Did "Good Friday" Ensure a Lasting Peace?

Methods of Promoting Peace Post-Conflict in Northern Ireland

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Abstract

This case study seeks to understand the various methods to promote peace during ethnic conflicts and how constitutional design influences peace duration. I theorize countries that adopt centripetal electoral design following an ethnic conflict will experience a longer duration of peace and countries that adopt power sharing following an ethnic conflict will experience a longer duration of peace. Looking at Northern Ireland as a typical case study, I will analyze the countries historical unresolved conflict between the Protestants (Unionist) and Catholics (Nationalist). Using this method, I seek to test established theories addressing peace promotion post ethnic conflict and determine if these theories apply to Northern Ireland after "the Troubles" during the peace negotiations known as the "Good Friday" agreement. I found numerous methods meant to promote peace duration, specifically: 1) political solutions 2) economic solutions 3) social solutions 4) international intervention. I found the largest contributors to peace promotion being 1) constitutional design. Looking at centripetal and consociation constitutional design to promote peace after ethnic conflict; however, these designs together in practice seem to weaken peace in Northern Ireland.

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Northern Ireland has recently been dealing with issues involving Brexit and what it means for the "Good Friday" agreements. The Good Friday agreement involved peace negotiations that ended the ethnic civil war in Northern Ireland, known as "the Troubles". Brexit risks re-opening the conflict. The United Kingdom (U.K.) decided it wanted to leave the European Union (E.U.). Northern Ireland being part of the U.K. had 56% of the voting population wanted to remain in the E.U. (Stevenson 2019). The Republic of Ireland and U.K. being both members of the E.U. allowed for the relaxing of tensions and a soft border, which put an end to "the Troubles". However, with the U.K. ending their connection with the E.U. Northern Ireland may be forced to have a hard border with the Republic of Ireland bringing up the grievances of "the Troubles" (Stevenson 2019).

With Brexit at hand, it is important to ask whether Good Friday was a stable peace agreement in the first place? Brexit seems like the key issue but the reforms made during the peace accord should have been able to stabilize the country during Brexit. In order to understand what is the true cause of instability of peace in Northern Ireland is important to look at the various methods that are used to promote peace post-conflict and specifically how constitutional design influences peace duration. The agreements in today's current climate seem to have just put the conflict on hold until an act from the U.K. put into question Northern Ireland sovereignty.

Some suggest that the reforms put in place during the agreements are the reason Northern Ireland is in its current position. The reforms have been meant to unite Northern Ireland and erase the ethnic Identities to make the country stronger. Some of the reforms did unite the country while others when implemented caused further segregation and hardened ethnic

identities. I test hypotheses derived from both the consociational and centripetal approaches to constitutional design, examining which part of the agreement is failing and why. Specifically, I argue that the centripetal electoral design elements, rather than promoting cross-cutting cleavages and reducing ethnic divides, instead reinforces them. This is because the original centripetalists (Reilly 2002; Kuperman 2015) failed to consider that preferential voting, when combined with electoral districts drawn between rather than across communities, instead promotes greater ethnic extremism than consociational solutions. As a result of this design flaw, the power-sharing (consociational) solutions are unable to function, thereby explaining the continuing polarization in Northern Irish politics.

Ethnic Conflict: Solutions and Debate

The way in which conflicts end can influence how long peace lasts. Before the end of the Cold War, military victories were the prominent method to end conflicts. After the Cold War, the prominent method became negotiated settlements that often involve international intervention. Looking to how conflicts have ended over time may allow us to better understand what has occurred in Northern Ireland.

Looking at military victories ending conflicts versus negotiated ending to conflict, we see that while negotiated settlements in theory produce fewer deaths, military victories are less likely to fail and reoccur at the same rate as negotiated (Licklider 1995). Negotiated settlements in the long term create more causalities than a military victory as long as genocide does not occur because while in the short term peace is created, this peace breaks down and the violence continues (Licklider 1995). In addition, negotiation often creates veto groups who are fearful of giving power away when their future is unknown but military victories eliminate this power and reduces the likelihood of another civil war (Licklider 1995). Peace longevity seems to increase in

long and costly wars because perhaps the cost of war pushes groups not to further engage in it (Fortna 2004). Research also show that negotiation is not effective at resolving and they are not as stable as military victories (Licklider 1995). Conflicts that end in a decisive military victory for one of the sides (government or rebellion) tend to experience a longer duration of peace.

However, since the end of the Cold War, a shift has occurred where more conflicts are being ended through negotiated settlement despite the research previously mentioned. This is due to external intervention in recent civil wars as well as a change of norms (Howard, et al. 2017). These changes allow for a better understanding of what a nation requires to have a peaceful end to war. Through the support of third parties, fears that various sides have that keep them from negotiation can be addressed and solved rather than fought over like in the pre- Cold War era.

Northern Ireland, therefore, is one of many conflicts that have followed this trend. Therefore, the focus on the literature has been to examine the features of these negotiated settlements to better understand what are the characteristics that make settlements more or less successful. Settlements that can successfully address the fears that drive the security dilemma – fear of the coercive apparatus, fear of economic dominance, and fear of political domination – will be more successful in promoting peace (Hartzell 1999). I will begin by addressing the fear of the coercive apparatus by looking at how reform can alter the public's perception of the Police. Then I will address the fear of economic dominance by looking at solving grievances through economic growth. Finally, the focus of the paper will be on design features that address the fear of political dominance.

Addressing Fears of Dominance by the Coercive Apparatus: Reforming Police

Coercive forces such as the police implement law changes and act as the government's face. A country's police force can be detrimental to promoting peace post ethnic conflict. In

ethnic segregated societies, policy enforcers like the police are detrimental to the citizen-state relationship due to policy enforcement discretion (Nanes 2017). One method of using police reform to promote peace includes integrating minorities into the police, which may reduce antigovernment violence (Nanes 2017). When using police reform to promote peace duration it is important to note when looking at policy implementation in ethnic segregated societies: (1) "...the importance of service-oriented, policy-implementing institutions in shaping governance, citizen-state relations, and conflict" (2) "...inclusion comes in many forms which yield dramatically different outcomes" (3) "police integration reduces support for violence among members of the integrated group speaks to the causes of civil conflict more generally"(Nanes 2017 p.3). Point 1 is important by showing that while institutional reform is important, enforcement of policy must be taken into account (Nanes 2017 p.3). Point 2 is that the various institutional methods are not all the same and research should look at if an institution is inclusive and how it is (Nanes 2017 p.3). Point 3 has positive and negative facets. Positive point three is that integration of the police force limits motive for violence; however, on a negative note integration could mean more violence due to minorities gaining power and making rebellion look less costly (Nanes 2017 p.3).

Economic Solutions: Addressing grievances through growth

Conflicts may be influenced by three economic conditions: "dependence upon primary commodity exports, low average income of the country, and slow growth" (Collier 2000 p. 9). The first condition may be fixed by a government that diversifies their exports in order to rely less on commodity exports, makes loot-seeking rebels unpopular by using commodity export money on things communities deem important (example: schools), and the international community can make it hard for rebels to sell the stolen commodities (Collier 2000). The more

unequal income distribution is the severity of poverty increases. Reforming economic policies is the best way to improve on low income; however, it is a long-term investment with no short-term interest (Collier 2000). In addition, international aid have been shown to help improve economic growth (Collier 2000). Decreases these risks in theory will decrease the likelihood of conflict thus promoting peace.

Addressing Fears of Political Dominance: Consociational vs. Centripetal Solutions

The focus of my analysis is on how constitutional design may influence peace following a period of ethnic conflict. A country's constitution is the outline of how it should function and creates the rules that decide who is in power and who is not. There are two prominent sides to constitutional design, consociationalism and centripetal, and researchers debate over which side is better to end conflict. The difference between these two approaches may be summarized as a difference between introduced: accommodation and integration goals. Accommodation may be defined as "...guarantees to societal groups based on their distinct identity or geographic location..." while integration is "... [eliminating] the political salience of groups that are distinguished by identity or location and instead promote a single, unifying nationality through more centralized institutions" (Kuperman 2015 p.2). Consociation falls further to accommodation approach while centripetal is considered an accommodation method that overlaps with integrative approaches making it the most moderate option.

Consociationalism is meant "to achieve equality and proportionality between divided communities, i.e. to erode discrimination and untrammelled majority control, and to permit cultural autonomy" (Gilligan 2016 p.41). In seeking to implement consociational design features, post-conflict societies may adopt constitutional rules that include either formally or informally executive power sharing (Lijphart 2004, Kuperman 2015). This can be achieved by joint

presidencies, multiparty governing coalitions, etc. (Lijphart 2004). The hope is that by promoting

power sharing in government, post-conflict societies are able to limit their fears that a rival gains

too much power (Hartzell and Hoddie 2003). Other constitutional design features suggested by

the consociational approach includes "...grand coalition; the mutual veto; a proportional electoral

system and proportionality in the distribution of administrative appointments; and either

territorial or corporate autonomy" (Hartzell & Hoddie 2003 p. 320). Supporters of this approach

contend that after negotiations, post-settlement power sharing governments promote lasting

peace (Hartzell & Hoddie 2003), which leads to the prediction:

Hypothesis: *Countries that adopt power sharing following an ethnic conflict will experience a longer duration of peace.*

In contrast, centripetalism seeks to de-emphasize identity divides by reconfiguring

electoral competition. Rather than promoting proportional representation, supporters of this

approach support election systems that reflect a modified majoritarian, such as preferential

voting (Reilly 2002). The hope is that these election rules will "promote crosscutting, pre-

electoral coalitions, diminishing the political salience of group differences without erasing them"

(Kuperman 2015 p.190). Critics, however, point out that centripetalism there is a lack of

empirical evidence to prove that is works (Lijphart 2004). However, in recent years evidence has

come up in Northern Ireland, Estonia, Fiji, etc. allowing the theory to be tested (Reilly 2002),

which leads to the prediction:

Hypothesis: *Countries that adopt centripetal electoral design following an ethnic conflict will*

experience a longer duration of peace.

Research Design

To better understand how constitutional design features influences the peace efforts in Northern Ireland after the "Troubles", I will be conducting a "typical" case study. A typical case is when common characteristics of a theory are found in a case and thus are representative of the proposed theory (Gerring 2008). Typical cases can serve multiple roles, such as exploratory and causal (Gerring 2008). Exploratory is when a case has multiple characteristics and the researcher is looking for a causal relationship (Gerring 2008). Causal is when the researcher has found an outcome and hypothesis, then looks to find a case that has the characteristics the outcome requires(Gerring 2008). The design of the Northern Ireland Assembly post- Good Friday is a typical case because it contains both consociational (power sharing) and centripetal elements. Power sharing includes autonomy, mutual veto, and proportionality, all of which are present in Northern Ireland. Autonomy is shown in policy independence in culture and education (Murtagh 2015). Mutual veto is found in concurrent majority voting rules (Murtagh 2015). Proportionality is done through the use of the Single Transferable Vote electoral system (Murtagh 2015). A very important centripetal element is a preferential electoral system and Northern Ireland has one making this a typical case of consociation and centripetalism (Reilly 2002).

An Introduction to the Case: The "Trouble" in Northern Ireland

The "Troubles" began in the late 1960s as a civil rights movement, but quickly escalated into intercommunity violence and the complete militarization of Northern Irish society (Bayley 2008). "The Troubles" was an ethnic conflict between the Protestants and Catholics; however, it stems from the Catholics representing the native Irish that want a united Ireland and Protestants representing the British colonizers wanting to stay U.K.; A main focus of the conflict prior to

ending was religion discrimination that limited job availability for unskilled workers (Borooah 1993). Housing during this time became segregated with walls separating the communities adding to the conflict that can still be found in modern day Londonderry (Bayley 2008). People felt unsafe in public spaces like shops and buses in fear due to ethnic violence spilling into everyday life (Bayley 2008). The violence resulted in roughly 3500 deaths until the end in the late 1990s (Bayley 2008). As a result of this violence, by the 1990s "…public opinion throughout the world regarded Northern Ireland as a benighted backwater of prejudice and violence, a place to be lumped with Bosnia, Kosovo, Somalia and Sri Lanka" (Bayley 2008 p.234).

There were some failed mediation attempts before reaching the "Good Friday" agreements. In 1973 there was power sharing with Sunningdale but it was brought down by Protestant hardliners. Some internal and international shifts led to mediation with the "Mitchell Principles". Former US Senator George Mitchell was the negotiator of the Good Friday Accords. The three "Mitchell Principles" were renouncing use of force, commitment to democracy, and stopping "self-help" violence. If any group broke the principles than the group was excluded from negotiations. The "Good Friday" agreement put an end to the conflict.

The agreements brought with it political solutions, police reform, economic solutions, social solutions, and international intervention. All solutions were meant to promote peace post ethnic conflict and improve on its duration. The negotiations involved international intervention with the involvement of George Mitchell. The negotiations created political solutions including consociational aspects (devolution, grand coalition government, cross-community support), centripetal aspects (single transferable voting), and the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission. The other parts will be discussed further in the paper.

Governance Following Good Friday: A Peacemaking Success or Failure?

After the establishment of the peace accord, the first Northern Irish assembly began in 1998 to 1999 but held no power. After, the government was suspended multiple times. In 2000 to 2007 there were frequent suspensions (February to May 2000, August 10th 2001 for 24 hours, September 22nd 2001 for 24 hours, October 2002 to May 2007) with the Assembly being restored in 2007 until 2017. This period seemed to prove that the power sharing was working. In January of 2017 the government collapsed. There was a Renewable Heat Incentive scandal and McGuinness resigned as first minister of Sinn Féin. Issues between the Democratic Unionist party (DUP) and Sinn Féin ended power sharing in 2017 "unleashing toxic polarisation that has poisoned any remaining good will from that first Good Friday in 1998" (Carroll 2019). The current deadlock in the Northern Ireland Assembly is indicative of the long-standing problems in the power sharing system.

A recent example of the consequences of the political failure in Northern Ireland is the death of Lyra McKee. McKee, age 29, was a reporter covering a riot when she was shot by a "republican dissident" who meant to shoot the police (Carroll 2019). The death occurred on the twenty-first anniversary of the "Good Friday" agreement (Carroll 2019). It is thought that she was shot by a member of the New IRA and prior to the incident the radical group was starting to regain favor in the new generation; however, with the death of McKee many IRA supporters have backed away from the group not wanting to be associated with the journalist's death (Carroll 2019). Northern Ireland seems to have many problems occurring that require policy change and yet the election focuses on Brexit and constitutional uncertainty (Carroll 2019). The evidence suggests that while Brexit may have been a match for the current crisis, it is only a problem because Northern Ireland continues to suffer deep, long-standing community divides in

the political system. It is therefore worth examining whether the political institution changes that accompanied Good Friday helped contribute to this background polarization driving the communities apart.

Alternative Explanations for Peace or Conflict 1: Police reform after "The Troubles"

Before examining whether the constitutional design elements helps explain the political deadlock issues post-Good Friday, it is important to examine other explanations that may drive these two communities apart. Going back to the three fears of post-conflict societies described by Hartzell (1999), fear of domination by the state's coercive apparatus and fear of economic domination are also concerns that may fuel interethnic security dilemmas and lead to a re-emergence of conflict. Given the initial escalation from a peaceful civil rights movement to, essentially, an armed insurrection was driven in part by the abuse of law enforcement (Bayley 2008). The Royal Ulster Constabulary was especially problematic, as many members either showed preference to protecting the Protestant rather than the Catholic communities from violence or were actual members of Protestant militant groups (Bayley 2008).

Following Good Friday, police reforms Northern Ireland sought out had three main objectives: 1) police should perform their actions under the standards for human rights 2) police should be held accountable for their job functions and behavior 3) police should work with their community to figure out their needs. (Bayley 2008). There was a reform blueprint in a report known as the Patten Commission (Bayley 2008). The report had 175 recommendations to promote police reform that led to the decision to remove many overtly Protestant elements of the force, including its name and logo (Bayley 2008, Caparini and Hwang 2019). The police also decided to recruit more Catholics, which over time has allowed people of that community to put more trust into the police, but they still have a ways to go (Bayley 2008). By all accounts, the

PSNI has been successful in increasing its diversity, and it has re-oriented itself around more community engagement (Caparini and Hwang 2019). While the militant elements in the Unionist and Republican sides remain suspicious of the police force, police reforms may actually be one of the most successful elements under Good Friday, and really cannot explain the current crisis (Caparini and Hwang 2019).

Alternative Explanations for Peace or Conflict 2: Economic concerns after "The Troubles"

As for potential fears of economic domination, the end to "the Troubles" has meant one less barrier to economic development in Northern Ireland. However, this region continues to struggle with a high unemployment rate and industrial decline, and the communities often spend more time arguing over how to distribute current resources rather than discuss how to promote overall growth (Borooah 1993, "Northern Ireland: Current Issues and Ongoing Challenges in the Peace Process" 2019). The fear of economic domination has declined since "Good Friday". The region has seen (slow) growth, job discrimination seems to be in decline, foreign investment and tourism are on the rise ("Northern Ireland: Current Issues and Ongoing Challenges in the Peace Process" 2019, Sproule 2019). Taken together, this seems ample evidence that fear of economic domination is not one of the factors driving the two communities apart.

Alternative Explanations for Peace or Conflict 3: Murals as imagined history

Beyond fears of political, economic, or police domination, other factors can serve to drive communities apart and reignite old conflicts. Drawing on the ideas of "imagined communities," the telling and framing of history through "mass media, the educational system, administrative regulations, and so forth" (Anderson 1991 p.163) can build nationalist ideology and keep old conflicts alive in the public mind. Nationalism could be considered an "imagined political

community" (Anderson 1991 p.6). It is imagined because while a singular citizen of a nation may never meet all other citizens there is still an "imagined connection" (Anderson 1991). In building an "imagined connection" between individuals and a nationalist history, idea framers may use history, art, and rhetoric to reinforce the divides first created in an ethnic conflict (Hannum and Rhodes 2018, Hill and White 2012). On the other hand, while nationalist rhetoric through these public channels may create "imagined communities" and reinforce divides, shifting the tone in this media can also reduce divisions and promote peace (Anderson 1991, Hannum and Rhodes 2018, Hill and White 2012).

During the Troubles, murals played a large part in creating imagined communities and dividing the population. The murals painted reflected historic grievances, such as the potato famine, or portrayed militant leaders in a heroic light (Tongco and Saraswat 2013). Since Good Friday, there has been a movement to unite the feuding ethnic groups through the use of murals in some countries (Hill and White 2012, Tongco and Saraswat 2013). Some have argued that the decline of these conflict murals may actually be a negative for communities rather than a sign of improved relations. Funding of these murals help to stimulate communities, which are often economically poor (Hill & White 2012). While changing murals to "unite" is good, ignoring the history of the conflict may risk a form of intellectual repression (Hannum & Rhodes 2018). Murals could be used as educational tools for the generations after the conflict, but also in ways to promote healing in the communities affected (Hannum & Rhodes 2018).

Nonetheless, the trend towards more neutral themes replacing the old militant murals is a hopeful sign for bridging the divides between Northern Ireland's communities. Furthermore, murals are meant for public consumption, and are likely to have less influence on the elites (politicians) who actually have the influence to make policy changes (Tannam 2012). As a result,

even if – worst-case scenario – the remaining militant murals are, refueling conflict divides; this would be insufficient to explain the recent political deadlock issues.

Alternative Explanations for Peace or Conflict 4: International Intervention

These prior explanations for peace focus primarily on domestic factors; however, international actors can also play a role reducing or promoting conflict. Most researchers have focused on peacekeeper intervention, which is the introduction of third party coercive units to promote peace duration. Depending on the degree of difficulty of the country, peacekeeping can in fact promote and extend peace (Fortna 2004, p. 288). However, examining the role of peacekeepers is irrelevant to the Northern Ireland conflict, given that no outside (non-United Kingdom) military forces were deployed to help oversee the Good Friday Accord.

Less studied but more relevant to Northern Ireland is the role of international actors in peacebuilding activities. A third party (countries or international organizations) that introduces money into a post-conflict country to promote cooperation may implement peace building. Research does suggest that international aid may help reform local-level institutions, ultimately altering "patterns of social cooperation in a way that persists after the program's conclusion" (Fearon et al. 2009 p. 291). This finding means that introducing development assistance into post conflict communities could potentially aid in cooperation and thus promote peace. In essence, more peacebuilding promotes more peace. The E.U. is an important peacebuilder for Northern Ireland. They funded "Programmes for Peace" that invested into the country but also complimented the political efforts toward peace building (Arthur 2010). Again, the pattern seen in Northern Ireland suggests that conflict between the communities should be reducing, not re-opening.

Case Analysis: The Causes of Power Sharing Failure in Northern Ireland

The power sharing system is failing. However, the failure may be due more to the centripetal elements of Good Friday, not the consociational ones (grand coalition & mutual veto). Demonstrating this trend, fifty percent of voters identify themselves as "neithers", meaning they see themselves as neither Unionist nor Nationalist. However, during elections, "neithers" still back one of the ethnic parties rather than the Alliance party, a cross community party (Carroll 2019). While the Alliance party has seen gains in recent years, in the 2017 Northern Ireland Assembly election, they still only received 9.1% of the first-ranked votes ("Northern Ireland Assembly election 2017 results" 2019).

Single transferable voting is a centripetal design that also promotes proportionality that consociation uses in power sharing. However, as mentioned previously fifty percent of voters identify themselves as "neithers" but supports ethnic parties over the Alliance party this may be caused by single transferable voting. It is meant to cut cleavages and insure proportionality but the way in which the regions are created for elections turns the "neither" majority into a minority by making each region have Unionists or Nationalist as the majority. This causes voting in certain region to become majoritarian and put into power the most polarizing politicians. The politicians that are put into power then do not rely on moderate or minority votes in the region and therefore have no incentive to appeal to cross communities. This leads to a power sharing failure.

Power sharing is meant to promote peace in theory; however, in Northern Ireland recently the negative aspects of power sharing has brought constitutional uncertainty with Brexit looming around the corner. Power sharing in Northern Ireland specifically creates barriers for cross ethnic parties (Murtagh 2015). A more integrative power sharing model would require consensus and

thus be more accommodating to cross community parties (Murtagh 2015). The current power sharing model does not require consensus, which is required for the model to work (Kuperman 2015). The current model cements the identities founded during "the Troubles" through ethnic parties while seeking to weaken and punish those that seek to remove the ethnic identities through cross community parties (Murtagh 2015).

Some critics argue that the lack of power among cross ethnic parties is because they simply do not have support and there is no need to change the current power sharing model; however, due to community designation rules citizens must choose union or nationalist in order for their vote to matter (Murtagh 2015). This idea of community designation in order for votes to matter is a reflection of what occurs in the American political system with a strong vote being republican or democrat and a weak vote being green, libertarian, etc. Power sharing has also caused ethnic parties to become more radical in order to distinguish themselves from the moderate cross ethnic parties; thus, making the parties with the most power the most radical (Murtagh 2015). The cementing of these ideals have also led to voters simply voting on those that represent their ethnic identity in order to keep power; also known as ethnic tribune voting (Murtagh 2015). This leads to politics focusing on ethnic identity instead of important matters like policy and issues (Murtagh 2015).

Looking at the recent political climate versus power sharing why has it failed? The theory heavily relied on cooperation which some scholars view as an issue with consociational methods such as power sharing. Power sharing relies on cooperation among the elite (politicians) and "elites in deeply divided societies...would be unable to form or maintain governing coalitions in the face of extremist pressures from within their own groups" (Kuperman 2015 p.185). Northern Ireland is a deeply divided society after approximately thirty years of fighting one another

(Bayley 2008). The elites (politicians) of Northern Ireland were able to form governing coalitions; however, over time these coalitions have shown signs of failure making power sharing inept. Consociation has the most research evidence covering it making it seem to have the most flaws. However, centripetalism is the truly flawed design implemented and consociation is only flawed because of centripetalism.

Conclusion and Policy Suggestions

As of November 2019, Northern Ireland was focused on the upcoming national election and whether to vote for parties that support Brexit and a close alliance with the United Kingdom or ones who seek to remain in the European Union, even if it means leaving the UK and creating a united Ireland. The Democratic Unionist Party has advocated a hard Brexit and have expressed their willingness to pursue this policy even if it risks harming the current peace and economy (Fenton 2019). In contrast, Sinn Féin seeks to unite all Cenof Ireland. Brexit, therefore, plays into the underlying weakness of the Good Friday conflict. It is re-opening the wounds of "the Troubles" and the "Good Friday" agreement, as it is "poking at the Troubles' tangled legacy" (Carroll 2019), cementing the ethnic divides and reinforcing the hard ethnic party lines seen since the end of Good Friday. However, Brexit would not pose the threat it does if the political system had not already be divided in such a way to increase ethnic representation rather than unite communities.

Centripetalism is a representative of the slippery slope argument. It has preferential voting, which is not enough to promote crosscutting because when the districts are drawn in such a way that you can still win the preferential vote without the other community. This leads to politicians not requiring cooperation or reliance on minority votes to hold election seats. Bring us to how power sharing fails. In theory, power sharing is meant to promote peace duration;

however, the practice of it in Northern Ireland seems to be a short duration. The power sharing

required cooperation to function properly but cooperation is futile when the elites (politicians)

have chosen to harden ethnic party lines creating political segregation instead of integration post

ethnic conflict. All constitutional issues seem to derive from centripetalism, thus we need either

to redraw districts to purposely cross community divides more or maybe switch completely to

proportional representation. Solving the issue of centripetalism should also solve the issue with

power sharing. Future research is needed post Brexit to see if Northern Ireland keeps its current

constitutional design, potentially falling back into ethnic conflict, or reforms the constitution

after the "Good Friday" agreements. It is very clear that in Northern Ireland, the hybrid of

consociational and centripetal solutions is failing.

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