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Title

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The objectives of this research are an exploration of what are the main elements of need theory that align with the causes of conflict in the Northern Ireland Conflict and whether Need Theory as an approach can be applied to an analysis of the resolution of the Northern Ireland Conflict.

The methodological approach of this study was based on constructivism philosophy that is a type of perspective that combines with interpretivism, interpretive because researchers have to make sense of the subjective and socially created meanings that people have about the phenomenon they are studying. Consequently, the method chosen was qualitative research and a deductive approach testing an existent theory and as a strategy the analysis of the Northern Ireland conflict as a case study, encompassing the period of the partition of Northern Ireland- 1920 to the Good Friday Agreement and its implications up to present day. The collection of primary data was through semi-structured interviews, where five people were interviewed, two from Republic of Ireland and three from Northern Ireland.

The main finding of this study is that the primary cause of the conflict was the clash between two groups with different identities, over the Northern Ireland constitution. Catholics/ nationalists connected with Irish/Catholic identity, as a result, wanted to be part of the Republic of Ireland, and Protestant/unionists connected with British/Protestant identity, that wanted to maintain a constitutional link to Britain, identity needs being the main link with BHNs theory. Also, the causes of conflict were over inequalities, which can be linked to distributive justice need, along with meaning need, due to the lack of participation of the Catholics/nationalists in the political system, security in the first place associated with Unionists that monopolized the political power, but with the escalation of the conflict going to extreme violence was a need of society as a whole. Thus, the BHNs approach can be applied as an approach to the analysis of the Northern Ireland Conflict. Also, the paired role of the British and Irish governments, John Hume advocating to push the peace process along with the openness of the unionist leader David Trimble were a crucial to getting the agreement ratified.

These findings contribute to a better understanding of the causes of deep-rooted conflicts that are intrinsically connected with basic human needs that are ignored by social structure-

political systems, being actors of the conflict co-dependents on social structure and social structure dependent on the actors, since the actors are an intrinsic part of it.

Introduction

Basic Human Needs (BHNs) as described in Need Theory are a set of essential and universal human requirements that need to be satisfied as a necessary condition for complete human development, physically, emotionally and socially. In this Approach that was developed by John Burton (1990,) BHNs, these needs when unfulfilled, suppressed, or otherwise disregarded by the authorities or institutions, will turn out to be the drivers of deep-rooted and intractable social conflicts, in fact, according to Burton these needs are not negotiable, and the main need that links BHNs to deep-rooted conflicts is identity need. These Identities conflicts are a phenomenon that has occurred in this century, for example, the Israeli-Palestine conflict, and the Cyprus conflict, this research study will analyze the Northern Ireland Conflict. This approach is sort of 'two faces of the same coin', one side of the approach are basic human needs that when are not meet or ignored by the system, they are the cause of deep-rooted conflicts, conversely, another side resides solutions of the conflict, that is when these needs are identified and addressed. In the case BHNs Burton's approach is applied through the framework Problem- Solving Workshops, where the parties are invited to discuss the conflict, and they mediated by a neutral panel made up of experts in the conflict, also, the objectives are to come to an agreement and implement what was agreed into the public policies, generally the parties of both sides that are invited are influential people in the society of both sides. In the study case of Northern Ireland conflict, the objective is analysing the causes of this conflict that align with need theory, to explore the role of British/Irish governments, Nationalists-Catholic and Unionist -Protestant groups into the negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement, and to investigate if Need Theory as an approach can be applied to analysis of the resolution of the Northern Ireland Conflict.

The methods analysis of this research study was based on constructivism philosophy that is type of interpretivism perspective, deductive qualitative approach resting on existent theory and as strategies is an analysis of the Northern Ireland case study, encompassing the period of the partition of Northern Ireland- 1920 to the GFA and its implications up to now. The collection of primary data was facilitated by interviewing five people, two from Republic of Ireland and three from Northern Ireland. However, it is acknowledged that due to the size of the sample, also, the background of the interviewees that was not asked beforehand, most of the interviewees are with Catholic/nationalist background, thus the findings cannot be generalized, however they can give an interpretation of context.

The contributions of this research in the conflict resolution field would be to give a better understanding of the causes of this type of deep-rooted conflicts where the actors are dependents of the social structures and vice-versa (Galtung, 1990).

Chapter 1 - Review of Literature

Human Need as a necessary condition

The concept of Basic Human Needs (BHNs), or essential and universal needs whose fulfillment is a necessary condition of human life and development, has convincing merit and a commonsense appeal that has made it lasting, if not always persuasive (Avruch and Mitchell, 2013). The concept of needs is frequently confused as desires when it comes to endurance. Aristoteles contrasted "natural desires," which are part of inherent and universal human nature, with "acquired desires," which individuals accumulate as they live in different civilizations, cultures, or polities, in the Nicomachean Ethics (Avruch and Mitchell, 2013). Galtung (1990) contends that a need should be distinguished from a want, a wish, or a demand. The latter are subjectively felt and articulated: they may or may not reflect need, and it might exist that is not expressed in this manner. Correspondingly, one may want, wish or demand something that is not really necessary. This view is built on the Aristoteles idea that contends that the objects the natural desires are always good ("virtuous") for us, because they are "natural". By contrast, what we want may or may not be good for us. A life lived in fulfillment of wrong desires may be bad for us and also dangerously unethical (Avruch and Mitchell, 2013). Furthermore, the terminology "basics" qualifies the concept of a need as a necessary condition, implying that something must be provided in order for the need subject (individual) to function as a human being, when a basic need is not satisfied, some kind of disintegration will take place (Galtung, 1990).

Danesh (2011) states that human needs theorists distinguish between human needs and interests, and argue that human conflicts emerge when people's efforts to meet their fundamental need are frustrated. Furthermore, it is contended that conflict and even violence are unavoidable because human needs are non-negotiable, whereas human interests are open to negotiation and cooperation. The line of demarcation between needs and interests, however is not clear and itself subject to dispute. Burton cited in Danesh (2011) identifies a set of needs, which he considers to be universal in their occurrence but with no hierarchical

significance. His list of needs includes distributive justice, safety and security, belongingness, self-esteem, personal fulfillment, identity, cultural security, and freedom. The categorization of belongingness and freedom as BHNs this is not accepted by Sites (1990) who argues that these two 'needs' are better seen as necessary conditions for the gratification for the needs. That is, if a person's basic needs are to be met to their full potential, he or she must be meaningfully included in communities and live in a free environment. Belonging to a group may damage the self-esteem, destroy meaning, and threaten security. Thus, is not belonging to group that gratifies needs but what goes on in the group in a positive sense for the individuals to gratify the needs. Burton's BHNs, according to Avruch and Mitchell (2013), where a fixed, ontological, and universal concept of needs, when these natural needs are not met occurs what he called deep-rooted conflicts, these needs could not be understood as preferences in any manner. In contrasts, conflicts that were based mainly on less deeply rooted interests, he called disputes. Galtung (1990), argue that basic human needs shall be considered as universal, this does not mean that a list of needs can be established for everybody at all given social times and social spaces as the universal list of basic human needs, the claim is much more modest, namely security needs, welfare needs, identity needs and freedom needs.

According to Avruch and Mitchell (2013), Aristoteles aside, it is Abraham Maslow's famous list of human needs, first published in a 1943 paper, that remains a touchstone for most BHNs theorists. The five basics need are portrayed in 'pyramid-form', they are: (1) Physiological needs; (2) Safety; (3) Love/belonging; (4) Esteem; (5) Self-actualization, and 1954's publication of Human Needs Maslow added Self-transcendence need to it. However, despite its wide recognition, the Maslow's BHNs has been criticized. According to Fisher (1990) the ordering of the hierarchy is not so important as the supposition that the basic requirements of human being for survival and development are to be understood in both physical and social terms. The major parallels between Maslow's concepts and later manifestations of Need Theory are obvious. Several authors of the BHNs, however, have raised several issues that have been brought up as criticisms of Maslow's model. Lederer, for example, notes that Maslow's hierarchy suggests a distinction between more basics and less basic needs with respect to the urgency of satisfaction. Furthermore, more basic needs are associated with material satisfiers, whilst fewer basic needs are associated with non-material satisfiers, resulting in a set of potentially confused priorities for international development and, coincidentally, conflict resolution. Similarly, Galtung sees the hierarchical

conception of needs as dangerous since it limits the range of theoretical possibilities and could be used to legitimize the superior position of intellectuals or ascetics who specialize in dealing with higher non-material needs. Avruch and Mitchell (2013) argue that social psychologists Pittman and Zeigler, in a recent view of BHNs theory in contemporary social psychology, remark that "it could be said that, with a bit of exaggeration, that Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a theory that everyone knows, and no one uses". Nonetheless, it is unjust, yet it is not inaccurate in the eyes of positivist experimentalists. In fact, the notion has long been a cornerstone in the teaching of humanistic therapeutic approaches and, more especially, in the teaching of marketing social psychology (Avruch and Mitchell, 2013).

 Galtung (1990) argues that when it is said that something is universal it is applied to needs not to the satisfiers, which can vary even more than needs. Also, he states the subject is an individual, but that does not mean that the satisfiers, the "things" necessary in order to meet or satisfy the needs, are in the individual or can be met in the individual alone, without a social context. Avruch and Mitchell (2013), based on the Aristoteles ideas while the focus is on the individual, the idea and its ethical predicates is expanded to society at large in Aristoteles's *Politics,* where the polis itself arose as the necessary way to fulfill basic human needs, and where the notion of virtue, is now attached the idea of equitable and rational authority. Galtung (1990) as needs, the satisfiers do not fall from the heaven, and they do not exist from eternity to eternity: they produced in and by a social context and they are dependent on that context. Since any social context can be looked at in at least two ways, as a set of actors and as a structure – it makes sense to distinguish between actor-dependent and structure-dependent needs. How actors and structures- the context, which is a collection of actors and structures, obstruct or meet needs beyond what nature provides.

O'Sullivan (2018), based on David Rock's social neuroscience theory, which explores the biological foundational view of the way people relate to each other and to themselves. According to David Rock's social neuroscience theory cited in O'Sullivan (2018), where studies on social neuroscience have revealed two themes: first, that much of what motivates and drives social behavior is governed by an overarching organizing principle of minimizing threat and maximizing reward, and second, that several domains of social experience draw on the same brain networks used for primary survival needs. Furthermore, according to Rock's concept, humans may have been hardwired evolutionarily to respond to 10 neuro-commandments, which include the urge to reduce harm, maximize reward, and have our

emotions regulated. A similar view is held by Sites (1990) that human needs are existentially rooted in emotions, and that negative emotions are elicited in humans when the physical organism or the developing self is threatened. Leachy cited in Sites (1990) points out that the human species, similar the other species inhabiting the earth, is a product of evolutionary forces. There is no reason to suppose that the human species is anything more than another 'bud on the bush' representing all species. Thus, Sites (1990) correlates four primary emotions to basics human needs: The emotion of fear and need for security, the emotion of anger and need for meaning, the emotion of depression and the need for self-esteem, the emotion of satisfaction and need for latency.

The emotion of fear and need for security

While the psychological-based emotions of fear associated with threats to physical security are well-known, Sites (1990) contends that there are far too many potential threats to one's self, and that real or imagined threats to one's self elicit the same psychological-based emotions of fear as threats to physical security. As a result, assuming that people need security is a shortcut way of indicating that they need conditions that will alleviate unpleasant mental states, similar to how food is required to alleviate hunger-related symptoms.

The emotion of anger and need for meaning

In the brief discussion of animal emotions and needs, the need analogue of the anger emotion was called predicable order. For humans this is called a need for meaning. Based on past interaction, people experience anger when others treat them in a non- rewarding or punishing manner, contrary to what might have been predicted (Sites, 1990). Primitive people, probably more than anything else, dreaded chaos, as Eliade pointed out in Sites (1990). As a result, people created stories and rituals in an attempt to bring order to the chaos and prevent it from happening again. Modern people do the same with their social reality creations. Anger arises when these socially manufactured realities are disturbed. Because people's selves and interactions are based on these social constructs, when these are threatened by others, the world and self-constructions cease to make sense, and people become angered: meaning is lost.

For instance, Ferguson and McKeown (2016) state that research from Northern Ireland has shown how the changing sociopolitical context created by the peace process can devalue previously valued identities. Mulcahy (2006), cited by Ferguson and McKeown (2016),

investigated how members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) managed to negotiate the changing sociopolitical environment in Northern Ireland following the Good Friday Agreement, which included the RUC's renaming and reformation as the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). The RUC was no longer portrayed as defenders of Northern Ireland's inhabitants, but as a participant in the conflict, as a result of this reform process and the narrative surrounding it. RUC members had negotiated the war with low mental health effects throughout the conflict, but when the value and meaning of their role in the conflict were challenged and delegitimized in the post-conflict arena, they began to display increased occurrences of post-traumatic stress.

Sites (1990) in addition, highlights the interplay of values in process of social reality construction, values and their relationship to needs, where sociologist typically see social constructed words as based on values of one kind or another, which are important in terms of organizing predictable social worlds which provides meaning. The needs are related to values in the sense that 'people value what they need' (Becker cited in Sites, 1990). However, the fact that existing values may not serve the needs of many in a society is the cause of great deal of conflict (Sites, 1990).

The emotion of depression and need for self-esteem

Because approval from others is a primary source of self-esteem, depression is more likely to emerge when approval from others is denied or threatened, or when genuine rejection of a person occurs. In brief, depression develops when a person's self-esteem is threatened or harmed in some way. When a family member or close friend dies, for example, depression might set in. These are the people who are most inclined to give approval behavior, and their deaths make this impossible. When people retire or lose a job that has been a source of approbation for years, they may become depressed. Certainly, this might be applied to a shift in societal value orientations. Because individuals' self-esteem is based on the rewards that they obtain from carrying out specific values in front of others, depression is likely to arise if these values change and people are unable to 'relate' to new values (Sites, 1990).

The emotion of satisfaction (happiness, joy) and need for latency

According to Sites (1990) the process of production of satisfaction emotion in humans is more complex than in animals, because the existence of self in humans. This may be true in capitalist cultures, in part, because of what Marx referred to as the fetishism of

commodities, which arise in these societies as an ever-increasing number of demands (which he interprets as wants and desires) that are created in order to expand markets. In other words, people desire more and more before they are pleased, and in metropolitan societies, many more stimuli must be dealt with before satisfaction can be achieved. Therefore, what is referred to as stress is pervasive in modern societies making the need for latency difficult to gratify. It is known that prolonged stress is likely to damage both the physiological organism as well as the self, indicating that there is need for latency. Thus, Sites (1990) suggests that people feel stress when the needs that have been discussed with relationship to the physical as well the self are not gratified or if they feel a threat to the continued gratification of these needs. Sites (1990) assumes the many relationships that people in complex societies experience which may produce threats to security, meaning and self-esteem, along with the difficulty of having a sense of control, because of this is easy to see why these societies are so 'stressful' and thus, the need for latency is difficult to gratify.

What are the main elements of need theory that align with the causes of conflict?

Avruch and Mitchell (2013) state that this 'fundamental theory"- BHNs, proposed for the dispute resolution field, articulated most emphatically by John Burton: the idea that a set of existential and non-negotiable BHNs, when unfulfilled needs, suppressed, or otherwise disregarded by the authorities or institutions, will turn out to be the drivers of deep-rooted and intractable social conflicts. Fisher (1990), states that BHNs is not a wholly novel set of ideas in terms of conceptualization. There are various notions and principles that are complimentary to Need Theory in the domains of humanistic psychology and applied social psychology. Particularly in terms of its implications for intergroup relations, the idea of identity holds a unique potential for tying Needs Theory to conflict resolution. Thus, humanism and humanist psychology serve as a foundation for the value system and conception of the human being that underpin practical social psychology and pervade the study of intergroup relations as well as the policy implications for multiculturalism that result from it. Furthermore, as stated by BHNs as proclaimed by humanism, the understanding and recognition of basic human needs is considered as crucial to the betterment of intergroup interactions and the settlement of protracted social conflict. Also, Galtung cited in Fischer (1990) attributes the importance to identity needs as one of four categories in his comprehensive typology that sees as primarily dependent on social structure.

Humanistic philosophy

Humanism, according to Fisher (1990), maintains that human experience and human needs, rather than religious doctrine, should serve as the foundation for moral standards. A similar argument is held by Schneider et all (2015) that it seems likely that once prehuman became "human" they began to observe and form an understanding about themselves. Intuitively, we regard this effort at self-observation and self-understanding as intrinsic to what we mean by being human and less obviously, the effort to understand ourselves merges into the effort to understand human nature or the mind. The human potential for critical reasoning and scientific investigation should be utilized in the development of moral ideals and the resolution of societal problems in humanitarian directions. The human potential for critical reasoning and scientific investigation should be utilized in the development of moral ideals and the resolution of societal problems in humanitarian directions. Fisher (1990) states that searching for social justice, humanism is committed to democracy and social equality. The principle of equality requires that all people are equal in dignity and value and are deserving of equality of opportunity and treatment. In minimal terms, this means meeting the basic economic and cultural needs for all people. An essential mechanism for effecting humanism is participatory democracy, in which individuals have involvement in decisions which directly affect them. For instance, when associating anger and its secondary emotions of guilt and shame to need for meaning, Sites (1990) asserts that there is no doubt that people have need for meaning, but gratifying this need is possible in any complete sense only when they have at least some controls over the world in which they live. His argument is based on Sheff along with Kemper cited in Sites (1990), sees shame as caused by the perception of negative evaluation. As with guilt, a secondary emotion masks a primary emotion and, as Scheff cited in Site (1990) indicates, the experience of this emotion or the anticipation of it produces conformity. Furthermore, since shame is recursive it may lead to a pathological condition, as may guilt. Again, the individual takes the blame for an act over which she/he may have a little control and, rather than being permitted by the others to express anger, only shame may be expressed. Sennet and Cobb cited in Sites (1990) have shown the negative consequences of shame among members of working class in the United States. The lives of people in this class are rendered meaningless because of the lack of control in

the workplace, and they are forced to experience shame rather than react with outright anger for fear of losing their jobs when no other alternatives are present (Sites, 1990).

Lastly, humanism requires individuals to exercise freedom with responsibility in order to develop their full potential and to use their competence in pursuit of human welfare. Humanism is articulated in social science through the subdiscipline of humanistic psychology, which is concerned with the complete development of human potential, both individually and collectively, and it is thus applied in practice through social psychology (Fisher,1990).

According to Fisher (1990), the concept of identity, particularly social identity, has the potential to serve as a critical link between needs theory and intergroup and international conflict. Several current needs theorists see the need for identity as a key prerequisite for constructive human growth.

Identity Theory

Since the concept of identity has uniqueness for linking BHNs Theory to conflict resolution, it is important to investigate the Identity Theory and its implications on BHNs Theory and its connected theories further.

Hence, humans are essentially social beings, according to Baumeister and Leary, referenced in Haji (2016), and there is a psychological perspective that we have a fundamental, evolutionary-based need for interpersonal relationships. These social relationships can strengthen bonds, but they can also create or exacerbate differences between each other and others who are not part of the same group.

The social identity hypothesis was established by Henry Tajfel and John Turner in 1970. It provides a non-reductionist social psychology understanding of intergroup conflict. Its most fundamental notion is that group behavior is more than just a collection of people behaving together. Group behavior is instead tied to the psychological representation or social identity of the group. As a result, social identity theory focuses less on how individuals' function inside social groups and more on how society functions within individuals' minds (Martiny and Rubin, 2016). Social identity theory was conceived and born as a theory of intergroup relations, conflict and cooperation between groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979 cited in Hogg, 2016). As it developed, it became a much broader social psychology theory of the role of

self and identity in group and intergroup phenomena. However, intergroup relations have always been a central aspect of the theory, for the simple reason that what happens within a group is intrinsically tied to and fundamentally affected by what happens between groups, and vice versa. Tajfel and those he worked with to develop social identity theory also believed that the dynamics of prejudice and intergroup were best understood as a group phenomenon generated by basic human motivations and cognitive processes impacted by people's beliefs about themselves, and about society, social context, and immediate situations that people find themselves and their group in (Abrams and Hogg, 2004; Billing, 1976 cited in Hogg, 2016). In addition, this Tajfel's theory was built upon dominant social psychological theory of intergroup conflict of Muzafer Sherif's Realistic Theory (1950-1960), Tajfel wondered whether something much more fundamental than competitive goals relations might be sufficient to generate differential in-group-out-group behavior. Thus, Tajfel and his collaborators designed an intriguing research paradigm the minimal group paradigm, and the robust finding is that the mere fact of being categorised as a member of a group produces ethnocentrism and competitive group behavior (Dehl, 1990 cited in Hogg, 2016). Also, other studies have found an imbalance in which classified persons favor in-groups rather than discriminate against out-groups, unless the in-group is threatened, in which case full-blown out-group discrimination occurs (Mummendey and Otten, 1998 cited in Hogg, 2016).

Tajfel's earlier scientific study on categorization and social perception, as well as his social issues-oriented interest to explain prejudice, discrimination, and conflict in society, merged into Social Identity as an attempt to explain the minimal group findings (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Hogg and Abrams, 1988; cited in Hogg, 2016). At the core of the theory was Tajfel's classic definition of social identity as an "individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him and his group membership" (Tajfel, 1972; cited in Bogg, 2016, p.6).

As a result, social identity defines and evaluates one's self-concept as well as how others will treat and think of them. For this reason, when people make comparisons between their own group and an out-group, they are concerned to ensure that their own group is positively distinctive, clearly differentiated from and more favorably evaluated than relevant out-groups. Inter group comparisons are intrinsically in-group favoring and ethnocentric (Brewer and Campbell, 1976 cited in Hogg, 2016). Intergroup behavior is also essentially a battle for

one's in-group position or prestige. Lower status groups try to overcome their social stigma and promote their positive, whereas higher status groups work to maintain their evaluative superiority. Ellemers (1993); Hogg and Abrams (1988) cited in Hogg (2016) state that the strategies that a group adopt to manage their identity depend on subjective belief structures, which are members' beliefs about the nature the of the relationship between their group and a specific out-group. The focus of beliefs is on status (e.g., what is my group's social standing in relation to the out-group?), stability (how stable is this status relationship?), legitimacy (how valid is this status relationship?), permeability (how easy is it for people to change their social identity by 'passing' to the out-group?), and cognitive alternatives (is a different intergroup relationship conceivable?).

The belief in permeability, that intergroup borders are effectively soft and easy to pass, is central to a social mobility belief framework. It encourages isolated members of lower status groups to disidentify from their communities in order to join and achieve acceptance by the higher status out-group, a process known as 'passing.' Intergroup boundaries are rarely porous in actuality, and passing is rarely successful, leaving those who attempt it in a state of social identity limbo, ostracized by both groups. Because it inhibits and precludes concerted action on the part of the minority, dominant groups frequently promote a social mobility ideology and permit limited passing (Hogg, 2016).

Hogg (2016) states that the framework of a social change belief system is based on the knowledge that permeability is actually low, and that intergroup boundaries are in fact difficult to overcome. It leads to low-status groups engaging in social creativity, which includes behaviors directed at redefining the social value of their groups and their attributes, as well as attempts to avoid (upward) comparisons with higher-status groups and instead engage in (lateral or downward) comparisons with groups lower on the social dominance hierarchy. Furthermore, when a social change belief structure is combined with recognition that the social order is illegitimate, group members can develop cognitive alternatives (basically a critical ideology and road map for the plausible achievement of social change) and engage in social competition, which can range from debate to hold rallies to revolution and war. What to say about intergroup cooperation, a decrease in ethnocentrism and prejudice, and the emergence of social harmony? Perhaps the issues of intergroup conduct can be solved by merging warring factions into a cozy single superordinate group, resulting in the transformation of conflictual intergroup behavior into harmonious intragroup behavior

(Gartner and Dovidio, 2000; cited in Hogg, 2016). Unfortunately, according to Prentice and Miller (1999) cited in Hogg (2016) it is not simple, it can be very difficult to achieve or sustain. People are often strongly attached to their social category membership and associated identity; there is a deep "cultural divide" between groups.

According to Ferguson and Mackeown (2016), some of the earliest SIT studies in Northern Ireland focused on categorization and the importance of categorization in Northern Ireland, with much of this research focusing on what is colloquially referred to as, or the considerations involved in determining whether someone is a Catholic or a Protestant during everyday interactions. It should be noted that openly asking someone whose ethnoreligious group they belong to is a taboo subject, as this line of questions may cause the recipient uneasiness and may result in a hostile response. Furthermore, although the disparities between the groups in Northern Ireland are not racial or physiognomic, individuals in this community have the ability to categorize others as Protestant or Catholic based on several social and geographical clues. Cairns (1980) cited in Ferguson and Mackeown (2016), reported a list of the five most frequently employed cues. These include are of residence (much of Northern Ireland's neighborhoods are segregated along ethnopolitical lines), school attended, most of school are segregated), names (both given and surnames), appearance (which mainly relate to facial features and clothing) and speech (both language content and accent), all cues are employed by both sides. Nonetheless, whereas research has demonstrated that identity in Northern Ireland is more complex than pure comparison of Protestants and Catholics (Cassidy and Trew, 1998; Gallagher, 1989; Ferguson and Gordon, 2007; cited in Ferguson and Mackeown ,2016), research has also consistently demonstrated the ease with people in Northern Ireland categorise other and themselves, places, and activities as Protestant and Catholic. Indeed the vast majority of people of Northern Ireland will state whether they are Catholics or Protestants, regardless of whether or not even attend church (Niens and Cairns, 2001; cited in Ferguson and Mackeown , 2016). This was clearly observed in 2011 census, where 48% of the resident population self-identified as Protestant and 45% self-identified as Catholic. In Northern Ireland, Protestant or Catholic Identity is ascribed from birth, producing impermeable group boundaries, which heightens the possibility of intergroup competition and conflict.

It has been theorized that identification with a superordinate, or overarching, identity, such as Northern Irish, could transcend the existing competing identities, the boundaries between

these identity groups, and reduce prejudice and discrimination (Gaertener and Dovidio, 2000; cited in Ferguson and Mackeown, 2016).

Symbolic reminders of identity

Symbolic interactionism plays an important, if often silent, role in the creation of social identities that are utilized to promote either violence or reconciliation between contending groups. Individuals are linked to previous generations through symbols, which promote valued cultural narratives and serve as a perceptual filter through which societies view the world (DeZalia and Moescheberger, 2016).

Thus, one way of understanding the symbolic reminders of identity is through the lens of the *dialogical self* and *social representations*. Dialogical Self Theory (DST) views as continually shifting in their importance and connection with each other as they negotiate their position within the self (Hermans, 2001; cited in DeZalia and Moescheberger, 2016). The Hermans' based theory draws on the belief that the self is not singular, static entity. Similar view is held by Valsiner (2007, p.149) cited DeZalia and Moescheberger(2016) that "the dialogical self is a theoretical entity (self) which is organized (exists) through a process of dialogical relations between its sub-parts". When one is thinking of the self and relating to others, one is guided by the dialogue of various aspects of the self. Known as I-positions. These I-positions have a hierarchical relationship, with each having varying degrees of salient importance at different times. For example, while one is at work, the I-position of 'employee' is more salient. At home, the I-position of spouse, parent or child can take precedent. When something significant happens in the society, one's view of self as a member of the society can reach at the top of the hierarchy. On September 11, 2021, many found their identity as 'American', and high motivation for guiding behaviour than it was on the previous day in that year. Also, when Bakhtin refers to 'multivoicedness', he not only has in mind the simultaneous existence of different individual voice, but also the simultaneous existence of an individual voice and the voice of a group. Although the theory focuses on one's view of oneself, it is necessarily a social process.

According to DeZalia and Moescheberger (2016) Social Representation Theory (SRT) is related to the dialogical self in that it helps to explain the way that social institutions use symbols to promote specific ideas within society. Moscovic (2001, p.31,) cited in DeZalia

and Moescheberger (2016) defines social representations as "a specific way of understanding, and communicating what we know already". Social representations have "collective nature; an ability to anchor novel events to those previously experienced; a hierarchical structure that entails a core basis with peripheral components; and a semiotic element" (DeZalia, 2011, p.1050; Vagner 1994; cited in DeZalia and Moeschberger, 2016, p. 123). Social representations guide individuals within a society towards specific beliefs and identifications, they can see as a form of promoter signs, however, ones that require a social element.

As Howarth (2007) cited in DeZalia and Moeschberger (2016) states, social identity and social representation are 'two sides of the same coin'. We expose our viewpoint on the world and our manner of seeing and creating the world, or our social representation, when we place ourselves in relation to others, that is, when we assert, perform, or do 'identity'. And, just as identities bind us to certain groups of people while also highlighting what makes us unique and distinctive, representations hold traces of our collective histories and practices while showing resistance and agency possibilities.

Culture directs the social aspect of this through the use of semiotic mediation. Social institutions within a culture generate and employ signs to lead individuals towards accepted I-positions and to suppress those that are unwelcome (Valsiner, 2007; cited in DeZalia and Moeschberger, 2016). These signs do not simply encourage I-positions in the moment but "make the distinction between the immediate next possibilities, impossibilities, and potential possibilities of our feelings and thinking, facing the future" (Valsiner, 2003, p.55; cited in DeZalia and Moeschberger, 2016). Promoter signs are used when signs lead us to a specific future and its associated I-position. Songs, uniforms, pledges, ceremonies, remembrances, persons, and historical narratives are examples of implicit and explicit narratives. Political and social movements, as well as historical accounts of prior battles and achievements passed down through generations, can help to promote these symbolic reminders of identity. Leaders can foster political involvement and solidarity with individuals they consider to be part of their in-group, as well as bias and aggressiveness towards the out-group, by highlighting specific parts of their identities. Although these semiotic reminders are often subtle, they are emotionally salient and can significantly impact on the trajectory of the conflict (DeZalia and Moeschberger, 2016).

According to DeZalia and Moescheberger (2016) Northern Ireland offers a great example of semiotic used to promote social identities to encourage either peace or conflict. The tension, between Protestants/Unionists or Loyalists and Catholics/Nationalists or Republican communities tend to run high during the "marching season". The most contentious parade of the season happens every year on July 12, when parades are held to commemorate the victory of the protestant William of Orange over the Catholic King James II in the Battle of Boyne. This is an example, of using historical incidents to anchor and promotes the Protestant Identity in Northern Ireland. Via the process of objectifying; the related social identity of Orangeman was created, orange being the colors of protestants, linked to the Willian of Orange. Also, social institutions have been created to promote the endorsed identities. For example, some in Northern Ireland belong to the Orange Order, a fraternal social association connected to the protestant identity. The same event may be given different symbolic importance to switch the meaning for the out-group. In the Catholic narrative, these commemorations are viewed as "triumphalism" and contribute to ongoing sectarian stance in the country.

Northern Ireland Conflict background

According to Hayward (2006), four overlapping processes have resulted in the construction of Northern Ireland as a site of contestation between two opposing ideologies: politization of the North/South divide, association of unionism and nationalism with the north and south, institutionalism of the divide, and polarization between the unionist-dominated north and nationalist-dominated south.

Northern Ireland was created in 1920 under the Government of Ireland Act. Unionists did not want to be a part of a self-ruled Ireland, their objections were religious, economic and political. Religious, in terms of they feared being a permanent minority in a state and parliament inevitably dominated by Ireland`s Catholic majority (Fraser, 2005). There is a view that the British Government had not envisaged partition to be anything other than a temporary solution to the problem they faced regarding unionists/nationalists' tensions in the twentieth century (Hayward, 2006). Cochrane (2013) states that is difficult to amplify the magnitude of disorder, confusion and emotion that accompanied the creation of Northern Ireland in 1921. Certainly, it was not a smooth transition. A legal line was formed across

Ireland by the stroke of a political pen, separating six of Ulster's nine northern counties from the other twenty-six. Obviously, these were not just any six counties: they contained the majority of the protestants and unionists' population of Ireland and included the most industrialized and wealthy part of the country. Nevertheless, the new state represented a victory for unionists because it prevented them from becoming a Protestant minority in a new Irish state, the relief felt by unionists was only temporary; from the beginning of Northern Ireland, many unionists were plagued by paranoia and uncertainty.

According to Dorney (2015), sectarian or communal violence between the dominant unionist or loyalist Protestant community and the minority Catholic or nationalist population was one of the conflict's angles in nearly thirty years of turmoil. Intercommunal riots, house burning, and expulsion of minorities from competing areas, as well as serious violence such as shooting and bombing, were all examples of this. Furthermore, the Northern Ireland conflict had elements of the insurgency, inter-communal violence and at times approached civil war. Another view is held by McVea and McKittrick (2002) that unresolved issues of country, religion, power, and territory rivalry might be perceived as a more violent expression of existing animosities. A similar view is held by Ruane and Todd (2003), the conflict is between historic communities constituted and differentiated by a multiple rather than a single dimension of difference. One view is that there had been centuries of hatred in which religion and disputed territory were mixed together in an 'evil chemistry', followed by a failed attempt at devolution in the nineteenth century, partition of the North and South in the 1920s, and the civil rights uprising of the 1960s, which sparked a bitter and brutal conflict that lasted decades (Blair, 2010).

'Troubles'

 [1]According to Cochrane (2013) the outbreak of political violence in Northern Ireland towards the end of the 1960s was perfectly predicted, but it was unexpected by those with the power to intervene. It was the result of political dysfunction on the one side, and the nationalist community's grievances and frustrations on the other. This was exacerbated by Unionists' dread and insecurity, as well as the British government's indifference and ignorance

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[1] A popular misperception is that the 'Troubles' were largely a religious struggle; however, the conflict was sparked by disagreements over the island's constitutional status, with religious identity serving as a representation of ideological divisions rooted in political and national ideologies (Moxon -Browne, 1991; cited in Ferguson and MacKeown, 2016).

regarding Northern Ireland (Cochrane, 2013). Furthermore, politics failed because the political system was corrupt and corrupting from its conception in 1921 until its suspension in 1972 (Cochrane, 201. The Stormont government was dominated by a majority of unionists who were intent on excluding the nationalist's minority. Reform was introduced in 1922 to infringe Catholics voting rights, where proportional representation was abolished (Fenton, 2018). In fact, most nationalists considered the formal political system to be a complete impossibility as well as a resented reminder of their subjugation; they mostly resisted and ignored it. During the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the grievances stewed and deepened, waiting for a spark to ignite them Cochrane (2013).

Curiously, with the coming in Britain of a new Labour administration and the implementation of the so-called "welfare state" at the close of Second World War —, the seeds of eventual political transformation were sown. The Butler Education Act of 1947, in addition to a free health service, was a significant component of these reforms. In the context of Northern Ireland, this extended free secondary education to talented children, many of whom were young gifted Catholics who were frustrated that, after completing their studies, they were less able to find housing, a job, and a fair political representation within the Stormont regime than their Protestant neighbours (Cochrane ,2013). Similar view is held by MacCartney (1999) In the late 1960's individuals from the new educated classes, unionists and nationalists, spearheaded the civil rights movements which were inspired by the civil rights campaign in the United States (US) and stimulated by the students protests of 1968 in Paris and elsewhere.

Derry became the focal point for much of the protest since it was there that the issues of housing allocation, employment, and election misconduct were most apparent. For example, through February 1967, unemployment in the city was at a shocking 20%, compared to a UK average of under 3% and an average of 8% in Northern Ireland (Cochrane,2013). Deliberate 'gerrymandering' of local government wards in Derry, the deliberate placement of social housing to ensure unionist control of the city's corporation, discrimination in employment practices, and the Northern Ireland government's policies on economic development were among the issues that drove John Hume to become a civil rights activist in Northern Ireland from 1968 to 1972 (Farren, 2018). Not only, but also by 1968, a new young leadership had emerged to breathe life into nationalists' politics, as talented organizers and propagandists came forward – Eamonn McCann, Michael Farrel, Austin

Currie, John Hume, and most vivid of all Bernadette Devlin. They did not seek an end to Ireland's division, nor did they embrace the republican separatist mantra. They tried to turn the Unionist against the Unionist by demanding "British rights for British citizens" and demonstrating that the very principle of civil and religious liberty that unionists espoused as the core of their identity was being denied by them in their administration of government in Northern Ireland (Cochrane ,2013). In the past the nationalist argument had been that Northern Ireland was 'irreformable' in the sense that that it had been established to protect the unionists' interests and could therefore never become an equitable society (MacCartney, 1999). In addition, in 1965 across the Irish Sea, agitation against anti-Catholic discrimination has begun to gain momentum. The campaign for Democracy in Ulster was formed in Westminster by a group of Labour MPs in order to lobby for change (Fenton, 2018).

Austin Currie, a young nationalist MP at Stormont, initiated a protest against housing discrimination by unlawfully squatting in a house in Caledon, Co. Tyrone, on Thursday, June 1968. The local unionist council had allocated the house to Emily Beattie, a nineteen-year-old unmarried Protestant who happened to be the secretary of a local unionist politician, at a time when demand for housing was ardent and many Catholic families with children had been struggling for years with little hope of being housed. Currie was evicted and fined 5 pounds as a result of his actions. In the long run, however, his demonstration was a huge success, capturing the attention of the media and generating widespread awareness in the inequities in housing allocation by unionist-controlled councils across Northern Ireland (Cochrane ,2013; Fenton, 2018).

 Shortly after the Caledon protest, Currie suggested to recently formed Northern Ireland Civil Rights (NICRA) that the march should be held between the nearby towns of Coalisland and Dungannon to raise awareness about inequities of housing policy in Northern Ireland. A suitable vehicle for Catholics to vent their frustration at the unionist-dominated political system. Several thousand people marched between the towns in a peaceful demonstration, singing 'We Shall Overcome', as the police looked on. Within a few months, the eyes of the world would be focused on Northern Ireland as peaceful civil rights protests descended into rioting and sectarian violence, and as the British army arrived on the streets in an attempt to restore order (Cochrane ,2013; Fenton, 2018).

The CRM (Civil Rights Movement) evolved slowly from a small and somewhat tranquil middle-class grouping into a large demonstration that became increasingly confrontational

with the police and the Stormont government. Under the umbrella of NICRA, a new wave of politically educated, youthful, and clever Catholics (together with some liberal protestants) banded together to highlight disparities to devastating effect, embarrassing the unionist administration and gaining international media attention. In this sense, the British welfare state had, however inadvertently, created the motor for political change. Indeed, the Civil Rights movement took a different approach and believed, or at least acted on the assumption, that Northern Ireland could be an equal society (Cochrane ,2013). While civil rights campaigners, the wider nationalist community and many external on lookers believed that the protests were about achieving a degree of fairness within the political system, there was a strong feeling within unionist that they just provided a cover for more traditional opposition to the existence of a Northern Ireland state. Despite the growing body of evidence, many unionists denied the existence of systemic discrimination or anything beyond localized and disconnected instances of disparity. They regarded the civil rights movement as a carefully orchestrated front, a 'Trojan Horse' for a political attack by Irish republicans on the Northern Ireland system of democracy and an attempt to undermine its credibility in Britain and elsewhere (Cochrane ,2013).

It is true that there were some republican and communists involved in The CRM and that it did eventually succeed in destroying the Stormont regime and creating conditions for the birth of the provisional IRA (Cochrane ,2013) and these events happened due to the unionist's reaction to the CRM, however unwittingly, unionists provoked the very outcome that they feared the most: the loss of political control and the destruction of unionist hegemony in Northern Ireland. In the end, the moderate elements melted away and left the stage free for militant republicanism. However, in the early days, the CRM brought people together from a wide variety of backgrounds and they focused on a limited range of demands.

The paramilitaries

According to (Cochrane ,2013) the paramilitary violence has existed in Ireland for many centuries, from the days of Gaelic clan resistance to the English Crown, to the organization of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) at the beginning of the twentieth century. The original UVF was revived in 1966 in response to what some radical unionists felt was a weak response by O'Neill's government to the civil rights agitation and their belief that the republican goal was to destroy Northern Ireland. The IRA (Irish

Republican Army) had been largely dormant from 1930 until the mid-1950s, when it conducted a half-hearted border campaign. However, in 1969 due to differences of ideologies, where the IRA south was focused on a Marxist dialectic, more thinkers rather than doers, the IRA in Northern Ireland, felt that there were more pressing concerns, such as the arrival the British troops on the streets or the attack on Catholics by the police, Protestants mob.

The decision by Sinn Feinn in 1969 to move from republicanism into democratic mainstream politics and away from its militant's tradition, since the Irish Parliament in Northern Ireland had previously regarded as illegitimate partitionist structure for them, was too much for the large militant faction, which walked out from the Sinn Fein Ard Feis (party conference) in 1970, provoking a split in the IRA into 'Provisional' and 'Official' wings. A similar view is held by Faolean (2019), provisional republicanism was the culmination of a painful process of change within the republican movement married to the sudden acceleration of events in the North during the summer of 1969, and from its inception, the provisional IRA drew support from veteran republicans, North and South. It was a brief power struggle between the Provisional and Official IRA was quickly won by the former, while the later declared ceasefire in 1972 and went political, though not before carrying out several significant attacks on the British army and killing a number of civilians in 1971 (Cochrane ,2013). IRA's role in Northern Ireland and particularly Belfast was traditionally viewed by the Catholic community as community defenders (Faolean, 2019).

 Peace process

According to Manserg (1999) most important events in the history have multiple causes and the Irish peace process is no exception. It came into being through a combination of factors: the war-weariness associated with prolonged political and military stalemate; the courage displayed by governments and constitutional parties in dealing with the politicians close to paramilitary forces. Laffan (2002) states the choice to join the European Union (EU) By Irish republic and Britain, was the most important decision made in terms of foreign policy, in the postwar period. Britain and Ireland's participation in the EU since 1973 has had a significant impact on their economies and polities. It also had a significant impact on the legal and political frameworks of the EU by either state. EU membership involved participation in an additional arena of public policy making, acceptance of an extra-national constitutional and legal system. Blair (2010) emphasizes that the Irish Republic underwent a remarkable

transformation in the 1980s and later, as they joined the European Union and benefited from its generous development program, which they used with skillful intelligence, the country modernized, and within a few years, it was no longer the retrograde old South that was looked down upon, but the North. The South was 'sprinting down the track toward the future', while the people of Northern Ireland were arguing over Protestants and Catholics in such a way that the race ahead was obscured by a cloud of insignificance.

The absence of direct ministerial representation in Brussels meant that Northern Ireland's three MEPs (members of European Parliament) played a pivotal political role in links to the Brussels arena. EP (European Parliament) elections provided an electoral contest every five years and an arena within which to conduct party politics. Since the first direct election in 1979, John Hume of the SDLP and Ian Paisley of DUP represented Northern Ireland (Laffan, 2002).

In addition, EU as a model of a peace project in the context of Cold War Europe, offered a model of inter-state relations that rested on co-operation, interdependence, mutual understanding and civil statehood. Its founding ideology was based on reconciliation and the transformation of neighbors into partners, and John Hume appropriated the rhetoric of European integration, "arguing constantly that if conflict of two world wars could be resolved through dialogue, then so could the conflict in Northern Ireland" (Laffan, 2002, p.57).

The European parliament report in 1984 from the Danish MEP Neils Haagerup, who had been appointed rapporteur for an investigation into political condition in Northern Ireland, which John Hume regarded this investigation as a very important acknowledge of the Northern Ireland crisis by the parliament (Farren, 2018). According to Hayward (2006) the Haagerup Report the situation was defined in terms of two 'conflicting national identities' where two nations are deeply distrustful living in each other's midst. At heart EU's approach to the conflict is the belief that it is caused by historical antagonism between British and Irish identities. In addition, in the Haagerup conclusion's: the first historical 'event' noted is 'rise of Irish Nation' dating back 'the invasions of the Celts' forming the roots of clearly discernible identity. As Catholicism became a 'distinct feature of the Irish identity', so the merging of 'political and religious struggles' throughout the Western Europe was replicated in Ireland's relationship with its neighbors. In the Haagerup Report is asserted that 'the conflict is one of cultures and of loyalties, of memories of historic struggles rather than dispute of doctrine" (Hayward, 2006). Moreover, in 1992 the Irish government stated that the "poles of the

problem are between those who resent the very existence of Northern Ireland and those who see its existence, and its British status, as vital for their identity" (Ingraham, 1998 p.1). Furthermore, although the British government was unhappy about the report and the Prime Minister instructed the Conservative MEPs to try to block the commissioning report. Also, Unionists politicians were implacably opposed to intervention of the European Parliament (EP) in the political and constitutional affairs of Northern Ireland. However, the resolution which accompanied the report, set out the role that the EU should play in relation to Northern Ireland, in addition to views about the perceived role of others actors. The report strongly endorsed an Anglo-Irish framework for the resolution of the conflict (Laffan, 2002).

According to Haverty (2020), one of the most prominent contributors to the Northern Ireland peace process was Nobel Laureate and Irish political colossus John Hume, who died in 2020 and left a tremendous legacy. For most of the second half of the twentieth century, he was the leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), Northern Ireland's main nationalist party. Hume was part of a group of growing middle-class Catholics who were among the first pro-Irish nationalists to benefit from the Kingdom's post-World War II welfare state. This supplied them with the material and intellectual resources they needed to combat the government's pervasive anti-Catholic discrimination. Furthermore, from the late 1970s under the leadership of Hume, the SDLP endeavoured to avoid unionism by influencing in the British and Irish to co-operate on developing the role of the Irish Government in Northern matters. This approach bore fruit in the form of the 1983 -4 New Ireland Forum and Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. Rather than an end in itself, the party viewed the 1985 as a precursor to a Northern power-sharing settlement (Mitchell, 2015). To that end, Hume engaged in talks with Sinn Fein to explore areas of nationalism commonality and persuade republicans of the futility of violence.

Using the above approach Nationalists leaders, hoped to appeal to a much larger percentage of the nationalist community and to the Irish people of the Republic. It was clear that violence had reduced support for the Nationalist cause in the Republic of Ireland. The task of Sinn Fein would be convincing IRA that they could achieve their political aims without the use of paramilitary force (Ingraham, 1998). Likewise, in 1993, the Labour Party backbencher Dennis Skinner asked the then British prime minister, John Major, a pointed and tricky question in the House of Commons. Would his government be prepared to follow the example set in Middle East by talking to the provisional IRA, as the Israelis had done

with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)? Major's response seemed clear and unequivocal: "We will not to do it, I will not to talk to people who murder indiscriminately". However, it became clear shortly afterwards that this was precisely what he had being doing for the previous three years, via a secret back channel between M16 and the intermediaries for the IRA (Cochrane, 2013, p.121). In fact, according to Cochrane (2013) John Major's arrival as prime minister in 1990 signaled an opportunity, and Northern Ireland was one of his priority agenda, whereas for the previous Prime Minister it was not. Margaret Thatcher had been unwilling to engage with Irish nationalist circles since the 1981 republican hunger strikes, and her simplistic political fundamentalism made her wholly unsuited to pragmatic realignment. Furthermore, the first movement was made by Sinn Fein, sending a letter to Major in his second day as British Prime Minister, in the letter the Sinn Fein was straightforward that the British should leave Ireland and there should be a united Ireland.

In addition, the discussions between Hume and Adams were the catalyst which led to talks between the British and Irish governments. In June 1993 the two governments came together to discuss the future of each government's relationship to Northern Ireland, for six months the governments would try to reach a compromise, finally 15 December 1995 "The Joint Declaration on Peace" was agreed. This document was introduced a 'New Framework for Agreement', the statement of both governments was a deep commitment with certain principles of self-determination, and the document include "Given the absence of consensus and depth of divisions between the two main traditions in Northern Ireland, the two governments agree that such an accommodation will involve an agreed new approach to the traditional constitutional doctrines on both sides (The Framework Document , paragraph 15; cited in Ingraham, 1998).

The consensus of both governments was that new approaches to traditional doctrines should accommodate the aspirations of both traditions which were deeply divided. It is important to point out the recognition of the Irish government that articles 2 and 3 of the De Valera`s Constitution 1937, which claimed sovereignty over all of Ireland, needed to be changed (Ingraham, 1998). The Irish State was legitimized in nationalist discourse by acknowledging its incompleteness, whereas the Northern Ireland polity was formed and built-in accordance with unionist ideology that emphasized its autonomy and distinctiveness (Hayward, 2006).

Furthermore, the British and Irish governments believed that no democratic process could be influenced by violence, despite the fact that it was acknowledged that if the talks were to result in a long-term agreement, the process would have to be as inclusive as possible. The lack of political parties representing the various paramilitary organisations was viewed as a barrier to long-term peace. As a result, it was deemed critical to convincing Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups to agree to a ceasefire (Ingraham, 1998). In the case of the IRA, Gerry Adams and Martin MacGuinness of SF put a lot of effort into the process which eventually was to bring about the IRA ceasefire. Thus, on 31 August 1994, the IRA announced a ceasefire. Later, Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) announced a ceasefire on 13 October 1994.

As Northern Ireland moved closer to multi-party talks, decommissioning paramilitary guns became a hot topic. It became clear that some of the participants would only enter a dialogue with parties associated to paramilitary groups if the weapons were first turned over (Ingraham, 1998). The governments did not want to push too hard on decommissioning and disrupting what was believed to be republicanism's steady move away from violence. Following these policy adjustments, David Trimble's party remained hesitant, believing that staying in discussions and agreeing to the Government's limits made decommissioning and other unionist aims more possible than walking out from the process (Mitchell, 2015). Despite the party's position that IRA gives up its weapons before Sinn Fein enters the talks, Ingraham (1998) states that opposing parties saw this not only as unrealistic but as an unfair precondition on the entry into talks. Gerry Adams complained that the British government never mentioned that the surrender of IRA weapons was a precondition to negotiations, until after IRA's ceasefire on 31 August 1994. According to Bew and Gillespie, (1996) cited in Ingraham (1998) John Major made it clear that he believed decommissioning should take place before all talks. Furthermore, he had the support of Labour opposition leader Tony Blair, and recent surveys showed that 83 percent of Northern Ireland's people opposed holding all-party negotiations before decommissioning.

Thus, due to stalemate the British government was persuaded of the need to seek independent help. Thus, on 28 November 1995 the British and Irish Governments signed off on the "the Joint Communique"- twin- track process to make a parallel progress on decommissioning and all-party negotiations. In this document both governments had agreed to establish an international body to provide an independent assessment of the

decommissioning issue. Thus, the governments asked Senator George Mitchel of the United States to chair the independent body. However, in their report on 24 January 1996, the international body concluded: "There is a clear commitment on the part of those in possession of such arms to work constructively to achieve full and verifiable decommissioning as a part of the process of all-party negotiations; but that commitment does not include decommissioning prior to such negotiations" (Michell, de Chastelain and Holkeri, Report of International body on arms Decommissioning; paragraph 25; cited in Ingrahan, 1998). The report also included "principles of democracy and non-violence".

However, instead of following the main recommendation of the International Body's report, Major introduced a new plan based on a 'confidence building' measure mentioned in the report, and in a surprise move, he embraced the Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble's proposal for an elected assembly to negotiate the settlement (Bew and Gillespie, 1996; cited in Ingraham, 1998). The proposal would favour the unionist representation in any assembly and was evident that UUP had a substantial amount of influence on the British government. This sequence of events toughened and furious the nationalist community. Nonetheless, despite such criticism, on 27 January 1996 the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Sir Patrick Mayhew, reiterated the government's position and said: "all-party talks will not take place without elections to the proposed forum unless paramilitaries take the alternative route of decommissioning weapons" (Bew and Gillespie, 1996, cited in Ingraham, 1998).

In 1996 a car bomb exploded in London, IRA ended their cease-fire, compromising the negotiations, in the IRA declaration is that "The cessation presented a historical challenge for everyone, and IRA commends the leadership of nationalist Ireland at home and abroad. They rose to the challenge. The British Prime Minister not." (Irish Republic Army, 9 February 1996; paragraph 4) cited in (Ingraham, 1998). In addition, it was in elections were held to choose ten parties to participate in the Northern Ireland Forum for the actual peace negotiations. Two cross-community Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) of Catholics and Protestants, such as the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, were among those elected (Gollan,2017).

According to Hain (2008) in 1997 when Tony Blair was elected British Prime Minister and leader of the Labour Party with Irish roots, which can be considered an enormous strength for the agreement to be reached. Blair (2010, p.153), "one of the most extraordinary aspects of the entire tragedy was that anyone seriously believed there would be a winner: that the IRA believed

a proud nation like Britain could be blown up out of Northern Ireland, where a majority regarded themselves as citizens of the United Kingdom; that the British government ever believed Irish Nationalism could be contained without a paradigm shift in treatment of Irish Catholics; and that the Unionist ever believed that on an island where the majority supported a united Ireland and were Catholics nationalists, they could not ever disagree to share power with them".

According to Lundy and McGovern (2010) during three decades of conflict over 3,500 people lost their lives and over 30,000 were injured. From the IRA ceasefire announcement in August 1994 to the ratification of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, Irish society, particularly in the north, has gone through a period of gradual yet epochal change.

Chapter 2 - Research Methodology

Introduction

The primary objective of research methods is how effectively using the methods to collect the data to answer the research questions (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). Therefore, understanding research methods as many layers from a broad philosophical concept to approach to theory development, methodological choices, strategies, time horizon (cross-sectional and longitudinal); and finally, data collection and interpretation.

To attain whatever we desire, we must first reflect on it, make a plan, and design strategies to achieve it; hence, methodology is a set of approaches for planning research. From the broad concept of theories to the specifics of data collection and interpretation.

Philosophies

The philosophical worldview proposed in this study is social constructivism or constructivism, which is a type of perspective that is frequently paired with interpretivism, and it is commonly used in qualitative research. The concepts are derived from Mannheim as well as works by Berger and Luekmann (1967). Social Construction of the Reality and Lincoln and Guba's (1985) Naturalistic Inquiry. Individuals want comprehension of the world in which they live and work, according to Social Constructivists. Individuals form subjective interpretations of their experiences, which are focused on certain objects or things. (Creswell, 2014). Denzil and Lincoln (2011), cited in Saunders et al., (2011), link qualitative

research to an interpretive philosophy (2016). It's interpretive because researchers have to make sense of the subjective and socially created meanings that people have about the phenomenon they are studying.

Approaches

An approach to theory development, according to Yin (2014) cited in Saunders et al. (2016) some of the qualitative research strategies start with a deductive approach, to rest on existing theory using qualitative procedures, therefore, the deductive approach is suitable to this regarded research, because, it will test the research questions on an existing theory.

Strategies

According to Denscombe (2017) in the context of social research the terms 'approach' and methodology are often used to mean the same thing as 'strategy'. However, strategy is different from a research method. Strategies, also known as research design, are forms of inquiry that provide particular direction for a research design's procedure in qualitative, and mixed methodologies approach. Regarding this research, a qualitative approach is appropriate, and a case study- the "Northern Ireland Conflict", the strategy will be employed within this approach, which is an in-depth inquiry into a topic or phenomenon within its real-life setting (Yin, 2018; cited in Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). The case may refer to a person, group, an organisation, an association, a change of process, an event as well as many other forms of case subject (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). The case that forms the basis of the investigation is normally something that already exists, it is a naturally occurring phenomenon (Denscombe, 2017). According to Denscombe (2017) to qualify something suitable for case study research it is crucial that the thing to be studied has some distinctive identity that allows it to be studied in isolation from the context. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019) state that determining the boundaries of the study is a key factor in defining the case study. Nonetheless, understanding the context is fundamental to case study research.

Methodological Choices

Qualitative research is often associated with an interpretive philosophy (Denziland Lincoln, 2018; cited in Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). It is interpretive because researchers need to make sense of the subjective and socially constructed meanings expressed about

the phenomenon being studied. Thus, this research proposes using the qualitative approach, because the nature of the study is to analyse the causes of the Northern Ireland conflict that align to Need Theory, also, which were the role of diverse actors in the conflict as well attitudes towards conflict resolution. According to Creswell (2014) qualitative research is an approach that analyses and interprets the meaning of individuals or groups to a social or human problem. Therefore, this approach is suitable for this research.

Time Horizon

Time Horizon will be cross-sectional research, which means they will look at a certain occurrence at a specific point in time. The passing of time is a limiting element. However, as the study focused on attitudes toward a peace process that culminated in the Good Friday Agreement, the analyses extend from the conflict period that was from the partition of Ireland in 1920 which created the Northern Ireland entity to the Good Friday Agreement and its effects in terms of equality, power-sharing and security in current days in Northern Ireland. Thus, taking into account if there were longitudinal studies that were relevant throughout the literature reviews, they may be analysed for this study.

Data Collection and analysis

According to Saunders et al. (2016), data collection in qualitative research is non-standardised, so that is both naturalistic and interactive, which means the success of researchers is not only gaining access to the participants but somewhat building rapport and demonstrating sensitivity to gain cognitive access to their data. Therefore, the collected data was through semi-structured interviews. The interview questions were applied to 5 people, who all are Irish, two of them are from the Republic of Ireland and three of them are from Northern Ireland. The responses were acquired through the written statements to give flexibility to the interviewees. In order to respond to the research question will be used non-probability samples, since it is more appropriate in this case because it might be very difficult to have a sample of the population of a conflict that encompassed many generations, then the findings will be based on interpretations, however, not based on statistics as in a probability or representative sample.

Research limitations

One of the limitations of this research might be the use of non-probability sampling, where the results cannot be generalized over the population as a whole. Other's limitations might be the type of sample that was applied to Irish people from the Republic and Northern Ireland, not a priori inquiring about their background if they are Catholics/nationalists or Protestants/unionists, even in the interview there is a question about their background. Also, the size of the sample is considerable small, which might compromise robust findings.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data is diverse and can be from spoken words (verbal data) written, typed or printed words (textual data) and still or moving visual images (visual data). Furthermore, the philosophical assumptions underpinning a research project will affect its design and conduct, including data collection and analysis. An interpretivist philosophy informs qualitative research, also, interpretivism focus on participants' interpretation of their social world, in opposition to the realist belief that reality exists regardless of perceptions about it (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). According to Denscombe (2017, p. 261), "the purpose of analysing something is to gain a better understanding of it ". Thematic Analysis will be employed because it is typically thought of as a generic technique for qualitative data analysis. The fundamental purpose of this method is to find common themes or patterns in a data set that is being analysed, such as interviews, observations, documents, or websites. Furthermore, because it is not bound by any philosophical perspective, thematic analysis is adaptable. Similarly, Thematic Analysis can be applied regardless of whether a deductive or inductive approach is used. The themes or patterns that are discovered in a deductive manner, as in this study, will be related to existing theories. (Saunders et al., 2016). Qualitative research conducted through interpretivism's lenses will have an impact on the type of data generated, with implications for its analysis.

Chapter 3 -Presentation of Data

This research study has the objective to explore the main elements of need theory that align with the causes of conflict with a particular focus on Northern Ireland Conflict. In addition, whether Need Theory as an approach to conflict resolution can be applied to the analysis to

the Northern Ireland conflict resolution. These objectives are hoped to achieve through an analysis of the conflict itself and the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) in the Northern Ireland Conflict - the pre-negotiation between the political multi- parties, British and Irish Governments.

 In order to achieve these objectives five people were interviewed. These five people all identify as Irish, two of them are from the Republic of Ireland, and three of them are from Northern Ireland. Four of them have Catholic/ nationalist background, and one of them has no specified background.

The questions were a mix of closed and open-ended questions, there was a total of 15 questions. In order to keep anonymous, the interviewee's names, they will be identified in this research study by letters A, B, C, D and E. The first three questions were related to general information and from question three onwards the specifics of the GFA were addressed. Thus, from the third question onwards follow the questions and the comments of the interviewees' responses:

On the third question was asked: Have you any feelings about the results of the GFA that you would like to share?

Basically, interviewee A referred to GFA Strand 1- power-sharing, and made a critic that in the followed years the polarization of the power through the growth Sinn Fein (Nationalist party) and DUP (Democratic Unionist Party), which reflects the continuous division of Catholics and protestant community, which has restricted the effectiveness of normal Government in NI, from time to time. To effectiveness the Interviewee A is mentioning as an example in Fenton (2017, p.275) "when Sinn Fein's McGuiness resigned as deputy First Minister in 2017and his party refused to share power with the DUP any longer".

"*Strand 1 has had the effect of institutionalising sectarian identity politics and empowering this division to an extent that it has restricted the effectiveness of normal Government in NI, from time to time*" (Interviewee A).

In practice the biggest party from the largest the unionist/nationalist blocs nominate the first minister, and the largest party from the second-largest bloc nominates the deputy first minister, the other eight role are divided up on how many seats each party has in the assembly, excepted the minister of justice, who is elected by the assembly.

As this is joint office the nationalist first minister can hold power without a unionist deputy first minister, or vice-versa (McClements, 2022). In recent polls, for the first time ever, Sinn Fein has won the most seats, 101 years after Northern Ireland came into existence (Sproule, 2022).

Which does not mean that a legislative and executive will be formed, since, this the DUP's leader has said he does want to govern unless changes are made to Northern Ireland Protocol.

On the question 4 was asked: At the beginning of the negotiations, there was a recognition by parties, particularly British and Irish governments, that the conflict was an issue based on two conflicting ethnic identities, and any solutions should respect both traditions. Do you consider that this was one of the foremost conditions to achieve an agreement? Yes or no and could you give the reasons.

On this question, Interviewee A mentioned the importance of both countries Republic of Ireland and Britain to EU membership, which changed their relationship and the Eu approach towards resolution of the Northern Ireland Conflict. (Hayward, 2006; Laffan, 2002) the Haagerup Report, commissioned by the European Parliament (EP) in 1984, was the European Union's first major endeavor on the conflict in Northern Ireland. It incorporated a conception of the conflict as a clash between two national identities determined by their proximity to the Irish border.

"Yes. Also, important to note that EU membership was the context within which the idea of dual citizenship/multiple identities could be explored" (Interviewee A).

"Yes, but not necessarily religion. It was about nationality and how people perceived themselves as being either Irish or British (Interviewee E)".

According to Laffan (2002), that EU membership altered the context of relations between successive British and Irish governments, influenced relations between the two communities in Northern Ireland, and influenced conflict resolution strategies.

On the question five was asked: The 'consent principle was at the core of the GFA, recognising the legitimacy of whatever choice was freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its status, whether they preferred to continue to support the union with Great Britain or a sovereign united Ireland'. Which implicated to the

Republic of Ireland to take out the 2 and 3 articles of its Constitution, where the Republic claimed sovereignty over all of Ireland. Do you believe that this principle and its implication was another crucial, but possible tricky condition because it put aside the hope of a United Ireland?

On this question interviewee C and D, state that the consent principle was the crucial condition that Unionists accepted to go to the agreement, and had the effect of destroying many nationalists hope, arguing a century of armed struggles were in vain, however, to this day the people of Northern Ireland have never a change of border poll, contrary to the unionist leader's view that it is a permanent situation.

"It was crucial to get Unionists on board, but had the effect of destroying many Nationalists' hopes of a united Ireland. Many argued that a century of armed struggles was all in vain. To this day, the people of NI have never had the opportunity of voting democratically to assert their view as to whether they wish to remain with Britain or become a united Ireland" (Interviewee C)

"Yes. By changing the constitution citizens of the republic of Ireland for the first time were recognising the legal entity of Northern Ireland. This appeased many unionists and helped pave the way towards peace. It aggravated many nationalists both North and South even though it delayed the vision held by many of a United Ireland… it was a price worth paying for a peaceful settlement, and ultimately through the referendum held in the South and in the GFA itself it did establish a framework for a solution" (Interviewee D).

The most important feature of consent was its finality; most unionists believed it had no dynamic, thus it was treasured as the best antidote to their insecurity (Farrington, 2006; cited in Mitchell, 2015). As Trimble states plainly in a speech a week after the Agreement was finalized: "We have sought and secured a permanent settlement, not a transitional arrangement" (Trimble, 2001; cited in Mitchell, 2015, p.55) and whatever republicans said about the Good Friday deal being a stepping stone to a united Ireland, Trimble was convinced it was in fact 'a disaster for Sinn Fein -IRA' and would close the curtain on decades of instability for the Protestants of Northern Ireland. With the Irish Republic 's territorial claim gone, unionists could now develop a cordial and productive relationship with the South through non-threatening and mutually beneficial cross-border institutions (Mitchell, 2015).

"No. I think ultimately time will decide and the current DUP attitudes towards the GFA due to Brexit, may see some seismic change in the next few years, but I am not sure that will mean a united Ireland" (Interviewee B).

The Northern Ireland Protocol is an agreement between UE and UK, to protect the GFA. Special arrangements were needed for Northern Ireland after the UK voted for Brexit in 2016 and left UE. It is hard bord in Irish sea to inspect the goods in Norther Ireland port according to EU standards for some goods since Northern Ireland is considered by Eu as a single market, it is to prevent a land bord between two Irelands since it is considered a sensitive issue.

According to the latest polling in the North, conducted by the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool and the Irish News and released last week, only 30% of people in the region would vote for a united Ireland tomorrow and 33.44 percent in 10-15 years (McClements, 2022).

"Yes, but it only removed the hope of a United Ireland for the immediate and medium time and committed to a border poll to be held in the event that a majority of people were likely to vote for a united Ireland" (Interviewee E).

On the question 6 was asked: Were there other interests that brought the parties: British Government, Irish Government, Nationalist/Republican and Unionist/Loyalist to come to an agreement after 30 years of conflict and many frustrated attempts? Was the macro political environment favourable? Did the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots)? Did the initiative come meanly from nationalists/republican politicians? Did the initiative come mainly from unionist/loyalist Politicians? Could you give reasons for your answer?

On this questions, four interviewees have agreed that was the macro political environment favourable to parties came into agreement.

"NI was costing the British taxpayer enormous amounts of money to maintain in terms of policing, and with the opportunity of outside investment from the US etc., (on condition that fighting must first stop) was a powerful persuader for groups to agree to lay down their arms" Interviewee C).

"I think it was a conflagration of all of the above" (Interviewee B).

On the proposition if the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots), three interviewees agreed on that.

On the statement if the initiative come meanly Nationalist/republican politicians, three interviewees agreed on that.

"On the ground in Northern Ireland, and in the United States John Hume and the SDLP was making successful overtones to the Government and local politicians in the United States Senate and Congress to get their input into a peace deal and to ultimately back such a plan and put pressure on the British Government to talk to the Nationalists and the Government of the South. Also, Sinn Fein were able to negotiate with the Provisional IRA to agree to a cessation of violence to further the cause of peace, Gerry Adams was a key player. Mo Mowlam the Labour Minister for Northern Ireland was also a key player as well as Bertie Ahern the Fianna Fail Taoiseach in the South" (Interviewee D).

"The momentum for the NI peace process came from a priest in Clonnard church, West Belfast and John Hume from the SDLP reaching out to Gerry Adams Sinn Fein and the IRA to commence peace talks (Interviewee E).

These interviewees perspectives can be associated with Mitchell (2015, p. 87) "the Hume-Adams' dialogue is generally regarded as the starting point of the process that culminated the 1998 Agreement". Ingraham (1998) states the peace process began in 1993 when John Hume, leader of Social democratic and labor Party (SDLP), and Gerry Adams leader of Sinn Fein (SF), met to discuss the future of Northern Ireland. Both party's leaders were nationalists, this meeting focused on the idea of self-determination and they hoped their discussion would lead to a historical agreement between British and Irish government. Haverty (2020) assumes that Hume was instrumental in moving the IRA away from its uncompromising view of the conflict and closer to his own, helping to create the political will in both London and Dublin to negotiate with Sinn Fein.

With Tony Blair Labour being voted in to lead the UK the peace talks gathered momentum and Mr Blair threw his support behind the initiative. It was only after all these important conditions in place that the unionist politicians entered into negotiations and remember not all unionist politicians took part in and agreed with the GFA" (Interviewee E).

On the statement if initiative come mainly from unionist/loyalists Politicians, only agreed on that.

"Also, certain unionist politicians like David Trimble and the UUP were also open to a peace framework" (Interviewee D).

In the question 7 was asked: "GFA has been addressing the needs particularly the complaint community (in this case Nationalist/Catholics) in terms of equality?" How do you feel about this statement? With the options to: Strongly agree, Agree, disagree, and strongly disagree and could you explain your answer?

Although the interviewee A not agree with the term complaint community. According to Fenton (2017) at the core of Good Friday Agreement are the principles of equality and human rights, in an acknowledgment of how the conflict had been sparked by inequality between the two communities, with the nationalist community initially being subject to inequalities in voting rights, employment and access to housing (Cochrane, 2013). Furthermore, the conflict itself had been marred by human rights breaches, ranging from allegations that suspects had been subject to torture in interrogations suites, to claims that the British state had been operating a 'shoot-to-kill' policy against suspected terrorists (Fenton, 2017).

"Agree and disagree. I disagree with the idea of presenting one community as a complaint community. This runs counter to the spirit and basis of the Agreement, in my view. I do agree that the GFA addressed the issue of equality and human rights and embedded the need for equality screening of all public decision making and policy into law. Very few places in Europe have such a provision of a legal basis for horizontal humanitarian and human rights principles" (Interviewee A).

"Agree. The equality issue was a massive road block to peace in Northern Ireland. For over 60 years there was terrible inequality for Nationalists in the areas of housing, jobs and education. The GFA has certainly improved this but there is still a large sectarian divide especially in education (Interviewee D).

"Agree, but not all the outworkings of the GFA and subsequent agreements have been implemented, in particular an Irish language act. The GFA did provide the right for the

nationalist community to identify as Irish and lead to better equality in the workforce" (Interviewee E).

According to Fenton (2017), the Irish language became a power struggle between the DUP and Sinn Fein, in which they fought over the power balance between unionist and nationalist traditions.

In the question 8 was asked: "GFA has been addressing the needs of Unionist/Protestants community in terms of equality?" How do you feel about this statement? With the options to: Strongly agree, Agree, disagree, and strongly disagree and could you explain your answer?

"Strongly agree. The main issue of equality was not a problem for the Unionist community, but recognition and respect for their traditions I think has improved. Marches, which were flashpoints for violence seemed to have decreased considerably" (Interviewee D).

The most contentious parade of the season happens every year on July 12, when parades are held to commemorate the victory of the protestant William of Orange over the Catholic King James II in the Battle of Boyne (DeZalia and Moescheberger , 2016).

"Agree. The GFA delivers equality to both sections of the community divide" (Interviewee E)

In the question 9 was asked: In terms of Equality in practice, which aspects have been implemented to correct the inequality? Please indicate all that apply: Education, housing, job opportunities, health, other (please list).

All the interviewees have agreed in improvements on all the items. Interviewee E and D included local government and transport respectively.

"*Job opportunities. The concept of equality has to be understood as something beyond the sectarian identity issues. Equality in social and economic terms is still progressing. NI has some of the worst complex health inequalities in Western Europe. Young male protestants in socially disadvantaged areas have the lowest level of educational attainment within the overall population. Progress has been made on gender-based violence prevention and domestic abuse. Educational inequalities still apply across geography and are linked to early childhood inequalities and child poverty. The rights that were denied to people in NI – to*

both Catholics and working-class Protestants- were economic and social rights, manifest by degrees as identity rights in the context of the conflict" (Interviewee A).

According to Cochrane (2013) Northern Ireland had never enjoyed the same benefits from union as citizens in mainland cities like London, Manchester, and Birmingham. While unionists were conscious that they were British, they became increasingly aware that they were not as well-off as their colleagues in the rest of the UK between 1940 and 1950. Attempts by the unionist administration to address this frustration through discriminatory housing and employment practices simply served to emphasize the region's sectarianism even more.

In question ten was asked: Violence was an issue that affected both communities during the conflict. Do you agree that after the GFA, the levels of security have been satisfactory for both communities? With the options to: Strongly agree, Agree, disagree, and strongly disagree, and could you explain your answer?

Surprisingly, three interviewees strongly disagreed, one disagreed and only one interviewee agreed that after the GFA the levels of security have been satisfactorily for both communities. It can be reflected on the explanation of the Independent Report Commission (2020) that unfortunately after 22 years after GFA, the paramilitarism remains a reality of Northern Ireland life in 2020, and it is not acceptable, since it does not express the will of people of Northern Ireland articulated in the GFA in 1998, that violence has no place in politics of Northern Ireland and political viewpoints should be pursued through exclusively democratic and peaceful means. Furthermore, issues such COVID-19 and Brexit in 2020 made it worse.

Disagree. There remains an issue with paramilitarism on both sides and communities in the most socio-economically deprived areas are the most insecure and the most controlled by these gangs (Interviewee A).

Strongly disagree. I think that the challenges are more to do with disenfranchisement and poverty that are the main issues in NI at present. The PSNI are challenged by a residual mistrust within the nationalist community" (Interviewee B).

"Disagree. Policing still has a long way to go in Northern Ireland for it to be regarded as impartial. As an Irish nationalist would I consider joining the Police Service of NI, I would say

NO. As an Irish nationalist do I consider they police equally to both sides of the community divide I would also say a firm NO. And I draw from personal experiences of recent police activity in the community where I originate from" (Interviewee E).

"Strongly agree. The change after the GFA where the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary) changed to the PSNI was a fundamental change required to maintain peace and trust especially for the Nationalist community. The old RUC was mainly protestant, and was seen as the enemy in Nationalist communities along with the British Army. British army patrols with armoured cars were an affront to Nationalists, the situation after the GFA seems to have dramatically changed all that and it's great to see armed British Army patrols are now a thing of the past" (Interviewee D).

In question eleven was asked: On the security aspect, what do you consider is the main GFA contribution?

"Decommissioning" (Interviewee A).

"An end to terrorist violence. However, there is still a lot of sectarians and some extremist violence in NI" (Interviewee B).

It allowed for a "break in fighting" to occur, which gave both sides a period of peace, which they hadn't experienced in decades. When you get a taste of peace, it becomes very hard to return to violence. Also, all the horrible physical barriers such as barbed wire, soldiers on the streets with guns, roads blocked with boulders, and big look-out towers were all dismantled, which allowed everyone in NI to experience normality for the first time in decades" (Interviewee C).

"The establishment of the PSNI, the removal of paramilitary militias and ultimately guns and bombs from the politics of Northern Ireland" (Interviewee D)

"The RUC were essentially rebranded to the PSNI. However, it remains overwhelmingly disproportionate in terms of it make up – it is a protestant police force" (Interviewee E).

In question twelve was asked: In terms of power sharing, throughout the new political framework brought by the GFA, do you think that political power is satisfactorily well shared by nationalist and unionists?

"Yes. While power is shared, it does not follow that good government is the effect. Policy decisions are ransom to sectarian party-political considerations and always have been in the history of this Stormont Admin since GFA" (Interviewee A)

According to Fenton (2017), by the time power-sharing was restored in 2007, the fortunes of the parties had altered, and the UUP and SDLP had sunk in the polls, being replaced by the DUP as the largest unionist party and Sinn Fein as the largest nationalist party. One of the saddest ironies of the peace process is that the two parties that did the most to negotiate it were shortly voted out by the people of the institutions they had helped to create, only to be replaced by those who opposed or threatened to undermine power-sharing.

"No. I feel like the unionists (mainly due to Brexit) have repeatedly caused the break down on the executive due to their refusal to engage with the Power Sharing Executive if they feel it doesn't fit their agenda. Meanwhile, health care and jobs and moving out of poverty is of more concern to most people than partisan politics" (Interviewee B).

"Yes. Compared to the situation before the GFA and now, there has been a massive change in the political landscape. Power sharing has worked we have had many years of peace and stable government in Northern Ireland, it's not perfect and it will have challenges ahead, if Sinn Fein becoming the Majority in the Assembly of Northern Ireland, how will Unionists react? Brexit and the pressure that has brought to the delicate situation in Northern Ireland" (Interviewee D)

"No. The partition of concern has been misused by the DUP in the past to prevent equal marriage, Irish language act, abortion rights etc" (Interviewee E).

In question thirteen was asked: Did the GFA enable structures for people of both communities to democratically choose their representatives in the Stormont Assembly?

All the interviewees responded *yes* to this question, which means they very much approve of this democratic system, contrary to what was before.

Northern Ireland did not operate on modern democratic principles of one vote per person, instead using a number of conditions on votes in order to further disenfranchise Catholics. Voting in local governments was open only to ratepayers and their spouses, as a result, only homeowners and their wives could vote. Therefore, unionist politicians sought to limit

Catholics access to housing in order to ensure the 'correct people' received homes and the democratic rights that came with them (Fenton, 2018; Farren, 2018).

"Yes. STV (single transferable vote) was introduced and this is the most democratic form of electoral system that exists" (Interviewee A).

"Yes. You can vote for whomever you want, would like to see NI move away from Nationalism/Unionism" (Interviewee B).

"Yes. It enhanced the democratic process giving both sides confidence in their local government rather than direct rule from Britain or unstable local government in Stormont in the past where there had been equality and fair representation failures" (Interviewee D).

In question fourteen was asked: Have both communities been well represented by their respective party?

"No. I have a problem with references to 'both communities. NI is much, much more diverse than that and continuing to present it as a matter of two communities does not take account of how it has changed and that there are other forms of representation which are cross-community. To check theory about the population, change over last year's it's no more Catholics and Protestants" (Interviewee A).

The interviewee A is referring to the demography change in the Northern Ireland. The results of the 2011 Census showed 45% of population described themselves with Catholic community background, whilst 48% of the population have Protestant community background, and 7% other community background. For example, 10% of Northern Ireland births in 2013 were from mothers neither Ireland nor UK, around half these children were born to parents from 'A8' (Eastern European' EU) countries and half from 'all other countries (Bell and Duchan, 2016, p.25).

"No. The DUP have held the education portfolio for a number of years. One of the major problems with the education sector is that there is a significant and growing number of young people leaving school with little or no educational attainment, and essentially this is a problem among young protestant boys. The NI educational sector still maintains academic selection at aged 11 and many academics, policy analysts etc highlight that academic selection is to blame for this inequality. The DUP advocate for academic selection. In short they are letting their own people down" (Interviewee E).

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Last question was asked: In general terms, how would you analyse the GFA? Was it the beginning of lasting peace process? Or is it a work in progress?

On this question all the interviewees responded that GFA is a work in progress.

"*Work in progress – a good start but more to do" (Interviewee A).*

"*Work in progress. Really important that it isn't eroded and Brexit has had very damaging effect here" (Interviewee B).*

"*It is most definitely a work in progress. There are a lot of lessons to be learned from this still to be learned, and a lot of adjusting of ideas that still need to happen. For example, many people still feel that those who perpetrated violence on their communities were never brought to justice, and not everyone was happy about the release of political prisoners. Many victims of violence during this dark period feel that they have never received justice, and those who were responsible for this violence, never served their time in prison, as they were all released under the terms of the GFA"*

"*It is a work in progress and will face many challenges in the near future, with Brexit and the demand from Sinn Fein for a border poll on a united Ireland. Also, the population dynamics are changing where the Nationalists may become the majority" (Interviewee D).*

"*It was the most significant political agreement that has been reached in my lifetime but it is essentially a work in progress. The outworkings of Brexit has huge implications for the GFA and for the peace process in Northern Ireland. The co guarantors of the GFA i.e. the British and Irish governments are failing the people of NI by operating a laissez faire attitude which as I write will lead to political stale mate in the north where the latest election will not lead to the re- establishment of the NI assembly" (Interviewee E).*

Chapter 4- Data Analysis /Findings

There were three main objectives of this research study throughout the qualitative analyses of the data and linking to the existent theory on the analysis of the Northern Ireland Conflict. The first objective is an exploration of what are the main elements of need theory that align with the causes of conflict in the Northern Ireland Conflict, the second whether Need Theory as an approach can be applied to an analysis of the resolution of the Northern Ireland

Conflict, and the third one is to explore the role of British/Irish governments, Nationalists-Catholic and Unionist -Protestant groups in the negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement.

Firstly, reflecting on the peace process of the Northern Ireland Conflict, and how Irish and British governments are historically deeply connected with the conflicting groups, and throughout the process, since their relations narrowed after their ingress into the EU followed the agreements Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985), and specifically, Downing Street Declaration (1993) already brought the consideration of the two traditions should be respected. It is stated in interviewee A's view:

"Yes. Also, important to note that EU membership was the context within which the idea of dual citizenship/multiple identities could be explored" (Interviewee A).

This crucial identification, that there were two distinct groups with different identities is the main link with BHNs theory, and according to BHNs Burton's (1990) approach is the source of deep-rooted conflicts, because Identity need is a key part of this theory. Need theory is in turn built on Henry Tajfel Social identity theory (1970) that is conceived and born as a theory of intergroup relations, conflict and cooperation between groups. Group behavior is tied to the psychological representation or social identity of the group (Martiny and Rubin, 2016). Thus, when in the end of 1960 when the conflict broke out due to Human Rights movements, the people that made up this group were Catholics/Nationalists background that challenged the system. They redefined the demands - they were not demanding the old mantra to unite with Republic of Ireland, but rather they were highlighting their rights as British citizens, rights for job opportunities, housing, voting, they redefined their values. Hogg (2016) writes about low-status groups engaging in social creativity, which includes behaviors directed at redefining the social value of their groups and their attributes, as well as attempts to avoid (upward) comparisons with higher-status groups and instead engage in (lateral or downward) comparisons with groups lower on the social dominance hierarchy.

Thus, according to Identity theory, trying a harmonic solution to such merging groups, according to Prentice and Miller (1999) cited in Hogg (2016) it is not simple, it can be very difficult to achieve or sustain, people are often strongly attached to their social category membership and associated identity; there is a deep "cultural divide" between groups. Thus, it is clear that Identity need was the main cause of the conflict, because it was stemmed from the irreconcilable perspective of the formation of the Northern Ireland entity. One group

with Irish/Catholic identity did not recognize Northern Ireland, whilst another group who associated with a British/Protestant identity, did not want to be part of a free Ireland. It verified that the agreement has had this cornerstone beforehand was an essential condition to parties came into an agreement and it can be associated with BHNs Theory approach.

One of the main issues that agreement brings is in Strand 1 power-sharing. In the past the politic system was dominated by unionists, even the Catholics/nationalist did not recognize the political system, they did have representativity on the system, and according to BHNs theory, which is embedded humanist philosophy, therefore an essential mechanism for effecting humanism is participatory democracy, in which individuals have involvement in decisions which directly affect them. The need for 'meaning' called by Sites (1990) that is human basic need that human being requires to have some control over the social world that we are in, because people's selves and interactions are based on these social constructs, when these are threatened by others, the world and self-constructions cease to make sense, and people become angered. On the other hand, analyzing the Unionist/Protestants face of the conflict, when their social construction of the world was threatened, they felt fear, and it can be associated with need for security. Thus, when needs for meaning is denied for a group in this case Catholics/Nationalist in Northern Ireland, it was identified as one of the causes of this conflict. It can be verified where all the interviewees have agreed on that GFA enabled structures for people of both communities to democratically choose their representatives in the Stormont Assembly.

"Yes. STV (single transferable vote) was introduced and this is the most democratic form of electoral system that exists" (Interviewee A).

"Yes. You can vote for whomever you want, would like to see NI move away from Nationalism/Unionism" (Interviewee B).

"Yes. It enhanced the democratic process giving both sides confidence in their local government rather than direct rule from Britain or unstable local government in Stormont in the past where there had been equality and fair representation failures" (Interviewee D).

On the aspect of security need, it can be analyzed that both sides had this need, however it can be more explicit expressed in unionists during the conflict, when the Human Rights movements started, they regarded the civil rights movement as a carefully orchestrated front, a 'Trojan Horse' for a political attack by Irish republicans on the Northern Ireland

system of democracy and an attempt to undermine its credibility in Britain and elsewhere (Cochrane ,2013). Thus, with the GFA has brough beforehand the "consent" principle- with regard the Northern Ireland status, which gave the right for Northern Ireland people through the democratic means to choose if they want continue attached to Britain or change its status to be attached to Republic of Ireland, consequently, which implied Irish to change its Constitution law, which claimed sovereign over all Ireland. According to Farrington, (2006; cited in Mitchell (2015) it was the best antidote to the unionist insecurity.

"It was crucial to get Unionists on board, but had the effect of destroying many Nationalists' hopes of a united Ireland. Many argued that a century of armed struggles was all in vain. To this day, the people of NI have never had the opportunity of voting democratically to assert their view as to whether they wish to remain with Britain or become a united Ireland" (Interviewee C)

 Indeed, their response to the Human Rights movement affected negatively with scalation of the conflict, it can be interpreted by BHNs as fear and need for security, and they needed security to keep their identity preserved, with a fear of becoming part of a country that would be majority Catholic/nationalist. Conversely, due to the response of the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary) which was a protestant/unionist police force which used aggressive force to contain those Human Rights Movements, along with the arrival of the British army, consequently the Catholics/Nationalists community was in fear and needed security. In addition, with the violence being polarized to extremist paramilitaries, security became a need of two communities. The parallel with the interview questions about security, three out of five strongly disagree and one disagrees that security levels improved after GFA, might be because of paramilitary dissidents' groups still existing in Northern Ireland. However, according to the Report Commission (2020) that is not to imply that no progress has been made toward a resolution. Comparatively, in terms of context, the situation has vastly improved since the Troubles. It's also a far change from the situation in the early years after the ceasefires when emotions remained high and it was not obvious whether violence had ended for good or could return. On the other hand, on the question of what is the main contribution of GFA, in terms of security, four out of five have given a positive answer such as decommissioning, the end of terrorism, and the rebranding of the RUC to the PSNI (Police Service Northern Ireland). On this aspect of Security need associated with fear, with scalation of the conflict going to paramilitaries extreme, is a need of both communities, and

with GFA enabling mechanisms such as the first ceasefire condition to parties that were connected with paramilitaries to participate in the talks, decommissioning and police reform. Therefore, on this aspect security need can be associated with BHNs Theory.

There are various notions and principles that are complimentary to Need Theory in the domains of humanistic psychology and applied social psychology (Avruch and Mitchell, 2013), and humanism is committed to democracy and social equality. Therefore, it was inquired in the interview questions if in terms of equality in practice, which aspects have been implemented to correct the inequality and to indicate, education, housing, job opportunities, health, or other. All the interviewees have agreed that there have been improvements on all the items. Interviewee E and D included local government and transport respectively. It is interesting that the conflict was sparked by a group of Catholics/nationalists along with some liberal Protestants in the Human Rights Movement where the agenda was over housing, voting rights, jobs opportunities, at least it was from outset. Cochrane (2013, p.35) pointed out that for most 1940s and all of the 1950, in Northern Ireland the unionist leadership did not make little secret of their sympathies or their priorities. On the context of economic hardship and rising unemployment, the political discourse of that time was "not employ Roman Catholics, 99 per cent of whom are disloyal". It can be verified that in terms of equality- better economic condition such as opportunities in job markets it extended to working class in general, under the perspective that Northern Ireland had not been receiving the same treatment by British government in terms of economic investments to development as British cities like London, Manchester, and Birmingham. Furthermore, attempts by the unionist administration to address this frustration through discriminatory housing and employment practices simply served to emphasize the region's sectarianism even more. (Cochrane, 2013). It is very well illustrated by Interviewee A: "*The rights that were denied to people in NI – to both Catholics and working-class Protestants- were economic and social rights, manifest by degrees as identity rights in the context of the conflict" (Interviewee A*).

It is clearly identified that social inequalities, which can be associated with distributive justice need or welfare need, were the causes of conflict in Northern Ireland, the political system under unionists' administration did not provided equality or did not enable the structures to meet the needs of Northern Ireland society. Thus, with the settlement the GFA addressed the equality issues and enabled structures to further development of the equality, for example in the GFA (1998, p,19) "'Rights Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity - (iii)

measures in employment equality in the recent White Paper ('Partnership for Equality') and covering the extension and strengthening of anti-discrimination legislation, a review of national security aspects of the present fair employment legislation at the earliest time, a new more focused Targeting Social Need initiative and a range of measures aimed at combating the unemployment and progressively eliminating the differential in unemployment rates between the two communities by targeting objective need". As a result, this approach can align to BHNs Theory approach.

During the analysis of the Northern Ireland Conflict, it was realized that one of the foremost events that certainly created conditions for the peace process had started, after many failed attempts, in 1973 – the Irish Republic and Britain membership of the European Union (EU). Laffan (2002) states the choice to join the EU By Irish republic and Britain, was the most important decision made in terms of foreign policy, in the postwar period. The EU political arena created the condition whereby Northern Ireland could be represented in the international arena in the EP (European Parliament), which elections were every five years. Since the first direct election in 1979, John Hume of the SDLP and Ian Paisley of DUP represented Northern Ireland (Laffan, 2002). In this political arena particularly, the nationalist John Hume played important role in the peace process, lobbying with both Irish and British governments, also, in the international arena, especially looking for support with United States, which is home to a substantial Irish diaspora (McKittrick and McVea 2002; Gollan 2017). Which is supported by views of interviewee D and E:

"*On the ground in Northern Ireland, and in the United States John Hume and the SDLP was making successful overtones to the Government and local politicians in the United States Senate and Congress to get their input into a peace deal and to ultimately back such a plan and put pressure on the British Government to talk to the Nationalists and the Government of the South. Also, Sinn Fein were able to negotiate with the Provisional IRA to agree to a cessation of violence to further the cause of peace, Gerry Adams was a key player. Mo Mowlam the Labour Minister for Northern Ireland was also a key player as well as Bertie Ahern the Fianna Fail Taoiseach in the South*" (Interviewee D).

"*The momentum for the NI peace process came from a priest in Clonnard church, West Belfast and John Hume from the SDLP reaching out to Gerry Adams Sinn Fein and the IRA to commence peace talks (Interviewee E).*

When the moderate nationalist voice John Hume started talking with Sinn Fein's leader Gerry Adams, they had been in secret (though periodic) dialogue for five years between 1988 and 1993 (Mitchell, 2015; Ingraham, 1998, Cochrane, 2013). Sinn Fein had connections with provisional IRA the extremist part of nationalists, who was connected with terrorists' attacks. Meanwhile, these conditions were created, it was strengthened when British Prime Minister John Major took office, and his subsequent substitute Blair, it is verified a positive factor of willingness to the peace process, who demonstrated willingness to talk with extremist part of nationalists. Of course, it was a process and it had many forwards and backward in the negotiations with extremist part of nationalist, since they were resistant to ceasefire, which was a condition for Sinn Fein to enter into multi-party talks. According to Cochrane (2013) 1991-92, the British were trying to encourage public constitutional talks between unionists and nationalists (though Sinn Fein was excluded because of lack of an IRA ceasefire), as well as to build diplomatic relations with Irish government. Privately, they were in contact with Sinn Fein and the IRA through a secret back channel managed for them By M16, without the knowledge of Irish government or the SDLP or the main unionists' parties. Conversely, the Irish government for its part, had also established a separate set of secret contacts with both republican and loyalist paramilitaries. Otherwise, it could not have advanced, even more the violence of the terrorists' attacks seems fight between the extremists' parts of the two communities who did not demonstrate the voice of most members of the two communities, who were losing loved ones, for example in1993 the IRA attack the target was UFFs' leader, but they missed their target and killed Saturday shoppers instead, in Shankill Street, and one week after in a bomb attack in retaliation, UFF killed eight people in Derry's pub. In 1993 Over twenty people had been killed in the space of a week, and with media repercussion it ironically, perhaps, accelerate the formal political process, they recognize the weight of responsibility in their shoulders and the human cost that would result if they should fail. As a result, British and Irish governments came up with important underpin pre-negotiation agreement Downing Street Declaration on 15 December 1993 (Cochrane, 2013). According to Manserg (1999) "most important events in the history have multiple causes and the Irish peace process is no exception".

Chapter 5- discussion

This research study has the objective to explore the main elements of need theory that align with the causes of conflict with a particular focus on Northern Ireland Conflict. In addition,

whether Need Theory as an approach to conflict resolution can be applied to the analysis to the Northern Ireland conflict resolution, also to explore the role of British/Irish governments, Nationalists-Catholic and Unionist -Protestant groups in the negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement. These objectives are hoped to achieve through an analysis of the conflict itself and the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) in the Northern Ireland Conflict - the pre-negotiation between the political multi- parties, British and Irish Governments.

As a coin that has two faces, this analysis as well as has two faces of an approach, that is the BHNs approach, where one side resides the causes of conflict on another side are the solutions. Thus, it clearly was verified that Identity need was the primary cause of the Northern Ireland Conflict because it stemmed from the irreconcilable perspective of the formation of the Northern Ireland entity. One group with an Irish/Catholic identity did not recognize Northern Ireland, whilst another group who associated with a British/Protestant identity due to the heritage of British colonization have brought English settlers to Ulster's plantations in the 16th century, did not want to be part of a free Ireland. Also, is verified that the agreement has had this cornerstone beforehand recognizing that two communities as two different distinct cultural groups where an essential condition to parties came into an agreement, which is implied that identity needs as a non-negotiated need and can be associated with BHNs Theory approach.

Findings that are in respect of need for meaning (Sites, 1990) that was denied for a group, in this case Catholics/Nationalist in Northern Ireland, it was identified as one of the causes of this conflict. The Catholic/nationalists did not have political representativity, which is according to BHNs a cause of conflict, because as human beings we need to have some control in the social construction of the world we live. If it is denied it can cause anger, also secondary emotions such as shame and guilt, which are also a cause of conflict. It can be reinforced by all the interviewees who have agreed that the GFA enabled structures for people of both communities to democratically choose their representatives in the Stormont Assembly. It perhaps does not mean a good governance, as was expressed by some interviewees:

"While power is shared, it does not follow that good government is the effect. Policy decisions are ransom to sectarian party-political considerations and always have been in the history of this Stormont Admin since GFA" (Interviewee A)

However, the Catholic/nationalists had opportunity to choose their representants and now feel that they have are having an impact on their society. Which can be realised in some interviewee perspectives related to the changes in political context, from 2007 the two big party representatives of two communities had polarized to extreme DUP and Sinn Féin. According to Fenton (2017), by the time power-sharing was restored in 2007, the fortunes of the parties had altered, and the UUP and SDLP had sunk in the polls, being replaced by the DUP as the largest unionist party and Sinn Fein as the largest nationalist party, which is one of the saddest ironies of the peace process is that the two parties that did the most to negotiate it were shortly voted out by the people of the institutions they had helped to create, only to be replaced by those who opposed or threatened to undermine power-sharing (Mitchell, 2015).

On the other hand, in a recent poll in Northern Ireland, for the first time ever, Sinn Fein won the most seats, 101 years after Northern Ireland came into existence (Sproule, 2022). Furthermore, following the trends of the three last elections the moderate party Alliance from the 5th position in the 2017 elections recently, in the last pool, the Alliance Party is the third position in seats in Stormont Assembly. The cause of these results might be because of the hard-line position kept by major Unionists, DUP, against the Ireland Protocol, which is a mechanism that was created to protect the relations of the two Irelands, as a result, to protect the GFA, also the position against some bills, as expressed by Interviewee E:

 "The partition concern has been misused by the DUP in the past to prevent equal marriage, Irish language act, abortion rights etc" (Interviewee E).

On the aspect of security need, the findings are that the insecurity felt by the unionists, to be part of a country where whole majority people are catholic/nationalists, it can be seen as one of the causes of the conflict, where they were all the time keeping try to protected the system of dominance by themselves, and another group were fighting for change on the system, but on the other hand, with escalation of the conflict going to paramilitarism extremists the security became a need of both communities. Consequently, with GFA enabling mechanisms and bringing security, such as: firstly, paramilitary groups ceasefire condition to parties that were connected with paramilitaries to participate of the talks, decommissioning and police reform, all these measures are linked to resolution of the conflict can be associated with BHNs Theory.

It can be verified that in terms of equality, the conflict was over inequalities, where the Catholics/nationalists community was discriminated in jobs opportunities, housing, and voting rights, along with reconfiguration of the discourse of the Human Rights Movement that comparatively Northern Ireland has not been treated the same by the British government in terms of economic investments to development as British cities like London, Manchester, and Birmingham. Furthermore, attempts by the unionist administration to address this frustration through discriminatory housing and employment practices simply served to emphasize the region's sectarianism even more (Cochrane, 2013). In 1998 when the GFA, provided the provision to address this inequality "Targeting Social Need initiative and a range of measures aimed at combating the unemployment and progressively eliminating the differential in unemployment rates between the two communities by targeting objective need" (Good Friday Agreement, 1998, p.19). Surely after 24 years of GFA, the rates of inequalities have changed. Which was highlighted by interviewee E related the growth of young people leaving school, and that is particularly a problem among protestant boys. *"The DUP have held the education portfolio for a number of years. One of the major problems with the education sector is that there is a significant and growing number of young people leaving school with little or no educational attainment, and essentially this is a problem among young protestant boys (Interviewee E).*

Furthermore, the demographic population of Northern Ireland is changing - the result of the 2011 Census is 7% 'other community backgrounds. For example, 10% of Northern Ireland births in 2013 were from mothers from neither Ireland nor the UK, around half of these children were born to parents from 'A8' (Eastern European' EU) countries and a half from 'all other countries (Bell and Duchan,2016, p.25), which shows that measures to correct inequalities need to addresses the society as a whole. Therefore, equality is intrinsically linked to BHNs approach, and can be linked to social justice need or welfare needs.

In exploration of role of British/Irish governments, Nationalists-Catholic and Unionist - Protestant groups in the negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement, it's verified that both governments played an important role in the resolution of this conflict, and Eu membership provided a political arena to narrow the relationship between Irish and British governments, along with the John Hume in the EP, who pushed the process the peace forward advocating and creating political willingness for the Northern Ireland Conflict resolution. Particularly, John Hume starting the talks with the Sinn Fein' leader who in same way was connected

with IRA extremists' nationalists to move to political arena, also the governments in same way open to talk with the extremists' militaries of both sides. And the unionist David Trimble to open to negotiate, although many unionists' politicians were against the GFA.

It is recognized the limitations of this research study to have robust findings, taking into account the size of sample of people interviewed. For example, in terms of equality the perceptions of the interviewed cannot be generalized but it can point out to interpretations and it can accommodate BHNs Theory approach also as a perception of the cause of the conflict. The research acknowledges more research is needed related to basic human needs in Northern Ireland post conflict if what was agreed in the GFA in terms of security, equality has been implemented, perhaps in a more focused perspective, since this research study the objective was an analysis within BHNs Theory approach.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research study where the main objective was to align the main elements of the need theory to the causes of the Northern Ireland Conflict, and whether the need theory can be applied as an approach to the analysis of the Northern Ireland Conflict. Throughout this research was verified that conflict was generated from different perspectives over Northern Ireland constitution, Catholics/nationalists connected with Irish/Catholics identity, and Protestants/Unionists connected with British/Protestants identity. Therefore, Identity need is the link that connects BHNs to deep-rooted conflicts, identity is the primary cause of the Northern Ireland Conflict, and the GFA has brought this condition beforehand it implies that this need is non-negotiable as it is underpinned by identity theory that groups are very attached to their psychological group identity, the cultural divide it is too strong that the groups are not able to negotiate over the identity need. The need for meaning is associated with Catholics/nationalists did not have representativity on political government, along with distributive justice need, that is associated with equality, the conflict was over inequalities against Catholics/nationalists community, security needs that is associate with Protestants/unionists afraid of losing their connection with Britain, also with the escalation of the conflict going to paramilitaries groups violence, these needs both communities had. These basic human needs when ignored by the governments and not met are causes of conflict. It is concluded that the BHNs approach can be applied to the analysis of Northern Ireland Conflict resolution.

The role of the Irish and British governments throughout the process as negotiators and co-guarantors, but at the same time creating space for the dialogue among the political parties' representatives of both communities, is acknowledged. Also, John Hume an advocate in the EP, and his talks with nationalists' extremists to come to the political arena along with unionist's leader David Trimble being open to negotiation, all these conditions were necessary to get the GFA.

Reflection

Reflecting on the process of development of the research study since the beginning there were many considerations, for example, the feeling of fear and insecurity, that the length is too long and writing in a second language is not easy. Also, time is a very important factor - I needed to conciliate with my job. I believe this is the crucial factor for most of the students, since most of us are students and workers. Also, the abdication of social life, I had to say no to friends and boyfriends' invitations to go out, even limitations to talk with the family. All these circumstances are arduous, but with focus and step by step, I followed. Of course, the motivation and guidance of my supervisor were an enormous incentive to go forward. After all, the readings and writing of literature review and developing of interview questions another difficult phase, to find people to interview I confess it was hard, and when I got the interviews another complex phase, the mental tiring was a giant for me to correlate the theory to primary data, and to write and write again to tease out what I have written.

I am only writing about the difficulties, however, surely it was very pleasant to know more about the Northern Ireland conflict, because in the past I always wondered why this small country is divided, how a part of Irish people can consider themselves as British. Even when I have been in Northern Ireland some places have the British flag flying or when I have been in Belfast and I did the Black Taxi tour how still a demographic division still exists. Also, I remembered in1980s or 1990s the media in Brazil showed news about IRA terrorist attacks, at that time until to start this course, particularly in the second semester of Advanced Mediation Theory subject I learned about identity conflicts, because before I found like most people that it is a religious conflict. Thus, because of all this, I chose this topic to research. In addition, I wanted to know more about the need theory approach applied to conflict resolution. I consider that the learning process is hard sometimes I need to put a lot of effort

on it into understanding theoretical concepts and making connections from them, I mean in a more practical way.

To conclude, as a whole the learning process throughout the research study development was very useful, surely, I developed my analytics skills by comparing the BHNs approach to the Northern Ireland conflict, also analysing the actors' role in the conflict, identifying the cause of this conflict within the HBNs approach, also I have expanded in general my knowledge of deep-rooted conflict resolution.

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Transcript of interviews

In the third question was asked: Have you any feelings about the results of the GFA that you would like to share?

Interviewee A

"Strand 3 needs to be further developed as a template for guaranteeing of rights not only in NI but within the signatory states to the Agreement

Strand 1 has had the effect of institutionalising sectarian identity politics and empowering this division to an extent that it has restricted the effectiveness of normal Government in NI, from time to time."

Interviewee B

"The GFA was signed when I was 20, and had a positive effect from my perspective as it signalled a formal end to the troubles following the ceasefire in 1994."

Interviewee C

"Irish people in the republic were coerced by the Irish Gov into voting to let go of Articles 2 &3 of our constitutions, with very strong public campaigns like "Vote YES for PEACE". In other words, if you voted NO you were "against peace", which is absurd. Most people had no idea of the contents of Articles 2&3, which was deliberately not explained in lay-man's terms, so that people would vote YES".

Interviewee D

"Good Friday Agreement has brought unsurpassed benefits to Northern Ireland especially a peaceful settlement to centuries of sectarian wars. It was the most important event of the 20th Century in Ireland to deliver peace to the island of Ireland. It also removed the Republic of Ireland's 'claim' to the 6 counties of Northern Ireland from the Irish Constitution. The Irish Constitution before that claimed the island of Ireland as its territory."

Interviewee E

"The Good Friday agreement was a historical moment in the history of Northern Ireland and it must be protected as we cannot go back to what existed prior to the agreement".

In the question 4 was asked: At the beginning of the negotiations, there was a recognition by parties, particularly British and Irish governments, that the conflict was an issue based on two conflicting ethnic identities, and any solutions should respect both traditions. Do you consider that this was one of the foremost conditions to achieve an agreement? Yes or No and could you give the reasons.

Interviewee A

"Yes. Also, important to note that EU membership was the context within which the idea of dual citizenship/multiple identities could be explored. Devolution within the UK was also a crucial condition which made the Agreement possible."

Interviewee B

"No. From my perspective, the ethnic identities were not really that conflicting, in fact both sides are coming from similarly entrenched ideologies which were politicised. The situation in NI and the troubles were a direct consequence of the colonisation of Ireland by England. While people might have identified as Nationalist/Unionist/Catholic/Protestant, we in fact all have a shared northern European heritage and culture. The finer divisions of this were exploited.

Interviewee C

"Yes. The GFA came with guarantees of massive investment into Northern Ireland (NI) which were too important to ignore.

Interviewee D

"Yes. The recognition of both sides and their political and ethnic identities were an important factor in bringing about an agreement. The republicans had for the first time an opportunity to be fully represented in a power sharing structure in Government and local government levels. The unionists were assured the sectarian war would cease and the para-militaries on both sides would end their violence. The nationalist for years had been discriminated in both areas of jobs and housing and this was a turning point. The British Government was also seen as more favourable to the loyalist side and had excluded any major contribution from the Republic of Ireland's government in trying to find a settlement. The GFA changed all that."

Interviewee E

Yes, but not necessarily religion. It was about nationality and how people perceived themselves as being either Irish or British.

On the question five was asked: The 'consent principle was at the core of the GFA, recognising the legitimacy of whatever choice was freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland with regard to its status, whether they preferred to continue to support the union with Great Britain or a sovereign united Ireland'. Which implicated to the Republic of Ireland to take out the 2 and 3 articles of its Constitution, where the Republic claimed sovereignty over all of Ireland. Do you believe that this principle and its implication was another crucial, but possible tricky condition because it put aside the hope of a United Ireland?

Interviewee A

No. I don't agree with the notion that it put aside the hope of a United Ireland. Removal of Articles 2 and 3 removed a territorial claim to NI. Two different things.

Interviewee B

"No. I think ultimately time will decide and the current DUP attitudes towards the GFA due to Brexit, may see some seismic change in the next few years, but I am not sure that will mean a united Ireland".

Interviewee C

"It was crucial to get Unionists on board, but had the effect of destroying many Nationalists' hopes of a united Ireland. Many argued that a century of armed struggles were all in vain.To this day, the people of NI have never had the opportunity of voting democratically to assert their view as to whether they wish to remain with Britain or become a united Ireland."

Interviewee D

"Yes. By changing the constitution citizens of the republic of Ireland for the first time were recognising the legal entity of Northern Ireland. This appeased many unionists and helped pave the way towards peace. It aggravated many nationalists both North and South even though it delayed the vision held by many of a United Ireland… it was a price worth paying for a peaceful settlement, and ultimately through the referendum held in the South and in the GFA itself it did establish a framework for a solution."

Interviewee E

"Yes, but it only removed the hope of a United Ireland for the immediate and medium time and committed to a border pole to be held in the event that a majority of people were likely to vote for a united Ireland."

On the question 6 was asked: Were there other interests that brought the parties: British Government, Irish Government, Nationalist/Republican and Unionist/Loyalist to come to an

agreement after 30 years of conflict and many frustrated attempts? Was the macro political environment favourable? Did the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots)? Did the initiative come meanly from nationalists/republican politicians? Did the initiative come mainly from unionist/loyalist Politicians? Could you give reasons for your answer?

Interviewee A

a) (yes) Was the macro political environment favourable?

b) (yes) Did the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots)?

c) (no) Did the initiative come meanly from nationalists/republican politicians?

d) (no) Did the initiative come mainly from unionist/loyalist Politicians?

     Could you give reasons for your answer?

Interviewee B

a) (x) Was the macro political environment favourable?

b) (x) Did the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots)?

c) (x) Did the initiative come meanly from nationalists/republican politicians?

d) (x) Did the initiative come mainly from unionist/loyalist Politicians?

Could you give reasons for your answer? I think it was a conflagration of all of the above.

Interviewee C

a) (x) Was the macro political environment favourable?

 b) ( ) Did the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots)?

c) ( ) Did the initiative come meanly from nationalists/republican politicians?

d) ( ) Did the initiative come mainly from unionist/loyalist Politicians?

 NI was costing the British taxpayer enormous amounts of money to maintain in terms of policing, and with the opportunity of outside investment from the US etc., (on condition that fighting must first stop) was a powerful persuader for groups to agree to lay down their arms

Interviewee D

a) (   ) Was the macro political environment favourable?

b) (   ) Did the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots)?

c) (x) Did the initiative come meanly from nationalists/republican politicians?

d) (x) Did the initiative come mainly from unionist/loyalist Politicians?

On the ground in Northern Ireland, and in the United States John Hume and the SDLP was making successful overtones to the Government and local politicians in the United States Senate and Congress to get their input into a peace deal and to ultimately back such a plan and put pressure on the British Government to talk to the Nationalists and the Government of the South. Also, certain unionist politicians like David Trimble and the UUP were also open to a peace framework. Also, Sinn Fein were able to negotiate with the Provisional IRA to agree to a cessation of violence to further the cause of peace, Gerry Adams was a key player. Mo Mowlam the Labour Minister for Northern Ireland was also a key player as well as Bertie Ahern the Fianna Fail Taoiseach in the South.

Interviewee E

a) (X) Was the macro political environment favourable?

b) (X) Did the initiative come from the communities (grass-roots)?

c) (X) Did the initiative come meanly from nationalists/republican politicians?

The momentum for the NI peace process came from a priest in Clonnard church, West Belfast and John Hume from the SDLP reaching out to Gerry Adams Sinn Fein and the IRA

to commence peace talks. With Tony Blair Labour being voted in to lead the UK the peace talks gathered momentum and Mr Blair threw his support behind the initiative. It was only after all these important conditions in place that the unionist politicians entered into negotiations and remember not all unionist politicians took part in and agreed with the GFA.

In the question 7 was asked: "GFA has been addressing the needs particularly the complaint community (in this case Nationalist/Catholics) in terms of equality?" How do you feel about this statement? With the options to: Strongly agree, Agree, disagree, and strongly disagree

Could you explain your answer?

Interviewee A

"Agree and disagree. I disagree with the idea of presenting one community as a complaint community. This runs counter to the spirit and basis of the Agreement, in my view. I do agree that the GFA addressed the issue of equality and human rights and embedded the need for equality screening of all public decision making and policy into law. Very few places in Europe have such a provision of a legal basis for horizontal humanitarian and human rights principles".

Interviewee B

Could you explain your answer? "I am not sure about this really".

Interviewee C

Agree.

Interviewee D

"Agree. The equality issue was a massive road block to peace in Northern Ireland. For over 60 years there was terrible inequality for Nationalists in the areas of housing, jobs and

education. The GFA has certainly improved this but there is still a large sectarian divide especially in education. The GFA has established power sharing which has given successful local government to the unionist and nationalist community."

Interviewee E

"Agree, but not all the outworkings of the GFA and subsequent agreements have been implemented, in particular an Irish language act. The GFA did provide the right for the nationalist community to identify as Irish and lead to better equality in the workforce."

In the question 8 was asked: "GFA has been addressing the needs of Unionist/Protestants community in terms of equality?" How do you feel about this statement? With the options to: Strongly agree, Agree, disagree, and strongly disagree.

Could you explain your answer?

Interviewee A

Agree.

Interviewee B

" As above. Not sure it has ensured equality. I think that would have happened any way."

Interviewee C

Agree.

Interviewee D

"Strongly agree. The main issue of equality was not a problem for the Unionist community, but recognition and respect for their traditions I think has improved. Marches, which were flashpoints for violence seemed to have decreased considerably. The GFA has established

power sharing which has given successful local government to the unionist and nationalist community."

Interviewee E

"Agree. The GFA delivers equality to both sections of the community divide."

In the question 9 was asked: In terms of Equality in practice, which aspects have been implemented to correct the inequality? Please indicate all that apply: Education, housing, job opportunities, health, other (please list).

Interviewee A

"Job opportunities. The concept of equality has to be understood as something beyond the sectarian identity issues. Equality in social and economic terms is still progressing. NI has some of the worst complex health inequalities in Western Europe. Young male protestants in socially disadvantaged areas have the lowest level of educational attainment within the overall population. Progress has been made on gender-based violence prevention and domestic abuse. Educational inequalities still apply across geography and are linked to early childhood inequalities and child poverty. The rights that were denied to people in NI – to both Catholics and working class Protestants- were economic and social rights, manifest by degrees as identity rights in the context of the conflict."

Interviewee B

"I don't think that inequalities between the nationalist/unionists have been addressed via the GAF. I feel like that was happening anyway."

Interviewee C

a) (x) Education b) (x) housing c) (x) Job opportunities d) (x) Health

Interviewee D

(x) Education (x) housing (x) Job opportunities (x) Health (x) Local Government (x) Policing

Interviewee E

(X) Education (X) housing (X) Job opportunities (X) Health (X) Other (x)

Transport

In question ten was asked: Violence was an issue that affected both communities during the conflict. Do you agree that after the GFA, the levels of security have been satisfactory for both communities? With the options to: Strongly agree, Agree, disagree, and strongly disagree

Could you explain your answer?

Interviewee A

Disagree.There remains an issue with paramilitarism on both sides and communities in the most socio-economically deprived areas are the most insecure and the most controlled by these gangs.

Interviewee B

Strongly disagree. Could you explain your answer? I think that the challenges are more to do with disenfranchisement and poverty that are the main issues in NI at present. The PSNI are challenged by a residual mistrust within the nationalist community.

Interviewee C

"Strongly disagree. Domestic violence rose sharply in both communities, particularly in working class communities, after the GFA. This seemed to be an unexpected consequence of the "Peace process" where men who had been involved in violent conflict all their lives, redirected their anger back on their spouses during this period. The disarmament of both military groups (UVF and IRA) was always going to be flawed, as neither group ever divulged just how many arms caches they REALLY had, so it was going to be an impossible task to "disarm" both groups when you don't know the exact amount and type of arms these groups actually possessed. what is interesting though, is that in the years that followed the GFA, the amount of arms in general circulation in both the Republic and NI, for armed robberies

and extortion etc., rose. "Positive discrimination" (whereby a Catholic applicant may be treated more favourably than a Protestant one of equal ability in the recruitment process of the PSNI, to try to encourage more Catholics onto the force) is also causing understandable resentment.If you are a young protestant applying for the same job as a Catholic, you are going to feel discriminated against on the basis of your religion if you don't get the job, when there is a "culture of positive discrimination" in place. PSNI officers are still to this day seen as legitimate targets for dissident groups."

Interviewee D

"Strongly agree. The change after the GFA where the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary) changed to the PSNI was a fundamental change required to maintain peace and trust especially for the Nationalist community. The old RUC was mainly protestant, and was seen as the enemy in Nationalist communities along with the British Army. British army patrols with armoured cars were an affront to Nationalists, the situation after the GFA seems to have dramatically changed all that and it's great to see armed British Army patrols are now a thing of the past".

Interviewee E

"Disagree. Policing still has a long way to go in Northern Ireland for it to be regarded as impartial. As an Irish nationalist would I consider joining the Police Service of NI, I would say NO. As an Irish nationalist do I consider they police equally to both sides of the community divide I would also say a firm NO. And I draw from personal experiences of recent police activity in the community where I originate from.'

In question eleven was asked: On the security aspect, what do you consider is the main GFA contribution?

Interviewee A

Decommissioning

Interviewee B

"An end to terrorist violence. However there is still a lot of sectarian and some extremist violence in NI".

Interviewee C

It allowed for a "break in fighting" to occur, which gave both sides a period of peace, which they hadn't experienced in decades. When you get a taste of peace, it becomes very hard to return to violence. Also, all the horrible physical barriers such as barbed wire, soldiers on the streets with guns, roads blocked with boulders, and big look-out towers were all dismantled, which allowed everyone in NI to experience normality for the first time in decades.

Interviewee D

"The establishment of the PSNI, the removal of paramilitary malitias and ultimately guns and bombs from the politics of Northern Ireland."

Interviewee E

"The RUC were essentially rebranded to the PSNI. However, it remains overwhelmingly disproportionate in terms of its make up – it is a protestant police force."

In question twelve was asked: In terms of power sharing, throughout the new political framework brought by the GFA, do you think that political power is satisfactorily well shared by nationalist and unionists?

Interviewee A

"Yes. While power is shared, it does not follow that good government is the effect. Policy decisions are ransom to sectarian party-political considerations and always have been in the history of this Stormont Admin since GFA."

Interviewee B

"No. I feel like the unionists (mainly due to Brexit) have repeatedly caused the break down on the executive due to their refusal to engage with the Power Sharing Executive if they feel it doesn't fit their agenda. Meanwhile, health care and jobs and moving out of poverty is of more concern to most people than partisan politics."

Interviewee C

Yes.

Interviewee D

"Yes. Compared to the situation before the GFA and now, there has been a massive change in the political landscape. Power sharing has worked we have had many years of peace and stable government in Northern Ireland, its not perfect and it will have challenges ahead, if Sinn Fein becoming the Majority in the Assembly of Northern Ireland, how will Unionists react? Brexit and the pressure that has brought to the delicate situation in Northern Ireland".

Interviewee E

"No. The partition of concern has been misused by the DUP in the past to prevent equal marriage, Irish language act, abortion rights etc."

In question thirteen was asked: Did the GFA enable structures for people of both

communities to democratically choose their representatives in the Stormont Assembly?

Interviewee A

"Yes. STV was introduced and this is the most democratic form of electoral system that exists."

Interviewee B

Yes. You can vote for whomever you want, would like to see NI move away from Nationalism/Unionism.

Interviewee C

Yes.

Interviewee D

"Yes. It enhanced the democratic process giving both sides confidence in their local government rather than direct rule from Britain or unstable local government in Stormont in the past where there had been equality and fair representation failures."

Interviewee E

"Yes, people are free to vote who they want elected."

In question fourteen was asked: Have both communities been well represented by their respective party?

Interviewee A

No. I have a problem with references to 'both communities'. NI is much, much more diverse than that and continuing to present it as a matter of two communities does not take account of how it has changed and that there are other forms of representation which are cross-community.

Interviewee B

No. Only if they are dealing with the issues of the day that are actually important and not sectarian politics.

Interviewee C

I don't know this.

Interviewee D

Yes.

Interviewee E

"No. The DUP have held the education portfolio for a number of years. One of the major problems with the education sector is that there is a significant and growing number of young people leaving school with little or no educational attainment, and essentially this is a problem among young protestant boys. The NI educational sector still maintains academic selection at aged 11 and many academics, policy analysts etc highlight that academic selection is to blame for this inequality. The DUP advocate for academic selection. In short they are letting their own people down."

Last question was asked: In general terms, how would you analyse the GFA? Was it the beginning of lasting peace process? Or is it a work in progress?

Interviewee A

Work in progress – a good start but more to do.

Interviewee B

Work in progress. Really important that it isn't eroded and Brexit has had very damaging effect here.

Interviewee C

It is most definitely a work in progress. There are a lot of lessons to be learned from this still to be learned, and a lot of adjusting of ideas that still need to happen. For example, many people still feel that those who perpetrated violence on their communities were never brought to justice, and not everyone was happy about the release of political prisoners. Many victims of violence during this dark period feel that they have never received justice, and those who were responsible for this violence,never served their time in prison, as they were all released under the terms of the GFA.

Have you any other relevant comments? The GFA did not have the foresight to predict "unintended consequences" of many of the decisions made during this time. It is not dealing with the new generation of "dissidents",who have absolutely no experience of the "troubles" (as they were not even born when the GFA was made) yet are involved in serious criminal behaviour, terrorising their communities under the name of "freedom". Some of these groups

would class themselves as dissident republicans, but are really .behaving like a MAFIA. The GFA needs to continue to broaden its scope to cover the consequences of its actions.

Interviewee D

"It is a work in progress and will face many challenges in the near future, with Brexit and the demand from Sinn Fein for a border poll on a united Ireland. Also, the population dynamics are changing where the Nationalists may become the majority."

Interviewee E

"It was the most significant political agreement that has been reached in my lifetime but it is essentially a work in progress. The outworkings of Brexit has huge implications for the GFA and for the peace process in Northern Ireland. The co guarantors of the GFA i.e. the British and Irish governments are failing the people of NI by operating a laissez faire attitude which as I write will lead to political stale mate in the north where the latest election will not lead to the re- establishment of the NI assembly.