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**PJHR 375/51 Peace-Building and Conflict Transformation:
Narrating Northern Ireland
2013**

Dr. Philip Metres, professor of record
Dr. Richard Clark, Peace, Justice and Human Rights Director
Dr. John Spencer, Theology and Religious Studies

Course Description and Goals:

This course is designed to explore the dynamics of conflict and peacemaking at work in Northern Ireland. We will examine the historical and cultural roots of conflict from a multidisciplinary approach by reading histories, cultural studies, literary narratives, and film. While we will establish a background for how and why these conflicts persisted, we will focus on gaining skills necessary to do the courageous but difficult work of peace-building, conflict transformation, reconciliation, and social restoration. We take as our inspiration the call for a well-educated solidarity, in which we pose the question, “How can we live together in this time and place?”

The goals of the course will include interdisciplinary analysis of subjects, critical thinking, experiential learning, problem solving, active learning, and articulation of ideas and concepts. Our in-class sessions at John Carroll will be run as a seminar, which means that a critical portion of the class will be provided by student-focused contributions. As a result, **it is exceedingly important that you prepare for each class, complete the appropriate readings, and reflect on those readings before class begins. Please bring all reading materials to every class.**

We will take advantage of our presence in Northern Ireland in two ways. We will frequently call upon local officials and experts to speak to the class. Students will also be expected to participate in the experiential learning aspect of the course. This means that students will be placed in situations where they will see the local activities related to “peace-building and conflict transformation.” After our day’s events, we will convene around dinnertime to reflect on the experiences we’ve shared.

Required Reading/Viewing

Mulholland, Marc. Northern Ireland: A Very Short Introduction.

Heaney, Seamus. Opened Ground. (If you’d prefer to read poems online, that’s okay).

Course Packet of Readings (handouts)

“Michael Collins” (1996)

“The Wind That Shakes the Barley” (2006) (film)

“Bloody Sunday” (2002) (film)

“Hunger” (2009) (film) (secondary source)

“In the Name of the Father” (1993) (film)

“Fourteen Days of Terror” (documentary film)

“The Crying Game” (1992) (film) (secondary source)

“Omagh” (2004) (film)

“Five Minutes of Heaven” (2009) (film)

Course Requirements

Since our class sessions will be tied to site visits or guest speaker presentations, the topics for discussion, readings, and occasional writing may be altered. Students are responsible for remaining current.

Attendance and Participation: Students are required to attend all site visits, guest lectures, cultural events, and discussion periods convened by the instructors. All students are expected to have the material read by the time of the schedule discussions and to participate actively (that is: speaking at least once per session) in order to be given minimum credit for participation. (20%)

Short Papers: Students are required to write two short papers, one for each of our JCU class seminars.

Specific themes are listed below; each paper should be thoughtful, formally presented (that is, with attention to mechanics, spelling, sentence structure), and cogent. The required length of each paper is 4-5 single-spaced pages. Your discussions should provide textually-specific (and properly cited) information as well as insights drawn from collateral readings, films, songs, etc. Please be clear that each paper must demonstrate a thorough reading of the assigned texts but also evidence integrated, reflective thinking. (20%)

Daily Travel Journal: To be kept while in Northern Ireland. I am asking that you write daily reflections (about 10 entries, about a page single-spaced each) that connect the questions, themes, images, and motifs of our readings to the various experiences, lectures, meetings, and encounters that we have. This is your opportunity to bring together the various strands of intellectual, emotional, and experiential aspects of the course, meditating on and inquiring about this place and the quest for peace. (20%)

Research Paper (40% of grade)

You must complete a research paper which is to be submitted after the end of the experience in Northern Ireland. Topics for the paper will be discussed early in the course, but emphasis on exploring peacebuilding and conflict transformation is encouraged. The paper should be about 10 pages in length and employ at least 10 sources (more than one-half of your sources must be non-internet sources). This paper should draw upon the materials from literary and historical narrative and socio-cultural theories. Paper must be submitted by July 20th (tentative) to pmetres@jcu.edu. You must be sure to cite your sources. Every time you quote, borrow an idea or otherwise use a source, be sure to indicate it with a citation. It is essential that you use citations properly and fully in order to avoid problems with plagiarism. If you have any questions, about researching a paper or using citations, ask before you begin your research. For questions of form in writing, citations, and bibliography, you should consult such sources as Turabian or the MLA Handbook for Writers.

Peacebuilding and The Moral Imagination

Peacebuilding, according to John Paul Lederach, "is more than post-accord reconstruction" and "is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct."

Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 20, 75, 84-85.

First, the moral imagination has four capacities or disciplines:

"...the moral imagination requires the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that includes our enemies; the ability to sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on dualistic polarity; the fundamental belief in and pursuit of the creative act; and the acceptance of the inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence" (p.5). To restate:

- 1) Empathy for the other
- 2) Curiosity and open-mindedness; a refusal of "us/them" dichotomies
- 3) Faith in the creative act
- 4) Courage to risk, to move into the unknown

These four disciplines of the Moral Imagination need to be explored in two directions:

- 1) "we must understand and feel the landscape of protracted violence and why it poses such deep-rooted challenges to constructive change. In other words we must set our feet deeply into the geographies and realities of what destructive relationships produce, what legacies they leave, and what breaking their violent patterns will require" (Lederbach, Moral imagination, 5)

This is what we'll be looking at in particular during our first seminar!

- 2) "we must explore the creative process itself, not as a tangential inquiry, but as the well-spring that feeds the building of peace" (5).

This is will be the main arena of inquiry during our second seminar!

When we consider representations of conflict and peace in Northern Ireland, we need to ask ourselves whether we see examples of this peacebuilding already in evidence, even though the conflicts are still unfolding. And what challenges the situations offer to true peacebuilding. Is peacebuilding possible, for example, or even good, in situations of ongoing injustice?

From The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace (New York: Oxford UP, 2007) by John Paul Lederach

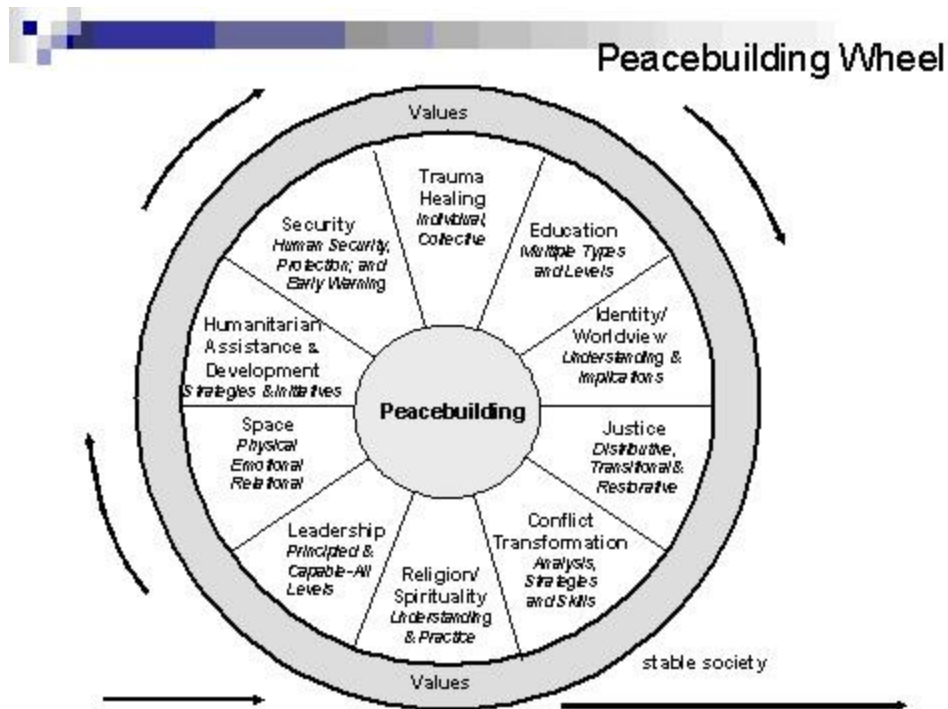
Other Definitions of and Schema for Peacebuilding

"Peacebuilding is the set of initiatives by diverse actors in government and civil society to address the root causes of violence and protect civilians before, during, and after violent conflict. Peacebuilders use communication, negotiation, and mediation instead of belligerence and violence to resolve conflicts. Effective peacebuilding is multi-faceted and adapted to each conflict environment. There is no one path to peace, but pathways are available in every conflict environment. Peacebuilders help belligerents find a path that will enable them to resolve their differences without bloodshed. The ultimate objective of peacebuilding is to reduce and eliminate the frequency and severity of violent conflict." --[Chic Dambach, former President & CEO, Alliance for Peacebuilding](#)

"Peacebuilding uses communication, negotiation and mediation instead of belligerence and violence to resolve conflicts." Professor Ron Fisher of American University defines peacebuilding as, "developmental and interactive activities, often facilitated by a third party, which are directed toward meeting the basic needs, de-escalating the hostility, and improving the relationship of parties engaged in protracted social conflict." --Ron Fisher

Peacebuilding involves a full range of approaches, processes and stages needed for transformation toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships and governance modes and structures. Peacebuilding includes building legal and human rights institutions as well as fair and effective governance and [dispute resolution](#) processes and systems. To be effective, peacebuilding activities require careful and participatory planning, coordination among various efforts, and sustained commitments by both local and donor partners." --Catherine Morris of the [Institute for Dispute Resolution](#)

all quoted from <http://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/?aboutpeacebuilding>



From the Center for Justice and Peacebuilding:

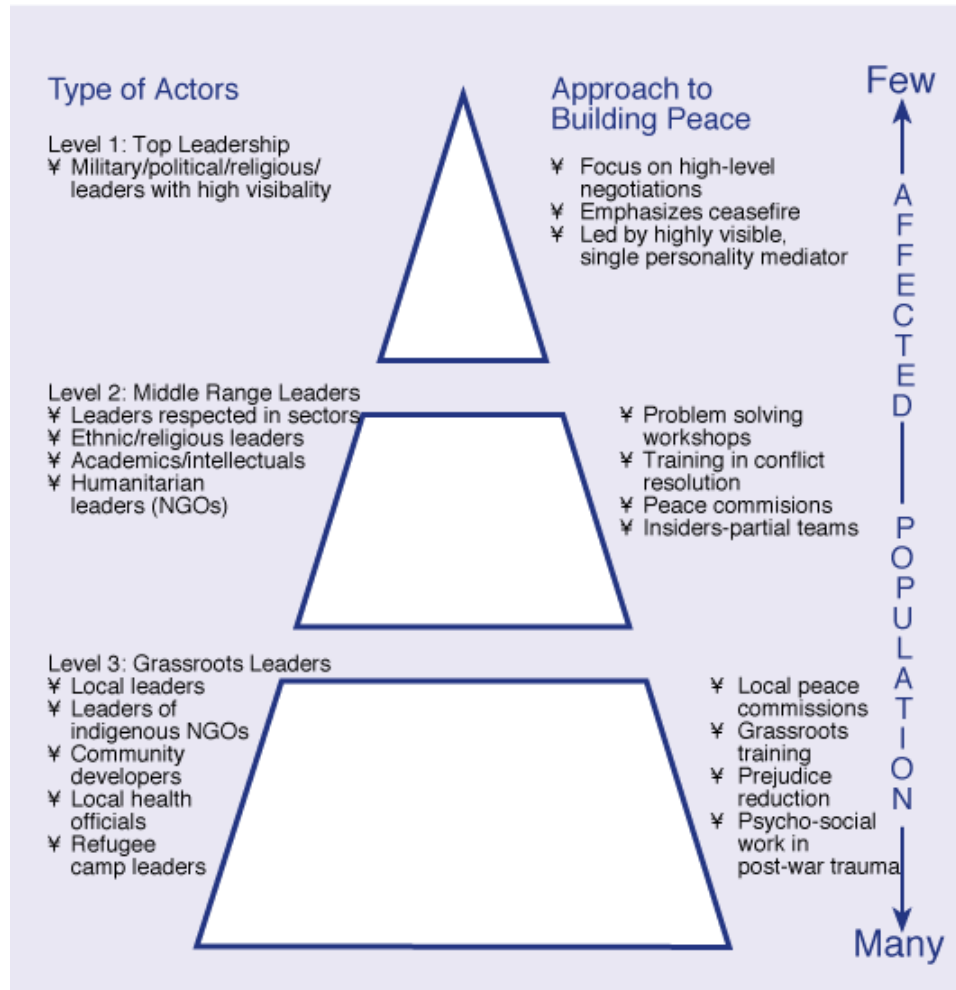
We use the term “*peacebuilding*” instead of “*peacemaking*” because conflicts arise from specific contexts. To address conflicts and build peaceful communities, we have to understand the contexts that lead to conflict and create contexts that promote peace. As John Paul Lederach, our founding director, says, it takes as long to end a conflict as it does to create it. True peace requires us not to just make peace by ending conflicts but to build an infrastructure for peace.

We use the term *conflict “transformation”* rather than “*resolution*” to remind ourselves that conflict is normal and can often be an opportunity for growth. Again, it is important to analyze and address the relational and institutional context in which conflict occurs and to encourage healthy contexts in which conflict is manageable and furthers learning and renewal. (A slogan, then: “*Conflict is opportunity. Don’t waste it.*”)

CJP is organized around three central fields: trauma awareness and healing, conflict transformation and restorative justice. Several other auxiliary fields include healthy organizations and community development. Each of these, as well as other peacebuilding efforts, is connected to the hub of Barry’s wheel. *Each is about building, maintaining and mending healthy and just relationships.* Each has their own contributions to make toward this goal.

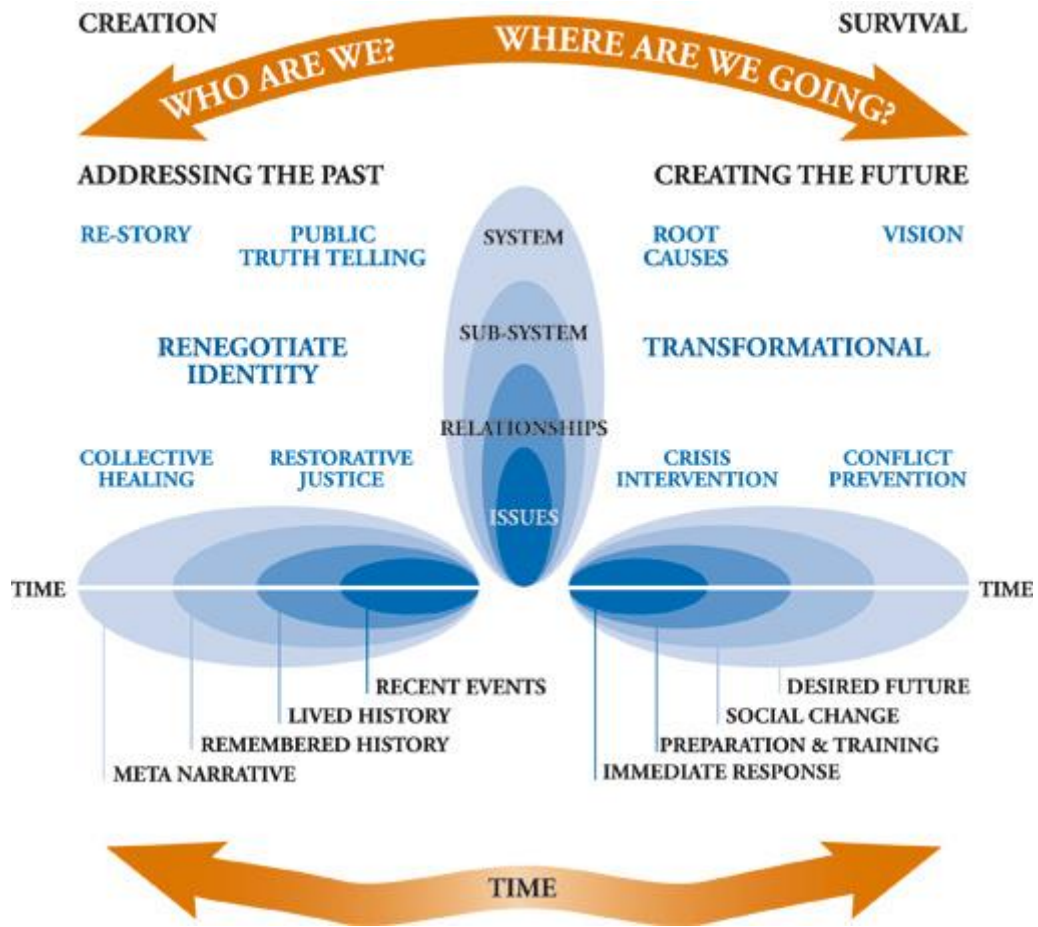
Howard Zehr, <http://emu.edu/blog/restorative-justice/2009/04/20/restorative-justice-and-peacebuilding/>

Who Can Help Build Peace, and How?



http://www.gppac.net/documents/pbp/part1/1_justpe.htm

From "Peacebuilders International" website:



Lederach, John Paul 2005: The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace. Oxford, Oxford University Press, p144.

Schedule of Readings and Meetings

Meeting in O'Malley Center 231!

June 1st, 10-1pm **Background to the Conflict: Colonialism and Conflict**

TEXTS

Caveats: 1) watch films with subtitles, because you will not understand some of the language; 2) take some notes as you go, particularly regarding the questions you will answer for the papers; 3) please note that the films, while based on real events in nearly every case, should be taken as narrative depictions and not as "truth"--but they are powerful sites of fictive understanding and can spur research. For example, you'll discover that Alistair Little from "Five Minutes of Heaven" is an actual person, though the events of that film are fictional. Other films are closely based on fact.

- “Michael Collins” (film)
trailer: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=76-Ggwbh0Lk>
- “Easter 1916” by W.B. Yeats (poem)
- http://www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nap/Easter_1916_Yeats.htm
- “The Wind That Shakes the Barley” (film)
trailer: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6yvHe_ksnDA
- “Guests of the Nation” by Frank O’Connor (handout)
- “The Orange Idealist” by Robert Lynd (handout)
- “Bloody Sunday” (film)
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BrOT217Byg>
- “In the Name of the Father” (film)
trailer: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H0ff5KjZ7vM>
- “Hunger” (film)
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dmVPCX0LxN8>
- “Fourteen Days of Terror”: the height of the Troubles in 1988
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mSShBx092t4>
- Three protest songs re: The Troubles:
 - 1) “Zombie” by the Cranberries:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Ejga4kJUts>
<http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/cranberries/zombie.html>
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warrington_bomb_attacks
 - 2) “Sunday Bloody Sunday” by U2
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JFM7Ty1EEvs&feature=related>
 - 3) “Suspect Device” by Stiff Little Fingers
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwVT5Ys_64E

Investigation for your first paper

- 1) what are the roots of the conflict in Northern Ireland, and how did the legacy of British colonialism continue to impact Ireland and Northern Ireland? To answer this, learn about:
 - a) the dates that are “fixed like beacons in the folklore and mythology of Irishmen”: 1170, 1641, 1690, 1798, 1912, 1916, 1921, 1969.

- b) the Penal Laws (16th-20th c.): regarding land ownership, religion, language, intermarriage, voting rights, education, employment, in Ireland etc. Learn about both why these laws were made and what impact they had on Ireland.
 - c) learn about the causes of the Irish Potato Famine.
 - d) the origins of the term “boycott.”
- 2) How does Irish resistance to British rule—from the 1916 Easter Rising through the Good Friday Peace Accords (1998)—stake an important political (and human) claim to national liberation? When it took on violent forms, how did it also cause tremendous suffering, both to the victims of political violence and to its perpetrators? (Connect in particular “Michael Collins,” “The Wind That Shakes the Barley,” “Bloody Sunday,” “Fourteen Days of Terror,” Yeats, O’Connor, Lynd, and the songs).
- 3) Now that you know a bit of the Irish side of things, consider the world from an Ulster Protestant point of view:
- a) consider the events of 1609, 1641, 1689, 1690: what does this history tell you about the narrative of Ulster Unionists vis-à-vis their Irish neighbors?
 - b) read “The Orange Idealist” and “Love Poetry, the RUC, and me”
 - c) What are the principal political, cultural, and religious differences between the Irish Catholics (also called Nationalists or Republicans) and the Ulster Protestants (also called Unionists or Loyalists)?
 - d) Why do you think that the conflict boiled over into an armed war between paramilitaries in the 1970s-1990s?

PARTIAL SNAPSHOT HISTORY OF IRELAND/NORTHERN IRELAND

Check out this 1 hour documentary:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v2-zpvGWZCw>

Some Key Events (to be explored further)

1169: beginning of 700 years of English involvement in Ireland

mid-16th century: plantation/settler colonialism in Ulster and Northern Ireland

1613: overthrow of Catholic majority in Irish parliament due to colonial settlement

85% of Irish population banned from Parliament because of being Roman Catholic

Rampant Irish Slavery by English, 100,000 Irish children sent into slavery in New World

1691: Penal Laws reinforced; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Penal_Laws_\(Ireland\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Penal_Laws_(Ireland))

1798: United Irishmen (led by Presbyterian Wolfe Tone) revolt quelled

1801: Irish Parliament abolished; Ireland absorbed into United Kingdom

1829: Catholic emancipation in 1829

1846-1849: Great Famine, aka Irish Potato Famine; 1,000,000 died, another million emigrated due to the famine caused partly by economic system of Anglo-Irish landlords and mass impoverishment of the peasants

1870s: movement for self-government led by Charles Parnell

1886: Home Rule movement (not passed until 1914): granted Dublin parliament limited autonomy over domestic affairs (caused fear among the Unionists about being under Irish Catholic control)

1916: Easter Rising revolt quelled

1919: Irish War of Independence

1922: Anglo-Irish Treaty, Irish Free State, Northern Ireland kept as part of UK

1968-1998: "The Troubles": period of civil strife and political violence in Northern Ireland, in which approximately 4,000 people were murdered in acts of political violence. Rise of paramilitary groups.

1972: Bloody Sunday (1972): bloody attack upon Civil Rights marchers, 13 killed. Led to a rise in IRA stature. Widgery Tribunal (1972) exonerated the police. Saville Inquiry (2010) stated that the killings were unjustifiable and the victims unarmed; David Cameron issued a formal apology in 2010.

1985: Anglo-Irish Agreement: accord between Great Britain and Ireland to consult on matters related to Northern Ireland

1996: Mitchell Principles of Non-Violence

1998: Belfast Good Friday Agreement (1998): key multi-party agreement that led to cessation of armed conflict.

Some Key Terms/Figures

Unionist: supporter of maintenance of Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Loyalist: more working class and loyal not only to Union but also to Ulster

Nationalist: supporter of a united Ireland

Republican: stronger advocates of united Ireland with political and cultural independence

Orange Order: Protestant fraternal organization founded 1795 to commemorate William of Orange's victory over King James II in 1689; all the N.I. PM's have been members of the Orange Order (from 1921-1969). Revived during Home Rule phase as a Unionist organization. Criticized as exclusionary, triumphalist and supremacist. Connected to Ulster Unionist Party.

Special Powers Act of 1921: arrest without warrant, detention without trial, home search, prohibit meetings and processions, hang and whip offenders

Emergency Powers Act of 1973: use of Diplock Courts, admission of uncorroborated confession statements, used to harass and gather intelligence

Stormont: seat of government in NI

RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary): police/security force, often heavily represented by Unionists and Unionist concerns

B-Specials: auxiliary force for RUC, particularly partisan and brutal

PSNI (Police Service of Northern Ireland): name for police force post-peace.

UUP (Ulster Unionist Party): originally, the Unionist party, ruled 1921-1972

DUP (Democratic Unionist Party): Unionist party founded by Ian Paisley, Protestant

PUP (Progressive Unionist Party): linked with UVF

UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force): Loyalist paramilitary group

UDA (Ulster Defence Association): Loyalist paramilitary group

Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone, Republican Party): linked with IRA

SDLP (Social Democratic and Labor Party): Nationalist party known for civil rights and economic development work

IRA (Irish Republican Army): guerilla organization that split into the Provisional IRA (or Provos) when it broke off from mainstream IRA in the South.

Real IRA: breakaway post-Peace Accord offshoot of the IRA

Some Key Figures

King James II (1633-1701, r 1685-1688): last Roman Catholic monarch of England, defeated by William of Orange

William of Orange (1650-1702. R 1689-1702): pivotal figure in the restoration of Protestantism in UK/Battle of Boyne

Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658: British military and political leader, “Puritan Moses”

Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-1798): United Irishmen leader

James Connelly (1868-1916): Socialist leader of the Republican movement

Michael Collins (1890-1922): Irish revolutionary leader

Eamon de Valera (1882-1975): Irish leader, President of Ireland

James Craig (Lord Cragavon) (1871-1940): first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland

Terence O’Neill (1914-1990): reformist Prime Minister of Northern Ireland

Bobby Sands (1954-1981: charismatic IRA hunger striker who died while in prison

Billy McKee (1918-): founder of the Provisional IRA

Bernadette Devlin (1947-): Civil Rights leader

Mairead Maguire (1944-), Betty Williams (1943-), and Ciaran McKeown (1943-): peace activists – first two received Nobel Peace Prize in 1976

Ian Paisley (1926-): Protestant Unionist leader

John Hume (1937-): SDLP Nationalist leader

Gerry Adams (1948-): Sinn Fein leader

Alex Reid (??): Redemptorist priest who brought Nationalist and Republicans together in back-door negotiations, leading to the Good Friday Peace Accords

June 3rd, 10-1pm **Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation**

Now, having set out the contours of the conflict, we have to come to an understanding about how peace could have taken place, and what obstacles remain, as dramatized so effectively in the films “Five Minutes of Heaven” and “Omagh.” We’ll try theorizing the terms “peace-building,” “reconciliation,” and “forgiveness.” Also, we’ll explore the Nobel Prize-winning poet Seamus Heaney’s poetry of Northern Ireland. *For your second paper, please consider the role of peacebuilding in the Good Friday Accords, and also lay out the obstacles that remain in creating a more peaceful future, referencing at least two films, one poem, and one essay from our readings.*

- Father Alex Reid: peacemaker
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=53ZuVw-FCRw>
- “Five Minutes of Heaven” (film)
trailer: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uZOE7HgvI3c>
- “Omagh” (film)
trailer: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62stoNJufEU>
- “The Crying Game” (film)
trailer: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8vs_4-QQACo
- “Reconciliation and the Politics of Forgiveness” from The Ambivalence of the Sacred by R. Scott Appleby (handout): please note in particular on p. 170-171, the need for a “remythologizing project”!
- “Men Who Walked the Street: Father Alex Reid and the Rev. Dr. Roy Magee” from Peacemakers in Action
- “Changing History: Peace Building in Northern Ireland” by Mari Fitzduff (handout)
- Poems from Opened Ground by Seamus Heaney: “Digging,” “Punishment,” “Whatever You Say Say Nothing,” “Singing School,” “After a Killing,” “From the Republic of Conscience,” and “Voices from Lemnos” and his essay “Crediting Poetry” (you can find these poems all online)
- Also the essay, for context, called “What I’ve Learned from Seamus Heaney” (handout)

Seamus Heaney audio links:

http://www.rte.ie/laweb/ll/ll_t17g.html

<http://www.lannan.org/lf/rc/event/seamus-heaney/>

Tentative Schedule for the Trip

We are ably assisted on the ground by Raymond Lennon. Raymond Lennon is associated with the Redemptorist Community at Clonard Monastery in Belfast. He has been involved with community work and peace efforts, alongside Father Alex Reid, one of the behind-the-scenes principals in the peace efforts that led to the Good Friday Peace Accord (1998). In Lennon's words, "I am particularly interested in the emotional force of transmitted, recalled and appropriated pasts in Northern Ireland."

Some of our activities will include:

Joint First Minister Martin Magennis
Jim Gibney - former prisoner republican
Baroness May Blood
Jeffrey Donaldson
Rev Bill Shaw - community leader
Glenn Jordan - community leader
Loyalist Victims group
Republican Victims group
Father Al Reid
Representative of SDLP
Representative of Alliance Part
Falls Community Council (nationalist)
Castlereagh Community Group (unionist)
Mini bus tour of Belfast
Walking tour of Falls and Shankill (Coiste)
Lord Mayor of Belfast
US Consul General
Day in Derry /Londonderry
Peace Players International
Day in Dublin
2 Queens lectures - ethnicity and poetry.