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Born on One Side of Partition:

Reassessing Lessons of Northern Ireland's Conflict from a 21st-Century Multidisciplinary Perspective

By

JACQUELINE NOLAN

Supervisor

PROFESSOR GUY OLIVIER FAURE

Professor of International Negotiation, Sorbonne University

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"History says, don't hope
On this side of the grave.
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed-for tidal wave
Of justice can rise up,
And hope and history rhyme."

(Seamus Heaney, 'The Cure at Troy')

The question is: whose history?

Abstract

In the wake of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, which brought an end to 30 years of conflict in Northern Ireland, the province became a 'place of pilgrimage' for people from other conflict zones in search of lessons and answers. This thesis revisits Northern Ireland's lessons from a multidisciplinary and 21st-century perspective; it contends that to make sense of and resolve a conflict in a sustainable way, you have to not only understand it through substantive lenses, but also through emotional and behavioural ones – and likewise understand the interconnectedness between those lenses. It identifies relational and deep-seated themes common to other conflicts (like Israel-Palestine): demonization, a siege mentality, the historical context of rifts in the relationship. Northern Ireland offered images of hope when former arch-enemies entered government together in 2007; yet this thesis shows that, in spite of political and social transformation, there is still too much societal psychological trauma, and too many unspoken, legacy- and identity-based blockers in the relationship to speak of a conflict resolution. That said, there is much to applaud and learn from: By taking a look inside the human being in conflict, assessing violence through the random position of being born on one side of partition, identifying the leadership qualities that cemented the agreement, and linking the dots of Irish history and Northern Ireland's peace accord lessons under an overarching theme of humiliation, fear and hope, the 'geopolitics of emotion', this research makes suggestions to facilitate any conflict society emerging from its own grief.

Dedicated to everyone who has suffered in Northern Ireland's conflict

Remembering John Mallon who died in a bomb attack on
15 December, 1974, aged 21

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List of Terms

DUP: **Democratic Unionist Party**, founded in 1971 by Ian Paisley, who led the party for 37 years. Currently largest unionist party led by Arlene Foster, incumbent First Minister of Northern Ireland. Had links with paramilitary UR(M) during the Troubles. Socially conservative, against 1998 Good Friday Agreement, Eurosceptic, supported Brexit.

GFA: The **Good Friday Agreement**, signed on 10 April 1998, was a set of accords ending the 30-year Northern Ireland conflict, the Troubles. It was supported by all the main N. Ireland and UK parties, except Ian Paisley's DUP and the local branch of the Conservative Party, and endorsed in a referendum by 71% of the people.

IRA: **Irish Republican Army**, originally formed after the 1916 Rising, a successor to other 19th-century republican movements, fought the 1919-1921 War of Independence to overthrow British rule. Following the foundation of the Irish Free State and 1922 partition of Ireland (which it opposed), it continued activities over the border in Northern Ireland. By the 1960s, it was Marxist in ideology, committed to a united, Marxist Ireland. In 1969, in the wake of violent opposition to the civil rights movement, it split into the Official IRA (**OIRA**), the Marxist group, and the Provisional IRA (**PIRA**), which became the largest republican paramilitary group in the Troubles. PIRA was responsible for some 49% of Troubles deaths. It agreed to a final ceasefire in 1997, and decommissioned its arms in 2005.

NICRA: **The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association**, formed in the late 1960s to end discrimination against Catholics in political representation, housing, jobs, and to remove the Special Powers Act. Alongside ordinary workers, it attracted a span of left-leaning members – trade unionists, socialists, communists. The Official IRA gained more influence in the organisation as authorities responded with a heavy hand; from 1972, it was no longer of significance.

RUC: **Royal Ulster Constabulary**, police force in Northern Ireland from 1922 to 2001 following the partition of Ireland. The RUC's membership was overwhelmingly Protestant unionist. Following major reforms of the force, including recruitment of Catholic nationalists, the force was renamed as the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) in 2001.

SDLP: **Social Democratic and Labour Party**, a Catholic nationalist party formed in 1970 committed to reform and ultimately a United Ireland by non-violent means. Was a key player in talks leading to the GFA in the 1990s; its leader, John Hume, was awarded the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize with UUP leader David Trimble. Hume enabled Sinn Féin's entry into the political arena, and the SDLP has since been eclipsed electorally by Sinn Féin. The SDLP is generally supported by the British Labour Party, which does not contest elections in Northern Ireland.

Sinn Féin: Literally, 'Ourselves Alone', it was formed originally in 1905, a political party wanting independence from Britain. It was hugely successful in the 1918 elec-

tion, but refused to acknowledge Westminster, setting up a revolutionary parliament in Dublin and declaring Ireland independent. It underwent several splits in the 1920s. The Northern Ireland party was founded in 1970, following a similar split from the IRA. Committed to a United Ireland, Sinn Féin has been historically seen as the political wing of the Provisional IRA. Gerry Adams led the party between 1983 and 2018, and brought the party into mainstream politics in the 1980s – the Armalite and the ballot box strategy. It ended its violent campaign for good in 2005, and became the largest nationalist party in Northern Ireland. In the 2020 election in the Republic of Ireland, Sinn Féin (under Mary Lou McDonald) won the popular vote for the first time ever since the foundation of the State.

UDA: **Ulster Defence Association**, a Protestant loyalist paramilitary group, formed in 1971 as an umbrella group for various loyalist groups, and legal until 1992. It was responsible for some 430 killings (McKittrick et al.), overwhelmingly Catholic civilians; also carried out some high-profile assassinations, such as lawyer Pat Finucane in collusion with state actors, or attempted murders of Gerry Adams and ex-MP Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. The UDA has been linked to UK Neo-Nazi groups. Completed decommissioning of its arms in 2010.

UDR: **Ulster Defence Regiment**, locally recruited and largest infantry regiment of the British Army in Northern Ireland from 1970 to 1992. Its members were almost entirely from the Protestant unionist community (especially after 1972); contentious regiment as a number of part-time recruits had links, direct or indirect, with loyalist paramilitaries.

UR(M): **Ulster Resistance** or **Ulster Resistance Movement**, founded in 1986 in opposition to the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement at a rally addressed by Ian Paisley. It joined forces with other loyalist paramilitaries in the procurement of weapons (via South African contacts) used in sectarian attacks against Catholics.

UUP : **Ulster Unionist Party**, oldest unionist party founded in 1905 to oppose home rule in Ireland. After partition, governed Northern Ireland from 1922-1972. Considered an offshoot of the British Conservative Party. Was overtaken in popularity by Ian Paisley's DUP in 2007. Its leader during the GFA talks, David Trimble, won the Nobel Peace Prize jointly with John Hume in 1998. Officially against Brexit in 2016, though some high-ranking MPs supported it.

UVF: **Ulster Volunteer Force**, Protestant loyalist paramilitary group founded in 1966 by an ex-British soldier, based on an old UVF from 1912. Responsible for more than 500 Troubles deaths, more than two thirds random Catholic nationalists. It also carried out attacks in the Republic of Ireland, e.g. 1974 Dublin-Monaghan bombings. Since the 1998 peace accord, many members are involved in organised crime.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

The 1998 Good Friday Agreement (GFA) in Northern Ireland, the ensuing 2006 implementation St Andrews Agreement, and the decommissioning of IRA and loyalist paramilitaries' arms (which took place in September 2005 and June 2007 respectively), constituted a success story in conflict resolution, albeit a compromised peace with qualifications. In the wake of the agreement, Northern Ireland became, in the words of former prime minister Tony Blair's chief of staff and principal peace process negotiator Jonathan Powell, "a place of pilgrimage for people from other conflict zones" in the same way Northern Ireland politicians would visit South Africa in the 1990s to see if they could draw lessons from the historic regime change and peace deal there (Powell, 2009, p. 22). Powell points out that while each conflict is *sui generis*, there are lessons on leadership, insurgent groups, preconditions and implementation that can be transferred to other conflicts (Powell, 2011; 2015a).

In this thesis, I would like to review and expand on the lessons – focusing on behavioural and communication principles – that can be drawn from the Northern Ireland peace process, analysing their relevance in an increasingly complex and changing 21st century, and assessing their generalisablility in other conflicts, referencing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an illustration case.

There has already been extensive analysis done on Northern Ireland's peace process; academic literature tends to focus on substantive matters, placed in a process- or content-oriented framework, such as the analysis of the cessation of violence, furthering of justice, economic development and legitimacy (Ben-Porat, 2008, citing Darby and MacGinty, 2000), or whether the peace deal has been consociational or can be explained by other theoretical constructs (White, 2013). This type of analysis is valuable and necessary for understanding conflict resolution but, on its own, provides an incomplete toolbox: This thesis argues that if the lessons are limited to these exclusive domains, they might run the risk of being met with 'You don't understand, this is different'-type dismissals by actors in other conflict zones. These actors are then probably more inclined to stress the difficulty of comparing like with like, or the trouble of discerning whether or not certain aspects worked only in conjunction with some other circumstances. It must be acknowledged that the need and ability to address cultural, social and psychological

roots of conflicts (Ben-Gorat, 2008) – "to transform attitudes and beliefs that foster animosity and violence" (Ben-Porat, 2008, p. 260) – has already been recognised, but tends to arise in the context of reconciliation, or specialist fields of psychology and intercultural communication.

To attempt to adopt a more integrated perspective to my analysis, I would like to take a multidisciplinary approach – as the subtitle of this thesis suggests – assimilating the following themes:

1.1 The geopolitics of emotion

Political scientist Dominique Moïsi has framed today's geopolitics as a "clash of emotions" (2010), identifying fear, humiliation and hope as 'primary emotions' strongly linked with the notion of state confidence – a defining factor in how nations and people address the challenges they face as well as how they relate to one another (Moïsi, 2010, p. 5).

Fellow political scientist Bertrand Badie has expanded on the theme of humiliation and how, in the foundation stage of International Relations (IR) by Europe, humiliation was brought into the international sphere. In this way, traditional IR as a discipline is flawed, unable to express "domination seen through the lens of the dominated, humiliation as felt by the humiliated, violence as experienced by the desperate" (Badie, 2017a, p.2). As the US is not winning its wars, or is retreating from them, and power seems to be becoming powerless, Badie considers whether 'weakness politics' is about to be substituted for 'power politics' and asks a fundamental question: "How can we consider social change by always using the same paradigms, even if they have from time to time been amended or adjusted?" (Badie, 2020, p.1).

1.2 Who is the terrorist?

A whole canon of academic literature has evolved in the field of terrorist negotiation since the beginning of the 21st century: from root causes, and the bottom-up dynamic of self-radicalising groups to the purely religious ideological component of radical-political Islam (Coolsaet, 2019), or I. William Zartman's and Guy Olivier Faure's insights as both academics and practitioners.

Marsha Crenshaw and other scholars have examined the psychology of terrorism and tried to create a profile of 'the terrorist', and of his or her motives. In psychology, self-awareness is seen as a first step or embarkation to understanding the belief system that has shaped one's behaviour, thoughts, opinions and convictions, in turn, a prerequisite step to understanding others' behaviours. In academic literature analysing the terrorist type, it is assumed that the 'terrorist' is an 'other' in some form, referred to in the third person. Coming from a colonised Western country (Ireland), and born on one side of partition (the Republic of Ireland), I would like to draw on experiences of family members who grew up on the other side in Northern Ireland to objectively understand, through the use of experiential learning methods, the subjectivity of my own response to the Northern Ireland conflict, and critically explore the potential 'terrorist in me' with a view to understanding the person who resorts to terrorist tactics.

1.3 Transformative change in the 21-st century

The subtitle of this thesis also states an intention to re-examine lessons learned from a 21st-century perspective. What does this mean? Perhaps the *zeitgeist* of the first two decades of the 21st century can be captured by a US military acronym, VUCA – Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity and Ambiguity – first used in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Recently, this concept has often been used as an analysis tool in business to facilitate managers lead through change and the unknown in the midst of multi-layered and often contradictory demands on organisations and their people. More recently, researchers and practitioners (e.g. MIT academic Otto C. Scharmer) in the fields of system change and cross-sector system innovation have introduced the notion of 'awareness-based system change' in transformative change in the social and environmental domains (in relation to energy, finance, water, climate). In the search for solutions for conflicts, it can be argued that actors could likewise draw from the concepts of a systemic approach of 'getting the system into the room' (a mix of relevant stakeholders), developing generative dialogue (Scharmer, 2018) to create feasible scenarios, and shifting from short-termism to long-termism.

It would be naïve to suggest in a master's thesis that a success formula to cut through the intractability of persistent conflicts like Israel-Palestine, for example, has been worked out: It's about the idea of principles and behavioural principles, and the dynamic of the relationship. In that respect, this research argues that viewing a conflict through a multidisciplinary lens to include emotions and behaviour alongside substantive factors, examining terrorism through the random position of being born on one side of partition, and linking findings under an overarching IR geopolitics of emotion theme (hope, humiliation and fear), constitute a holistic approach that can contribute in some way to **sustainable** conflict resolution.

Chapter 2
Methodology

To attempt to draw on lessons from Northern Ireland with the intention of adding to this already extensively analysed subject by integrating soft and hard analysis (multi-disciplinary approach), I had to both go broad across history and zoom in to a specific period, and I had to both rationally examine emotion as a framework, and simulate it in an experiential learning process.

This approach is quite ambitious in its scope. On that note, I would like to add that I have limitations in the context of this executive master's thesis. In this respect, please regard it as a starting point for further inquiry and application. As I would like the analysis and conclusions of this thesis to have some relevance in the world of the practitioner, I have drawn on a combination of sources, including:

Academic literature:

- Academic literature on (the lessons of) Northern Ireland, the failure of the peace process in Israel-Palestine, comparisons between the two conflicts, the psychology of terrorism, the psychology of emotions in conflicts, negotiation (with terrorists), intercultural communication, and new paradigms in International Relations.

Practitioners' sources

- Practitioners' and negotiators' insights (both from Northern Ireland and other international conflicts) and their developed models and/or programmes;
- Constructs from psychology, intercultural communication, negotiation, and organisational management – especially theory and models used to facilitate self-awareness and leadership development.

Media footage (including interviews with paramilitaries), data, history books:

- Available footage from Northern Ireland in the period from 1968 to the early 1990s, including the 2019 BBC documentary series *Spotlight on the Troubles: A Secret History*

which contains interviews with former paramilitaries, and has new revelations regarding the collusion between security forces, MI5 and loyalist paramilitaries;

- Interviews with former paramilitaries (one republican, one loyalist) conducted for a Boston College history project. The interviews with former IRA members were recorded by an ex-IRA gunman himself, Anthony McIntyre, (who got a PhD in political science following his release from prison);
- Available quantitative data on Troubles-related deaths, demographics, and education gaps to check perceptions, as well as quantitative data on the current status of Palestinian and Israeli attitudes towards a Palestinian State;
- History books, including personally lived experience of history.

Irish Gaelic literature:

- The Tudor and Cromwellian colonisations of Ireland in the 16th and 17th centuries did not merely signify a regime change, but also the end of a specific political and social order known as the Bardic Order (1200-1600 approx.). The high-caste poet held a crucial position/status in this Gaelic order. Looking at this poetry helped me understand the world order that was about to collapse, and the language issue still going on in Northern Ireland.

Collection of qualitative primary data:

- I conducted interviews with 11 actors who have been involved in Northern Ireland, ranging from a UK Good Friday Agreement negotiator, a politician, an ex-IRA member, a peacebuilder, my cousins and family members who grew up through the Troubles and a Belfast unionist, and six members of my Jewish network.

Please see Appendix A for list of interviewees and objectives of interviews.

Chapter 3
Shifting Paradigms: The Geopolitics of Emotion

3.1 New paradigms in a world of complexity and interconnectedness

Contemporary International Relations (IR) has started questioning the adequacy of its constructs to understand and carry a relevance in our current, complex world, a world where US hegemony is in "systemic decline" (Gerges, 2019), the "Russian bear is back on its feet" (Badie, 2019, p. xii), emerging countries are asserting themselves, and where increased populations and demand for resources pose global 'grand societal challenges' (van Tulder, 2018; Partnerships Resource Centre, 2016) relating to climate change, energy and water like never before.

"*How can we consider social change by always using the same paradigms, even if they have from time to time been amended or adjusted?*" This is the opening question that French political scientist Bertrand Badie poses in his latest work, *Rethinking International Relations*(2020). New paradigms like transnationalism, constructivism and post-modernism have enriched IR, but Badie asks whether these theories are enough to provide an interpretation of the world. The emergence of a universal international society of sovereign states – basically the expansion of the European international society into the non-European world – led to a 'standard of civilisation' based on civilisational and racial hierarchies (Stroikos, 2014, citing Gong, 1984). Badie examines this constructed superiority, the "motivation for humiliation", in IR (Badie, 2014; Badie, 2017) as a component of the relationship with authority. To make sense of today's international system, we need to place it in a historical context instead of fossilising it, describing rifts rather that denying them, and understanding the "real issues by looking beyond appearances" (Badie, 2019, p xiii).

The call for new paradigms is not confined to the field of IR: The 2008-2009 financial crisis highlighted the need to "extricate ourselves from the neo-classical vision that has led our economy for years; a generally mechanistic and dehumanised view of economic society driven by cost-effectiveness and profit maximisation" at the cost of human and sustainability issues (van Halderen, 2015, citing Jurriaanse, 2015). And, illuminating the blind spot in today's leadership, MIT scholar-practitioner C. Otto Scharmer (2018) seeks ways to channel the energy of the disruption of our times into new paradigms. Old mindsets and logic of organising are dying; what is being born is less clear. Scharmer concedes that the beginnings of the shift, "an activation of the intelligence of the heart" (Scharmer, 2018, p.3), may seem small and insignificant compared with the scale of the challenges we face worldwide; yet – perhaps beyond the clash of civilisations – they contain, in his view, the seeds for "civilizational renewal" (Scharmer, 2018, p.3).

Regardless of whether scholars are analysing economics, business, political conflicts, or international relations, several commonalities are emerging across a spectrum of sectors and arenas: to be effective, we need to move from short-termism based on self-interest to long-termism with 'sustainable solutions' (Raworth, 2018; Tulder, van, 2018; Schoenmaker & Schramade, 2019); we need to overcome psychological barriers to addressing problems (what Badie (2019) refers to as "rifts"), and so break down resistance to taking responsibility; we need holistic decision-making, making 'hands, hearts and heads work together' (Partnerships Resource Centre, 2016), basically approaching a problem from more than one paradigm, and we need to develop self-awareness in leadership to understand our blind spots (Scharmer, 2018). This requires an approach balancing both rationality and emotion.

3.2 Fear, hope, and humiliation

Framing today's geopolitics as a "clash of emotions", political scientist Dominique Moïsi has essentially mixed subjective, at times irrational, emotions with objective hardware such as frontiers, geography, economic resources, military might and the cold political calculus of interest. He has identified three primary emotions – fear, hope, and humiliation; in broad strokes, conflicts in the Middle East stemming from humiliation, fear in Western society under the threat of change, and Asia giving a twist of hope to its humiliation:

"*Fear against hope, hope against humiliation, humiliation leading to sheer irrationality and even, sometimes, to violence – one cannot comprehend the world in which we live without examining the emotions that help to shape it.*" (Moïsi 2010, p. xi)

Dutch philosopher Spinoza had recognised the symbiotic paradox of hope and fear in the 17th century: Both are necessary in life, and both relate to uncertainty over what the future will bring. Fear, humiliation and hope are always present in variable proportions, depending upon the continent, the regions, the countries, and above all the period, contends Moïsi (2010), who considers the Israel-Palestine conflict "the archetypal encounter between two of the primary emotions" – humiliation and fear: "*How do you reconcile two peoples with diverse emotional landscapes, when what is the miracle of rebirth for one is the Naqbah, the catastrophe of defeat and oppression for the other?*" (Moïsi, 2010, p. 17).

I postulate that the Northern Ireland conflict was also a battleground between fear and humiliation, and contend that the humiliation was in a transitional phase at the time

of the outbreak of the Troubles in 1968, a humiliation feeding on hope on the part of the nationalists (drawing from the civil rights movement in the US); when that hope was dealt a heavy hand by fear, it resulted in violence: thwarted hope is, perhaps, the most intense emotion of all. Demonization has been a big weapon in this battleground. In the playoff, demonization was both part of a top-down strategy, and a bottom-up coping mechanism to dehumanise the 'other'; it has become ingrained in societal thinking. De-demonization could be part of an approach to reconcile peoples with diverse emotional landscapes; this thesis looks at this process in Chapter 6.

The conflict can possibly be also seen as a strengthening of 'weakness politics' to reference Badie, and as a struggle for recognition and balance in the relationship between not only the unionist and nationalist communities of Northern Ireland, but also between the British and Irish States – on some level a litmus test for the way in which the UK dealt with one of the final legs of a huge transition from an Empire over a relatively short time span.

Arguably, the most important lesson of the Northern Ireland peace process may well be the hope it offers, the hope that stems from its (relative) success and survival. "Successive British prime ministers from Churchill, to Wilson, to Thatcher believed that Northern Ireland was insoluble," says Jonathan Powell, chief negotiator on behalf of the British government but "the lesson I have learned above all else is that there is no such thing as an insoluble conflict, however long-lasting, however bloody, however frozen" (Powell, Interview 2020).

Chapter 4
Partition: Two Histories, Many Truths

When Jonathan Powell was acting as adviser to former president Juan Manuel Santos during negotiations with the FARC in Colombia, he and a team attempted to produce a common history by including historians from both sides alongside a more neutral historian in-between. This attempt to capture and integrate the divergent perspectives did not really work, Powell explains, because history can, in part, be "a tale people tell themselves to justify what they're doing; so if you try to make it neutral, it no longer serves that purpose" (Powell, Interview 2020).

4.1 The partition of Ireland: understanding watershed moments

Partition is far from simple; it is the making of a trauma, political and human. Partitions may carry an "illusion of finality" but are really "often a temporary solution that fails to engage the deep roots of the conflict" (Ben-Porat, 2008, p. 260). The problems will become as entrenched as the new border if inequality attributed to past injustices and past grievances are not addressed (Ben-Porat 2008, citing Ben-Porat, 2005). Northern Ireland's lessons cannot be merely drawn from the 30-year span of the Troubles.

Ireland was England's first overseas conquest, starting in 1169 though primarily in the 16th and 17th centuries, and, in spite of various spurts of insurgency, was still part of the vast British Empire at the turn of the 20th century. The 'Empire' (regardless where) is commonly supposed to epitomise or even to incarnate a civilisation (Badie, 2020, citing Eisenstadt, 1963); it uses the notion of 'otherness' or 'alterity' to explain its relationship with the people under its dominion, and tends "to denigrate or at least to downgrade otherness" (Badie, 2020, p. 12). The tension embedded in this 'otherness' has been a motif in British-Irish relations down the centuries, the elephant in the relationship so to speak, – an implicit refusal to accept this positioning on the part of the Irish. Overcoming this tension, and collaborating on Northern Ireland as two mature states from the 1980s, was a factor in the solution, this thesis finds. As Moïsi says, "Fear is the absence of

confidence" (Moïsi, 2010, p.5).

Different histories are not just about tangible differences surrounding specific events or regime change but also about the significance of that event, and how that event can become part of a collective memory of bereavement, or victory. I would like to mention two events in Irish history that seem to encapsulate that bereavement, events that were still present at the negotiation table during the Northern Ireland peace process, and an aspect of which is still being played out in Northern Ireland's Assembly today: the Flight of the Earls in 1607, and the 1845-49 Great Famine, with particular reference to the socio-linguistic impact.

The Celts came to Britain and Ireland around 500 BC. Ireland enjoyed a long period of relative stability until the Viking invasions from 795 AD, followed by the Norman invasions of 1169 and 1171. The Norman settlers adapted as well as conquered, and, by the 14th century, had blended significantly into Gaelic culture – *Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis*, more Irish than the Irish themselves (Moody & Martin, 1967). When the Tudors came to power, English dominion in Ireland was largely centred around Dublin and its hinterland; beyond the 'Pale', as this area was dubbed, the Gaelic Irish upheld a system known the Bardic Order with its own language, laws, political and social systems, and customs – especially the tradition of patronage of the high-class poets. The Tudor conquests, and Elizabethan one in particular, changed the landscape, moving control across the whole country. The northern Ulster region, an area with powerful Gaelic chieftains, resisted this advance; led by the influential Aodh Mór Ó Néill, the Ulster chieftains (with the aid of the Spanish) fought for nine years until their final surrender in Ulster in 1603. At peace negotiations, Ó Néill secured what could be rationally interpreted as favourable terms in line with the 'Surrender and Regrant' policy of the Tudor colonisation: basically a pardon and the chieftains' land back (to a certain degree) in return for pledging allegiance to the English Crown.

In short, the tangibles of the agreement were reasonable, but the deal involved more: Aodh Mór Ó Néill had to firstly renounce his Gaelic title – Uí Néill (*The* O'Neill, a dynasty chief) – and become Earl of Tyrone, replace Breton law with English law, adopt English as the official language, and agree not to support the Gaelic bards or poets. Clearly, Elizabeth I understood the importance of the poet in Irish society: The poet or *fileadh* was held in high regard, a leading figure underpinning a political and social order (Greene & Kelly, 1970); the Bardic Order (1200-1600 approx.) involved the institutionalisation of bardic schools and a professionalisation of a hereditary elitist caste of male poets attached to specific aristocratic families and patrons. But the new 'Earls' did not stay long under the new regime: Stripped of their Gaelic titles, the Ulster O'Neill and O'Donnell chieftains, now earls, left Ulster with some 90 followers (including a number of poets) for mainland Europe in 1607 – to either garner more Spanish support or to accept a life in exile as a way of dealing with their loss of status, we do not know (Moody & Martin, 1967).

You can describe the 'Flight of the Earls' as a departure of a number of Gaelic chieftains with their entourage from the shores of Lake Swilly in September 1607, or you can understand it as a watershed event in Ireland, marking the end of a 400-year and longer political, social, and cultural order, and the beginning of the erosion of a language and self-esteem. The Flight of the Earls left a vacuum that enabled James I of England to implement a strategic colonisation of Ulster. The colonists or 'British tenants' planted from Scotland and Northern England primarily were (supposed to be) English-speaking,

Protestant, and loyal to the king. Many Irish natives were dispossessed. Partition (although not official) and ethnic sectarianism in Northern Ireland were born[1].

When looking at the Irish question, British historians, politicians, unionists, or the Ministry of Defence (MoD) often view it as if looking back to this point when they became the power holders, whereas the Irish will tend to have a foot on the Gaelic side of the line and view the course of history across centuries from before power was taken away, and their way of life turned upside down; different perspectives of history lie not only in the facts and myths you tell, but also relate to a temporal dimension. In his book *Talking to Terrorists*, Jonathan Powell refers to Ireland's "ancient tradition of insurrection" (Powell, 2015a, p. 6), whereas many Irish would consider their strongest centuries-old tradition a literary one (oldest written European vernacular after Greek and Latin). The gun came quite late.

The 1845-49 Great Famine is another watershed event in Ireland. It remains a historically and politically charged event in relation to the British government's *laissez-faire* policy and continued exportation of crops and livestock out of the country. But it is not just a watershed event in terms of humanity, social upheaval (population halved between 1841 and 1954) or political unrest: it was the 'coffin ship' (as Famine emigrant ships were called) of the Gaelic language. The decline of the language, which had started before the Great Famine, (also in part due to the 1831 provision of national primary school education in English), "but now amplified by the rural depopulation, was inexorable, as was the shrinking of the regions where Irish Gaelic remained the language of the majority" (Falc'Her-Poyroux, 2015, p. 3). Irish Gaelic began to be associated with death, impoverishment, destitution – and shame. Language as part of Irish identity – and weaponised for subjugation – became part of Ireland's humiliation; by the beginning of the 20th century, it was to become a large part of the rise of nationalism, and hope.

Please see Appendix B for a more detailed version of the impact of the Famine on the language

It was the Irish Literary Revival – spearheaded by the Protestant Ascendency class in artistic and upper-class circles like poet William Butler Yeats or playwright John Millington Synge who mystified the past and the native Catholic, Irish Gaelic speaker – and the Gaelic Revival (foundation of *Conradh na Gaeilge*, the 'Gaelic League') at the end of the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries that, paradoxically, led to an increase in the momentum for a nationalist agenda. The biographies of the 1916 Easter Rising leaders are of teachers, poets, actors, more than those with military backgrounds; they are a mix of rural and urban, and of old English aristocracy and native Irish, and expanded the notion and concept of what 'Irishness' constitutes (later from the 1930s more inward-looking and narrow-minded when the Catholic Church got a foothold in State affairs, "Christ and Caesar hand in glove", as James Joyce described it). An armed guerrilla campaign culminated in the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1921. The Protestants in the north, the 17th-century planted colonists for whom 'Home rule was Rome rule', did not relate to Irish identity; they secured an option of staying in the UK, shaving off three of Ulster's counties in order to uphold a majority in the new Northern Ireland, whose birth pangs of violence and sectarian strife came near to plunging it into anarchy. The 'Protestant state for a Protestant people' characterises the institutionalisation of

[1]Cromwell's campaign in Ireland came next. During his short time in Ireland, he accomplished a more complete control through a "ruthless process of ethnic cleansing" (Morrill). Three quarters of the land held by Catholic Irish people was confiscated and redistributed to Protestant Englishmen. William of Orange's reign (celebrated each year by unionists) and the adoption of the Penal Laws stripped Catholics of basic rights, and cemented Ireland as a colony with a Protestant Ascendancy.

unionist power in Northern Ireland from its inception until the late 1960s. Its first prime minister, Sir James Craig, abolished proportional representation and gerrymandered the constituencies so that even Catholic-majority areas like Derry could be ruled by a Protestant minority. "*All I boast of is that we are a Protestant Parliament and a Protestant State. It would be rather interesting for historians of the future to compare a Catholic State launched in the South with a Protestant State launched in the North and to see which gets on the better and prospers the more,*" he said in 1934. (Bardon, 1992)

The Troubles broke out as a result of the call for civil rights in the 1960s – one man, one vote; one family, one house; one man, one job – and a partisan law enforcement system (McEvoy, 2001), which failed to protect the nationalist community against the violent unionist and loyalist response to the growth of the 1960s civil rights NICRA movement. The British Ministry of Defence called NICRA "a moderate group" in its 2006 report on its Army's operation in Northern Ireland (MoD, 2006), although many unionists claimed it was a front for the IRA, "which needed to be faced down by stern security measures" (McEvoy, 2001, p. 205). Former IRA member Des Long denies in a 2019 BBC documentary (BBC, 2019) that it was an IRA front, but says, "Every fella who gets his head cracked open by a peeler's baton is a potential recruit." The IRA at this point, under its Dublin-based leadership, had turned to Marxism, and was careful not to alienate working-class unionists. Following a pogrom on Catholic areas in which houses were burned, the IRA earned itself a new acronym: 'I Ran Away'. When the British Army was called in to play a peace-keeping role, the Catholic community welcomed it as its protector. The honeymoon didn't last long, as "the army's role became seen as an exercise in counter-insurgency" (McEvoy, 2001, p. 206). The Thirty-Year Troubles broke out.

4.2 Lessons from the Northern Ireland peace process

The length of time it took for the political settlement to crystallise, as well as the "relatively benign regional context of the conflict", provide ample basis for scepticism about how far the Northern Ireland's experience of conflict resolution can be successfully exported to other conflict zones, argues Comparative Politics Professor Adrian Guelke (Guelke, 2011, p. 12). Jonathan Powell says that the ten-year implementation stage of the GFA, while frustrating, was not wasted time, but actually a process of building trust between the two sides. "It was a very backhand way of building trust but it was necessary" (Powell, Interview 2020).

This research argues that we need to distinguish between the duration of the conflict, and the duration of the peace process and implementation, and that the main mistakes can be found in the conflict's duration, the main success factors from the peace process, and that lessons can be drawn from both.

Regarding the factors that led to the "quite extraordinary events of 1998" (Cox, 1998, p. 73), London School of Economics professor and founder of think tank IDEAS Michael Cox has categorised them into the following schools of thought (Cox, 1998):

1. **'People power' or public opinion**, mirror-imaging accounts of social movements' role in the end of the Cold War;
2. **The 'realist' successful containment of the IRA by the British Army and intelli-**

gence forces. History and foreign policy scholar John Bew, rejecting the notion of a mutually hurting stalemate, argues that, in political terms, the IRA had the potential for electoral expansion but was being held back by its military action. It was not "an ameliorative process of dialogue and trust-building which brought them to the table", but "a calculation based on realpolitik" (Bew, 2011, p.20);

3. **The strengthened cooperation between Ireland and the UK,** and isolation of the Republican threat through the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. Guelke described this cooperation as "institutionalisation" (2011, p.8), and says it has been very underplayed. It was further strengthened through the Queen's later successful and historic visit to the Republic of Ireland in 2011.

4. **The shifts in the international system**, which, Cox argued had been generally ignored by analysts [when writing in 1998]. With the end of the Cold War, while the IRA still had their capacity to bomb and shoot, the movement was losing various points of ideological and political reference: "Born of the turbulent 1960s, sustained indirectly by the Cold War in the 1970s and 1980s, it finally came to a conclusion in the settling 1990s – along with a number of other conflicts that had drawn more direct inspiration from the larger struggle between East and West" (Cox, 1998, p. 83).

5. **Ireland's relationship with the EU**: Sinn Féin's Mitchel McLaughlin had conceded (in an interview with Cox) that one of the important factors in the peace process was the Single European Act and "the dominance of the EU on the island of Ireland" (Cox, 1998, p. 83). The IRA's anti-European vision was unlikely to get broad support in the Republic of Ireland where young people were interested in getting an education and getting on economically (Cox, 1998) (nowadays, Catholic nationalists in Northern Ireland are showing the same tendency regarding education (Burns et al., 2015)). Political activity no longer stayed confined to the nation state, but started to find a place in European governance (Cox et al., 2006). Badie expands on this idea in the transformation to, what he calls, "intersocial rather than interstate relations" (2017, p. 2), where the old territorial notion of politics has been challenged by "mobilities" – international flows that can be material, informational, or human (2017, p.1). Northern Ireland, and British-Irish relations, serve as an illustration in point regarding this shift.

Timothy White (2013) points out that the academic focus on theoretical approaches to explain the nature of the peace process has been at the expense of analysis of potential lessons. I would first like to list salient substantive lessons that are part of academic and political analysis, though adding some benefits of hindsight to that analysis, and then explore key behavioural lessons. The lesson on whether to talk to terrorists or not is a prevalent debate; I have dealt with this separately in Chapter 5.

4.2.1 Lessons already identified

1. Powell has talked about a lesson that "jumped out at me again and again, and that was **the importance of the process itself**" (2009). Tony Blair often used a train metaphor, however hackneyed, to describe the launch of the process when he urged the IRA in 1997 to renew their ceasefire as "the settlement train is leaving." The 'conditions of carriage' were threefold: inclusion (the peace train is open to all); sufficient consensus (the train is leaving, so if you are not on board, you will get left

behind); and non-violence (if you misbehave during the ride, you'll be ejected from the train) (Mitchell, 2010). Sinn's Fein's Conor Murphy, and incumbent Minister of Finance, stands behind the idea of peace being a process and not an event, a slow and fragile process (Murphy, Interview 2020).

2. The topic of **conditions or no conditions** has also been extensively analysed by scholars and practitioners alike. In the early 1990s, former UK prime minister John Major had insisted that the IRA decommission its arms ahead of any talks; Blair and Powell realised that McGuinness and Adams would be unable to sell that to the IRA. Powell says you can have preconditions like the end of violence during the process (in line with the Mitchell Principles, the ground rules on non-violence drawn up by US mediator George Mitchell), but "if you have a condition you haven't agreed on, then you get yourself stuck" (Powell, Interview 2020).

3. Tony Blair was determined not to let small issues become mammoth problems that would obstruct the greater goal. Powell applied what he called "constructive ambiguity", wording that allows wiggle room on both sides, in the GFA – "otherwise we wouldn't have had the Good Friday Agreement" (Powell, Interview 2020). **Constructive ambiguity** – the space that "allowed the different parties to interpret or emphasize different element of the agreement to satisfy themselves" (White, 2013, p. 4) – provided the **creativity** needed to keep up the momentum, though needs to be handled with care. While constructive ambiguity resulted in a longer implementation period, the time provided an opportunity to build trust, says former US senator George Mitchell, who chaired the talks: "*You can rebuild buildings, you can replace vehicles, you can put bridges back up, but the real important thing, to change what is in people's hearts and minds, takes much longer*" (Mitchell, G.).

4. **The role of a neutral third party** in the Northern Ireland peace process is an important lesson that can be transferred to other conflict zones. The notion of a third party being 'neutral' (or whether it should be) could potentially be a matter of debate in itself; arguably, because of the US-UK 'special relationship', the US was able to be successful in its role as broker – a balance of having a stake (and therefore commitment) and sufficient distance. Earlier, the granting of a US visa to Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams by former US president Bill Clinton was perceived by many as an incident that "changed the goal posts" (McAvoy, Interview 2020).

   Please see Appendix C on the 'Visa Wars'.

   The US remained involved throughout the process: Former Senate leader George Mitchell chaired the talks, and Clinton was personally involved at various stages, especially leading up to the signing of the GFA. The subsequent decommissioning process was led by General John De Chastelain, a retired Canadian general: "The IRA found it far easier to put their weapons beyond use through an international commission on decommissioning chaired by a Canadian General than they would have done handing the over to the Brits or the Unionists" (Powell, 2011, p. 25). This also ties in with the idea of surrender and losing face.

5. The **reform of the security forces** was pivotal to a peace agreement, particularly in nationalist areas where the mainly Protestant RUC police force had lost legitimacy in the community (White, 2013, citing Ó Dochartaigh, 2011; McAvoy, Interview 2020). While this lesson has been identified, its significance probably hasn't been given enough credit. The lack of legitimacy of both the police force and the Army

has been confirmed in my data collection with nationalist family members and network, as well as peace builder Colin Craig. The statistics on the percentage of Catholics killed by British soldiers, and percentage of Catholics held under internment laws, substantiate that bias (of the 1,981 people interned without trial up to 1975, 1,874 were Catholic; initially, all were Catholic).

Please see Appendix D for statistics on Troubles deaths.

Interviewees for this research related that young men in the nationalist community were particularly singled out and victimised in everyday events like the frequent searches (words like "humiliated" and "threatened" were used). One respondent, Ronnie Mallon, is the brother of a victim of the alleged Glenanne Gang attack (a collusion of RUC police, Army, and UVF loyalist paramilitaries) on Hughes' Bar, Newry, in 1974. Ronnie Mallon related that after the death of his brother John, the RUC tried to implicate John as the 'bomber'. The UVF has since claimed responsibility (via a source). This practice of trying to frame nationalists/republicans has been reported in several instances (please see Chapter 5). Respondent and peace builder Colin Craig talked about the working-class Protestant make-up of the security forces and the dilemma of tackling the legal paramilitary group UDA, when police officers' cousins and community network were UDA members. "It was better to claim purity from a distance than dirty engagement" (Craig, Interview 2020).

The policing reforms endeavoured to transform the relationship between police and society (Caparini & Hwang, 2019). Under the facilitation of former Hong Kong governor Chris Patten, a commission made 175 recommendations including renaming the force, removing British symbols, a 50:50 Catholic/Protestant recruitment policy for ten years and appointing a police ombudsman. Sinn Féin finally agreed to endorse the reforms under the 2006 St Andrews Agreement. The lesson on the transformation of policing, both in the model and in identifying the clear need for diversity in the force, should not have to await the outbreak of a sectarian conflict, as exemplified by the response to the death of George Floyd in May 2020 and the ongoing wave of protests in the US at the time of writing this thesis.

6. It's common to hear the voice of dissent or extremism on both sides (and feel its effects) during a conflict. The GFA and its endorsement enabled the less audible **voice of moderation** to be heard. The more moderate political voice of unionism was represented by David Trimble and his UUP (Trimble had shifted from an implacable stance to a search for compromise); the moderate voice of nationalism – a consistent voice of non-violence and open dialogue throughout the Troubles and beyond – was through SDLP leader John Hume, who had supported Adams in his journey into the political arena in the 1990s (both Trimble and Hume were awarded the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize); but above all, the voice of the people spoke out: In the referendum held in Northern Ireland to endorse the GFA, more than 71% of the people voted in favour (only Ian Paisley's DUP and the local Conservative Party campaigned for a 'No' vote; yet it is estimated about 57% of Protestants, Trimble's middle-class supporters especially, voted to endorse the GFA – so at least there was a Protestant majority in favour; about 94% of Northern Catholics endorsed the GFA); while in the Republic of Ireland, more than 94% voted in favour of amending the constitution to renounce its territorial claim on the whole of Ireland, endorsing the concept of a United Ireland by consent only. The Republic's constitutional amendment went right in the face of the IRA's "moral right to pass laws for, and to claim jurisdiction over the territory … and all of its people regardless of creed

or loyalty" (IRA, p. 1). The modernisation and secularisation of the Republic of Ireland (White, 2013), as well as globalisation, had contributed to shaping a modern, broader Irish identity.

4.2.2 Lessons less explored

1. **Short-term focus**:The MoD/British Army wrote in its 2006 report on operations in Northern Ireland: "*The underlying causes of an insurgency will tend to be social or political, economic or a mixture of these. Insurgent bodies feed off disaffection . . . The critical issue is the necessity of engaging all relevant agencies in early, substantive, visible action for reform in order to prevent insurgency or civil war breaking out or potential insurgents exploiting the situation*" (MoD 2006, paragraphs 808 + 804). Reflecting on why it took a further two decades to end violence when, by 1980, the Army had all the military structures in place which eventually "defeated" the IRA ('defeat' is their word; analysts agree that the Army had at least contained the IRA), it points to the lack of a single authority in overall charge, and "little evidence of a strategic vision" or a long-term plan – and so the wheel kept being reinvented. (MoD, 2006, paragraph 812).

   Martin Mansergh, a former Irish politician and diplomat who played a prominent role in the whole process (Mansergh grew up in England, his family is from Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy), draws a distinction between counterterrorism and conflict resolution. Irish governments actually used the word 'terrorism' sparingly, because it implied not just a rejection of the IRA's violent campaign, but it could also have signalled a narrow view of the solutions through more anti-terrorism laws and "more ruthless tactics up to and beyond the rule of law" (Mansergh, 2011, p. 13). The 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement was much more of a successful counter-terrorism strategy in the political sense than any initiatives on the security front (Mansergh, 2011), in that it served to marginalise Sinn Féin and violent republicanism throughout all Ireland; it was more long-term in approach.

2. The MoD wrote that it "could be argued that the Army did make the situation worse by, in practice, alienating the catholic community in 1970 and 1971" (MoD, 2006, paragraph 811). This was affirmed in my data collection among nationalist respondents. Gerry Adams contends that internment helped create the modern IRA (Powell, 2008). The Army report writes that it can be difficult to change emotions, perceptions or deep-seated grievances and beliefs, referring to the nationalist community's perception of the Army as an occupier. I postulate that this holds for both sides, and I would argue for the desirability of involving an **external third party on some level prior to and during military operations**, even in a consultancy role, and not only decades later during a peace process. Prior to the introduction in the 1990s of third parties into the conflict resolution process, the British government "had long refused to countenance any international role in Northern Ireland" (Powell, Interview 2020).

   Former Army Major interview respondent Paul Smith referred frequently to the high "moral code" that commanding officers and soldiers adhered to in the Army; the IRA similarly talks about the moral justification of its campaign. It is possible that external facilitation could facilitate deeper understanding of embedded biases in each belief system, and **deconstruct-reconstruct the moral code**, leading to more informed (military) decision-making.

Please see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1. (de-demonization) regarding decision-making.

3. On a broader level of diversity, Smith, who was part of a counterterrorism unit, talked about how, during his military training as an officer, the class was full of "people of my type of character … desperate to serve in Northern Ireland to make their name there – or not" (Interview 2020). The officers displayed the "Myers-Briggs ENTJ personality type" (Extrovert, Intuitive, Thinking, Judging), – decisive, critical and assertive people who pursue achievement, the 'driving organisers" (Myers Briggs). There has been much discourse in the past decade about the need within organisations for **diversity not only in ethnic background or gender but also in personality type** in order to be effective – we need the reflectors as well as the doers. Perhaps this could be an area of potential inquiry within military organisations (if it isn't already).

4. **Leadership**: Powell has named leadership as one of two of the most important lessons in the Northern Ireland peace process (alongside a mutually hurting stalemate). He named the willingness to take risks as a core quality of the leadership style that made the GFA happen. Tony Blair brought energy and what has been described as a "messianic conviction" to the process (a quality for which he has been criticised in relation to his actions in Iraq or elsewhere), as well as a strong vision that kept him focused on the larger picture – necessary to overcome the conflict's perceived intractability. Blair also took the courageous and contentious step in 1998 of sanctioning the inquiry into Bloody Sunday (the longest and most expensive inquiry in British history); its findings were released in 2010, exonerating the victims. UUP leader David Trimble took a big risk with his career by engaging in negotiations with arch-enemy Sinn Féin, and paid a price before the end of the peace process: he became First Minister of Northern Ireland in 1998, but was heavily defeated in the 2005 general election by Ian Paisley's DUP (Trimble went on to join the Conservative Party). Clinton took a risk, too, when he opened the political door to Adams on the international stage. Powell has described Gerry Adams as a ruthless and focused negotiator (Powell, 2008), but understood, too, that, with the burden of persuading the hardliners in his movement, both he and Martin McGuinness could pay with their life – and not just their careers – if they made a mistake.

   "*You had a lot of people in the IRA who were wedded to an idea of a military victory. They had invested, they had lost friends, they had seen people they knew and loved being killed or do long, long times in prison, dead or on hunger strike … It's one thing to reach an agreement with your opponents; it's another thing to carry your support base with you. The ANC taught us a lesson in the mid-90s: The most important negotiation you'll have is with your own people*," says Conor Murphy, Sinn Féin, Northern Ireland's Finance Minister and former IRA member (Murphy, Interview 2020).

   During initial meetings between McGuinness and Powell in Derry, there seemed to be little security in place, with Powell travelling incognito in 'shady' circumstances: "You take a risk to make other people feel you trust them, rather than you trusting them … Your trusting them with your life was a way of trying to build confidence on the other side" (Interview 2020). But it took more than trust, it also took commitment: the signing of the GFA was only the start of the journey. Commitment means going into negotiations for the long haul (Murphy, Interview 2020).

   Conversely, revisiting Ireland's history since partition, and the history of the Trou-

bles, it was also lack of leadership that jumped out, that somehow the three-decade struggle could have been avoided or stopped earlier. Indeed, the MoD report on its military operation (MoD, 2006) concluded that the government would never have allowed violence on this level to continue in the streets of cities like Bristol or Birmingham on the British mainland (paragraph 402), and that many events of the Troubles could have been avoided or reduced in impact (paragraph 802). There has indeed been a gross indifference to Northern Ireland (Powell, Interview 2020), inherent in unionists' core fear. As Marsergh put it, "In 1922 the British had withdrawn psychologically and there was enormous reluctance in the late 1960s to become directly involved again" (Marsergh 2018, p. 148, originally 1995). The young nationalist generation of the 1960s was demanding more of the State (Doyle, 2018): If strong listening skills are a prerequisite to leadership, then why did it take so long to listen? It took almost two decades before either SDLP's John Hume or Irish governments could persuade the UK of the merits of a structured joint approach (Connolly & Doyle, 2018). Northern Ireland was important to the Conservative Party only insofar that it pledged to support it (the 'Orange card').

But why did the British State allow undemocratic mechanisms in the nation state of Northern Ireland, where the nationalist community was effectively excluded from public life? Why was the 1973 Sunningdale Agreement, which envisaged power-sharing between the centrist nationalists (SDLP) and the unionists, alongside a North-South Council, allowed to be brought down by a coalition of unionist politicians and loyalist paramilitaries? In 1974, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson admonished unionists in a broadcast concerning the rejection of the Sunningdale Agreement and the organisation in 1974 of a general workers' strike by unionists and loyalist paramilitaries, who, Wilson said, had decided, without having been elected by a single vote, who shall work in Northern Ireland and who shall not: "*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?*"

Yet, the British government was not willing to face simultaneous opposition from both the IRA and the anti-power-sharing unionists, and capitulated in the face on an anti-Sunningdale unionist strike (Doyle, 2017). Besides holding on to power, why were loyalist paramilitaries allowed to continue to arm and commit acts of violence during the Troubles? During the 1974 strike, the UVF carried out bomb attacks in Dublin and Monaghan, the biggest single atrocity in the Troubles, most of the Dublin victims young women. Sammy Smyth, then press officer of both the UDA and the UWC Strike Committee, said: "I am very happy about the bombings in Dublin. There is a war with the [Republic of Ireland] and now we are laughing at them" (CAIN, 1974). The UDA was only made illegal in 1992 (and the UVF was actually legal at the time of the Dublin/Monaghan bombings and the Miami Showband attack). Why was it acceptable that an MEP, Ian Paisley, was allowed to address some 3,000 men in uniform to launch the Ulster Resistance paramilitary group in 1986 in response to the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement? At the invitation-only rally at Ulster Hall, Belfast, Paisley donned his red beret (dramatically filmed) (BBC, 2019), and the group went on to procure arms from a South African contact in collaboration with other loyalist terrorists (after UVF robbed a bank), including the legal UDA, weapons used to kill civilian Catholic civilians and outstrip the IRA in terms of casualties; arguably, a factor in bringing the IRA to negotiations.

These questions are also tied up in many recently launched ongoing inquiries; their answers will have lessons too, whatever their findings.

Summarising the leadership characteristics that enabled the GFA:

- **Courage**, including the ability and willingness to take career, reputational, or even personal risks, and the courage to say sorry for past grievances (Blair and Powell on the Famine) and undertake assessment of the State's institutions (Bloody Sunday)
- **Purposefulness** with vision: ability to consistently rise above the detail and focus on the bigger picture using 'constructive ambiguity'
- **Commitment** to the implementation process
- **Long-term focus**

5. **Intangibles matter**: During negotiations on the reform of the police force, symbols like the Queen's picture in courtrooms, or the Crown on police uniforms, were difficult and delicate topics for unionists. The Irish Language Act, proposed under the GFA and more worked out under a new policy document 'New Decade, New Approach' in January 2020 (Smith & Coveney, 2020) as part of a move to resume government following three years of a collapsed Executive in Northern Ireland, is an ongoing saga and dispute with regular clashes on the issue in the Northern Ireland Assembly. In 2017, DUP leader and First Minister Arlene Foster said the DUP would never agree to an Irish Language Act, and suggested a Polish language Act instead. "If you feed a crocodile, it will keep coming back for more" (BBC, 2017), she said, though later apologised for her remarks.

   Communication psychologist Paul Watzlawick has identified how in communication conflicts, people are speaking about content, and try to resolve a dispute on the level of content, but the real disagreement is on the metacommunicational level, basically the level of the relationship (Watzlawick et al., 1967). So this going round in circles about a language act, while 'content' on the surface, is really about a deep-seated and emotional conflict that has not been addressed in the relationship. (And of course, the DUP did not take part in GFA negotiations, so were not engaged during the process.)

   Please see Appendix E on Watzlawick theory of metacommunication.

   Reconciliation is "a deeply personal process" touching "the cognitive and the emotional, the rational and the non-rational" (Huyse, 2005, p.9), is culturally determined, and linked to their experiences during the conflict (Huyse, 2005). I contend that this 'culture war' is so deep because it contains so many historical – and personal – elephants in the room. On one hand, it's about your name, the name of your forefathers, (the issue of *Uí Néill* vs. a new title of Earl of Tyrone), it's about who you are; and on the other hand, it's about other unrelated issues all embroiled in the symbolism of culture. It's about parity of identity.

6. **Demonization of the 'other'** : Looking at today's Northern Ireland, it is clear that ongoing monitoring of consociational principles is necessary, and to be vigilant for reverse discrimination against Protestants (as Catholics avail more of education opportunities and move into professional positions). Unionist leader David Trimble said in his 1998 Nobel Prize speech (he shared the Prize with SDLP's John Hume) that Northern Ireland unionism had been a "cold house" for Catholics (Trimble, 1998). At Belfast's Queen's University, a petition in 2020 spoke of the university becoming a 'cold house' for Protestant and unionist students. Tendencies to exclude and expel the 'other' are embedded in both unionism and nationalism, says Irish historian Liam Kennedy, Emeritus history professor at Queen's. At their extremes, both are aggressive cultures and the extremes feed off each other (Kennedy, 2020). Taking university as an institution from which values are disseminated into greater society, an idealised view of a university campus is a place where students from diverse backgrounds should be able to exchange ideas freely – a basis for dissemination into the greater society; but in the context of a deeply divided society, the ideal is "*to learn not to fear or humiliate the 'other'*" (Kennedy, 2020). The alternative vista: campuses as theatres for culture wars that verge on sectarianism and racism, even among young people who did not grew up with violence. So in spite of a political settlement, there is still a considerably segregated society with a stereotypical view of the other across the peace walls in urban areas, walls still present in university lecture halls. The entrenched demonization of the other does not disappear overnight, or on its own; it takes more than a generation.

   Please see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1 on Demonization

   The dynamics of humiliation, fear and hope are still at play in Northern Ireland, but in movement. A changing demographic will be of influence: The last census in 2011 put the Protestant population at 48%, just 3% more than Catholics at 45%, and more recent figures from 2016 show that among those of working age, 44% are now Catholic and 40% Protestant. Strikingly, for the first time since partition, the 2017 elections resulted in a Northern Ireland assembly where the majority was no longer "unequivocal unionist" (Doyle, 2018, p. 12); in 2020, only 44.4% voted for a traditional unionist party (even slightly less than 2017), 42% for parties committed to Irish unity (up 2% from 2017), much of the remainder for cross-community or anti-austerity parties. Even though the nationalists are being forced to leave the EU against their will because of Brexit, will their continued rise into positions of professional power as they pass out unionists – in terms of level of education (Burns et al., 2015) and demographic – continue to feed their hope, and if so, how can they include and reassure unionists on that crest of hope rather than feed fear?

   Please see Appendix F on suggestion for future inquiry into gender lessons.

Chapter 5
Terrorism and Conflict

5.1 Defining terrorism

There is a vast canon of academic literature on terrorism dating from the 1970s and, since 9/11 particularly, that canon has expanded immeasurably. Academic research on terrorism is as contentious as it is extensive: It has been criticised, among others, for its overreliance on secondary sources and literature review methodology, the lack of cross-fertilisation between scholarship on different forms of violence (Chenoweth & Gofas, 2019; Schuurman & Eijkman, 2018), its lack of diversity in the production of knowledge, as well as "a tendency towards de-historization of terrorism" (Chenoweth & Gofas, 2019).

To start with, the **definition** of terrorism poses a conundrum: Searching for a broadly accepted definition has been dubbed the search for the 'Holy Grail' (Toros, 2008, citing Wardlaw, 1989). The lack of consensus on a definition "has hindered analysis since the inception of studies in the early 1970s", claims Marsha Crenshaw (Chenoweth & Gofas, 2019, citing Crenshaw 2000, p. 406). The following working definition has been broadly accepted among social scientists:

"*Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as messenger generators.*" (Schmid & Jongman, 1988, cited by Faure, 2014).

Faure and Zartman (2010) have divided terrorists into three clusters: political, religious and criminal. The IRA falls into the political category, while Hamas is deemed a religious group, whose purpose is "to spread or enforce their system of beliefs in specific territories" (Faure, 2014, Ch.32). Religious terror groups can be classified as absolute terrorist, who action is "non-instrumentalist, a self contained act that is completed when it has occurred and is not a means to obtain some other goal" (Faure, 2014, citing Zartman,

2006, p. 2). Political terrorists like the IRA fall into the category of contingent terrorists, so possible trade-offs with them could be considered (Faure & Zartman, 2010).

Disagreements on the definition of terrorism persist primarily on whether terrorism can be carried out by state actors (Toros, 2008). This discourse is inextricably linked to Chenoweth & Gofas' "dehistorization" of terrorism: "the pejorative classifications of groups as terrorists and events as terrorism become political weapons the state may use when threatened by sustained cycles of contentious mobilisation" (Chenoweth & Gofas, 2019). This is a relevant discourse in the context of Northern Ireland because of the interwoven interaction between some state actors and terrorist groups – basically the dilemma arising from having an overwhelming majority of law enforcement officers and local army regiment from one side of the conflict (Protestant unionist). If you take state terrorism out of the mix, then you also 'delete' / exclude the suffering caused by it: At the time of writing this thesis in July 2020, there are a number of ongoing inquiries into state involvement in violence, including:

1. British Army soldiers' conduct during the Ballymurphy massacre or 'Belfast's Bloody Sunday', in which at least 10 civilians were killed by the Parachute Regiment during the launch of Operation Demetrius, internment without trial (over 100 witnesses have been heard, and the findings are expected to be released later in 2020);

2. An independent British police investigation into the Glenanne Gang involving collusion between the security forces (British Army's locally recruited UDR and rogue RUC officers), possibly MI5, and loyalist terrorist groups (the UVF especially, and the UDA), a gang allegedly responsible for some 90 attacks – including the 1974 Dublin-Monaghan bomb attacks with the highest casualty rate (33 deaths) from the Troubles, the 1975 Miami Showband shooting attack on one of Ireland's most popular showbands, and the attempted killing in 1981 of civil rights activist and former MP Bernadette Devlin McAliskey (unlike Sinn Féin, took her seat in Westminster), gunned down with her husband at home in 1981 by the UDA;

3. Operation Kenova, an investigation into the activities of a British Army intelligence agent codenamed Stakeknife, described as "the golden egg" of the branch (the Force Research Unit), who allegedly headed the IRA's infiltrator execution squad, the so-called 'Nutting Squad', and who is allegedly responsible for the torture and/or deaths of up to 50 people, directly or indirectly (see `https://www.opkenova.co.uk`);

4. The contentious trial (set for July 2020 in Derry) of an Army paratrooper veteran, Solder F., charged with the murder of two men and attempted murder of five on Bloody Sunday in 1972.

The family of murdered high-profile lawyer Pat Finucane is still calling for a public inquiry into his death in 1989 during a family meal (as are many relatives of various collusion victims). A 2012 inquiry by an ex-UN war crimes prosecutor established that the RUC ordered Finucane's killing with a degree of responsibility by an Army intelligence unit (the FRU). The then prime minister David Cameron apologised and met with the Finucane family.

This thesis chapter is not focusing on these investigations. Neither is it suggesting that collusion was systemic; yet Sir John Stevens, who led various inquiries into incidents

of collusion, found in 2003 that collusion was "way beyond" his original 1990 view, with the full *extent* of it still to be revealed (sources vary between 5 and 15 percent for direct involvement). I refer to some examples only to demonstrate the complexity of the situation.

It should be noted that the loyalist UDA paramilitary group was not outlawed until 1992, and the UVF was legal at the time of the Miami Showband attack[2], an attack with huge emotional resonance in the Republic of Ireland. While renouncing the IRA's methods, these are questions some of the Catholic nationalist interviewees posed (the brother of one got killed in an alleged Glenanne Gang attack). One respondent said that loyalist paramilitaries had directly recounted how they would receive information from the police about a republican's whereabouts on a particular day at a certain time, and the RUC officer would typically say "You might want to do something about this". Arguably, the surge in loyalist killings (targeting not only republicans, but also random Catholic civilians and republicans' family members) following the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement up until the 1990s must have put PIRA under severe pressure, and possibly been a factor in the final heave to coerce it into abandoning its armed campaign. Did the British State need a wing of asymmetric actors to contain the IRA? **This would be an interesting line of inquiry in the whole definition discourse: whether and when there is a justification for state actors to adopt the tactics of the terrorist if the limitations of the law are hampering objectives and a possible 'common good', and, if so, where the line is in this.**

Another aspect to the subject of terrorism in Northern Ireland is the information war, and how the association of violence is primarily ascribed to the IRA (mainly PIRA), especially outside Ireland. Indeed the US Council on Foreign Relations think tank draws attention to the fact that despite accounting for almost thirty percent of the total deaths in Northern Ireland and being responsible for more civilian deaths, loyalists' attacks have generally drawn far less media and international attention than those perpetrated by the IRA (CFR, 2005).

Please see Appendix D for figures on casualties.
Please see Chapter 6 for demonization in the propaganda war.

This is by no means diminishing the atrocities committed by the IRA – PIRA has been responsible for more deaths (49%) in Northern Ireland than any other single organisation –, the disruption they caused, and their unofficial position of dominance or 'policing' in everyday local life (in certain urban hotspots) including 'informal justice' practices, or underestimating in the information/propaganda war their exploitation of "the enemy's mistakes" (IRA Green Book, p.4); nor is it downplaying the difficulties and constant anxiety law enforcement officers must have felt (many RUC and UDR members were killed off duty): It is simply a question of presenting the whole picture, in the light of a failure to have done so in the past.

[2]Music band was on its way home from a music gig in Northern Ireland to the South, stopped at a bogus checkpoint and ordered out of their van by Army UDR, simultaneously UVF members; two soldiers tried to plant a bomb in the band's van to frame the musicians. The bomb exploded prematurely on the spot, while other gunmen opened fire killing three of the band members and injuring two.

5.2 To talk or not to talk?

When analysing the lessons from any peace process, the discussion on whether or not, or how, to talk to terrorists arises. In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, former US vice-president Dick Cheney said "We don't negotiate with evil; we defeat it."

Leading scholars in the field Paul Wilkinson and Neumann back this position. For Wilkinson, it would have been "totally unacceptable" for talks to have been opened with the murderers of 58 tourists in Luxor, Egypt, in 1997. Negotiation with terrorists is unlikely to resolve the conflict, and likely to incite more terrorism (Wilkinson, 2001; Neumann, 2007, cited by Toros, 2008). Those who argue against talking say it gives legitimacy to and rewards terrorists. But negotiation is a mechanism for influencing other parties' decisions. The point should not be "to negotiate or not to negotiate, but rather to negotiate properly" (Faure, 2014, Ch. 32). Faure and Zartman (2010) contend that negotiating with terrorist organisations is "not supping with the devil". It is not soul-selling or "evil-pacting" and does not imply for states involved renegading their moral values. Moreover, as Faure says, almost all governments negotiate with terrorists in practice. Indeed, we know that former UK prime minister Margaret Thatcher had negotiated with the IRA during the 1981 Hunger Strikes (Taylor, 2011) and after they bombed the Conservative Party conference in Brighton in 1984.

Given a 'grey zone', state or grassroots "periphery of support surrounding terrorists on both sides" in Northern Ireland, as former British Army major described it (Smith, Interview 2020), the very premise of this debate seems irrelevant. Jonathan Powell has said he actually finds the term 'terrorist' unhelpful in a negotiation context because it is generally used as a term of insult by one side for another and what it tells you is a tactic rather than an objective (Interview, 2020). One of his lessons in the aftermath of the GFA has been, "You cannot stop the violence if you don't talk to the men with the guns" (Cox et al., 2011, p. 23).

5.3 The psychology of the terrorist

Marsha Crenshaw poses the question whether or not there is a 'terrorist personality' similar to the authoritarian personality, whose behavioural and emotional traits can be identified with a degree of specificity. Crenshaw points out that the limited data available on individual terrorists suggests that the outstanding common characteristic of terrorists is their normality (2011, p. 44)! Regarding Ireland, Crenshaw distinguishes between the IRA at the time of 1919-1921 Irish War of Independence as being nationalists fighting a foreign occupier (the Zionist Irgun is also included in this category) and the IRA of Northern Ireland's Troubles, which she categorises as minority separatists fighting indigenous regimes; the loyalist UDA she describes as "reactionaries acting to prevent change from the top" (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 40).

Can we call all the members of a terrorist organisation 'terrorists'? A terrorist organisation sends out a call to action on some level. Researching Northern Ireland, there is great diversity and complexity in the motives of those answering a 'call', ranging from:

- **Deprivation** (call for justice, social equity); circumstantial events, especially in the cities (youths joining friends for a march or other event where violence erupted

and then getting involved);

- **Tribalism** – "working-class war between working-class republicans and working-class loyalists" (MoD 2006, paragraph 108), the street-by-street divisions described as "a patchwork of orange and green, and light orange and light green" by Belfast unionist interviewee Tim Gordon (Gordon, Inteview 2020);
- **Higher-notion revolutionary calling** outside the tribe, e.g. OIRA's Marxism tendency, but also in documented ideology sections of PIRA's Green Book – anti-EEC, anti-"economic imperialism/ Africanisation" that aligns with Third-World peoples and "transcends both Western individualistic capitalism and Eastern state capitalism" (IRA, p.3), "the right to revolt against tyranny and oppression" (IRA, p.3). Indeed, the IRA's reluctance to defend nationalists in the early days of unrest before the split into OIRA and PIRA was somewhat due to their not wanting to alienate unionist working-class people;
- **Need to belong** to the group or community (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 77), where individuals join groups on the periphery of the terrorist organisation, the centre on a concentric circle, so involvement in the terrorist organisation may not have been a deliberate choice at the outset;
- **Social status** (Crenshaw, 2011): joining a terrorist organisation to win the respect and admiration of peers and family, or "to enhance one's appearance in the eyes of outsiders ... where a popular constituency exists that may deplore the method but applaud the goals of the organization" (Crenshaw 2011, p. 78). The IRA and ETA offered status incentives (Crenshaw, 2011). For the fractured loyalist paramilitary groups, status was undoubtedly important but in a very territorial way;
- **Material incentives** (Crenshaw, 2011) – being a terrorist in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s may be preferable to the dole, contends Crenshaw, though less important than belonging to a group or social status.

Since the implementation of the GFA, many paramilitary groups have descended into organised crime (especially but not exclusively on the loyalist side), and suicide rates among young people are higher in Northern Ireland than the rest of the UK or Ireland since the end of the Troubles.

Whether in Coolsaet's attempt to analyse 21-st century jihadism and radicalisation, Faure and Zartman's analysis of negotiation with terrorists, or Crenshaw's psychology profile of terrorists, it remains difficult to explain why people become terrorists through a single set of motives; the processes of how that happens are diverse: "People become terrorists in different ways, in different roles, and for different reasons" (Borum 2004, p.3). Three 'experiential' themes have been commonly named, though, in relation to the role of life experiences in terrorism: injustice, abuse, and humiliation, all of them closely connected (Borum 2004, p. 38).

5.4 Experiential learning: a self-assessment in terrorism

Kolb's theory postulates that *experience* is a crucial element of learning and/or understanding: "Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience." (Kolb, 1984, p. 38). In Kolb's learning cycle, the individual moves

through a four-way process: concrete experiences, reflective observation, leading to abstract conceptualisation, and, finally, application through active experimentation. Boud, Cohen, and Walker (1993, cited by Marsick et al., 2006) have also emphasised the *affective* side of learning from experience. The affective dimension "includes emotions and also a deeper, non-rational understanding of the situation" (Marsick et al., 2006, p. 492). The holistic process involves thinking, feeling, and the will to action. Experiential knowing is a prelinguistic form of knowing gained "through participation in, and resonance with, one of more beings in the unified field of being" (Marsick et al., 2006, citing Heron, 1992, p.162).

Please see Appendix G for examples of psychology models used to develop self-awareness

The purpose of the primary data collection with *family members and distant friend* from a Catholic nationalist community (by chance all from, and living in, a rural area) was to enable me to go through an experiential learning experiment to explore the potential terrorist in myself – putting myself in the shoes of indirect actors growing up in the Troubles, while, at the same time, observing from a neutral position as '*me*' in the now. None of these participants have ever considered joining the IRA, all have Protestant unionist friends, all feel Irish in terms of identity, and, while most would like to see a United Ireland, they would not welcome any political change that would trigger violence (on the unionist side) or jeopardise the 'fragile peace'. Their choice to desist from violence – especially respondent Ronnie Mallon whose brother was killed in a bomb attack by the Glenanne Gang (the 'collusion' UDR Army-RUC police-loyalist terrorists trio) – had a significant impact on my emotional response to violence during this experiment.

Please see Appendix A for a breakdown of participants.

After each interview with family members/friend, I asked myself, **'What do I feel, and how do these feelings affect my perspective on terrorism?'** as two parallel probes, one as myself in Northern Ireland during the Troubles (Probe 1), the other as me looking back in hindsight in 2020 (Probe 2). Probe 1 is, of course, hypothetical as there is a set of variables – working-class vs. middle-class, republican family vs. no family republican connection, urban vs. rural – that would affect that answer (the latter greatly so in Northern Ireland). Probe 2 incorporates the reflection and conceptualisation parts of Kolb's experiential learning cycle, following the experiential part of Probe 1. I have analysed my feedback into a collective answer as much as possible.

Findings:

All nationalist participants started by saying how lucky they were not to be in the 'thick of the violence' (Belfast, Derry, or South Armagh), so at first I felt reassured. Then respondents usually mentioned some disruption to everyday life, like sports competitions stopping. Cousin 1 Geraldine used the word 'lockdown', as if the region had been hit by an epidemic like the current Covid-19. Gradually, memories of violent incidents were unveiled. I got a sense of hidden lives in many ways, even in small things. Cousins 1 Geraldine + 2 Bridget (female) told me they had never spoken to their siblings about the violence of the Troubles, the scenes they had witnessed, or their own 'lucky misses' regarding family members or friends. All cousins recalled violent incidents they had witnessed in a very calm manner; in fact, the females both said that it almost felt surreal, and they had to ask themselves, "Did that happen to me?" Both cousins had a kind of stoic tone: you didn't talk about it, you just gone on with it (they said that literally). Because of the calm, collected way these events were told, I got a sense of their world being frozen, left behind like an abandoned house. I also experienced their resignation to the normalisation of violence.

Please see Appendix H for some examples of described memories

When I asked nationalist family and friend respondents what they thought of the IRA, they were clear that they never considered joining (my friend's family was 'old-IRA', involved in 1916 and War of Independence, but made a distinction, as most Irish people do irrespective of whether you support the Provisional IRA or not). Cousin 1 Geraldine used the word "lured" to describe how the IRA recruited young men particularly; Rosemary Mallon, whose brother-in-law was killed by the Glenanne Gang, used the verb "manipulated". Three participants knew (school)friends who had joined the IRA (unbeknownst to them), and were surprised when they discovered this. One got blown up by his own bomb. I got a strong sense of the fear mothers had for their sons in particular.

Most nationalists mentioned their fear of the Army in general, and fear of checkpoints, especially at night. Respondents said young men especially were commonly humiliated during Army searches. Ronnie Mallon said he also felt threatened by the searches. Most nationalist respondents said that while they said they had "gotten used to the violence", they would not want their grandchildren to go through the same as them or their children. Peace builder Colin Craig related that paramilitaries had said they also wanted a different life for their children. When I asked if they would like to see a United Ireland, Cousins 1+2 Geraldine and Bridget said that while they would like that ideologically, that it was too soon – the unionists are not ready – and they by no means wanted to jeopardise peace.

How did I feel after interviews with family and close network?

- My initial primary response was grief and sadness above all. This feeling was sustained in the reflection stage: sadness that family had lived through this, profound sadness – and disappointment – about the unnecessary suffering during this Thirty Years' War and its unnecessarily drawn-out length; I felt grief for the loss of their old life, a life that changed without anyone asking it to.
- The anger I did feel, at times more akin to reproach, was geared towards the indifference of those in power: also the intransigence of both of IRA (unrealistic demands in earlier stages) and unionist leaders (unrelentingly clinging to power, refusal to validate the minority in their society, or stop their community's violence). Overall anger concerning the powerlessness and senselessness of it all. I became aware of my own indifference at the time – perhaps I was angry at myself, too. Partition is also a border of 'I'm all right Jack' selfishness.
- When I relived the terrorist scenes described by my cousins and the extremely detailed account by Ronnie Mallon of the attack in which his brother got killed, I could almost hear the sounds of the act of terror (different without a TV or radio presenter's voiceover or piece-to-camera); and in those moments, the violence repelled me, the repulsion stronger than any vengeance feeling, especially Ronnie's description of his brother John's clothes with saturated blood falling off the overcoat like dried sugar.
- Emotional escalation: I experienced emotional escalation at the idea of John Mallon (victim of alleged Glenanne collusion bomb attack), a 21-year-old who died playing a game of darts in a pub, being framed as a possible perpetrator, and subsequent cover-up in the process (an older sibling is still pressing for an investigation). I observed that I had felt emotionally and physically triggered when nationalist respondents talked about civilians being treated a bit roughly in everyday situations, at checkpoints, returning from a Gaelic football (GAA) match, or during house searches (two interviewees talked about houses being wrecked). I also felt some escalation at one point during a certain section of the interview with participant Paul Smith, the former British Army major who later worked for NATO, (Mr Smith gave me a lot of time and went to great lengths to help me understand the difficulty of a soldier in the field). He was talking about Bloody Sunday and the Saville Inquiry launched as part of the GFA. I observed that Smith's language use became more generalised and unspecific (compared to when he was speaking about Iraq, for example), as he built a rationalised defensive line of argumentation to seemingly reject/deny findings about civilians being shot as they crawled to safety (very specifically documented in Saville Report (Saville, 2010)). For example: "I think the acts on the day, some of the acts on the day may not have happened if some of the earlier acts on the day had not taken place. I think that perhaps some acts of the day and also the way they were reported within those who were actually participating, it led to a change in the way in which they were then going to behave. . . ." I thought: What is the point of the long and expensive Saville Inquiry then?
- I observed above all the power of my female cousins' calm tone, and how their use of strong verbs like 'lure' or 'manipulate' in relation to the IRA immediately had the effect of curtailing any emotional escalation, and keeping me protected – social control. I particularly observed the strong effect of my cousins and friend having normal social relations with Protestant unionists in their rural community, that some of their best friends were Protestants, and their children's too.

Reflections

Intangibles / identity: Even more than the social injustices and inequities (for which I might have sought the solidarity of rights movements, had I been born earlier), the effect of 'intangibles' or small instances of humiliation described by respondents could have potentially driven me more to terrorism. So, even if I had gotten a baton on my head myself during a protest, say, I'm still not sure I would have bought into the IRA's doctrine.

However, I feel that if aspects of identity or culture that were important to me were ascribed other 'anti-' meanings, and if I were taunted for this, e.g. using the Irish Gaelic version of my name (British officials generally insisted on having the Anglicised version at a checkpoint), this probably would have touched a deeper place – or even triggered a response in moments of reactive anger (in a young version of me) – than the wound inflicted from a police baton.

Life-long Northern Ireland peace builder Colin Craig talked in our interview about **vicariousness**: When a conflict is building and about to escalate, it's likely that those involved in this intensification will share their fears, concerns, frustration and anger to others in their immediate social networks. As the conflict and rivalry builds up, we interact with friends and allies into supporting our perspective – so each side will seek affirmation and confirmation of support from their own network of friends and contacts. As these indirect actors are drawn more and more into the story of conflict, they build up their own "vicarious engagement" with the emerging conflict and its impact. Colin used an example of watching a scary movie, and how you *physically* start experiencing the horror.

Protestant Tim Gordon described how a man in his Belfast unionist neighbourhood went into a Catholic district, knocked on a door, and shot the man who answered the door. "*Did he understand why he shot the Catholic? I don't think in Protestant neighbourhoods we had a political understanding of what was happening; it was more a defensive reaction to the feeling that you're under attack. From the republican point of view, this was a war of liberation; loyalists found themselves under attack, in responded in all kinds of fractured ways, just as extreme.*"

An emerging '**Intergroup Emotion Theory**' suggests that when a particular social identity is activated, individuals will interpret events in terms of their implications for that in-group, rather than for the individual personally (Halperin, 2016, citing Maitner, Smith & MacKie, 2016). So, people can actually experience emotions in the name of their group members, even if they have not directly experienced the emotion-eliciting event (Halperin, 2016). Crenshaw talks about "vengeance on behalf of comrades or even the constituency the terrorist seems to represent … A regime thus encourages terrorism when it inspires demands for revenge" (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 47). The weaponisation of strip-searching of nationalist prisoners in the women's prison (by male wardens around the time of the Hunger Strikes) is an example of an emotional-triggering event that is likely to have aroused feelings of vengeance in me.

Regarding **de-escalation**, Colin Craig talked about **the importance of having "points of connection and social bonds**" in a sectarian conflict; if you only have a "'thou shalt not kill' ethical code", then it will be difficult to bring about sustainable reconciliation (as opposed to an agreement to stop violence). In the rural community, there are faces behind the agreements, and relations between the two sides. During the conflict, this makes demonization less likely.

There are different degrees of violence, or are there? Is an attack on a children's bus or an arbitrary Catholic taxi driver or the brothers of an alleged republican different to killing a soldier or an IRA gunman? Is there a moral code in these degrees? I think there is; so did Conor Murphy, while Jonathan Powell said that the moral line is difficult to draw once you've taken up the weapon. The question calls for moral philosophy, ethics, and theology to be brought into the multidisciplinary approach in a further stage of inquiry (outside the realm of this thesis). Ex-Army interviewee Paul Smith on being asked what kind of people terrorists are: "*They're people like me … If my country had been occupied by Russians, I know I would have been a freedom fighter, a 'terrorist' … The level of action and the things you're prepared to do is different. I don't think you wake up one morning and say, 'I'm going to be a terrorist and I'm going to blow up a bus with schoolchildren' … You wake up and decide you want to act*."

Would I have signed up for the IRA?

The IRA's Green Book warns potential volunteers not to join because of "emotionalism, sensationalism or adventurism" – there is literally "no romance" – and when I read the well documented sections on imprisonment, interrogation and torture (physical and psychological), and long jail terms, I concluded that it is unlikely I would have committed in any premeditated way (perhaps a degree of selfishness or loving/valuing life too much), and that, even back then, I would have challenged the doctrine. That, in turn, might have led to engagement in some way: How would that have ended: would I have had to flee the IRA?

I *do* know that the violence abhors me (even physically); I felt that in this experiment – from all actors. But the Northern Ireland conflict was messy, and a grey zone in certain areas when it comes to violence. If I had chosen a non-violent, political route (which I feel fits me better), how would the (attempted) murders of other political actors by state actors or legal paramilitaries have affected me? I think much depended on **where you were geographically** (the rural vs. urban war), and also **the stage of the conflict when you're at an impressionable age**: if you were 16 during the Hunger Strikes or 29 – this can make all the difference. In my case, I was a toddler/young child during the civil rights stage (which I think I would have been a part of had I been born earlier), while I was a teenager during the Hunger Strikes.

I've come to the conclusion that it remains hypothetical to answer with certainty. I am not someone who would be married blindly to a cause (in a way that some terrorists are), but I am someone who is likely to respond to injustice in some form. In other words, involvement can happen in a moment of emotion through a random situation or incident if living through conflict. That, perhaps, is the answer: None of us know. If we care at all, we have the potential.

Chapter 6
How Northern Ireland's Lessons Can Have Resonance and Relevance in Other Conflicts

6.1 'Israeli flags flying alongside Belfast's apartheid walls'

This sub-heading is originally from a book chapter by Professor Emeritus Adrian Guelke, Queen's University Belfast. See References: Guelke, 2008.

When the GFA was signed in 1998, and its implementation worked out further in the 2006 St Andrews Agreement, it was popular – while acknowledging that the conflict in Northern Ireland was *sui generis* and that the Good Friday 'model' could not be rolled out in an exact format in other conflict zones (Powell, 2009) – to compare Northern Ireland's conflict with the Israeli-Palestinian one in particular, and to suggest that principles from Northern Ireland's peace process could be applied there And with lessons, rather than a model, you can learn by the mistakes. Comparison of the three cases of Israel-Palestine, South Africa and Northern Ireland, either as a trio or in pairs, actually predates the existence of the Israeli State or the partition of Ireland (Guelke, 2008).

During the Troubles, nationalists in Northern Ireland often identified themselves with Palestinians (and still do, as do many working-class people in Dublin), while Protestant Unionists drew parallels with similar communities 'under siege', such as Israel or Turkish Cyprus, or other 'abandoned' British settlers in Zimbabwe and apartheid South Africa. "Ulster, like Israel, can only lose once," wrote the Protestant Orange Order in 1982 in a pamphlet entitled *The Twelfth*. This chapter is not a comparative analysis of two cases; nor is it an analysis of the Madrid (1991), Oslo (1993 and 1995) and Camp David (2000) negotiations on a settlement between Israel and Palestine. It is rather an attempt to identify some points regarding negotiation, social, and leadership behaviour

that may have been part of the Northern Ireland problem and resolution, and which may be considered in the Israel-Palestine or other conflict contexts.

6.2 Sieges of power

The siege mentality is a collective feeling; it can relate to a minority group that feels oppressed, or isolated in the face of the negative intentions of a larger group, or a defence mechanism against an erosion of privilege. Interviewee Tim Gordon described how, when the civil rights movement took off, the Protestant community in Belfast felt "constantly under attack" (Gordon, Interview 2020).

Ultimately, a siege mentality is about fear, even "apocalyptic fear", as *New York Times* political and cultural commentator David Brooks described it referring to the number of 'sieges' in the US today (Brooks, 2017). Siege beliefs prepare society members for the worst to come (to prevent disappointment), answer the need for a sense of superiority, and satisfies the need for self-reliance (so doesn't trust other nations) (Bar-Tal, 2004; Bar-Tal, 2017). A sense of collective victimhood can become entrenched if the society is, or perceived to be, in a historic transitional moment. In this respect, the Northern Ireland situation can be compared to white Rhodesians in Zimbabwe, or white South Africans. It isn't just that the group has opponents, says Brooks: "The whole 'culture' or the whole world is irredeemably hostile. From this flows a sense of pessimism .... Our enemies are growing stronger. And things are about to get worse. The world our children inherit will be horrific."

Northern Ireland unionists and Israelis share the siege mentality in a context of having the most control and power, but Israelis' fear stems from the lived experience of having had their very existence threatened in the Holocaust (and centuries of persecution), and being surrounded by states that have been hostile to the creation of the Israeli State. The fact that six million Jews were wiped out, while the world looked on, strengthened the remaining Jews' siege mentality and remains a metaphor for Jewish history itself (Bar Tal, 2004, citing Elon, 1971). For unionists, the siege mentality has been about vigilance, standing guard, for any (political) decision that could 'sell it out' to the Catholic south and set it cascading into its 'demise' – not only through the loss (through sharing) of political power, but the fear of being outbred itself – tacitly swallowed up rather than eliminated. "The whole idea of the union from the unionist perspective is built on insecurity, on the premise that 'we might lose this'. That's an ingrained psychology," said Sinn Féin's Conor Murphy, incumbent Minister of Finance in Northern Ireland's Assembly, "As one senior unionist said to me, they can hold the fort long enough so that it's not lost on their watch" (Interview, 2020).

Irish Nobel laureate Seamus Heaney described the nationalist community in his 1975 poem 'Whatever You Say, Say Nothing' as "confined like wily Greeks, Besieged within the siege, whispering morse," which could seem apt for Palestinians, Gazans in particular – not only besieged geographically and militarily by Israel, but also ideologically by their leaders and regime.

Based on the analysis and interviews for this thesis, the most important process and/or substantive lessons from Northern Ireland which could have resonance in other conflicts – alongside having a process in itself – are the role of a neutral third party (but not too

neutral as to have no stake), and a system of securitisation, and law and order, that aims to eliminate discrimination, bias, or humiliation in its operations (in as far as that is humanly possible). The main behavioural and negotiation lessons linked to 'the geopolitics of emotion' I would like to recommend are as follows:

1. Demonization and de-demonization
2. Perception, and behavioural self-awareness across the following dimensions:
    - Leadership in conflict resolution
    - Mediation style
    - Legacy and intangibles

6.3 Lessons in 'Geopolitics of Emotion'

6.3.1 Demonization and de-demonization

Conflict negotiation is not merely concerned with trade-offs and numbers, and subsequent concessions – it also deals with images (Faure, 2007); this relates to the way a counterpart is represented, which "conditions negotiation and is also a product of negotiation, contributing to its own construction, management and destruction" (Faure, 2007). Negotiators do not act from facts but from the perception or assumptions they have about the facts (Faure, 2011). Our assumptions have been shaped by the belief system of our upbringing and environment, described by Marsick et al. as "internalised social rules, norms, value and beliefs that have been acquired implicitly and explicitly through socialisation" (2006, p. 489). So, when faced with facts, we experience them selectively based on our beliefs, apply our existing assumptions to the interpretation of these facts, and draw conclusions based on these interpretations. A shift of perception of the other party, or the recognition of one's own subjectivity, can greatly facilitate the reaching of a common solution, or the other way round (Faure, 2011).

Escalation and negotiation are closely related (Faure, 2011). "The escalation of images is a common expression of a qualitative increase in conflict. The other party may be viewed as a counterpart, then as an obstacle, then as an opponent, then as an enemy, and finally as evil" (Faure, 2011, p. 105). This escalation of images and portrayals may then develop into a negative spiral, and go right to the core of the other's identity: "an attack on the self .... the most sensitive layer of the cultural dimension of negotiation" (Faure, 2007). Individuals who experience short-term episodes of hatred (associated with demonization) in times of negotiations in the Middle East tended to reject any positive information about the opponent, and oppose continuation of negotiations, compromise and reconciliation (Halperin et al., 2011, citing Halperin, 2008), while anger (an emotion implying engagement) presents a mixed picture – either constructive or destructive – depending on concomitant levels of fear, hatred and hope. Indeed, a study conducted in Northern Ireland "found that hope was positively related to the dissipation of the desire to retaliate, which, in turn was positively related to willingness to forgive the adversary" (Halperin et al., 2011, p. 94, citing Moeschberger et al., 2005).

Demonization goes further than hatred: It can be seen as a process that goes beyond a certain level of negativity, a process that "can be defined as the characterisation of people

as evil or subhuman. Demonizing an individual usually implies the suspension of the normal considerations of human behaviour and respect" (Faure, 2011, p. 106). It is a complex development in the escalation of images that first addresses "the psychological dimension, by building up on anxiety, and then the strategic dimension, by disqualifying the other party" (Faure, 2011, p. 106). Demonization in negotiation may create an environment that contributes to diplomatic deadlock by preventing parties coming together, delegitimising the peace partners if they are in negotiation, or by polarising the parties even further (Normand, 2016). In a later stage of demonization, mediators and a changing global context may result in "less aggressive representations of the counterpart" enabling both parties to finally reconsider their former positions (Faure, 2011, p. 113).

Demonization is strongly linked to the siege mentality, a means of strengthening the fort. The belief that the rest of the world or the 'other' has negative intentions against the nation under siege implies by definition that other groups are the enemy or evil (Bar-Tal, 2004). Delegitimizing beliefs "deny the adversary's humanity and morality and portray the opponent in delegitimizing terms, through dehumanization, outcasting, extremely negative trait characterization, political labels, and group comparison that define the opponent as an enemy" (Shaked, 2016, p. 134, citing Bar-Tal, 1998). Demonization is essentially about disempowerment of the other, and giving the producer himself permission or a licence to behave badly, even a licence to kill. In the context of conflict, demonization may unite citizens (through fear), legitimise political authority (to increase security), morally justify violence, and mobilise the military and/or population at large (Normand, 2016).

Demonization thrives on stereotyping. Stereotypes are rigid images describing a group based on over-generalisation of certain traits and on social biases, which can go as far as triggering violence, destruction, killing, and even genocide (Faure, 2011). Vengeance can follow from the perception of unjust harm (Kim, 2005), as it becomes part of a spiral of violence. But vengeance is even more fuelled by an essential human need, the need to maintain and enhance self-esteem (Kim, 2005, citing Westermarck, 1912; Murphy & Hampton, 1998), which may have developed into a part of a collective culture (e.g. the Mafia, or tribal communities for whom ancestors and honour are paramount). The act of vengeance is a form of restoration of self-esteem.

There's no shortage of demons in the Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine conflicts. Israel is labelled the "Zionist entity", while fundamentalists have gone as far as denying the human nature of Jews, pretending they were the monstrous union of a monkey with a pig (Faure, 2007). Hamas has drawn on this image, and expanded on the comparison between Nazism and Zionism (Shaked, 2016). Demonization is also present in schoolbooks through the absence of Israel and the Holocaust history. The motif of an armed struggle bound up with blood and sacrifice (Shaked, 2016) has become part of the mindset of Palestinian children. They use the term 'Jew', the archenemy, rather than 'Israeli'; some even learn to count by saying, 'Mohammed killed two Jews this morning, this afternoon he killed two more. How many Jews did Mohammed kill?' Many Israelis, in turn, believe that Palestinians "are not human like you and me"[3], or compare them to dogs. The use of theological, moral, and legal argumentation to negate the Arab right to the land is common (Oren, 2016); this was backed up by some respondents in data collection for this thesis. Stereotypes of Palestinians during conflict as the typical backward, primitive Arab, or even as bloodthirsty murderers (yet poor soldiers) often dominate (Oren, 2016).

[3]The quotation is from personal experience: an old Israeli colleague at Dutch TV – further a valued and popular colleague

The media can be an instrument of demonization; social media have been a big factor in 21-st century conflicts. During the Troubles, the media played a significant role in the demonization of Sinn Féin. The British press focused on violence in general and on republican violence in particular (Abassi & Soubiale, 2006, citing Curtis, 1996) – demonization by omission, you might say. Indeed, if you were to ask the general public in the UK or even in Europe to name an organisation they associate with violence or terrorism in Northern Ireland, the chance is high that they will give the IRA as an answer. In the propaganda war, "the idea about terminology is one that people who are in power try to do; they try to frame the narrative of a conflict so that the good guys are wearing white hats, the bad guys are wearing black hats" (Murphy, Interview 2020).

Abassi & Soubiale used sociolinguistics software to quantitatively analyse editorials in The Times during the Troubles, and found that almost all of them were closely linked to the IRA. Descriptions of the IRA included "gangster culture", "tribal killers, psychopathic assassins and student anarchists" (Abassi & Soubiale, 2006, p. 4, citing an editorial entitled 'Keeping Secret', 9 June, 1992). The IRA was also placed in an 'animal category': "maddened to obsession like laboratory rats" (Abassi Soubiale, 2006, p. 4, in an editorial entitled 'Blast Damage', 26 April, 1993), or, in an editorial entitled 'By Their Deeds' (31 July, 1990), "Hardly since the birth of Nazism has Europe seen so blatant a repudiation of democracy in favour of force . . . " (Abassi & Soubiale, 2006, p. 5), drawing on regular World War II references. Sinn Féin, too, actively engaged in the propaganda war, and used it during the 1981 Hunger Strikes to enable entry into mainstream politics. While its media output included documented facts, it frequently referenced colonial atrocities without any mitigating factors – creating a kind of 'cruel coloniser' image, a form of demonization by omission. Gerry Adams has regularly used, and still uses, the actual word '*demonization*' or '*vilification*' (of Sinn Féin or other nationalist actors like the non-violent John Hume), the effect of which was to accentuate republicans' victimhood. *The Guardian* in any case has since assessed its own and the British press's biased role in its coverage of the Troubles. The BBC's investigative documentary series entitled ***Spotlight on the Troubles: A Secret History*** broadcast in 2019 constitutes a thorough and genuine search for the truth from a multifaceted perspective; some of its revelations have undoubtedly ruffled some feathers – among all direct actors.

Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and Free Presbyterian Church leader Ian Paisley spent much of his political career demonising Irish nationalists: "They breed like rabbits and multiply like vermin," he said about Catholics at a loyalist rally in 1969 or "I am not going to sit down with bloodthirsty monsters who have been killing and terrifying my people," in response to demands to talk with Sinn Féin. An address in 1986 at a rally launching the paramilitary Ulster Resistance in response to the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, and his burning of an effigy of the then prime minister Margaret Thatcher hoisted on a pole are good examples of Paisley's ability to mobilise the masses through demonization: "In the name of the Blessed Thyself, Father, Son and Holy Ghost - we hand this woman, Margaret Thatcher over to the Devil that she might learn not to blaspheme . . . Oh God, in wrath, take vengeance upon this wicked, treacherous, lying woman," Paisley said in one of his sermons on the "Jezabel" prime minister. Paisley and his DUP refused to take part in the GFA negotiations: "I will never sit down with Gerry Adams ... he'd sit with anyone. He'd sit down with the devil. In fact, Adams does sit down with the devil," he said in February 1997 (RTE, 2014). He tried to sabotage the 1998 referendum to approve the deal with his 'No campaign' (the N. Ireland Conservative Party also ran a 'No' campaign). Then, he seems to have experienced some kind of epiphany –

possibly following a serious health issue – resulting in 2007 in power-sharing and a degree of friendship with former IRA commander Martin McGuinness. The narrative Paisley had related with fire and brimstone throughout his life, the Protestant Ulster state where men "will die rather than pull down the flag", the "No surrender", "Never, never, never ... never..." rhetoric was turned on its head, and left a vacuum among so many loyalists (including paramilitaries) who had followed him and built their identities on what he preached. Young men, and working-class young males in particular, having been socialised into strong cultural identity which they were expected to defend (often through violence), "were confused by the mixed messages" that emerged during a transition from war to 'peace' (McAlister et al., 2014, p. 306). Interviewee Tim Gordon (from a Protestant working-class background in Belfast) said he found something nauseating about the Paisley-McGuinness duo, the 'chuckling brothers' as they became known.

Many people in the South had always felt that Ian Paisley's bigoted bark was worse than his bite; at least his stance was clear, and very audible. What was probably underestimated in the earlier decades was the human toll of demonization. To understand Paisley's shift – extensive analysis has been done on it: Was it merely a man confronted by his mortality? – one line of further inquiry might be the element of 'appeal of the other' (a dissolved polarity) in some form, and the use of demonization to counteract this cognitive dissonance.

De-demonization

To re-humanise, you need a political settlement, says Jonathan Powell: "*You won't solve demonization separate from the peace process any more than you think you can solve the Middle East by economic development. It helps, it's necessary but you have to have the political perspective, then you can try to work on the domonization.*" (Interview, 2020)

But even then, the end of violence and formal political resolution of a conflict will not necessarily result in peaceful relations among the parties outside government buildings and institutions. Living through violence, suffering, victimisation in direct or indirect ways, or perceived threat, has an impact on the kind and magnitude of emotional experiences. Extreme negative emotions like hatred, anger, and fear compel people to construct an adaptable worldview with more black and white thinking, and higher sensitivity to threat cues (Halperin, 2016). According to Faure, demonization carries with it "a psychological violence that may extend the pain and the related resentment long after the conflict has regressed or even disappeared" (Faure, 2011, p. 108) – a phantom pain (Faure, 2011). The peace walls in Belfast have only increased since the St Andrews implementation accord (much to the dismay of former prime minister David Cameron, the cost of duplication of services arising from segregation was around 1.5 billion pounds each year during his premiership) (Guelke, 2011). GFA US broker George Mitchell is concerned about the possible impact of Brexit and erecting the old fort: how, when there was a hard border, there was very little social interaction between the people of Northern Ireland and the people of the Republic, "*and that led to stereotyping, to the demonisation of others, to attitudes that were based upon acts from the distant past ... If you reinstate a hard border, you go back to the delays when stereotyping resumes, demonisation resumes, and people turn inward as opposed to outward, and they lose the benefits that come from open borders*" (O'Carroll, 2018).

A 2020 report from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (Pollock, 2020) as-

serts that a majority of Palestinians reject the official PA policy against 'normalisation' with Israelis. Two-thirds (67%) of West Bank respondents and 61% of Gazans agree at least somewhat that Palestinians should encourage direct personal contacts and dialogue with Israelis in order to help the Israeli peace camp advocate a just solution.

Please see Appendix I for Palestinians' views on normalisation of relations with Israelis.

How do you de-demonize, whether at a point where negotiations have not started, or at a point where negotiation has been initiated and where demonization might disqualify the counterpart (Faure, 2011), or where an agreement has been reached but the long road to its implementation (and societal de-demonization) lies ahead?

For negotiation, cognitive behaviour therapist and scholar Donald Meichenbaum has posed a question on how to avoid negotiating errors (Meichenbaum, 2011): As a cognitive behaviour practitioner, Meichenbaum works with individuals who have experienced traumatic events by drawing on the 'art of questioning', discovery-based procedures, guided instruction, and generalisation and relapse prevention procedures. "Could we develop a similar discipline called behavioural politics?" he wonders, by offering to politicians who have to make critical decisions a supportive service similar to the one given to his patients (Meichenbaum, 2011, p. 88). Being this specific (a cognitive behaviour therapist) may not be necessary, but this research postulates, in the context of negotiation, to include facilitators who understand self-awareness and who have "skills in discerning and understanding others' emotions, based on situational and expressive cues that have some degree of consensus as to their emotional meaning" (Saarni, 2011, p. 56), and who openly use techniques like the art of questioning or feedback as described by Meichenbaum to challenge assumptions about the other, and embedded assumptions about one's own belief system, which serves to break down the images associated with the stereotype.

No one size fits all. Jonathan Powell points out that you can't just go "all California" if dealing with "hardened men and women of violence", but that there is space to address emotion at least in an implicit way. A multidisciplinary approach can also contain multiple tools and working methods, like a palette of paints whose colours can be used depending on the situation and the actors at hand.

An example of a method or experiential tool to specifically facilitate awareness of demonization and stereotyping, and to initiate a shift in its intractability, might be to use storytelling. A story can be thought of as a metaphor, "a thought machine, by which we test out our ideas and feelings about some human quality and try to learn more about it" (Vogler, 1996, p. 1), a communal currency of humanity. Storytelling moves out of the detail that often accentuates intractability and taps into universal truths; so doing, it has a broad cross-cultural appeal, enabling cultures that have less of an intellectualised tradition to impart their perspective effectively. Examples of themes for stories could include 'Who I am', 'How I/we got here', 'An experience/challenge that changed everything' as a means to convey an authentic emotional truth of the individual experience to the counterpart.

Another method / tool is scenario building, which draws on storytelling: Adam Kahane is a researcher and facilitator in the social systems field who has designed and worked on programmes dealing with intractable issues in society – from energy, climate change, child nutrition, and food scarcity to political conflicts in South Africa and South America. During a workshop in Guatemala at the turn of the century to facilitate implementation

of peace accords, he was struck by the power of people telling personal accounts of the 36-year civil war. Dialogue is not enough: Connecting with others, revealing and repairing the social whole are key to collaboration, he claims (Kahane, 2017). In the early 1990s while working on the political changes in South Africa, Kahane developed an experiential method called 'Transformative scenario planning', a "composite social technology" as he dubs it (Kahane, 2012). Bringing together a whole-system team of insightful, influential and interested actors who constitute a strategic microcosm of the system as a whole – so who are not only from one camp and who are not just observers –, and setting boundaries safe enough so that the actors can transform their understandings, relationships and intentions, the actors then "construct a set of relevant, challenging, plausible, and clear stories about what could happen – not about what *will happen* (a forecast) or about what *should happen* (a wish or proposal) – and then act on what they have learned from this construction. This scenario process is both rational and intuitive, and immersed in and disconnected from the complexity and conflict of the situation" (Kahane, 2012). The approach enables adapting to and transforming the future (Kahane, 2013). It would not seem unthinkable to incorporate a similar exercise as part of a negotiation process (certainly in implementation accords stages) – so making some parts of the process more experiential and more about connecting.

De-demonization on the streets

To understand the role played by emotion in political conflicts, emotions have to be understood beyond the intra- or even the interpersonal context of emotions experienced within the hearts and minds of individual people (Halperin, 2016), contends Israeli psychologist Eran Halperin, whose research on the psychological roots of conflict has been largely motivated by the Israel-Palestine situation on his doorstep. Emotions are an important part of most societal dynamics, different from moods in that they are *intentional*, i.e., directed towards a specific stimulus (a person, object or event); when experienced within the destructive context of intractable conflicts, their implications are further amplified (Halperin, 2016). Halperin views intractable conflicts as bottom-up rather than top-down processes (Halperin, 2016). I postulate conflicts can be both bottom-up and top-down. How to de-demonize both top-down and bottom-up?

As stated in Chapter 5, relations in the community are of paramount importance in diffusing demonization to halt the notion of a binary choice – the single story. In the interview data for this thesis, it was striking how cross-community relations in the Northern Ireland rural area (where my cousins live) had an effect on whether violence was considered a means. Ronnie Mallon related how his brother John had stressed "No retaliation" from his hospital bed before he died (aged 21) from a loyalist bomb attack.

Peace builder Colin Craig has stressed the importance of direct actors **retelling the story when they themselves go through a personal transformative shift** (Craig, Interview 2020): the emergence of this new inclusive narrative becomes critical to how those 'indirect vicarious actors' will encounter new relationships, and restore and rebuild fractured relationships (Craig, Interview 2020; Craig & Sar, van der, 2019). The deeper the conflict and the more it is steeped in history, the "more demanding it can be to successfully move through this transformative phase" (Craig & Sar, van der, 2019, p. 55). The indirect actors may even lag behind the direct actors. One example of direct actors retelling the new story is having **active participation of former prisoners in community development work**, with a particular focus on what's happening 'on the ground'.

Many republican and loyalist former prisoners, while not pretending to be budding friends, accept the need to respect the other's rights, and despite their distinct ideologies and differing operational capacities, "have managed to put into practice and sustain high-impact and sophisticated mode of conflict transformation within and beyond their communities" (Sherlow & McEvoy, 2008, p. 143). Many of the interactions between the two ex-prisoner groups are built around how to resolve real issues (e.g. marching, inter-communal violence, or even establishing mechanisms State accountability). Some are even involved in the "creation of personal, communal and social narratives linked to the transition" (Sherlow & McEvoy, 2008, p. 123), including human stories of 'Who we are and where we come from'. Critics of the practice of using former prisoners for community work (including former Irish prime minister Garrett Fitzgerald) have said it encourages vigilantism and paramilitary hegemony.

Can one draw from de-radicalisation programmes, and ones aimed at young people in particular? One major differentiating factor between de-radicalisation and de-demonization is that radicalisation in itself implies a whole new radicalised way of living, while people who are perceived as functioning 'normally' in society can demonise the other. What de-radicalisation and de-demonization could have in common is the need to prevent, or initiate an intervention at an early stage, and the importance of working at community and local level, as well as diffusing and adding nuance to the black and white narrative in the media. In a de-radicalisation programme of radical right-wing and Muslim youths carried out in the Netherlands (FORUM, 2009), three categories of hard core, hangers-on, and potential recruits (newcomers) were identified, and it was shown that the deradicalisation process for each target group was different. The isolation of the hard core group from the outside world was seen as being at an advanced stage, with multiple factors preventing their exit. While each municipality could choose a category to initially focus on, targeting the 'hangers on' was advised as it had proven to be the most effective (the hangers-on were more approachable for withdrawal programmes). Other studies show that when it comes to deradicalisation or disengagement, it can be difficult to identify what works and what doesn't in general, but that local context really matters (Schmid, 2013). While demonization works differently – it takes place across a broader spectrum of people and organisations – it could be advisable to identify key target areas in society, e.g. universities (one of the few institutions in Northern Ireland where the two communities come together), the arts, the media or sports, to encourage less segregation. Once there is a face on the 'other', de-demonization can begin, as various studies have shown.

Research carried out after the GFA in Northern Ireland shows that children and young people learn about their own and the other community through the "intergenerational transmission of messages passed down by family and community members" (McAlister et al., 2014, p. 304). Similarly, scholars have recognised the role played by Nakba generation grandfathers and family members in passing down the Palestinian story. McAlister et al. (2014) conducted research in six Northern Ireland communities most affected by poverty, and found that in the transition, fear, insecurity, forced relocation and displacement have consolidated a segregated society in urban areas (McAlister et al., 2014). Symbolic markers of identity, like flags, murals, street names, modes of dress like a Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) jersey, "identify areas or social situations of safety and belonging as well as the boundaries of risk" (McAlister et a., 2014, p. 304), with many young people still fearing sectarian attack outside their own boundaries (McAlister et al., 2014). Nationalist interviewee Geraldine McGovern mentioned how workers would not wear a GAA sports jersey (with its 'Irish' green and gold colours) on a building site

for fear of attack, while Deirdre O'Sullivan described how her husband asked their son to change out of his GAA jersey when he was in the garden "in case it might offend" Protestant neighbours.

An effort to tackle segregation in Northern Ireland has been addressed in the 2020 *New Decade, New Approach* deal (Smith & Coveney, 2020) to mark the restored devolved government (after a three-year collapse), supporting the education of children and young people of different backgrounds together in the classroom (some respondents also talked about the necessity of this), and addressing the link between socio-economic background and educational underachievement; the long-standing issue of "working-class Protestant boys" has been identified.

Similarly, the "ethos of conflict, collective memory, and ethnocentric narratives of Israelis and Palestinians in shaping national identities that negate one another and construct the psychological reality of the conflict as a 'zero-sum game'" have played a major role in the framing of the conflict (Maoz & Ron, 2016, p. 247, citing extensive research done by Daniel Bar-Tar). Maoz & Ron conducted research on the impact on young Israelis of organised, non-mediated "extended encounters" with Palestinians, and observed dramatic transformation in Israeli Jews' perceptions and feelings, with responses like "they concealed it from me", "a story I haven't been told", "it's like the other has got a face", "I feel, I see, that Israel is in a very dark place. It's really sad, I mean, a kind of victimhood", "I was completely living in a bubble. Really. A Zionist bubble … I grew up in a very conformist family … I mean, what the state says is sacrosanct" or "We've got racism here which is based on seeing us as good and them as bad" (Maoz & Ron, 2016, pp. 246-248). Maoz and Ron concluded that the cognitive and emotional transformation among Jewish-Israeli participants prove that while confronting contesting narratives and mutual demonization is a difficult task, it is also a transformative form of intergroup engagement, creating "spaces for more complex and multifaceted beliefs, attitudes, and feelings towards the other in conflict" (Maoz & Ron, 2016, p. 250).

Whether or not it is recommendable to have some form of structured or extensive 'truth commission' as a means of paving a way towards negotiation rather than after an accord, as suggested by ethnonationalist scholar Heribert Adam (2008), this research recommends addressing (whether implicitly or explicitly) the deep-seated mutual demonization between conflict parties as part of peace negotiations if you want a sustainable resolution with normal relations.

6.3.2 Perception and behavioural self-awareness

i) Leading through conflict

Had Mandela been the Palestinian leader, the conflict would have long been resolved, says political sociologist Heribert Adam (Adam, 2008), citing American policy makers, while Jonathan Powell said a leader like Yitzhak Rabin would have been able to bring the Israel-Palestine peace process forward (Interview, 2020).

These are subjective statements, yet contain truths. The lesson of leadership has been examined in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2 'Lessons less explored'. This lesson is not about judgement of a particular leader or leaders whether in the context of Israel-Palestine or elsewhere, but reiterating the 'competences' and natural attributes that are needed to

believe in the peace process enough to bring it forward: a **vision that first cuts through the detail of intractability**, and talks principles and broad strokes in order to lay a foundation of trust on which to negotiate the details; courage to take personal, reputational and career risks; and **genuine commitment** that extends through the implementation process (so in for the long haul) as opposed to short-term, handshake moments on the lawn, and is upheld when the spotlights of international attention switch off. It's not easy, says Sinn Féin's Conor Murphy (Interview, 2020): "*We've had a rocky journey over the past 22 years . . . Peace is a slow process, and it's a very fragile process, and to underpin it, those who invest in it need to be prepared for a long-term investment.*"

The success of the Northern Ireland negotiations can be contributed to tangibles on one hand: "...in spite of many differences, there was a consensus among the Northern Ireland parties that a settlement would comprise power-sharing, continued British sovereignty, and all-Ireland structures ... As experience in the Middle East has shown, negotiations without a clear objective go nowhere" (Mitchell, 2010, p. 285); on the other hand, that destination was brought together by a kind of momentum (Mitchell, 2010), a combined energy from the SDLP's John Hume and Sinn Féin to bring the latter into the political arena (John Hume was vilified for it in the media at the time, while upon his death in August 2020, he was eulogised as a "political giant"), the British and Irish governments, the US represented by special envoy George Mitchell, and the EU, while the Israel-Palestine conflict lacks the same gravitational pull: Talks and negotiations seem to be a scattering of unconnected initiatives, lukewarm political will and an absence of sustained effort from a credible third party (Mitchell, 2010). In order words, **there seems to be a lack of leadership regarding commitment to the process, commitment to the people the leaders served, and to the notion of long-termism or a sustainable solution.**

The topic of terrorism, and who's a terrorist, has been examined in Chapter 5; in reality, unless all the direct actors are invited to the table, it is unlikely that there would be grassroots buy-in of any settlement. Talking to 'terrorists' does not mean agreeing with them (Faure, 2007); moreover, any security issues can laid down in negotiation principles similar to the GFA's Mitchell Principles on the use of violence. Northern Ireland can attest to possibility. On both unionist and nationalist sides, the nationalist side particularly, there has been a successful transition from guns to government – Martin McGuinness, or interviewee Conor Murphy, the incumbent Finance Minister, serve as examples. Indeed, several ex-IRA prisoners signed up at Queen's University upon release.

Conflicts in the Middle Eastern region seem to have an unstoppable spiral of complexity: the authoritarian nature (including the Palestinian Territories) of its leaders; what Middle East scholar Fawaz Gerges calls an "organic crisis of governance" bigger than any structural crisis with economic development failure, state failure, and leadership failure (Gerges, 2019a; Gerges, 2019b) manifest in the rising disillusionment among young people amidst soaring rates of unemployment and wealth inequality – a chief concern alongside poverty and corruption (Zand, 2018); and the increasingly important role of religion, also in Israel (Interviews, 2020); not to mention Israel-Palestine specifics like leadership after Abbas, or the plan to legalise what is already a *de facto* annexation of the Jordan Valley, somewhat on hold due to 2020 'normalisation' accords between Israel and UAE and Bahrain: It would take leadership, courage, and compassion, in order to overcome these difficulties, and rise above their complexity.

ii) Mediation style

In Northern Ireland negotiations, the actors all spoke a common language, which may have camouflaged intercultural differences. In an Israel-Palestine negotiation process, or negotiations with other cultures, the match (or mismatch) in mediation style may have been of significance in failing to build the trust essential for a sustainable resolution and implementation of agreements. Israelis are direct in their communication, and strong on verbal and intellectual argumentation; Americans place a strong emphasis on rules and argue from a rational position (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2004). If an approach was primarily from a **position of rationale**, with a linear approach to the agenda, and using logical argumentation as a way of 'winning' (a zero-sum game approach), then it may have put the Palestinian side at a disadvantage, or simply might not have broken through the mutual feelings of antagonism – expressed or, more importantly, unexpressed – on both sides.

Many scholars have tried to classify the dimensions of cultures (and arguably, none of them individually has succeeded in capturing the whole field), especially since the increase in globalisation and the subsequent need for leaders to understand cultural differences. Intercultural dimensions identified by various scholars include collectivism vs. individualism, universalism vs. particularism (basically rules vs. relationships), femininity vs. masculinity, past- vs. future-orientation, achievement vs. ascription (high status based on family ties, so *what you are vs. who you are*), or neutral vs. affective expression (emotional) (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2004; Hofstede, 2011). But culture isn't merely passport-determined: It can exist in the form of clans or tribes, or within organisations, too; it is basically a shared set of values (Martin et al., 2013), beliefs, norms, attitudes, behaviours, and social structures that define reality and guide everyday interactions. **Feelings, too, are weaved into culture**: People in a culture don't just experience culture as a set of values, but feel it, and feel a certain way about certain topics (Martin et al., 2013).

The Lewis tripartite model (Lewis, 1996) divided humans into three main typologies, not based on nationality or religion, but on behaviour:

Linear-active: those who plan, schedule, organise, pursue action chains, do one thing at a time. Germans, Dutch and Swiss are in this group.

Multi-active: those lively, loquacious peoples who do many things at once, planning their priorities not according to a time schedule, but according to the relative importance that each appointment brings with it. Italians, Latin Americans and Arabs are members of this group.

Reactive: cultures that prioritise courtesy and respect, listening quietly and calmly to their interlocutors and reacting carefully to the other side's proposals. Chinese, Japanese and Finns are in this group (Lewis, 1996).

In Lewis' typologies (*please see Figure 1*) , Arab cultures are generally multi-active: they plan with broad strokes, confront emotionally, have good excuses, uphold a flexible truth, and feelings come before facts. Americans and Norwegians (mediators during the Oslo Accords) belong to the linear-active group – plan step by step, confront with logic and rationale, dislike losing face, place truth before diplomacy, and stick to the facts. Israelis lie between the two, as do the Irish (somewhat closer to the Linear-actives). The British

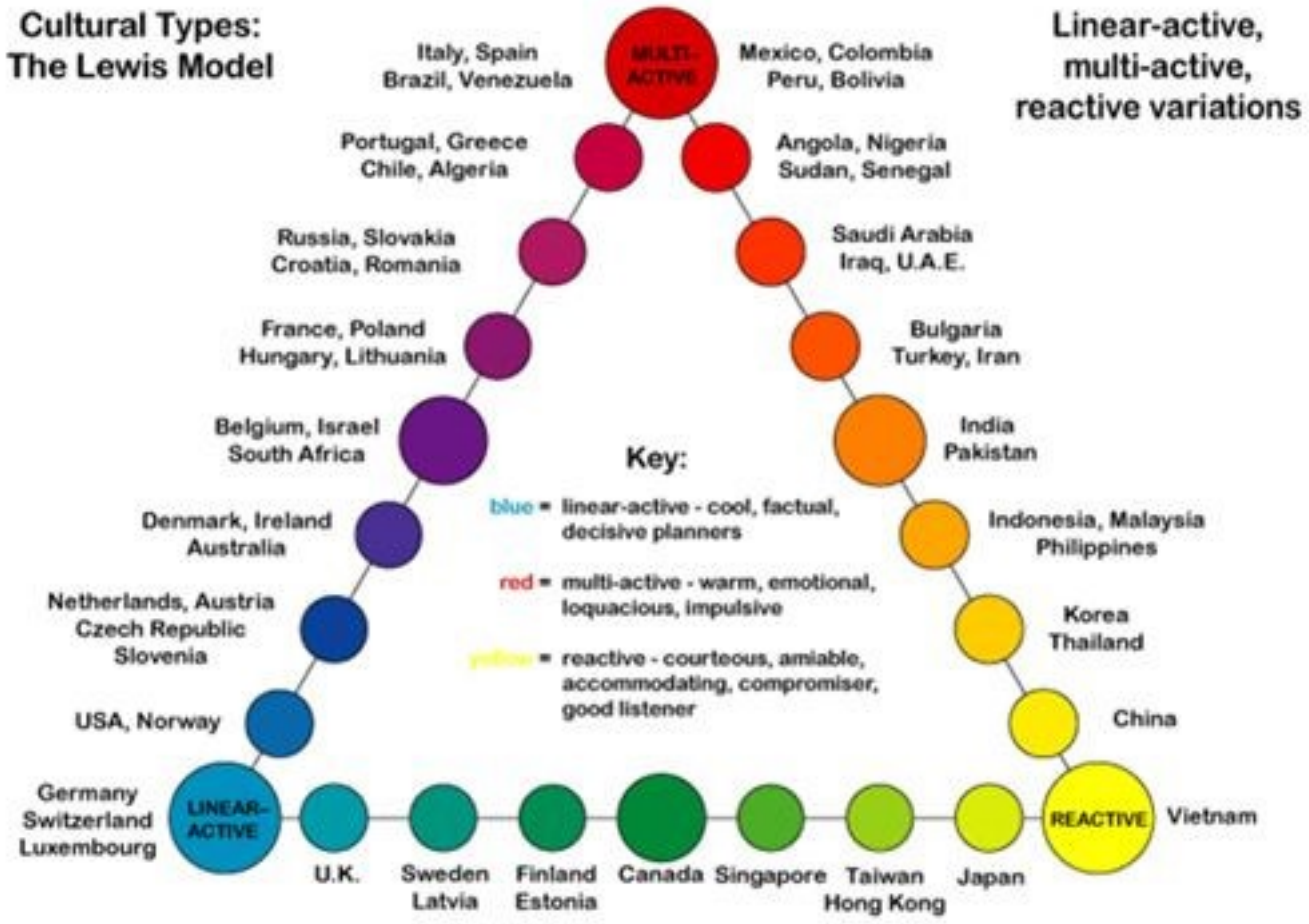
LINEAR-ACTIVE	MULTI-ACTIVE	REACTIVE
Talks half the time	Talks most of the time	Listens most of the time
Does one thing at a time	Does several things at once	Reacts to partner's action
Plans ahead step by step	Plans grand outline only	Looks at general principles
Polite but direct	Emotional	Polite, indirect
Partly conceals feelings	Displays feelings	Conceals feelings
Confronts with logic	Confronts emotionally	Never confronts
Dislikes losing face	Has good excuses	Must not lose face
Rarely interrupts	Often interrupts	Doesn't interrupt
Job-oriented	People-oriented	Very people-oriented
Sticks to facts	Feelings before facts	Statements are promises
Truth before diplomacy	Flexible truth	Diplomacy over truth
Sometimes impatient	Impatient	Patient
Limited body language	Unlimited body language	Subtle body language
Respects officialdom	Seeks out key person	Uses connections
Separates the social and professional	Mixes the social and professional	Connects the social and professional

Source: Source: Richard Lewis' website www.crossculture.com (2015) https://www.crossculture.com/the-lewis-model-dimensions-of-behaviour/

Figure 1: Common traits of Richard Lewis' cultural typologies

are also in the Linear-actives, but leaning slightly towards the direction of Reactives groups (Lewis, 1996).

On the relational level during Israel-Palestine talks, has there been sufficient awareness of the importance of honour, pride, ascription (status), hierarchy? Is the approach from rationale and logic only – and an assumed moral correctness in this rationale –, or is there space for the irrational and (underlying) emotion, or a flexibility of truth? In short, was there an invisible intercultural 'clash', possibly compounded by language barriers? Ben-Artzi et al. (2015) cite findings from a joint Palestininan-Israeli survey "*… Palestinians were offended by the rushed nature of the talks, thought that they were asked to agree to a settlement that was not in their interest.*" The "rushed nature of the talks" could possibly be an intercultural issue – setting a content agenda and going through it in a linear way without paying enough attention to the relationship (rational approach). Following the Camp David talks in 2000, an unflattering image of Palestinian negotiators took hold in the international press (Dajani, 2005). The earlier coined catchphrase "The Palestinians never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity" resurfaced. Later, it emerged that the US team was "was inattentive to both Palestinian interests and the concerns of the broader Arab and Islamic worlds" (Dajani, 2005, p. 40). Dajani (2005, p.61) cites an interaction with the then US secretary of state Madeleine Albright during



Source: Source: Richard Lewis' website www.crossculture.com (2015) https://www.crossculture.com/the-lewis-model-dimensions-of-behaviour/

Figure 2: Culture types: The Lewis Model.

talks in Washington in 2000. The Palestinian team showed willingness to consider Israel's annexation of up to 2 percent of the West Bank, to which Albright responded: "You say you need 98 percent of the West Bank. The Israelis say they need it to be 92 percent. The obvious compromise is 94 to 96 percent." Gaza preventive security chief Mohammad Dahlan seemingly was aghast by this "bazaar-style" approach.

Cross-cultural negotiations theory postulates that a nation's experience shapes its diplomatic culture – "the meanings attached to words, the motives attributed to adversaries, the concepts of what is permissible and what is insulting" (Dajani, 2005, p. 41). The PLO has had a hierarchical approach to human relations, an illusory view of the personal element in power relations, which "may have been grounded in the experience of dealing with mercurial, all-powerful dictators and absolute monarchs in the Arab world" (Khalidi, 2020, p. 177), and so were not suited for new roles of building institutions and negotiation. Palestine's historical experience, and the centrality of the nakba to Palestinian identity formation ¬– encompassing experiences of dispossession, exile, and

military occupation – also affects its negotiation style. The perception of the balance of power – " a dwarf facing down a giant" as Israeli negotiator Uri Savir described it (Dajani, 2005, p. 45) – contributed to a sense of victimisation and steadfastness, translated to the negotiation table as 'negotiations on the basis of weakness'. The Palestinians then resorted, from this position of subordination, to referencing legalities – and using legalese details as their argumentation – frustrating their counterparts and US.

It is likely, Dajani, concludes, that an incorrect attribution of motive(s) contributed to the inability to reach an agreement. Indeed, the failure of previous talks has been attributed more to inept leaders than cultural differences between negotiators (Wilson, 2005, citing Quandt, 2005). The intercultural dimension, and understanding how people use culturally determined strategies in conflict, is but one factor in the negotiation mix, though may get overlooked if mediators from power States are involved in a conflict negotiation process.

iii) Legacy and intangibles

"*Israeli negotiators' unwillingness to discuss the history of the conflict led their Palestinian counterparts to the conclusion that they had not come to terms with it – or with them.*" (Darjani, 2005, p. 69) Beyond any labels of culture, whether real or stereotypical (usually it is a factor), people meet – not just cultures. Conflicts happen when people's needs don't get met (Rosenberg, 2012), and communication is not synchronised. Communication "not only conveys information, but that at the same time imposes behaviour" (Hammer, 2005, p. 678, citing Watzlawick et al, 1967, p. 51). These two elements of communication have been identified as the 'report' and 'command' functions of communicative interaction (Hammer, 2005, citing Watzlawick et al, 1967). The report aspects are about content or particular information that is "true or false, valid, invalid, or undecidable" (Hammer, 2005, p. 678, citing Watzlawick et al, 1967, pp. 51-52). In the context of conflict interaction, the report function may be viewed in terms of the substantive disagreements that exist between the contending parties (Hammer, 2005).

As previously discussed, initial rounds of negotiations in Northern Ireland centred around historical grievances, where it took time to get past 1690! Palestinian scholar and writer Rashid Khalidi writes of the 1922 League of Nations' Mandate for Palestine, which, like the Balfour Declaration, did not use the words 'Arab' or 'Palestinian': "*The Jewish people, and only the Jewish people, are described as having a historic connection to Palestine . . . There were people there, certainly, but the had no history or collective existence, and could therefore be ignored . . . . The surest way to eradicate a people's right to their land is to deny their historical connection to it*" (Khalidi, 2020, p. 34). While Khalidi offers rich insights into events of Palestine's past century from the perspective of a scholar whose family played a negotiating role in British Palestine, literally lived its history, this author was also left with the impression that he, emotionally, had difficulty accepting the Jewish connection to the land. Ultimately, it's about a basic and fundamental human need to be seen and acknowledged, whether personally or as a people (Rosenberg, 2012).

Just as in Northern Ireland, where the 2006 Irish Language Act with its historical roots is an ongoing issue, or where the post-GFA negotiations on whether to hang the Queen's portrait in courtrooms or which emblems should be on police officers' uniforms were emotive, so too do intangibles matter among Israelis and Palestinians, a 2018 report by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research shows. Moreover, a number

of incentives related to these intangibles would actually cause a **shift in support for a two-state solution**. Israeli acknowledgement of historic/religious roots of Palestinians in historic Palestine would cause some shift from opposition to support of a two-state solution among 44% of the Palestinian population, while Israeli recognition of the Arab-Islamic character of the Palestinian state would be an incentive for 42% (the only incentive that rates higher at 56% is the release of Palestinian prisoners). The incentive that rates highest among Israelis for increasing support for a permanent peace package is that Jews be allowed to visit the Temple Mount/al Haram al Sharif: at 47%, it rates even higher than ongoing security cooperation (44%), and a similar percentage of 43% would shift if Palestinians recognised Israel as a Jewish state, and recognise Jewish historic and religious ties to the land.

Please see Appendix K: Role of incentives.

A sense of abandonment by the US as a negotiator (and increasingly by the Arab world) is leading to the conclusion that there is no hope" (Shikaki & Scheindlin, 2018, p. 12). And alongside the feeling of abandonment, there is disillusionment among the population with Palestinian politics, concludes Hillel Zand from the Wilson Center (Zand, 2018). This lack of hope is even starting to rekindle an illusory ambition of the liberation of all of historic Palestine; this, more than the idea of a binational state, and “contrary to common misconception” (Pollock, 2020) is gaining traction, according to a 2020 report by the Washington Institute.

Please see Appendix J: Palestinians' Top Priority in the coming 5 years.

Chapter 7
Conclusions

Conflict is complex, and its causes are usually deep-rooted. Yet, on a higher level, it can also be seen as a simple concept: Conflict is the failure to meet universal human needs, and people resort to violence or harmful behaviour when they cannot imagine alternative strategies to meeting these needs (Rosenberg, 2012). These needs can be tangible (access to resources like jobs or housing, or political representation), or intangible (an acknowledgement of one's identity in the social and political domains).

To make sense of and resolve a conflict in a sustainable way, you have to not only understand it through analytical, military, and other substantive lenses, but also through emotional and behavioural ones linked to its historical context. That is not to say one cannot learn from Northern Ireland's many substantive lessons, such as the role of an external mediator, or the importance of a reformed, unbiased police force – crucial points in the peace and implementation accords. But on their own, they, or any combination of substantive points, are not enough. The outbreak and longevity of the Northern Ireland conflict are indicative of a previous lack of commitment to its resolution and also of a short-term military focus, without initially addressing the root causes of the problem: If a conflict is framed as a singular mission (like defeating the IRA, or securitisation), it is likely to be drawn out, and the longevity, in turn, will feed its own potential intractability. As 'lessons' imply learning from both mistakes and successes, this lesson can be seen as one in conflict prevention.

As the approach of this thesis has been multidisciplinary, and therefore broad, some conclusions are framed as a question that specialists can take further. The following areas/lessons can be referenced to facilitate a more holistic and long-term, 'sustainable' resolution:

7.1 Demonization, de-demonization, and identity

In negotiation, participants act from the perception and assumptions they have from the facts, rather than the bare facts themselves. Our belief system has shaped how we

interpret facts, applying our existing assumptions to them. A shift of perception of the other party, or awareness of one's own subjectivity, can facilitate a resolution, or the other way round (Faure, 2011), and the success of an intervention may depend on the interior condition of the intervener (Scharmer, 2018; Hammer, 2005; Watzlawich et al., 1967). What's the point at which the conflict developed roots, how far back do we need to go? Assessing insights from the Good Friday Agreement negotiations, the answer is possibly the point of the other's pain. The objective of doing so is not to then bring micro-details of history into the negotiation mix, but to acknowledge the counterpart (the other), and the other's narrative, validate her truths – to see her, and legitimise her seat at the table.

While academic literature has often pointed out that Northern Ireland's conflict did not endure the same intensity as, say, Rwanda, (Bloomfield et al., 2003), post-partition discrimination built into its governance mechanisms, as well as the longevity of the Troubles, resulted in entrenching 400-year-old mythologies and beliefs about the 'self' and the 'other', and delegitimising the other through negative image characterisation and demonization (e.g., the image of the Irishman with the gun is a stereotype: the literary tradition goes back much further). Fear about loss and attack among unionists linked to a 'siege mentality' accentuated this demonization. Northern Ireland has shown that a political settlement – and accompanying development furthering societal equity – is necessary in conflict resolution, but that an inadequacy in fully dealing with demonization still manifests itself in the continued segregation of unionist and nationalist communities on many levels, political squabbles on legacy issues, and vulnerability highlighted by Brexit (accentuated by Prime Minister Boris Johnson's threat in September 2020 to unilaterally discard a key provision of an earlier treaty with the EU, and thus ignite fears about the reintroduction of a hard border between North and South; this topic in relation to the GFA and a future UK-US trade deal has become an point for Joe Biden in the 2020 US presidential campaign).

If actors in a conflict only try to resolve a conflict on substantive issues like territory, the chance is high that the intangibles will remain like an elephant in the relationship, during negotiation or even after an accord. Actors will continue to uphold disputes about content, without bringing up – or even being aware of – root causes of the dispute at emotional or interactional levels. So when Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness want to talk about 17th-century colonisation during GFA negotiations, or later when unionists and Sinn Féin are clashing on victims' pensions, or the implementation of the Irish Language Act or about Irish language signposts in the Assembly, they are actually seeking acknowledgement on deep-seated identity matters. The Northern Ireland government collapsed in January 2017 due to a dispute about a green energy incentive. When it was restored a full three years later, the Irish Language Act, putting Irish Gaelic on par with English was a significant part of the deal (alongside equity in education, poverty and healthcare reform). In the Northern Ireland context, this is linked to **subjugation**, an ingrained imperial superiority/privilege that has been challenged since the 1960s.

Another side effect of conflict still at play in Northern Ireland, I contend, is a kind of 'walking on eggshells' over-sensitivity towards the 'other', a tacit part of a culture in the unspoken set of non-negotiated rules that is the hardest to uncover, and therefore the hardest to change (Craig & Sar, van der, 2019). Northern Ireland's tacit culture was characterised by the well-known Troubles phrase 'Whatever you say: say nothing'. In public, this was a code of not cooperating with authorities, or being careful what you say, and there still seems to be an ingrained cautiousness in this regard; in the private

domain, it is a silencing through tension, lest lifting the lid on the can of worms might lead to a resumption of violence. So, a nationalist parent can still get fraught about his child wearing a green and gold GAA sports jersey in their garden, in case it offends their unionist neighbours: "You have to be neutral".

De-demonization needs to be both top-down and bottom-up, this research concludes. An example of a high-impact, top-down intervention was the Queen's State visit to Ireland in 2011 (the first visit of a British monarch to Ireland since the foundation of the Irish State), and the response of ex-IRA commander Martin McGuinness, then Deputy First Minister, who praised and met the Queen the following year (a very symbolic handshake for unionists). Hailed by many as a transformative piece of diplomacy, the Queen's symbolic actions and words seemed to say 'I acknowledge you, your identity, our history, mistakes made, and now we will share a different future together'.

Having points of connection and social bonds in a sectarian conflict are crucial to de-demonising the other, before and/or after the signing of an accord. This was supported in the interview data for this thesis, while in the Israel-Palestine conflict, existing research involving the non-mediated, extended encounters between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians resulted in cognitive and emotional transformation among Israeli participants. An effort to tackle segregation in Northern Ireland has been addressed in the 2020 *New Decade, New Approach* deal to mark the restored devolved government (after a three-year collapse), supporting the education of children and young people of different backgrounds together in the classroom (some 94% of education from nursery to secondary school is segregated), and addressing the link between socio-economic background and educational underachievement; the long-standing issue of "working-class Protestant boys", a group showing low self-esteem since the peace accords, has been identified.

Confronting one another's opposing narratives can potentially unfreeze entrenched beliefs, and make it easier for each side to acknowledge both the flaws in one's own past – the futility of the IRA campaign as experienced by many, or working-class unionists' unequivocal loyalty to their leaders in a position of privilege who didn't share that privilege with their own – and the reality of the grief of the other, "to begin to realise that the old Manichean division between 'us' and 'them', good and evil, is fundamentally flawed" (Rigby, 2001, p. 191).

7.2 The role of leadership, behavioural self-awareness, and intercultural sensitivity in conflict resolution

Leadership is needed to bring about the dynamic for negotiation, implementation of peace accords, and societal healing. **Commitment** – staying in the process for the long haul and the implementation process; **purposefulness and bigger-picture vision** – the ability to consistently rise above the detail while building trust in earlier stages; and **courage** – including the willingness to take personal, reputational, and career risks – are key attributes of leadership that drove the GFA and the implementation processes forward. Personal chemistry between some direct actors also helped, though that is less subject to influence. Like family, you don't get to choose.

Commitment is like the ham in an omelette, tells Adam Kahane in an anecdote: the chicken is involved, but the pig is committed. Jonathan Powell, as negotiator for the UK

government, remained committed from the very first meeting with Martin McGuinness at a secret house in Derry in 1997 to the first power-sharing government ten years later with McGuinness and Ian Paisley as its leaders. All the leaders involved remained committed for the duration of the process. Former Prime Minister Tony Blair was driven by a vision that insisted on focusing on the bigger picture (a policy of 'constructive ambiguity' to get an accord signed, with some ingenuity to get the details filled in afterwards).

In terms of risk, Blair and Powell took the contentious step in 1998 of sanctioning the inquiry into Bloody Sunday, and being open to the release of prisoners with terrorist charges – a daring and difficult move. Former US President Bill Clinton took the risk of granting a US visa to Gerry Adams. John Hume, the nationalist leader whose SDLP was founded from the civil rights movement, and who remained committed to non-violence throughout the conflict, took the bold step to facilitate Gerry Adams' and Sinn Féin's entry into the political arena, in spite of intense vilification from the press (by doing so, he more or less made his SDLP defunct). Unionist leader David Trimble risked being labelled a traitor by his own UUP unionist community (he eventually resigned as leader of the UUP). Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams both played a prominent role in garnering IRA support for ending the armed campaign, in spite of personal security risks by radical opponents. In the end, they managed to deliver. It took courage, too, to give up their arms. Divide and conquer may seem like an attractive ploy during a conflict resolution if aiming for a zero-sum outcome that weakens the adversary, but probably only serves to exacerbate the conflict 'on the street' (making it simmer), intensify demonization and introduce a new, fragmented object of demonization, and delay any lasting resolution.

Sensitivity to intercultural differences can also play a role in negotiation. Intercultural dimensions that may be of importance during negotiation include: universalism (a get-down-to-business approach characterised by rational and professional argumentation, same rules for all) vs. particularism (relationship-focused, where subjectivity is important); direct communication (the 'say what you mean, mean what you say' style) vs. indirect communication (where meaning is high-context, and often contained in body language signals); emotional restraint vs. emotional expressiveness. On a relational level, it needs to be considered whether the negotiation approach is from rationale and logic only – including an assumed moral correctness in the value system of this rationale – or whether there is space for the irrational and the subjective. A nation's experience shapes its diplomatic culture, too, from the meanings attached to words and the motives attributed to adversaries, to concepts of what is permissible. Historical experience can shape the perception of the balance of power, which can contribute to a sense of victimisation and lead to negotiations on the basis of weakness.

Of course, intercultural differences can be bridged. In the end of the day, cultures don't meet, people do (Hoffman & Verdooren, 2018), and ultimately, people generally recognise honest and genuine self-expression, and respect for the other; yet, from the mediator's perspective particularly, it can be of importance to have awareness of when intercultural dimensions are at play, and whether they are disadvantaging one side, or obstructing trust-building. Values lie at the heart of culture, and awareness of them is part of the game. Is there enough awareness of the value system in negotiation, the importance of honour or pride or a collective cultural value, for example? How do we define or interpret truth?

7.3 The terrorist in political conflict

Political scientist Fawaz Gerges asserts that the opposition in society is a mirror image of the existing political system; so when a state is violent, the opposition will be violent, the violence being an extension of the state itself (Gerges, 2019b).

Deprivation, the need to belong, social status or self-esteem, tribalism, or a higher ideological calling: It remains difficult to explain why people become terrorists through a single set of motives. The processes of how that happens are diverse. Three 'experiential' themes have been commonly named: injustice, abuse and humiliation, all of them closely connected (Borum 2004, p. 38). Generally the people who are out on the street challenging the status quo are the ones feeling the brunt of injustice, whether related to economic or political injustice, or rights concerning identity, says Conor Murphy. For him, partition meant that his grandfather got a medal and a pension from the Irish State, whereas his father, his uncle, and himself were regarded as terrorists (by both Irish and UK States) even though they were part of the same fight in the same village. That's one perspective, one truth. Partition has several truths. Regardless of how one regards the use of violent tactics, 'talking to the terrorist' in Northern Ireland has worked. Most abandoned violence after reforms, some underwent a transition from guns to governance (Martin McGuinness, or interviewee Conor Murphy, incumbent Finance Minister), with (third level) education playing a significant role in the overall transition, especially among nationalists. While terrorism may have been a tactic among some actors, the 1947 Education Act was a big enabler of the nationalist civil rights generation that benefited from the Act. The question is less who becomes a terrorist, and more, who stays married to an old cause and violent tactics once a settlement is in place.

The definition conundrum surrounding terrorism is compounded by whether or not to include state terrorism; in the case of Northern Ireland, that debate could draw on the outcomes of several ongoing investigations (or external ones that have taken place) into state collusion with paramilitaries. The outcome should lead to new academic discourse with more realistic connection to the messy details of violent conflict, and the trades-offs intelligence services have to make. Many people, not just in Ireland but also in the UK (including Jonathan Powell in the interview), say these outcomes probably hold important lessons for future governance and the State. Some nationalist interviewees expressed disappointment and/or betrayal regarding revelations of targeting civilians (and framing them) and non-violent political actors in collusion cases, but also relief because what was known is now finally being acknowledged. An area of potential inquiry in this regard could be **whether State actors should be able resort to asymmetric tactics in a military conflict, and how to establish accountability mechanisms in this regard.**

In an experiential (Kolb) self-experiment on terrorism in relation to my own position of being born on one side of the border (Republic of Ireland), I conclude that geography (urban vs. rural, or areas where conflict is more intense) and age are big factors, so the stage of the conflict when you're at an impressionable age. With violence in one's environment, it can simply come down to randomness: if an event, either experienced personally or through 'vicarious engagement', is one likely to push an emotional trigger or incite vengeance (six of the 14 people killed in Bloody Sunday were 17-year-old teenage boys). It can simply be a matter of luck regarding what you witness, encounter, or experience.

7.4 The Geopolitics of Emotion: End note

Speaking in 2020 in the Irish Times about the 1919-1921 Irish War of Independence, Irish President Michael D. Higgins said that the military imperialist strategy throughout the British Empire was rooted in "ideological assumptions, of superiority and inferiority in terms of race, culture or capacity, in *the notion of the collective as a disloyal, hopeless or threatening version of the 'other'*" (McGreevy, 2020; *italics mine*). President Higgins, a sociologist, went on to say that if we are to be serious about ethical remembrance, and the creation of a shared memory of peace with the past in the interest of a present or future understanding, it is important to recognise these facts, "a prerequisite for any meaningful healing" (McGreevy, 2020). The German, post-World War II concept of *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* or "Working off the past" (as translated by Jewish Director of the Einstein Forum Susan Neiman), encapsulates that idea of facing and learning from history in order to have a just and decent present: In choosing to face the past and remember, and having history serve as a reminder of all its demons, it makes conscious choices about the values it wishes to retain (Neiman, 2020). So where does Northern Ireland stand in terms of "meaningful healing", if we compare, say, with strong Franco-German relations after three wars (including the 1870 Franco-Prussian War)? Are we at a stage of conflict management or conflict resolution? Has conflict transformation taken place in society? Have people forgiven each other?

If you consider the journey of Northern Ireland since the outbreak of the Troubles; if you consider Northern Ireland's first power-sharing devolved government in 2007 was led by former arch-enemies anti-GFA Ian Paisley and ex-IRA commander Martin McGuinness, "extraordinary images of history in the making" (Hain, 2008, p.2); if you consider the implementation of social, economic and political reforms that reflect democratic principles (also part of the UK's journey); and if you consider the near cessation of political and sectarian violence, then there is much to applaud, and much hope to be drawn from Northern Ireland. If you look at the three strands of interstate and intersocial relationships (to reference Badie) – nationalists-unionists; Northern Ireland-Republic of Ireland; UK State-Irish State – one can conclude that North-South cooperation has become institutionalised and natural, and that the Irish and British States have strengthened their relations (they may not have literally addressed President Higgins' 'superiority-inferiority assumptions' but they have undoubtedly been implicit in some ways). In Northern Ireland, there appears to be a political will to continue to make society better, a genuine commitment to power-sharing by enlarge (nationalist respondents acknowledged this in relation to DUP First Minister Foster), and a degree of openness to a new future that does not define identity by the traditional, binary choice of unionism/nationalism (as stated in Chapter 4, for the first time some unionists voted in 2017 and 2020 for politicians who are not unequivocally unionist). On a top-down level, demonization is no longer the order of the day. In society generally, it is less visible and palpable, except for marching season flag-burning 'flashpoints', which are decreasing. This thesis concludes that while Northern Ireland, through transformation of governance and institutional mechanisms, is much further than conflict management, we still cannot speak of a completed conflict resolution. The psychological trauma from the conflict, Faure's 'phantom pain', is still felt 22 years later, mainly in urban, working-class areas most affected by the Troubles; an intergenerational trauma, including a 'silenced demonization' embedded in the old 'Say Nothing' culture. It is manifest in high rates of male suicide in 'Ceasefire Babies' – Northern Ireland has twice the number of suicides compared to the rest of the UK –, the heavy use of anti-anxiety drugs, the rise of paramilitary punishment shootings

and beatings in areas of deprivation, and racism towards other ethnicities. Moreover, the 'parity of esteem' embodied in the GFA and the 2020 *New Decade, New Approach* does not appear to have gained full acceptance – it is still a 'decree'. Indeed, most nationalist interviewees mentioned First Minister Foster's difficulty in being able to rise above her own position as a victim of violence, and her blockage in this regard. Many unionists still appear to have difficulty acknowledging the past violence from their own community, or the degree of collusion, or that Northern Ireland is culturally both British and Irish (the old fear of a United Ireland). Brexit, and UK Prime Minister Johnson's apparent lack of support on some legacy points of the *New Decade, New Approach* (he sacked the Northern Ireland Secretary of State who negotiated it in early 2020) have created fear, and exposed the cracks in a reconciliation process that is still a work in progress. People across Northern Ireland do not want to go back to violence – that was clear from the respondents. But dealing with – naming what's really going on under the surface – and forgiveness are still necessary to diffuse the polarity, and consolidate the future's cornerstone for sustainable reconciliation.

To the question whether a humiliation-fear-hope framework could have some tangible application in conflict resolution, Jonathan Powell said: "*You're dealing with conflicts here, armed conflicts in which people have genuinely suffered, where large numbers of people have died, been tortured, been deprived in other ways. You've got to face up to that emotion. If you try to take the emotion out of it, pretend it doesn't exist, you're not likely to succeed*."

The absence of emotion neither causes nor promotes rationality, German-born, Jewish political philosopher Hannah Arendt asserted. Referring to detachment and equanimity, she says: "*In order to respond reasonably one must first of all be 'moved', and the opposite of emotional is not 'rational' . . . but either the inability to be moved, usually a pathological phenomenon, or sentimentality, which is a perversion of feeling*" (Arendt, 1970, p. 64). This is crucial. Working on this thesis has given a strong sense of the suffering endured in conflict, and the understanding that conflict resolution needs time, space, and, if we understand Arendt, empathy. Humiliation is collective memory, "a founding narrative, which cannot be abolished by decree" (Badie, 2017b, p. 3). But in spite of the threats, Northern Ireland seems to have become a solid house for nationalists; in that there is a lesson in hope.

Fear and hope can become 'emotional orientations' within a society, and societies engulfed by intractable conflict are likely to be dominated by a collective emotional orientation of fear (Bar-Tal, 2001), also as a coping mechanism. This orientation feeds demonization and obstructs a peace process. Building confidence and trust, the stage after ending a violent campaign, can only be achieved when fear gets left behind (Huyse, 2005). Awareness of this, and devising measures and ways to overcome fear (and a bruised self-esteem), and to establish a collective orientation of hope, should form part of conflict and post-conflict governance strategies, this thesis concludes. This requires parallel processes involving multi-stakeholder, direct and indirect actors, while tackling both substantive, and intangible and relational areas of conflict across the whole breath of a conflict resolution timeline; it also requires understanding of the interconnectedness between the tangibles and the intangibles. Practitioners could consider drawing on theory on transformational change being put forward to resolve complex global 'grand challenges': adoption of systemic and collaborative approaches, the 'getting the whole system into the room' idea (Partnerships Resource Centre, 2016), and dealing with psychological barriers to reform and multiple competing narratives. Creating a discipline called '**Behavioural Politics**' (as suggested by Meichenbaum, Chapter 6).

Once a society's source of grief has been addressed in a conflict resolution process, two questions posed both in a self-reflective and reciprocal way can be considered by facilitators of conflict: **What do you fear? What do you hope for?** By following this inquiry through probing questions, the values of an emerging future can be established, on which new scenarios – incorporating the needs of the younger generation – can be built.

Appendices

Appendix A: Details and objectives of data collection interviews

Note: it was not possible to travel at the time of recording owing to Covid-19 restrictions; where possible, I recorded the interviews on zoom or Skype, but some interviewees preferred talking by phone.

Conor Murphy, zoom interview of 39 minutes on 4 August 2020, audio recording: **Finance Minister in Northern Ireland's devolved Assembly and member of Sinn Féin, and former IRA-member and prisoner**. Minister Murphy was first elected to the Assembly in 1998 after the GFA, and has served as Minister for Regional Development (2007-2011). In 2005, he was elected as a Westminster MP, but refused to take his seat in line with Sinn Féin's abstentionist policy. He has been Minister of Finance since January 2020. Murphy comes from a republican family, and joined the IRA during the 1981 Hunger Strikes. The purpose of this interview was to get his lessons from the peace process, his experience of the collaboration and relationship between unionists and nationalists on political and interpersonal levels, and how he views leadership; I also wanted his take on the IRA campaign to help me explore the 'I' in terrorism.

Jonathan Powell, zoom interview of 55 minutes on 27 May 2020, audio recording: **chief negotiator on behalf of the British government in the Northern Ireland peace process**, from the Good Friday Agreement negotiations in 1997-1998 through the implementation stage to 2007. Mr Powell has already identified and published key lessons (also with academics at London School of Economics foreign policy think tank IDEAS). My purpose was to investigate whether there has been a shift in his original findings (possible new lessons), and whether Mr Powell saw a relevance in looking at a conflict within Moïsi's 'fear-humiliation-hope' framework, and also the emotions embedded in historical grievances.

Colin Craig, Skype interview of 1 hour, 44 minutes on 9 June 2020, audio recording: **a practitioner in the field of peace building, and conflict resolution and management, both in Northern Ireland and abroad**. Mr Craig grew up in Northern Ireland and has been involved with Northern Ireland's leading peace and reconciliation organisation (Corrymeela Dialogue for Peaceful Change Centre) since the early 1970s. He has developed and run programmes with diverse actors – including Army members and security forces, loyalist and republican former terrorists (has been awarded an MBE for his work). Mr Craig has been involved in a very immersive way in the Troubles, yet stands apart as an objective observer – a Catholic with English parents who settled in Northern Ireland after the Second World War ¬– rejecting the binary choices of cultural narratives. My objective was to get insider and personal insights, especially as he was right in the thick of the conflict, yet looking at it with an observer's eye.

Paul Smith, zoom interview of 3 hours on 6 May 2020, audio recording: **former Major in the British Army**, involved in Northern Ireland after the Good Friday Agreement. Mr

Smith has also served in the former Yugoslavia, and as a Senior Civilian Diplomat with NATO in Iraq. The purpose of this interview was to try to gain insights into the military conflict and more understanding of the challenges facing an officer or soldier in the field, as well helping me explore the notion of the 'I' in terrorism.

Tim Gordon, zoom interview of 1 hour 20 minutes on 6 June 2020, audio recording: grew up in a **Protestant loyalist, working-class area in Belfast** (now a professional living in Amsterdam and London). Objective: This interview helped me form a human face behind 'unionism' rather than only understanding unionists from academic analysis, and gave insights into the street-controlled, territorial nature of the Troubles in Belfast, as well as myths surrounding and demonization of the 'Other'.

Cousins Geraldine McGovern, Bridget O'Rourke and Brian McAvoy, and past friend Deirdre O'Sullivan (name changed upon request), recorded by telephone. All nationalists living in a rural area in County Down, Northern Ireland. Friend Deirdre grew up on the border in the Republic of Ireland. Brian McAvoy has served as a press officer for former Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness. Objective: to help trigger self-evaluating questions to assess my own subjectivity in relation to the conflict, and to explore the potential terrorist in myself. What would I have done had I been born over the border?

Rosemary and Ronnie Mallon, family of my cousins, victim of 'collusion' attack, zoom interviews. Ronnie's brother, John, was killed in a loyalist bomb attack in 1974, aged 21. The attack was one of some 90 attacks by the Glenanne Gang involving collusion between state actors and loyalist paramilitaries (some Glenanne Gang collusion attacks have been confirmed, others, like John Mallon's case, are alleged). The family is still seeking an inquiry, also into a cover-up after the bombing. Objective: to understand the nature of collusion and people's response to it, also to explore my inclination towards violence in these circumstances.

Various interviews with a variety of people within my **Jewish-American and Jewish-Israeli network**, from close friends to colleagues and parents of my son's network.

Appendix B: Summary of the socio-linguistic impact of the Great Famine

In 1954, a historian wrote that Ireland is the only nation in the world with half the population it had a century earlier (Falc'Her-Poyroux, 2015, citing O'Brien, 1954). According to the 1841 consensus, Ireland's population was just under 8.2 million. Some one million people died in the 1845-1849 famine through starvation or disease (some scholars estimate up to 1.5 million), and another million approximately emigrated in the so-called 'coffin ships'; this wave of mass emigration continued through the following decades. The famine remains a historically and politically charged event in relation to the British government's *laissez-faire* policy and continued exportation of crops and livestock out of the country. But it is not just a watershed event in terms of humanity, social upheaval or political unrest: it was the coffin ship of the Gaelic language. On the eve of the famine, the number of Irish Gaelic speakers was in the region of three or four million (Falc'Her-Poyroux, 2015, citing Ó Gráda, 2000). The decline of the language, which had started before the Great Famine, also in part due to the 1831 provision of national primary school education (in English), "but now amplified by the rural depopulation, was inexorable, as was the shrinking of the regions where Irish Gaelic remained the language of the majority" (Falc'her-Poyroux, 2015, p. 3). The Catholic Church gained a stronger hold on the people in the post-famine period, taking a severe attitude against pagan elements in folklore, and entertainment like 'crossroads dances'. Irish Gaelic began to be associated with death, destitution – and shame. This 'shame' of native speakers to speak Irish in front of non-natives prevailed; one scholar related how, during a power cut in a pub, people who were speaking English suddenly started whispering in Irish Gaelic when the lights went out.

Figure 3: Evicted tenants during the Famine

Source: The Economist, 12-12-2020

Appendix C: Gerry Adams and the US Visa Wars with the UK

During his presidential campaign, former US president Bill Clinton had tapped into support from the Irish-American diaspora, but with that support came an expectation of commitment to resolving the conflict. In January 1994, reversing an earlier decision, and acting against the recommendation of the State Department, Clinton sanctioned a visa for Gerry Adams to visit the US. LSE political scientist Michael Cox describes what became known as the 'visa wars' as "a series of decisions that almost seemed designed to alienate the one country that many still regarded … as America's special ally" (Cox, 1998, p. 80). It certainly triggered fury in the British government and in John Major personally, and was met with a scathing response from some British media. In the 1990s, John Major's Conservative government was doubtful about the ability of Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness to secure an enduring ceasefire if they allowed Sinn Fein to enter peace talks (Cox, 1998). A Conservative government was not likely to seize the opportunity (Cox, 1998), which is why "the role of the US, in the early stages of the peace process especially, was to be crucial" (Cox, 1998. p. 79).

Twenty-five years after the 1994 New York visit, Gerry Adams said in a BBC interview that the granting of the visa was pivotal, a "small thing in itself but symbolically it was very important" (Simpson, 2019). Engaging Gerry Adams in the international political arena and, significantly, I contend, the burden of trust placed in him by the Kennedy family (Senator Ted Kennedy was clear about his rejection of the armed campaign), combined to make it difficult for him to revert to violence. It also put Adams under pressure to deliver. An official at the White House cited by the BBC in 2019 wrote that the Clinton calculation was to "Engage [Adams] … or show him to be a fraud" (Simpson, 2019).

Clinton remained personally involved in the process, especially leading up to the signing of the GFA.

Figure 4: Former US president Bill Clinton and Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams

Source: BBC, 01-02-2019

Appendix D: Statistical Breakdown of Deaths in the Troubles

Killings carried out by each Group by Community: (Only groups who killed 25 people or more are shown)				
Organisation	**Total Killings**	**Protestant**	**Catholic**	**Not from NI**
IRA	1696 (49%)	790	338	568
UVF	396 (11%)	89	265	42
British Army	299 (9%)	32	258	9
(unknown loyalists)	212 (6%)	50	212	7
UFF	149 (4%)	17	132	0
INLA	110 (3%)	55	33	22
UDA	102 (3%)	41	58	3
(unknown)	77	27	42	8
RUC	56	9	44	3
Official IRA	51	7	24	20
PAF (loyalist)	37	0	37	0
'Real' IRA	29	11	13	5
(others)	117	27	87	3

Figure 5: Statistical Breakdown of Deaths in the Troubles

Source: Wesley Johnston
`https://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/past/troubles/troubles_stats.html`

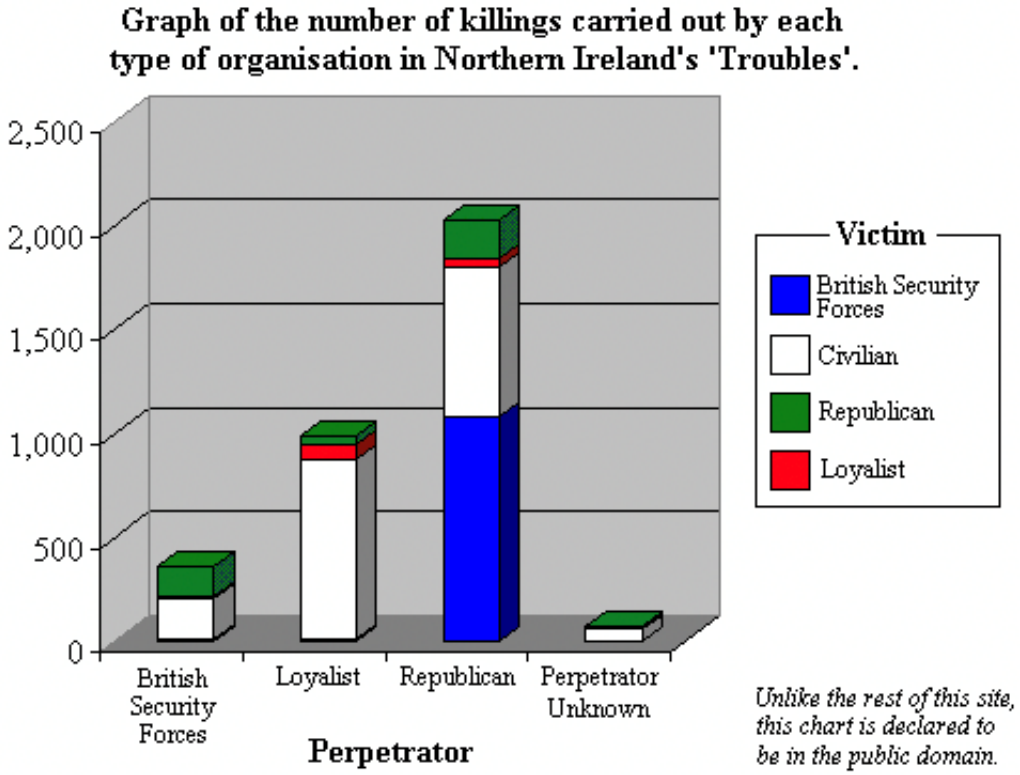


Figure 6: Number of killings carried out by each organisation in the Troubles

Source: Wesley Johnston
`https://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/past/troubles/troubles_stats.html`

NOTE: The following text is from the British MoD's 2006 Report. Their figures vary slightly from the statistics above. According to the MoD, pp. 2-12, loyalist paramilitaries were responsible for 30.43% of deaths, republican paramilitaries 61%, and the Army 8.55%. Their source is taken from *Lost Lives* (McKittrick et al., 1999)

"*CASUALTIES 697 British servicemen were killed by Irish terrorists between 1969 and 2006. Of those, 197 were in the UDR, seven in the Royal Irish Regiment HSF and four in the RAF. The remainder were members of the Regular Army or Royal Marines. 155 of the UDR and all of the HSF were killed off duty, as were roughly two dozen Regular Servicemen. Forty-five were killed on the British mainland, five in the Irish Republic and eight in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. Six were killed by loyalists, the remainder by republican terrorists. During the same period the Army killed 301 people of whom 121 were republican terrorists and ten were loyalist terrorists. The remainder were civilians. Republican terrorists killed 2148 people, including Servicemen. 162 were other republican terrorists and 28 were loyalist terrorists. Loyalist terrorists killed 1071 people. It is ironic that republican terrorists killed 30% more republican terrorists than the Army did.* "

Prof. Liam Kennedy of the Centre for Economic History, Queen's University Belfast, has also used Lost Lives compiled by McKittrick et al. (1999) as his source. Kennedy's analysis (2019) includes a breakdown for civilians as follows:

- 1,232 Catholic civilians (64% of total civilians) were killed, mainly at the hands of loyalist paramilitaries
- 698 Protestant civilians were killed (36% of total civilians),
- The IRA accounted for 49% of deaths
- Other republican groups accounted for 9% approx. of deaths
- The RUC police and the Army accounted for 10% of deaths
- Loyalist paramilitaries accounted for just over 29% of deaths

Source: The Irish Times, 11-08-2019 https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/academic-says-republicans-responsible-for-60-of-troubles-deaths-1.3983227

Appendix E: Watzlawick Theory of Metacommunication / Four levels of Communication

Communication psychologist Paul Watzlawick identified how in communication conflicts, people are speaking about content, and try to resolve a dispute on the level of content, but the real disagreement is on the metacommunicational level, basically the level of the relationship (Watzlawick et al., 1967).

Naturally two people can disagree purely on content ¬– two physicists who have a harmonious relationship disagreeing about the number of electrons in uranium¬ for example ¬– but if the relationship or interaction has been damaged by past experience, or if there is high competition between the two, then even if the matter of the uranium electrons gets resolved by recourse to scientific evidence (resolution on the content level), the disagreement could have different outcomes on the meta level: so the physicist who was wrong may admire the one who was right for his superior knowledge, or he may resent his superiority and resolve to 'get him back' at the next possible occasion to re-establish equality. Or if he can't wait until the next opportune moment to get even, then he might respond in a dismissive way that recent theory demonstrates that the number of electrons is actually quite meaningless.

Another example cited by Watzlawick is Russian and Chinese party ideologists having hair-splitting interpretations about Marxism to show what bad Marxists the other is.

Back to the physicists: Suppose these physicists are both working at a Dutch technological multinational, and the physicist who's right is female, in her 30s, and from Ankara, while the one who's wrong is in his 50s, white and Dutch, then intercultural (and gender) issues may be at play; or suppose the one who's wrong is Asian or Brazilian, and is the supervisor (or an older peer) of the other, then issues of hierarchy and respect may be at play. Psychologists have developed four levels of communication:

1. Content (the subject being discussed / the goal to be achieved);
2. Procedure (the structure of the talks, how to deal with the subject);
3. Interaction (how we treat each other, often determined by a set of unwritten rules);
4. Emotion (may be under the surface, or expressed through angry outbursts, in either case rationality will be absent).

People will fight about content without being aware of, or bringing up, the emotions. If the content is getting stuck or going around in circles, then it's necessary to move down to the relationship – either interaction or emotion – before you can make agreements on the content level.

So when Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness want to talk about the Tudor conquests during GFA negotiations, or when Arlene Foster and other unionists, and Michelle O'Neill and Sinn Féin members are clashing on the implementation of the Irish Language Act in the Assembly, they are actually seeking acknowledgement on deep-seated legacy and identity matters.

Appendix F: Are there gender lessons from Northern Ireland?

Reconciliation is "a deeply personal process" (Huyse 2005, p.9), touching the cognitive and the emotional, the rational and the non-rational, and it culturally determined, gender-based and linked to their experiences during the conflict. What might be the lessons of gender in the Northern Ireland peace process? A complete answer would require a separate inquiry, and will become visible over time.

Back in 1999, gender scholar Rosemary Sales wrote that the sectarian divide in Northern Ireland had marginalised concern with gender inequality (Sales, 1999). Indeed, sectarian divisions have been associated with patriarchal structures that excluded women from political life, especially Protestant women due to the ties between Protestantism and the Ascendency, making it difficult to challenge their 'State' (Brah et al., 1999). The public face of the Protestant community was overwhelmingly male – political and Church leaders, and leading Orangemen – while, in the republican and nationalist movements, some women had gained prominence (mainly in a supporting role). The election of socialist and feminist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey to Westminster in 1969 was celebrated as a seismic political event in the burgeoning struggle for Catholic civil rights (Holland, 2016). McAliskey, running as an independent, took her seat in London, unlike Sinn Féin MPs.

Women actually played a role in the events leading up to the 1919-1921 Irish War of Independence; paradoxically, many of the revolutionary women leaders were Protestant or English-born Ascendancy women and/or suffragettes, like Constance Markievicz – the first woman ever to be elected to Westminster (as a member of Sinn Féin, she did not take her seat after the 1918 elections, but set up the first unofficial Dáil or Irish parliament).

Today, Stormont's two leaders are women – First Minister and DUP leader Arlene Foster, and Deputy First Minister and Sinn Féin vicepresident Michelle O'Neill. Some interview participants, while respecting Mrs Foster's sincerity in her commitment to power-sharing, and most empathetic to her own family's experiences as victims of violence, have questioned her ability to rise above a binary choice of identity, and the blockage of legacy.

Figure 7: Deputy First Minister Michelle O'Neill (Sinn Féin) and First Minister Arlene Foster (DUP)

Source: The Irish News, 3-10-2017

Appendix G: Some psychology models used to develop self-awareness

Besides personality or behaviour indicators like Myers-Briggs, DiSC or Insights Discovery to get to know your own behavioural styles, psychology models like David McClelland's Iceberg or Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) Perceptual Positions can enable understanding of the belief system that has shaped your behaviour, thoughts, opinions and convictions and therefore your embedded assumptions that you understand as a given, described by Marsick et al. as "internalised social rules, norms, value and beliefs that have been acquired implicitly and explicitly through socialisation" (2006, p. 489).

For example, McClelland's Iceberg distinguishes between the visible or **what I do** – knowledge, skills and behaviour – and the invisible, firstly **what I think** – opinions, values, beliefs – then via a dotted line of hard-wired DNA / core personality moving to **what I want** – what drives me, what is important to me (I contend that this last part enters the realm of the spiritual, the search for the meaning of life). In order to journey down to the zone of identifying your personal drivers and motives in life (*what you want*), you first have to analyse your own belief system and identify the elements that have shaped those values (*what you think*), and, in that process, gaining an understanding of a set of assumptions you thought were a given.

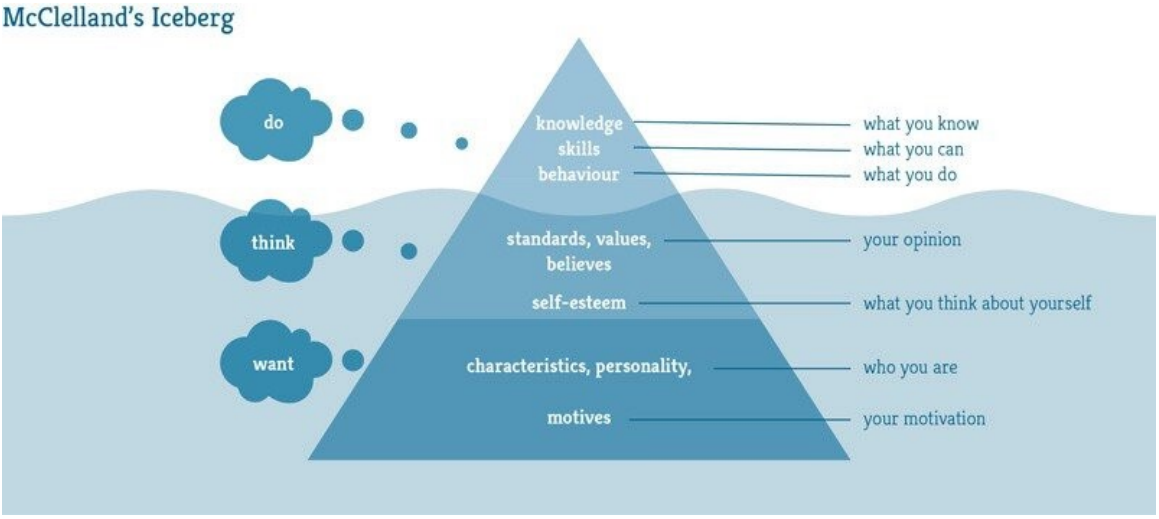


Figure 8: David McClelland's Iceberg model of visible and invisible behaviour

Source: Boye Co https://www.boye-co.com

NLP's Perceptual Positions triggers a person to make inner shifts by looking at a situation from another perspective, rather than being stuck in one 'perceptual position' with 'blinders on': The first position (self) looks at a situation from your own viewpoint, a fully associated position; the second from the perspective of the other; the third from a neutral observer's point of view as if you are a third party watching yourself – a dissociated position; the fourth steps into the position of the group/organisation/family/community/society; and the fifth and last is from the perspective of a higher source – be it a god, the universe or a 'core state' or 'core value'.

Appendix H: Examples of incidents of violence experienced by family members

Cousin 1 Geraldine talked about coming home by car one Saturday night with a friend who was a nurse (and therefore had a car); as they approached a town nearby, they drove right into the scene of a loyalist bomb attack, injured people walking out of the bar, bodies on the ground. Cousin 1 and her friend transported some of the injured to hospital. It turned out that relatives on her father's side were also injured (but not fatally).

Both female cousins 1 Geraldine and 2 Bríd recounted how their father was involved in a loyalist attack on two vans with workmen; their father had just finished a job with other workers at a Belfast hospital, and were about to return home in two vans when one of workmen in the other van got shot by a gunman.

Cousin 2 Bríd had some examples of association of violent attacks with special occasions, e.g., the Miami Showband attack, which happened on the day she went into labour with her first child near where they live in Co. Down. Bríd's daughter was born later that day; later, when her son was born, a huge blast went off in a Belfast hotel. After our telephone interview, Bríd called me again and said, "I forgot to tell you something" and then went on to relate what happened when she was being discharged from hospital after the birth of her daughter: Her husband was due to collect her from hospital by car. On his way to the hospital, he stopped at a shop to buy chocolates for the nurses, and when he got back into the car, there was a gun pointed at his head. Someone had gotten into the back, and ordered her husband to drive to a particular location and then told to get out of the car. He arrived at the hospital shaken and pale. An arrangement was actually made by the gunman (probably IRA) to return the car.

Appendix I: West Bank and Gaza public's views on 'normalisation' of relations with Israelis

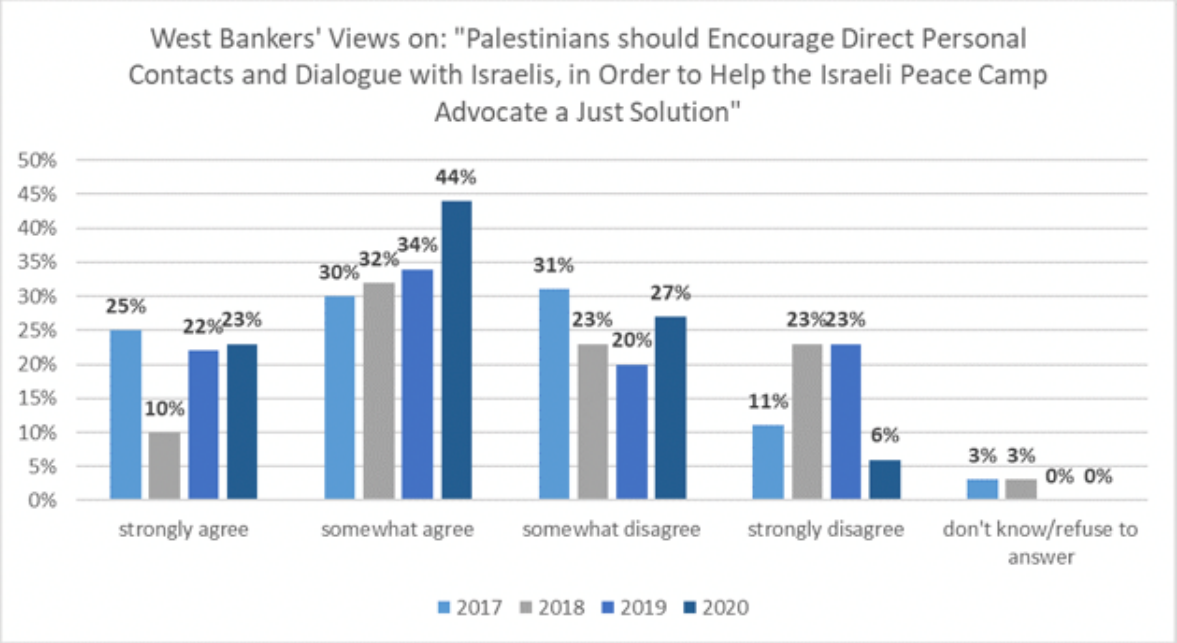


Figure 9: West Bankers' views on normalisation of relations with Israelis

Source: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2020 (Pollock, 2020)

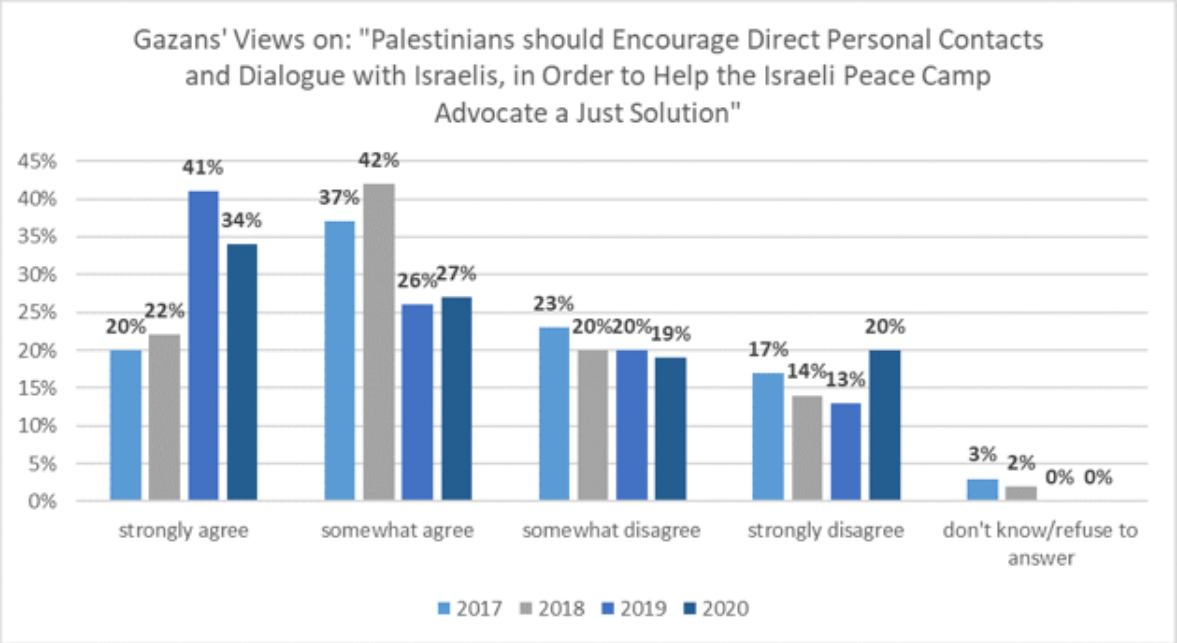


Figure 10: Gazans' views on normalisation of relations with Israelis

Source: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2020 (Pollock, 2020)

Appendix J: Palestinians' Top Priority in the coming 5 years

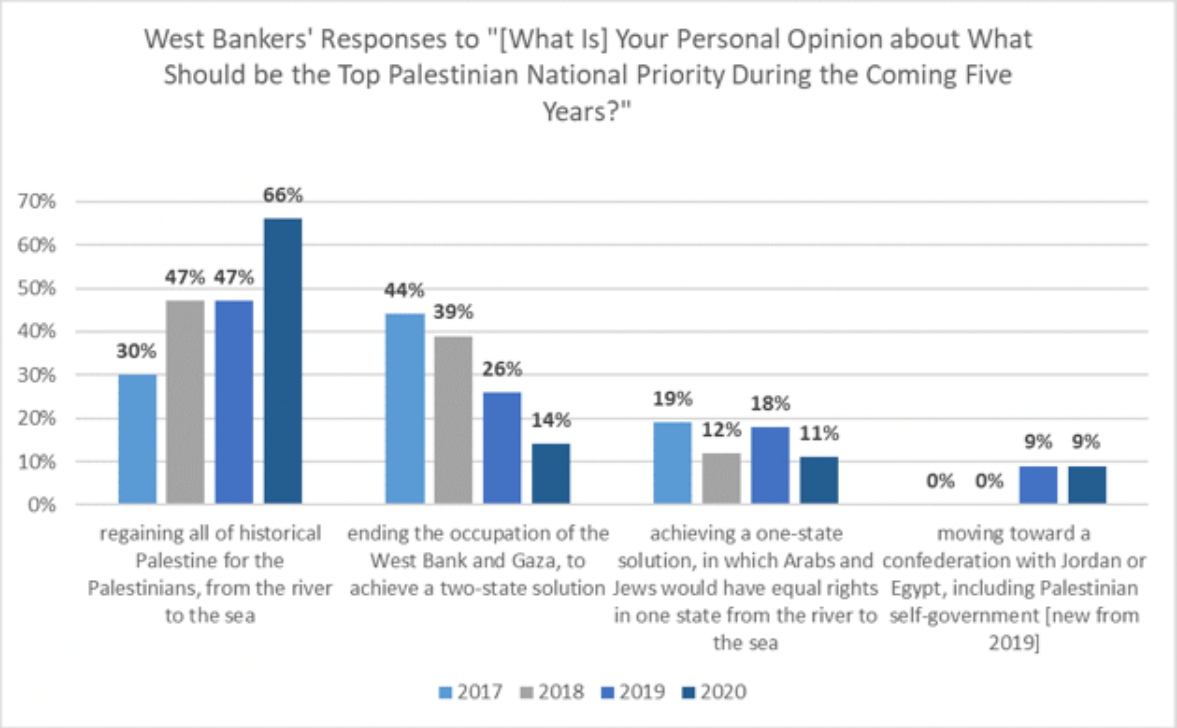


Figure 11: Palestinians' top priority in the coming five years, West Bank

Source: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2020 (Pollock, 2020)

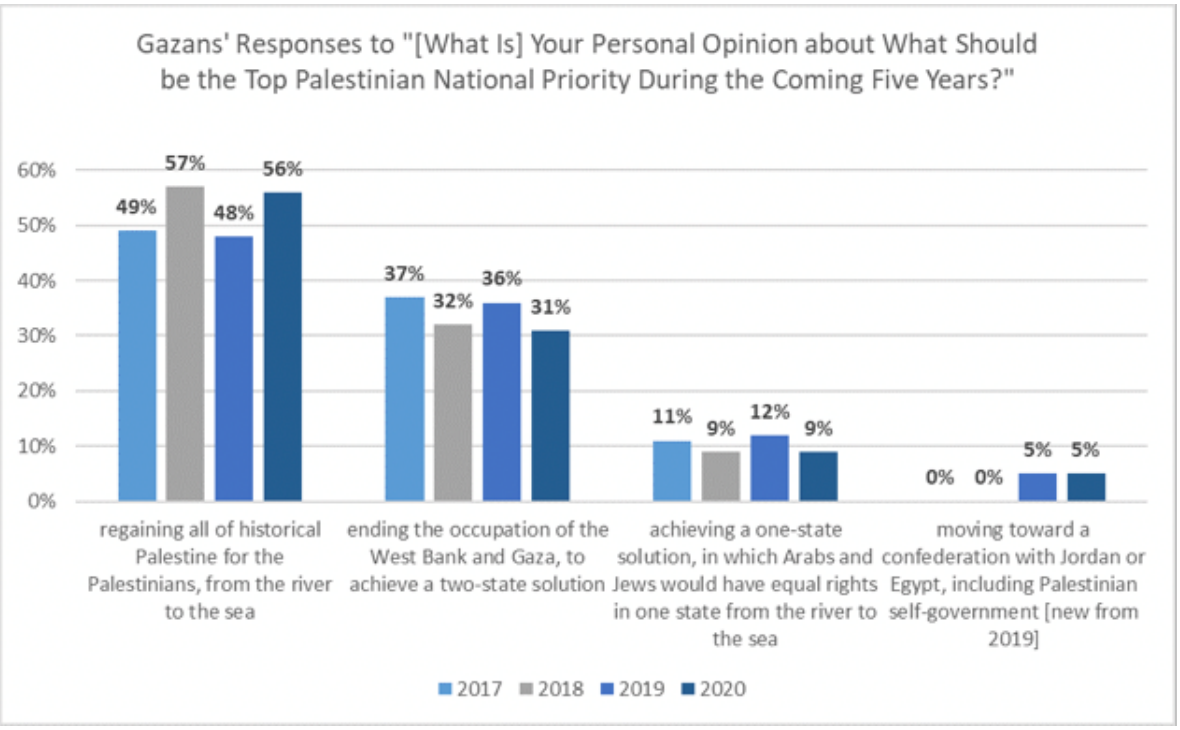


Figure 12: Palestinians' top priority in the coming five years, Gaza

Source: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2020 (Pollock, 2020)

Appendix K: Incentives needed to regain 2-State solution support

Role of incentives in increasing Palestinian support for a permanent peace package **Top 10 incentives proposed to Palestinians,** June 2016-June 2018 *% percentage of those who changed their mind from opposition to support*		
1	Israel releases all Palestinian **prisoners**	**56%**
2	Palestinian **laborers** continue to work in Israel	**44%**
3	Israeli acknowledgement of **historic/religious roots** of Palestinians in historic Palestine	**44%**
4	Israel recognizes **Arab-Islamic character** of Palestinian state	**42%**
5	Palestinian refugees currently living in **refugee camps** receive land/homes in Palestinian state	**42%**
6	**Free movement** for both sides in two states	**40%**
7	Israel to recognize **Nakba**, provides compensation	**39%**
8	Palestine will be **democratic**	**37%**
9	**Marwan Barghouti** supports package	**34%**
10	Israel **acknowledges responsibility** for refugee problem	**34%**

Figure 13: Incentives needed by Palestinians to regain two-state solution support

Source: Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research and The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, 2018 (Shikaki Scheindlin, 2018)

Role of incentives in increasing Israeli support for a permanent peace package **Top 10 incentives proposed to Israeli Jews,** June 2016-June 2018 *% percentage of those who changed their mind from opposition to support*		
1	Jews allowed to **visit the Temple Mount**/al Haram al Sharif	**47%**
2	Palestine to commit to ongoing **security cooperation** like today	**44%**
3	Palestine recognizes Israel as **Jewish state, Jewish historic and religious ties to land**	**43%**
4	Compensation to **Jews from Arab countries**	**41%**
5	State of Palestine will be **democratic**	**40%**
6	**Guarantees** by the US, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia	**39%**
7	**Regional peace** with Arab states-API	**37%**
8	Palestinians change **textbooks**, removes incitement	**35%**
9	Acknowledgement of Jewish **historic/religious roots**	**35%**
10	Israelis and settlers **allowed to be residents** in Palestine	**35%**

Figure 14: Incentives needed by Israelis to regain two-state solution support

Source: Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research and The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, 2018 (Shikaki Scheindlin, 2018)

"'To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven.

A time to be born and a time to die.

A time to plant and a time to pluck up that which is planted.

A time to kill and a time to heal.

A time to break down and a time to build up.

A time to get and a time to lose.

A time to keep and a time to cast away.

A time to love and a time to hate.

A time of war and a time of peace.'

I believe that Northern Ireland has come to a time of peace, a time when hate will no longer rule.

How good it will be to be part of a wonderful healing in our province.

Today we have begun to plant and we await the harvest."

From Ian Paisley's speech as he was sworn into a power-sharing government with Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness at Stormont. Belfast, 8 May, 2007.

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