

Dr. Yusuf Cinar

From Conflict to Peace

**REHABILITATION PROCESS IN THE
PHASE OF TRANSFORMING CONFLICT -
THE CASE OF NORTHERN IRELAND**



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PREFACE

The subject matter of this study is discussing contributions rehabilitation had for the reconciliation between the peoples of Northern Ireland, or to the peacekeeping and its sustenance in particular, by focusing on the rehabilitation process of the phase of transforming conflict with reference to the Northern Ireland example.

The experience and knowledge that my advisor dear Dr. AKYEŞİLMEN provided to me through a master-apprentice relationship is priceless. I hereby thank Mr. AKYEŞİLMEN for his contributions to this study and to my personal development. I present my thanks to the Prof. Dr. Birol AKGÜN and Prof. Dr. Alparslan ÖZERDEM, both of whom did not spare their thoughts during process of finalising the s ubject matter in question. I very much thank the Selçuk University Department of International Relations Chair, my committee member, and my dear teacher dear Prof. Dr. Şaban Halis ÇALIŞ. I thank Assoc. Prof. Metin AKSOY, Asst. Prof. Dr. Murat TÜMAY, Prof. Dr. Murat ÇEMREK and Asst. Prof. Dr. Taylan Özgür KAYA, all which contributed in making this study come in sight. Also, I cannot thank enough Prof. Dr. Jonathan HALL from Uppsala University, and my dear friend Doğukan Cansın KARAKUŞ for their contributions to this study. I thank my friends from the department and the Strategic Outlook team for this process as well. In this regard, I feel indebted enough to thank dear Research Asst. Muhammed Mustafa KULU, Asst. Prof. Dr. Cüneyt ÖZŞAHİN and Research Asst. Yasin AVCI. I am grateful to my dear father, my mother, my wife, my daughter and my son, in other words to my "great family" who never spared their support during my education and encouraged me to finish this study. And of course, all the faults and shortcomings of this study are on me.

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INTRODUCTION

It is possible to encounter conflict as a situation in every way of life. While its lexical meaning creates negative perceptions, conflict can also provide positive results if managed well. In other words it is not conflict in itself as a negative phenomenon but rather its mismanagement that produces negative results. As one of the common kinds of conflicts, the aforementioned situation is valid for ethnic conflicts as well. This is because ethnic conflicts constitute one of the biggest obstacles against ensuring societal reconciliation, being a conclusion of societal segregation. Hence, removing ethnic conflicts by correctly managing them can also mean the establishment of the previously unpractical societal peace and reconciliation. Herein termination of ethnic conflicts and their transformation is only possible through removal of structural and root causes which cause it.

Machiavelli and Clausewitz significantly contributed to the development of the Western method for analysing conflicts. As counterpart, Sun Tzu contributed the Eastern method of evaluating conflict to the literature. In addition, Karl Marx and Adam Smith, by emphasizing class struggle, brought the subject matter of conflict into academic discussion. Similarly Kenneth Waltz, in his work entitled *Man, the State and War*, written in 1959, puts an emphasis on three levels analysis: i-) individual, ii-) state, iii-) system. In this regard, it can be derived from Waltz's levels which examine the causes of war that the actors of conflict are the individual, the people or the state, and the international system.¹¹

For each of these three levels of analyses there are three solution proposals. The individual-based levels of analyses claim that conflict will be eased through the education of the community. The state-based levels of analyses indicate that states can prevent conflicts by democratisation.

The system-based conflict analyses claim that conflicts can be prevented through peaceful international organizations. In the systematics of these three levels of analysis there is an ascending interaction for the transformation process of conflict, from the system level to the state level, and from the state level to the individual level.²²

¹ Scott Burchill et.al., *Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorileri*, Ali Aslan, Trans. Muhammed Ali Ağcan, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2009, pg. 36.

² Johan Galtung, "Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation – the TRANSCEND Approach", Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (ed.), *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, USA: Routledge, 2007, pg. 19. Also see: Ho-Won Jeong, *Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis*, ABD: SAGE Publications, 2008, pg. 43.

The conflict appeasing phase is also known as the period of truce. Since the termination of physical violence is the basic objective of this phase, the focus is on the sustainability of non-violence in the short term, rather than on sustained peace strategies.³ As for the conflict resolution phase, it is an assessment process regarding the main reasons for conflict. Hence, since during the period claims and demands of both sides materialize, it is described as a highly complex phase.⁴ For this reason, a sustained, real peace cannot be established both in the conflict appeasing and the conflict resolution phases. The conflict transformation phase is the name of the phase which targets the social, economic, political and cultural transformation of conflict, and it aims to remove the structural and root causes of conflict to achieve these.⁵ The conflict transformation phase is known in the literature as the "never-ending process".⁶ One of the issues that is often stressed in the conflict transformation phase is the concept of peace building. Peace building is a controversial concept. So much so that there isn't even a consensus on how to correctly type it (peace building, peace-building, peacebuilding) and what it entails.⁷ Hence, it can mean different things according to the perspective of the person using it. In this regard, experts that interpret the concept of "peace building" as the actions happened through the intervention of foreign powers as part of a military peace operation focus on the post-conflict and define peace building as the process where violence is directly terminated.⁸ Another perspective further enlarges this concept to include all phases of conflict and aim for the discovery of all root causes of conflict and eliminate structural injustice. This viewpoint is more of a civilian one and makes an effort to eliminate deficiencies regarding education, human rights and social justice in order to transform the conflict.⁹

In societies that experience ethnic conflicts, rehabilitation is a process that needs a careful approach as part of conflict transformation and ensuring sustainable peace. The rehabilitation process aims to remove prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination among post-conflict societies. Judgements, stereotypes and discrimination have become the concern of social psychologists after the Hitler era. The focus of Allport's studies is the complicated relation between political and historical situations.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, priorities can differ in an

³ Nezir Akyeşilmen, "Çatışma Analizi: Hak-Temelli Stratejik Bir Barış Modeli Çerçevesi", içinde *Türkiye'nin Yakın Havzasındaki Devlet-İçer Çatışmaların Analizleri*, Ertan Efeğil and Esra Pakin Albayrakoğlu (Ed.), İstanbul: Gündoğan Yayıncılık, 2015, pg. 53.

⁴ Akyeşilmen, 2015, pg. 54.

⁵ Nezir Akyeşilmen, "Çatışma Yönetimi: Kavramsal ve Kuramsal Bir Analiz", Nezir Akyeşilmen, (ed.), *Barışı Konuşmak*, Ankara: ODTÜ Yayınevi, 2013, pg. 19.

⁶ Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution War, Peace and Global System*, London: Sage, 2006, pg. 35.

⁷ Lisa Schirch, "Strategic Peacebuilding – State of the Field Peace Prints", *South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 2008, pg. 3.

⁸ Schirch, 2008, pg. 4.

⁹ Schirch, 2008, pg. 4.

¹⁰ Joaquim Pires Valentim, "Sherif's Theoretical Concepts and Intergroup Relations Studies: Notes for a Positive

academic study in different disciplines. While a sociologist focuses on the relation between societal groups¹¹, a psychologist concentrates on the internal conflicts of the individual, and a political scientist on the political conflicts. This study, with reference to the basic parameters of international relations, approaches how state and society can transform as a result of their mutual interaction in the post-conflict phase. As part of transforming conflict, it can be said that most of the academics who study the context hail from the social psychology and educational psychology fields. This study aims to analyse the post-conflict rehabilitation phase through the example of Northern Ireland with an international relations originated perspective. In doing that, works of the authors such as Daniel Bar-Tal,¹² who aim to conceptualize such studies, will also be employed.

Two societies in Northern Ireland: Catholic and Protestant societies. Due to the long and deep inter-societal political conflict, these societies refrained from mutual interaction for decades. The rehabilitation process is one of the tools which helped these two groups to interact and integrate in the period after the Good Friday Agreement, the greatest step in solving the issue.¹³ Allport emphasizes that interaction phases of intergroup communication and interpersonal interaction theories constitute the most effective way of destroying prejudices.¹⁴ As for the post-conflict transformation phase, whether for peace building or for post-conflict structuring, in transforming society and the units with the power to determine relations, rehabilitation has an important function. Rehabilitation as a concept has transformed historically and today contains an extensive scope of definition and activity.

Rehabilitation is first used during the 19th century to correct and educate criminals in prisons. The aim of rehabilitation in this era was to cleanse criminals of their bad habits, and rehabilitation entailed education and vocational training, in conjunction with the quasi-military system.¹⁵

Interdependence", *Psychologica*, No.52, Vol. II, 2010, pg. 586.

¹¹ Muzafer Sherif, et. al., "Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment", <https://www.free-ebooks.net/ebook/Intergroup-Conflict-and-Cooperation-The-Robbers-Cave-Experiment/pdf?dl&preview>, Access date: 27.06.2015, pg. 5.

¹² Daniel Bar-Tal, "From Intractable Conflict Through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2000, pg. 363.

¹³ Sherif, et. al, Access date: 27.06.2015, pg. 3.

¹⁴ Donna Y. Ford, Multicultural Issues Gifted Underrepresentation and Prejudice—Learning From Allport and Merton, *Gifted Child Today*, Vol. 36, No.1, pg. 65.

¹⁵ Rehabilitation Theory, pg. 831.

During the 20th century the term rehabilitation has started to be used for soldiers. In a way the word has the meaning of normalisation and can be expressed as the period of integrating those who cannot socialize into social life. In other words, rehabilitation also means that a better comprehension of the

person, society and other units that needs to be rehabilitated.¹⁶ Post-war rehabilitation was first employed by the J. Freymond committee coordination in Switzerland with the aim of providing a source for the rehabilitation of societies worn down by war. The most important part of this project made in Switzerland is manifesting that reverence of human rights is actually important in the long term for conflict transformation to establish stability.¹⁷

The primary aim of post-conflict rehabilitation is to avert great conflicts by easing access to needs, and transforming the mannerisms and behaviour of the parties.¹⁸ Post-conflict rehabilitation overlaps with many subjects; beside prevention of conflict, peace building and peace keeping, nearly all phases of conflict are closely connected to post-conflict rehabilitation.¹⁹

The countries where conflicts take place generally have an authoritarian past or are societies ruled over by dictators in the past, which may mean veteran perceptions can provide information regarding the trajectory of the post-conflict development process. This is because the post-conflict structuring phase is a critical phase for the establishment of institutions and hence it should proceed through safeguarding balances.²⁰ As one of the post-conflict structuring phases, rehabilitation in a way means public relations; a state that understands its public does not abstain from making necessary reforms and provides a voluntary synergy for the implementation of decisions. Another meaning of rehabilitation is the vitalisation of civil society. The concept of civil society is built upon the space between state and individuality.²¹ In a way, the growth and survival of this space between state and individuality is a basic indicator of a healthy society. On this regard, Northern Ireland is a case example for the field of post-conflict rehabilitation studies.

Historically, Great Britain plays an important role at the heart of the Northern Ireland (Ulster)

¹⁶ John L. Todd , “Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science”, Vol. 80, *Rehabilitation of the Wounded*. ,Nov., 1918, pg. 1.

¹⁷ Jean-Jacques de Dardel Gustav, Gustenau Plamen Pantev, *Post-Conflict Rehabilitation Lessons from South East Europe and Strategic Consequences for the Euro-Atlantic Community*, Viana, National Defence Academy and Bureau for Security Policy at the Austrian Ministry of Defence in co-operation with PFP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, 2006, pg. 8.

¹⁸ Gustav and Pantev, 2006, pg. 14.

¹⁹ Gustav and Pantev, 2006, pg. 17.

²⁰ Gustav and Pantev, 2006, pg. 57.

²¹ Gustav and Pantev, 2006, pg. 100.

issue. On this regard, with Henry II's declaration of himself as the Lord of Ireland with the permission of The Pope in the 12th century, Britain's influence over Ireland increased; subsequently, with the English settlement policy, English settlers emigrated to Ireland.²² An important reason why the issue became lasting is the Protestant-Catholic conflict that emerged on top of Henry VII's assimilation policies to eradicate Catholicism.

The independence wish of the Catholics became evident during the First World War. With the partition of the island into Belfast and Dublin governances the foundation of IRA (Irish Republican Army) gathered speed.²³ Consists of Catholic volunteers, IRA became an underground organization in the 1930s.²⁴ In addition, Sinn Féin became the political arm of IRA. The exclusionary actions of the Belfast government towards Catholics caused Catholics to fall behind on matters such as education and economy. The Protestant design of the political system in ways that made themselves more active in Catholic majority areas caused Catholic community to become under-represented. On the 30th of January 1972 the government rigorously intervened to the protestors during a Catholic protest march and caused the death of 13 protestors, which caused IRA to increase its armed attacks.²⁵ As a result of the increasing pressures, the conflict escalated as England tried to take more violent measures. On the year 1985 a very important agreement was reached between the governments of London and Dublin to resolve the issue, and the belief that resolution will happen through dialogue was revealed.²⁶ While the peace talks that happened between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom were disrupted with IRA attacks, on 1995 the "Common Framework for the Future" document was released. This document in a way meant that Northern Ireland was left to those who live in Northern Ireland. As a result of the dialogue process on 10 April 1998 the Good Friday Agreement (Belfast Agreement) was signed. Both the Common Framework for the Future document and the Good Friday agreement played critical roles in the phase of transforming conflict and made it easier for the sides to take social, economic and political decisions that would make it easier to remove the causes of conflict. At the helm of the foundational reasons of the problem in Northern Ireland is the mutual "distrust" of both sides. Both the Common Framework for the Future document and the Good Friday agreement were vital to build up trust between both sides in Northern Ireland.²⁷ Some firm actions have to be taken in order to

²² I. William Zartman, *Northern Ireland: Understanding Conflict 2008 Student Field Trip to Northern Ireland*, Wahington, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008, pg. 1.

²³ Kismet Metkin, Murat Çemrek, "Kuzey İrlanda: Bitmeyen Bir Barış Hikayesi", Nezir Akyeşilmen, (ed.), *Barışı Konuşmak*, Ankara: ODTÜ Yayınevi, 2013, pg. 279.

²⁴ Emin Gürses, *Ayrılıkçı Terörün Anatomisi IRA-ETA-PKK*, İstanbul, Bağlam Yayınları, 2003, pg. 28.

²⁵ Gürses, 2003, pg. 33.

²⁶ Gürses, 2003, pg. 39.

²⁷ Zartman, 2008, pg. 7.

establish a lasting peace environment. In this regard, mutual interaction between societies, increase in communication and integration, and transitive relations between groups constitute the phase of "rehabilitation" itself. At the start of rehabilitation activities in Northern Ireland is the trust building process. Herein Northern Ireland police force, which played an important role in causing conflict between the two sides in previous periods, plays an important role in building trust and transforming conflict as of today.

As channels of communication and integration between Protestant and Catholic families were closed down for long years, the possibility for the Catholics and Protestants to live together was decreased and they were forced to live in different areas especially in terms of educational institutions. In the post-conflict rehabilitation process in Northern Ireland it was intended for Catholic and Protestant students to communicate more at school and in order to increase integration projects were developed which enable for Protestants and Catholics to interact with each other.²⁸ The rehabilitation process helps securing a generation of youth that internalizes the idea of peace at school environments. Internationally supported projects which apply country-wide and contain Belfast, which is described as the problematic area, help secure future generations and play an important role in maintaining inter-institutional building of trust.

The Common Framework for the Future document and the Belfast Agreement create a framework for the roadmap of the rehabilitation process. This framework indicates that the government needs an inclusionary and inclusive identity policy in Northern Ireland and build mechanisms that would ensure equity for the entire civil society. With the parliament arrangement of 2007, a "power share" was established between the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, thereby both sides of the conflict were judicially protected for the rehabilitation process. It can be claimed that in its broadest sense the rehabilitation phase of the Northern Ireland is the provision of a legal substructure that would enable Catholics and Protestants to live together, therefore establish the predominance of a multi-cultural political pluralism and support cultural diversity.²⁹

Our Common Future Project of 2005 is one of the biggest reforms made by the government with the primary aim of co-existence of both sides. The years-long male-dominated concept of armed conflict between the Catholic and Protestant sides essentially limited the role of women in social life and caused them to remain in the background. With the Good Friday Agreement

²⁸ Zartman, 2008, pg. 11.

²⁹ Zartman, 2008, pg. 32.

equality for women and men was established; it cleared the way for further representation of women. In this manner the process of rehabilitation also aims at integrating women to the social life.³⁰

Another important matter in the process of rehabilitation is the phase of integrating militants to the society. The Good Friday Agreement foresaw especially the controlled release of convicted IRA militants, and consequently re-apprehension of those who get involved in crime was determined. The rehabilitation process does not only mean the release of convicts; it also consists of resolutions for their issues of employment, education and health insurance.³¹

It can be said that in the rehabilitation process a supervision mechanism is aimed for societal interaction and the state-society relations through the Commission of Human Rights, Truth Commissions and Watch Commissions. It can also be expressed that the rehabilitation process can signify the re-establishment of the "social contract" between the sides, and maintenance of reciprocal trust.

In sum, the subject matter of this work is the contributions of the rehabilitation process in the phase of transforming conflict to peace keeping and making it sustainable for the societies that live in Northern Ireland.

Purpose

This study, by discussing the structural and root causes of the Catholic-Protestant conflict that emerged in Northern Ireland, aims to reveal the contribution of the rehabilitation process to the transformation of the Northern Ireland issue. One of the problematics of this study is to reveal the contributions of the rehabilitation process to sustainable peace in the context of conflict management.

Every ethnic conflict has specific peculiarities; however, the Northern Ireland "rehabilitation process" can offer a general framework for scholars of conflict management. Another aim of the study is to help conceptualize the "rehabilitation" process with reference to the Northern Ireland example, where an ethnic conflict has happened and the observed findings of its rehabilitation process, which can be used for other ethnic conflicts.

³⁰ Zartman, 2008, pg. 46.

³¹ Zartman, 2008, pg. 86.

The field of International Relations has a unique structure with inter-disciplinary features; on this regard, the analysis of the structural and root causes of a conflict and its resolution process can be illuminated by making use of the disciplines of sociology, psychology, business administration, public administration and political science. Another aim of this study is to conceptualize the rehabilitation process with a constructivist perspective by associating the field of international relations with other fields like sociology, social psychology, economics and history.

Literature Review

There are a number of studies in the foreign literature regarding the Northern Ireland issue. Alvin Jackson, in his work entitled *Home Rule an Irish History 1800-2000* interprets Home Rule as a historical mistake. But in the work the needs and demands of the peoples of Ireland that were instrumental for the emergence of Home Rule were inadequately discussed. While Jackson profoundly examines the political developments that brought Home Rule into question with reference to the historical perspective, the role social developments had on the evolution of the period were discussed superficially.³² *A Military History of Ireland*, written by Thomas Barlett and Keith Jeffery, discusses the historical development of the Irish military culture and traditions. There are similar issues in the works that approach the Northern Ireland issue with a historical perspective. At the start of these issues are the reflections of the religious identities and prejudices of their authors in the works. Barlett and Jeffery's work characterises some of the wars as victories if the results are coherent with their religious identities.³³ Also, the works discuss historical myths that can deepen the historical hostility between the Catholic and Protestant peoples. It can be stated that the historical myths recited to the people by such works that discuss the historical dimension of the Northern Ireland issue deeply affected both sides of the conflict. Indeed, historical heroes are often addressed in the wall writings of both Belfast and Ulster. To exemplify, it is written in a wall in Ulster that the historical mythical character Cuchulainn is saving Ulster from the Catholics for two thousand years.³⁴

Thereby it can be said that historical myths are instrumental in the passing down of the Northern Ireland issue from generation to generation and turning it into an identity war.

Another work that discusses Irish history is *A Short History of Ireland by John QBeirne Ronelagh*. Another similar characteristic in the causes of ethnic conflicts is the argument of which people came first to the disputed lands. On this regard, in his work Ronelagh produced a

³² Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule An Irish History 1800-2000*, New York: Oxford Press, 2003, pg. 11-13.

³³ Thomas Bartlett, Keith Jeffery, *A Military History of Ireland*, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pg. 4.

³⁴ Bartlett, Jeffery, 1997, pg. 5.

detailed account of when the Irish first came to the island.³⁵ It can be said that both sides' claim on the historical heritage of Northern Ireland hinders an analytical address of the issue. Hence, most of the books that approach the historical perspective focus on the issues that happened after the 19th century.

One of the works that connects the historical development of the Northern Ireland issue to the 20th century is the *Armed Struggle the History of the IRA* by Richard English. In this work which discusses the IRA's development with its historical dimension, English did not focus on the social, economic, religious elements of IRA's development. While English brings many historical details regarding IRA to the academic literature, he approaches many social developments from the perspective of his own identity, particularly with the civil rights march in North Ireland.³⁶ The most important of the issues that come to light in historical works is when the religious identities of writers substantially influence their approach. It can be said that in his work English's religious identity affected his approach towards IRA.

Clive Walker, in his work entitled *Terrorism and the Law*, tackles the Northern Ireland issue on the context of international law and within the framework of terrorism. Walker, discusses IRA is a terrorist organization. Because Walker only considers the issue along the lines of the concept of terrorism, it causes him to rule out the structural and root causes of the issue.³⁷ It can be stressed that the law perspective narrows down the Northern Ireland issue and limits it to the contextual frameworks of "obedience" and "disobedience". In their work entitled *Political Terrorism*, Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman analysed the Northern Ireland issue by degrading it only to IRA and without bothering with other dimensions.³⁸

In the book entitled *In Search of Ireland A Cultural Geography*, edited by Brian Graham, the structural and root causes of the Northern Ireland issue is discussed in detail. The work broadly analyses the pluralistic structure of Northern Ireland and its differences in identity. However, since the work is published before the Good Friday Agreement, it requires a reinterpretation in the light of current affairs that established a peace environment.³⁹

Mike Morrissey and Marie Smyth have written about the transformation of the Northern Ireland issue on the context of the phase of transforming conflict in their work entitled *Northern Ireland After the Good Friday Agreement*. While this work describes with examples how the peace

³⁵ John QBeirne Ronelagh, *A Short History Of Ireland*, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pg. 40.

³⁶ Richard English, *Armed Struggle the History of the IRA*, New York: Oxford Press, 2003, pg. 150.

³⁷ Clive Walker, *Terrorism and the Law*, New York: Oxford Press, 2011, pg. 481.

³⁸ Alex P. Schmid, Albert j. Jongmen, *Political Terrorism*, USA: Transaction Publishers, 1988, pg. 218.

³⁹ Brian Graham, *In Search of Ireland A Cultural Geography*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, pg. 5.

process enabled societal consensus and transformed the Northern Ireland issue⁴⁰, it can be said that it was not highly successful in contextualizing the rehabilitation process in Northern Ireland. One of the most up-to-date works on the subject of sustainable peace is an article entitled “*National Youth Service: An Institution for Building and Sustaining Peace*” by Donald J. Eberly. However, the military-rooted author of the study causes him to prioritize state building over other subjects.⁴¹ In this regard there is need for a civilian perspective regarding sustainable peace.

The general issues with the foreign literature regarding the Northern Ireland issue continues on with the Turkish literature. The book written by Levent Özçağatay entitled *Kuzey İrlanda and IRA, Silahlı Mücadeleden Siyasal Çözüme [Northern Ireland and IRA, from Armed Conflict to Political Resolution]* is a book that addresses the historical development of the Northern Ireland issue.⁴² However, as the work analyses the period before the Good Friday Agreement, it did not analyse the transformation phase of the conflict and the rehabilitation process. Another work written in Turkish regarding the Northern Ireland issue is the article entitled “Etno-Dinsel Milliyetçilik Bağlamında İrlanda Sorunu” [*The Ireland Issue in the Context of Ethno-Religious Nationalism*] written by Mesut Şöhret. This article considers the Northern Ireland issue as a "nationalist" issue and does not focus on the psychological issues that augmented the development of the problem.⁴³ In sum, in both Turkish and foreign literature, the lack of sufficient studies that approach the Northern Ireland issue with a conflict management method stands out, and there is practically no work regarding its "rehabilitation" process.

Importance

The resolution of the Northern Ireland issue is ingrained in the literature as the Western conflict solving method. On this regard, there have been a number of works regarding the Northern Ireland issue. A large proportion of these works disregard the structural causes of the conflict and only consider its historical causes.⁴⁴ Another part of the works on Northern Ireland consider its legal aspects.⁴⁵ Within the Turkish literature a large proportion of the works on the Northern Ireland issue either take on its historical dimension, or make a mere conflict analysis.

⁴⁰ Mike Morrissey, Marie Smyth, *Northern Ireland After the Good Friday Agreement Victims, Grievance and Blame*, London: Pluto Press, 2002, pg. 3-20.

⁴¹ Donald J. Eberly, “National Youth Service: An Institution for Building and Sustaining Peace”, in *Armed Forces and Conflict Resolution: Sociological Perspectives*, Giuseppe Caforio, Gerhard Kümmel, Bandana Purkayastha, UK: Emerald, 2008, pg. 383.

⁴² Levent Özçağatay, *Kuzey İrlanda ve IRA Silahlı Mücadeleden Siyasal Çözüme*, İstanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi, 1998, pg. 201.

⁴³ Mesut Şöhret, "Etno-Dinsel Milliyetçilik Bağlamında İrlanda Sorunu", *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.2, Issue:4, 2013, pg. 43.

⁴⁴ Bakıız, Ronelagh, 1999, pg. 57, English, 2003, pg. 155.

⁴⁵ Walker, 2011, pg. 482.

Both in world and Turkish literature, works that consider the rehabilitation process on the phase of transforming conflict in the Northern Ireland issue are quite limited. Hence, this study aims to contribute to the literature by filling this gap through discussing the rehabilitation process on the phase of transforming conflict. Another factor of importance is that it is a study which discusses the rehabilitation process with reference to conflict management and observes to what degree the available theoretical knowledge apply in practice.

Assumptions

Conflict is a natural part of our daily life. On this regard the most important cause of conflict is accepted to be prejudices. In the development of family members exposed to prejudice, the behaviour and attitudes to marginalize, humiliate and antagonize the other tend to increase. The most important part of transforming conflict is the hypothesis that it will be achieved by the removal of violence. In this context, transformation of the conflict assumes that rehabilitation phase may help both sides to break down their prejudices and reorient their attitudes. In other words, it is claimed that "peace" can be attained with the reconciliation of both sides on some basic topics.

In this work it is assumed that the Northern Ireland post-conflict rehabilitation process started with the Common Framework for the Future document and the Good Friday agreement at its basis. Herein it is claimed that the increase of common areas between Catholics and Protestants will ensure mutual interaction, communication and integration, which will positively affect the peace process. Another important matter is that in the rehabilitation process it is assumed that the reintegration of IRA militants and the civilians that were negatively affected by the conflict into social life will positively affect the sustainability of peace.

Limitations

One of the most extreme examples of separatist movements of Europe has happened in Northern Ireland. Even though a denominational difference constitutes the basis of the Northern Ireland issue, the basis of the issue remains to be the ethnic background and denomination is a part of⁴⁶ the theoretical framework of this study takes shape around the concept of rehabilitation with reference to international conflict analysis and conflict management. Rather than focusing on historical periods, this study discusses how Catholic and Protestant peoples that live in Northern Ireland can live together.

⁴⁶ Kemal İnat, Burhanettin Duran, Muhittin Ataman, (ed.) *Dünya Çatışma Bölgeleri ve Konuları*, Ankara, Nobel Yayınları, Vol 1, 2010, pg. 655.

Research Question

What is role of the rehabilitation process of conflict management that is employed during the conflict transformation phase in establishing real peace and its sustenance?

Correspondingly, is the rehabilitation phase a dynamic or a static process? Are rehabilitation applications unique to the phase of transforming conflict, or does it have practical uses in other phases as well? What are the contents of the Northern Ireland rehabilitation process and how was it applied? To what extent those rehabilitation practices and tools applied in Northern Ireland can set an example for other international conflict management processes? These will be some of the questions that this study will answer.

Method

In order to establish an extensive literature review regarding the post-conflict rehabilitation process, this study has employed local and foreign newspapers, works written by academicians, state officials and assessments of internet sources.

In terms of its methodology, For the first chapter entitled "Rehabilitation Process and Theoretical Framework" and the second chapter entitled "Analysis of the Northern Ireland Issue in the Context of Conflict Management," the study is prepared with reference to the conflict management methodology by researching library databases, using library resources and reviewing internet sources. For the third chapter of the study, entitled "Rehabilitation Process in Northern Ireland," interviews made with Catholic and Protestant members of society, policemen, civil administration officials were employed. In the chapter completed projects in Northern Ireland were examined. Besides, for the large part of the study, the Uppsala University's Uppsala Conflict Data Project was employed.

Outline

The first chapter of this study discusses the theoretical basis of the rehabilitation process by discussing ontological and epistemological issues of conflict management. The second chapter discusses structural causes of conflict and

analyses the Good Friday Agreement, which can be labelled as the reconciliation text between the sides of the conflict. And lastly the third part discusses projected rehabilitation activities in transforming the Northern Ireland issue.

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Rehabilitation in the Phase of Transforming Conflict and Theoretical Framework

Conflict in general is a negative concept and while it evokes violence this may not always be the case. Some conflicts do not involve violence and can be the catalyst for societal change, transformation and development. Such conflicts in general do not involve intense violence. While Democratisation is a tool that can ensure the transformation of the state without violence, most states have the tendency to not agree with the democratic transformation. When the conflict trend of post-Cold War era is examined, internal conflicts (including civil wars) show a tendency to increase. The causes for these conflicts can usually originate from the power struggle of "states". Alongside this, conflicts can also arise from identity searches of peoples and social injustices.⁴⁷ Vasquez claims that after great wars peace becomes institutionalized and that it will nurture political systems as social constructions.⁴⁸ Conflicts tend to arise due to the neglect of the social aspect of political systems.

As a kind of conflict, civil wars can harbour all imitated or modelled elements for manufacturing conflict. In other words, causes such as official guardianship, open praise or rewarding of murderers and such are among the influential elements for conflict development.⁴⁹ While conflicts may look to be over, they may leave a legacy for the post-conflict era.⁵⁰ Rehabilitation in the phase of transforming conflict is an important step for the prevention of the structural and root causes of conflict to pass on to the next generations. If conflict is able to pass on to the next generations, it may allow for violence to gain support. For this reason rehabilitation as part of transforming conflict is an important phase within the discipline of conflict management. In this regard the rehabilitation concept that is to be discussed in this study is twofold regarding the dimensions of analysis. The first dimension of rehabilitation focuses on transforming the society as result of changing the individual. The second dimension of rehabilitation consists of transformation of the state and the establishment of a fair mode of power management. It is stressed that rehabilitation phase is a transformation phase through the mutual interaction of the individual and the state.

⁴⁷ Özden Selcen Sarı, "Manus I. Midlarsky", in *Savaş Kuramları*, Ed. Erhan Büyükakıncı, Ankara: Adres Yayınları, 2015, pg. 829.

⁴⁸ Erhan Büyükakıncı, "John A. Vasquez", in *Savaş Kuramları*, Ed. Erhan Büyükakıncı, Ankara: Adres Yayınları, 2015, pg. 620.

⁴⁹ Dane, Archer, Rosemary Gartner, "Barış Dönemi Kayıpları: Savaşa Katılmayanların Şiddet İçeren Davanırlarında Savaşın Etkisi", *Cogito*, Kış Bahar 1996, Issue: 6-7, pg. 241.

⁵⁰ Archer and Gartner, 1996, pg. 241.

Freud, who believed that the individual is violent by birth, claimed that the desire to kill is active in the individual and the state, which causes a perpetual state of war.⁵¹ As for Machiavelli, *humans are to be conciliated with or to be crushed; humans try to revenge small-scale damages, but when the damage increases they do not; which concludes that: When a human being is damaged it must be done in a way that would prevent the possibility of revenge.*⁵²

Kenneth Waltz assumes man to be evil and the basis of wars due to its competitive nature. In other words, according to Waltz it is possible to change socio-political institutions but not the human nature.⁵³ On the contrary; this study claims that being violent is not genetic or instinctual; that there are causes which push the individual towards violence. Hence, in this study instead of the term "correction" the term "rehabilitation" is preferred. This is because as violence or aggression is not a disease but rise out of causes,⁵⁴ the term rehabilitation is stressed to have the semantic depth which would ensure the removal of such causes of conflict and allow both sides of the conflict to live together.

As Hobbes states, to get out of what is natural is the primary aim of reaching the civilian state. Peoples that can succeed in living together with other people have developed the sentiment of living together because they ensured the distribution of justice.⁵⁵ Kant names the situation with no laws or a distribution of justice as "status naturalis." The question of what exists on the opposite side of status naturalis can be described as the status civilis. Civil wars can be defined as a "status naturalis" where an upper authority that can contain all of society does not exist, while indicating a process where no societal reconciliation exists. In the conditions of status naturalis, the justice of sides do not constitute everyone, as such it is not distributed.⁵⁶ Transformation of conflict means the building of the civil situation as much as the establishment of a distributed justice within status civilis conditions by the high authority.⁵⁷

Rehabilitation in the phase of transforming conflict aims to change the manners and attitudes of the conflict sides through facilitating the needs of both sides to prevent great conflicts with a repetitive nature.⁵⁸ Rehabilitation in the phase of transforming conflict overlaps with many

⁵¹ Doğan Cüceloğlu, *İnsan ve Davranışı Psikolojinin Temel Kavramları*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2014, pg. 32.

⁵² Nicolos Machiavelli, *Prens*, Çev. Derya Karagöz, Ankara: Doruk Yayınları, 2009, pg. 32.

⁵³ Kenneth Waltz, *İnsan, Devlet, Savaş, Teorik Bir Analiz*, Ankara: Asil Yayınları, 2009, pg. 17.

⁵⁴ Archer and Gartner, 1996, pg. 248.

⁵⁵ Ali Akay, "Şiddetin Bağlamından Çıkmak Üzere", *Cogito*, Kış Bahar 1996, Issue: 6-7, pg. 435.

⁵⁶ Akay, 1996, pg. 430.

⁵⁷ Akay, 1996, pg. 430.

⁵⁸ Daniel Bar-Tal, Gemma H. Bennink, "The Nature of Reconciliation as an Outcome and as a Process", in *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*, Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov (ed.), New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pg. 20-21.

phases of conflict management such as conflict prevention, peace building and peace keeping. In short, every stage of conflict is closely associated with rehabilitation.

Rehabilitation in the phase of transforming conflict faces two problems. The first is the inadequate transformation on the international system level. In other words, rehabilitation in the phase of transforming conflict is inconstant and open to change. The second is that human factor plays an important role for rehabilitation in the phase of transforming conflict. Rehabilitation of peoples affected by conflict actually gives an answer to many issues such as respect to human rights, conflict resolution, and protection of civilian rights.

P. Terrence Hopman first talked about rehabilitation in 1999 within the post-conflict security building discussions as a doctrinal content. Hopman defines rehabilitation as the recovery of problems.⁵⁹ While the European Union's structuring in the post-Cold War Balkans is presented as a successful implementation of conflict management⁶⁰, in real terms the first two positive results of democracy and economic integration developed in Ireland and Spain.

Moldova can be an example of rehabilitation in the phase of transforming conflict. The Moldovan example shows us the importance of mutual agreement between conflict sides. There was no agreement that would terminate the conflict between both sides in Moldova⁶¹, however Northern Ireland was advantageous regarding the matter. Because the "Good Friday Agreement" of 1998 played a very important role in transforming conflict.

This section of the study will discuss the emerging process of the field of conflict management. Subsequently, the structural and root causes of conflict will be discussed. With reference to the conflict management phases, an emphasis will be made on the tools and effects of the rehabilitation process on the phase of transforming conflict.

⁵⁹ Ferenc, Gazdag, "EU and OSCE Approaches to Post-Conflict Rehabilitation", in *Post-Conflict Rehabilitation Lessons from South East Europe and Strategic Consequences for the Euro-Atlantic Community* Jean-Jacques de Dardel, Gustav Gustenau, Plamen Pantev (ed.), Vienna and Sofia: National Defence Academy and Bureau for Security Policy at the Austrian Ministry of Defence in co-operation with PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, April 2006, pg. 75.

⁶⁰ Gazdag, 2006, pg. 75.

⁶¹ Nicu Popescu, "Post Conflict Rehabilitation in Moldova", in *Post-Conflict Rehabilitation Lessons from South East Europe and Strategic Consequences for the Euro-Atlantic Community*, Jean- Jacques de Dardel Gustav Gustenau Plamen Pantev (ed.) Vienna and Sofia: National Defence Academy and Bureau for Security Policy at the Austrian Ministry of Defence in co-operation with PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes, April 2006, pg. 206.

1.1 The Emergence of the Discipline of Conflict Management: Its Relation with the Theory of International Relations

Societies move in an organisational structure. In this regard the word organisation is not an easy one to define. Actually this point of view tries to visualise the means of existence of conflict in an organisational structure.

Such that the domain of conflict, be it a family or a factory, is a body of relations between individuals.⁶² The basis of conflict from an integrative point of view starts with a feeling of displeasure that an individual feels regarding the environment they live in. This point of view actually reflects the needs and desires of those who cannot come to terms with their immediate environment. Those who are content with their environment disregard the issue of embracing similar thought criteria, which is to say 'power'. This is why conflicts have never ended throughout the entire human history.⁶³ Apart from an abstract structure in which an individual willingly hand over its own rights, power can also mean a power-sharing conflict between two sides. However, trying to read the causes of conflict only along the lines of controlling the power or economic interests may rule out conflicts that arose out of "value" or "identity" crises.⁶⁴ Weissmann and Swanström, discuss the sole definition of conflict in terms of violence (behavior) or hostility (manner).⁶⁵ For Mitchell, the structure of conflict is trilateral: manners, behaviours and situations. This trilateral structure is often employed to analyse military and political conflicts. According to Mitchell, this trilateral structure (body of relations that happen in between manners-behaviours-situations) draws the line of conflict. For example, this trilateral structure of Mitchell also contains all reasons for conflict. The structure is a loop and a deficiency in any of them may trigger a conflict. Herein Mitchell's attempt to explain the structure of conflict in basic terms and without taking into consideration the economic, social and humanitarian consideration caused him to face with criticism.⁶⁶

In another definition, conflict is defined as the deliberate, planned actions and behaviour perpetrated by a group or an individual to prevent another group or individual from reaching their aims.⁶⁷ As can be seen here, conflict also contains conscious steps. According to UNESCO, conflict starts at human memory and is also built on human memory.⁶⁸ As

⁶² Mustafa Atiker, Çatışma, 2006 – 35 / 35, *Konya Ticaret Odası Etüd Araştırma Servisi*, pg. 1.

⁶³ Ho Won Jeong, *Understanding Conflict and Conflict Analysis*, ABD: Sage, 2008, pg. 3.

⁶⁴ Jeong, 2008, pg. 5.

⁶⁵ Niklas, L.P. Swanström, Mikael S. Weissmann, *Conflict, Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management and Beyond: a Conceptual Exploration*, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program – A Joint Transatlantic Research and Policy Center Johns Hopkins University-SAIS, Summer 2005, pg. 7.

⁶⁶ Swanström, Weissmann, 2005, pg. 8.

⁶⁷ Atiker, 2006, pg. 2.

⁶⁸ "Official Website of UNESCO", http://www.unesco.org/education/nfsunesco/pdf/UNESCO_E.PDF, Access

UNESCO states, conflict arises from individuals, and hence, it can or cannot be prevented.

1.1.1. Emergence of the Field: Practical Steps

According to Burton, conflict is rebelling against rules or in other words to the established order. There have been steps to institutionalize the means to prevent states from conflicting with each other. The most important of these steps is the League of Nations.⁶⁹ It can be stated that after the First World War, the League of Nations (LN) was forced to deal with the ethnic issues in Central and Eastern Europe as caused by its distribution of these lands. Despite the efforts of the US President Wilson, a decree has not been made in the LN pact that would ensure the protection of minorities devoted to the prevention of ethnic issues due to the Irish issue of United Kingdom.⁷⁰ From time to time states have also acted regarding the prevention of minorities. For instance, there have been agreements signed between states such as USA, United Kingdom, Japan, France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Serbian-Croat-Slovenian states aimed at protection of minorities.⁷¹ However, expansionist actions of states were not prevented as LN never attained enough power to sanction states. It can be stated that the unavailability of ethnic issues is opening the doors for a new world war and negatively affect international security.

After the Second World War UN has made adjustments regarding ethnic issues within the scope of human rights, instead of approaching them under a different subject under minority rights. In this way, provocation of ethnic issues by other states is avoided, and for the resolution of conflicts an article entitled "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes"⁷² was established within the section IV of the UN treaty. The Security Council was actuated for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Security Council stated with its adopted course of action that the issues of those party to a dispute which threats security can be resolved through contact, investigation, mediation, reconciliation, arbitrage and judicial means of resolution, and also with regional organizations, agreements or with means that states come up with themselves. With the 37th article it is stressed that no dispute can be taken to the Security Council and the General Assembly without taking previous steps to resolve it through peaceful means. The 24th article of the UN Treaty holds the Security Council to account for the preservation of

date: 29.01.2012.

⁶⁹ Jeong, 2008, pg. 6.

⁷⁰ Erol Kurubaş, *Asimilasyondan Tanınmaya Uluslararası Alanda Azınlık Sorunları ve Avrupa Yaklaşımı*, Ankara: Asil Yayınları, 2006, pg. 49.

⁷¹ Kurubaş, 2006, pg. 52.

⁷² "United Nations Treaty", <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/pdf01/3-30.pdf>, Access date: 13.07.2016, pg. 5.