THE STORY OF PEACE
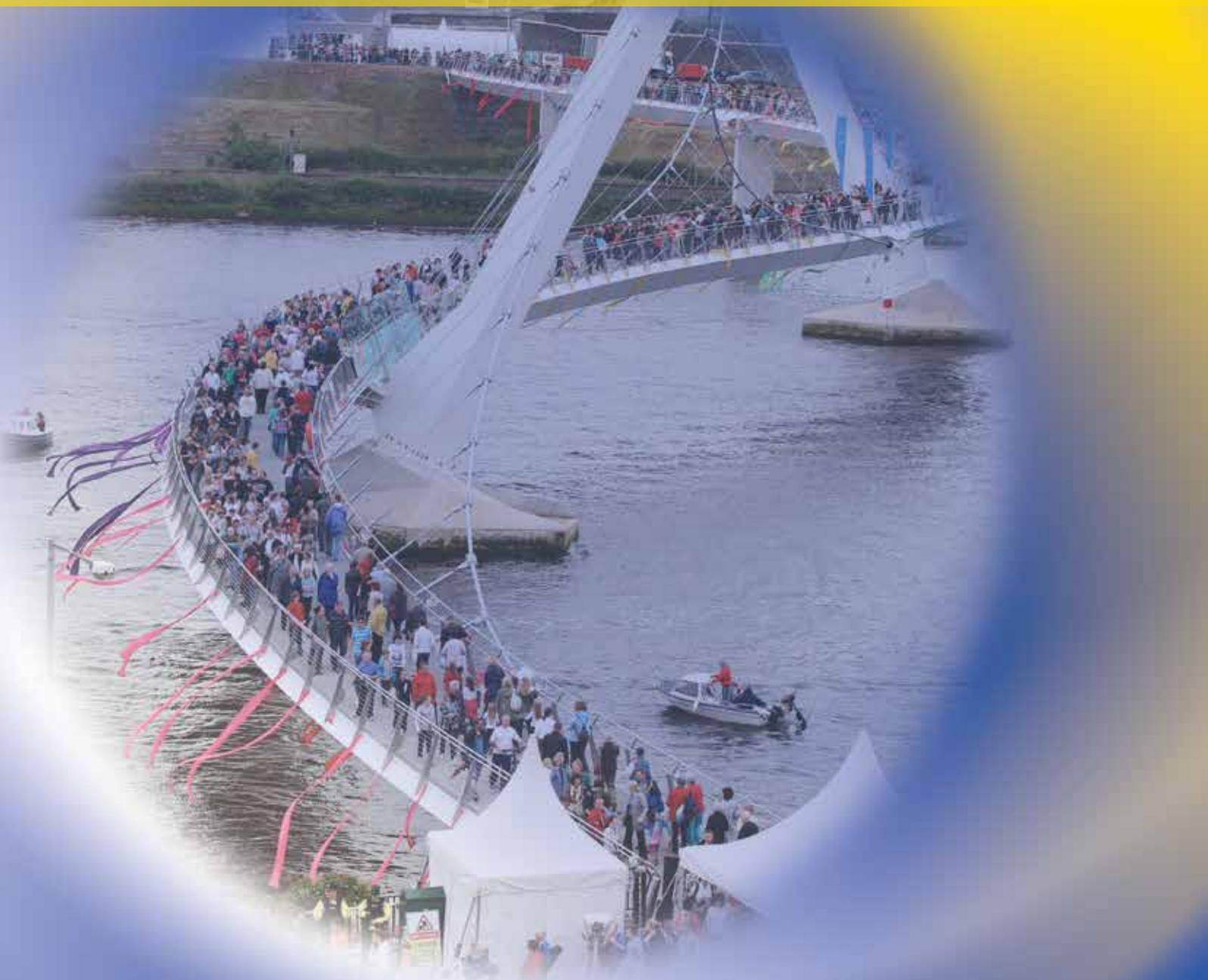## Learning from EU PEACE Funding in Northern Ireland and the Border Region

Kenneth Bush
Kenneth Houston

INCORE
international conflict research institute

Table of Contents

Acronyms

ADM/CPA	Area Development Management/Combat Poverty Agency
CAIN	Conflict Archive on the Internet, University of Ulster
CLMC	Combined Loyalist Military Command
CRC	Community Relations Council
DP	District Partnership
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFB	Intermediate Funding Body
IFI	International Fund for Ireland
INCORE	International Conflict Research Institute, University of Ulster
IRA	Irish Republican Army
INTERREG	Inter-Regional Cooperation across Europe
LEADER EU	EU Community Initiative for Rural Development
LSP	Local Strategy Partnership
NI	Northern Ireland
NIPB	Northern Ireland Partnership Board
NIVT	Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust
PwC	PricewaterhouseCoopers
PEACE	Special European Union Programme for Peace and Reconciliation
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party
SEUPB	Special European Union Programmes Body
UK	United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
URBAN	EU Urban Community Initiative
US/USA	United States/United States of America
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force

SOME POINTS ABOUT THE METHODOLOGY

What this Study is

The purpose of this study is to explore two questions:

1. **How and why did the PEACE programmes 'work' (or not)** in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland? and

2. **How might this understanding inform the efforts of others** to develop and implement similar programmes in other countries

The material presented in this study is intended to be clear and accessible. The aim of this study is true to its title, in that it seeks to tell the story of the PEACE programmes. The bibliography demonstrates that this approach requires as much research as any academic study. It would, however, probably be more accurate to talk about the stories of the PEACE programmes, both in the sense that there have been three programmes and in the sense that different stakeholders have different stories of their experiences of the programmes.

What this Study is Not

This study is not intended to be a how to manual or a recipe book, or a publicity brochure, or a dry academic essay. Neither could this study be seen as an evaluation, although it reviews evaluations of PEACE programmes and projects. And finally, the study is not simply a descriptive history of the PEACE programme. [1] Our principal task is *not* to describe, but to analyse and understand the logic, modalities, and experiences of the three PEACE programmes.

This study is intended to be of use to anyone who wishes to understand and learn from the Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland experience in the use of European Union (EU) funds for peace and reconciliation – perhaps with the idea of applying the lessons and experiences to different cases and geographical regions. In essence, the study is a critical reading of the experiences of the three PEACE programmes to date. An extensive list of selected resources is included in Part VII for readers who wish further detail on the themes and issues discussed here.

Dealing with Large Amounts of Information

The number of documents by, and about, the PEACE programmes is extensive. Hundreds of documents have been used in the preparation of this study. Further, over 21,000 projects were funded in PEACE I and PEACE II alone. The variety, complexity *and volume* of projects, programmes, and consequent publications are considerable. To help navigate through the volume of written material, interviews were carried out with many individuals who have been intimately associated with the PEACE programmes in various capacities and roles, at different periods of time. These conversations help to identify and explore the most important parts of the PEACE stories, in relation to the creation, initiation, implementation, and adjustments in PEACE programmes.

Moments, Memory and the Passing of Time

Most of the documents related to the PEACE Programmes focus on the immediate political moment within which they were written. This current study tries to collect these 'high resolution snap shots' of particular moments or stages in the life of the programmes, and assemble them into a 'moving picture' which will become the Story of PEACE. This enables us to better understand the evolution and changes across programmes since the inception of PEACE I in the mid-1990s. Inevitably however, the passage of time between an event and its recollection poses a well-known challenge to the research process: facts may be forgotten, or embellished, or decontextualised, or recast in light of subsequent events. Some of the interviewees were required to reach back to details and events that occurred over the past 15 years or so. In most cases, these details were double checked in other interviews and through comparison with the documentary records.

One of the unique features of this study is that it looks across all of the PEACE programmes. This allows for an examination of the institutional evolution of PEACE over time within a changing politico-security environment. However, this process of reading across all of the PEACE programmes is done with the hindsight knowledge that PEACE III followed the PEACE II Extension, which followed PEACE II, which followed PEACE I. This reminds us that although the current study is exploring some 15 years of programming, decision makers were always planning and working within a much shorter time horizon. Decision makers within each one of the PEACE programmes could not be sure that there would be a subsequent programme. Thus the calculations and budgetary time horizons of decision makers in PEACE I, for example, could not stretch beyond the five-year window within which it was set. Similarly, politicians involved in the PEACE programmes worked within time frames determined by election cycles which always fall short of the much longer time frames required for the transformation in society sought after protracted violent conflict.

> *"… while this study explores some 15 years of programming, decision makers were always planning and working within much shorter blocks of time. We must remember that decisions within each one of these phases were undertaken within an environment that could not be sure that there would be a subsequent phase."*

The Weighting of Information

Information is not equally weighted in this study. In sketching the broad story of the PEACE programmes, compromises, inevitably must be made in the level of detail provided in the text. It is important to note that there is much more material available about PEACE II and PEACE III, than there is about PEACE I. Overall however, this study examines the essential documentation for understanding the establishment and functioning of the PEACE Programme.

The Reach of PEACE Funding

Given the scale and scope of the PEACE programme in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland, there are very few organisations which have not benefitted from its funding in one way or another. Indeed, the International Conflict Research Institute (INCORE), the authors of this study, and the organisations with which they have been associated, have all benefitted from PEACE funding. In addition, researchers currently based at INCORE have contributed in substantive ways to the shaping of the programme over the years.[2] These realities place the authors in the position of analytically negotiating between professional engagement with the programme, and the critical distance required for good research. The interests of INCORE in the current exercise, however, are driven by the fact that its overall aim is to work on the interface between ideas and research on the one hand, and policy and practice on the other. On balance, the authors view their professional engagements with the PEACE programme as serving to strengthen, not weaken, the research contained in this study.

The Structure of the Current Study

The story of the formulation and initiation of the PEACE programme is different from the story of maintaining and running it. This study begins with an exploration of the conditions conducive to the establishment of the PEACE programme. This part of the story examines those factors that help us to understand how the idea of the programme was formed, and how this initial idea was translated into a structured, functioning, programme. This chapter of the story concentrates on the period immediately preceding the initiation of the programme, and continues through the life of the first PEACE programme (1995–1999). This part of the story is particularly important for those attempting to launch a similar programme in a different country or conflict context. The subsequent discussion of successive programmes shifts our attention from the factors that help to initiate and establish a programme, to those that contribute to sustaining and growing one.

Part I: Introduction

Basic Distinctions: Peace Process *versus* Peace Building

If we are to better understand how to build peace in post-conflict settings, then the starting point is to distinguish between an official **peace process which is largely a political-diplomatic** set of activities and **peace building** initiatives which address the **societal impacts and legacies caused by protracted violent conflict** – such as fear, distrust, segregation, polarised communities, discrimination, sense of injustice and so on. While the peace process is tied to the relatively short-term time frame associated with the signing and implementation of a peace agreement, peace building is a much longer term process focusing on the societal challenges of peace. Put another way, **the peace process focuses on political interests and inter-group rights, while peace building focuses on societal needs as well as inter-group rights and inter-personal relationships.**

"… some 50 percent of all armed conflicts slip back into militarised violence within five years of signing a 'peace' agreement"

One of the concepts that is used to elaborate on the interaction between the principal actors in the peace process is multi-track diplomacy. **Track I Diplomacy** refers to the formal peacemaking efforts of high level government officials and politicians. **Track II Diplomacy** refers to unofficial efforts by non-governmental professionals to resolve conflicts within and between states. And lastly, **Track III Diplomacy** is used to refer to the many initiatives by local level actors to cultivate peace within civil society and to contribute to initiatives at Track I and Track II levels.

Understanding Peace Building-Peace Making Linkages

A peace process, generally speaking, consists of two phases.[3] **The first is the pre-agreement phase** which includes all of the bargaining and negotiation leading to the formal cessation of hostilities. Some of the negotiations will be public, and some will be private. This phase concludes with the signing of a peace agreement by antagonists which formalises a commitment to lay down arms, and to work out a non-violent political accommodation. **The second phase is the post-agreement peace process.** This is a period of intense political wrangling where signatories to the peace agreement try to work out the fine details of what they had agreed to in general terms. Though often not sufficiently acknowledged, the post-agreement phase is a period in which the danger of backsliding and failure is very high. In fact, some 50% of all armed conflicts slip back into militarised violence within five years of signing a peace agreement (Collier et al 2003).[4]

As discussed below, **it is in the second phase of the peace process that formal peace building initiatives are so important, not least because of the psychological and social incentives they may create for communities to support peace – even as formal political negotiations may teeter back towards conflict**.

Peace building and the formal peace process are inter-related, but distinct, processes. The political agreement produced by a successful peace process removes the most overt forms of militarised violence from society (even as the legacy of decades of violence remains). In the space that is created, there is an expansion of room within which peace building initiatives may be undertaken.

"… the conditions required to start up a programme are usually very different from the conditions required to run it. For this reason, this study includes the examination of what it calls the 'pre-history of the PEACE Programme.' "

This does not mean that peace building can only take place once a peace agreement has been signed. Indeed, both researchers and community workers recognise that peace building initiatives (formal and informal, international and local) during the violent phase of a conflict can help to create on-the-ground conditions that support the initiation of a formal peace process. **In the Northern Ireland case, an interesting facet of this interrelationship was evident when the post-agreement political process faltered, and the Legislative Assembly was suspended from 2002 to 2007. Within this political gap, the continued functioning of peace building initiatives (including the PEACE programme) served to sustain incentives for, and commitments to, peace at a societal level.** And, because peace building initiatives were not wholly captured or controlled by the antagonists battling in the formal political arena, civil society continued moving forward until the Legislative Assembly was re-established following elections in early 2007. In the absence of such peace building support, the risk is high that that political failure may re-ignite societal violence. (See Part VI of this study as well as NICVA 2004, and Harvey et al 2005).

Learning – and Applying – Lessons from Northern Ireland

The rationale for the study is the desire to contribute substantively to European and international discussions on how to build peace in post-conflict settings. **As noted above, our central objective is to learn from the Northern Ireland experience in concrete and practical ways that may inform efforts elsewhere to achieve similar objectives of peace building and reconciliation.** In order to do this, we need to be able to identify those features of the Northern Ireland case that are unique to it, and those that might be similar to other cases.

It should also be emphasised that the conditions required to start up a programme are usually very different from the conditions required to run it. For this reason, this study includes the examination of what it calls the 'pre-history of the PEACE Programme'. Thus, as discussed below, the particular constellation of political factors[5] at the time of the initiation of PEACE I – and as importantly, the availability of deep financial resources to match these political resources – may or *may not* be available to other parties in other countries interested in harnessing EU funds for post-conflict peace

and reconciliation. An assessment of the degree to which a PEACE-like programme may be initiated in other countries needs to consider the extent to which these same favourable conditions exist, or can be replicated. Or, indeed, whether the different conditions in different cases *require* a very different kind of PEACE programme.

Northern Ireland has unique features that shaped its experience in the use of EU funds for peace and reconciliation. Any country trying to apply these lessons will similarly have its own particularities that will affect the way it might adopt and adapt Northern Ireland lessons.

Part II: Conditions for Peace in Northern Ireland

This section examines processes of consultation and the key issues, prior to the implementation of the first PEACE programme. This is an essential component of the story of PEACE, which distinguishes between the ingredients required to *conceptualise* and *launch* a PEACE-type programme, and the ingredients required to *implement* and *operate* such a programme. The discussions of the key issues in the period of time leading up to the first PEACE programme is more than an interesting historical, Northern-Ireland-specific, discussion as it sheds light on the issues that are likely to be the points of contention in the development of any PEACE-type programme in other conflict contexts. This section therefore serves both to explain an important part of the PEACE story in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland and offers ideas to those interested in developing and applying similar approaches elsewhere. This section points to the importance of events lining up at local, regional and national levels. It also examines the ongoing issues which have helped to sustain the peace process over the past 18 years since the ceasefires.

Factors Conducive to the Idea of a PEACE Programme

The conditions for peace evolved from a variety of factors, all of which have been the subject of extensive research. These include:

- the heavy cumulative toll of political violence leading to war fatigue;

- implementation of antidiscrimination legislation to address deep-rooted inequalities in education, housing, political rights, and employment leading to reductions in disparities between Catholic and Protestant communities (Portland Trust 2007);

- evolution of the legal and social infrastructure to address issues of inequality, equality, and respect for diversity;

- a calculation by the leadership of the principal armed groups that conditions were right for an exclusively political strategy *rather than one* which included the use of militarised violence (Rowan 1995);[6 / 7]

- the ability of political leaders to consolidate diverse interests *within* both sides of the sectarian divide;

- an increased willingness by civic society actors to reach across sectarian divides, and to encourage others within their own communities to do so. For example, among business, trade union, and community groups, (Brewer et al 2011; Byrne 2001; Irwin 2002);

- a changing international context, including proactive involvement from the United States government, and many US businessmen and politicians, as well as assistance with developing peace processes from South Africa and other countries going through political negotiations (Arthur 2000: Chpt 7);

- the fact that relative to many other conflicts, Northern Ireland benefitted from the development and availability of a large amount of political capital – locally, regionally and internationally;

- particularly important, was the relatively high level of 'command and control' exercised by the leadership of the Provisional IRA over its members. This meant that decisions by senior leadership were more likely to be followed at lower levels of the command structure.

The above factors built momentum for support for the ceasefires of 1994, when the Provisional IRA announced a complete cessation of military operations followed by the announcement of a loyalist ceasefire by the Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC). Such ceasefires were developed through a combination of political dialogue processes which included:

- regular secret talks between British Government and the Provisional IRA;

- dialogue between nationalist and republican organisations (especially the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and Sinn Fein);

- Sinn Fein and loyalist contacts with the Irish Government;

- particularly important was the continuous dialogue between the British and Irish governments.

Although protracted violence destroys physical, economic, political, and social infrastructure over time, it may also paradoxically stimulate peace building capacities within individuals and organisations who organise to respond to the abuses and injustice of violence.

The latter dialogue was helped significantly by the fact that the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 afforded the Irish Government a consultative role in the affairs of Northern Ireland for the first time. It should be noted that, at the time it was signed, this Agreement produced an escalation of violence. The Agreement was deepened by the Framework Document of 1995 that committed both governments to addressing the internal relationship between the political parties in Northern Ireland, a new all-Ireland relationship, and a review of the relationship between Great Britain and Ireland.

While some of these factors may be unique to Northern Ireland, others may usefully influence thinking and programming in other conflict-prone settings. In Northern Ireland, the cost-benefit analysis of armed combatants (and civil society) indicated that the incentives for peace outweighed incentives for continued violence.

Local Socio-Economic Conditions

The years of protracted violence had taken a considerable socio-economic toll on Northern Ireland and the Border Region. Within the context of the EU, these regions were recognised as being economically disadvantaged and socially deprived as measured by a range of socio-economic indicators. While these indicators may point to factors that contributed to, and were affected by, the Troubles (whether directly or indirectly), they also point to conditions within which peace began to take root (PEACE I Operational Programme: Annex 1)[8]:

- GDP – in 1992 Northern Ireland ranked poorly relative to 253 of the EU's regions.

- Unemployment – Northern Ireland had persistently higher rates of unemployment relative to either the UK or Europe.

- Industrial structure – the private sector in Northern Ireland was recognised as weak, uncompetitive and underdeveloped.

- Trading links – trade with both local and British markets accounted for the majority of Northern Ireland's commercial link.

- Cross-border trade – Northern Ireland had a persistent trade deficit with Ireland.

- Income – Northern Ireland had the lowest average household income among UK regions.

- Health – mortality rate was 6% above the UK rate.

- Education – one third of the economically active young of working age had no qualifications.

The social and infrastructural impacts of the Troubles on Northern Ireland and the Border Region are only hinted at in the usual statistics employed in relatively recent cost of conflict studies (Deloitte 2007):

- By the time of the ceasefire, almost 3,600 people had been killed in political violence (civilian, security forces, paramilitary members) (see CAIN 2011a).[9]

- There were more than 16,000 bombs and explosive devices (excluding hoaxes, non-viable devices, and defused bombs) (see CAIN 2011b).

The conflict resulted in massive amounts of social segregation, which not only increased inter-community tension but undermined economic potential:

- Segregated residential patterns – where significant segments of the population live in predominantly single identity communities (Poole and Doherty 1996). Thus, in Belfast, some 60% of the population live in areas which are 90% Catholic or Protestant (ibid.).

- Physical separation – since the signing of the Belfast Agreement, there has been an increase in the number of barricades and interfaces physically separating communities. In Belfast, this is calculated to have increased to 88 (CRC 2009). According to one study, "84% of all [political] deaths occurred within a one kilometre radius of an interface, and 66% occurred within a 500 metre radius" (ADM/CPA 2007: 49).

- Segregated education – less than 6% of children attend integrated schools (Leonard 2006).

- Workplace segregation – Research by the Equality Commission in 2000 demonstrated continued segregation in the workplace – 40% of all employees (in businesses employing more than 10 people) worked in places which were over 70% Catholic or Protestant (ADM/CPA 2007: 52).

Capacity and Champions

Throughout the Troubles, a somewhat counter-intuitive dynamic was evident – a dynamic that may be found in other conflict zones, and which is particularly noteworthy when considering the applicability of the experience in Northern Ireland to other post-conflict cases.

Although protracted violence destroys physical, economic, political, and social infrastructure over time, it may also paradoxically stimulate peace building capacities within individuals and organisations who respond to the abuses and injustice of violence. This was the case in Northern Ireland, as highlighted by the awarding of Nobel Peace Prizes to Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan in 1976 and the politicians John Hume and David Trimble in 1998. While these individuals were singled out for their particular achievements, they represent but two examples of the considerable peace *building* capacities that evolved within civil society, and the peace*making* capacities that evolved within the political arena in Northern Ireland and which developed during the Troubles. Increased peacemaking and peace building capacities within society, and the existence of an environment favourable to taking the initial steps towards peace,[10] are not however sufficient to initiate a peace process. Champions have the ability to have a catalytic impact on the process – that is, the ability to make things happen that would not have happened in the absence of their presence and work.

Although the PEACE I Programme was unique, it benefitted from the institutional precedents and the evolving European and international organisational landscape. This constitutes an important, but often overlooked, feature of the international conditions within which the PEACE programme arose.

These were the same capacities that would eventually be harnessed and strengthened through subsequent PEACE programmes.

In the case of the PEACE programme, there were a number of individuals who were essential for breathing life into the idea; for building broader support for the idea within political power structures of Northern Ireland, London, Dublin, and Brussels or negotiating consensus on the structure and functioning of the programme; and finally, for navigating the formal proposal through the politico-administrative challenges towards implementation and operation. In the Northern Ireland case, high-profile champions included Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission from 1985–1994, and the Northern Ireland Members of the European Parliament, John Hume, Jim Nicholson, and Ian Paisley. However, equally important were the European Commission officials whose job it was to animate and implement the programme.

Countries that are exploring how applicable PEACE programmes are to them should look at the existing peace building and peacemaking groups in their society. Engaging these groups will increase the effectiveness, buy-in and sustainability of any PEACE-like programmes that they may undertake.

Changing Conditions in the EU

The changing European and international conditions at the time of the evolution of the PEACE I Programme are often overlooked in the examination of the conditions for such a programme.

Within the EU efforts were being made to formulate an official position on the Northern Ireland conflict. As early as 1982 this was outlined in the Haagerup Report (1982)[11] – which stated that the ultimate responsibility for the resolution of the conflict at a state level lay with the governments of the UK and Ireland. The report concluded that the EU could only ever play a supporting role. The PEACE programme and the financial assistance it provided from 1994 was indeed a very important supporting role played by the EU for the past almost 20 years.

In the early 1990s, awareness was increasing within the EU of the essential roles played by civil society actors, especially voluntary and community groups. The understanding of private-public partnerships was informed by the experience of the Scandinavian states. The EU's desire to embed civil society into governing processes arose from a desire to include substate/regional and non-state actors in decision making, in order to fulfil two related objectives. The first was the need to visibly bring Europe closer to its citizens by engaging with as wide as possible a range of civil society organisations.

The EU's motivation was born of a perceived gap between the supranational governance of Europe and the individual citizens of European states. The second imperative emerged as a result of the limited capacity of the EU's executive arm, the European Commission, to acquire expert opinion and critical input in the formulation of policy. The European Commission invested heavily in expanding the role of civil society, voluntary, labour and capital organisations in policy consultation. The extensive consultation procedure undertaken by the European Commission prior to the commencement of the PEACE programme emanates from these dual imperatives. The consultative approach that led to the partnership principle in the PEACE programmes was the result of existing mechanisms and debates over institutional governance and decision making at EU level.

The debates about the structure and process of PEACE were informed by the experiences of programmes such as the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), and the EU's Community Initiatives such as INTERREG, URBAN and LEADER (see Harvey 1999: 10ff; Buchanan 2008). The LEADER programme on rural development (launched in 1991), and the URBAN programme for urban regeneration (launched in 1990) had the partnership principle and the principle of community involvement firmly established within them although not to the extent that they would become within the PEACE programme. The fact that this partnership principle was already evident in other, existing, institutional arrangements, allowed the PEACE programme to draw on this model in the development of its partnership approach.

Changing Relationships between the UK and Ireland

In the wider political context, the improved diplomatic relations between Ireland and the UK were undoubtedly facilitated in significant ways by their membership of the EU. European Council Summits and ministerial conferences afforded respective leaders an opportunity to engage bilaterally on the fringes of EU business away from the glare of international media. Participation in the EU undoubtedly brought their mutual interests to the fore in the wider European context. Over the period of membership the density of bilateral contact would have built up close relationships, not only among the political actors, but also within the bureaucratic stratum. As Gallagher put it in 1985:

> *"[T]he effects of common United Kingdom and Irish membership of the Community (EU) are so great that Anglo-Irish relations can hardly usefully be discussed except in that context. This, in my view, is healthy for both partners as it substitutes an agreeably wider embrace for what has been an excessive intimacy (quoted in Arthur 2000: 129)."*

This improved relationship between the two Member States played a key role in the negotiation and agreement of the first PEACE programme at the European Council meeting in December 1994.

There had been years of political bargaining and negotiation, in fits and starts, between the principal political actors to the conflict within the islands of Ireland and Britain – with overt and covert communication channels open to various paramilitary groups. Over time, this had produced joint understandings, formal agreements and even political structures. The short-lived character of some of these initiatives was much less important than the persistent pursuit of solutions to the 'Northern Ireland problem'.

There was, over a period of time, a steady shift in diplomatic relations between the UK and Ireland and a convergence on approaches. This, along with political parties linked to the Northern Ireland conflict led to a range of agreements.
- Sunningdale power-sharing agreement of 1973 (power-sharing and cross-border co-operation)
- Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985

- Downing Street Declaration 1993
- Framework Document 1995 (proposing power-sharing and cross-border co-operation structures).
- Election of New Labour – Blair 1997
- The Belfast Agreement 1998
- St Andrews Agreement 2006
- Hillsborough Agreement 2010

In Northern Ireland, there was pressure on this Track I level of activity from the bottom up as well. The cumulative impact of this grassroots, inter-group, activism was increasingly putting effective pressure on politicians and community leaders to reach some type of negotiated settlement. Importantly, this bottom-up pressure coincided with broader top-down pressure towards the same end. The changing regional political economic context gradually reshaped the opportunity structure within which inter-group relations were maintained. Nationalists and republicans realised that, increasingly, Northern Ireland was seen as both an economic and political liability by their hitherto supporters in Ireland. As significantly, they saw that Ireland was turning to the EU as the means to pursue economic revival.

Unionists and loyalists, on the other hand, increasingly came to doubt the British Government's commitment to the maintenance of the Union. The signing of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement gave Ireland a certain amount of influence in Northern Irish affairs, and sparked a violent loyalist backlash. Unionists and loyalists perceived this agreement as abandonment by the British. It was perceived as an indicator of waning public support in Britain and a reminder of the British Government's political pragmatism and declining strategic and economic interest in the region. It is the conjuncture of this top-down regional dimension and bottom-up local-level dimension which helped to encourage combatants and political adversaries toward the negotiation table. The logic driving the political parties was that it was better to strike some kind of arrangement (even if not ideal) guaranteed by Britain and/or Ireland than to have an agreement foisted on them, or worse, to be left to fend for themselves. The effect of this combination of top-down and bottom-up pressures was evident in the process leading to the framework document for peace in Northern Ireland in February 1995.

As decision-making calculations were shifting at the political level, changes were also becoming evident at cultural and symbolic levels, such as the first visit by an Irish head of state, President Mary Robinson, to Buckingham Palace in 1996, melting the icy diplomacy of earlier decades between the two states. More recently, in May 2011 and highly symbolically, Queen Elizabeth II undertook an official state visit to Ireland – the first British monarch to visit Ireland since King George V in 1911.

What facilitated the Establishment of PEACE?:

• The emergence of an internally driven dynamic towards ending violence via public revulsion at high profile atrocity, prompting initiatives from the two governments; – Northern Ireland had reached its 'ripe moment';

• The positive transformation of UK-Irish relations, and the acceleration of internal economic growth and social change within Ireland (the Celtic Tiger);

• Changing nature of interstate relations generally within the EU context, in particular with the evolution of the EEC-EC into the EU following the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht) in 1993-4;

• Desire of the EU to strengthen and assert its moral authority in conflict resolution and peace building;

• Existence of institutional mechanisms for intervention such as the IFI, INTERREG, LEADER and URBAN programmes that could serve as broad models for the PEACE Programme;

• A general shift in political rationales – from govern*ment* to govern*ance*, which entailed greater engagement with 'civil society' – which made the EU sensitive to societal needs and pressures for peace with Europe and in Northern Ireland, Ireland and Britain;

• Presence of champions or "local political actor entrepreneurship" (Hume), EU political actor receptivity (Delors) and interest.

The Rise of the Global Peace Building Agenda

International understandings of, and response to, Northern Ireland must be put in the context of a rise of the global peace building agenda and the evolution of governance capacities within the EU.

Over the last two decades, there has been an increase in the presence and diversity of the international actors in violently divided societies around the world. The end of the Cold War was a significant factor in increasing access to formerly inaccessible areas affected by violent conflict. The roles assumed by international actors[12] were as diverse as the environments they entered into. They found themselves working within a wide variety of armed conflicts at all phases: pre-, during and post-conflict.[13]

Two other developments also contributed to increasing the number and variety of initiatives undertaken by international actors in violently divided societies. First, a globalised media thrust contemporary conflicts out of previously compartmentalised and politically ignorable worlds, onto the agendas of states in the Global North. The second development was the conceptual and political reinvigoration

and institutionalisation of the concepts of peace building, peacemaking, and peacekeeping.[14] Together these developments generated a proliferation of peace building initiatives. This was a period of time when the idea and practice of peace building found fertile ground for development – and opportunities for implementation.

US Involvement in Northern Ireland

Within this context, the Clinton administration in the United States took an active interest in Northern Ireland. The President himself took a personal interest in the peace process. In 1995 he appointed a senior diplomat, Senator George Mitchell to be the US Special Envoy to Northern Ireland, along with principal White House advisers, to contribute to the development of a Northern Ireland policy that would be more systematic than the ad hoc approach of his predecessor. The strategy was formulated from the White House (as opposed to the State Department) under President Clinton's direction. Using a combination of both economic and diplomatic initiatives, the US contribution to the formal peace process was invaluable – not least for the political and economic incentives it could bring into the negotiations.

Evolving EU Capacity in Peace Building and Security

The section above identifies the principal factors contributing to the creation of a space within which a peace process could take root. There is a complementary, but separate set of factors that help us to understand why the EU initiated the PEACE programme prior to the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, and stepped into the story to help the parties to capitalise on the unprecedented opportunities for peace following its signing.

The most obvious factors that have a bearing on efforts to apply the PEACE model to other cases are the location of the conflict within the boundaries of the EU and the fact that the two member states of UK and Ireland were open to seeking a role for the EU in the peace building process in the pre-agreement period.

The period within which the idea of the PEACE programme was conceived and established coincided with developments within the European Community, which was evolving into the EU following a lengthy period of stagnation from the late 1960s and early 1970s. During the 1980s, under the leadership of the then President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, the European Community had begun the process of establishing much closer relations among its Member States. Initiatives such as the Single European Act (SEA) which created a single market, the European Exchange Rate Mechanism and the establishment of the Schengen Agreement allowed for greater harmonisation and competitiveness among the Member States. In 1993, the Treaty of the European Union, the Maastricht Treaty, was signed and this established a mandate for the EU in certain aspects of Foreign and Security Policy and in Justice and Home Affairs. The peace process began in earnest in 1994 with ceasefires called by the provisional IRA and loyalist

paramilitaries. It was following these events, that the EU had the impetus to agree on the first PEACE programme.

During the autumn of 1994, during the Northern Ireland ceasefires, the European Commission established a special 23-person task force to identify how the EU could best foster the embryonic process which appeared to offer the prospect of lasting peace in Northern Ireland. The objectives of the task force were to look into "further ways of giving practical assistance to Northern Ireland and the Border Region *in consultation with the two Member States* concerned" (European Commission 1995: para 3).[15] The policies of the EU were to be focused on helping 'those who have been most affected by the conflict' (ibid.). Even in this early document, the task force recognised that "the central objective of the programme should be reconciliation" (European Commission 1995: para 6).

Led by Carlo Trojan, the European Commission's Deputy Secretary-General and supported by three special advisers, the task force consulted widely in Northern Ireland. The members of the task force and their special advisers were strongly influenced by the vocal and highly visible community and voluntary sector. About 900 people were consulted at regional events. These consultations are considered to have been seminal in influencing the Commission to prioritise grassroots community involvement and innovative means to deliver the programme (Williamson, Scott and Halfpenny 2000: 53).

"In December 1994 at the European Council meeting in Essen, Germany the European Union, anxious to assist with embedding the peace process, voted to prepare and to fund a special programme to facilitate peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland" (European Council 1994: para 8).

The perceived shortcomings of the EU's efforts in the Balkan conflict (principally between 1991 and 1995) may also have been a factor spurring it on to assume a more assertive role in conflict resolution. Further, the fact that the United States was already involved in negotiation efforts within a European Member State, recalls the statement at the start of the Balkan wars, by the Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos, then President of the European Council: [the organisation would intervene in Yugoslavia because it was] "the hour of Europe, not the hour of the United States" (Juncos 2005).[16]

The paramilitary ceasefire and the tentative beginnings of a peace process in Northern Ireland offered the EU an arena and an opportunity to play a role in the resolution of a high profile and long running conflict that was *within* the jurisdiction of a Member State.

Overall, the ability of the EU to respond to the opportunity to contribute to the peace process was related to the timing (the post-ceasefire context), the availability of a receptive political space and the dexterity and speed with which it was able to respond. The absence of any one of these factors would have inhibited its efforts.

Part III: Establishment and Implementation of the PEACE Programmes

In Parts I and II we explored the context within which the idea of a PEACE programme took root. Here we look at how the first PEACE programme was developed.

European Commission Perspectives on the PEACE programme

In light of the many different, and often competing, interests around the peace process and a potential PEACE programme, the European Commission found itself having to fashion a programme that optimised accommodation and engagement, while minimising alienation and the impact of potential spoilers.

The institutional rationale of the European Commission [17] for establishing the Special Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland were outlined in its official communication to the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers in December, 1994 (EU COM 94/607). In this document the European Commission pointed to its continued and practical support for the peace process, highlighting its increased funding for the IFI, and stated that:

> *"The achievement of peace in Northern Ireland would bring many social and economic benefits, not only to the region and the Member States concerned, but also to the European Union as a whole" (EU COM 94/607: 2).*

The Trojan task force (see page 19) had been charged with finding "ways to develop and refocus" the policies of the EU to help those "most affected by the conflict to live together in mutual respect and economic prosperity" (EU COM 94/607: 2–3).

Following its report a set of guidelines was submitted by the European Commission to the Heads of State and Governments at the European Council in Essen in December 1994. The European Parliament was also invited to consider the report.

The guidelines outlined the key issues to be addressed through the proposed PEACE I Programme:

1. Employment
2. Urban and rural regeneration
3. Cross-border development
4. Social inclusion
5. Productive investment and industrial development (European Commission 1995: para 11).

The intention of making employment a priority was to target those groups marginalised from the economy, particularly young people and the long-term unemployed. It was recognised that support for the peace process would weaken if employment and economic benefits were not quickly evident in the post-conflict period.

The same logic underpinned the prioritisation of rapid and conspicuous urban and rural regeneration.

The European Commission recognised the cross-border impacts of the Troubles. Consequently, it highlighted a need to fully exploit the potential for cross-border co-operation, including the re-opening of cross-border access points and establishing and strengthening cross-border business links.

Social inclusion was also prioritised, with particular attention paid to the victims of the conflict. This included the "promotion of understanding, communication and partnership" through the development of a "reconciliation process which develops and builds on the existing solidarity within communities".

The European Commission and the Trojan task force also prioritised the enhancement of business and investment opportunities for the region. The business environment was deemed to need a "significant and sustained level of productive investment" in order to upgrade the local corporate sector.

It is important to note that these priorities were identified within the context of existing EU funding mechanisms for Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland. The European Commission recognised that Northern Ireland was already a "significant beneficiary" of economic and social cohesion through Structural Funds and other EU funding such as Agriculture and Fisheries funding. However, further funding was justified by the European Commission as follows:

> *"It has become clear that these existing policies in their present form are not sufficient in themselves to address the new opportunities and additional needs occasioned by the changing situation. New approaches are needed, both within existing policies and through new measures, to ensure that the full potential of the region is now realised" (EU COM 94/607: 6).*

The new package was envisaged to be a 'Special Distinct Support Programme' which could "contribute successfully to this unique opportunity for reconciliation and social and economic recovery" (EU COM 94/607: 6). It aimed to target recipients equally while also focusing on areas of acute deprivation.

The rationale for the programme was articulated as the maintenance of momentum for peace, and the improvement of economic and social conditions. Overall guidelines for the programme specified that it should:

- benefit all communities equitably, and
- be directed to those areas of the population most affected by the conflict and suffering most acute deprivation (Peace 1 Operational Programme: 13ff).[18]

The Commission emphasised that the local level, such as local authorities, business, trade unions and voluntary associations, should be involved in shaping and implementing the programme (EU COM 94/607: 8).

The Importance of Consultation

Consultation is necessary for the success of a PEACE-type programme. Successful consultation builds common understanding of the challenges ahead and of the broad parameters of the programme.

However, there are also obstacles and risks associated with the consultative process. The political and personal sensitivities within any post-conflict setting are considerable. And, the very process of consultation may aggravate such sensitivities in a volatile environment, creating opposition to the programme. Further, any consultation between the state, civil society and the private sector is bound to raise expectations. This may lead to inflated expectations about the speed and scope of the programme's impact.

In relation to PEACE I there was a tension between the desire to be fully consultative, and the desire to initiate the programme as quickly as possible to capitalise on the opportunities for peace at the time. Not surprisingly then, the speed with which the programme was assembled caused concern for some stakeholders. For example, Harvey argues that the pressure to compile an outline programme design in time for the European Council summit in December 1994 meant that it was not possible to appraise other peace programmes (1999: 8, 19).

However, commentators and observers have praised the extensive consultation process that took place before the beginning of the first PEACE programme (CWC 1995; Harvey 1999: 19). This consultation took many forms.

Who was Consulted

The initial consultation took place through a variety of forums, both in Northern Ireland and in Border Region of Ireland. Grass roots and community involvement was considered essential.

Northern Ireland:

1. Departmental discussions with key groups which might be affected by the programme

2. Public advertisements (newspaper advertisements) asking any organisations wishing to make proposals on the content of the programme to submit these to the Department of Finance and Personnel by a deadline

3. A conference held in Newcastle, Co. Down (Northern Ireland) in March 1995

Who was Consulted (continued)

Border Region of Ireland:

4. An invitation was extended to the Border Regional Authority to make a submission

5. Meetings carried out by the Authority and its EU Operational Committee, which included representatives for local authorities, social partners and community and voluntary sectors

6. A conference held in Ballyconnell, Cavan (Ireland) in April 1995

7. Further discussions with a range of groups

The Newcastle Conference

The key points to emerge from the Newcastle Conference were:

1. broad consensus on the issue of social inclusion as a priority;

2. disagreement about which actions merited most funding (between the Productive investment/ Industrial development workshops and other workshops); there were those who advocated economic regeneration and those who advocated engaging with social inclusion directly (PEACE I Operational Programme: 16–17).

Employment and cross-border development were seen as cross-cutting priorities. Employment was about creating jobs, while cross-border development was to ensure that the programme could support initiatives where they were needed, regardless of whether they were created in Northern Ireland or Ireland. While there was consensus on the priority themes, the measures to be associated with them were less clear.

Tension emerged around how measures should be identified, and more pointedly, who should have overall authority for setting these measures. Some felt this should be undertaken at the local level, while others felt that existing structures should be used, such as District Councils and Local Action Groups. This was resolved through the idea of structured partnerships between public and community agencies which would collaborate in the decision-making process.

These partnerships proved to be particularly efficient. As noted in the evaluation of PEACE I, this "proved as effective as Government Departments when measured by rates of expenditure achieved over the life of the Programme" and that PEACE I "could not have been delivered without the additional capacity [they] represented" (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2003: 110).

Priority areas proposed at the Newcastle Conference were:
1. Capacity building
2. Developments in self confidence
3. Employment of socially excluded people and groups
4. Development of strategic models of community investment
5. Pilot action programmes
6. Early years action targeted on youth

The Ballyconnell Conference

The Ballyconnell Conference closely reflected the main points to emerge from the Newcastle Conference. This consultation process was concerned with integrating the views of those bodies operating in the Border Region of Ireland – Cavan, Donegal, Leitrim, Louth, Monaghan and Sligo (Peace 1 Operational Programme: 22ff).[19] The consultation demonstrated that, unlike other regions receiving Structural Funds, the Border Region of Ireland had as much, if not more, affinity with its neighbouring Northern counterparts as it did with the rest of Ireland. The Border Regional Authority made a number of specific comments in its submission, about the role of the programme:

1. That it should explicitly promote reconciliation (both cross-border and cross community)
2. That it should concentrate on social inclusion relative to areas/communities associated with the peace process
3. That it should differentiate itself from other EU assisted development programmes
4. That it should avoid replicating other EU and national structures (PEACE I Operational Programme: 23–24).

The Main Groups Involved in the Consultation

There were many diverse groups actively involved in the consultations leading to the creation of the first PEACE programme (see Diagram 1). They cover a wide spectrum of society but there is a notable absence of the paramilitary organisations. This was a delicate issue that was politically sensitive and would also be equally sensitive in any effort to establish a PEACE-like programme in the unsettled post-agreement period. The direct presence of paramilitary organisations might be difficult for individuals and groups affected by their violence. Furthermore, the legitimacy of their inclusion would probably be questioned. In the Northern Ireland case, while paramilitary voices were key to the formal political process, they only found their way into the consultations indirectly through the groups represented there.

Diagram 1: Involvement in Consulations

Primary Stakeholders in the PEACE Programme
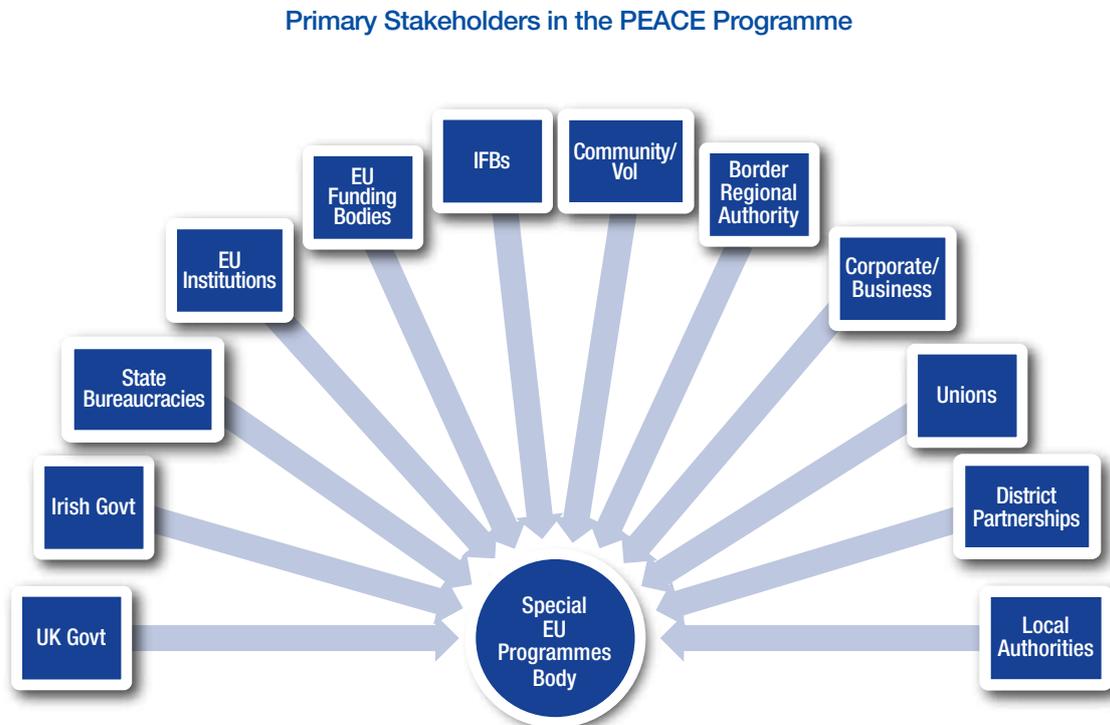
Table 1 overleaf offers a cursory list of the strategic objectives of the principal stakeholders. Obviously, each actor or sub-actor had a range of interests and objectives. Stakeholders varied in terms of capacity, internal structure, mandate, and so on. And finally, any of these organisations may shift or change over time as a result of different individuals entering the organisation and institutional learning. Nonetheless, the table offers a glimpse into the variety and complexity of interests underpinning parties to the peace building process.

Table 1: Stakeholders and Interests

ACTOR	SUB-ACTOR	STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES
European Union	Council of Ministers	Broad imperative to make a practical contribution to a peace process that had commenced within a member state of the Union
	European Parliament	Desire to foster awareness of the practical benefits of European integration, to make a practical – and visible – gesture of European solidarity
	European Commission	Local level participation and empowerment; precedent setting co-operative and management structures
	Funds	Within the structural funding system, different funds had different strategic objectives; sustainability
	ESF	European Social Fund: Concerned to improve disparities in employment throughout the EU with a focus on underdeveloped regions through training and capacity building
	ERDF	Concerned to strengthen economic cohesion in the EU by correcting imbalances between its regions, including direct aid to investments in SMEs, infrastructure, research, financial instruments, etc., towards the goal of 'convergence'
	EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund now replaced by the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund EAGF and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development EAFRD in 2007 - was concerned with the development of and investment in agricultural holdings, modernisation, aid for start-up, compensation, processing and marketing, improving rural areas
UK Government		Political motivation to embed the peace process by drawing on EU Structural Funding both as a 'peace dividend' and as an additional funding source for economic development and to incentivise peace
Irish Government		Political motivation to embed the peace process by drawing on EU Structural Funding as a 'peace dividend' AND the bolstering of EU structural funding within the jurisdiction
State Bureaucracies	UK & Irish	The strategic objectives of the state bureaucracies is the effective dissemination of structural funds to projects it considers pertinent to the consolidation of both the peace process and state administration
Intermediate Funding Bodies		Set up by PEACE Programmes as means to deliver the Programme. Strategically concerned with the effective distribution of structural funding to the Community and Voluntary sector in order to realise social inclusion objectives
Community Voluntary Sector		The Community and Voluntary Sector (CV) is composed of a wide range of perspectives and strategic objectives. Objectives are specific to the mobilising imperatives of each CV group (e.g. women, youth, employment, etc). We can discern two broad objectives: (i) poverty alleviation and (ii) peace and reconciliation: (see below)

ACTOR	SUB-ACTOR	STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES
	(i) Anti-Poverty	Concerned with the need for long-term investment in visibly deprived areas and in community development among particular sections of society largely marginalised from the economy
	(ii) Peace and Reconciliation	Concerned with directly engaging in the socio-cultural cleavage evident throughout the region, particularly in Northern Ireland.
Border Regional Authority		Concerned to enhance the socio-economic development of the region under its remit
Corporate/ Business Sector		Concerned to enhance investment in infrastructure and venture capital investment, as well as to foster direct investment in enterprise
Unions		Concerned to enhance employment and training opportunities, and to protect and promote the interests of its members
District Partnerships/ LSPs		Concerned to ensure optimum investment in *localised* initiatives of benefit to specific geographical and administrative areas
Local Authorities		As above

This table provides a sense of the many diverse interests and objectives of the principal stakeholders involved in pre-PEACE I consultations. While the interests of these groups were not necessarily in conflict, there were tensions over who exactly should have decision-making authority. The table underscores the complexity of the consultative processes. The challenge for any peace programme is to incorporate and balance different interests in a way that cultivates the support of stakeholders, while harnessing the resources needed to meet the objectives of the proposed programme as effectively as possible.

The PEACE I Operational Programme notes differences of opinion among some actors and stakeholders regarding the prioritisation of objectives. However, it also notes that none of the actors rejected the objectives identified by the Trojan task force and in the Commission's early communications. When disagreement arose, it tended to concern the process – not the objective – of the programme, even though 'reconciliation' was not defined or articulated.

Focusing on Broad Funding and Inclusion

The issues which were not discussed at the principal stakeholder meetings are as important as those which were discussed. Particularly notable is the fact that the consultations did not focus on the question of the origins or nature of the Northern Ireland conflict. Some academics have argued that a conflict analysis is essential if a programme is to be tailored to address the root causes of the conflict. They argue that, in the absence of this kind of initial analysis, it is impossible to design the kinds of targeted programming necessary to address the roots of violence.

However, a closer examination of the PEACE programmes leads us to a very different conclusion. The explicit examination of the causes of conflict could have started a divisive and acrimonious debate between polarised stakeholders – so decreasing the chances of the programme's success or at the very least its implementation. The fact that the PEACE programme did not analyse the root causes of the problem allowed it to take root.

So PEACE I followed a broad model of socio-economic development (something which all parties could agree on), which eventually provided support for a very broad range of over 6,000 projects. As one interviewee said: "*This allowed the principle of inclusion to trump the principle of reconciliation.*" Indeed, in the evolution of the PEACE programmes, the concept of 'reconciliation' was not fully developed, or formally integrated, into the programme until the extension of the PEACE II Programme.

This experience may offer an important lesson for those seeking to apply lessons from Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland to other conflict contexts. In the broadest of terms, the funding of socio-economic projects might be tied to reconciliation through the assumption that economic development leads to peace. But, within a highly politicised and volatile post-agreement environment, it is very useful to cast funding as widely and generally as possible, to increase awareness of, and support for, a programme. When such support has been established – support for both the programme and, perhaps less explicitly, for peace over continued conflict – then programming can begin to move delicately into more politically sensitive areas of project support. One thing is sure however: reconciliation (however it might be defined) is a non-starter if there is not participation in PEACE-funded projects within and between divided groups.

> The fact that the PEACE programme did not analyse the root causes of the problem allowed it to take root.

However, it cannot be over emphasised that the PEACE programme does not replace the hard political-diplomatic initiatives required to navigate safely through that uncertain period of transition from militarised violence to peace. It may support, or reinforce, but it cannot substitute. The inclusion of members from all communities in a common project is, arguably, a good starting point to addressing reconciliation. There cannot be reconciliation without inclusion. The fact that the programming logic of the initial phase of PEACE focused on broad funding, and inclusion, helped to build a foundation upon which more challenging post-conflict issues such as reconciliation were able to be dealt with at a future time.

The PEACE I Programme Measures

The final PEACE I Programme contained the following measures:

Table 2: PEACE I Sub-Programme Measures (PEACE I Operational Programme: 49-50)[20]

MEASURE	OUTLINE
Sub-programme 1	Employment
Measure 1	Boosting growth and retraining for peace
Measure 2	Action for jobs
Measure 3	Improving the accessibility and quality of training, education and employment services
Measure 4	Accompanying infrastructure and equipment support
Sub-programme 2A	Urban regeneration (Northern Ireland)
Measure 1	Urban regeneration for Peace and Reconciliation – Belfast and Londonderry
Measure 2	Urban regeneration for Peace and Reconciliation – region-wide
Sub-programme 2B	Rural regeneration (Northern Ireland)
Measure 1	Community-based actions
Measure 2	Rural economic development
Measure 3	Fisheries and aquaculture and water-based tourism
Sub-programme 2C	Urban and rural regeneration (Border Region)
Measure 1	Urban and village renewal and tourism
Measure 2	Community-led development
Sub-programme 3	Cross-border
Measure 1	Business and cultural linkages
Measure 2	Infrastructure
Measure 3	Co-operation between public bodies
Measure 4	Cross-border reconciliation
Sub-programme 4	Social inclusion
Measure 1	Developing grassroots capacities and promoting the inclusion of women
Measure 2	Preventing exclusion
Measure 3	Promoting the inclusion of children and young people

MEASURE	OUTLINE
Measure 4	Promoting the inclusion of vulnerable groups and improving the accessibility and quality of services aimed at these groups
Measure 5	Promoting pathways to reconciliation
Measure 6	Accompanying infrastructure and equipment support
Sub-programme 5	Productive investment/industrial development
Measure 1	Investment promotion
Measure 2	New industrial development services
Measure 3	Trade development
Sub-programme 6	Partnership
Sub-programme 7	Technical assistance

Each sub-programme sought to achieve specific outcomes.

1. The employment measure would endeavour to boost economic growth and embed peace by fostering an economic regeneration that would be a tangible benefit of the wider peace process.
2. Urban and rural regeneration would seek to make a visible and immediate impact directing funding to areas visibly underdeveloped and/or scarred by conflict.
3. Cross-border development would be another obvious and visible symbol of the changing political environment.
4. Social inclusion was intended to be a theme which focused on the "hard edges" of the conflict, such as cross-community work, vulnerable groups, victims of violence and ex-prisoners. This was based on social contact to build up a "reconciliation package", which would draw on the fields of culture, arts, sports and leisure.
5. Productive investment would complement the first measure on employment, by directing funding towards the development of the small business sector and boosting competitiveness (EU SEC 95/279: 3–6).

This raft of measures offers a glimpse into how explicitly, and to what extent, the various interests and perspectives found their way into the final programme (or not). An important feature of the implementation of these measures is the EU principle of subsidiarity – which simply means that decision making is devolved to the greatest practical extent possible (EU SEC 95/279).

All of these measures were placed within the strategic aim of the PEACE I Operational Programme:

"To reinforce progress towards a peaceful and stable society and to promote reconciliation by increasing economic development and employment, promoting urban and rural regeneration, developing cross-border co-operation and extending social inclusion" (Peace I Operational Programme: 31)

Reach of the PEACE I Programme[21]

The PEACE I Programme ran from 1995 to 1999 and had a total funding value of €667m. Of the 31,000 applications, some 15,000 received funding and over 60% was awarded to disadvantaged areas. Over 5,000 had a social inclusion remit reaching over 800,000 participants or almost 38% of the population in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2003: xi–xii and 60).

Almost one-third of all grants awarded in Northern Ireland and over one-quarter awarded in the Border Region were small grants (£3,000 or less). While this represented only 2% of the overall programme expenditure (approximately 18,000 grants) small grants played an important role in helping a wide variety of marginalised groups access funding for the first time. These included the long-term unemployed, women, young people/children, people with disabilities, ex-prisoners and victims of the Troubles. Indeed, 46% of the overall programme expenditure was allocated to projects targeting these groups. It covered activities such as education (15%), training and development (12%), community development (12%) and childcare (11%) (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2003: 39).

This contributed to building the capacity of a huge number of less-developed groups, which were able to launch small-scale cross-community or cross-border initiatives. Two-thirds of all projects were cross-community and over 50,000 participants engaged in cross-border activities for the first time. Furthermore, the community and voluntary sector in particular received a very strong employment boost through the funding of over 6,000 posts in the first phase of the programme (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2003: 49).

The emphasis on social inclusion created a sense of local engagement in, and ownership of, conflict transformation processes. The number of applications, level of involvement, and volume of activities, demonstrate an extraordinary level of participation as well as breadth and scope. All of this was a necessary ingredient for progress in conflict transformation. It was widely recognised that "reconciliation would not take place without social inclusion' but also 'that social inclusion in itself will not deliver reconciliation" (Logue 2002: 88).

Part IV: Programme Management within a Complex Political Environment

The preceding sections addressed the evolution of the idea for the PEACE programme, the conditions within which it took root, and the processes by which the broad parameters of the programme were negotiated and implemented. This section addresses the next step in the process: the implementation and management of the PEACE programmes. This is particularly important for those considering the transferability of the PEACE programme experience and will focus on PEACE II which was the largest and most complex programme to manage. While the management of the programmes changed from PEACE I to PEACE II to PEACE III, the broad structures of the PEACE II Operational Programme are illustrative:

- 34 Measures
- 22 sub-Measures
- 56 implementing bodies plus consortia members
- 7 paying authorities
- 4 Structural Funds and
- 10 Horizontal Principles

The broad parameters of the management systems in PEACE I and PEACE II are set out below in Diagrams 2 and 3. The three main structural differences between the two management models are (1) the disappearance of the Consultative Forum (see below),[22] (2) the introduction of the Special EU Programmes Body (SEUPB) into the management process at the initiation of the PEACE II programme, and (3) the increased role of government officials in funding decisions. The commentary below focuses on the structural changes of management structures, only. One of the most important and conspicuous programming changes is also discussed below – the development and introduction of the 'distinctiveness' criterion.

Originally, the **Consultative Forum** was established as a means of ensuring the transparency and accountability of the programme, and to safeguard broad-based involvement in the programme from all sectors and all levels of civil society. It created environments and opportunities for community workers to work alongside, and inform the decisions of, elected officials, resulting in personal and professional relationship-building that may never have evolved otherwise (Taillon Collins 1999). While the innovative character and effectiveness of the Consultative Forum was recognised in the European Court of Auditors' Report (2000:10), it was summarily dropped from the management structure of subsequent PEACE programmes. While there has been no official explanation for the decision to erase it from subsequent PEACE programmes, interviews suggest that its openness and assertiveness in ensuring transparency and accountability ruffled political feathers. Nonetheless, the bottom-up involvement of local communities was entrenched in the PEACE programmes.

The second conspicuous change in PEACE II was the establishment of the SEUPB. This organisation was set up as one of the six cross-border bodies under the 1998 Good Friday/Belfast Agreement. The SEUPB came into operation in 2000 with a remit to manage EU PEACE funding. Its role was to act as the Managing Authority for the management of the PEACE II Programme and had the effect of reducing the direct, hands-on management role of the European Commission as had been the case during

PEACE I. From the vantage point of a variety of stakeholders, this change was coincident with what was seen to be an increase in the paperwork and bureaucracy associated with the programme. As one recipient put it: "The paperwork under PEACE II became so bad that unless you were applying for large amounts of money, it just wasn't worth it."

The increased paperwork, in the name of transparency and accountability, coincided with a series of fraud-related scandals in the EU, leading to the mass resignation of the Santer Commission in 1999 due to allegations of corruption. While there is no direct connection between the Santer scandal and the bureaucracy associated with the PEACE II Programme, there was certainly a climate of increased oversight and accountability within organisations managing EU funding. The tension highlighted by this part of the 'story' is something that will be confronted by any effort to re-create a PEACE-like programme: achieving the flexibility and the ability to respond in order to capitalise on time-sensitive peace building opportunities on the one hand, and on the other hand the need for careful oversight of funding and programming in order to optimise accountability and positive impact.

By some estimates, government departments came to be responsible for the administration of 45% of the PEACE II funding (Buchanan 2008: 403), leading to pointed reminders that "funding should not be allowed to support government departments in the delivery of their existing statutory obligations" (ibid.). It should be noted, however, that this was an increase of only about 4% from PEACE I (Hughes et al 1998: 40) *and* that this proportion remained roughly the same for PEACE III. Nonetheless, the implications often drawn from the integration of government departments into decisions over the allocation and management of PEACE are two-fold: **first**, the need to clearly delineate between PEACE funding and normal government funding – especially when the projects may look like regular government initiatives (such as the building of roads or bridges), but which are meant to have peace building or reconciliatory impacts; and **second**, the need to ensure (as far as possible) that the particular interests of political officials are harnessed to the PEACE programmes, not the other way around.

There are a couple of important, and often overlooked, caveats to these points. **First**, at times there appear to be suggestions that government departments should not be unduly involved in PEACE funding decisions. While decisions should not be politicised or captured by particularistic or sectarian interests, government and state agencies have an essential role to play both in building peace, in the normal course of governance – understood to be a mutually beneficial network of economic, social, and political relationships between the state, civil society and the private sector. **Second**, to the extent that non-state actors perform state-like functions, or deliver services that should be delivered by the state, then there is risk that the division of labour and responsibilities between the state, society and the market are unbalanced, and that the institutional development of the state is restricted. And **lastly,** while there should be a clear budgetary delineation of activities funded from normal government budgets, and those funded by PEACE monies, this should in no way imply that there is a division of labour whereby the EU and civil society build peace, while governments build roads.
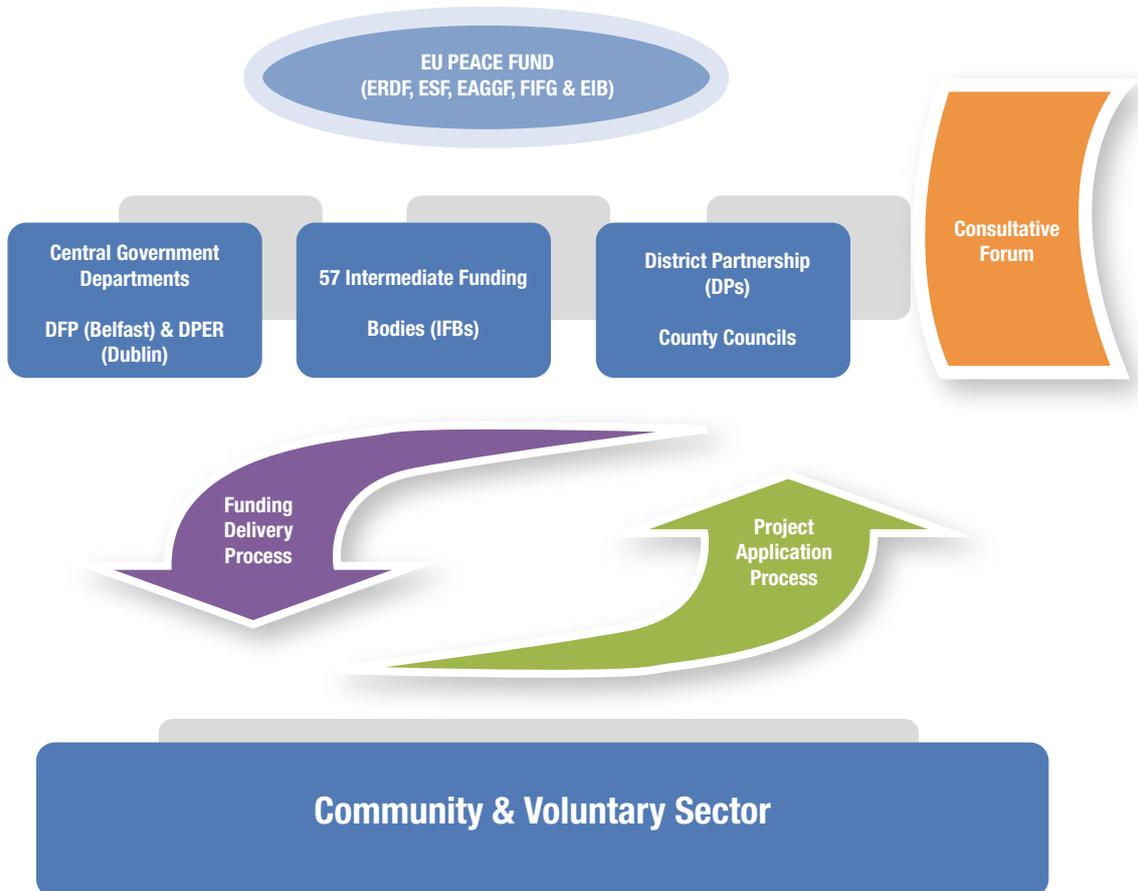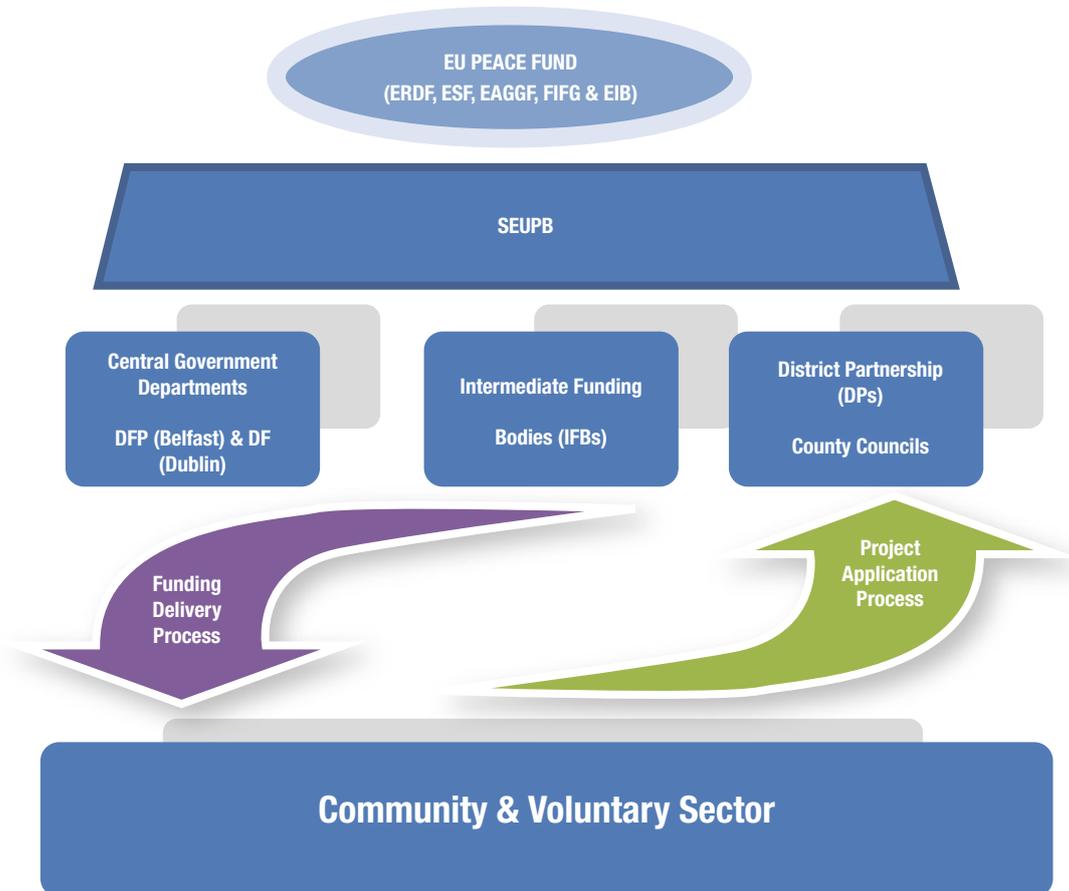
Diagram 2: PEACE I - Delivery Structures

Diagram 3: PEACE II & III Delivery Structures

Efficiency, Effectiveness, and Accountability

In some ways, all funding programmes are about managing the tensions between efficiency and effectiveness. The former refers to the optimisation of the use of resources whilst the latter is concerned with achieving the stated objectives of a project or programme. In funding for programmes to promote peace, the tension between efficiency and effectiveness is even more fraught, because cultivating peace is not the same as producing a series of easily quantifiable products. Indeed, there are many instances in which the effective cultivation of peace will be inherently *inefficient*. It will be unavoidably slow, prone to setbacks, decidedly non-linear, and immeasurable using the standard tools of assessment. Here, it is useful to note the finding of the European Court of Auditors' Report which stated that the "innovative 'bottom-up' approach was deemed politically necessary for the overall success of the programme, despite the risk of management difficulties and delays in implementation" (2000:10). This essentially recognised that although the use of decentralised mechanisms such as Intermediate Funding Bodies was more costly than centralised mechanisms, they were essential for the effectiveness of the programme. The PEACE programmes have struggled to develop appropriate evaluation methodologies sensitive to the tensions between efficiency and effectiveness in peace and reconciliation programmes.

The issue of accountability has been a dominant theme in discussions about the PEACE programmes. There is a clear sense among funding recipients that the administrative burden of applications has increased over time, and this has affected the type of activities undertaken. As was noted by one of the interviewees:

> *"Although in some ways, EU Structural Funds are not an ideal mechanism for delivery of a programme of this nature, PEACE I demonstrated that it could be done, and this has been carried forward into PEACE II. [However], the regulations governing use of the Structural Funds and the accountability requirements of the national administrations can act to squeeze risk taking and innovative activities out of the process." (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2003)[23]*

In fluid and volatile post-conflict environments, particular attention must be paid to the trade-off between accountability (of the funded to the funder) and the ability to be responsive (the ability of the funded project to address issues among affected populations in a timely manner). The real or perceived inability to be responsive risks creating negative ripple effects in the peace building process.

> *"Greater flexibility is needed to allow the [PEACE] programme's objectives to be met. Many of the day-to-day problems which have dogged PEACE II have arisen as a consequence of the difficulty in creating a programme which provides a radical, customised, bottom-up solution to Northern Ireland's specific problems and which is simultaneously a top-down Structural Funds programme like any other for the purposes of monitoring and administration. One aspect has been grafted onto the other and it is not a perfect fit… It would be helpful if the European Council would recognise the special difficulties attached to the implementation of this radical scheme through its unique and diffuse partnership structure." (House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee 2002–2003)[24]*

Yet despite the increase in the paperwork intended to feed the mechanisms of accountability, there was a sense among all interviewees, from programme managers to recipients, that the lessons to be learned throughout the PEACE programmes were not systematically collected. As one interviewee put it: "What was learned? We don't know; the lessons of PEACE II were lost." For any future effort to develop a PEACE-like programme, this underscores the importance of collecting learning, and applying it, as a programme unfolds.

Partnership Models of Service Delivery

The element of partnership which underpinned PEACE I continued to be a central element of subsequent programmes. In PEACE II, the partnership approach was most evident in the Local Strategy Partnerships. In PEACE III, partnerships evolved into Local Peace Action Clusters.

The first critical ingredient to the success of partnerships is to ensure that the right people are at the table. Partnership approaches brought together groups and individuals who would not have previously worked together. In PEACE I, they were based on District Council areas and involved representatives of various sectors within that area. One third of the representatives were elected councillors, one third were community and voluntary sector representatives and one third represented the private sector, trade unions and other interests.[25]

This partnership approach was particularly important for expanding and reinvigorating the capacities and skill sets of decision-making bodies. It created the space for civil society actors to bring new dynamism, skill sets and capacities into the formal (and politicised) decision-making process. District Partnerships have been described as the *"outstanding success of the first PEACE Programme – and a conspicuously decentralised aspect of the Programme."*

As noted in a study on the impact of the Irish border, the approach of the PEACE Programme has *"done much to underpin the peace process by providing close cooperation between civil society organisations and political leaders at the local level. The Programme validated work between ex-combatants and promoted their social and political reintegration. Cross-border work won increasing acceptance, was seen to be a norm and became less threatening to the loyalist community"* (Harvey et al 2005).

The Importance of the Partnership Principle

It was clear in the formulation of the SEUPB that the EU saw the importance of having grassroots organisations centrally involved in any PEACE programme. In addition to the innovative use of non-governmental Intermediary Funding Bodies (IFBs), the PEACE programme also developed and used innovative local government mechanisms. The District Council structure[26] was used as the basis to merge statutory governmental bodies, the private sector, and voluntary organisations into a coalition

of local actors called District Partnerships whose function was to identify and fund local development initiatives seeking to contribute to peace and reconciliation. The intention was to pursue the EU's objectives by "*providing local economic and social actors with resources to translate developments into a lasting peace, and to facilitate ongoing progress towards reconciliation*" (Hughes et al 1998:21). In practical terms, this meant that the District Council structure in Northern Ireland was used as the framework through which additional, complementary, funding would be dispersed.

From the outset of the sub-programme, therefore, the relationship between District Councils and District Partnerships was *nurtured on the basis of complementarity*. The interface point between the District Councils and the District Partnerships was usually the former's economic and development sections.

As indicated in Diagram 4 (Funding Allocations and Dispersal – PEACE I), central government and IFBs accounted for the vast majority of funding allocation, though the District Partnerships also dispersed a significant portion of the fund under PEACE I.[27] The advantage of the District Partnership approach is that it allowed for local stakeholders to identify and address the particular needs and issues within a defined geographical location – rather than, say, a more centralised approach which might have been less responsive to localised sensitivities.

Structure and Make-Up of District Partnerships

Diagram 4: Funding Allocations and Dispersal – PEACE I

Central Govt 41.8%

Partnerships 14.7%

IFBs 43.5%
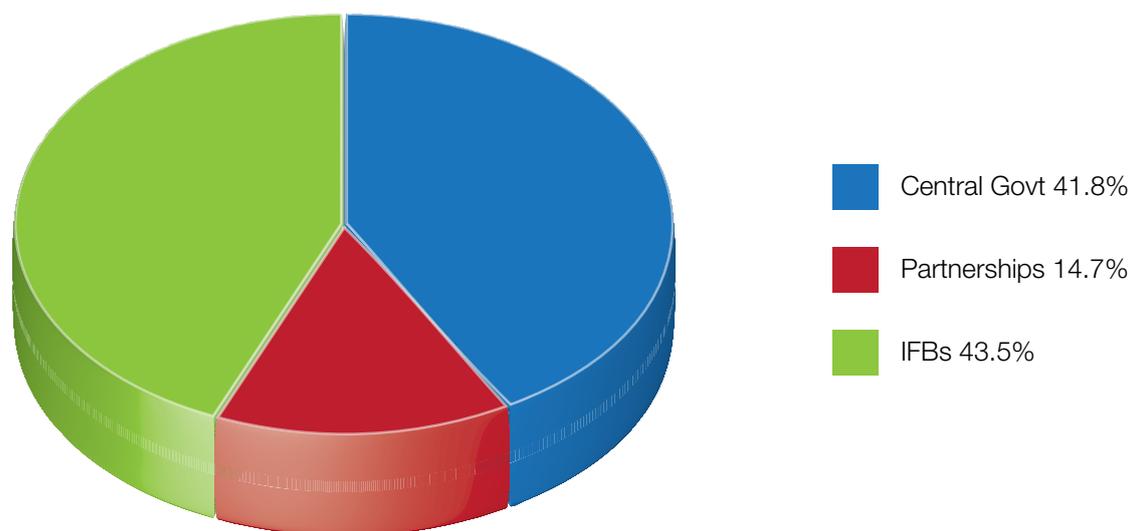
Source: Hughes et al 1998: 40.

It is important to consider the position of the District Partnerships within the overall structure of the PEACE I Programme. The District Partnerships functioned under the oversight of the Northern Ireland Partnership Board (NIPB). The role of the NIPB was threefold:

a)   to ensure that District Partnerships were properly constituted;
b)   to assess and confirm expenditure; and
c   to review progress towards defined goals (Hughes et al 1998).

Table 5: The Structure of PEACE I Programme Delivery in Northern Ireland
(Hughes et al 1998: 39)

Secretariat Department of Finance & Personnel		
Programme Monitoring Committee		
Consultative Forum (Advisory)		
Intermediary Funding Bodies (9) Second Tier Funding Bodies (5)	Northern Ireland Partnership Board (NIPB) District Partnerships (26)	Government Departments (12)

Operation, Practices and Procedures of District Partnerships

From the outset, District Partnerships faced a challenge. They needed to balance the diverse interests, needs and cultures of the constituent partners while shaping and implementing an action plan in line with the objectives of the wider PEACE programme. Even the process for nomination to the District Partnerships was itself an exercise in relationship building. The District Partnership had to undertake an extensive analysis and consultation process in order to identify local need, remedial strategic action, and then present this in the form of an Action Plan for submission to the NIPB.

Although these stages appear quite bureaucratic, they required local actors, from across community divides, and from very different perspectives, to co-operate functionally in an effort to identify and resolve local problems. In this way, the space *and necessity* for cross-community and cross-sector contact and co-operation was created – aided by the availability of significant funding for local area initiatives. It is important to recognise that it was at the level of District Partnerships in the PEACE programme that politicians from both the unionist/loyalist community and those from the nationalist/ republican community began to work together and it could be argued that it was engagement at this level which paved the way for the power sharing arrangements that began in 1998.

Table 6: The Working Stages of a District Partnership

Stage 1	Desk research on existing strategies and programmes, leading to the compilation of a position paper that identifies gaps
Stage 2	Compilation of a socio-economic and demographic profile of the district
	Focus on needs of the most disadvantaged areas and those most affected by the conflict
	Identification of deprivation areas
Stage 3	Consultation with local agencies, groups and individuals on how peace and reconciliation initiatives can be supported
Stage 4	Publication of a strategy document (including District Partnership mission statement, priority themes, aims and objectives)
Stage 5	Processing of applications involving project appraisal, scoring of bids against selection criteria
Stage 6	Presentation of selected applications within an Action Plan, specifying what will be done, by whom, purpose/objectives, target group, timescale and resources
	Submission to NIPB

Integration into Political Governance

The term 'governance' refers to much more than simply government. It is used to refer to the set of interrelationships between the state, civil society, and the market (or private/ business sector). The crucial issue in the late 1990s was governance, and getting agreement on what kind of *governance* would be appropriate for a post-conflict Northern Ireland.

The partnership approach in PEACE I promoted new ways of working, by being more consultative, more interactive and by opening up new communication channels. The increasing awareness of the views and experiences of 'the other', and the personal relationships that developed helped to strengthen not just decision-making structures for PEACE funding, but governance structures which demonstrated the importance and utility of consultation, transparency and accountability. The existence of this type of model within a conflict-to-peace transition, where existing governance structures needed to be changed, demonstrated an alternative model that worked effectively. The partnership approach constituted a new culture of governance.

The overall usefulness of the District Partnership model is suggested by the fact that its structure was retained and developed further throughout subsequent PEACE programmes. Further, the proportion of PEACE funding disbursed through the District Partnership model increased from 14% to 24% within the PEACE I Programme (Hughes et al 1998). In addition, the incorporation of District Partnerships into Local Strategy Partnerships (LSPs) reinforced the original rationale underpinning the District Partnerships. As pointed out in the SEUPB's guidelines on the establishment of LSPs for PEACE II, these structures were envisaged as having durability beyond the imperatives of peace and reconciliation.

This longer term perspective is important. The SEUPB felt that it was essential for LSPs to be developed and integrated in ways that enabled them to contribute to a long-term strategy for building peace beyond the life of the PEACE programmes (SEUPB Undated: 6). The utility of these structures are suggested by the fact that LSPs are now mainstreamed within all UK local authorities, while Ireland's County and City Development Boards discharge a similar role and function – even as they are yet to be fully integrated with Northern Ireland.

Impact on Peace and Reconciliation

The District Partnership system proved to be a useful structure for fostering cross-community contact at local level. It served to increase constructive contact in precisely those areas where social cleavage still existed (Hayward and Diez 2006). The establishment of a workable project selection process and the normalisation of working relationships that spanned community divides were no small achievements. The diversity of the stakeholders involved is illustrated in Appendix I. This included representatives from across the political spectrum, as well as statutory, social partner and community representatives – all of whom formed a single decision-making unit, which sought to advance and improve local infrastructure and services. This is testament to the capacity of mutual interest to re-shape priorities and build relationships. A poignant example is offered in an interview by Hughes et al:

> *"I know that a lot of the people around the table that I sit with, I wouldn't have anything to do with in my ordinary life. They come into perspectives that I don't hold or I don't agree with, but we sit around the table still and I have had a lot of myths challenged. I never would have sat down with a … councillor, never would have understood what they were trying to do, except be afraid of what they were doing; but listening to them talking about their families and their lives, their backgrounds and things that have happened to them makes it all very different."*

And, to illustrate the transformative potential of the District Partnerships:

> *"What I found really heartening was, one of our projects – it would have been a prisoners' project and it would be nationalist, and it was a Unionist councillor [who] stood up and talked to it and defended it to the rest of the group as being one worthy of support, because he was convinced that this was a way of getting people out of violence and crime and turning them in another direction. You wouldn't have had that a year and a half ago. You wouldn't have had a Unionist councillor meeting nationalist ex-prisoners"* (Hughes et al 1998: 182).

The underpinning dynamics of change in this example have been explained as a function of the 'contact hypothesis', developed by the American academic, G W Allport (Allport 1978), who contends that regular and close contact between different or antagonistic groups of people results in the 're-humanisation' of 'the other'. The creation of opportunities for members of antagonistic groups to meet and to work together can, in some contexts, have a positive impact on perceptions and attitudes of the other. In time, this is argued to lead to a reduction in negative perceptions of each other as enemies, which in turn leads to the reduction of violent conflict. Whether implicitly or explicitly, the PEACE programme was an exercise in testing Allport's hypothesis. While there can be little doubt that it can achieve marked results, there are two particularly difficult questions which follow from contact explanations: (1) can changes in inter-group perceptions and relationships be sustained in the absence of a PEACE programme (which enables, structures, *and incentivises)* positive interactions? and (2) are changes in inter-group perceptions and relations evident at a societal level – that is, beyond those who were directly affected by programme activities? With regard to these questions, a report into the District Partnerships in 2002 suggested that one of their primary functions was to embody a "model for wider community relations within the District Council area" (KPMG 2002). However, as discussed below, there are particular challenges to the evaluation and measurement of the impacts of the PEACE programme at societal levels.

Mind the Gap: Funding Delays between PEACE I and PEACE II

PEACE I operated between 1995 and 1999. In March 1999 the European Council in Berlin agreed to continue the PEACE programme through a second tranche of funding to 2004 amounting to €835m for the period 2000–2004 (PEACE II was subsequently extended from 2004–2006 through the PEACE II Extension, with a value of €160m). However, by 2000 it became apparent that there was going to be a gap in the flow of funding between PEACE I and PEACE II (CFNI 2002).[28] This placed groups and projects working in 'peace-precarious' environments in a difficult position. There was a risk that projects would shut down and staff would be made redundant, thereby losing both the human and institutional capacity that had been cultivated over the years. Peace building initiatives would be forced to stop – resulting in loss of momentum, loss of trust, and increased risk to vulnerable populations within an environment where community suspicions and fears of 'the other' were growing (ADM/CPA 2007).[29] The main reasons for the gap between the two programmes was the debate between the UK and Irish governments and the European Commission on the 'reconciliation criterion' of the programme – that is, the degree to which an initiative could be seen to be contributing explicitly and measurably to peace and reconciliation. Until this debate was concluded, and until an acceptable definition was devised, a new PEACE programme could not get off the ground. In this context, the governments provided gap funding to allow IFBs to continue to operate and to keep the peace building initiatives afloat. The lesson from this moment in PEACE programming is obvious: there is a need for continuous and reliable funding to keep the peace momentum and avoid losing the successes made to date.

Articulating and Embedding Peace and Reconciliation Focus: Distinctiveness Criterion

The debates around whether or not to support PEACE II were fraught. **The European Court of Auditors** had issued a critical report of PEACE I, arguing that it, in large part, was simply an economic regeneration programme labelled as a PEACE programme. While this might have been overstated, the European Commission took note of these criticisms and was convinced that there was a need for changes in PEACE II that ensured that the peace and reconciliation objectives of the programme were integrated more explicitly into everything it did. Measuring distinctiveness became a feature of the PEACE II Programme (2000–2004) and projects were asked to demonstrate how they would contribute to 'building reconciliation'. However, this was not given high prominence in the programme and it was not until discussions began about the PEACE II Extension (2004–2006) that there was an explicit recognition that if the PEACE programme was a reconciliation programme, then evaluation of its impact would have to be some kind of 'reconciliation assessment'.

The European Commission was adamant the progress towards reconciliation had to be measurable. A 'Distinctiveness Working Group' was duly established to look at how reconciliation could be measured. All proposals and projects would be assessed according to whether they had, or would likely have, a positive, sustainable, peace and reconciliation impact. Specifically, applicants were instructed that in their applications for funding from the PEACE II extension: *"you should identify how you are helping to address the legacy of the conflict and/or taking opportunities from peace. You are then asked to identify which of the areas, sectors and groups that your project will assist. (SEUPB updated)[30]"* To monitor such impacts, the PEACE III Programme initiated the Aid for Peace approach to the monitoring and evaluation of all PEACE funded programmes (see below).

The specific understanding of the meaning of 'reconciliation' was derived from existing academic research published by Hamber and Kelly (2004, 2005) which explored the possibility of developing a working definition of the term, based on existing research, tested for applicability to the Northern Ireland context. As they explain (2007:14), this was:

> *"... devised as a tool which would provide a focus for discussion and to help identify the elements of reconciliation and frame the concept in a practically accessible way. The definition assumes that building peace requires attention to relationships. Reconciliation is thus understood as the process of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships. This means not only reconciling broken down relationships as the term confusingly implies, but building new relationships in some cases. It is a voluntary act that cannot be imposed, and it involves five interwoven strands:*

> - *Developing a shared vision of an interdependent and fair society*
> - *Acknowledging and dealing with the past*
> - *Building positive relationships*
> - *Significant cultural and attitudinal change*
> - *Substantial social, economic, and political change (or equity)"*

However, the process of incorporating this working definition into the operational plan for the PEACE II Extension involved the translation of an idea into practice. Thus, the distinctiveness criterion required applicants to demonstrate how a proposed initiative would contribute to reconciliation in at least three of the five strands noted above, with the 'building positive relationships' strand being a compulsory element. In this operationalisation of the definition, Hamber and Kelly argued that there was a risk of losing the emphasis on the interdependence of these strands, expressing concern that "a dynamic conceptualisation of reconciliation could … become mechanised and compartmentalised, and another 'tick-box exercise'" (2007: 14).

The same argument has been made with regards to the way that the Aid for Peace evaluation methodology has been made operational within the PEACE III Programme (Bush 2009). In some ways, the loss of analytical complexity or theoretical sophistication is the first casualty when an idea is 'operational'.

The management of any funding programme is structured according to bureaucratic structures and processes that are intended to increase efficiency (typically expressed as savings in cost and time). In this process, the use of a check list, for example, is faster than the use of a series of questions requiring extensive consultation and ponderous elaboration. The central issue to be highlighted, of relevance to cases outside Northern Ireland, is the trade-off between efficiency and effectiveness when ideas are put into practice. When does the simplification of an idea begin to limit its utility or its applicability? In this case, when does the separation and compartmentalisation of the strands of the definition of reconciliation (undertaken in the interest of efficient programming) inhibit or compromise its ability to contribute to an understanding of 'reconciliation' and a holistic and integrated process?

The experience with both the definition of reconciliation, as well as Aid for Peace, points to the need for researchers to be more pragmatic and clear about the ways in which ideas, theories, and practices are appropriated (and often misappropriated) by institutions and organisations driven by a different set of incentives, pressures and objectives. Equally however, bureaucratic organisations need to be more aware of how management structures themselves may negatively affect their ability to incorporate and apply new ideas.

It should also be noted that analytical clarity does not remove either the emotional 'baggage' associated with a term, or the political competition over the definition of a term. In the case of the definition of 'reconciliation', despite the efforts of Hamber and Kelly, and the SEUPB, it is still seen by some as carrying religious connotations, or of being too soft (vague), or too hard (inflexible).

Additionality, Complementarity and Sustainability

One concern among several interviewees was whether or not the projects supported by PEACE were complementary to government funding, or whether they were being used as a substitute for it.[31] That is, was funding additional and value-added to what the government should be doing in its normal course of work, or had the funding been used to replace central investment? In some sub-programme measures, the peace and reconciliation dimensions appear to be more obvious than in others. Thus, in PEACE I, this would include 'cross-border reconciliation', 'social inclusion', 'preventing exclusion', and so on. In other measures, however, the direct connections were less obvious, such as 'infrastructure', 'rural-economic development', 'fisheries and aquaculture and water based tourism', and 'business and cultural linkages'. A review of a list of PEACE I projects funded through allocations controlled by central government further muddies the waters in terms of distinguishing (1) between peace and non-peace-specific projects, and (2) between PEACE funding and the normal funding of government departments.[32]

Clearly, it is not possible to determine whether or not a project is likely to have a peace and reconciliation impact based on its title alone. This was partly addressed through the introduction of the distinctiveness criterion in PEACE II which required a proposal to specify the intended reconciliation impacts of a project. However, to the extent that poverty and deprivation are accepted as underpinning irritants to, or causes of, political violence, then initiatives focusing on poverty, inclusion, or economic development may come to be seen as 'peace projects', from a more macro perspective. Ultimately, determining whether or not the intended reconciliation impact occurred requires an effective monitoring and evaluation of peace-specific impacts.

There was ambiguity in the minds of those interviewed for this study whether PEACE funding was mixed up with the normal spending of government. This current study is not intended to determine the extent to which this did or did not happen. It seeks to raise the question of sustainability and effectiveness of PEACE impacts. In order to learn effectively from this experience in other conflict areas, there is a need to delineate PEACE funding from other types of funding to be able to distinguish impacts and optimise complementarities.

Allocation

The availability of finances to be applied towards peace building immediately poses the next set of problems regarding how, and to whom, they should be distributed. Post-conflict settings are, by definition, resource-starved, which means that the external introduction of any kind of resource – let alone financial resources – will generate competition for, and possibly tensions over, its allocation. However, this is very difficult to measure. In the local partnership programme of PEACE I, the decision was made to use proxy indicators of relative deprivation. Half the money was allocated on the basis of deprivation, and half on size of population. The balance between physical and political needs and motivations required constant tending.

Implementing Projects in Low Capacity Areas

Not all trouble-affected communities possessed the capacities to avail themselves of the PEACE funds. However, this was monitored by community uptake studies, which were initiated in 1997 to assess anecdotal claims that only one community was participating in, and disproportionately benefiting from, the programme. These uptake studies served both a political and practical function. Political in the sense that it allowed the proponents of the PEACE programmes to demonstrate that funds were being equitably distributed. The uptake studies also served a practical function in the sense that they allowed the programme to target under-served communities, and importantly, to develop the capacities of groups whose ability to apply for funds and participate in programmes may have been negatively affected by the Troubles. It was in the PEACE II Extension that targeted capacity building was introduced.

Institutional Learning throughout the Process

Every individual interviewed for this study commented on the difficulty of recalling events and decisions that had occurred over the past 15 years related to PEACE programmes. And each suggested that this kind of lesson-learning process be integrated throughout the programmes, so that lessons might be learned as the programme unfolds. This would be different and separate from the project-by-project monitoring and evaluation. Needless to say, with the benefit of hindsight, had this been done from the beginning, there would be a treasure trough of rich material available for each iteration of the PEACE programme, and for those individuals and organisations interested in applying the lessons to other contexts. As importantly, the process of critical self-reflection on the lessons (the dos and don'ts) would contribute to the capacities of the organisations within PEACE programmes (elected bodies, government departments, community organisations, IFBs, unions, private sector and so on), rather than the consultants or consulting firms which are typically contracted to generate such lists of findings. Related to the capacity development lesson noted above, this would contribute cumulatively to the capacity of PEACE partners and recipients – rather than the external, professional, consulting firm (who would still, nonetheless, have a role to play in independent evaluation, providing they could demonstrate the necessary skill set and methodological tools to evaluate peace and reconciliation).

Measuring Catalytic Impacts and Long-Term Impacts

By definition, a catalyst is an agent that enables something to happen, but does not leave a residue or fingerprint on the process. If the PEACE programme is a catalytic process, then, we are confronted with the challenge of how to identify and measure it. The immediate results or outputs of an initiative are one thing (such as workshops, training sessions, and specific events and activities), but how they might lead to societal reconciliation is quite another. As an observer put it: "We don't want people to come into a space and feel they have to walk into the sunset holding hands at the end because that is not the way these things actually work" (IPC 2011: 73). And, as noted above, some impacts take a long, long time

to become apparent. Consequently, evaluation must appreciate the complexity, ambiguity, variability and time-dependency of peace and reconciliation. It must also appreciate 'backsliding' – the possibility that events external to an initiative might account for failures or setbacks in apparent progress. That is, the impacts of a project are not cast in stone and unchanging. Both at the level of the individual and the level of society, progress may follow a process of two steps forward and one step back. Thus for example, the anniversary of a death or a massacre may set individuals and groups back – for a period of time. The implications for evaluation are that we need to be able to do more than assess snapshot or episodic moments following a specific initiative. The challenge is to "evaluate a journey", as one participant in a PEACE III-funded workshop put it. For this, you need the ability to appreciate how people (individually and collectively) change over time on their journey, and how the impact of an initiative on an individual, may scale up, or be amplified, to a societal level.

Part V: Evaluating Impact

Issues of Scale, Impact, and Evaluation

Over the three PEACE programmes, almost €2 billion have been disbursed to fund over 20,000 projects, from very small initiatives to very large ones. The sheer scale and diversity of the three programmes combined with the complexity and sensitivities within Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland create great challenges for identifying and assessing their impact. It is still not clear, with the evaluation methodologies available, how the overall reconciliation impacts of the programme will be measured. Within the evaluation research community, methods to monitor and assess peace and conflict impact is a relatively recent and still evolving field of practice. The sensitivity to context and creativity required for peace-specific monitoring and evaluation are not immediately evident in the standard approaches to programme evaluation. Given the subtleties and long time frames associated with such evaluations, one of the interviewees observed: *"The use of large accounting firms to do this kind of evaluation does not work… People-focused projects need more imaginative approaches to evaluations. It is not like counting jobs. It is not like counting exports. It is different. And it requires a different skill set. And I don't think you are going to get a good evaluation out of number crunching."*

Individual versus Societal Impacts

Most of the evaluation work that has been done in the peace building field has focused on impacts on individuals – often framed as 'therapeutic' impact. While positive impact at the inter-group and societal level is contingent on the positive transformational impact within individuals, the process by which this is scaled up or amplified at a societal level is not clear. This observation underscores the importance of examining and better understanding the dynamics and process by which impacts radiate from individuals to groups to society, and back. At the moment it is marginally easier to identify impact on individuals. But with practice and the fashioning of appropriate tools, we should be better able to assess wider levels of impact. But this will not occur spontaneously. And it should be a central focus in any evaluations of the PEACE III Programme or any future PEACE programmes.

Aid for Peace

The question of **how to know whether the programme is having a positive peace and reconciliation impact has been a refrain throughout the three programmes.** However, it is only in PEACE III that conscious changes have been made to monitor and measure peace and conflict impacts (that is: to build peace, and to un-build conflict). In this respect PEACE III has undertaken an unprecedented and unique step by attempting to integrate an Aid for Peace approach into the evaluation and monitoring framework.

While there have been efforts to apply Aid for Peace at project and programme levels in different conflict zones, there has not been any *attempt to institutionalise it on the scale attempted by the PEACE III Programme*. Most other efforts are limited to *ex post facto* exercises that are strained through standard

evaluation procedures, which tend **not** to feed systematically back into the decision making of an organisation or its initiatives. The PEACE III Programme, however, is attempting to integrate Aid for Peace into all stages of the project cycle, from pre-project (planning), to implementation (monitoring), through to post-project (evaluation/assessment). This level of institutional commitment is unique, and holds the possibility of generating important lessons not only for the use of EU Structural Funds in the pursuit of peace building objectives, but for the ways in which Aid for Peace may be effectively *mainstreamed* into an organisation.

While this is a laudable and exciting change to PEACE programming, it remains to be seen whether the approach has been translated into a form which is user friendly, and genuinely integrated into all stages of PEACE-funded initiatives. In a sense, other than through anecdotal evidence, **a systematic understanding of whether Aid for Peace worked can only be undertaken when an evaluation of the evaluation methods has been completed.** Given the uniqueness and scale of the Aid for Peace approach, such an undertaking would serve the programme well – both in terms of a possible PEACE IV and in terms of the application of such evaluation systems to other programmes and contexts.

One evaluator associated with PEACE programmes took a long-term perspective to the question of the integration of Aid for Peace, saying that this would only be measurably evident in a prospective PEACE IV Programme. While this may be true in some respects, there remain many areas within PEACE III which might be the focus of evaluation of the development and integration of Aid for Peace methodology – most conspicuously, the degree to which it was incorporated in the normal operating procedures of a PEACE-funded organisation beyond the particular PEACE-funded project. Based on anecdotal evidence from interviews and conversations about evaluation and PEACE programming, it would appear that Aid for Peace was treated as a top-down bureaucratic requirement by the funder rather than as an opportunity to tailor and integrate a novel peace-specific monitoring and evaluation framework into the work of an organisation.

The Increased Political Salience of Evaluation in PEACE II

A former European Commission official recounted the story of the night that Drumcree violence was broadcast across Europe during PEACE II. It was the lead item on French news. The incident provoked an intense debate among Commission officials who asked why such violence continued in Northern Ireland, despite the volume of European investments in peace building. It was assumed that if the violence was still occurring, then the programme wasn't working. This precipitated a debate over the efficacy of PEACE I and whether or not there should be a PEACE II. It was a debate over the impact of the programme, and was therefore really a debate about how to evaluate the efficiency, effectiveness and measurement of outcomes.

How to Measure the Impact of the Conflict?

The measurement of the impacts of the Troubles – and their change over time – is essential to establish a baseline against which subsequent evaluation of project impacts could be compared. Following the evaluation debates stimulated by a European Commission official above, a wide range of 'creative indicators' were suggested, including:

- Number of bombs, divided by the size of bombs, plus number killed, plus number injured (discounted compared to deaths), and subtracted by elapsed time since the event. [Aside from the macabre calculations such a measure might entail, the issue here is that the measure focuses on incidents, rather than inter-group relations. As discussed below, incidents-indicators may imply that the absence of overt violence means presence of peace – when the opposite could be true.]

- Measurement of sectarian chanting in Windsor Park at the beginning, middle and end of a PEACE project to determine whether it had decreased.

- Number of sectarian murals that had been removed or re-imaged.

- Decline in segregated schooling.

- Residential desegregation.

- Decline in support for exclusionary or extremist political agendas.

Across Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland, not all areas were affected by the Troubles in the same way, or to the same extent. Further, even within the same area, the patterns of violence could change over time. For example, an integrated area at the start of the Troubles may have experienced high levels of violence initially, as families were forced out of neighbourhoods. However, as the neighbourhood was segregated over time, the high initial levels of violence would drop precipitously. But if indicators focused one-dimensionally on incidents, then it would appear that there had been improvement, when, in fact, the structures of violence (evident in segregation and the creation of interfaces) had been strengthened.

For this reason, in early stages of the PEACE programme, the decision was made to use relative deprivation as a proxy indicator. While it was recognised that it was not a perfect indicator, it was more sensitive than others. Efforts were also made to develop social and psychological indicators (such as changed attitudes and perceptions) that supplemented, in a more sensitive way, the economic and incident-based indicators.

Challenges to Evaluating Peace and Reconciliation Impact

- **Attribution dilemma:** How do we know that it is the PEACE project/programme that is responsible for a particular outcome, especially given: the amount of time often required for social change to occur; the 'crowded' landscape of peace building initiatives; and the multiplicity of factors external to an initiative that may affect inter-group relations positively or negatively.

- **Scale of Impact:** How does the impact of projects that focus on individuals scale up/ spill out to affect society writ large. Ultimately, a reconciliation programme must have a reconciliation assessment at the end of it. But who should be assessed – participants, communities, or society? (If the answer is all of these groups then there needs to be a number of different focuses for different types and arenas of impact.)

- **Definitional / Conceptual Issues:** What impact needs to be measured? If it is 'reconciliation', then what exactly does that mean? What does it look like? Does it mean the same thing for different groups? As one interviewee outlined: *"I am not sure that reconciliation can be defined in ways that we can measure our progress towards it… and, in any case, results are not likely to show up in a time frame that is meaningful for policy makers."*

- **Methodological challenges:** The adoption of the Aid to Peace evaluation approach within the PEACE III Programme is an important effort to systematically track and measure peace and reconciliation impact. This has required the translation of a user-defined approach into an administrative (EU) environment which is largely mechanist, linear, and, arguably, driven by bureaucracy. In this process of translation, the (time-consuming) need to interpret societal level impacts within and between divided communities is in tension with the (time-saving) need to check box impacts.

Some of these evaluation challenges for PEACE programming were addressed explicitly in a PEACE III-supported project which held an international workshop on the evaluation of peace-specific initiatives (Irish Peace Centres 2011):[33]

> *"Yet, aside from the technical obstacles, we have also heard in interviews that standard evaluation generates fear rather than confidence and capacity. In perception as well as in practice, evaluations are often treated as bean-counting audits undertaken by outsiders with big sticks. Consequently, evaluations are seen in many cases as a form of control or as … a form of colonialism or imperialism. This, of course, contrasts with the idea of developing a more healthy culture of evaluation from within an organisation itself. The tension between evaluation as a tool for control on one hand and a tool for learning on the other, opens up the question of the multiple needs and interests that drive evaluation: the needs of funder commissioning an evaluation; the needs of the organisation upon which the evaluation is carried out, the needs of the governments and policy makers which often support the funders; the needs of development workers in the field and the practitioners, and last, and usually least, the communities within which the initiatives being evaluated are set."*

Part VI: Lessons to be Learned

What have we learned? What should we learn? Where do we go from here? This section will outline the key lessons from the programme.

Remember Context

The first point to emphasise in this section is that the PEACE programmes were each experimental in the sense that they were not working from a given template. Rather, they were learning through experience. Before considering what lessons may be learned from the EU PEACE programmes we must consider some often unquestioned, **taken-for-granted**, aspects to the programmes' establishment and implementation. These are factors that contributed to the creation of those conditions that enabled the programmes to be initiated and sustained. Their presence or absence needs to be considered by anyone attempting to transfer lessons from Northern Ireland to other contexts. Some of these are as follows:

- The PEACE programmes (I to III) all occurred during times of relative affluence. The economies of Ireland, and EU members, were booming. These conditions no longer apply at the time of writing of this report (July 2011).

- Northern Ireland, as part of the European political landscape, is deeply influenced by Europe's liberal tradition, particularly throughout the second half of the 20th century, when non-democratic forms of government were no longer viewed as legitimate. The relevance of this fact may not be immediately obvious, but essentially, it means that the ideas and models of human rights and democratic governance within the European context were readily available to those working for peace in Northern Ireland, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and the more recent EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

> *"The initiation and continuation of PEACE-supported activities when formal political processes have broken down provides tangible examples to civil society actors of the benefits of their support for, and engagement in, incremental steps towards a 'normalised,' post-conflict, society."*

- Both Member States were democratic states, with regular elections, functioning market economies and stable bureaucratic structures and processes.

- The two Member States are also members of the EU (formerly the EEC) since 1973 wherein, as part of increasing interstate co-operation, Ireland and the UK strengthened their own bilateral relationship.

- The EU has evolved considerably since the beginning of the conflict, particularly throughout the 1980s and 1990s, through such measures as the Single European Act, which led to more open borders and the expansion of supra-state political structures of co-operation.

- As members of the EU, both the UK and Ireland also share with the rest of Europe (and the US, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and so on) what we might now refer to as 'advanced' (sometimes 'advanced industrial') democracy, where political structures are supplemented by strong civil societies with an emphasis on civil liberties. The rapid evolution of the role of civil society and voluntary groups in the political arena, particularly in the later decades of the 20th century, is also a conspicuous feature of the context in which Northern Ireland is embedded.

- The unavoidable influence of international events, particularly around issues such as civil rights and minorities within states; this is facilitated by an open society with a free press and freedom of assembly embedded within constitutional law.

These axiomatic components of the Northern Ireland context, notwithstanding their variation across Europe (not least in Northern Ireland itself), were powerful prerequisites for the emergence of both the peace process and the PEACE programme within this. Without these contextual factors it is difficult to conceptualise the peace process or programme, let alone its implementation. The relevance for transferability lies in understanding the existing conditions in the context concerned, which might enable or impede a similar programme.

Peace takes longer than PEACE Programmes

There is not, and never could be, a 'silver bullet' solution to the Northern Ireland conflict, least of all in the form of large injections of EU cash into the region. This is perhaps the most obvious and most easily forgotten lesson of this study. For this reason, it needs constant repeating. Despite its platitudinous character, policy makers and funders still tend to harbour inflated expectations about the pace and scale of social change stimulated by PEACE programming. At the same time, there is a tendency to inflate the impacts of PEACE programming and discount or neglect the impacts of other factors (positive or negative) on the process of peace and reconciliation. Programmatically, this suggests the need to be more open-ended and less mechanistic. One key lesson to emerge from the PEACE programme that should be emphasised from the start is that it is unfair to impute the shortcomings of the overall peace process to the 'failure' (or the incomplete success) of the EU PEACE programmes.

"A peace building programme will not, on its own, transform conflict and deliver 'peace' in a nicely wrapped package on the day the funding disbursements stop. At best, it will contribute to conflict transformation."

Calibration of Expectations

Directly related to the above lesson, there is a need to calibrate our expectation of what is feasible through PEACE programming. As discussed above, there are many 'moving parts' in a protracted violent conflict – as well as post-conflict transformational processes. How the programme operated since 1995 was shaped by the perceived needs of Northern Ireland and the Border Region at the time and these were influenced to a marked extent by the input of local politicians and civil society actors. Despite the shortcomings of this programme it must also be recognised that what we generally refer to as the 'reconciliation' of a divided society through EU funded initiatives took place in a structurally hostile socio-political environment. We had (and still have today) significant segregated living/housing, segregated schooling, sectarian interfaces and 'un-shared' public spaces. One key lesson, therefore, is the need to **manage any expectations** among both politicians and the publics about what the programme is capable of achieving within the particular conflict environment in which it is established. There could be no generalised 'reconciliation' of Northern Ireland's divided society, given that the social, cultural and political mechanisms sustaining that division far outweighed the ability of the PEACE programme – however well resourced – to overcome these.

The Scale of Change: A Call for Humility

A peace building programme will not, on its own, transform conflict and deliver 'peace' in a nicely wrapped package on the day the funding disbursements stop. At best, it will contribute to conflict transformation. But, it is only one component of a very large, very complex, very unpredictable process. **Peace building programmes do not substitute for progress needed in formal political processes in post-agreement political arenas. They do not substitute for private sector investment needed to transform conflict-distorted economies. And, there will never be enough funds available to match the need, given the scale, complexity, and inter-generational time frame of the problems to be addressed.** Peace cannot not be bought. As one of the interviewees for this study put it: *"If peace could be bought, we would have bought it long ago."* The most we can hope for is that the peace building programmes will catalyse the commitment of post-conflict children, women and men to work together towards a long-term – inter-generational – process of societal transformation.

Despite the magnitude of the scale of change, expectations for the pace and scope of change were, at times, unrealistic. The same interviewee observed: *"A PEACE Programme is only going to help make a difference. By itself, it will not solve the problem. It will be ancillary to a wider peace process that is happening in Northern Ireland… The Commission expected more of it than could have been reasonably expected. Consequently, the progress evident within Northern Ireland was unremarkable to Brussels."* While the interviewee may, or may not, have overstated the case regarding Brussels' ability to appreciate the magnitude of changes taking place in Northern Ireland, the point remains that markers of progress are often subtle, and less observable to outside actors, than those on the inside.

Learning by Doing

Each iteration of the PEACE programme (PEACE II and PEACE III), learned significantly from earlier programmes, notwithstanding differences of opinion in relation to what was learned and how it was used. When PEACE I was launched, it was experimental in the sense that it was learning by doing as it moved forward. At critical junctures lessons reshaped subsequent iterations. As discussed elsewhere this is illustrated in the adoption of the distinctiveness criterion (related to the need for initiatives to have a peace and reconciliation-specific impact) and the additionality requirement (that PEACE funding be complementary to, not a replacement for, regular government funding).

The PEACE I Operational Programme itself highlights awareness of the 'crowded landscape' of development programmes in the region concerned (PEACE I Operational Programme: 23), making it self-conscious of the need to be different and to provide value and utility different from existing programmes. The fact that precedents existed, even if the problems they were designed to address were broader than, or different from, a peace-specific focus.

The Importance of 'Champions'

The provision of funding and resources is not by itself sufficient to animate peace building efforts. There is a critical role for 'champions' – people who are able to rally individuals and groups around particular ideals and objectives that are conducive to creating a peaceful society. Champions exhibit the moral leadership and authority to move people from the constraints that shackle them to the past, towards an ability to envision and build a collective future. Identifying, developing and investing in these committed 'peace entrepreneurs' is a critical stage in a peace process, a peace building process, and PEACE programme implementation. Importantly, there may be different champions at different stages and sectors of the process. Thus, for example, there were conspicuous champions at the formal political level such as John Hume and Jim Nicholson. But there were also champions within the EU bureaucracy that tirelessly promoted and supported the idea and implementation of the PEACE programme. And there were champions at community level. The EU PEACE programme fostered this by consulting with community activists throughout the early stages of the programme.

Understanding and Linking Peace Building and Peace Making

The importance of understanding the ways in which peace building may contribute to peacemaking (and to the peace process more broadly) lies in the fact that, as noted earlier, almost 50% of all armed conflicts slip back into violence within five years of the signing of a peace agreement (Collier 2000). Northern Ireland, like all post-agreement environments, was characterised by volatility, distrust, fluidity, uncertain commitment to an undefined political process, and so on. Yet, with all these ingredients for failure, Northern Ireland did not descend into the same

levels of violence that preceded the formal signing of agreements. Indeed, despite some slipping on the way forward, a power-sharing agreement was negotiated, and a shared governance structure is up and running (though obviously, not without its challenges).

The essential question here is: how did the PEACE programmes contribute to this outcome? A full answer to this question would require a full evaluation of the programme. However, based on the research and interviews undertaken for the current study, it is possible to suggest the ways in which PEACE may have exercised a *positive influence* on the formal peace process through its peace building work and made a *contribution* to this. As discussed below, there are two ways in which this seemed to function.

First, by cultivating and connecting capacities within stakeholder groups that had previously not worked together – *or had only worked in opposition to each other.* This would include civil society actors (from divided communities), civil servants, and elected politicians under a variety of decision-making structures that required contact, communication, sharing of information, and collaboration. The structures by which this was achieved were various forms of partnerships among stakeholders over the various PEACE programmes (see above).

The second way that PEACE-supported peace building initiatives support the larger peace (making) process becomes evident, paradoxically, when the peace process breaks down – as was the case in Northern Ireland with the collapse of the Executive. In these circumstances, the importance of peace building initiatives cannot be overestimated. The initiation and continuation of PEACE-supported activities when formal political processes have broken down provide tangible examples to civil society actors of the benefits of their support for, and engagement in, incremental steps towards a normalised, post-conflict, society. The civil society incentives for continued progress on the peace building front are maintained, despite the obstacles at the formal political level. Indeed, we suspect that empirical research would back up the argument that peace building progress on the societal level, motivates community leaders – and the general public – to apply pressure on their elected officials (or unelected power brokers) to 'get their act together' for the good of society overall.

The Principles and Practice of Partnership

An important dimension of PEACE programmes was the inclusion of a partnership principle in one form or another – even as, in practice, they wrestled with questions of representation, power-balances, and decision-making structures. The programmes created incentives for diverse groups to work together in making funding decisions. Each of these groups contributed an essential ingredient needed to make the process inclusive, participatory, accountable and transparent. This included elected representatives, the community sector and the private/union sector. The partnership principle helped both to build positive working relations, and to build organisational capacities that were applicable beyond the PEACE programme.

The IFBs and LSPs (known as District Partnerships in PEACE I) helped to facilitate bottom-up engagement in peace. These were among the most interesting initiatives established under the programme, drawing support from an increasing EU emphasis on the engagement of civil society across other EU Member States. The IFBs and District Partnerships/LSPs embodied a novel approach to bringing the non-state sector and local governance into the decision-making process. The benefits of partnership emerge along two principal axes: a) decentralised and more informed decision making about local requirements for investment and b) the establishment of functional links among a broad cross-section of local actors, including between those across the community divide.

One of the lingering questions about the evolution of the PEACE programme, concerns why the Consultative Forum was discontinued following the establishment of PEACE II – as it was seen by community groups to be an effective means of facilitating partnerships. Several interviewees expressed surprise and disappointment at the decision to discontinue it in PEACE II, particularly as there appeared to be no obvious reason for this decision. As one active Forum participant asked: "Couldn't the Forum have continued in a modified form for the purposes of maintaining the checks and balances to which the programme was subject, and perhaps provide an additional repository of strategic vision?" This practical issue reflects the wider tension between **state administration and civil society** actors, which is to be expected to some extent. However, it might be that this experience highlights the need to manage top-down, and bottom-up, accountability mechanisms.

No Reconciliation without Inclusion

PEACE I funded a large number of diverse projects – some 13,000 projects. At that stage, the criteria for project selection were quite broad and inclusive. PEACE I, compared with later programmes, funded a greater number of projects, though the average amount of funding per project was less. This has been argued to **demonstrate a situation where "the principle of inclusion was prioritized above the principle of reconciliation"**.[34] In other words, the most important objective in the first stage was to get people involved in the programme, whether passively or actively, directly or indirectly. Until the conflict-affected population is included in the process, there can be no progress towards "higher level objectives or principles" such as reconciliation. One interviewee suggested that in the early stages of a PEACE programme, this may be *the* essential ingredient for longer term peace building success, because it demonstrates immediate, broad-based and tangible benefits of turning away from a culture of violence – even if the path of peace is not yet clearly defined.

Because of the unexpectedness of the PEACE programme, it was less planned than it might otherwise have been. Consequently, it adopted the typical model used in the management of Structural Funds – one that tended to focus on economic regeneration. It was only after the programme had touched a large number of people that the distinctiveness criterion/reconciliation objectives were developed and implemented. Arguably, popular buy-in to more overtly framed reconciliation projects was possible only because of the buy-in to economic regeneration projects that evolved over time. Indeed, it is likely that

if the distinctiveness criterion had been imposed at the beginning, it would have *inhibited* participation and progress towards a situation where groups would be better disposed to developing programmes with overt peace and reconciliation objectives. The PEACE programme would not have got off the ground.

Capacity within Civil Society

The capacity of groups to apply for, and use, PEACE-type funding is not (and is never) evenly distributed across affected populations. This fact is a consideration for any effort to harness structural funds to peace and reconciliation objectives. To ignore this issue risks creating a situation where particular groups feel that they are not benefiting from the peace – or not benefiting to the same extent as other groups (especially groups perceived to be from the 'other side'). The paradoxical risk here is that the availability of peace funds may aggravate tensions between groups because of the real, or perceived, inequitable distribution of funds. This tension is apparent in most post-conflict settings and raises difficult questions. In addition to the immediate issue addressed here concerning the capacity of groups to apply for funds, there is a delicate question of whether funds should be allocated on the basis of need or on the basis of ethnic or political divisions (in conflicts where ethnic boundaries have been politicised).[35]

In Northern Ireland and the Border Region, a tension emerged between the desire to promote cross-community interaction on the one hand and the need to strengthen *intra* community capacity on the other to ensure that all groups had equal access to funds. The danger is that enabling funding within single identity groups to develop capacity may reinforce insular identities, to the extent that cross-community programming becomes more difficult.

Quick Impact Peace Funds

There is a narrow window of opportunity and goodwill in the period immediately following the cessation of hostilities. Expectations are high – often unrealistically high. But that window of opportunity can be slammed shut quickly if the tangible benefits of peace do not become evident quickly. One interviewee argued that in the early stages of a PEACE programme, it is essential that money is dispensed quickly on the ground as a means of demonstrating the reality of a 'peace dividend'. That is, the tangible benefits of peace have to become evident quickly. Relatedly, another interviewee felt that the delay in initiating PEACE I risked undermining the goodwill and optimism that had been catalysed by the ceasefires. Shoring up the peace process might be said to be as much about optics as substance. People in Northern Ireland and the Border Region arguably needed to be shown that ending violence (as distinct from establishing peace) resulted in clear – and more or less immediate – benefits. The problem lay primarily in the ad hoc and somewhat hurried nature of the programme's establishment. Having said this, there is a counter argument that the process did need to emerge from a grassroots and localised knowledge. Imposed solutions from outside the conflict region may not have sufficient

popular legitimacy to sustain it. As noted in the section immediately below, the number and diversity of projects, and recipients of PEACE funding in PEACE I was a contribution to the quick and evident benefits of the cessation of paramilitarised conflict.

Attitudes to the Source of Funding

The distribution of funding naturally and inevitably draws attention to the funder – its rationale, its agenda and its objectives. In the context of Northern Ireland, Ireland and the UK, attitudes towards Europe (usually understood as the institutions of the EU) are important factors that conditioned attitudes towards the idea of a PEACE programme. The ebb and flow of Euro-scepticism is a significant variable affecting just how far the EU can be visibly involved in peace building and post-conflict reconstruction in any given context. For example, traditional unionism in Northern Ireland would have viewed the EU through similar lenses to British Conservatives, that is, they tend to be negatively disposed to deeper European integration. In the past, this might have contrasted with largely positive nationalist orientation towards the EU. At the time of writing, however, there is a greater degree of ambiguity concerning orientation towards the EU. The positive perceptions of the Irish electorate of the EU appear to be diminishing as suggested by the rejection of several constitutional amendments following the conclusion of EU treaty negotiations (Nice, Lisbon). Indeed, Sinn Fein was traditionally a Euro-sceptic party (see Frampton 2005; Maillot 2009). As far as the issue of transferability of lessons from the PEACE programme is concerned, popular opinion of the EU might matter, particularly as – at the time of writing – there are considerable question marks hanging over the future direction of European integration generally. It is very important to note, however, that at the start of the PEACE programme, the fact that the primary source of funding was **not** British, and **not** Irish, reduced some of the potential suspicions that political strings would be attached to projects.

Programmes Addressing the Sources, Consequences or Context of Violent Conflict

There has been much discussion about 'soft' programmes (for example, efforts to decrease levels of intolerance and increase communication in an interface project) versus 'hard' programmes that focus on tangible impact interventions (such as investment in local business or infrastructure in an effort to increase employment and decrease poverty in areas supportive of violent activities). This tension point was evident in the consultations undertaken prior to the establishment of the programme, when differences surfaced over the extent to which funding should be allocated to peace building or economic regeneration. A key issue here is the question of orientation vis-à-vis the two principal approaches. The functional approach – which has a historical precedent in the process of EU integration – specifically *ignores* the past by concentrating on those functional aspects that promote co-operation. In time, this can lead to better mutual relations by providing tangible incentives for less confrontational, and more co-operative, relationships. On the other hand, commemoration, remembering, 'memorialisation' all directly *confront the past*, as a prerequisite to moving towards a shared future. The PEACE programme has been broad enough to include both.

The Need for the Right Kind of Evaluation

It is important to set in context the monitoring and evaluation efforts of the PEACE III Programme. While there have been attempts to apply Aid for Peace at project and programme levels in other programmes in other conflict contexts, there have been *no attempts to operate and institutionalise it on the scale attempted by the PEACE III Programme*. Most other efforts are limited to *ex post facto* exercises that are strained through standard evaluation procedures, which tend *not* to feed systematically back into the decision making of an organisation or its initiatives. PEACE III, however, is attempting to integrate Aid for Peace into all stages of the project cycle, from pre-project (planning), to implementation (monitoring), through to post-project (evaluation/assessment). This level of institutional commitment is unique, and holds the possibility of generating important lessons not only for the use of structural funds in the pursuit of peace building objectives, but for the ways in which Aid for Peace may be effectively *mainstreamed* into an organisation. However, it has been a steep learning curve for all involved in PEACE III monitoring and evaluation. The sense that evaluation is undertaken as an administrative requirement, rather than as part of a formative, learning process, is common. The externally conducted (as opposed to internally conducted), and accounting-oriented, approaches to the application of Aid for Peace, are issues that remain to be addressed if an effective and healthy monitoring and evaluation culture is to result from the PEACE programmes. The bottom line is this: until there is a systematic and fully integrated PEACE-specific monitoring and evaluation framework in place within projects, and within the programme overall, then the understanding of the impact and worth of these initiatives is anecdotal and non-cumulative.

The principle of additionality means that EU Structural Funds may not replace the national or equivalent expenditure by a Member State (Source: Europa Website)

The Importance of Funding 'Distinctiveness', Additionality and Complementarity

In the Northern Ireland/Border Region of Ireland context, which was in receipt of structural funding before the establishment of the PEACE programme, it became clear that a failure to distinguish PEACE from these other programmes could result in duplication of efforts. In the PEACE I stage, there was a recognition that funding would be broadly socio-economic in orientation, but skewed in favour of those 'most affected' by the conflict. As the programme evolved over time, in particular from PEACE II onward, it leaned more towards dealing explicitly with conflict and post-conflict related issues.

The EU has considerable experience in administering programmes which incorporate the principle of additionality. Indeed, additionality is a cornerstone of EU structural funding, and is intended to mitigate any temptation by national governments to use EU funding to replace government funding. In essence, additionality ensures that any project must receive both EU and central government expenditure. Complementarity ensures that there is an appropriate division of labour between various governmental agencies with respect to particular projects or programmes.

The need to balance Administrative Accountability with the Innovation and Creativity

There is a tension between two elements of PEACE-type programmes. On the one hand, the programme is tasked with accountably administering significant amounts of public funding in a politically volatile context. On the other hand, the effectiveness of programming is often determined by its ability to respond quickly and creatively to opportunities as they arise. However, innovation and creativity, by their very nature, require an environment that enables trial and error – or, at least, does not penalise it. Space needs to be created to allow the testing (and occasional failure) of new approaches in 'real world' circumstances. There is a sense among funding recipients that over time, the bureaucratic needs of accountability and reporting have stifled creative responses to addressing needs on the ground – even when they clearly fall within the purview of the funding priorities of the programme.

A Final Word

After all of this reading and analysis, and after listing the lessons to be learned above, what do we know about the PEACE programmes?

We know that there is not a singular story, but many stories, to be told. We know that there are many perspectives on the same story. Importantly, and empirically, we know that almost 2 billion euro will have been disbursed through the programmes by the time the doors close on PEACE III in 2013. Despite the methodological difficulties of the comparison, we know that the PEACE programmes are of the same scale and magnitude of the Marshall Plan for the post-World War II reconstruction of Europe (the European Recovery Programme) – which dispensed US $13 billion over four years for all of western Europe. The difference between the Marshall Plan and the PEACE programmes is the nub of the challenge to clearly articulate what we *know* about the impact of the PEACE programmes. While the Marshall Plan was primarily about physical and economic infrastructure, the PEACE programmes are largely about social infrastructure (while obviously not neglecting significant infrastructural projects funded throughout the programmes).

We have many stories of how projects have had profound impacts on the participants involved within and across community boundaries. We also have stories of more ambiguous or ambivalent impacts. Some of these stories are expressed in anecdotes; some in evaluations; some in financial spreadsheets; some in publications and the media. At the end of the day, the success of the programmes will be evident as much in what does not happen, as in what does happen in Northern Ireland and the Border Region, namely the disappearance of paramilitarised violence from the island, as well as the post-conflict forms into which it can mutate (domestic violence, criminal violence, suicide, and so on). Yet, we should also be able to see their impacts in the number and density of constructive interactions and relationships within and across previously divided communities.

Counter-factual questions are not amenable to empirical validation or challenge. However, they are useful in conceptually orienting our understandings of how the world works. Would Northern Ireland be where it is today on the path of peace and reconciliation, in the absence of the PEACE programmes? The answer to this question is crystal clear: absolutely not. There remains, however, much work to be done in learning and applying the lessons from the programmes about what to do, what not to do, and what to start doing. It is our sincere hope that the current study is a modest step in this direction.

Reflections

In conclusion, it would appear that the consultations discussed above were focused on the means rather than ends of the proposed PEACE programme. That is, focus was more on how to achieve peace and reconciliation, than on what these end goals might actually look like. *Neither the consultations, nor the PEACE I Programme itself, undertook a systematic assessment of the sources of the conflict-specific problems within Northern Ireland and the Border Region.* From a technical and programmatic perspective, this would appear to be problematic. How can a programme work towards peace if the sources of violent conflict are not explicitly analysed or acknowledged? Furthermore, how is it possible to measure progress towards peace and reconciliation, if these objectives are not explicitly defined? This part of the PEACE story reveals tensions between the principles of efficiency and effectiveness. More specifically, the question is: how can progress towards (or prevention of backsliding from) reconciliatory outcomes be monitored, within the initial, and very unstable, post-agreement environment if the very process of defining objectives would amplify differences of interpretation between polarised groups that would hinder the establishment of the programme?

This question will be addressed in more detail in the overall conclusion of the report. However a number of points should be flagged. First, it should not be forgotten that PEACE I was breaking new ground. Although it learned from other EU funded programmes in different countries in a variety of sectors, it did not have peace-specific EU programmes from which to draw lessons and examples. Consequently, the programme would invent itself, and the necessary tools, as it went along. So, for example, further clarification on the meaning, and operational implications, of 'reconciliation' was only later incorporated into the sub-objectives of the PEACE II Programme. Secondly, and importantly, the very fact that a conflict assessment was *not* undertaken in PEACE I incidentally avoided a very contentious and divisive debate that might well have stopped the programme from ever getting off the ground.

In learning from the PEACE experience, these observations elicit two cautionary notes. The *first* is to be aware of the tendency to analyse the past (the pre-history of PEACE I) through the narrow lens of the present, which downplays (or discounts) the levels of uncertainty and volatility within which the programme was being developed. And *second,* there is a need to recognise that in a contentious post-conflict/post-agreement setting, the implementation of a programme that sticks rigidly to an efficiency model – which in this case, might have insisted on a conflict analysis – may actually undercut the effectiveness or very existence of the programme.

This is not to say, at all, that the programme was inefficient. But it is to say, that sustainable peace and reconciliation takes time, as much as money. And sometimes trust-building and relationship-building do not fit neatly into a time-limited, budget-determined, logical, framework-managed projects.

Part VII: Bibliographic Resources

Introduction

ADM/CPA (2007) *Building on Peace – Supporting Peace and Reconciliation after 2006*. (Monaghan).

Arthur, P (2000) *Special Relationships: Britain, Ireland and the Northern Ireland Problem*. (The Blackstaff Press: Belfast)].

Brewer, J D, Higgins, G I and Teeney, F (2011). *Religion, Civil Society, and Peace in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Byrne, S. and Irvin, C (2001) 'Economic aid and policy making: building the peace dividend in Northern Ireland' *Policy & Politics* 29 (4): 413-429.

Byrne, S (2001). 'Consociational and civic society approaches to peacebuilding in Northern Ireland', *Journal of Peace Research*, (May), Vol. 38, No. 3: 327-352.

Community Relations Council (2009). *Towards Sustainable Security; Interface Barriers and the Legacy of Segregation in Belfast*.
http://www.donegallpass.org/CRC_Towards_Sustainable_Security_Publication.pdf

Deloitte (2007). *Research into the financial cost of the Northern Ireland divide*, (April 2007), (Belfast: Deloitte).

Dixon, P (2008) *Northern Ireland: the politics of war and peace* (Second Edition, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Hayes, B C and McAllister I (2001) 'Sowing dragon's teeth: public support for political violence and paramilitarism in Northern Ireland', 49: 901-922.

Harvey, B, Kelly, A, McGearty, S, and Murray, S (2005). *The Emerald Curtain: The Social Impact of the Irish Border*. **http://borderireland.info/pubs/BI-00891.pdf**

Irwin, C (2002), *The People's Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave).

Knox, C and Monaghan R (2001). '"An Acceptable Level of Violence": Intra-Community Violence in Northern Ireland and South Africa', *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 21, 2.

Leonard, M (2006). 'Segregated Schools in Segregated Societies'. *Childhood*, 13, (4): 441-458.

McCall, C and O'Dowd, L (2008) 'Hanging flower baskets, blowing in the wind? Third sector groups, cross border partnerships, and the EU Peace programmes in Ireland', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 14: 29-54.

NICVA (2004) *Telling the Story of PEACE II: An Assessment of the Impact of PEACE II funding in Strabane, East Belfast and Cavan.*

Poole, M A and Doherty, P (1996) *Ethnic Residential Segregation in Northern Ireland*. (Coleraine: University of Ulster).

Portland Trust (2007). *Economics in Peacemaking: Lessons from Northern Ireland*.
http://www.portlandtrust.org/publications/EPM_Northern_Ireland.pdf

Racioppi, L and O'Sullivan See, K (2007) 'Grassroots peace-building and third-party intervention: the European Union's Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland' *Peace and Change* 32 (3): 361-390.

Ross, M H (2000) 'Creating the Conditions for Peacemaking: theories of practice in ethnic conflict resolution' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (6): 1002-1034.

Rowan, B (1995). *Behind the Lines: 'The Story of the IRA and Loyalist Ceasefires'* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press).

Establishment and Implementation of The Peace Programmes

Arthur, P (2010) 'The Role of the European Union as a Peace Builder: Northern Ireland as a Case Study' *Peace and Conflict Studies* 17 (1): 176-204.

Buchanan, S (2008) 'Transforming Conflict in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties: some lessons from the Peace Programmes on valuing participative democracy' *Irish Political Studies*, 23 (3): 387-409.

Byrne, S, Mislav, M and Fissuh, E (2007a) 'The European Union Peace and Reconciliation Fund Impact on Northern Ireland' *International Journal on World Peace* 24 (2): 85-101.

Consultative Forum (1999) *The Peace Programme 2000-2005*.

Europa (2010a) Website of the Directorate General for Regional Policy available at: **http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/index_en.htm** accessed 26 November.

European Economic and Social Committee [EESC] (2008) *Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on the role of the EU in the Northern Ireland peace process* SC/029".

Haagerup, N (1982) *Report drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee on European Political Cooperation and European Security. Working Documents 1982-83, 1-946/82. December 1982*. (EU European Parliament Document)

Harvey, B (2003) Review of the Peace II Programme, (Joseph Rowantree Charitable Trust).

Hayward, K (2006a) 'National territory in European space: Reconfiguring the island of Ireland' *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 897-920.

Hayward, K (2006b) 'Reiterating national identities: The European Union conception of conflict resolution in Northern Ireland' *Cooperation and Conflict* 41 (3): 261-284.

Knox, C (1998) 'The European Model of Service Delivery: a partnership approach to Northern Ireland' *Public Administration and Development* 18: 151-168.

Peace III Operational Programme (Undated) *Peace III: EU programme for Peace and Reconciliation 2007-2013, Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland*, Available at **www.seupb.eu**

Special European Union Programme Body [SEUPB] (2010) 'Beneficiaries' Available **http://www.seupb.eu/programmes2007-2013/beneficiaries.aspx** [Accessed 21 Sept 2010].

Taillon, R and Collins, E (1999) *Implementation of the Partnership Principle: the Consultative Forum of the Peace Programme,* (Belfast: Nexus Research Co-operative).

Taillon, R (1997) *The EU Peace Programme: Comments on the Mid-Term Review,* Belfast: West Belfast Economic Forum 22.

Logistical and Financial Management of the Peace Programmes

Byrne, S and Irvin, C (2001) 'Economic aid and policy making: building the peace dividend in Northern Ireland' *Policy & Politics* 29 (4): 413-429.

Byrne, S, Skarlato, O, Fissuh, E, and Irvin, C (2009c) 'Building Trust and Goodwill in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties: The Impact of Economic Aid on the Peace Process' *Irish Political Studies* 24 (3): 337-363.

Court of Auditors (2000) *'Special Report 7/2000 concerning the International Fund for Ireland and the Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the border counties of Ireland (1995 to1999)'* available **http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2000:146:0001:0026:EN:PDF** [accessed 30 November 2010].

Knox, C (1998) 'The European Model of Service Delivery: a partnership approach to Northern Ireland' *Public Administration and Development* 18: 151-168.

Matic, M, Byrne, S and Fissuh, E (2007) '*Awareness and Process: The role of the European Union PEACE II Fund and the International Fund for Ireland in Building the Peace Dividend in Northern Ireland'*.

PEACE II Operational Programme (Undated) *PEACE III: EU programme for Peace and Reconciliation 2007-2013, Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland*, Available at **www.seupb.eu**

Building and Measuring Peace

(i): Programme Delivery Within a Complex Political Environment

Acheson, N, and Milofsky, C (2008) 'Peace Building and Participation in Northern Ireland: local social movements and the policy process since the 'Good Friday' Agreement', *Ethnopolitics*, 7 (1): 63-80.

Arthur, P (2010) 'The Role of the European Union as a Peace Builder: Northern Ireland as a Case Study' *Peace and Conflict Studies* 17 (1): 176-204.

Bache, I, and George, S (2006) Politics in the European Union Second Edition Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buchanan, S (2008) 'Transforming conflict in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties: some lessons from the Peace Programmes on valuing participative democracy' *Irish Political Studies*, 23 (3): 387-409.

Collier, P (2000). 'Doing Well out of War: An Economic Perspective', in Berdal, Mats and David M. Malone (eds.), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars,* Boulder, Lynne Rienner, pp.91-111.

Diez, T and Hayward, K (2008) 'Reconfiguring spaces of conflict: Northern Ireland and the Impact of European Integration' *Space and Polity* 12 (1): 47-62.

Diez, T, Stetter, S, Albert, M (2006) 'The European Union and Border Conflicts: The Transformative Power of Integration' *International Organisation* 60: 563-593.

Duchêne, F (1994) *Monnet: the first statesman of interdependence* (London: WW Norton and Co).

Europa (2010a) Website of the Directorate General for Regional Policy available at: **http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/index_en.htm** [accessed 26 November].

European Commission (2001) 'Governance in the EU – a White Paper' available **http://ec.europa.eu/governance/white_paper/index_en.htm** [accessed 21 Sept 2010].

European Commission (2010) 'European Commission, Better Regulation: choice of regulatory instruments – C321/1' available **http://ec.europa.eu/cgi-bin/etal.pl** [accessed] 20 Sep. 10.

European Economic and Social Committee (2008) *'Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on the role of the EU in the Northern Ireland peace process – SC/029'*.

Haas, E B (2003) *The Uniting of Europe: political, social and economic forces 1950-1957* New Edition Edition (University of Notre Dame Press).

Hamber, B and Kelly, G (2007). 'Reconciliation: Time to grasp the nettle' S*cope - Social Affairs Magazine*, February. (NICVA: Belfast, Northern Ireland).

Hayward, K (2006b) 'Reiterating National Identities: The European Union Conception of Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland' *Cooperation and Conflict* 41 (3): 261-284.

Knox, C (1998) 'The European Model of Service Delivery: a partnership approach to Northern Ireland' *Public Administration and Development* 18: 151-168.

Kooiman, J (2003) *Governing as Governance* (London: Sage Publications).

Kooiman, J (ed.) (1993) *Modern Governance: New Government-Society Interactions* (London: Sage Publications).

Leonard, M (2005) *Why Europe will run the 21st century,* (London: 4th Estate).

Manners, I (2002) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (2): 235-258.

Matic, M, Byrne, S and Fissuh, E (2007) *Awareness and Process: The role of the European Union Peace II Fund and the International Fund for Ireland in Building the Peace Dividend in Northern Ireland.*

Prodi, R (2004) 'Europe and Peace' Speech delivered at the University of Ulster, Magee Campus available **http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/about/specialist/TON/prodi-magee-visit.pdf** [accessed 26 November 2010].

Racioppi, L and O'Sullivan See, K (2007) 'Grassroots peace-building and third-party intervention: The European Union's Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland' *Peace and Change* 32 (3): 361-390.

Tannam, E (1997) 'The European Commission and the conflict in Northern Ireland: a supranational role?' Cambridge Review of International Affairs 11 (1): 8-27.

Tannam, E (2007) 'The European Commission's evolving role in conflict resolution: the case of Northern Ireland 1989-2005' *Cooperation and Conflict* 42 (3): 337-356.

Walters, W, and Haahr, J H (2006) *Governing Europe: Discourse, Governmentality and European Integration* (London: Routledge).

Williamson, A, Scott, D, and Halfpenny, P (2000) 'Rebuilding civil society in Northern Ireland: the community and voluntary sector's contribution to the European Union's Peace and Reconciliation District Partnership Programme' *Policy and Politics*, 28 (1): 49-66.

(ii) Articulating and Embedding Peace and Reconciliation Focus

Allport, G W ([1954] 1979) *The Nature of Prejudice* 25th Anniversary Edition, (London: Basic Books).

Bruegel, I (2006) 'Social Capital, Diversity and Education Policy' *Families and Social Capital* ESRC Research Group, Available **http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/families/publications/SCDiversityEdu28.8.06.pdf** [Accessed 21 Sept 2010].

Byrne, S, Arnold, J, Fissuh, E, Standish, K. Irvin, C and Tennent, P (2009b) 'The EU PEACE II Fund and the International Fund for Ireland: Nurturing cross-community contact and reconciliation in Northern Ireland' *Geopolitics* 14: 630-652.

Byrne, S, Thiessen, C, Fissuh, E, and Irvin, C (2009a) The IFI and EU PEACE II Fund: respondents' perceptions of funded project success in promoting peace building and community development in Northern Ireland" *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 16 (1): 44-67.

Cantle Report (2001) *Community Cohesion: report of the independent review team* (London: Home Office).

Daly, E and Sarkin, J (2006) *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: finding common ground*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Dixon, J, Durrheim, K, Tredoux, C, Tropp, L. Clack, B and Eaton, L (2010) 'A paradox of integration? Interracial contact, prejudice reduction, and perceptions of racial discrimination' *Journal of Social Issues* 66 (2): 401-416.

Erasmus, Z (2010) 'Contact Theory: Too timid for 'race' and racism' *Journal of Social Issues* 66 (2): 387-400.

Fulton, J., (2002) 'Religion and enmity in Ireland: institutions and relational beliefs', *Social Compass*, 49 (2): 189-202.

Halliday, F (2000) 'The perils of community: reason and unreason in nationalist ideology' *Nations and Nationalism* 6 (2): 153-171.

Hamber, B & Kelly. G (2009) 'Beyond Coexistence: Towards a Working Definition of Reconciliation' in Quinn, J (ed). *Reconciliation(s): Transitional Justice in Postconflict Societies*. (McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal CA).

Hamber, B & Kelly, G (2009). 'Too Deep, Too Threatening: Understandings of Reconciliation in Northern Ireland' in Van Der Merwe, H, Baxter, V and Chapman, *Assessing the Impact of Transitional Justice: Challenges for Emperical Research* (USIP Press, Washington, DC).

Hamber, B & Kelly, G (2008) 'The Challenge of Reconciliation: Translating Theory into Practice' in *A Sustainable Peace?* (Belfast: Community Relations Council).

Hamber, B and Kelly, G (2005). 'The Challenge of Reconciliation in Post-conflict Societies: Definition, Problems and Proposals' in O'Flynn, I and Russell, D (eds), *New Challenges for Power-Sharing: Institutional and Social Reform in Divided Societies* (Pluto Press: London).

Hamber, B and Kelly, G (2005). *A Place for Reconciliation? Conflict and Locality in Northern Ireland.* Report 18, (Democratic Dialogue, Belfast, Northern Ireland).

Hamber, B, and Kelly, G (2004) 'A Working Definition of Reconciliation' Paper Published by Democratic Dialogue, Belfast, September.

Hasan, R (2009) *Multiculturalism: some inconvenient truths*, (London: Politico's).

Hughes, J (2009b) 'Paying for Peace: Comparing the EU's role in the conflicts in Northern Ireland and Kosovo' *Ethnopolitics* 8 (3): 287-306.

Mutz, D C (2006) *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pettigrew, T F and Tropp, L R (2006) 'A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90 (5): 751-783.

Putnam, R D (1995) 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital' *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1): 65-78.

Putnam, R D (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (London: Simon and Schuster).

Schattschneider, E E (1960) *The Semisovereign People: a realist view of democracy in America* Brooks/Cole.

Sen, A (2006) *Identity and Violence: the illusion of destiny*, (London: Penguin).

Sunstein, C (2000) 'Deliberative Trouble? Why groups go to extremes' *Yale Law Journal* 110: 71-119.

Sunstein, C. (2002) 'The law of group polarization' *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 10 (2): 175-195.

Taillon, R And Collins, E (1999) *Implementation of the Partnership Principle: the Consultative Forum of the Peace Programme*, (Belfast: Nexus Research Co-operative).

Williamson, A, Scott, D, and Halfpenny, P (2000) 'Rebuilding civil society in Northern Ireland: the community and voluntary sector's contribution to the European Union's Peace and Reconciliation District Partnership Programme' *Policy and Politics*, 28 (1): 49-66.

(iii) Evaluating Impact

Brusset, E, Buchanan-Smith, M, Hainsworth, M and McGearty, S (2007) *Evaluation of the Peace and Reconciliation Impact of the PEACE II Programme Measures 5.3 and 5.4, Final Report,* 15th March 2007.

Bush, K (2009) 'Aid for Peace: A handbook for Applying Peace & Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) to Peace III Projects' (INCORE).

Byrne, S, Mislav, M and Fissuh, E (2007a) 'The European Union Peace and Reconciliation Fund Impact on Northern Ireland' *International Journal on World Peace*.

Byrne, S, Skarlato, O, Fissuh, E. and Irvin, C (2009c) 'Building trust and goodwill in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties: the impact of cconomic aid on the peace process' *Irish Political Studies* 24 (3): 337-363.

Byrne, S, Thiessen, C, Fissuh, E and Irwin, C (2009d) The IFI and EU.

Byrne, S, Thiessen, C, Fissuh, E, and Irvin, C (2009a) The IFI and EU Peace II Fund: respondents' perceptions of funded project success in promoting peace building and community development in Northern Ireland' *Peace and Conflict Studies,* 16 (1): 44-67.

European Economic and Social Committee [EESC] (2008) *Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee on the role of the EU in the Northern Ireland peace process* SC/029.

Hamber, B, and Kelly, G, (2004) *A Working Definition of Reconciliation* (Democratic Dialogue, Belfast).

Hughes, J (2009a) 'Introduction: The making of EU conflict management strategy – development through security?' *Ethnopolitics* 8 (3-4): 275-285.

Hughes, J (2009b) 'Paying for Peace: Comparing the EU's role in the conflicts in Northern Ireland and Kosovo' *Ethnopolitics* 8 (3): 287-306.

Lynch, C (2007) 'Evaluating the Peace-Building Impact of Structural Funds Programmes' *Evaluation*, 13 (1): 8-31.

McCall, C and O'Dowd, L. (2008) 'Hanging flower baskets, blowing in the wind? Third sector groups, cross border partnerships, and the EU Peace programmes in Ireland' *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 14: 29-54.

McClure Watters (2006) *Developing an Impact Evaluation for the PEACE II Programme*.

NICVA (2004) *Telling the Story of PEACE II, an assessment of the impact of PEACE II funding in Strabane, East Belfast and Cavan.*

Price Waterhouse Coopers (2007) *A Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Peace-Building* Available at **http://www.seupb.eu/Libraries/PEACE_Programme_Evaluations/PWC.sflb.ashx** [Accessed 21 Sept 2010].

Racioppi, L and O'Sullivan See, K (2007) 'Grassroots peace-building and third-party intervention: the European Union's Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland' *Peace and Change* 32 (3): 361-390.

Ross, M H (2004) 'Come guidelines for conceptualizing success in conflict resolution evaluation' *Peace and Conflict Studies* 11 (1): 1-18.

Special European Union Programmes Body (2010) 'Beneficiaries' available **http://www.seupb.eu/programmes2007-2013/beneficiaries.aspx** [Accessed 21 Sept 2010].

Taillon, R And Collins, E (1999) *Implementation of the Partnership Principle: the Consultative Forum of the Peace Programme,* Belfast: (Nexus Research Co-operative).

Taillon, R (1997) *The EU Peace Programme: Comments on the Mid-Term Review*, (Belfast: West Belfast Economic Forum).

Additional Resources

Allport, G W ([1954] 1979) *The Nature of Prejudice* 25th anniversary Edition, (London: Basic Books).

Bache, I, and George, S (2006) *Politics in the European Union* Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Bush, K (1999). *The Limits and Scope for the Use of Development Assistance Incentives and Disincentives for Influencing Conflict Situations: Case Study -- Sri Lanka* (OECD, Paris: DAC Informal Task Force on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation. August 1999).

CAIN (2011a). **http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/counting.htm**

CAIN (2011b). **http://cain.ulster.ac.uk/ni/security.htm#05**

Cantle Report (2001). *Community Cohesion: report of the independent review team* London: Home Office.

Collier, P (2000). 'Doing well out of war: an economic perspective', in Berdal, M and D M Malone (eds), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, (Boulder, Lynne Rienner) pp.91-111.

Consultative Forum (1999) The Peace Programme 2000-2005 PEACE II Fund: 'Respondents' perceptions of funded project success in promoting peace building and community development in Northern Ireland' *Peace and Conflict Studies* 16 (1): 44-67.

McCormick, J (2005) *Understanding the European Union: a concise introduction*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Daly, E, and Sarkin, J (2006) *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: finding common ground*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press).

Diez, T and Hayward, K (2008) 'Reconfiguring Spaces of Conflict: Northern Ireland and the Impact of European Integration' *Space and Polity* 12 (1): 47-62.

Diez, T, Stetter, S, Albert, M (2006) 'The European Union and Border Conflicts: The transformative power of integration' International Organisation *60: 563-593.*

Dixon, J, Durrheim, K, Tredoux, C, Tropp, L, Clack, B and Eaton, L (2010) 'A paradox of integration? Interracial contact, prejudice reduction, and perceptions of racial discrimination' *Journal of Social Issues* 66 (2): 401-416.

Duchêne, F (1994) *Monnet: the first statesman of interdependence* (London: WW Norton and Co).

Erasmus, Z (2010) Contact Theory: Too timid for "Race" and Racism *Journal of Social Issues* 66 (2): 387-400.

Europa (2010a) Website of the Directorate General for Regional Policy available at: **http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/index_en.htm** accessed 26 November.

European Commission (2001) *Governance in the EU – a White Paper* available **http://ec.europa.eu/governance/white_paper/index_en.htm** [accessed 21 Sept 2010].

European Commission (2010) *European Commission, Better Regulation: choice of regulatory instruments – C321/1* available **http://ec.europa.eu/cgi-bin/etal.pl** [accessed 20 Sep. 10].

Fischer, M (2006) *Civil Society in Conflict Transformation: Ambivalence, Potentials and Challenges* (Berlin: Berghoff Center for Constructive Conflict Management), available at **http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/fischer_cso_handbook.pdf** [Accessed 30 November 2010].

Fulton, J (2002) 'Religion and Enmity in Ireland: Institutions and Relational Beliefs', *Social Compass*, 49 (2): 189-202 20.

Frampton, P (2005) 'Sinn Fein and the European Arena: "Ourselves Alone" or "Critically Engaged"?', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 16, pp.235-253;

Ghali, B (1992) An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping S/24111, UN Documentation Centre available at **http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html** [accessed 3 Jan 2011].

Haas, E B (2003) *The Uniting of Europe: political, social and economic forces 1950-1957* New Edition (University of Notre Dame Press).

Halliday, F (2000) 'The perils of community: reason and unreason in nationalist ideology' *Nations and Nationalism* 6 (2): 153-171.

Hayward, K (2006a) 'National territory in European space: reconfiguring the island of Ireland' *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 897-920.

Hughes, J (2009a) 'Introduction: The making of EU Conflict Management Strategy – Development through security?' *Ethnopolitics* 8 (3-4): 275-285.

Ana Juncos (2005). 'The EU's post-conflict intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (re)Integrating the Balkans and/or (re)Inventing the EU?', *Southeast European Politics,* VI:2, p. 88.

Knox, C (1998) 'The European model of service delivery: a partnership approach to Northern Ireland' Public Administration and Development 18: 151-168.

Leonard, M (2005) *Why Europe will run the 21st century*, (London: 4th Estate).

Maillot, A (2009) 'Sinn Fein's approach to the EU: still more 'Critical' than 'Engaged'?', *Irish Political Studies*, 24:4, pp. 559-574.

Pettigrew, T F, and Tropp, L R (2006) 'A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90 (5): 751-783.

Prodi, R (2004) 'Europe and Peace' Speech delivered at the University of Ulster, Magee Campus available **http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/about/specialist/TON/prodi-magee-visit.pdf** [accessed 26 November 2010].

Putnam, R D (1995) 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital' *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1): 65-78.

Putnam, R D (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (London: Simon and Schuster).

75

Ross, M H (2000) 'Creating the Conditions for Peacemaking: theories of practice in ethnic conflict resolution' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (6): 1002-1034.

Sunstein, C (2000) 'Deliberative Trouble? Why groups go to extremes' *Yale Law Journal* 110: 71-119.

Sunstein, C (2002) 'The law of group Polarization' *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 10 (2):175-195.

Tannam, E (1997) 'The European Commission and the conflict in Northern Ireland: a supranational role?' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 11 (1): 8-27.

Tannam, E (2007) 'The European Commission's evolving role in conflict resolution: the case of Northern Ireland 1989-200' *Cooperation and Conflict* 42 (3): 337-356.

Williamson, A, Scott, D, and Halfpenny, P (2000) 'Rebuilding civil society in Northern Ireland: the community and voluntary sector's contribution to the European Union's Peace and Reconciliation District Partnership Programme' *Policy and Politics*, 28 (1): 49-66.

Appendix 1

EXAMPLE 1: Local Strategy Partnership: Derry/Londonderry Members	
Councillor	SDLP
Councillor	SDLP
Councillor	SDLP
Councillor	SDLP
Councillor	Sinn Fein
Councillor	Sinn Fein
Alderman	DUP
Statutory Agencies	
Member	Derry City Council
Member	North West Development Office
Member	Western Education and Library Board
Member	Western Health and Social Services
Member	Department for Employment and Learning
Member	Invest Northern Ireland
Member	Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (DARD)
Community & Voluntary Sector	
Member	Londonderry YMCA
Member	The Women's Centre
Member	Royal National Institute for the Deaf
Member	Cresco Trust
Member	Tullyally and District Development Group
Member	Creggan Enterprises
Member	Creggan Neighbourhood Partnership
Business Sector	
Member	Private Sector
Member	Private Sector
Agricultural/Rural Development	
Member	Ulster Farmer's Union/ Rural Area Partnership In Derry (RAPID)
Member	Northern Ireland Agricultural Producers Association (NIAPA)
Trade Union	
Member	Irish Congress of Trade Unions
Member	Derry Trades Union Council – INTO
Member	Derry Trades Union Council – MSF
Observer	
Member	North West Cross Border Group

EXAMPLE 2: County Development Board – Louth County Council	
Cllr.	Louth County Council
Cllr.	Louth County Council
Cllr.	Louth County Council
Cllr.	Louth County Council
Cllr.	Louth County Council
Mr.	County Manager
Mr.	Louth County Enterprise Board
Ms.	Dundalk Chamber of Commerce
Ms.	Louth Leader
Mr.	Louth Leader
Ms.	Drogheda Partnership
Mr.	Health Service Executive
Ms.	Health Service Executive
Mr.	FAS (Employment and Training Agency)
Mr.	Teagasc
Mr.	Vocational Educational Committee
Ms.	Enterprise Ireland
Mr.	Industrial Development Authority
Mr.	East Coast and Midlands Tourism
Mr.	Department of Social Protection
Mr.	DKIT
Ms.	Vocational Educational Committee
Mr.	Department of Education and Science
Mr.	Dundalk Chambre of Commerce
Mr.	Irish Farmers Association
Ms.	Community and Voluntary Forum
Mr.	Community and Voluntary Forum
Cllr.	Dundalk Town Council
Cllr.	Drogheda Borough Council
	Garda Siochana (Police)
Cllr.	Louth County Council

The table below provides an overview of the three PEACE programmes and the total amount of funding which has been received by organisations in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland.

TABLE 3: The PEACE Programmes - A Thumbnail Sketch

Programme	Funding Period	EU Contribn (euro m)	Nat'nal Contribn (euro m)	Total (euro m)	Broad Objectives
PEACE I	1995-99	500	167	667	Promote reconciliation by increasing economic growth and progress towards social development
PEACE II	2000-04	531	304	835	Addressing the legacy of the conflict
PEACE II Extension	2005-06	78	82	160	Taking opportunities arising from peace and paving the way to reconciliation

Promotion of social and economic; facilitating cohesion between communities |
| **PEACE III** | 2007-13 | 225 | 108 | 333 | Reconciling communities (building positive relationships at local level and acknowledging the past)

Contributing to a shared society (creating shared public spaces and developing key institutional capacity for a shared society) |
| **P I + P II + P III** | | | | | **Total PEACE Funding: 1,995,000,000** |

Table 2 gives a chronological overview of some of the events that have taken place in Northern Ireland that have shaped the content, management and delivery of the PEACE programmes. Importantly, it places political and conflict-related events alongside developments in the PEACE programmes.

The table also highlights key events and developments within Europe which shaped the PEACE programmes, such as the European Court of Auditors' Report of 1999, which called for a more explicit and clearly defined connection between PEACE funded initiatives and peace-specific impacts.

TABLE 4: The Peace Process, Significant Events and the PEACE Programme

Year	The Peace Process and Significant Events	The PEACE Programme
1994	**August:** The Provisional IRA Ceasefire **October:** Combined Loyalist Military Ceasefire	European Commission Communication[36] on the situation in Northern Ireland following the Provisional IRA ceasefire declaration The Trojan Report prepared for the European Commission European Council Declaration (Essen, Germany) on the establishment of a support programme for Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland
1995	Framework Document published by the British and Irish Governments **November:** UK-Irish communiqué on the Twin Track process (parallel process on decommissioning and all-party negotiations) and visit of US President Bill Clinton	**EU Parliamentary approval** of the Special Programme for Peace and Reconciliation (PEACE I) **Consultation events** (Newry and Ballyconnell) between EU, state and voluntary/community sector actors in Northern Ireland and Ireland **PEACE I Measures:** (1) Employment; (2) Urban Regeneration (3) Rural Regeneration (4) Cross-border Development; (5) Social Inclusion; (6) Productive Investment and Industrial Development Establishment of Intermediary Funding Bodies (IFBs) and District Partnerships
1996	**January:** Establishment of the Mitchell Principles – decommissioning ("disarmament") during all-party talks **February:** Collapse of 17 month-Provisional IRA ceasefire, marked by the bombing of Canary Wharf in London **May:** Forum elections **June:** First visit to Northern Iredand by Irish President Mary Robinson **June:** Murder of Garda Gerry McCabe by Provisional IRA in Limerick – leading to increased security pressure from Irish Government	**Start of EU Funding** Total funding allocation: €667m (€500m EU Contribution) 64 implementing bodies 7 sub-programmes Applications received – 31,000 Projects approved – 15,000 (one third were grants under £3,000)

Year	The Peace Process and Significant Events	The PEACE Programme
1997	**May:** Election of New Labour and Prime Minister Tony Blair who takes an even greater interest in Northern Ireland, making it a priority focus, leading to the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998[37]. **June:** General Election in Ireland; new Fianna Fail and Progressive Democrat coalition formed. Bertie Ahern becomes Taoiseach **July:** Restoration of Provisional IRA ceasefire **August/October** – all-party talks with Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mo Mowlam (in the shadow of tit-for-tat paramilitary sectarian murders)	Publication of the Cooper and Lybrand Report and the Joseph Rowntree Report into the PEACE Programme
1998	**April:** The Belfast Agreement/Good Friday Agreement is signed Referendum in Northern Ireland on the Agreement Referendum in Ireland on the Constitutional Amendment removing Articles 2 and 3, and the territorial claim over Northern Ireland **August:** The Omagh Bombing – 29 civilians killed in a car bomb planted by dissident Republicans in opposition to the Belfast Agreement – illustrating violent opposition from elements within the republican movement	
1999	**December:** formal establishment of the Northern Ireland Executive	**The European Court of Auditors Report on the Special Programme:** Recommends greater distinctiveness of the Special Programme from other forms of structural funding **March:** Resignation of the Santer Commission following corruption allegation

Year	The Peace Process and Significant Events	The PEACE Programme
2000	**Feb – June:** Northern Ireland Executive breaks down due to lack of progress on disarmament by the Provisional IRA Direct rule from London re-established	**Consultations on PEACE II between Member States and the European Commission** - sticking point: "distinctiveness criterion" Establishment of the Special EU Programmes Body (SEUPB) as one of the six cross-border bodies established under the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement. The role of SEUPB is to administer and manage EU PEACE funding. ***Funding delay for community programmes due to the transition from PEACE I to PEACE II*** A total of €995m allocated (€531m EU contribution)
2001	Increase in interface violence **October:** Loyalist UDA ceasefire breaks down Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) replaces the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) **9/11 bombings:** increases international pressure on Provisional IRA to reject violence	**February - March:** Gap funding authorised by the Northern Ireland Executive **Late 2001: PEACE II becomes operational**
2002	Suspension of the Executive and imposition of direct rule from Westminster Internal loyalist feud	First PEACE II Grants awarded
2003		Ex-Post Evaluation of PEACE I and Midterm Review of PEACE II (PWC Report). Joseph Rowntree Report House of Commons Select Committee Report
2005	**July:** Decommissioning of Provisional IRA arms	Extension of funding to PEACE II (PEACE II Extension) Distinctiveness criterion to focus explicitly on reconciliation A total of €160m allocated for PEACE II Extension (€78m EU contribution)
2006	**October:** Signing of the St Andrews Agreement on restoring Devolved Government	**PEACE III Operational Programme** Developing an Impact Evaluation for the PEACE II Programme – Report

Year	The Peace Process and Significant Events	The PEACE Programme
2007	**March:** General Elections – DUP and Sinn Fein gain respective majorities **May:** End of Direct Rule from London, and Reestablishment of devolved government in Northern Ireland **May:** NI Executive formed **31 July:** British Army military operations in NI end (1969-2007)	A Monitoring and Evaluation Framework for Peace Building – Report Review of PEACE II Project Evaluations (Border Action) – Report Implementing Distinctiveness in the PEACE II Programme – Report **Programme Structure:** Commencement of PEACE III **Reconciling Communities** • Building positive relations at the local level • Acknowledging and dealing with the past **Contributing to a Shared Society** • Creating shared public spaces • Key institutional capacities are developed for a shared society A total of €333m allocated (€225m EU contribution)
2009	**Continuing Repubican dissident activity:** **March:** Killing of two British soldiers, Masserene Barracks, Antrim, and 24 hours later, killing of a Police Officer (the first police murder since 1998) **November:** The Independent Monitoring Commission reports that dissident republicans were more active than at any time in the last four and a half years[38]	
2010	**April:** Transfer of policing powers to the devolved administration in Northern Ireland, following agreement between DUP and SF	
2011	UK (and Northern Ireland) General Elections; DUP and Sinn Fein majority retained UK Coalition government between Conservatives and Liberal Democrats Visit of Queen Elizabeth II to Ireland	

End Notes

1   The term "PEACE Programme" is used to refer to all of the phases: PEACE I, PEACE II, PEACE II Extension, and PEACE III.

2   Conceptually, through research on definitions of reconciliation adopted by PEACE III (Hamber and Kelly); practically, through development of evaluation frameworks adopted by PEACE III (Bush 2009); through to the conduct of evaluations on PEACE projects; and by membership on the PEACE III Monitoring Committee; and the Monitoring and Evaluation Working Group.

3   It is also important to note that we speak here about two broad phases in peace processes for the sake of simplicity; in reality peace processes can be made up of a series of negotiations and agreements, as was the case in Northern Ireland.

4   Collier et al (2003). This contrasts with Licklider (1995), who calculated that one third of all "negotiated settlements" in identity-based conflicts collapse within five years. Note however, that this figure is derived from a sample of cases from 1945 to 1993, a span in which the conflict context and international institutional capacity varied considerably.

5   This would include: the high levels of political leadership inside and outside Ireland; the incentives for active involvement by the EU and the governments of the UK, Ireland, and the US; and the relative openness of paramilitary leadership to consider engagement in the process.

6   "Republicans do not yet believe that the causes of the conflict as they see them have been removed, but they are on the agenda and republicans believe that a favourable political climate exists at present in which there is the potential and the possibility for progress. Whether enough progress can be made to satisfy them, however, and to ensure there is no return to the violent methods of the past, is another matter." Rowan 1995. See: **http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/ peace/rowan.htm**

7   Further to the situation in 1995, it can be argued that the 9/11 attacks in USA in 2001 were influential in the calculations of the Provisional IRA, as they anticipated a hardening of US and international response to its use of similar forms of violence. See for example, Malachi O'Doherty (2009), "How 9/11 ended America's Love Affair with the Provos," *Belfast Telegraph*. 11 September 2009. **http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/how-911-ended-americas-love-affair-with-the-provos-14487896.html**

8   All details are drawn from the *PEACE I Operational Programme:* Annex 1

9   See the CAIN website on death statistics (CAIN 2011a) **http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/ counting.htm** and the Guardian Newspaper datablog: **http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/ datablog/2010/jun/10/deaths-in-northern-ireland-conflict-data#data**

10   For example: an opening up of communication channels; increased exploratory contact across divided communities; increasing "incentives" for peace/decreasing incentives for violent conflict; possible international support for progress; and so on

11   Haagerup, N. (1982) *Report drawn up on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee on European Political Cooperation and European Security. Working Documents 1982-83, 1-946/82. December 1982.* [EU European Parliament Document].

12   The term "international community" spans the spectrum, from people-to-people contacts of diaspora and faith-based groups through to NGOs, the private sector, bilateral and multilateral actors.

13   An important caveat needs to be attached to the use of the terms "pre-conflict," "in-conflict", and "post-conflict": conflict environments are typically characterised by a multiplicity of conflicts (violent and non-violent/militarised and non-militarised). Therefore the delineation, or periodisation, of "a" conflict into phases or stages should not eclipse the presence of, and likely interaction with, parallel or intersecting conflicts. We should avoid "one-dimensionalising" the dynamics of violent conflict.

14   Most clearly delineated in Boutros-Ghali's *Agenda for Peace in 1992* (and its supplement in 1995).

15   Harvey (1999: 9) noted that the task force under Trojan was guided by three special advisors who formed a practical link between the three MEPs (John Hume, Ian Paisley, and Jim Nicholson) and the task force itself, which facilitated the exchange and development of ideas.

16   Ana Juncos (2005) "The EU's post-Conflict Intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (re) Integrating the Balkans and/or (re)Inventing the EU?", *Southeast European Politics,* VI:2, p. 88.

17   **Source Documents**

European Commission (1995a) Draft Notice to Member States laying down guidelines for an initiative in the framework of the special support programme for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the border counties of Ireland SEC 95/279 Final.

European Commission (1995b) A Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland COM (94) 607 Final.

European Commission (1997) Communication from the Commission on the special support programme for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the Border Region of Ireland (1995-1999) COM 97/642 Final.

PEACE I Operational Programme (2000) Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and the Six Border Region of Ireland 1995-1999.

18   PEACE I Operational Programme, 13ff.

19   PEACE I Operational Programme, 22ff.

20   PEACE I Operational Programme: 49-50.

21   This section draws directly from Buchanan 2008 (pp 397-98), which itself draws from the PriceWaterhouseCoopers 2003.

22   The Consultative Forum was a formal mechanism built into the first PEACE programme by the European Commission to act as an advisory body to the Monitoring Committee of that programme. The Consultative Forum was a unique body – and the first of its type in Europe. Its responsibility was to ensure that the principles of peace and reconciliation and social inclusion were reflected in the administration of the Programme. It was composed of 60 members from Northern Ireland, and 20 from the Border Counties of Ireland – drawn from across the spectrum: trade unions, businesses, community and voluntary organisations, political parties, local authorities and other statutory bodies. The Forum very actively sought the views and participation of grass roots organisations and civil society more generally. It viewed itself as having a watch dog role to ensure fair, equitable, and accountable administration of the programme.

23   PricewaterhouseCoopers (2003). Special EU Programmes Body. *Ex Post Evaluation of PEACE I and Mid-Term Evaluation of PEACE-II.* Final Report. Belfast, November. P. 146. Cited in Buchanan Thesis.

24   House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee. *PEACE II. Seventh Report of Session 2002-03 Volume I.* The Stationery Office Ltd., London. P. 50. Cited in Buchanan Thesis.

25   It should be noted that while partnership models were a structured part of each PEACE programme, their significance and impact were still felt to be under-appreciated by some of those interviewed for this study.

26   A District Council is the local government authority in Northern Ireland. There are 26 District Councils in total.

27   This allocation actually increased subsequently.

28   CFNI (2002). *Taking Calculated Risks for Peace.* Ff. 25.

29   *Building on Peace: Supporting Peace and Reconciliation anter 2006,* p. 9.

30   SEUPB (no date). "PEACE II Extension – A Guide for Applying for Funding." **http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/30937501**

31   See, for example, West Belfast Economic Forum (1997). *The EU Peace Programme: Comments on the Mid-Term Review,* WBEF Briefing 11, prepared by Ruth Taillon.

32   This includes feasibility studies and minor works on waterways, family farm development, fish hatcheries, and many more.

33   Irish Peace Centres (2011). The Evaluation of Storytelling as Peace Building Methodology. *Experiential Learning Paper No. 5.* **http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/pdfs/250111_StorytellingPB_Meth.pdf**

34   This point was initially made by an interviewee who had been involved in the management of the PEACE funds in different capacities in each of the programmes. However, the point was echoed and confirmed by other interviewees too.

35   A classic example is found in Sri Lanka (Bush 1999). The example is one where the arithmetic of the development programming appears clear and straightforward. It was a project which sought to provide 3,000 houses in a community consisting of equal percentage of Tamil, Sinhalese, and Muslim populations. The decision by the community was to allocate the houses equally between each group, that is, 1,000 houses to each identity group. While there were the typical complaints about this decision, it was accepted by the community as a whole and the houses were introduced. On the one hand, this illustrates how the communities made an explicitly political decision about the allocation of development resources based on the ethnic geography. However, here is the rub: each community had not been affected equally by the violence. Some communities in fact had greater need for housing. Thus, this example illustrates how our standard developmental criteria (needs-based decisions; efficiency-driven decisions; product-oriented rather than process-oriented approaches) may have to be subordinated to peace building objectives. In this case, the principle of equity (needs-based allocation) was subordinated by the politically expedient principle of equality (arithmetic allocation). It gets more complicated yet: we have to ask ourselves, even if the decision was made by the communities themselves (as it was), did this development project reinforce politicised ethnic boundaries? In some ways it did. Was there an alternative? Perhaps the full example of success in this project would be when the community itself made its own decision based on the straight criterion of need. The task which still confronts us is how to get there from here.

36   EU COM 94/607 (1994) 'Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament – A Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland – COM 94/607 Final' [Online] Archive of European Integration, University of Pittsburg **http://aei. pitt.edu/2865/1/051.pdf**. Accessed 12 October 2011.

38   The fact that Tony Blair 'took an even greater interest', should not suggest that the previous Prime Ministers were disengaged. Blair's predecesor for example, John Major, co-signed the Downing St Declaration, and was in power when the first IRA ceasefire was announced. Blair however made Northern Ireland a key policy focus of the incoming New Labour government.

38   **http://www.independentmonitoringcommission.org/**