

RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

Religious dimensions of contemporary conflicts and the rise of faith-based movements worldwide require policy makers to identify the channels through which religious leaders can play a constructive role. While religious fundamentalisms are in the news every day, we do not hear about the potential and actual roles of religious actors in creating a peaceful and just society. Countering this trend, Sandal draws attention to how religious actors helped prepare the ground for stabilizing political initiatives, ranging from abolition of apartheid (South Africa) to the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement (Sierra Leone). Taking Northern Ireland as a basis and using declarations and speeches of more than 40 years, this book builds a new perspective that recognizes religious actors' agency, showing how religious actors can have an impact on public opinion and policy making in today's world.

Nukhet A. Sandal is the Director of War and Peace Studies and Assistant Professor of Political Science at Ohio University. Her work on religion, foreign policy, and divided societies appeared in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Politics*, *Review of International Studies*, *Alternatives*, *Political Studies*, *West European Politics*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, and *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. She is coauthor of *Religion in International Relations Theory: Interactions and Possibilities* (2013).

Religious Leaders and Conflict Transformation

NORTHERN IRELAND AND BEYOND

NUKHET A. SANDAL

Ohio University



Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-16171-9 — Religious Leaders and Conflict Transformation
Nukhet A. Sandal
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi - 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107161719

DOI: 10.1017/9781316676592

© Nukhet A. Sandal 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-16171-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page viii</i>
1 Religious Actors and Conflict Transformation: Theory and Practice	1
Communities of Expertise and Religion	2
Religious Actors as Epistemic Communities in Conflict Transformation	7
Investigating Religious Epistemic Communities: The Case of Northern Ireland	17
Structure of the Book	20
2 Situating Religious Actors in Irish Political History	23
The Ulster Plantation and Challenges to Gaelic Christianity	23
The Irish Confederate Wars and the Williamite War	26
The United Irishmen Uprising and the Catholic Emancipation Movement	30
Home Rule and the Establishment of the Irish State	33
Northern Ireland and the Beginning of the Troubles	35
Religious Actors, Conflict, and Governance	41
Contemporary Religious Actors in Northern Ireland: Churches and Other Organizations	42
3 Churches in “Troubles”: Leaders, Institutions, and Political Involvement	48
Religious or Not? Defining the Conflict	53
A Question of Means: Religious Perspectives on Terrorism and Violence	60

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
	The Politics of Conflict: Internment, Sunningdale, and Beyond	66
	The Sunningdale Agreement: First Steps toward Peace	68
4	From Diagnosis to Treatment: Devising an Inclusive Public Theology of Citizenship	72
	The Anglo-Irish Agreement: A Step Forward?	74
	Religious Actors in Action: Redefinition of Religious Identities	77
	Conversion: Challenging Exclusive Theological Premises	78
	Agenda Setting, Religious Actors, and Politics	83
	Reinforcement and Expressing Grievances: Issues of Representation and Religious Actors	88
	Empowerment: Providing Communities with Political Tools	90
5	Public Theology of Inclusive Governance: Peace Deals and Political Agreements	93
	Initial Challenges: Political Deadlocks, Violence, and Secularism	95
	Toward the Agreement: Cease-fires and Brooke-Mayhew Talks	98
	Roadblocks and Challenges: Canary Wharf Bombing and Drumcree	105
	The Belfast Agreement: Reclaiming the Peace	111
6	Religious Epistemic Communities in a Postconflict Setting	116
	Churches Coming Along? Institutionalization of the Epistemic Communities	117
	Relinquishing Arms: Decommissioning and Public Order	123
	The State of Violence and Sectarianism in Postagreement Northern Ireland	127
	Toward Institutionalizing Religious Peacebuilding? Peace Offices in Northern Ireland	130
7	Beyond Northern Ireland: Religious Expertise and Conflict Transformation	134
	Why Epistemic Communities Framework?	135
	South Africa: Changing the Public Theology of Apartheid	137
	Colombia: Religious Epistemic Communities and Displaced People	138
	Sierra Leone: Religious Epistemic Communities and Interreligious Reconciliation	142

<i>Contents</i>	vii
The Philippines: Interfaith Religious Epistemic Communities in Conflict Mediation	145
Other Examples of Religious Epistemic Communities and Further Directions in Application	147
Religious Epistemic Communities in Conflict Resolution: Lessons and Policy Implications	150
<i>Notes</i>	155
<i>Bibliography</i>	182
<i>Index</i>	195

Acknowledgments

Many people deserve special thanks for their contributions to this project. This book would not have been possible without the generous intellectual support of my mentor, Patrick James. He has been a constant source of inspiration throughout my career. I cannot thank enough Laurie Brand, Thomas Goodnight, Jonathan Fox, and Daniel Philpott for their valuable advice and guidance on earlier drafts of this book and multiple other research projects.

I am indebted to Brian Walker and Richard English for their advice and guidance “in the field.” My friends and colleagues Neophytos Loizides, Sean Brennan, and Evangelos Liaras have been incredibly supportive and played key roles especially in the initial phases of this research project – I am truly grateful for their presence.

Shaun McDaid was generous enough to share his insights of Northern Irish history with me whenever I asked for it; I feel very lucky to have had his support.

The Center for International Studies at the University of Southern California and the Watson Institute of International Studies at Brown University provided me with the time and support needed to conclude this project. Michael Kennedy deserves a special mention for his tireless mentoring and the insightful discussions on epistemic politics when I was working on this book at the Watson Institute.

I have been very lucky to have an amazing family who have been very patient with me, well, since I was born. My mother, Cana, whom I skype ten times a day, interestingly continues to accept my calls. My father, Ali Aslan, supported this project through providing the thousands of cups of Turkish coffees I needed – he continues to serve as my “crisis desk” and gives me strength. My brother Hakan has transitioned from being my peanut to my intellectual role model in the past 30 years – I am very proud of him, and I hope he will like this book. My sister Aylin Ece Çiçek is basically the most

Acknowledgments

ix

amazing thing that has happened to me; thank you for believing in me more than I have believed in myself.

A special thanks to my husband, Michael, who is the best life partner one can ask for – I truly do not know how to express my love and gratitude for you.

Last, but not least, I would like to acknowledge my grandparents Fatma and İsmail Hakkı Şenyuva, to whom I dedicate this book. Although they are not physically with us anymore, they are the reason I strive to be a good scholar.