

Contents

List of figures	15
List of tables	16
Abbreviations.....	17
I. Introduction	21
1. Background	21
2. Research Question	22
3. Justification for Research	23
4. Methodology	23
5. Definitions	24
6. Literature Review	25
7. Structure	27
II. Theoretical Background	29
1. Post-Agreement Peacebuilding	29
1.1 The Peace-War Continuum.....	29
1.2 Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding.....	30
1.2.1 Peacekeeping.....	31
1.2.2 Peacemaking	32
1.2.3 Peacebuilding.....	32
1.3 The Goals and Objectives of Peacebuilding.....	35
1.4 The Practice of Peacebuilding	36
1.5 Success and Failure of Peacebuilding.....	36
1.6 The Concept of Post-Agreement Peacebuilding.....	37
2. Conflict Transformation	39
2.1 The Term “Conflict Transformation”	40
2.2 Stages and Levels of Transformation	41
2.3 The Outcomes of Conflict Transformation.....	42
2.4 How does Conflict Transformation happen?	43

2.5 Defining Conflict Transformation	44
III. Background to the Belfast Agreement	47
1. The Belfast Agreement	47
2. Parties involved in the Negotiations	54
2.1 Great Britain.....	54
2.2 The Republic of Ireland	55
2.3 The Unionist Parties.....	57
2.3.1 The Democratic Unionist Party	57
2.3.2 The Ulster Unionist Party	57
2.3.3 The Progressive Unionist Party	59
2.4 The Nationalist Parties.....	60
2.4.1 Sinn Féin	60
2.4.2 The Social Democratic and Labour Party.....	62
2.5 The Neutral Parties.....	63
2.5.1 The Alliance Party of Northern Ireland	63
2.5.2 The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition.....	65
3. Paramilitary Organisations in Northern Ireland	67
3.1 Republican Paramilitary Organisations	71
3.1.1 The Irish Republican Army	71
3.1.2 The Irish National Liberation Army	73
3.2 Loyalist Paramilitary Organisations	74
3.2.1 The Ulster Defence Association	74
3.2.2 The Ulster Volunteer Force	75
3.2.3 The Loyalist Volunteer Force	76
IV. Rights, Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity.....	79
1. The Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission	79
1.1 Introduction.....	79
1.2 The NIHRC in the Belfast Agreement and in the NI Act 1998.....	79

1.2 The NIHRC in the international and national Context	83
1.2.1 The international Context	83
1.2.2 The national Context.....	84
1.3 The Impact of the NIHRC on Conflict Transformation	87
1.3.1 Promoting Understanding and Awareness of Human Rights.....	87
1.3.2 A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland	91
1.3.3 From a troubled Start to an internationally recognized Commission..	95
1.4 Conclusion	98
2. The Equality Commission for Northern Ireland	100
2.1 Introduction	100
2.2 Previous Equality Legislation and Equality Bodies	100
2.3 The Equality Commission in the Agreement and the NI Act 1998.....	105
2.4 The Impact of the Equality Commission on Conflict Transformation...	107
2.4.1 Statutory Functions, Objectives and Priorities	107
2.4.2 Disability.....	108
2.4.3 Fair Employment	109
2.4.4 Gender Issues and sexual Orientation.....	113
2.4.5 Race.....	113
2.4.6 Section 75.....	115
2.5 General Developments at the Equality Commission 1999-2007.....	117
2.6 Attitudes to the Equality Commission for Northern Ireland	119
2.7 Conclusion	121
3. Dealing with the Past: Victims of Violence and Reconciliation.....	122
3.1 Introduction.....	122
3.2 Victims and Reconciliation.....	122
3.2.1 Victims	122
3.2.2 Reconciliation	124
3.3 Initiatives addressing Victims and the Past prior to 1998	124

3.4 Reconciliation and Victims of Violence in the Belfast Agreement.....	126
3.5 The Implementation of the Recommendations.....	127
3.5.1 Minister for Victims and Victim's Commissioner	127
3.5.2 Investigations into Collusion	131
3.5.3 The Disappeared	132
3.5.4 A Truth Commission for Northern Ireland?	134
3.6 Conclusion	137
4. Integrated Education – Integrating Education	138
4.1 Introduction	138
4.2 A brief History of the School System and Integrated Education.....	139
4.3 Attitudes to Integrated Education in Northern Ireland	144
4.4 Impact of Integrated Education.....	146
4.5 Steps taken by the Government after the Belfast Agreement.....	147
4.6 Conclusion	151
5. Economy.....	151
5.1 Introduction.....	151
5.2 Characteristics of the Northern Ireland Economy in the Past.....	152
5.3 Economic Aid	153
5.4 The economic Aspects of the Belfast Agreement.....	155
5.5 From Strategy 2010 to the Economic Vision for Northern Ireland.....	155
5.6 Economic Cooperation with the Republic of Ireland	160
5.7 Current economic Situation in Northern Ireland	161
5.8 Conclusion	163
6. The State of Community Relations after the Belfast Agreement	163
6.1 Introduction.....	163
6.2 Governmental Approaches to Community Relations	163
6.2.1 Theoretical Background.....	163
6.2.2 Community Relations Approaches between 1968/69 and 1998.....	164

6.3 The Development and Implementation of the Policy A Shared Future .	167
6.4 NEW Targeting Social Need	173
6.5 Public Attitudes towards Community Relations in Northern Ireland.....	173
6.5.1 Identity	174
6.5.2 Contact and Mixing.....	175
6.5.3 Cultural Issues.....	181
6.6 Conclusion	182
7. The Irish Language, Ulster-Scots and the Belfast Agreement	183
7.1 Introduction.....	183
7.2 Irish and Ulster-Scots in the Belfast Agreement	184
7.3 Ulster-Scots – Ullans	186
7.3.1 The History of Ulster-Scots in Northern Ireland	188
7.3.2 Ulster-Scots Agency – Tha Boord o Ulstèr-Scotch.....	190
7.4 Irish	193
7.4.1 The History of Irish in Northern Ireland.....	194
7.4.2 Foras na Gaeilge	196
7.4.3 Opportunities for the use of Irish in daily Life in Northern Ireland..	197
7.5 European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages	198
7.5.1 Article 7 – Objectives and Principles	199
7.5.2 Education	201
7.5.3 Administrative and public Authorities.....	202
7.5.4 The Media	203
7.6 Conclusion	205
V. Decommissioning, Security, Policing, Justice, and Prisoners	207
1. Decommissioning.....	207
1.1 Introduction.....	207
1.2 The Role of the Decommissioning Issue during the Peace Process	208
1.3 Decommissioning in the Belfast Agreement	214

1.4 Disarmament since the Signing of the Belfast Agreement.....	215
1.4.1 No Guns, no Government – No Government, no Guns.....	215
1.4.2 Decommissioning as an Obstacle to Devolution	217
1.5 Conclusion	230
2. Security.....	231
2.1 Introduction	231
2.2 From the Ceasefires to the Programme on Security Normalisation	232
2.3 The Reduction of the Armed Forces and of the Security Installations...	234
2.3.1 The Role of the British Army for the Peace Process	234
2.3.2 The Programme on Security Normalisation and Troop Reduction ...	237
2.3.3 Peace Lines in Northern Ireland	239
2.4 The Repeal of Emergency Powers and counter-terrorist Legislation.....	239
2.5 The Security Situation in Northern Ireland before and after 1998	242
2.6 Conclusion	245
3. Policing.....	246
3.1 Introduction	246
3.2 The Royal Ulster Constabulary – Regime Policing?	247
3.3 Previous Attempts to Reform the Royal Ulster Constabulary.....	251
3.4 The Police Reform in the Belfast Agreement.....	256
3.5 The Recommendations of the Patten Report	257
3.5.1 Human Rights and Accountability.....	261
3.5.2 Community Policing – Policing with the Community	262
3.5.3 Policing in a peaceful Society.....	263
3.5.4 Structure and Management of the Police.....	264
3.5.5 Size of the Police and Recruitment.....	265
3.5.6 Education, Training and Development and Symbols	269
3.5.7 Cooperation with other Police Services.....	270
3.5.8 Compensation.....	271

3.5.9 Implementation	271
3.6 The Tripartite Police Control- and Monitoring System.....	273
3.6.1 Northern Ireland Policing Board.....	273
3.6.2 District Policing Partnerships	278
3.6.3 Police Ombudsman	282
3.7 Public Opinion on Policing previous to and after 2001	287
3.8 Conclusion	293
4. The Review of the Criminal Justice System in Northern Ireland	294
4.1 Introduction	294
4.2 The Northern Irish Criminal Justice System.....	295
4.2.1 The Structure of the Northern Irish Justice System.....	295
4.2.2 Attitudes to the Criminal Justice System in Northern Ireland.....	297
4.3 The Belfast Agreement and the Criminal Justice System	298
4.4 Important Results of the Review of the Criminal Justice System	304
4.5 Human Rights and guiding Principles	307
4.6 Community Safety	309
4.7 Restorative Justice: Responsibility-Restoration-Reintegration	314
4.7.1 Restorative Justice	315
4.7.2 Attitudes to and the Origins of Restorative Justice	318
4.7.3 Restorative Justice Elements in the Criminal Justice System	322
4.8 Devolution of Policing and Justice	325
4.9 Conclusion	327
5. The Release of Paramilitary Prisoners	329
5.1 Introduction	329
5.2 Prisoners and the Northern Ireland Conflict.....	329
5.3 The Release of Prisoners in the Belfast Agreement	333
5.4 The Implementation of the Section on Prisoners.....	334
5.4.1 The Northern Ireland (Sentences) Act 1998.....	334

5.4.2 The Sentence Review Commissioners.....	336
5.5 The Reintegration of Ex-Prisoners into Society	337
5.6 Ex-Prisoners Groups and Conflict Transformation	340
5.7 Victims and the early Release of Prisoners	342
5.8 Conclusion	343
VI. The Northern Ireland Conflict transformed?.....	345
References	355
Appendix (List of Interviews)	393