

# A warm house for all?

In search of social cohesion in

Northern Ireland?

north of Ireland?

our wee Ulster?

the occupied six counties?

the Province?

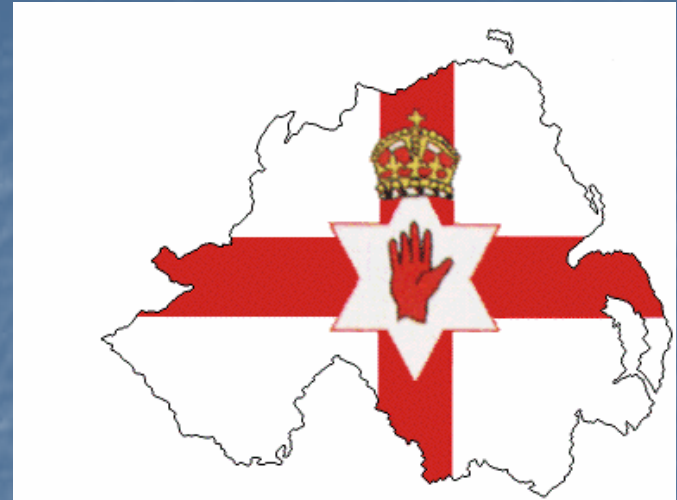
the failed statelet?

Here?

**Duncan Morrow**

**Community Relations Council**





**Europe 1914**



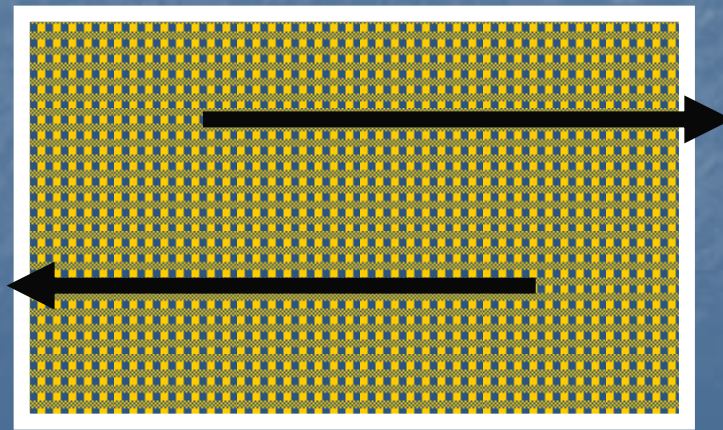
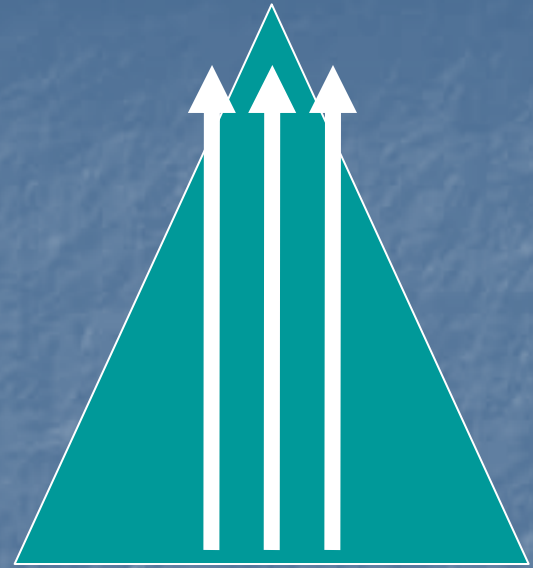
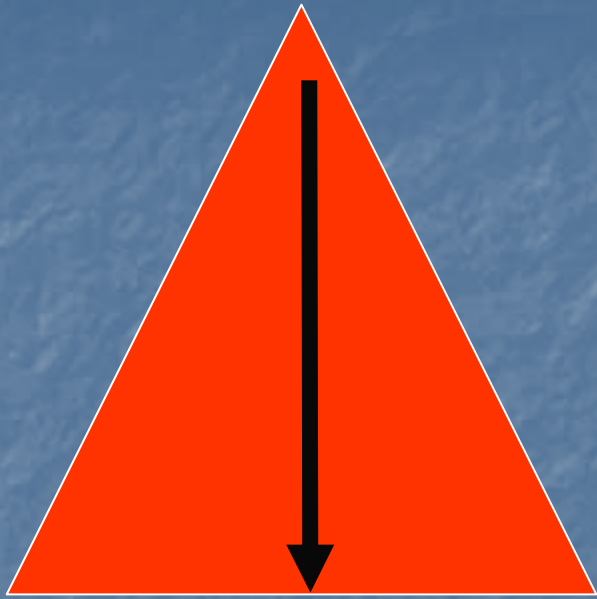
**Europe 1919**

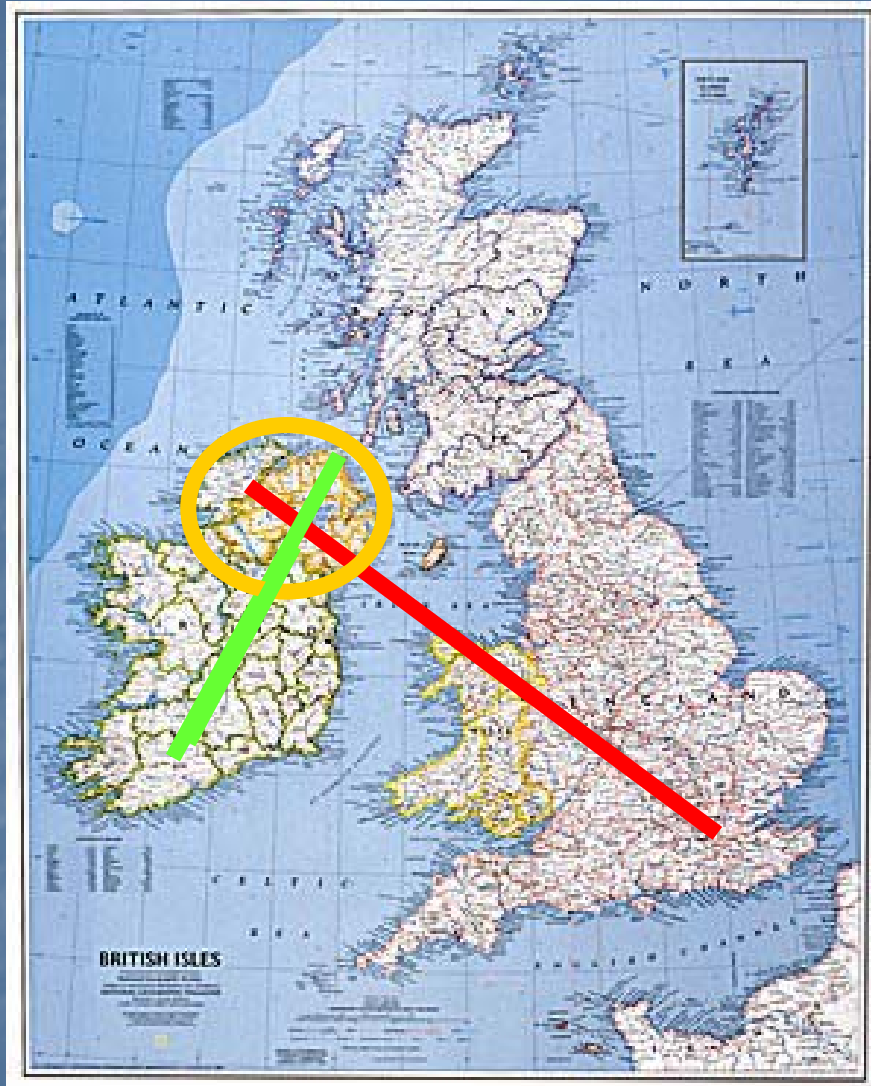


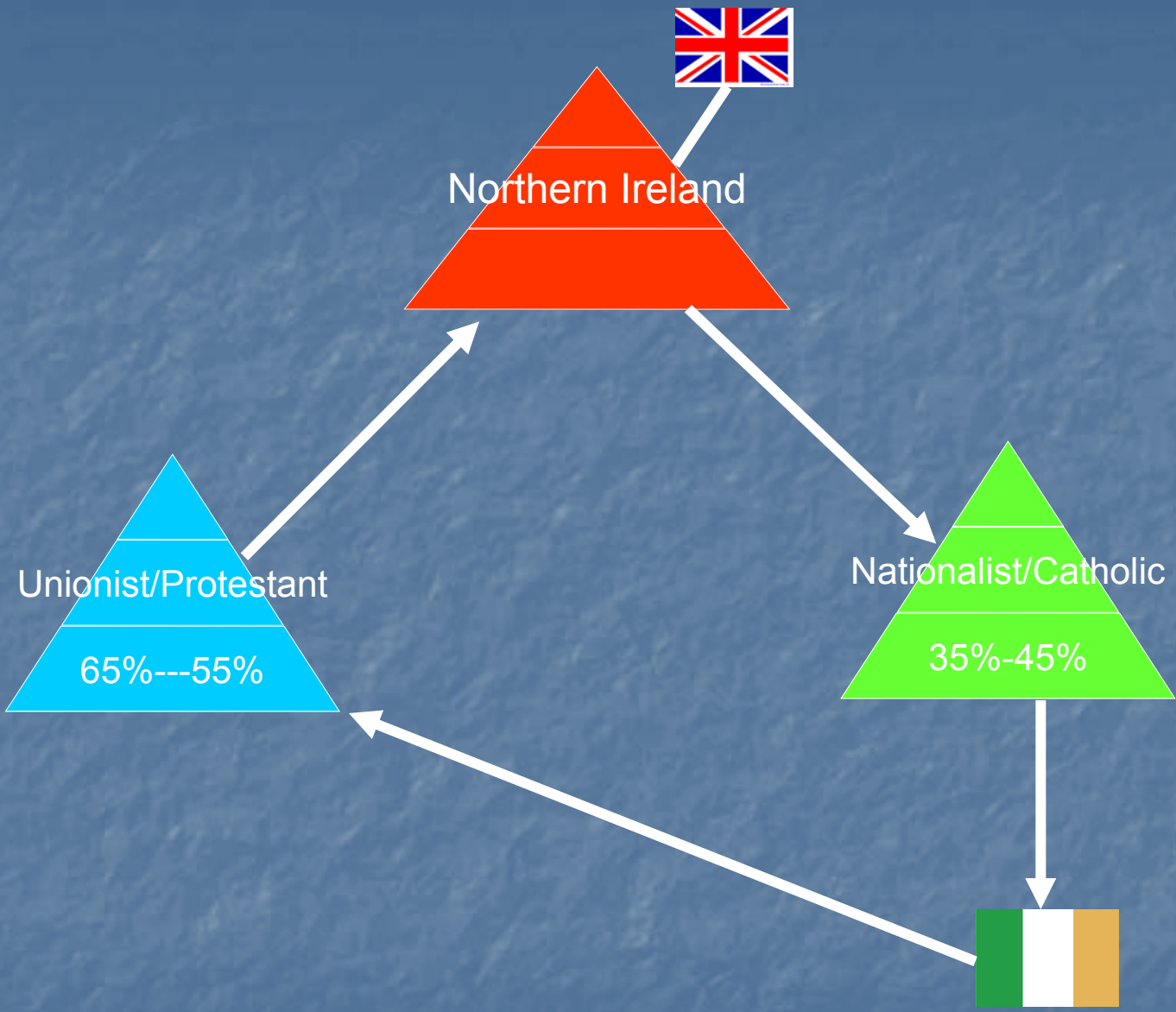
**After World War One Woodrow Wilson sought to apply the rule of National Self Determination to defeated parts of Europe**

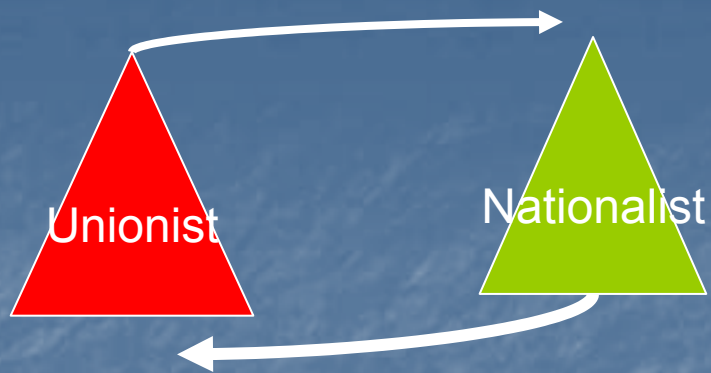
**The result was the emergence of new states out old old empires**

**But it was impossible to draw lines which brought everybody what they wanted: national self determination for some was a new Empire for others**





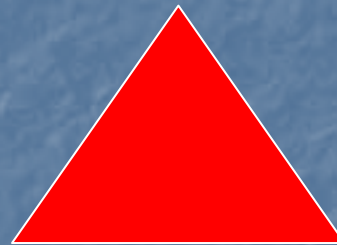


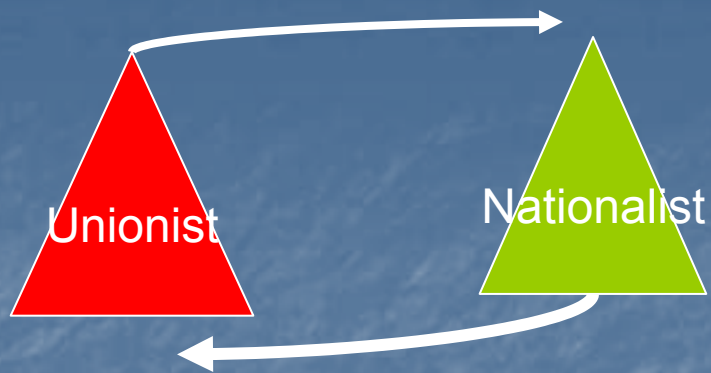


**Antagonism** and Separation became the dominant experience of public life.

**Violence** reinforced division: History was a litany of grievance and resistance.

**Suspicion and fear** seem rational. They define where we live, who we trust and who we vote for.



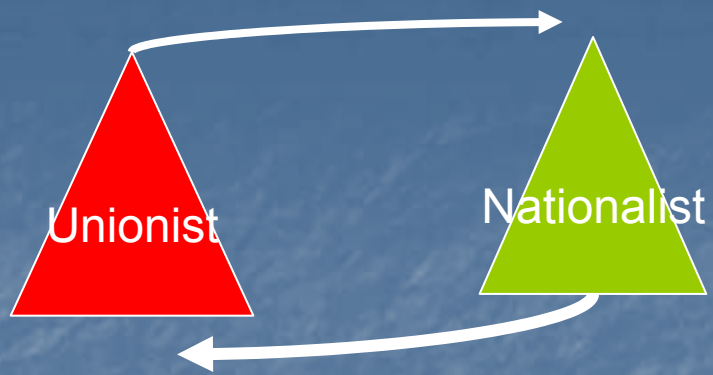


'**Homeland** Security' and the need for defence justify the removal of rights and segregation, especially in housing and education.

**Paramilitary formations** emerge understanding themselves as defensive forces.

Because '**they**' are the cause, political progress requires '**them**' to change

Peace with the 'evil' enemy is easily equated with **IN**justice.



**We** agreed on the problem:

**Them**



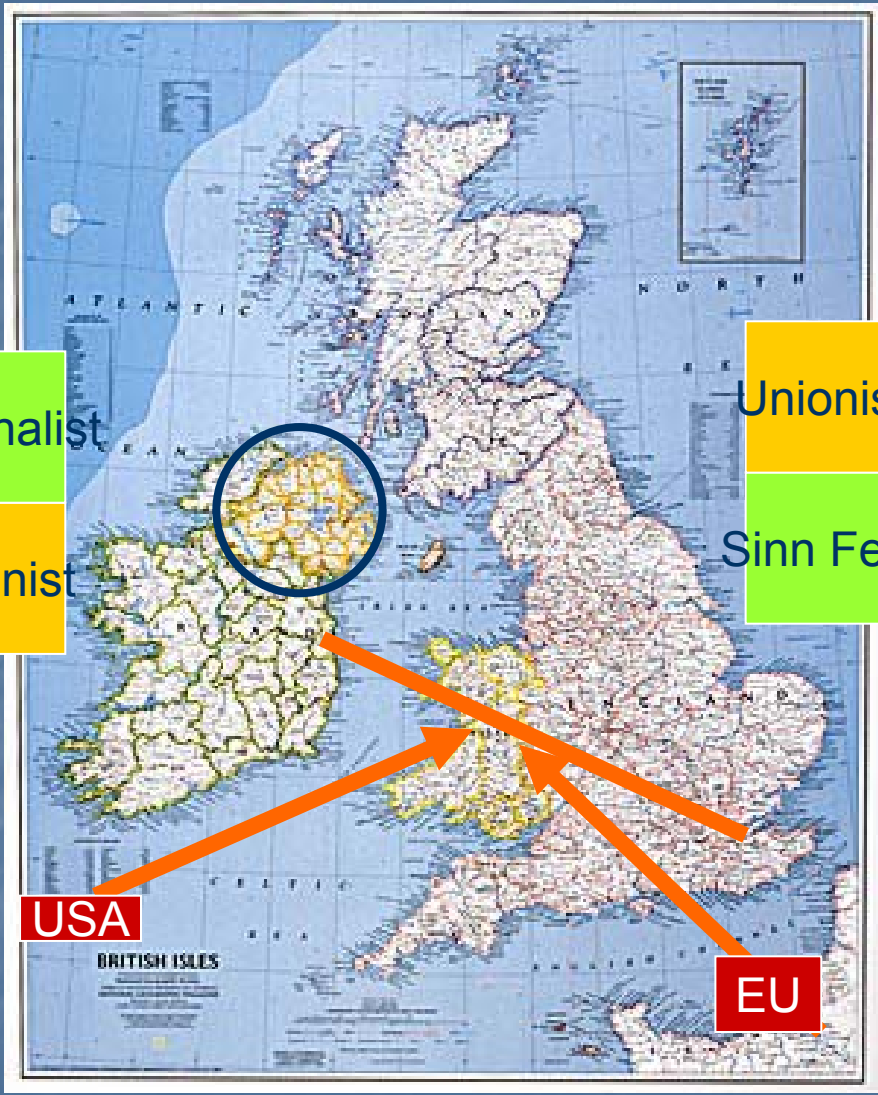
- State and Nation created community cohesion but social division
- 'Community relations' – has sometimes been misunderstood as a project establishing peace between rival communities, without reference to the politics of Northern Ireland and Ireland



Loyal

Rebel





Nationalist

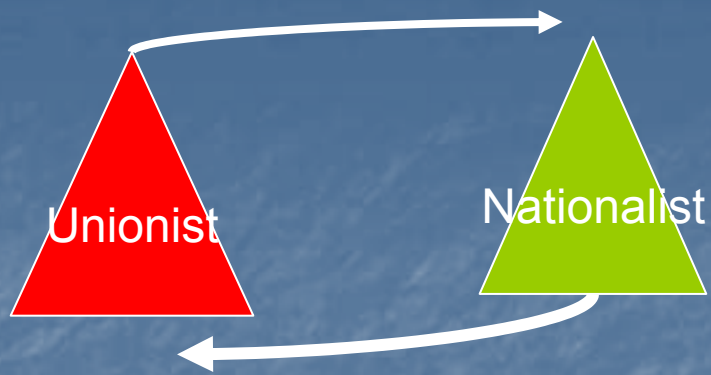
Unionist

Unionist

Sinn Fein

USA

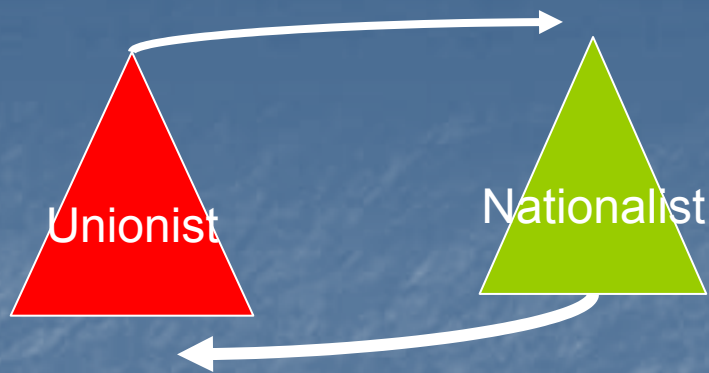
EU



**They** used to be the problem

Now **They** are our permanent partner





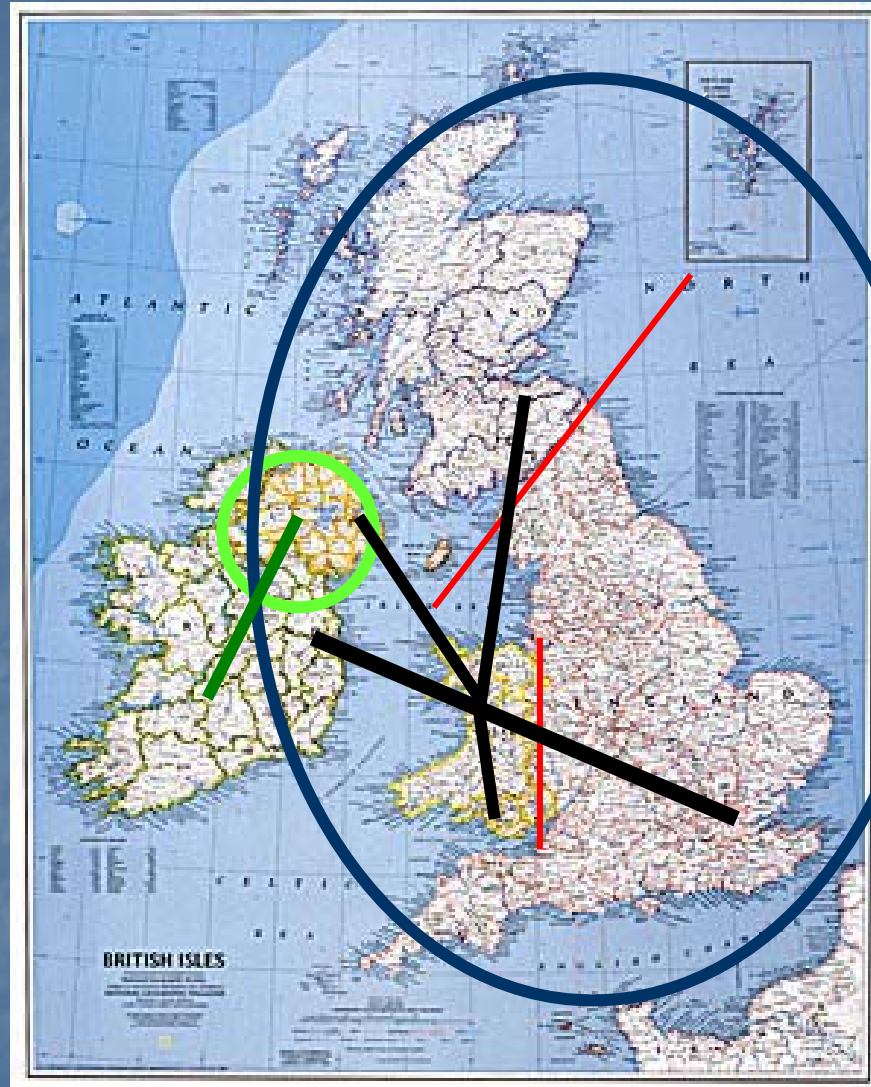
From Antagonism to **Equal Citizenship**

From Violence to **Partnership**

From Suspicion and fear to **co-operation and security**

From Separation to **Sharing**

1.7m





- Politics reflects the *national* agenda, not the social agenda
- 30 years of opposition
- Compulsory Coalition – no tradition of co-operation

# Rapid Change



- **Post-holocaust Europe – violence and integration**



- **Travel and technology – globalisation**



- **Migration and economics**

- **From poverty and emigration to wealth and immigration**
- **70,000 new migrants since 2001**
- **11,000 per month**
- **More Muslims than Methodists**



- **Social Cohesion and integration across Europe**

# Three strategies for supporting peace

- Reconstruction and Infrastructure
- Social Inclusion
- Shared Future



# Vision

*'A peaceful, inclusive, prosperous, stable and fair society firmly founded on the achievement of reconciliation, tolerance and mutual trust and the protection and vindication of human rights for all. It will be founded on partnership, equality and mutual respect as a basis of good relationships.'*

*'The establishment over time, of normal civic society, in which all individuals are considered as equals, where differences are resolved through dialogue in the public sphere, and where all people are treated impartially. A society where there is equity, respect for diversity and a recognition of our interdependency.'*

# Programme for Government

- **commitment to 'a shared and better future' – 14 times within the document**
- **contained within the First and Deputy First Minister's foreword**
- **part of Minister's launch of budget 2008-11**



# Programme for Government

## Strategic Priorities

**'A peaceful, fair and prosperous society in NI, with respect for the rule of law'.**

## Cross cutting theme

**A shared and better future for all:** equality, fairness, inclusion and the promotion of good relations will be watchwords for all of our policies and programmes across Government. Much has already been achieved and we are committed to working towards a shared and better future for all.



# A Statutory Duty

Improving relations is an issue that affects all public services

Equality of opportunity and the promotion of good relations are central to delivering good-quality public services and a better quality of life for everyone. The good relations duty under S75 (2) will shape the public service response.



# Good Relations

Good community relations policy, and its outworking, is the search for the practical foundations of trust between all people in Northern Ireland who have been divided on the basis of perceived political, cultural, religious, class or ethnic background.



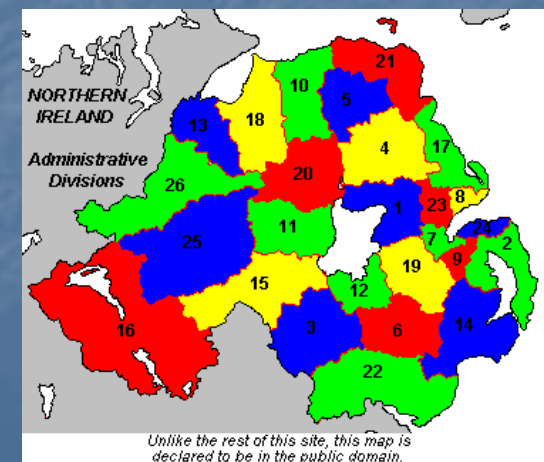
# Key Challenges

- **Relationships**
- **Legacy of conflict and violence**
- **Reconciliation in a divided society**
- **Violence and poverty**
- **Conflict and freedom**
- **Adaptive public policy**



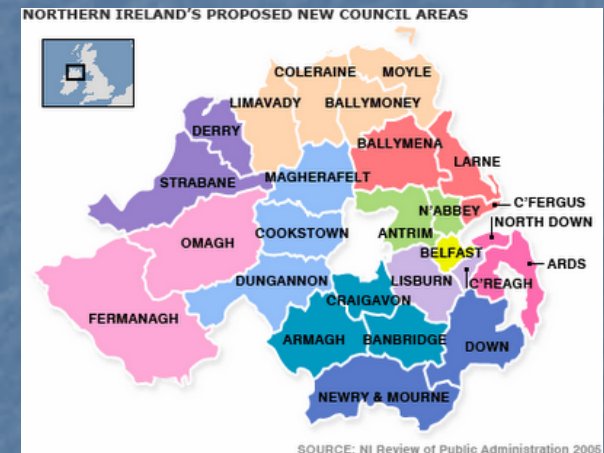
# Role of Local Government

- Civic Leadership Function
- District Council Community Relations Programme
- PEACE III
- RPA – Community Planning

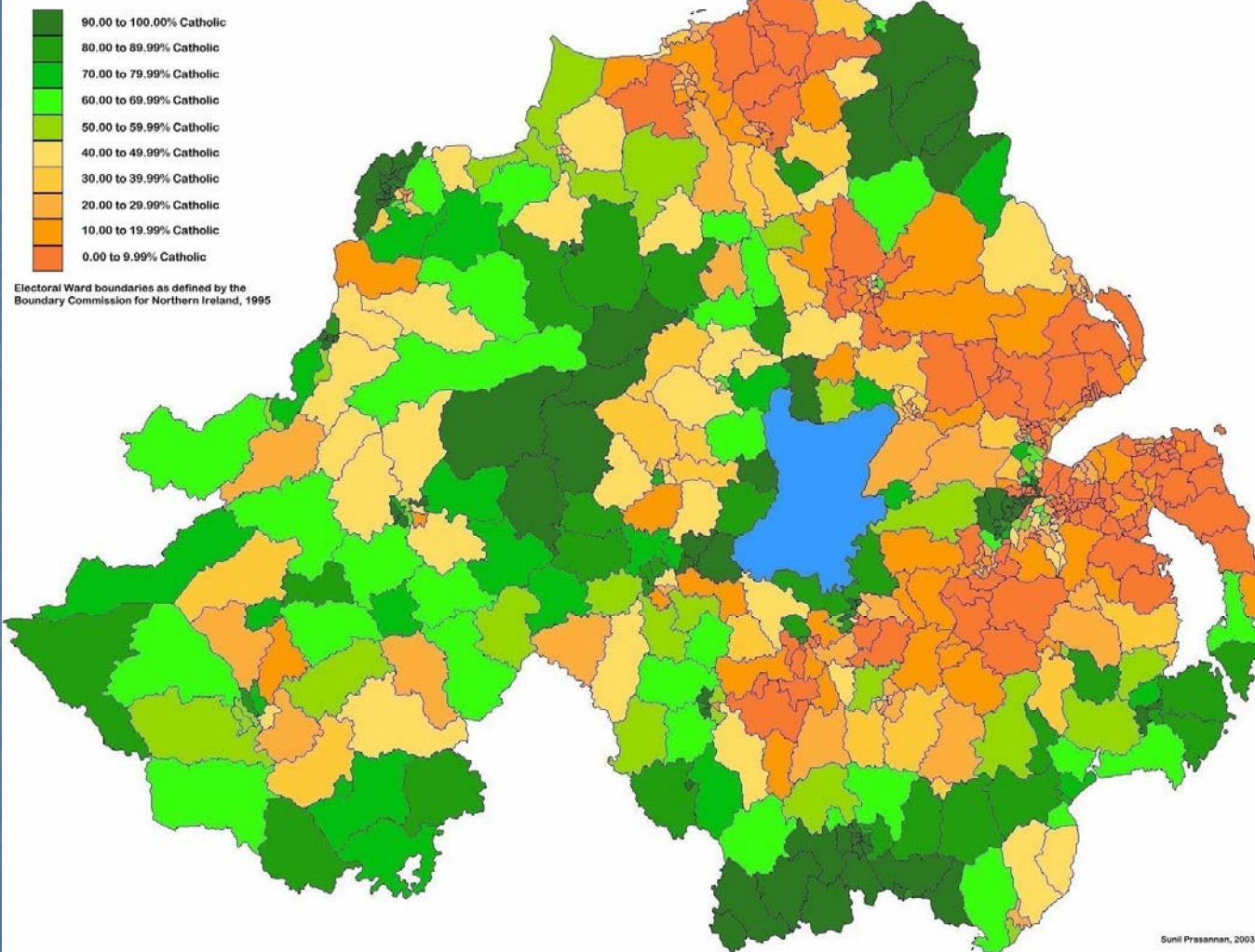


# Role of Local Government

- Community Planning
- Community Safety – Policing
- Shared Space
- Economic Development
- Planning and Regeneration
- Youth and Community Services
- Cultural Policy

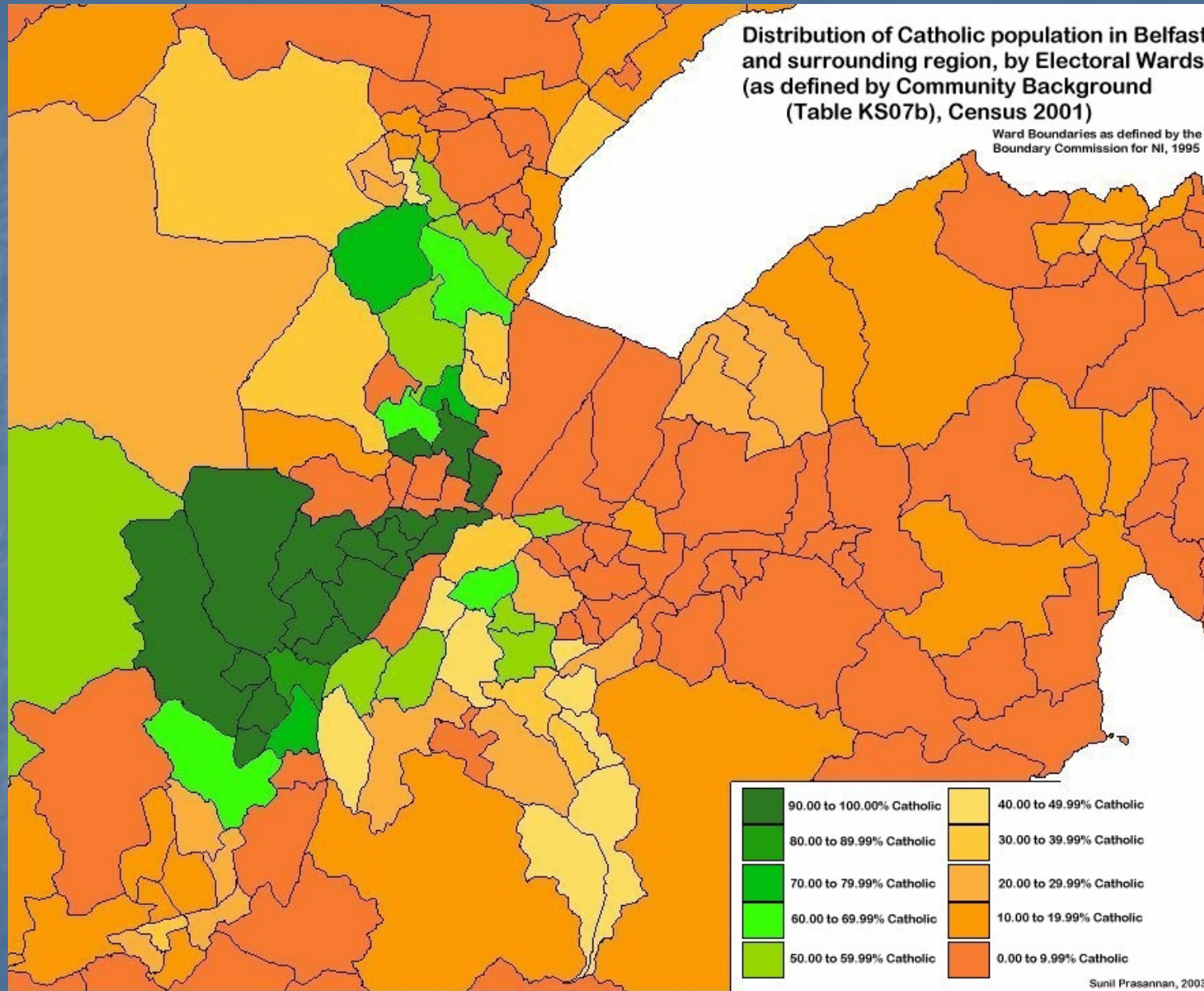


**Distribution of Catholic population in Northern Ireland, by Electoral Wards  
(as defined by Community Background (Table KS07b), Census 2001)**



**Distribution of Catholic population in Belfast and surrounding region, by Electoral Wards (as defined by Community Background (Table KS07b), Census 2001)**

Ward Boundaries as defined by the Boundary Commission for NI, 1995



Sunil Prasanna, 2003

<b>DISTRICT COUNCIL</b>	<b>Fatal Incidents/Resident Victims</b>
<b>Belfast</b>	<b>1352/1216</b>
<b>Newry and Mourne</b>	<b>325/131</b>
<b>Dungannon</b>	<b>115/107</b>
<b>Armagh</b>	<b>129/128</b>
<b>Derry</b>	<b>244/170</b>
<b>Cookstown</b>	<b>65/63</b>
<b>Fermanagh</b>	<b>94/87</b>
<b>Strabane</b>	<b>58/67</b>
<b>Antrim</b>	<b>15/20</b>
<b>Ballymena</b>	<b>10/23</b>
<b>Larne</b>	<b>8/12</b>
<b>Ards</b>	<b>8/26</b>
<b>Moyle</b>	<b>4/4</b>

Source: Cost of the Troubles Survey

# Fragile Politics

- Progress is incremental and fragile
- Deeper progress depends on political stability
- Devolution underlines continued ambivalence
- There is a strong school which would settle for 'benign' apartheid - Paramilitary activity continues to define limits and open possibilities
- Cost arguments are increasingly the most effective at a political level
- Progress will be slow and is still too dependent on the most difficult areas doing the hard work
- Institutions that don't have to change don't change
- Social change and political change are linked but different



# The road to equality is not an equal one

- How do political parties deliver to 'the others' without damaging their own voter base?
- Equality will require diverse solutions - Change has emphasised the difference between loyalist and nationalist communities not generated similarity.
- Good Relations does not mean instant harmony – rather it means developing a culture which can debate and decide these issues honestly, on the basis of evidence not political allegiance.



- Peace cannot be established by law or by political agreements alone
- Peace requires managed risk, experiment and participation
- Peace has to be credible not just desirable
- Reconciliation is a process of change not an event.
- Peace will inevitably challenge the status quo in Northern Ireland. Community development along antagonistic lines cannot alter the wider social division



# Tasks for local government

- Engagement of Elected Members
- Senior Leadership
- Local Priorities
- Relations to Strategic Priorities
- Integration of Good Relations into new Councils
- Integration of Good Relations into Community Planning

# Challenges for local government

- Political ambivalence
- Sharing out or sharing – Containment or Transformation
- Still too hard?

