 33.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

communal divides have been eroded makes little sense. That constraint should have acted on top of existing prejudices and built them up.

However, if this thesis is right and power-sharing created a potential space where those identities became less relevant, then we need an alternative explanation for this stagnation in progress with regards to communal reconciliation. The conclusion will examine the connections between limited empowerment of local actors and this result. However, the mechanism by which local actors ought be empowered is certainly not a closed debate. Finding the right balance between providing autonomy for local actors to build peace, and preventing local actors who are going to harm the peace process from engaging in spoiling actions is a difficult process. The debate surrounding hybridized peace structures is critical to continue to understand how these peace architectures can be constructed in the way that fosters reconciliation.

## Conclusion: Hybrid Peace in Communally Divided Peace Processes

Seventeen years after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, the peace holds, but equally remains shallow. In late 2012 into early 2013, Protestant protests erupted in response to the Belfast City Council's decision to limit the flying of the Union Jack to eighteen days per year. Protesters turned violent and, reminiscent of skirmishes during The Troubles, threw concrete blocks, paving slabs, bricks, planks of wood, gasoline bombs and Molotov cocktails at police.<sup>384</sup> In the nearly two decades since its institution, the agreement has withstood a number of similar crises, including the temporary dissolution of the executive branch and a stalled decommissioning process. The question at stake is how the agreement can be at once durable and simultaneously fragile. Through answering this question we can arrive at an understanding of the value of power-sharing's contribution to peace and whether the fragility that resulted should preclude future attempts at using power-sharing

This thesis offered a two-pronged argument that answers that question. It argued that, in contrast to the Sunningdale Agreement, a complete power-sharing of each government sector, coupled with a strong third party guarantee, created a moderated political climate. As identity interests were guaranteed by the agreement, they lost their relevance to the political debate. This shifted the focus of politics towards more commonplace issue areas, less conducive to radicalism. While the DUP and Sinn Fein maintained electoral control, they did so with significantly moderated platforms. The second prong of this thesis' analysis argued that in areas where local actors were empowered, those groups were able to reduce the divisions between the two communities in question. However, the international architecture of the peace agreement radically undercut the influence local actors would have on the shape of the new regime. As a result, there was limited

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<sup>384</sup> Nic Robbertson and Peter Taggart, "Northern Ireland: Draped in Union Flags, Protesters March in Belfast," *CNN (New York City)*, January 21, 2013, accessed March 21, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/01/12/world/europe/northern-ireland-unrest/>.



space available to alternative power networks capable of challenging traditional communal political parties and social organizations. This indicates the need for peace settlements, particularly within communal conflicts, to empower local actors within their institutional framework. The mechanism by which to do so, however, is less clear.

Local actors are, of course, not immune from communal divisiveness. As Brewer notes, civil society can have a darker side that resists peace and seeks to define it in negative ways—i.e. as threatening the community.<sup>385</sup> In the aftermath of brutal conflicts, organic civil society actors may still reflect or be influenced by biases begat by inter-communal conflict. Indeed, many local actors empowered by the Good Friday Agreement were communally isolated. Table one details the community background of management committees of local peace and development organizations. The vast majority (73.9 %) of organizations have management committees that are wholly or mainly from one community. That insularity affects their capacity to conduct inter-communal work. Participants in the Ardoyne Commemoration Project, for example, described a difficulty in contacting unionists, and getting them to participate in the commemoration project.<sup>386</sup>

**Table 1: Community Background of Management Committees**

<b>Community background of members of management committees.</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>Valid per cent</b>
<b>Wholly Catholic</b>	40	13.1
<b>Mainly Catholic</b>	69	22.5
<b>Mixed</b>	80	26.1
<b>Mainly Protestant</b>	75	24.5
<b>Wholly Protestant</b>	42	13.7
<b>Total valid respondents</b>	306	100
<b>Missing</b>	50	
<b>Total</b>	356	

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John D Brewer, and Gareth I. Higgins, *Religion, Civil Society, and Peace in Northern Ireland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: 27.

<sup>386</sup> Patricia Lundy and Mark McGovern. "Community, Truth-Recovery and Conflict Transformation 'From Below,'" In *A Sustainable Peace?: Research as a Contribution to Peace-building in Northern Ireland*, Belfast: Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, 2008:166.

As this example suggests, in the immediate aftermath of the agreement, not all local actors will reflect the cross communal cooperation that the goals of reconciliation demand. There is a fine balance that must be drawn between the desires to encourage cross communal liberalism, and the requirements to grant local actors both space and autonomy necessary for them to be effective in challenging traditional, and radical, communal parties. The remainder of this conclusion will explore that debate, with the aim of providing guiding policy suggestions.

In order to ensure local actors are not crowded out by the peace process, peace settlements must hybridize their institutional frameworks to give space to local, national, and international actors. Roger MacGinty, as detailed in the literature review, has already developed a conceptual model explaining the way that hybridity should operate. I will seek to specify it in this conclusion, by detailing what its implementation could look like.

MacGinty's hybridized model is constituted of four core parts. It has both compliance and incentive powers of international or regional agents. In addition local actors must have capacity to resist, ignore, and adapt existent interventions. Finally, they must also be able to create alternative forms of peacemaking.<sup>388</sup> The interplay of these four parts, and the relative power of each component is necessarily case dependent. However, a preference for bottom up peace in which local actors are given significant capacity to resist, adapt, and create peace is critical to changing the power dynamics away from radical communal parties in the aftermath of violence. A dependency on international actors results in a reliance on those actors and existent elites. So long as that reliance

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<sup>387</sup> Arthur Williamson and Nick Acheson, "Voluntary Action and Community Development in Northern Ireland," In *A Sustainable Peace?: Research as a Contribution to Peace-building in Northern Ireland*, Belfast: Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, 2008: 35.

<sup>388</sup> Roger MacGinty, "Hybrid Peace: The Interaction between Top-Down and Bottom-Up Peace," *Security Dialogue* 41, no. 4 (August, 2010):392.

continues, the power dynamics between local actors and radical communal elites will never change sufficiently to challenge radicalism. This section will look at each component in turn.

Compliance and incentive powers of international actors help to enforce agreements, but where possible they should remain a reassuring presence rather than an active participant in the agreement. These powers are critical to disciplining attempts at deviance from the tenets of the agreement. However, the compliance powers must be constrained by, and adhere closely to, the tenets of the agreement agreed upon by local parties. Overstepping those boundaries will inevitably decrease local participation with the peace agreement, as it will seem a foreign imposition. It may, therefore be prudent for third party actors to use less aggressive incentive powers. Through the use of targeted development packages, for example, they can encourage support of, and compliance with, the agreement. These funding packages are given to local municipalities or organizations who are participating within the bounds of the agreement. However, it is essential that the 'strings attached' to these packages be minimal, and that control over the implementation of said development packages be local.<sup>389</sup> Development packages can be tied to a basic compliance with the new regime, but must not be bound by national development plans or orientations. This would result in loss in ownership over the peace process as national plans brush over the intricacies of local needs.

Local actors must be given the necessary political space to resist, ignore, or adapt certain manifestations of the agreement. Without the capacity to affect the agreement's implementation the agreement will fail in its primary focus, to encourage interaction and support from the population. National level plans for development and reconciliation can never account for the diversity of experiences with conflict that local municipalities had. The capacity to adapt or even ignore certain facets of the agreement is critical to ensuring the agreement is relevant to the needs of local

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid, 401.

populations. In addition, it grants political space and legitimacy to a set of actors separate from national elites. National elites are likely to be those who negotiated the peace agreement, and as a result tend to at least include more radical factions of each community. Local boards, with representation from diverse interest areas, must maintain control over the way the agreement manifests in the locality.<sup>390</sup> This cannot simply be through the dispersal of funds as it was in Northern Ireland. They must also have some institutional control over the policy making process of the local state. This establishes these alternative networks with legitimacy sufficient to encourage local populations to seek them out, rather than radical party elites. This can and must be restrained by certain conditions to prevent actions which propagate divides. However, some level of power-sharing within these local boards seems sufficient to prevent those actions, by creating a check to prevent abuse from radical participants. Finally, there may be certain facets of the agreement over which local control is not granted. For example, while the process of decommissioning can change within localities, overall targets for reducing weaponry are critical to ensuring trust with the agreement.

Equally important, local actors must be given an institutional platform to create alternative forms of peacemaking. These parallel frameworks of peace help to make the peace relevant and empowering of local actors, and additionally create a space for new sources of social and political capital to develop. Parallel forms of dispute resolution and reconciliation, for example, tap into local knowledge of the way the conflict affected their community, and can thus more narrowly tailor reconciliation programs to those specific needs.<sup>391</sup> In addition those programs will often have more meaning when they come from traditional moral authorities in the community. However, these programs must be constrained by a broader ethos of equality between communities. Parallel forms of peace, while not always necessarily being targeted to both communities, must on the aggregate

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<sup>390</sup> Ibid, 402-3.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid, 404.

have equal benefit. Accountability to this principle can be generated at the local level, but the presence of a third party can help to assuage fears that those local accountability measures will be insufficient. International actors offer an important symbol of neutrality, but peace builders should be wary of expanding their influence beyond that presence.

When giving space to these parallel peace frameworks, preferences for cross community endeavors should be supported. Community development programs, or other similar programs that target the needs of the community in the aftermath of conflict, can create new groups that have relevance and importance to both communities. For example, class based initiatives like housing project developments or poverty reduction programs that have plans to target those problems within each community can create relationships within the organizations themselves, but also between the organization and the community. These relationships are far less likely to develop when local actors are excluded from these processes, and the only solutions to communal problems come from national, communally divided, institutions. A failure to encourage these partnerships within district partnership boards in Northern Ireland resulted in a stunted implementation of reform. Requirements for equal participation from each community on boards of organizations receiving money, or similar measures to that end, can help to ensure that the post-implementation peace architecture actively targets divides.

It is perhaps a little ironic that this conclusion is seeking to define a specific implementation plan for including local actors, given that one of the core problems this thesis has identified with internationalized process is their use of a one size fits all policy program. As a result, these suggestions should be seen as general guiding principles that are flexible to the complexities of each case. Where specific policies were specified, the goal was to be illustrative of the principle rather than constrictive in defining which particular policies peace builders should use. More mechanistic

mapping is needed to specify the way that local influence operates within divided societies, but it should be clear from this thesis that local control is a necessary precursor to a stable and deep peace.

The implications of this thesis can be cautiously applied to a diversity of cases. There are a few restrictions to this application. The enormous financial resources that went into the Good Friday Agreement, and the infrastructure to deliver those resources separates Northern Ireland from many other cases in which those factors are unavailable. As a result the implications of this argument should be considered within a framework that recognizes the importance of the economic advantages of the Northern Irish case. In addition newer conflicts are more and more seen to have illicit networks that fund their continuance. Colombia's drug networks are a prime example of this. As a result it is unclear how well the incentives described in this thesis apply to cases in which profitable illicit networks introduce other types of incentives. Finally, the small population size of Northern Ireland limits, to some extent, the presence of a diversity of actors that could have inspired more spoiling. However, these restrictions ought to be seen as cautions and not a justification to avoid the implications of this thesis. Within those constraints the argument behind this thesis can be adjusted to the context of individual cases.

## Appendix A

### Political Parties

Sinn Fein (SF)	Took its current form in 1970 after the split the IRA, it is the political wing of the PIRA.
Social Democrat and Labor Party (SDLP)	Socialist Irish nationalist party founded by, among others, John Hume in 1970.
Democrat Unionist Party (DUP)	Ultra unionist party founded by Ian Paisley in 1970. Now led by Peter Robinson.
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	Conservative moderate unionist party founded in 1905. Governed Northern Ireland from 1921 to 1972.
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	Left-wing unionist party linked to the Red Hand Commandos and the Ulster Volunteer Force.
Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI)	Cross community party founded in 1970.

### Paramilitary Organizations

Irish Republican Army (IRA)	Paramilitary organization founded in 1919. Main goal is a united Ireland.
Provisional IRA (Provos)	Half of the division created within the IRA in 1969. Advocate violent military action instead of political action.
Official IRA	The other half of the split within the IRA. Advocated a political resolution to conflict after 1972. Marxist inclinations.
Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)	Ulster loyalist paramilitary group formed in 1965. Formed in response to IRA activity.
Ulster Defense Association (UDA)	Largest Protestant paramilitary group. Founded in 1971 to 'protect protestant communities' from the PIRA.
Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF)	Pseudonym used by UDA to avoid being outlawed by British government. This strategy works until 1992.

Red Hand Commandos (RHC) Small and secretive loyalist paramilitary group closely associated with the UVF. Founded in 1972.

### Security Services

Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) Police force in Northern Ireland since 1922. Heavily dominated by Protestants.

Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) Also called B-Specials. This was a quasi military police force known for its brutality.

Police Services Northern Ireland (PSNI) The successor to the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

## **Appendix B**

### Brief Timeline of the Northern Irish Conflict up until 1998

#### 1968

5 October: clashes in Londonderry/Derry between civil rights demonstrators and police

#### 1969

14 August: British troops deployed 'in aid of the civil power'

28 December: Announcement of the formation of the 'Provisional Irish Republican Army', meaning the IRA is now split into an Official IRA and a Provisional IRA.

#### 1970

Reginal Maudling, upon leaving Northern Ireland, remarks 'Bloody awful country; give me a whisky'

#### 1971

9 August: Internment begins.

September: Formation of the UDA [Ulster Defense Association]

#### 1972

30 January: 'Bloody Sunday, the Parachute Regiment kill 14 civil rights demonstrators in Derry/Londonderry

24 March: Stormont government and parliament abolished. Direct Rule assumed by Westminster.

#### 1973

9 December: Sunningdale power-sharing agreement

#### 1974

28 May: Collapse of Sunningdale settlement. Power-sharing Executive collapses after general strike organized by the Ulster Workers Council

#### 1981

10 Republican hunger-strikers die



1985

15 November: Anglo-Irish Agreement.

1990

9 November: The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Peter Brooke, declares that Britain has 'no selfish strategic or economic interest' in Northern Ireland.

1993

15 December: British and Irish governments issue *Joint Declaration*.

1994

31 August: Provisional IRA declares ceasefire

13 October: Combined Loyalist Military Command (ie. UVF plus UDA etc) declares ceasefire.

1996

10 June: start of multi-party negotiations

1997

20 July: Provisional IRA resume ceasefire

1998

10 April: Good Friday Agreement

15 August: 29 people killed in Omagh bombing by Real IRA (dissident Republican group).

## **Appendix C**

**Table 1: British Security Personnel in Northern Ireland**

Year	British Army Total	British Regiments	UDR / RIR Total
1972 (Jul)	30300	21800	8500
1973 (Jan)	26000	16900	9100
1974	23900	16200	7700
1975	22700	15000	7700

Source: Hadfield<sup>392</sup>

**Table 2: 1970 Westminster Election**

Party	Number of Seats	Vote	% Valid Poll
Unionist Party (U)	8	422,041	54.3%
Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP)	0	98,194	12.6%
Unity	1	76,185	9.8%
Independent (B. Devlin)	1	37,739	4.8%

<sup>392</sup> Brigid Hadfield, ed., *Northern Ireland: Politics and the Constitution* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), 91.

Protestant Unionist Party (Prot. U.)	1	35,303	4.5%
Republican Labour Party (Rep. Lab.)	1	30,649	3.9%
Nationalist Party (Nat.)	0	27,006	3.5%
Ulster Liberal Party (U. Lib)	0	12,005	1.5%
National Democratic Party (Nat. Dem.)	0	10,349	1.3%
Others	0	29,642	3.8%

Moderate parties are shaded in.

Source: Cain<sup>393</sup>

**Table 3: 1973 Local Northern Ireland Election**

Party	Seats	First Preference Votes	% Valid Poll
Official Unionists	24	211,362	(29.3%)
Unionists	8	61,183	(8.5%)
Democratic Unionist Loyalist Coalition (DULC)	8	78,228	(8.5%)
Vanguard Unionist Loyalist Coalition (VULC)	7	75,759	(10.5%)
Belfast West Loyalist Coalition (WBLC)	3	16,869	(2.3%)
Other Loyalist	0	3,734	(0.5%)
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	19	159,773	(22.1%)
Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI)	8	66,541	(9.2%)
Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP)	1	18,675	(2.6%)
Republican Clubs (Rep.C)	0	13,064	(1.8%)
Nationalists	0	8,270	(1.2%)
Republican Labour (Rep.Lab)	0	1,750	(0.2%)
Unionist Liberal Party (U.Lib))	0	811	(0.1%)
Communists	0	123	(0.0%)
Independents	0	6,099	(0.9%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>722,241</b>	<b>(100%)</b>

Moderate parties are shaded in.

Source: Cain<sup>394</sup>

**Table 4: 1974 Westminster Election**

Party	Number of Seats	Vote	% Valid Poll
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	7	2232,103	32.3%
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	1	160,437	22.4%
Pro-Assembly Unionists (U. Pro-A)	0	94,301	13.1%
Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party (VUPP)	3	75,944	10.6%

<sup>393</sup> Fionnuala Mckenna and Martin Melaugh, "Results of Elections Held in Northern Ireland Since 1968," CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/election/elect.htm>.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid.

Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	58,656	8.2%
Independents	0	23,496	3.3%
Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI)	0	22,660	3.2%
Unity Party (Unity)	0	17,593	2.4%
Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP)	0	17,284	2.4%
Republican Clubs (Rep C)	0	15,152	2.1%

Moderate parties are shaded in.

Source: Cain<sup>395</sup>

**Table 5: Moderate Voting Juxtaposed with Violence Trends**

Town	1970 (Moderation)	1970 (Violence)	1973 (Moderation)	1973 (Violence)	1974 (Moderation)	1974 (Violence)
<b>Antrim</b>	77% Moderate Voting	3 Deaths Since 1969	-54% Moderation	+300%	+29% Moderation	- 33%
<b>Belfast</b>	82.2% Moderate Voting	13 Deaths Since 1969	-50.4% Moderation	+1269%	+23.5% Moderation	-31%
<b>Derry</b>	100% Moderate Voting	7 Deaths Since 1969	-15 % Moderation	+1565%	-51% Moderation	-36.8%
<b>Down</b>	80.3% Moderate Voting	0 Deaths Since 1969	-55.1% Moderation	38 Deaths Since 1970	+ 15.5% Moderation	-36.5 %
<b>Mid Ulster</b>	45.7% Moderate Voting	0 Deaths Since 1969	+15.6 % Moderation	9 Deaths Since 1970	-.4% Moderation	+133.3%
<b>Armagh</b>	68.16% Moderate Voting	3 Deaths since 1969	-20.16% Moderation	+1166%	-10.8% Moderation	+52.6%
<b>Fermanagh and South Tyrone</b>	48.89% Moderate Voting	0 Deaths since 1969	+31.71% Moderation	46 Deaths Since 1970	-49.4% Moderation	+11.1%

Elections that followed the expected trend are shaded in.

Source: Cain and McKeown<sup>396</sup>

<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid.

Martin Melaugh, "Violence - Information On Deaths During the Conflict," CAIN, accessed February 8, 2015, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/deaths.htm>.

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