Peacebuilding and Governance in a Post-Conflict Society:

A Comparative Analysis of Northern Ireland and Colombia

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KÜRSELLEŞME VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

Danışman: Doç. Dr. H. BURÇ AKA

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ABSTRACT

When the Government of Colombia formally ratified a peace accord in November 2016 with the left-wing guerrilla group FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)it promised an end to more than 50 years of conflictwhich claimed the lives of 220,000 and displaced nearly 8 million people (Guardian, 2016). The hope for peace in Colombiawas further strengthened by promising early signs of a similar agreement forming as the National Liberation Army (ELN) called a 102 day truce in October 2017 (Al Jazeera, 2017a). If Colombian peace is to be successful in the rebuilding of a stable and cohesive society, it will take concerted political efforts towards peacebuilding and governance on both the domestic and international levels. In light of this significant peace brokerage in a protracted civil conflict, the aim of this paper is to provide a comparative analysis of the nascent Colombian peace agreement alongside the Northern Irish peace process on its 20th year anniversary, in order to identifysome of the key challenges faced and methods of peacebuilding which have proven successful in increasing social capital and structural stability. Over the last twenty years, Northern Ireland has been the focus of many international peacebuilding strategies and conflict research programmes, and as such offers opportunity for detailed comparative analysis against the conflict transformation journey which has only just started in Colombia. Protracted conflicts have a lasting impact on civil society creating division along ethnic or political lines, and this translates into low levels of support for state governance structures. Indeed, there is significant evidence to suggest that without government social integration interventions these divisions can become trans-generational conflicts. By using World Bank governance indicators to measure the changes in civil society after peace, acknowledging that positive performance against governance indicators correlates with a reduced capacity for conflict (Fearon, 2010), this paper identifiesthe challenges faced by post-conflict societies and proposes several effective frameworks for long-term development and peacebuilding. Several common themes emerge, including: the necessity of international stewardship during peace negotiation to lend legitimacy to the process, the need for development models focusing on conflict transformation, and lastly the use of spatial planning to combat development duality and as a long-term strategy towards social cohesion.

Key Words: Colombia, conflict transformation, dual development, governance, Northern Ireland, peacebuilding, post-conflict, spatial planning, social cohesion, World Bank

ÖZET

Kolombiya Hükümeti, Kasım 2016'da solcu gerilla grubu FARC (Kolombiya Devrimci Silahlı Kuvvetleri) ile bir barış anlaşmasını resmen onayladığı zaman, 220.000 kişinin hayatını kaybetmesine ve yaklaşık 8 milyon insanın yerinden olmasına yol açan 50 yıldan fazla süren bir anlaşmazlığın sona ermesine söz verdi (Guardian, 2016). Kolombiya'daki barış umutları, Ulusal Kurtuluş Ordusu (ELN) Ekim 2017'de 102 gün süren bir ateşkes olarak adlandırılan benzer bir anlaşmanın erken belirtilerini umut ederek daha da güçlendi (Al Jazeera, 2017a). Kolombiya barışının istikrarlı ve uyumlu bir toplumun yeniden inşasında başarılı olması için hem iç hem de uluslararası düzeyde barış inşası ve yönetimine yönelik ortak politik çabalar olması gerekiyordu. Uzun süredir devam eden bir sivil çatışmada bu önemli barış komisyonculuğu ışığında, bu yazının amacı, 20. yıl dönümünde Kuzey İrlanda barış sürecinin yanı sıra ortaya çıkan Kolombiya barış anlaşmasının karşılaştırmalı bir analizini sağlamaktır. Son yirmi yıldır Kuzey İrlanda, birçok uluslararası barış inşası stratejisinin ve çatışma araştırma programlarının odak noktası olmuştur ve bu nedenle, sadece Kolombiya'da yeni başlayan çatışma dönüşümü yolculuğuna karşı ayrıntılı karşılaştırmalı analiz olanağı sunmaktadır. Uzun süren çatışmalar, sivil toplum üzerinde etnik veya politik hatlar boyunca bölünmeyi yaratan kalıcı bir etkiye sahiptir ve bu, devlet yönetim yapıları için düşük düzeyde destek anlamına gelmektedir. Gerçekten de, hükümet sosyal entegrasyonu müdahalede bulunmadan, bu bölünmelerin nesiller arası çatışmalara dönüşebileceğini gösteren önemli kanıtlar vardır. Barış sonrası sivil toplumdaki değişimleri ölçmek için Dünya Bankası yönetim göstergelerini kullanarak, yönetim göstergelerine karşı olumlu performansın çatışma kapasitesinin azalmasıyla ilişkili olduğunu kabul ederek (Fearon, 2010), bu makale çatışma sonrası toplumların karşılaştığı zorlukları tanımlamakta ve çeşitli önerilerde bulunmaktadır. Buna bağlı olarak birkaç ortak tema ortaya çıkmaktadır: barış müzakeresinde uluslararası yönetimin sürece meşruiyet kazandırması gerekliliği, çatışma dönüşümüne odaklanan kalkınma modellerine duyulan ihtiyaç ve son olarak kalkınma ikiliği ve uzun vadeli bir strateji ile mücadele için sosyal uyum için mekânsal planlamanın kullanılması.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kolombiya, çatışma dönüşümü, ikili gelişim, yönetişim, Kuzey İrlanda, barış inşası, çatışma sonrası, mekânsal planlama, sosyal uyum, Dünya Bankası

FOREWARD

The aim of this thesis was to provide a comparative analysis of the peacebuilding practices which have been applied to the post-conflict environments of Northern Ireland and Colombia, and to quantify the viability/stability of peace in these countries by measuring rates of violence, citizen engagement, representative governance, perceived legitimacy and levels of social cohesion against the World Banks governance indicators. Good governance has been identified as a key factor in determining sustainable peace and development by the United Nations (UN), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). The linkages between peacebuilding, conflict transformation and fair and transparent governance practices have been explored in this paper, with the aim to propose a framework of collaborative peacebuilding, updating the traditional model of state building for the modern era.

2018 is a significant year for the citizens of Northern Ireland as it marks twenty years of peace.The author has a special interest in analysing the peace process of Northern Ireland, as a citizen of the state who has experienced the conflict first-hand and been involved as a student in various EU funded cross-community initiatives. The Northern Irish experience provided an interesting comparison to the newly established Colombian Peace Agreement, as the depth of longitudinal data available allowed for critical evaluation of various peace strategies. It is hoped that the lessons learned during the process of conflict transformation in Northern Ireland can be applied to Colombian to enable a quicker and more effective societal transition.

Some of the difficulties encountered in the research stage for this paper included the lack of publically accessible statistical information for Colombia and issues with identifying the reliability of sources. It was found that due to the embedded divisions within Colombian and Northern Irish societies, some of the press sources were prone to non-factual representations of events and bias. To control for this effect, the political biases of newspapers/online sites were researched and information cross-referenced before inclusion in the final draft. Furthermore, the Colombian government website, 'The National Registry of Civil status', which provided enlightening data regarding patterns of voter turnout in the various state departments was taken offline in late 2017. As a result, it was significantly more challenging to obtain reliable data for the March 2018 Colombian election results. In comparison, there werefar fewer problems experienced researching and obtaining datasets for

Northern Ireland, due to the extensive number of academic and government research and surveys funded over the last twenty years.

In the preparation of this thesis, I am very grateful for the support and guidance of Doç. Dr.HalitBurc Aka, without whom,it would not have been possible. I would also like to thank the International Relations faculty staff of Namik Kemal Űniversitesi for their kindness and encouragement whilst I have been enrolled as an International Postgraduate student. Finally, I would like to thank my friend Ana Roció Barrera Pardo for assisting me with translation of some of the more technical language used in the Colombian government resources   I   have   accessed.

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Abbreviation List

Abbreviation	Explanation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
ELN	National Liberation Army *(Ejército de LiberaciónNacional)*
EU	European Union
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia *(FuerzaAlternativaRevolucionaria del Común)*
GOC	Government of Colombia
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
ICR	Interactive Conflict Resolution
IPS	Interactive Problem Solving
IRA	Irish Republican Army (also known as the Provisional IRA)
NIMPM	Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measure
MPI	Multiple Poverty Index
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NI	Northern Ireland
PCI	Palestinian Citizens of Israel
PSNI	Police Service of Northern Ireland
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party
TUV	Traditional Unionist Voice
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party

1. INTRODUCTION

"Peace is no longer a dream. It is a reality." (Bill Clinton- Good Friday Agreement, May 1998)

"This is the peace of Colombians…which is no longer a dream, but rather we are going to build it." (President Juan Manuel Santos, June 2016)

10th April 2018marks the 20[th]anniversary of the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, a document of historic importance for the populations of Northern Ireland (NI), Republic of Ireland and Great Britain. It ended four decades of violence in which 3,532 people were killed[1](CAIN),andopened the way for a new model of power-sharing governance in the province based on the D'Hondt method of proportional representation.

The twenty year project towards peace and stabilityin Northern Ireland offers a unique opportunity to evaluate a variety of multilateral strategies and models of peacebuilding, in the context of an ethno-political war taking place in a developed Northern European country. The international diplomatic conflict strategies pursued by the UN and NATO have been criticised by some as imposing liberal, Western ideology on the governance systems of ethnically fractious states, whereby enforced democratisation and liberal economicsare presented as a solutionto conflicts without proper analysis of a state's historical structure and social makeup (Paladini-Adell, 2012). This was evidenced with disastrous effect in the American intervention in Afghanistan, where the newly installed government lacked legitimacy and effective administration resulting in the citizens turning to warlords for basic service provision (Lister & Wilder, 2005).For this reason the conflict in NI has provided much opportunity for innovation in the field of peacekeeping and academic research as the Northern Irish state during the late 1960s did not have a democratic heritage deficit but rather lacked inclusive governance and equality, which led to the civil rights protests of 1968 quickly evolving into an identity-based conflict.

The Northern Irish conflict could offer an informative case-study for international policy makers seeking to develop models of peacebuilding removed from a Hobbesian

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[1] Statistics are inclusive of all deaths due to the conflict between July 1969 and December 2001. 43 deaths were recorded after 1998.

understanding of peace through a strong, undivided state. The model which became the solution for Northern Irish societal dysfunction is unusual in that the majority party can only rule if makes a deal to power-share with a party from the other side of the political spectrum – i.e. enforced maintenance of a unionist/nationalist[2] balance. The D'Hondt method relies not on unity but capacity for negotiation. Though far from an ideal democratic model, the power-sharing system has been accepted as necessary in the province, and it is generally understood that the failure to recognise the social inequality and divisions within civil society was what ignited the conflict in the 1960s, and escalated social dysfunction following imposition of Direct Rule by the British Government in March 1972 (Hewitt, 1981). Despite strong handed governance and extensive military intervention by the British, the years 1972-1976 sawan escalation of the violence with over a third of all 'Troubles' attributed deaths occurring in this five year period[3] (CAIN).

MacGinty et al have highlighted the inherent problem of many past and current peacekeeping missions which operate from a 'problem-orientated' approach whereby they, "attempt to "fix" what they see as a dysfunction in society and minister to conflict manifestations but rarely address the underlying, often structural, cause of conflict" (2007, pg. 2). For the British state the identified problem was Republican paramilitary activities so they responded militarily withwhat Doyle and Sambanis(2000) would categorise as a 'peace enforcement' strategy, but this failed to take account of social dissatisfaction with inequality along ethno-religious[4] lines and so the unintended consequence of the British presence bestowing legitimacy on republican paramilitaries, seen to be fighting 'occupying forces'.Kelman(1995) noted the same polarisation of parties through misguided traditional approaches to conflict negotiation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; negotiations which failed to address the identity question and instead focusedprimarily onresources and tangible interests.

As with the Northern Irish conflict, the factors driving Colombia's political instability and conflict have changed over time. Whilst the conflict was not originally rooted in religion, ethnicity or class, but rather what Dix describes as, "deep-seated loyalties to the two

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[2] 'nationalist' here being inclusive of Republican parties

[3] From 1972-1976 there were 1,586 deaths. 99 of these deaths occurred in the first three months of 1972 before Direct Rule was imposed.

[4] I refer to ethno-religious divisions here as although the population of Northern Ireland is in fact ethnically homogenous, there is a widely held perception of a historical ethnic divide between the native population (Catholics) and the plantation population (Protestants) of Ireland who arrived from England and Scotland in the 16th and 17th C.

historic parties [Liberals and Conservatives]" (1980, pg. 304),over time it has become the catalyst for deep division between the elite and the poor; perpetuated by rural poverty, ethnic inequality and racism, drug trafficking, and government corruption. As with Northern Ireland, the GOC has been at war with factions of its own people for decades since the mid-1960s. Colombia's civil conflict has been driven by a weak state's failure to resolve social ills including income and resource disparity (Richani, 2013). Whilst the underlying failings remain to be addressed, the recent move towards peace under the Santos government has only been achievable as the state and guerrillas have finally reached a point of 'uncomfortable impasse' whereby both would stood to lose from continuation of the conflict (Richani, 2013). For Colombia, the post-conflict societal transformation is only just beginning.

The protracted nature of the Colombian conflict and polarisation of combatants has served to deepen thestructural, social and economic problemswhich are endemic in the modern state of Colombia. Resources and power are undoubtedly influential factors, but added to this are further ethnic and social divisions, with the Government of Colombia (GOC) viewed by many civilians as elitist, corrupt and irrelevant in large parts of the country were basic civic services are not adequately provided (Botero et al, 2015; Balint et al, 2017). Where guerrilla groups are able to provide amenities and services to remote communities, these illegal organisations are able to achieve a level of legitimacy which can undermine the legitimate state's right to rule, even in the event of successful peace negotiations.Routes to addressing these societal dysfunctions will be revisited later in this paper.

Parallels between Colombia and Northern Ireland and their protracted conflicts are manifold;there are documented cases of collaboration between Irish republican groups and the FARC, such as the 'Colombia Three', members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) arrested inBogota and believed to have trained the FARC in explosives and how to build radio-controlled mortars.

Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos washimself caught up in an IRA bomb blast Central London1974, andis quoted as saying of the Northern Irish peace process, "When I saw the picture of the Queen shaking hands with one of the IRA leaders I said, 'My God, this is possible.'" (BBC News, 2016).

The beginnings of the Colombian peace journey mirrored that of Northern Ireland, starting with subterranean peace negotiations many years prior to public negotiations

(MacGinty et al, 2007; USIP, 2012), a positive step towards mutual understanding before being exposed to public analysis and criticism.

A peace agreement between the FARC and the GOC was announced August 2016, initially stalling due to a narrow defeat at referendum, but after revisions it was again sent to congress for ratification in November 2016, this time passing through both houses successfully. When assessing the impact of this new-found peace it is important to assess the advancement of peace against the various debilitating factors which the state of Colombia faces – i.e. its long history of conflict, vast geography, diverse population and development duality. From the outset it should be noted that it is unlikely Colombia will ever become a strong unified state in following the Hobbesian model, as attempts to incorporate minorities in peaceful political processes through federalism could cause further instability(Elkin & Sides, 2007).

Both Northern Ireland and Colombia face significant challenges to peacebuilding and rehabilitation of civil society due to the length of time violence was an endemic feature of the state. Hugh Miall warns that;

> "Protracted conflicts warp the societies…in which they are situated, creating complex emergencies fuelled on the one hand by local struggle and on the other by global factors such as the arms trade and support for regimes or rebels by outside states" (2004: 69).

Peacebuilding theoryis a relatively new field of study in social sciences,thoughit has now become almost the 'core business' of the international development community (Krause &Jütersonke, 2005), andthus further enquiry is neededfor better understanding of the impacts of external assistance in civil conflicts. Dube and Naidu (2015) note the unintended consequence of the United States counter-narcotics efforts in Colombia served to increase paramilitary violence in regions where they divested significant funds in military aid, as arms were passed from the military to the unofficially allied paramilitary groups. Thus the incursion of negative external influence and complexity of factors encouraging the continuation of violence needs to be acknowledged in any proposed peacebuilding and governance transformation models, to ensure a state's successful transition into a post-conflict society.

Bilateral and multilateral peacebuilding operations have played significant roles in the journey towards peace for both states assessed in this paper, and the role of foreign actors in national negotiations will be analysed in more depth in the discussion section. The many similarities between the Northern Irish and Colombian experiences of civil conflict make for an interesting comparative analysis; it is the aim of this paper to evaluate their present successes in governance, review the models ofpeacebuilding that have been employed, and propose alternative models for ensuring the continued stability of post-conflict societies.

If 'identity conflict' framingis to be accepted as this paper proposes for the study of conflict in Northern Ireland and Colombia, it stands to reason that successful models must be long-term and recognise the pitfall of what Rothman and Olson have described as, "the illusion of an 'end' to conflict…conflict is an integral part of life" (2001: 296). This is why conflict transformation should be used as the preferred model rather than focusing on one-dimensional conflict resolution goals which are more easily measurable but do little to resolve underpinning social problems – i.e. disarmament of guerrilla/paramilitary groups.

2. METHODOLOGY

In order to assess the possible benefits and weaknesses of various approaches to peacebuilding and governance in post-conflict societies, this paper aims to conduct a comparative analysis of the established peace in Northern Ireland, and the 2016Colombian peace deal with the FARC.

In the research for Northern Ireland will focus on the period when official peace negotiations began,from 15th December 1993 with the issuing of the Joint Declaration on Peace[5] until present. The aim is to evaluate how successfully lasting peace and stability has been established by looking for markers of good governance in the political and social outcomes of the state, and investigating the successes and failures of unilateral and international strategiestowards state rebuilding.The Colombian research will be approached slightly differently owing to the much shorter comparable time-frame for peace negotiations andperiodsince ceasefire to analyse;dating from September 2012 to present. Thus the

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[5] Also known as the 'Downing Street Declaration' - signed by John Major (UK Prime Minister) and Albert Reynolds (Taoiseach) on behalf of the British and Irish governments.

assessment of Colombian peace will be necessarily more speculative, but the extrapolation of the Northern Irish experience and similarities drawn between the two national conflicts should provide insights and learning for the future of Colombia as a successful post-conflict society.

From the outset this paper presupposes certain criteria to be met by a 'successful post-conflict society' based on World Bank Indicators. To assess whether Northern Ireland and Colombia fit this model of societal transformation, and if not why, the following five hypotheses will be assumed;

> *H1: successful post-conflict societies will show a significant reduction in numbers of deaths and attacks attributed to terrorist activity/state violence*

> *H2: successful post-conflict societies will show increased levels of political participation by citizens*

> *H3: successful post-conflict societies will have a system of governance which is inclusive and representative of the ethno-social diversity of the state*

> *H4:the government of successful post-conflict societies will have increased levels of internally recognised legitimacy/trust and ability to enact legislation through political channels*

> *H5: successful post-conflict societies will show improved levels of social cohesion over time, after the cessation of violence*

The hypotheses above draw on three of the sixdimensions of governance which the World Bank has proposed as key Worldwide Governance Indicators, namely; 1) Voice and Accountability, 2) Political Stability and Lack of Violence, 3) Government Effectiveness. To include all six is beyond the scope of this paper as it would remove the focus from the specific experiences of post-conflict societies in governance and peace building.

The first hypothesis seeks to address whether the state meets the criteria of peace in real societal-level terms– i.e. that statistics on conflict-related deaths are reflective of the political agreements*(Lack of Violence).* The second and third hypotheses are representative of markers of good governance at the national level*(Voice & Accountability)*. The fourth hypothesis focuses on defining political legitimacy and capable self-governance, as evidence of a nation which no longer requires the oversight of other more powerful nations to make

structural changes to the political and social constitution*(Political Stability/Government Effectiveness).* The fifth hypothesis addresses the future of a successful post-conflict society recognising the progressive nature of peacebuilding, and the need for long-term strategies to ensure the state does not slip back into fractious behaviours*(progressive outcome of all indicators).*

Analysis of data from government and academic resources will form the basis of research testing hypotheses 1-4; including datasets from The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project, Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN), Global Terrorism Database (GTD), *RegistraduríaNacionaldel Estado Civil*, World Values Survey, UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset 5.0 (UCDP GED)andThe Electoral Office for Northern Ireland.

The fifth hypothesis on social cohesion,in as far as is possible, will focus on quantitative statistical analysisofsocial affiliation and linkages in Northern Ireland and Colombia. Where survey data is lacking an empirical approach will be adopted to look for evidence of progressive integration between the societal factions. Following discussion of the results anevaluation of government strategies for integration through education, housing and employment will be developed later in the paper.

In the following section the proposed hypotheses will be measured against the evidence gathered to ascertain whether Northern Ireland and Colombia can be categorised as successful (or potentially successful) post-conflict societies in line with the World Bank indicators for good governance. Thereafter, the reasons for their success or failure within these parameters will be discussed alongside alternative models for peacebuilding and governance.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Testing the Hypotheses

3.1.1 Hypothesis 1:**successful post-conflict societies will show a significant reduction in numbers of deaths and attacks attributed to terrorist activity/state violence –** Confirmed/ Confirmed with reservations
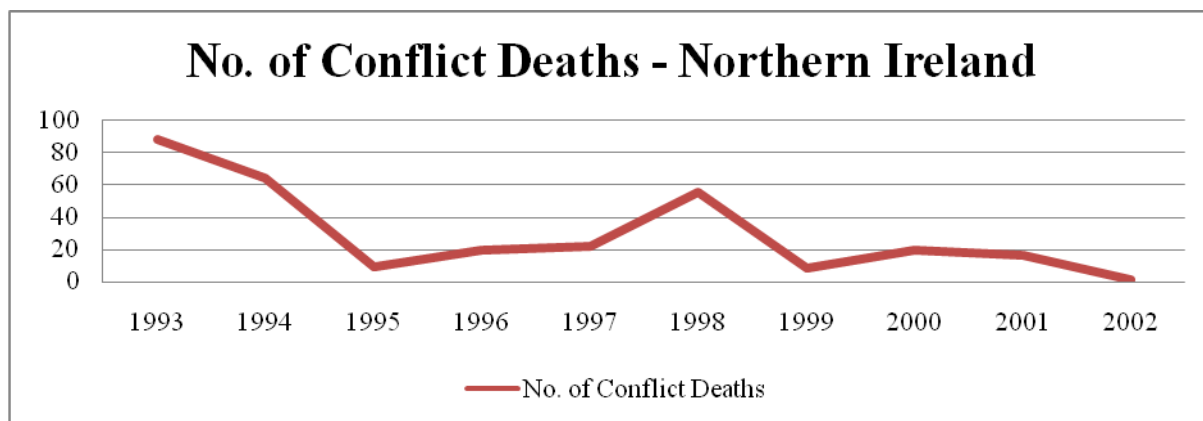
No. of Conflict Deaths - Northern Ireland

Figure 1: CAIN data

According to research conducted by Malcolm Sutton (database hosted by the CAIN project web service), deaths resulting from the conflict in Ireland in the period 1993-2001 fell dramatically from 88 deaths to 16 (Fig. 1). The graph shows a spike of conflict-related deaths in 1998 when the official peace agreement was signed, but of the 55 deaths recorded that year 29 are attributed to one incident, a car bombing in Omagh, which was the single worst atrocity in the history of the Troubles. From this graph we can ascertain that conflict-related deaths have significantly reduced in Northern Ireland since the peace deal, and remains at low levels despite the continuation of dissident republican activity in the province.
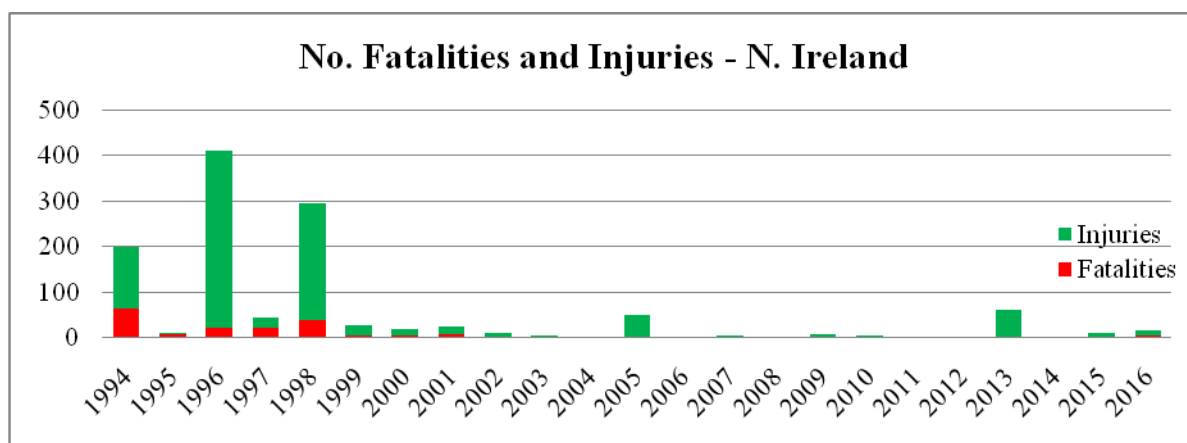

No. Fatalities and Injuries - N. Ireland

Figure 2: GTD data

As the CAIN project has only recorded conflict related deaths until 2001, I have also used statistical analysis of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) database in Fig. 2 to chart

fatalities and injuries recorded 1994-2016[6] in N. Ireland. The disparity between the CAIN project data (Fig. 1) and GTD data (Fig. 2) in respect of the total number of fatalities in the years they overlap, 1994-2002, can be attributed to the GTD only accounting for known fatalities where the perpetrator is a terrorist/paramilitary group with clear links to the Northern Irish conflict. In incidents with fatalities where the perpetrator is unknown, I have excluded these from the GTD graph below due to lack of information provided on the dataset to reliably link these to the conflict.

The research carried out by Malcolm Sutton was more in depth and specific to the Northern Irish experience rather than a global overview, and as such the figures recorded by the CAIN project are likely to be closer to the real total of fatalities. The total deduced from GTD dataset is almost certainly an underestimate of the impact of the Troubles, but does help to reveal the conflict trends over a 22 year period.

The two other notable spikes in activity evident in the GTD dataset in 2005 and 2013 were rioting and disruption against the police taking place around the July Orange Day parades in Belfast, events not in themselves linked to terrorism but which have become annual flash points between the deeply segregated Protestant and Catholic communities in Belfast. Whilst terrorist activity and state violence has certainly reduced in N. Ireland since the peace deal, community segregation and overt socio-religious activities continue to cause friction and violence, particularly in Belfast.
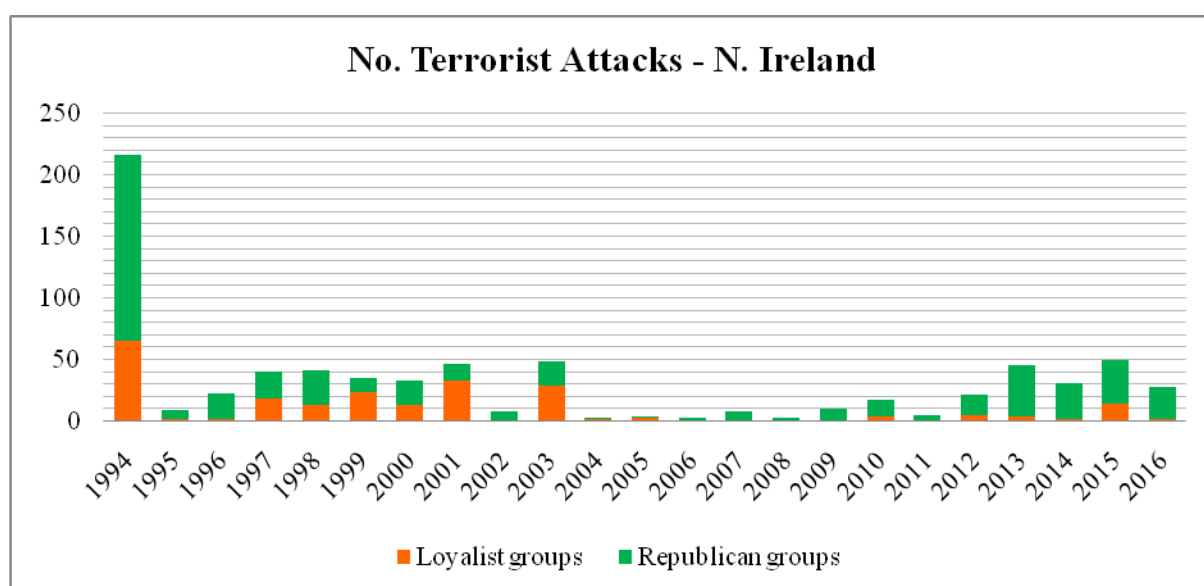

Figure 3: GTD data for attacks by N. Ireland terrorist and paramilitary groups

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[6]No statistics were available for the year 1993, so this has been excluded.

Figure 3 shows the total number of terrorist attacks in Northern Ireland from 1994 – 2016 according to the GTD database. Incidents have been included in the above statistics only where the perpetrators have been identified as a group with recognised links to the conflict in Northern Ireland. Also excluded were incidents where perpetrators are unknown, or identified only as 'youths', which may or may not be linked to the on-going civil conflict in the region. Additionally, the incidents accounted for above include attacks taking place across the UK. The data shows that terrorist activity did not significantly decrease in the years following the signing of the 1998 peace agreement, but there was a period of relative inactivity from 2004-2011, the possible explanations for which will be explored in the discussion section of the paper.
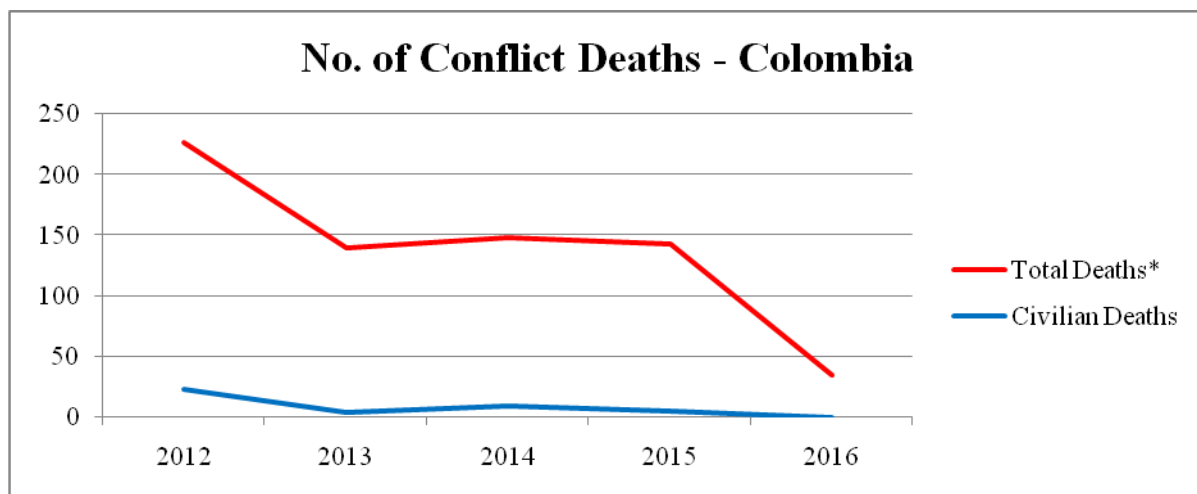
*Deaths inclusive of state, paramilitaries, guerrillas and civilian deaths - based on best estimate figures.

Figure 4: UCDP GED 5.0 data

A similar pattern to the Northern Irish experience can be seen in the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) of recorded conflict deaths in Colombia during the period 2012-2016 (Fig. 4). The sample five year period appears to positively correlate a post-conflict environment with reduced violent deaths, with the biggest decreases in fatalities occurring between 2012-13 in the immediate aftermath of official peace talks commencing, thus mirroring the Northern Irish case study (Fig. 2), and 2015-16 when the talks neared completion. To ensure this correlation holds true for non-combatants, both total deaths and civilian deaths are represented in Fig. 4 and both show a downward trend, though the sample

timeframe is too short to say if this is likely to be a long-term pattern of incremental reduction.
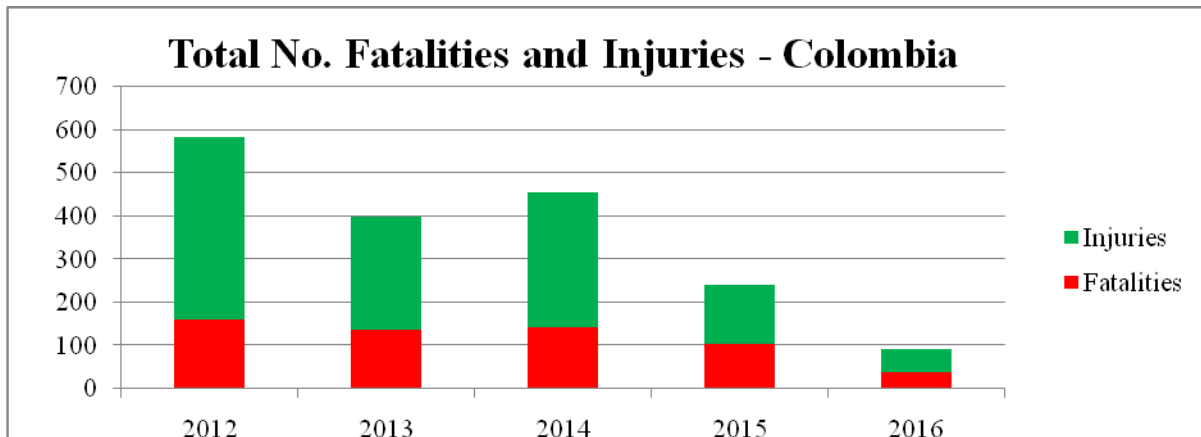
Figure 5: GTD data

The GTD data for the same period further evidences the trend for reduction in overall deaths, although on a more moderate scale. The disparity between the UCDP GED 5.0 data (Fig. 4) and GTD data (Fig. 5) in respect of the total number of deaths resulting from the conflict by year is again owing to the GTD only accounting for proven fatalities whilst the UCDP considers best estimated figures – e.g. GTD records 162 deaths in 2012 whilst UCDP figures record 227 conflict deaths.

Figure 6: GTD data

Whilst conflict fatalities appear to be on a downward trend in Colombia, statistics on the number of attacks presents a more complicated picture as the GTD statistics infigure 6shows there has not been a significant drop since the peace process started in 2013. There was in fact a large increase in attacks in 2014 with the majority of these attacks (163 = 70.6%) carried out by the FARC.

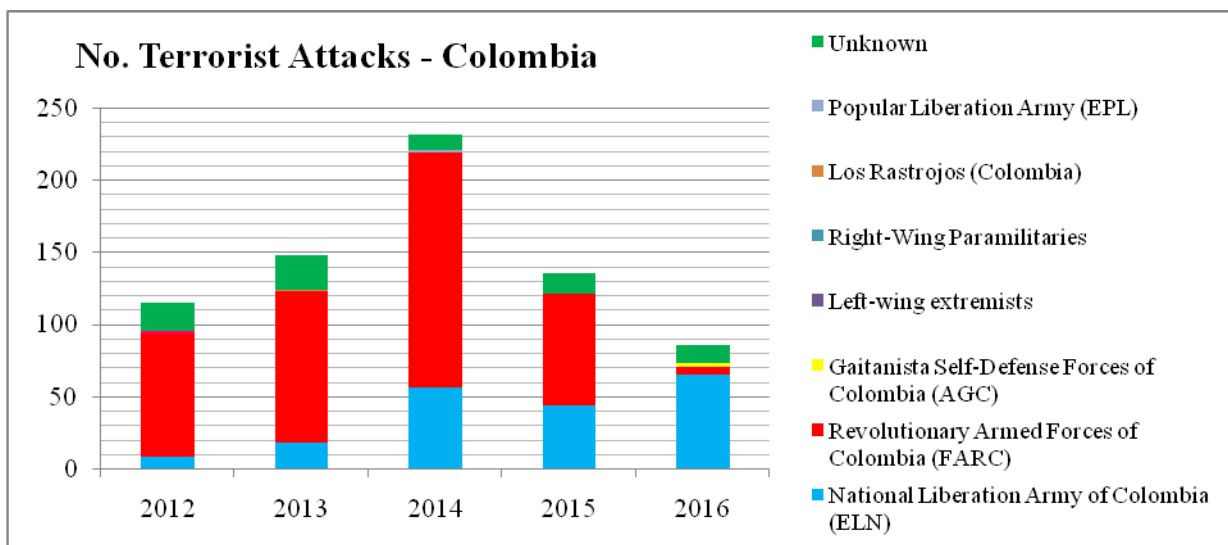Thus hypothesis 1 is confirmed against the case study of Northern Ireland and confirmed with reservations against Colombia. In the parameters of the hypothesis both countriesappear to qualify as post-conflict societies with notable reduction of violence. Even though armed conflict and attacks have continued; conflict deaths, and to a lesser extent injuries, have reduced over time since peace negotiations began. Reservations remain for Colombia as is it is still early days for the peace process, and the time period assessed here is too short to be assumed reliable for future projections.

3.1.2 Hypothesis 2:**successful post-conflict societies will show increased levels of political participation by citizens** – Not confirmed

Northern Ireland Westminster Parliamentary Elections

	1997	**2001**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**
% of electorates voted	67.39	68.63	63.49	57.99	58.45
Total number of ballots	793,882	817,412	723,768	677,952	722,904

Northern Ireland Assembly Elections[7]

	1998	**2003**	**2007**	**2011**	**2016**
% of electorates voted	70.2	63.98	62.87	55.71	54.91
Total number of ballots	789,829	702,249	696,538	674,103	703,744

Figure 7: Electoral Office for Northern Ireland data

Colombian House of Representatives Elections

	2006	**2010**	**2014**
% of electorates voted	41.2	44.24	44.19
Number of ballots	10,935,118	13,120,973	14,457,677

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[7]The Assembly is a devolved body of governance from mainland United Kingdom, formed as a consequence of the Good Friday Agreement.

Colombian Senate of the Republic Elections

	2006	2010	2014
% of electorates voted	41.12	43.96	44.07
Number of ballots	10,955,853	13,209,389	14,495,575

Figure 8: *RegistraduríaNacionaldel Estado Civil* **data**

Voting patterns in Northern Ireland have shown an incremental decline over the past 19 years, following the peace agreement in 1998. This is despite a steady population increase in the same period, with a 7.5% increase equating to 125,596 more people recorded on the 2011 census compared with the 2001 census (NISRA). Likewise Colombia's voter engagement has stagnated between 41-44% voter turnouts in the last three elections. The commencement of peace negotiations in 2012 appears to have had little effect on political participation in civil society, and Colombia's record of voter turnout remains the lowest of all South American countries (IDEA).

Hypothesis 2 is not evidenced in the case of Northern Ireland and Colombia, though possible reasons for the political disengagement of citizens will be discussed in more detail in the following section of the paper.

3.1.3 Hypothesis 3:**successful post-conflict societies will have a system of governance which is inclusive and representative of the ethno-social diversity of the state -** Confirmed with reservations

Both Northern Ireland and Colombia have accepted inclusion of the political arms of decommissioned paramilitary and guerrilla groups as a necessary element to their post-conflict governance model. This is with the aim of creating a more inclusive political spectrum, and reducing the propensity for acts of political violence. There are 30 registered political parties in Northern Ireland, although four main parties dominate the elections; Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), and Sinn Féin as shown in Fig. 9.Sinn Féinare associated with the IRA, representing the political arm of the republican movement. Non-religiously aligned parties have yet to make a real impact on the political landscape post-peace agreement.

N.I. Assembly Election Result - 2 March 2017			
Designation	**Party**	**Seats Won**	**Total Seats by Designation**
Unionist (Protestant interests)	DUP	28	40
	UUP	10	
	TUV	1	
	Independent	1	
Republican / Nationalist (Catholic interests)	Sinn Féin	27	39
	SDLP	12	
Other (Non-religiouslyaligned)	Alliance	8	11
	Green	2	
	People Before Profit	1	

Figure 9: The Guardian, Northern Ireland assembly election

Northern Irish governance has operated on a cross-community power-sharing basis at executive level since 1998, with the mandatory coalition structure underpinned by the D'Hondtmethod. This model favours the four major parties over smaller parties, but it has been prone to instability having collapsed on five occasions since 1998, most recently withStormont in a state of suspension since January 2017 and is on-going at time of writing.

In Colombia, the process of creating a politically inclusive system of governance has begun by encouraging the demilitarisation of the FARC so that they may enter politics. Ahead of their transformation into a legally-sanctioned movement, the FARC held a general assembly in January 2017 to agree an agenda and roadmap for the change, and announced the new democratic political party would be functional by May 2017 (Telesur, 2017). Perhaps unsurprisingly given the short timeframe, the May deadline was not met, however the political party did launch on 1st September 2017 controversially keeping the FARC acronym (Al Jazeera, 2017).

Election Results for *Camara de Representantes*(Colombian House of Representatives)					
Designation	**Party**	**(%) of vote 9 March 2014**		**(%) of vote 11 March 2018**	
Liberalism/ Social Liberalism	Partido Social de UnidadNacional	19.61	40.86	15.06	37.34
	Partido Liberal Colombiano	17.26		21.08	
	Partido de IntegraciónNacional (Aka PartidoOpciónCiudadana)	3.99		1.20	
Conservative	PartidoConservadorColombiano	16.09	37.12	12.65	49.99

	Centro Democrático	11.57		19.27	
	Cambio Radical	9.46		18.07	
Centrism/Green Politics	Partido Verde Colombiano	4.09	4.09	5.42	5.42
Centre-Left/Ethnic coalition formed 2017	Lista de la Decencia	-	-	1.20	1.20
Democratic Socialism	Polo DemocráticoAlternativo	3.54	3.54	1.20	1.20
Christian Democracy	MIRA (MovimientoIndependiente de RenovaciónAbsoluta)	3.51	3.51	1.20	1.20
Socialism	FARC	-	-	0.33	0.33

Figure 10: Election Guide data and the Guardian

The inclusion of this new left wing Colombian party into mainstream politics is yet to be fully tested, and in should be noted a previous attempt in 1985 to form a legal movement was largely unsuccessful. Unlike Sinn Féin, the FARC are not assured a prominent place in the governance structure of the state as they are only guaranteed under the terms of the accord5 unelected seats in the House of Representatives and 5 more in the Senate until 2026, though theHouse of Representatives (*Cámara de Representantes*) has 166 seats in total.Figure 10 shows the outcome of the March 2018 House of Representatives elections, whereconservative parties continue to dominate Colombian politics withAlvaro Uribe's Democratic Centre party winning the largest share - 15.89% - the FARC managed only 0.33% of the vote (Election Guide; The Guardian, 2018).

Hypothesis 3 is confirmed with reservations as both countries operateostensibly inclusive and socio-ethnically representative governance systems, and have attempted to encourage ex-paramilitaries to give up arms for politics, though the effectiveness of these systems is questionable. Whilst the Northern Irish government has reached an uncomfortable balance between the two sides of the political spectrum, Colombia is so dominated by centre-right social liberalism that is difficult to see how the left-wing FARC political party will be able to have any real impact.

3.1.4 Hypothesis 4:**the government of successful post-conflict societies will have increased levels of internally recognised legitimacy** –Partially confirmed
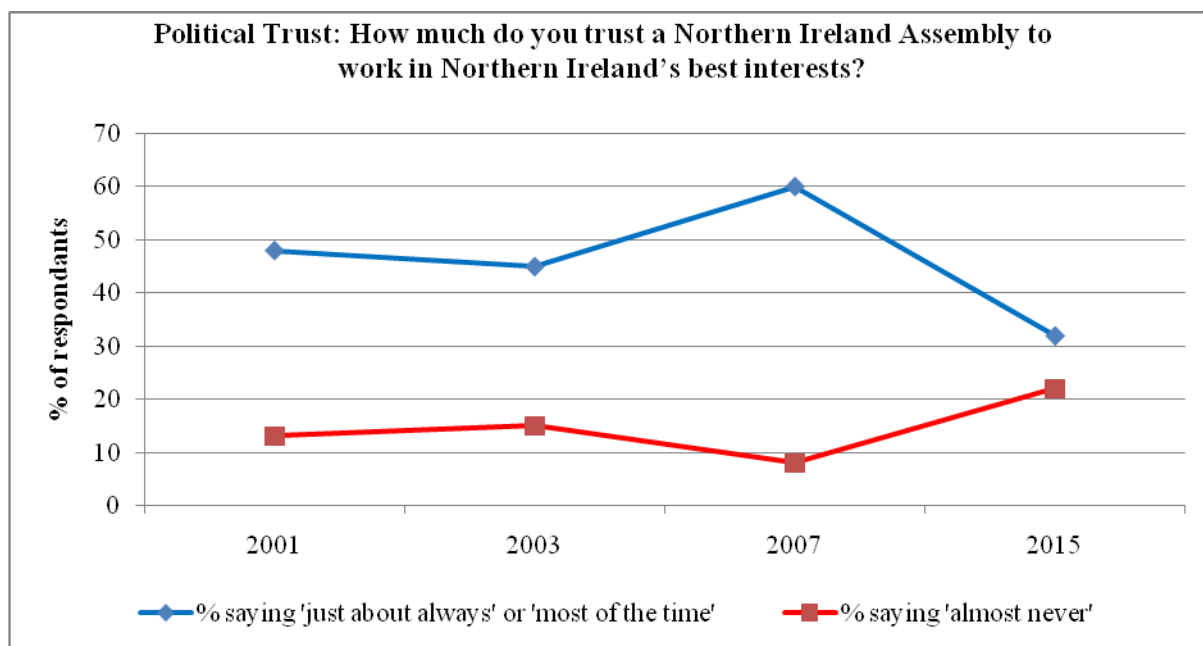

Figure 11: ARK Surveys Online

The results of the Northern Ireland Life and Times survey from 2001 to 2015(Fig. 11) indicate high levels of trust for the Assembly among the general population from 2001 to 2007, with most respondents stating they believed the Assembly worked in their best interests all or most of the time.

Since its inception in 1998, the Assembly has operated as a devolved government capable ofbringing in new legislation for the province with cross-community support. However, as previously mentioned it lacks stability due to frequent cross-party disputes, most recently over an energy scandal in January 2017. As of time of writing, devolved governance has yet to be restored to Northern Ireland meaning direct rule from the UK government has been in place for more than one year at time of writing.

Perhaps surprisingly, according to the data, trust in the assembly and the stability of the same appear not to be directly correlated as the largest improvement inpositive attitudes that the Assembly 'works for the best interest of Northern Ireland' occurs between 2003 and 2007, following an extended period of collapse before a power-sharing government was

agreed between the DUP and Sinn Féin[8]. Conversely, between 2007 and 2015, the Northern Ireland Assembly has its longest period of unbroken governance, yet trust fell away.
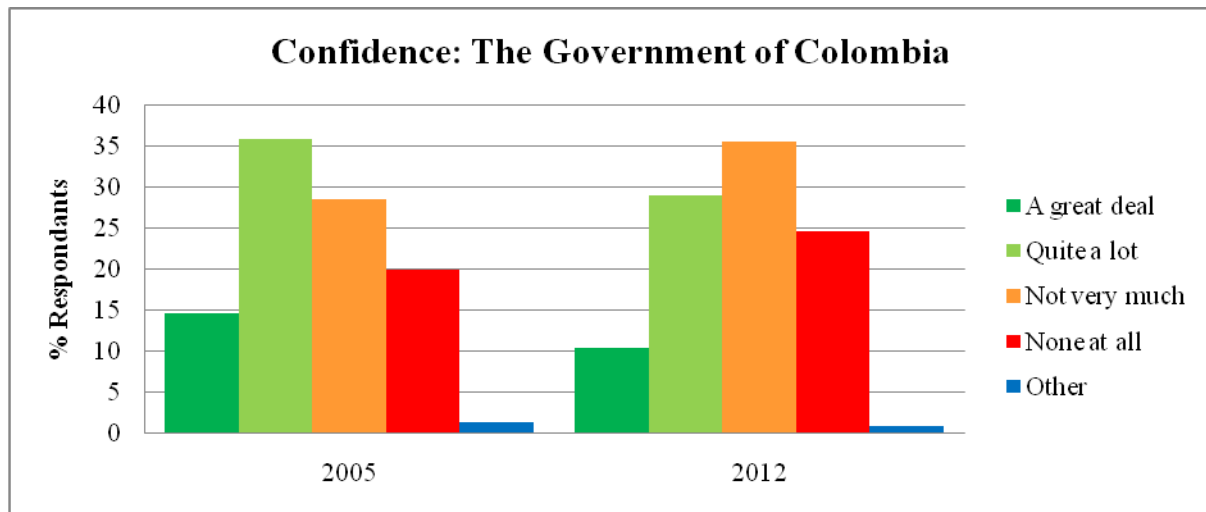

Figure 12: World Values Survey data

The World Values Survey data (Fig. 12) for Colombia shows a decrease in trust in the GOC between 2005 and 2014. According to the survey dataas of 2012 the majority of Colombians (60%) lack confidence in their government. However, the comparatively small sample size of people interviewed[9] in a country with a population of 46.88 million in 2012, and the lack of more recent data undercuts the reliability of this data to summarise overall trust in the GOC during and after the peace process.

The mandate of the GOC has been challenged throughout the FARC negotiations, with strong opposition from the former President Uribe, but the eventual successful signing and ratification of the peace deal suggests positive progress has been made in de-linking societal outrage from peace diplomacy.Miall refers to the importance of 'issue transformation' whereby politicians can reframe contentious issues in order to reach compromise though, "progress is often tortuously slow and painfully subject to reversals" (2004: 76). President Santos reframed peace negotiations with FARCby focusing on bringing the conflict to an end over punishing rebel groups, offering amnesty for political crimes whilst pledging to put the rights of victims at the heart of peace talks (Herbolzheimer, 2016).

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[8] The Assembly was suspended from 14th October 2002 to 7th May 2007, resulting in direct rule from the UK. The 2007 Life and Times survey was carried out between 18th October 2007 and 18th January 2008.
[9] 3,025 people were surveyed in 2005 and 1,512 people were surveyed in 2012.

Hypothesis 4 is only partially confirmed as polling data suggestsweak positive trends towards a growth in public trust in post-conflict environments, though both countries have proven capable of relying on political channels to introduce structural changes through legislation despite opposition. Though there have been numerous setbacks for Northern Ireland's power-sharing government, the issues have time and again been overcome through peaceful political negotiation.

3.1.5 Hypothesis 5:**successful post-conflict societies will show improved levels of social cohesion over time, after the cessation of violence -** Confirmed with reservations
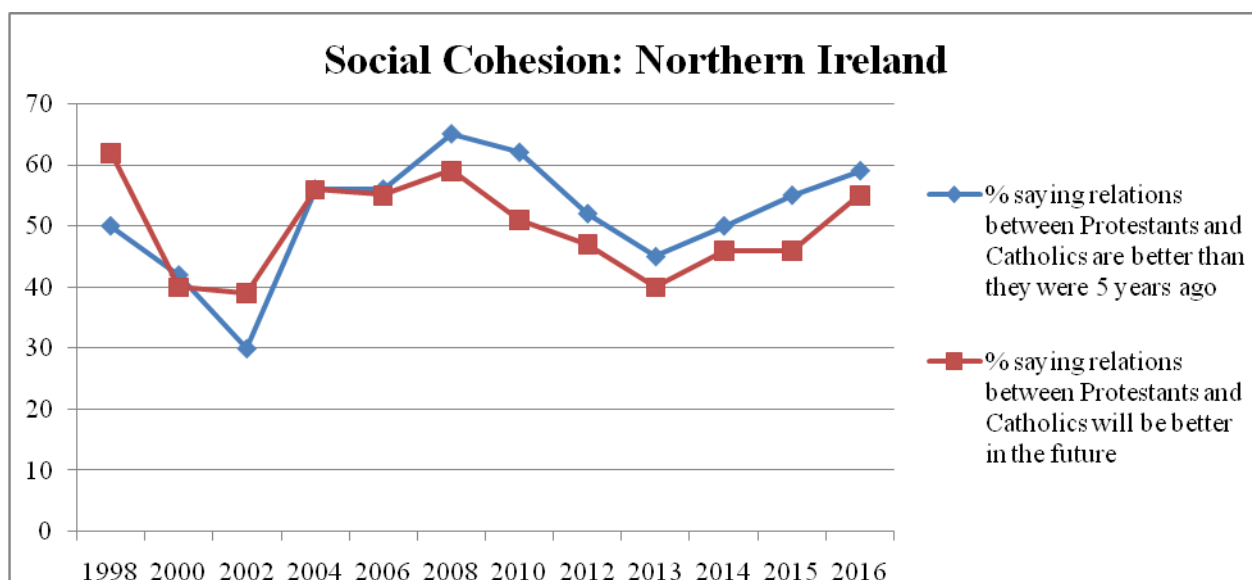

Figure 13: ARK Surveys Online

Analysis of the responses to social cohesion questions featured in the Life and Times survey in NI (Fig. 13) show reasonably consistent trends when interviewees were asked to compare past to present, and present to future. When envisaging the future, respondents reported a sharp uptake in optimism for the future of relationsbetween the communities immediately after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, followed by a drop from 2000-2002, and then a return to reasonably steady majorities responding that relations will be better in the futurein the period 2004-2012. The drop in 2000-2002 may be explained in part by the unsteady beginnings of the new NI Assembly which collapsed four times during this period. The drop below 50% of perceived improvements in relations recorded in 2013 is in no doubt

a result of the highly publicised sectarian riotsin the capital city during that year[10] – thepositive trend returned in the following three years.

This pattern is mirrored by responses to the question of whether relations have improved in the last five years; with the exception of 1998 when people were more positive about the future than they were in their recollections of the past. In all years expect 1998 and 2002, the public were more positive about the current level of community relations than they were hopeful for the future, suggesting pessimism or lower levels of trust in the viability of the peace agreement and rebuilding of social fabric.

If we are to use this survey as an indicator of the success of peacebuilding and governance in the province as building upon social cohesion, the results are only moderately successful. This survey suggests there is still a long way to go towards rebuilding cross-community trust in Northern Ireland.

Due to a shortage of research thus far on levels of social cohesion post-conflict in Colombia, information from the BTI 2016: Colombia Country Report will be used for comparative analysis. The report notes that social integration is problematic in the country due to the lack of voice of local and grassroots collectives in the political process, which is dominated by the interests of business/employers' associations. Furthermore, "security issues and a lack of cohesion among interest groups…hinder the process of aggregation and mediation of different interests…many of these associations do not have the visibility or the resources that would enable them to mediate between civil society and high-ranking political officials" (2016: 16). The report identifies an uneven distribution of power to influence policy in Colombia, which may lead to deepening inequality and poor social cohesion if certain groups are seen to be privileged over others.

Hypothesis 5 is confirmed with reservations. Given the data available, the trends suggest a slight improvement in social cohesion in Northern Ireland, though it is still too early to confirm if Colombia is following the same pattern of civic re-integration as insufficient survey data is available. As noted in the hypothesis, we should expect social cohesion to improve over time rather than expect immediate gains.

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[10]The riots began in January 2013 over a dispute about flying the Union flag over City Hall, and protests and (sometimes violent) and terrorist activity continued throughout much of the year, including the petrol bombing of the Alliance party office in East Belfast.

4. INTERPRETING THE DATA

The five hypothesises proposed and tested as part of this paper reveal certain characteristics of post-conflict societies. Firstly, though both Colombia and Northern Ireland can be categorised as post-conflict due to the reduction in deaths; peace agreements do not equate to a cessation of violence and the process of disarmament can take many years, with pockets of resistance continuing past official ceasefire. The example of Northern Ireland does suggest that peace processes can effectively dissuade armed groups from causing death and injury to their targets, but the negotiations have been less effective in removing incentives for subterfuge and attacks against the state.

MacGinty et al warn against technocratic peace support interventions which place emphasis on quantifiable change such as decommissioning without considering wider community relations and reconciliation – "the affective, emotional and perceptual realm of peacemaking" (2007: 2). Promisingly, international mediators in the Colombian process have been mindful that an endto violence does equate to constructive peace in civil society.KristianHerbolzheimer references five innovations in conflict transformation employed in the Colombian negotiations, the foremost of which is, "a solid framework that distinguishes between conflict termination and transformation" (2016: 3), and have included on the agenda addressing issues such as rural development, levels of political participation, cocoa growing and incorporating testimony of victims from the beginning of the negotiations.

Secondly, political disenfranchisement appears to be a commonality among post-conflict societies, and a low level of political participation from the general population is to be expected. A comparison of the results from Colombia and Northern Ireland alongside other post-conflict countriesreveals a complex picture of conflict and political engagement, where factors such as political heritage and civic freedom needs to be controlled for when analysing statistics. For example, voter turnout in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)hasaveraged 59.1% - 70.9% from 1992-2011, whilst voter turnout in Egypt has been considerably lower despite both countries experiencing protracted conflicts, and having compulsorily voting systems (IDEA).

However, the high levels of turnout reported in elections in the DRC have been questioned by external observers, with the Carter Center noting that, "in Kantanga province, the CENI certified implausibly high turnout numbers that typically favored the incumbent by

margins as high as 100 percent" (Stremlau, 2011: 3). In post-conflict societieswith weak institutions such as the DRC, corruption operates as a way to hold the system together and prevent a return to violence, but its existence undermines the legitimacy of state governance and can damage the reconstruction process by inhibiting productivity through cronyism (Rose-Ackerman, 2008).

Hypothesis 2 was proposed in line with the World Bank governance indicators of Voice and Accountability, acknowledging that active political participation by citizens is a healthy goal for the long-term stability of the state. Low voter turnout during electionsshould not always be assumed as an indicator of failure of the governancemodel, but may be related to other factors such as the overall development level of the state – i.e. states may be functioning democracies but have weak economies or other structural issues impacting political engagement levels. The IDEA dataset shows that globally, countries with the overall highest turnoutsin parliamentary elections (and non-compulsory voting systems[11]) are also some of the wealthiest nations inthe world such as;the Bahamas, Sweden, Denmark and Malta. This indicates that higher levels of development are positively correlated withpolitical engagement, and that civic cooperation and trust are outcomes of stable institutions protecting citizen rights (Knack & Keefer, 1997).

The issue of citizen rights and political representation were tested further in hypothesis 3, which revealed another similarity between the political and social cultures in Northern Ireland and Colombia. Northern Ireland's parliament is almost evenly split between Protestant and Catholic interest parties, representing the demographics of the state and with the D'Hondt method underpinning. The political landscape ofColombia continues to be dominated by parties closely aligned with traditional liberal and conservative values.The Liberal and Conservative parties governed Colombia in a two-party system until 1991, and have maintained considerable influence in the new multi-party system. Due to this dominance, minority interest parties such as the Indigenous Social Alliance or United Popular Movement (an Afro-Colombian party) lack representation in the governance of the country.

Despite both states operating on multiparty political systems, in reality bipartisan views split the government. However, a key difference between the NI Assembly and the GOC is that in Colombia the division in government has little to do with representation of the

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[11] I have excluded states with compulsory voting, and also states with a Freedom House parliamentary rating of more than 3, indicating quasi-compulsory voting or at the very least unreliable democratic processes during elections. Freedom House rating are on a scale of 1-7 with 1 being the highest level of democratic progress.

opposing sides of the Colombian conflict. Although historically the Liberal party was on the side of the*campesinos* against the landowners, they are unlikely to become political allies with the FARC in the way that the SDLP and Sinn Féin were able to find common ground. In Northern Ireland the political divide is over the question of unity; either unity with Ireland or unity with Great Britain. Sinn Féinare continuing the fight using peaceful methods, for recognition of the Irish identity in Northern Ireland and a change of the system on the National level. The campaign of violence by the IRA during the Troubles was not with the aim to overthrow the democratic system, but rather change it to an Irish centric model.

Comparatively the FARC are at a distinct disadvantage, with the prospective of entering the Colombian political system as failed revolutionaries with no natural allies among other political parties. Unlike their socialist neighbours, Cuba and Venezuela, the FARC did not enact a revolution in Colombia and as such are joining a system where they have little power or voice. The recent elections showed the Colombian public lacked appetite for the new socialist party, and remain tied to the rhetoric espoused by the political right of security issues as paramount, with the backers of the peace accord struggling at the ballot box (Rochlin, 2012; The Guardian, 2018; The Washington Post, 2018).If the FARC are unable to establish themselves as an influential political party,this may be a risk factor to the Colombian peace process as incentives to engage in peaceful methods diminish.

The testing of hypothesis 5 revealed that negative perceptions of the 'other' are sustained long after the conflict has been brought to an end, highlighting the need for sustainable long-term programmes of integration in post-conflict societies. The challenge for social cohesion strategies in Colombia and Northern Ireland is that they are counteracting decades of division. When analysing the NI public's attitudes to the out-group, it was apparent a significant minority of people are pessimistic about future relations between Protestants and Catholics, believing the situation will deteriorate. Conflict transformation has not yet become a reality in the minds of the general population even though social cohesion has been a stated goal of the European Union (EU) funded PEACE programme in Northern Ireland since its inception in 1995, which now in its fourth funding cycle.

Twenty years on from the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, Northern Ireland continues to exist as a dual political and civil society, allowing the effects of the conflict to become trans-generational issues (CVSNI). The province's education system operateson a religiously segregated model, with the Department of Education NI statistics for 2016/17

showing only 24.8% (34,894) of students enrolled in a secondary school (11-18 years old) attended an integrated school[12]. Of the 201 secondary schools in Northern Ireland, 43.8% (88) reached the benchmark of being 90% + either Protestant or Catholic.Similarly, of the 821 primary schools (4-11 years old) 43.6% (354) of schools were 90% + either Protestant or Catholic enrolment, whilst the number of children educated in integrated primary schools is even lower than at secondary level – only 32.3.8% (58,594) (Department of Education NI, 2017).

The data shows that segregation in educational settings remains an issue in Northern Ireland, and there is often little opportunity for socialisation between the children from the two dominant socio-religious communities.This reality contradicts the preferences stated in the Life and Times survey where 67% of people answered that they would prefer to send their children to a mixed-religion school (Ark Surveys Online, 2016).

Thus divisions forged by the conflict are perpetuated by the educational system, where segregation along religious lines is still the norm in primary and post-primary level education, with most young people only experiencing a cross community learning environment if they continue to third level education. However, the majority of young people do not continue to higher level education; approximately 48.2% of Northern Irish 18 year olds in 2015/16 entered higher level education (Department for the Economy NI).

Likewise, the conflict in Colombia has left a legacy of fracture and distrust in the social, civil and political fabric of the state. In an attempt to address the conflict through education and break the cycle of trans-generational issues, the Colombian Ministry of Education introduced a citizen education programme in 2003.The aim of the programme is to teach 'civil ethics' in schools based on secular rather than Catholic morality, framed within a human rights perspective – "…citizenship competencies represent the skills and the necessary knowledge to build peaceful coexistence, to exercise democratic participation and to value pluralism." (*Colombia. Ministerio de EducaciónNacional*, quoted in Jaramillo & Mesa, 2009: 471).This focus on conflict transformation and educationto rebuild civic trust is essential following a conflict which included many documented cases of human rights abuses and state violence against civilians.

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[12] I have classified as 'integrated' any school which had ≠ 70% Protestant or ≠ 70% Catholic religious majorities. The NI Department of Education expects 30% of minority community enrolment for a school to be classified as integrated.

Additional efforts have been made by the GOC to increase access and quality of education across the state and social classes, with the Colombian Constitutional Court mandate in 2010 making enrolment at all public primary schools free; this was extended in 2012 to include all public secondary schools(WENR, 2015).Under the Santos government, the 2015 budget allocated more funds to education than national defence for the first time in recorded history, though critics note that much of the funding has been allocated to higher education whilst the primary and secondary level education programmes continue to be underfunded (Colombia Reports, 2014).

Despite considerable investment from the EU and successive British and Irish governments to build cross-community relations in Northern Ireland, the process of integration has been held back due to segregated education. Under these conditions it is less surprising that the surveys referenced in this paper found polarisation of political opinions, distrust in the governance structure and a pessimistic outlook for the future of civil society when the current educational system reinforces divisions from an early age. Efforts to rebuild social cohesion within a state after conflict must focus on addressing deficiencies within the public and private sector if they are to have significant and lasting impact. Whilstrecent steps the GOC have taken in the area of education are promising,withthe court mandate making education accessible to all sections of society, but poor regional infrastructure could remain an inhibitor to social equality and reduction of the rural poverty gap. If rural schools are not adequately monitored or are not availableclose enough to rural communities, children in these areas will continue to experience development duality and have little incentive to engage with political and state structures as adults.

To end the pattern of violence in conflict societies, peace must be brokered, resolved and transformed. The transformation stage is of fundamental importance as it not only deals with changing the language around the past events and addressing divisions within the affected society, but it should also identify the state's development needs to sustain long-term peace and stability.

4.1   Conflict Models and Brokering Peace

4.1.1 Methodology of Conflict Transformation

Peacebuilding models for conflict societies can be largely categorised under three headings: conflict settlement, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation which theoretically follow the timeline of a state's transition from violence to peace.   However, Reinman has noted that the processes of conflict settlement and resolution can often overlap as in the case of formal 'Track I' diplomatic negotiation efforts by the British Secretary of State of Northern Ireland and the informal 'Track II' cross-community work being orchestrated by the Community Relations Council (2004).   Reinman illustrates that formal settlement discussions need not be a pre-condition to resolution processes as, "if negotiations on Track I become embroiled in a deadlock, unofficial and informal fora in the form of facilitation and problem-solving workshops…[may be] helpful in producing a breakthrough" (2004: 47).   Creating buy-in at grassroots level with the general public can pressurise politicians with divergent opinions to seek compromise.

These problem solving workshops were the focus of Rothman and Olson's research, which blended the processes of conflict resolution and transformation, advocating greater focus on Interactive Conflict Resolution (ICR) workshops to prepare the groundwork for sustainable peace.   Rothman and Olson identified the need for negotiations which incorporate questions of identity beyond the traditional approaches addressing resources and interests. They criticised resource based bargaining for offering only 'quick fixes', and argued that interest based bargaining is also problematic as it aims to build bridges by focusing on shared goals but fails to instigate any critical evaluation of the values and motivations on which the interests are based, thereby creating an, "illusion of cooperation" as in the case of Northern Ireland (2001: 294).

Two decades on from the peace agreement in Northern Ireland, the government of the province and the media are still primarily engaged in the language of conflict resolution and transitional justice; conflict transformation has not yet been fully addressed. By focusing on too much on transitional justice and holding individual perpetrators to account, opportunities to address the underlying socio-economic injustice are missed (Cahill-Ripley, 2014; Balint et al, 2017). This is where ICR methodology proposes to offer a new approach.

ICR workshops have been employed as measures for reducing tension in conflict in Cyprus, Israel/Palestine, Pakistan, former USSR territories and also Northern Ireland (Rothman & Olson, 2001). It is summarised by advocates of ICR that traditional political realism paradigms do not fit well with the various forms of 'identity-based conflicts' seen in the last few decades as modern conflict theory assumes a zero-sum game assuming control of resources and power is primary causation. Current trends in peacebuilding and international intervention models attempt to make space for discussion of non-tangible interests and barriers to equality (Rothman & Olson, 2001; Chandler, 2013).

The non-traditional approach to conflict resolution offered by ICR could be useful in the case of Colombia, as resource-based negotiation and interest-based bargaining would be ill-equipped to deal with the complexity of the deep rooted social issues prolonging the civil disorder, including ethno-political divisions. An advantage of using ICR methodology to address protracted conflict environments is that it allows room for reframing of identity issues, and acknowledges that a decisive end to conflict is likely to be indeterminate where social dysfunction has become embedded. However, the main issue with ICR methodology from a peacebuilding research perspective is that can be difficult to assess the success of such projects which are long-term and focused on changing the minds of individual actors. Whilst the workshops may have a positive impact on the participants, there is no saying if these changes will be transmuted to tangible changes in the community outlook as a whole.

Rothman and Olson note that though many scholars have embraced the practice of ICR, it is, "…still not widely accepted nor practiced, by diplomats" (2001: 299). However, according to Kelman (1998) the non-official negotiating practice of what he calls Interactive Problem Solving (IPS) workshops is in fact a great strength of the model, as the non-binding nature of the discussions from the outset frees the participants to speak more openly and avoid zero-sum thinking. When orchestrated to involve leading political and social figures in the conflict, as Kelman and his partners organised in the Middle East, these workshops are a powerful supplementary process which can improve the political atmosphere pre, during and post negotiations. Though the discussions are non-binding, the reframing of issues and development of a de-escalatory language which happens in the workshops can aid the official talks, and therefore, IPS/ICR workshops can become an integral part of peacebuilding by laying the groundwork and sustaining the official diplomacy process.

4.1.2 Regulating Emotion in Communications with the Public

Halperin et al (2014) have also looked to psychological research to address the issue of embedded conflict and how this may resolved, focusing on the individual as unit of analysis for political intolerance and poor social cohesion. They propose a new model of conflict intervention based on the results of their emotion-regulation experiments among Israeli students. Participants of these experiments answered multiple questions about their attitudes and feelings towards various out-groups including Palestinian Citizens of Israel (PCI). Participants placed in the 'reappraisal' group were given instructions asking that they adopt a neutral perspective and answer the questions objectively 'without assigning personal or national relevance'; whilst the 'control' group were given no such prompts (2014: 1116). These experiments with Israeli students found that the biggest gains in perspective adjustments were attributed to the individuals whose political orientation was most at odds with the identified out-group – i.e. the more right-wing the individual identified themselves as, the greater impact the reappraisal prompts had on reducing their overall intolerance score when compared with the control group. However, the experiments also found that the emotional regulation stimuli were much less effective for participants with more moderate political views.

Through their experiments, Halperin et al have highlighted the influence of emotive speech in conflict areas in reinforcing adversarial outlooks, and they have suggested how this can be countered at the citizen level through reappraisal training. This paper has already discussed the importance of a neutral educational environment for young people to enable better social cohesion after conflict. The critical evaluation skills advocated by Halperin would sit well in such an educational setting, and could be embedded in Colombia's new citizen education programme as a long-term peacebuilding initiative targeting new generations.

Other than citizen engagement, the Israeli student study provides further evidence of the significance of emotion-laden or inflammatory speech by political leaders and the press. What politicians and influential figures say may well be as important as what they do when it comes to brokering peace and as such, throughout the peace process language should be monitored and moderated by whichever neutral body is overseeing the negotiations. Nylander et al (2018) commented on the positive step taken by the Colombian government at Havana, who with UN assistance, created media campaigns to promote the peace process.

Promisingly in the case of Colombia, there have been notable changes in the language used by the GOC under President Santos when compared with his predecessor Uribe, who was an outspoken critic of the peace deal with the FARC as it allows them political participation rather than imprisonment of ex-combatants. The personal nature of the mistrust between Alvaro Uribe and the FARC is exemplified by the high-profile trial involving the former president's brother Santiago Uribe, accused of founding and leading the paramilitary group The 12 Apostles, who are said to have been responsible for more than 500 murders in Antioquia in the 1990s (Colombia Reports, 2018) targeting guerrilla groups in the area. Alvaro Uribe himself was investigated by the Colombian Supreme Court in 2015 for his involvement in the 1997 massacre known as *El Aro*, carried out by paramilitaries whilst he was governor of the area. The more moderate line taken by the Santos-led government in brokering peace and transitional justice in Colombia brought to an end conflict which had engulfed the state for more than 50 years, something which was unthinkable under previous administrations. A continuation of the current government's more measured approach is essential if the process of conflict resolution and transformation is to continue unimpeded.

4.1.3 Sustaining the Peace with Support

This delinking of personal interests to the diplomatic process of peacebuilding, and then moderation of language in political speeches has been a significant challenge for the Northern Irish Assembly. Just as it can be said that Uribe's personal experiences have influenced his approach to dealing with the FARC, personal histories continue to play a significant role in the divisive nature of NI politics. The power-sharing agreement has bound in an uneasy union the two opposing political viewpoints of nationalism and unionism, and it is only due to a multilevel governance structure that the Northern Irish Assembly has survived since the Good Friday Agreement. Successive British and Irish governments have worked intensively with the NI parties to reformulate the agreement, such as the St Andrews Agreement (UK Gov, 2006) to restore political institutions and prompt Sinn Féin to formally recognise the legitimacy of the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). The long-standing involvement of the United States government in the peace process has also helped to stabilise governance in Northern Ireland through supra/international mediation, as seen during the parades and flags dispute which broke in 2012 (Gormley-Heenan&Birrell, 2015).

The EU has been another key actor in the multilevel governance structure influencing the NI peace process. Stefanova (2006) has noted that the EUs strategy of deepening regional

integration can be an effective lever for conflict negation, acting in a dual capacity as an, "…external, benevolent, third-party mediator [and]…As a process of regionalism it represents an incentive structure through which contested interstate incompatibilities can be reformulated" (Stefanova, 2006: 81).

International peacebuilding interventions need not be limited to state-level cooperation. The 'Sal y Luz' partnership created by the Lutheran World Relief (LWR) has been partnering peace-sanctuary churches in Colombia with churches in the US Midwest since 2003, to develop citizen activism channels. The US policy connection to Colombia, including Plan Colombia, and accusations that this has fuelled the violence is sited in the reasoning for encouraging US citizen advocacy. Gerstbauer outlines the risks of NGO involvement in peacebuilding which include; questions of accountability, fostering dependence and a lack of appropriate peace and political training leading to, "a danger of imposing culturally inappropriate Western models" (2009: 715). However, Gerstbauer emphasises the key to the success of the Sal y Luz partnership as, "The grassroots-to-grassroots connection, with ordinary citizens in the US Midwest partnering with local-level peace churches in Colombia" (2009: 723).

4.2   Negotiation and External Guarantors

4.2.1 Reaching a Stalemate

By 2012 the 'uncomfortable impasse' (Richani, 2013) which had been reached between the GOC and the FARC recognised that neither stood to gain from the continuation of the conflict, and neither had the capacity to declare victory. Colombia boasts one of the most well-trained counterinsurgency forces in the world (Tickner, 2014), yet it was unable to overcome the challenges posed by fighting against guerrilla combatants across a vast territory, were the possibility of cooperation with government forces was undermined by serious corruption allegations and poor government oversight in rural areas. It has been noted that though police and military capabilities are important for state security, "In an absence of effective institutions of civil governance and a solid foundation of economic and social development, military forces cannot guarantee peace (Cortright et al, 2017: 57).

The seasoned British army faced a similar problem during the Northern Irish conflict, with the added disadvantage that half the population - irrespective of their sympathy for the republican paramilitaries–viewed their presence as that of an occupying force.The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)[13]was not capable of keeping the peace as it was distrusted by much of the Catholic population with a reputation for violence against protestors. When the British Army were deployed in 1969 it began the longest ever operation in British military history, lasting until 2007. The Northern Irish conflict provides an illustrative example of the security paradox – "If keeping the peace requires the threat or use of force, the quality of that peace becomes questionable" (Cortright et al, 2017: 51). By 1994, both sides in Northern Ireland had recognised that continuing the violence would achieve little and peaceful negotiations offered the only chance to bring the violence to an end.

4.2.2 Opening Channels for Negotiation

A key challenge faced by the governments of Colombia and Northern Ireland in this conflict stalemate was how to open channels for dialogue, and build trust with anti-state combatants; and to do so in a way that would not undermine the state's credibility, both internally and externally. During peace negotiations the need to re-establish state control over law and order must be balanced with concessions to ensure peace issuccessfully brokered and maintained. In such scenarios, external actors can play a key role in opening the channels for dialogue as well as lending legitimacy and impartiality to the process by acting as peace guarantors.MacGinty et al (2007) notes that multilateral peace talks were an essential factor in the initial success of the peace accord in Northern Ireland, but it was the long-term peace guardianship of successive British and Irish governments which has ensured setbacks have been only temporary.

Whilst the Northern Irish peace talks were initially held in secret in the late 1980s,the process became public with anofficial declaration in December 1993 by the British government, followed by joint statements from the two Nationalist parties of Northern Ireland in 1994. By 1995, the US President Bill Clinton became actively involved in the process, and has been credited with private phone calls to party leaders giving the final encouragement needed to secure the peace deal on 10th April 1998.

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[13] The name of Northern Irish police force from 1922-2001

The support of external states and non-state actors can lend the needed neutrality and legitimacyto peace processes, but they can also assist in a more practical capacity by offeringa neutral environment for arbitration. As with Northern Ireland, the Colombia peace process began with secret meetings between the GOC and the FARC near the Colombian-Venezuelan border. From early in his presidency, Santos encouraged a more moderate approach to relations with Venezuela, in a break with the former administration's hard line on Hugo Chávez over links between the socialist leader and the FARC. In 2015 there were attempts by the GOC to encourage stronger regional cooperation and open up trade negotiations with Venezuela. However, as the economic crisis in Venezuela developed mass immigration across the borders into Colombia, Santos became more critical of the Venezuelan administration but refrained from supporting the US financial sanctions and strongly opposed military intervention to overthrowNicolas Maduro's government.

4.2.3 The Role of External Guarantors

Despite heading a right-wing government, unlike his predecessorSantos has been willing to seek the support of socialist leaders; Cuba was the ideal choice of venue due to host Colombia's peace negotiations in 2012 due to its good relations with Latin American neighbours and credibility with revolutionary forces.Nylander et al (2018) note the effectiveness of the design of Colombian peace talks whereby there were no formal mediators but rather 'guarantor' countries Norway and Cuba to provide oversight and support, along with international organisations such as the Red Cross and United Nations (UN) to provide expertise such as assisting in the design of media campaigns to promote the peace process to the Colombian public. But the agenda and timeline of the peace discussion remain wholly in the remit of the Colombia negotiators, ensuring both sides are committed the process and result in what Herbolzheimer referred to as, "External support, but local ownership" (2016: 8).

As seen in the examples of Northern Ireland and Colombia, involvement of multilateral organisations such as the United Nations or EU has the advantage of bringing skilled independent negotiators to guide the discussions and encourage adversaries to engage in reflexive dialogue, with the aim of revealing underlying motivations and turn the conventional adversarial conflict-framing model of dialogue on its head.Rothman and Olson contend that this third party influence facilitates an environment whereby, "Instead of

blaming the other side for their aggression…sides may articulate their threatened or frustrated needs as a positive need to feel safe" (2001: 296).

External states andactors have the ability to positively influence internal peace negotiationsin variety of ways: they can apply needed pressure to begin the talks, bring credibility to the process, and provide a neutral territory for discussion. The Colombian peace talks have been assisted not only by purposeful diplomatic interventions but also by individual patronage, with the ELN announcing a 102 day truce ahead of the visit by Pope Francis to Colombia in October 2017 (Al Jazeera, 2017a), highlighting the importance of cultural and religious motivators in peacebuilding. This bilateral ceasefire expired in January 2018 resulting in a return to bombings and military attacks until the ELN declared a unilateral ceasefire from 9-13 March 2018 to coincide with the elections (WOLA, 2018). A lasting peace between the ELN and GOC has not yet been achieved but may be in the near future as the state now has the tools and experience of collaborative peace negotiations.

Post-conflict peacebuilding strategies need to be long-term in nature to have real effect on social cohesion and stability, and the financial costs of doing so should be recognised and planned for at an early stage. Post-conflict states are unlikely to be able to bear the total costs of rebuilding the social and civil fabric of the state, and as such, regional and international backing is essential. The United States support for the Colombia process has been significant with the Obama administration spending approximately $400 million annually (MacClatchy DC, 2016), and despite President Trump's plans to cut foreign aid the U.S. Senate aid has authorised $391.3 million for Colombia in 2018 (Colombia Reports, 2017). To date the EU has invested £1.3 billion in conflict transformation projects in Northern Ireland (Eurolink). In both countries cases, the potential costs of a return to conflict far outweigh the investment in peace for all parties concerned.

4.2.4 Controversies in Colombia

Whilst international oversight is a necessary tool during peacebuilding and the transformation stages, international involvement in peace enforcement operations to end the conflict can be altogether more controversial, as evidenced by the relative failure of the U.S. designed 'Plan Colombia' operating from 2000-2015. Despite an investment of $1.3 billion USD into the Colombian military and intelligence capabilities under the Clinton administration in 2000, and a further $98 million under Bush in 2002, Plan Colombia failed

to disrupt the narcotics trade or defeat the guerrilla armies (Gray, 2008; Rochlin, 2011). Critics of Plan Colombia have argued that military methods to disrupt cocoa cultivation were ineffective, as they did not address the strong positive correlation between poverty, areas with poor infrastructure and cocoa cultivation (Dion &Russler, 2008). Furthermore, the anti-drug operations created a balloon effect, pushing narcotics production into neighbouring areas and states (Rouse &Arce, 2006; Pencey&Durnan, 2006).

The U.S. strategy in Colombia, as with the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, was based on providing foreign military assistance through the 'light footprint' approach, whereby they would train and build capacity of the domestic police and military forces, but American soldiers would not serve on the ground themselves. Even so, the bilateral security partnership in Colombia has encountered serious issues as the U.S. trained Colombian troops are accused of multiple human-rights abuses, most significantly embroiled in the 'false positives' scandal where it was uncovered that the military had killed over 3,000 poor and learning-disabled civilians with the purpose of staging them as guerrillas combatant deaths to artificially inflate the military body counts and achieve promotions and awards. Endemic inequality and attitudes towards the poor and marginalized in Colombian society created the conditions where these actions could be rationalised and carried out (Tickner, 2014; Balint et al, 2017).

Plan Colombia was revised in 2016 changing the name to '*Paz* Colombia' (aka Peace Colombia)in acknowledgment of the peace talks between GOC and FARC, with a new framework built around 3 pillars: 1) counter-narcotics and reintegration of FARC 2) expanding state presence in rural and conflict economies and 3) justice for victims of the conflict. As part of this new approach, the US and Norway launched a Global demining initiative pledging $53 million between them to help Colombia become mine-free by 2021 (White House, 2016). The common thread in the three pillars is the need to address Colombia's dual development problem, as the displacement and violence has disproportionately affected rural and minority populations. Nagy has been critical of the way that transitional justice forces heavily on legalist paradigms complyingwith international humanitarian norms rather than dealing with the, "socioeconomic ramifications of violent conflict" (2008: 278). Transitional justice should not be restricted by narrow focus on incidents and actors; rather post-conflict justice could be better served through the recognition of victims' experiences and by promoting greater equality and development within the state.

Not only can development frameworks provide justice in the form of long-term economic reparations to victims of the violence, but spatial planning models can be used to repair social cohesion and rebuild trust in government institutions. The role of external guarantors is not limited to the peacebuilding process, as they can become partners in structural reform initiatives to transform the post-conflict state through development.

4.3 Spatial Planning and Development

4.3.1 Shaping Our Future: The EU's plan for Northern Ireland

One approach to development can be to approach inequality from a spatial perspective, focusing on uneven levels of investment and infrastructure as a catalyst for instability within the state. Models which deal with reducing spatial inequality are gaining traction in post-conflict development literature;Kanbur and Venables state that though, "Spatial inequality is a dimension of overall inequality…it has added significance when spatial and regional divisions align with political and ethnic tensions to undermine social and political stability" (2003: 2), whilst their study suggests that this form of inequality is on the rise globally.

Albrechts et al have noted the success of Northern Ireland's spatial planning project, *Shaping Our Future*, as encouraging social cohesion whilst being mindful of diversity. The strategic focus on spatial development has been influenced by UK and European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) strategy, and has impact beyond public investment coordination, "helping to change the governance culture towards more participatory practices" (2003: 126). In such as it is a non-sectarian area of governance, it has united divergent parties around an economic development plan promising to reduce spatial inequalities in rural areas whilst also increasing the province's competitiveness through investment in Belfast as an economic and trade hub.

The European Union's continued focus on spatial planning as a long-term strategy towards peace is evidenced in the PEACE IV Programme, a €270m Structural Funds programme for Northern Ireland and the border counties. The aim of the fund is to foster cohesion and stability by targeting the following objectives; 1) Shared Education 2) Children & Young People 3) Shared Spaces & Services and 4) Building Positive Relations (CVSNI).

The funding is being distributed to research projects over a 6 year period (2014-2020), by the Special EU Programmes Body set up under the British-Irish Agreement of 8th March 1999.

4.3.2   Colombia's Development Duality Problem

Lessmann refers to the high levels of spatial inequality in Colombia as a potential factor in the creation of, "a breeding ground for conflicts" (2014: 22). Colombia suffers from significant infrastructural problems stemming from the 'duality' of its developed cities as hubs of economic activity whilst the rural areas are economically, politically and structurally under-developed. The vast geographic size of the country together with a long history of partisan politics and dissent has led to the current situation where the GOC in effect only controls part of the country, whilst inaccessible regions are governed by guerrilla and paramilitary groups with economies built around illicit activities.

Eduardo Pizarro and others have noted the role acted out by the FARC from the 1960s to the 1990s as a kind of gendarme for the *campesinos* in disputes with landlords, as well as providing basic infrastructure in these rural areas (Gray, 2008). The need for agrarian reform and redistribution of investment by the government is significant, if they are to successfully curb the production of coca, a crop which has financed much of the violence over the years. Reliance on the black market and drug cartels to provide a living in rural regions could yet prove to be a stumbling block for the peace process, with the Integrated System for Monitoring Illicit Crops (SIMCI) Project of UNODC reporting a steady growth in coca production in Colombia since the peace process began.

This long-standing situation has undermined the legitimacy of the central government, reflected in the voting patterns of the electorate over recent year with predominantly agrarian regions such as Guaviare and Caquetá frequently showing the lowest voter turnout on election days. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) is supporting the Colombia's government with their efforts to increase institutional presence in rural areas to address this duality, "as it lives at the center of the conflict and fuels an illicit rural economy of drug trafficking, extortion, illegal mining, and other maladies" (USAID).

4.3.3 Measuring Poverty and Inequality

In recognition of the problem of duality, Colombia's Ministry of Planning introduced a pioneering poverty-reduction strategy in 2011, using the Alkire Foster (AF) method to

measure a multitude of deprivation factors, recognising the need for development to be considered holistically from a human security perspective rather than one-dimensional economic view of poverty.

The Multidimensional Poverty Index for Colombia (MPI-Colombia) is a promisingly innovative approach to addressing the states' equality deficit, suggesting the GOC will be receptive to multi-dimensional development models as they build their post-conflict governance strategy in the coming months and years. The MPI was set up to assess five dimensions of measurable deprivation, including: education, health, access to utilities and living conditions, youth and childhood conditions and employment. The target set was to reduce the Colombia's multidimensional poverty percentage to 22% by 2014 (OPHI), a target that has been almost certainly missed according to the UN Development Programme (UNDP) index data, placing MPI rates in Colombia at 32% of the total population in 2013 (HDX). However, as MPI-Colombia data has not been made publically accessible yet, and the UNDP methodology differs slightly[14], it cannot be conclusively stated that the target has not been achieved though it is unlikely. However, according to World Bank data improvements have been made; statistics show that the rural poverty gap in Colombia has been steadily decreasing, with a 3.5% reduction between 2011 and 2015 (World Bank).

This has been achieved through partnership working with the World Bank during two phases of the National Development Plan (2010-14 and 2014-18), assisting in the, "design and implement[ation of] policies and institutions to achieve a significant reduction of inequality", building the GOCs structural capacity for the future through better understanding of poverty, gender equality, regional development and social risk management (World Bank, 2015). Subsequently, the World Bank loaned the Colombian administration $600 million USD to pursue the 'Enhancing the Fiscal Capacity to Promote Shared Prosperity Development Policy' (World Bank).

Inequality and poverty in Northern Ireland has been measured since the 1970s, recording the spatial distribution of deprivation. An updated version of the measures was introduced in 2017 called the NI Multiple Deprivation Measure (NIMPM), scoring and ranking areas according to 38 indicators of deprivation across 890 areas. The NIMPM identified a clear trend in the areas of deprivation, in that the 10 most deprived areas

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[14]Unlike the MPI-Colombia framework, the UNDP MPI does not measure labour and childhood and youth conditions (other thanchild mortality).

areaswere all in Belfast and Derry/Londonderry[15];cities which saw the worst of the violence during the Troubles and have yet to recover economically or socially. Although overallNorthern Ireland has a lower Gini coefficient for income inequality than the rest of the UK or Republic of Ireland (Tinson et al, 2016), this reveals is only part of the story as deprivation is heavily localised.

The Education, Skills and Training gap in attainment is most notable, as 56 of the top 100 most deprived areas are again in Belfast, meaning inequality is set to get worse once the children who are currently being educated in inner-city schools join the workforce in the coming years, lacking basic qualifications and opportunities for social mobility through attainment. In education, Northern Ireland has the inverse problem to Colombia as students in rural schools and colleges are achieving significantly higher educational outcomes compared with schools in the towns and cities – only 1 of the top 100 areas of educational deprivation is rural (NIMPM).Northern Ireland's spatial planning strategy must address the issue of educational disparity and deprivation if it is to succeed in creating a more equal and cohesive society for future generations.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Building a Lasting Peace

In reference to Galtung's work,Krause and Jütersonke state, "Peacebuilding…implies something more positive and dynamic that simply creating stability to prevent violent conflict" (2005: 454). Successful peacebuildingstrategies should encompass the holistic development of the state,incorporating long-term strategies such as improving social cohesion and reducing spatial inequality. Without such interventions, the affected society will remain in a state of dysfunction long after the conflict has ended.

Adell (2012) has criticised the early iterations of Colombian Peace Infrastructures as operating on a top-down structure aiming to reduce violence rather than build positive relations with citizens. As noted in the testing of the hypotheses, governments who are

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[15] The naming of 'Derry/Londonderry' is a matter of dispute between Unionists and Nationalists in Northern Ireland. To avoid implied political allegiance, it is commonplace for the city to be named in this format on all official government policy and research documents.

emerging from protracted conflicts can be impeded by low levels of trust and civic engagement among the general population, and as suchcan be slow to address conflict at the local, grass-roots level as they focus on adapting the governance system and maintaining ceasefires. This is where involvement of international actors and experienced peacebuilding transnational organisations can be utilised, to build legitimacy and recognition for the peace process more quickly than the national government may be capable of, or have capacity to do so.

The importance of involving the international community as sponsors and architects of long-term structural projects cannot be understatedas evidenced in the examples of Northern Ireland and Colombia.The neutrality of the external actors is an important factor in enabling a peacebuilding narrative to flourish; an example of which is the PEACE Programme (EU Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland), part-funded by the EU through its Structural funds programme. The programme is currently in its fourth generation of funding distribution (2014-2020) to cross-community projects, with the remit of promoting peace and reconciliation, social and economic stability and cohesion between the communities (SEUPB).

Colombia's peace processshows early promiseand has secured international backing; the signing of the peace agreement in September 2016 was overseen by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, Cuba leader Raul Castro, and U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry lending legitimacy and transparency to the process. It remains to be seen how the peace process will develop, but the signs appear encouraging with Cuba and Norway as guarantors of the peace, and Chile and Venezuela providing additional sponsorship and balance to the process. The long-term support of guarantor states and non-state actors will be vital if Colombia is to build a lasting peace. The transformation of civil society after conflict takes considerable time and effort, and inevitably will appear unstable at times; though with enough support and assistance from the international community Colombia stands a strong chance of rebuilding peace and governance.

Conflict increases potential for inequality and exploitation of the poor. The rural and ethnic minority communities of Colombia have been inordinately affected by displacement, violence and state crackdowns on cocoa cultivation. The GOC has acknowledged the importance of addressing poverty and deprivation in rural areas, identifying it as key area of development in the peace agreement with the FARC. Thecreation of a tool such as MPI-

Colombia and the adoption of a National Development Plan to tackle development duality backed by theWorld Bank, are both positive signs of the state's commitment to a long-term approach towards lastly peace, stability and equality. Development will always be most successful when collaboratively designed with multilateral support, as this encourages by-in by from the opposing factions and in turn legitimises the development plan as an inclusive strategy for all. The beginnings of the Colombian post-conflict peacebuilding model appear promising, with a multi-dimensional approach and considerable support from the international community.

Spatial planning programmes and an emphasis on long-term conflict transformation goals have proven successful in Northern Ireland, though after almost twenty years, continued efforts towards producing social cohesion are required. Collier et al (2008) propose that investment in peacebuilding by international organisations is best placed when it focuses on promoting economic recovery in post-conflict societies rather than political and governance transformation, noting that democracies are in fact more prone to regression to conflict than autocracies. Through analysis of the Correlates of War project data and the Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset (ACD) they summarise that economic incentives are much more significant motivators in conflict instigation than political dissatisfaction. However, this approach is extremely narrow in focus, analysing only the likelihood of a return to conflict with no weighting given to issues of transitional justice and the rights of citizens to free and fair governance; whilst conflict may well be less likely in an autocracy that is to ignore the issue of state violence and repression. Furthermore, Collier et al have not accounted for the non-tangible interests and questions of identity which Rothman and Olson (2001) identified as underlying factors in protracted civil conflicts.

Economic recovery is an important strategy to pursue in post-conflict societies to improve social relations and trust in the governance system, which is why spatial planningstrategies such as the EU's EDSPis of interest as a methodology of boosting an economy through better infrastructure in a balanced and sustainable way (ESDP, 1999).

5.2 Challenges for the Future

This paper has highlighted the many similarities between the Northern Irish and Colombian experiences of conflict, but this is not to attempt to detract from the enormous

human cost wrought by the Colombian conflict throughout the 50 years of brutality which the population has underwent, far in excess of the violence inflicted on Northern Irish society. Despite the evidenced reduction in conflict deaths in Colombia, it has consistently ranked in the bottom 20 percentile of countries for political stability and absence of violence/terrorism in the Worldwide Governance Indicators data (WGI).   Though there has been a moderate improvement since 2011, there are still significant issues with entrenched violence in the state yet to be addressed.

Whilst the GOC have successfully negotiated with the FARC, it means to be seen if a similar deal can be made with the ELN. There is an urgency to end the conflict with the ELN and the other guerrilla groups, as regions which the FARC once controlled are now witnessing greater violence as armed actors compete to establish themselves as the new warlords. Amnesty International (2017) has warned that the indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations of Chocó are continuing to suffer forced displacement, torture and murder as pawns in the fight for regional control. The Colombian administration face considerable challenges to extend their control throughout rural and guerrilla held regions, but state security control in these departments must be improved if peace is to be secured.

Governance and the Colombian state's legitimacy as an arbiter of justice has been continually undermined by allegations against politicians and convictions for corruption and bribery - Santiago Uribe, brother of the former President Alvaro Uribe was arrested in June 2017 on charges of murder and his alleged role in a paramilitary organisation in the 1990s (Human Rights Watch, 2018).   Low levels of trust for state government and its institutions by citizens is another common feature of a post-conflict society, where many individuals are tainted by the legacy of the violence. Although a lack of trust and political engagementis not initself a direct risk factor forthe conflict transformation process, as the process can be coordinated and legitimised by international organisations; distrust is a challenge that must be overcome if the state is to create a functioning and inclusive governance system.

The issue of distrust is similarly pronounced in Northern Irish politics, with a stark divide between the two dominant political perspectives. It is not only the citizens wholack trust in the Assembly, but also the politicians who have struggled to moderate their policies and focus on commonalties in order to form a functioning governance system. The D'Hondt Method which has underpinned the electoral system in Northern Ireland since 1998 appears no longer to be viable, with the latest Assembly suspension since January 2017 showing no

signs of resolution. By far the biggest challenge Northern Ireland faces to successful peacebuilding and governance in the province is the political system itself. In a divided society where no one party is capable of holding a majority, and where coalitions would be extremely unlikely even if the D'Hondt Method was to be replaced, there is no easy answer to resolve the political dysfunction.

The testing of hypothesis 5 revealed that negative perceptions of the 'other' are sustained long after the conflict has been brought to an end, highlighting the need for sustainable long-term programmes of integration in post-conflict societies. The challenge for social cohesion strategies in Colombia and Northern Ireland is that they are counteracting decades of division.

Whilst political avenues to increase social cohesion and cross-community partnerships appear closed in Northern Ireland, there remains opportunity in addressing division through the educational system. Among the Catholic community, religious schools continue to be extremely popular due both to social conventions and the relatively high educational attainment offered by these private Roman Catholic maintained schools. In order to balance this and improve rates of educational integration, state schools must be sufficiently funded and monitored to be competitive with their private counterparts. Furthermore, this paper recommends greater incentives for integration of state schools, through student intake quotas and cross-community school partnerships.

Some secondary schools in mixed community areas, such as Newry, have experimented with partnership programmes, whereby GSCE and A-Level students[16] can be offered a greater range of subjects to choose from as the schools in the area coordinate which specialist subjects they can offer according to their budgets, and exchange students for specific classes. The Newry and Mourne Area Learning Community has been in operation for 10 years, and now incorporates 17 schools and colleges, 11 of which are Catholic maintained schools (Newry High School, ALC). Models such as this are encouraging as they create cross-community learning environments as well as benefiting the students through increased choice, and offering savings for school budgets. Education based social cohesion strategies have the added impact of addressing divisions at an early stage, helping to reduce the risk of trans-generational transference of negative conflict framing.

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[16] GSCEs are taken at 15-16 years old, and A-Levels are taken aged 17-18 years old prior to starting third level education.

This paper has focused on the many similarities between the post-conflict experiences of Colombia and Northern Ireland, as well as the challenges faced after a period of protracted violence. There are many lessons to be derived from the example of Northern Ireland's arduous peace process, just as there have been many developments made in the study and practice of governance and peacebuilding in the last two decades which can provide a template for the Colombian process;including ICR workshops, multilevel poverty and deprivation indicators and spatial planning to reduce inequality.

The enormous financial cost of addressing societal dysfunctions caused by conflict is a burden that few states can carry on their own, so international assistance is vital. When compared with the millions of pounds that have been spent on stabilising and transforming Northern Irish society since the end of the Troubles, billions more will be required to begin to address the harm inflicted on the Colombian population. For Colombia to prosper in its new-found peace, and Northern Ireland to continue to improve cross-community relations to become a cohesive society, the international communitymust be willing to collaboratewith each other and resist the growing global trend towards isolationism. After the Cold War, peacebuilding and global citizenship where top priorities for organisations such as the UN, but since the USAs 'War or Terror', global cooperation has reduced, "leaving in its place a deeply divided international community which does not have the appropriate institutions or the necessary political will to forge a new consensus about international priorities"(Tschirgi, 2004: ii).This lack of capacity and will to collaborate is the greatest challenge of all to the development of stronger peacebuilding and governance models.

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