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Spatial and Visual Transformations of Territorialised Space and the Creation of
Shared Spaces

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Irina Scheitz, Bakk. phil.

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1 Introduction

“Peace is not the absence of conflict but the presence of creative alternatives for responding to conflict -- alternatives to passive or aggressive responses, alternatives to violence.” Dorothy Thompson (1893-1961), journalist and human rights activist

In November 2008 a visit to the Northern Irish border-city Derry or Londonderry¹ –depending on who you talk to– left a deep impression on me. The city had been a central location of the centuries-old conflict between the Catholic/nationalist/republican (CNR) population, the Protestant/unionist/loyalist (PUL) population and the British state. Ten years after a peace agreement has been achieved the local people still are divided along confessional and political lines. Both sides continue to perceive themselves as two opposing groups with different cultural identities. The reasons for this lie in societal fragmentation that has built up, persisted and developed over hundreds of years. Religious confession and different affiliations to opposed national projects (unity with either Ireland or Britain) serve as “key markers of identity” for people in Northern Ireland (Schubotz 2005:6). Therefore, the denominations “Catholics” or “Protestants”, which I will also employ in this thesis, stand for two opposed sides in a specific spatial and temporal context.

During this relatively short stay of four days, I learned about the conflict from a nationalist perspective who is the majority within the city and the council area, whereas in the whole of Northern Ireland, the PUL population makes up the majority. The discrimination and violent suppression of the CNR population by the British and Unionist state until a political solution was achieved in 1998, was not forgotten within the CNR community. Particularly, the killing of 13 Catholic civil rights marchers in Derry on 30 January 1972 – the day that became known to the world as “Bloody Sunday” – and the fact that the soldiers were never charged with their crimes, had created deep bitterness and frustration among people (see chapter 2.4.1).

The feelings of political tension and injustice that were sensible and also visually represented in the city’s residential areas heavily influenced my interest in interstate conflicts and the question of how peace could be achieved. However, when I arrived in Derry to conduct anthropological fieldwork for my master’s thesis in January 2011 – just a few days before the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, the atmosphere of the city had changed completely.

¹ The city is also divided in terms of opinions about its legitimate name. In general, nationalists in Northern Ireland would call it Derry, while unionists refer to the city as Londonderry. However, the preference of one term or the other is not necessarily a political statement and can be due to accustomed usage. For practical reasons I use the shorter name “Derry” in this thesis without intention to make a political statement.

There had been two major developments that altered the dominant discourse amongst the local people and posed watershed moments that contain the potential to mellow hardened positions of nationalists and unionists in the city: On 15 June 2010 the results of the second investigation of the Bloody Sunday case (after the first one vindicated the British army) were finally released which declared the victims of Bloody Sunday as innocent. 38 years after the tragedy the relatives and friends of the Bloody Sunday victims received an apology by the current British Prime minister. David Cameron publicly declared the actions by British soldiers on the 30th January 1972 as “unjustified and unjustifiable” (BBC, 15 June 2010, online). The apology by the British Prime Minister was a major step forward towards reconciliation between the nationalist population of the city and the British government. Only one month later, the city had another reason to celebrate, as it was awarded the honour of becoming the first “UK City of Culture” in 2013.

Thus, when I arrived in Derry, I was soon caught up with the city’s ambitions to build peace as well as to develop a new image for the city, which would be less known for its conflict than for its art and vast cultural heritage. However, Northern Irish society is not post-conflict yet. The conflict and its legacies have created great societal fragmentation that challenges peacebuilding and reconciliatory movements. Fear and opposing cultural traditions are still a driving factor in the segregation between the two antagonists. These anxieties are often due to prejudices circulating within communities and handed down even to infants. Moreover, peacebuilding does not mean there are no conflicts, ambivalences and negotiations going on.

Therefore, I became very interested in the city’s transition process and the negotiations initiated through new developments. Certainly, societies are always in flux, but there are some transitions which are more influential than others. I felt that the apology by a representative of the British state as well as the election of UK City of Culture event were what Sally Falk Moore (1987:730) called “diagnostic events”. These are events where an “apparent continuity” is broken (ibid.). Such events reveal “ongoing contest and conflicts and competitions and the efforts to prevent, suppress, or repress these” (ibid.), and they are capable of producing a change in the way people think about things (Aretxaga 1997). Moore (1987) has argued for “a time-oriented perspective on both continuity and change” (ibid. 729). Within a processual approach to social constructions, looking at changes implies that a researcher never portrays the outcome of transition; however what processual ethnography can do is to observe “change-in-the-making” (ibid. 727).

This thesis looks at a city's transition from a spatial perspective. As Henri Lefebvre has pointed out, every society produces its own space (2004[1991]:26). Space in Northern Ireland is deeply segregated not only on a physical, but also on a conceptual and symbolical level. The cultural identity of both groups is very much tied to spatial categories. It has been appropriated and marked out by spatial practices like parades and territorial marking, and it has been filled with narratives, symbols and images that feed into the divide between Catholics and Protestants. During the so-called 'Troubles' – the period from the outbreak of sectarian violence in 1968/69 to the beginning of the peace process in 1998 – space became categorised into safe and unsafe territory and societal segregation increased rapidly. The physical segregation is seen as a major inhibitor to local peoples' ambitions to improve relations between the two communities. Hence, the creation of "shared spaces", in which both communities feel comfortable, has become a priority of Derry's peace building aspirations. Using Henri Lefebvre's theory on the production of space (2004) as a theoretical framework for investigating spatial transformations, I will outline the creation of segregated space and try to explore how the development of shared spaces might be possible.

Government and City Council bodies as well as community groups in Derry have started to address the transformation of segregated space by removing and replacing sectarian and offensive messages and images in the city's predominantly segregated residential areas.

The display of flags, symbols and images on murals, and the painting of kerbstone colours is a prominent feature in housing estates. It draws boundaries but also serves as a source of collective memory and identity for people. Therefore, their removal cannot be forced. Instead, a process of negotiating collective representation on visual displays has been instigated by the Northern Irish Arts Council's Re-imaging Communities Programme, which has been adapted by Derry City Council (DCC). The programme did not only remove divisive imagery, but involved the development of community artwork that serves as a non-sectarian replacement which aims to provide a new representation of the local community. This will be outlined in four case studies, where I explore what happens if the powerful symbols and images of representational space are challenged, removed or replaced.

This thesis gives an insight into the negotiation of transformation of "*representational space*" (Lefebvre 2004:33), that is; the lived space of symbols, memories and imagination – a space that represents something. How do these transformations influence "*spatial practice*" (ibid.) and the concepts and discourses about space, the "*representations of space*" (ibid), and vice

versa? In exploring different sites of negotiation on re-imaging², I follow my interest regarding how the production of a “shared space” can be achieved. The following research questions should help to understand the production of shared space:

- How is space transformed if dominant and contentious symbols and images are removed and replaced?
- How is this transformation negotiated? What is relevant to the various actors in the “arena” (Turner 1994:132)³ of re-imaging?
- Where lie the difficulties in transforming meaningful imagery of representational space and why is re-imaging refused at some places?
- And what effect do these transformations have on the city’s community relations?

1.2 Structure of Thesis

In the following subchapters I outline how I conducted my research in Derry. First, I describe the construction of my field. As my field was constituted around the city’s peacebuilding activities, I nicknamed my main informants “peacebuilders”. I employed this term in order to make sense of the interviews I conducted and of the things I observed. Therefore a more detailed description and definition of what “peacebuilding” in Derry is and who is involved is entailed. Next, I explain my methods in more detail and what kind of material I gathered in the four months of fieldwork.

The main part of this thesis is structured in two sections: The first section (chapters 2 – 3) deals with Derry as a city dominated by the “Northern Ireland conflict” and its legacies. The second section (chapters 4– 5) addresses the transition process of the city.

The second chapter of this thesis provides an insight into the historical background of the conflict. This is necessary in order to understand the antagonism between Protestants and Catholics and the meaning behind their commemorative and cultural practices that continue to divide the two communities. While Northern Irish Protestant cultural identity is particularly based on a collective memory that commemorates victorious events of the 17th century and their subsequent supremacy for another four centuries, Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland highlight their long history of oppression and fight for freedom. The summary covers the period of plantation of Ulster and of the Williamite-Jacobite war in which Protestant identity was build up; the creation of the political projects of Loyalism and Republicanism; partition;

² I use “Re-imaging” capitalised when referring to the programme and “re-imaging” lowercased in order to refer to the process of visual transformation of sectarian and territorialised imagery and space.

³ This concept is explained at a later stage of this thesis.

the Troubles era beginning in 1968/69; the installation of the peace process and the legacies of this conflict-riddled history.

The third chapter focuses on the local situation of Derry being a divided city. The production of segregated space is described by applying Henri Lefebvre's approach of the triad-dialectical moments of space. Moreover, the importance of collective memory and symbols is outlined. Next, the territorialising practices that feed into the segregation are explained with a particular focus on visual displays and symbols that mark out residential areas. Finally, the effects of segregation are pointed out.

The fourth chapter addresses issues of "change-in-the-making" (Moore 1987: 727). First, the city's ambitions of becoming a "City of Culture" as well as the discussions around the UK City of Culture 2013 nomination are illustrated. Despite the potential economic benefit for the city, people from both communities raised objections for reasons connected to the city's complicated intercommunity relations as well as the communities' relations to the city authorities. Then, the local peacebuilding strategy to enforce shared spaces and the 'Re-imagining Communities Programme' are introduced.

The next chapter deals with the transformation of space on a visual level. In four case studies, I describe different negotiation processes for the removal and replacement of images and symbols in various residential areas.

In the subsequent conclusion of this thesis, I go into answering my research questions of what effects the changes have on the tensed relations between the two communities in Derry, if the creation of a shared space is possible, and if so, how this might be achieved.

1.3 About Fieldwork

Anthropologists doing fieldwork, instead of conceiving of themselves as looking at whole cultures or whole societies, are now acutely conscious of observing part of the cultural construction of part of a society at a particular time. (Moore 1987:735)

From 21 January 2011 to 30 May 2011, I conducted anthropological fieldwork in Derry within the context of the city's peace building activities. I tried to keep track of various things happening in the city which seemed relevant to me either because of personal interest or because it was seen as important to the local people. The realm of "peacebuilding" offered endless topics worthy of research in their own right.

My indecisiveness regarding what to focus on, heavily impacted on how and what material I gathered for my thesis. During the first weeks of my research, I collected material and conducted interviews without a particular outline. All I knew was that I was interested in the processes of reconciliation and how a sustainable peace could be achieved in a segregated society like it exists in Derry. Hence, I started out with contacting peacebuilding groups and organisations in the city and soon I had a list of people “I should talk to”. My interlocutors did not mind that I was very vague about my actual focus, as I showed interest in their occupation, their personal belief systems and their opinions regarding to whatever they considered as noteworthy. In this way I gathered a broad knowledge about the wider local situation; what people had suffered in the past and what challenges and progresses they were dealing with today.

Moreover, I wanted to know more about the discussions revolving around the upcoming City of Culture event. Eventually, I had a range of issues I was interested in and started to worry how I could confine my topic. However, through my research activities, I realised that the issue of segregated space and the need to create “shared space” was at the heart of many peace building projects. As Ulf Hannerz (2003) has pointed out, the field is constituted around a research problem, rather than around a place or a people. The task of the anthropologist is to draw connections between various sites and people. Thus, I started to look at issues of transforming territorialised space. One approach to observe transformation of space was to look into local projects of the Northern Ireland Art’s Council’s ‘Re-imaging Communities Programme’, which intended the removal of divisive visual displays like murals. But topics within the peacebuilding and community relations sector like “ethical remembering” and carnivals were also relevant to get an understanding of the importance of local space and all the aspects that feed into this issue. In order to further narrow the research interest for this thesis, I concentrated on the changing of visual displays of the antagonist identity in residential areas of the city. Yet, the narrowing of the topic for this thesis was made during the writing process when I tried to make sense of the material I gathered. “Re-imaging” turned out to serve as the most suitable leitmotif to cover a range of topics I wanted to address in this thesis.

1.3.1 Among the Peacebuilders of Derry

If I wanted to categorise my main informants, there is no generic, common denominator such as age, ethnicity, profession, gender, politics, and religion that would connect all of these people. Nevertheless, I can say that there is something unique which all of them have in common: They all share the aspiration of improving community cohesion in Derry and

contributing to the transition of the city away from its divisive past, albeit in their own way. Their motivations, methods, ideals and success in engaging in such activity were very diverse. Therefore, I did not use a standardised guideline for my interviews, but talked to most of them about different issues with regards to their lives, their occupation (particularly in regards to community relations in the city) as well as anything of additional relevance.

The majority of my main informants are involved in organisations, initiatives or projects that all can be summarised under the roof of “community relations”/peacebuilding. Summarising my various interlocutors under the headline of peacebuilding helped me to make sense of what was going on in Derry. This does not mean my interlocutors referred to themselves as ‘peacebuilders’, neither does this label consequently correlate to a successful outcome of projects that intend to contribute to a peaceful society (particularly because these efforts can only be seen processual). Speaking of peacebuilding processes does not automatically mean that there are no contradictions or arguments. What is valued as building peace to some might be counter-productive to others. In addition, very often social, economic and peace-making intentions are impossible to separate and it is difficult to evaluate or single out the real motivation of an actor. Funding often is linked to peace building objectives, which can lead to a dynamic whereby a community relations aspect has to be included in every project proposal.

I loosely categorised my informants into four groups:

- 1) People working in one of the peace building and reconciliation organisations of the city
- 2) Community/Youth workers
- 3) City Council staff working within an official Community Relations agenda
- 4) Other “involved” citizens

Ad 1)

There are various peacebuilding organisations located in Derry who employ trained mediators and peacebuilders as well as people who are seen as qualified because of their experiences during the Troubles (i.e. ex-combatants). The different organisations work closely together and often share resources and in some cases even funding to make their work more effective. These peacebuilders are intensely involved in reconciliation work and the organisation of various events that address peace and conflict related issues (e.g. conferences). They often contribute to scientific reports that are important to the production of knowledge about the conflict as well as for the evaluation of peacebuilding work. Their projects are less

community-specific but reach out to have wider ramifications on Northern Irish society and the peace process.

Ad 2)

There is a lot of talk about “communities” in Derry. If one speaks of “the two communities”, usually the person speaks of the CNR and PUL community. Residents living in one housing estate are generally perceived as a “community”, for instance people speak of “the Bogside community”, “the Irish Street community” and so on. Ferdinand Tönnies (2001:27) differentiated between “community by *blood*”, “community of *place*” and “community of *spirit*”. A “community of place is what holds life together on a physical level” (ibid).

The closeness of the dwellings, the common fields, even the way the holdings run alongside each other, cause the people to meet and get used to each other and to develop intimate acquaintance. (ibid.28)

Shared memories are another important factor in creating community bonds. In Northern Ireland memories of conflict, safety and insecurity are usually highly connected to spatial criteria, therefore people living in one residential estate are likely to share intense memories.

During my research it was often talked about “the community” which should work together to achieve better living standards or better “community relations”. The “whole” community should be involved in decision processes and “the heart of the community” should be identified. Gerd Baumann’s description the dominant “civil culture” in Britain applies here: “The good citizen fights tough, plays fair, and thinks of his community as a whole” (1999: 47).

Community work in Derry is a major part of the city’s infrastructure. It is very common that every residential area has its own community centre, even if neighbourhoods lie in close proximity to each other. Obviously, there are different community centres for Catholic communities and Protestant communities as almost all housing estates in Derry are segregated, but particularly within the Protestant population, due to different paramilitary alliances during the Troubles, internal divisions were established that only recently have started to dismantle. Expensive double provision is the outcome of such community divisions. As there are many areas of high deprivation in Derry, the community centres provide a range of services for their communities from educational programmes and recreational activities to a range of support services for the unemployed. Some have sporting facilities and offer help for traumatised people or those with specific issues. As a lot of the elderly people are traumatised and suffer from psychological problems like post-traumatic stress disorder, the community

workers try to get them out of the house and involved. A major focus of most community centres focused on the youth, namely in keeping them “away” from bad influences and boredom that often leads to anti-social behaviour. Another important strand of this kind of community work is finding employment for young people.

A lot of work can be categorised as so-called “single-identity” work, which aims to improve the self-esteem of the people within the community. Another major part of community work is made up by “cross-community” initiatives, where the two antagonistic groups are put into contact.

Most often community/youth workers are stationed in a community centre, or they are employed as Community Relations Officers at a peacebuilding organisation or other institution (the Council, a cultural venue like the ‘Playhouse Theatre’). Many of the “older” generation of community workers started out without having any education or training in this field but organised out of necessity to give their communities some sort of support during the Troubles and afterwards. There is also a generation of younger community workers who have a degree in social or community work, peacebuilding or some other qualification. Additionally, many young people who participated in a community relations project become volunteers and professionals in community work.

Ad 3)

In Northern Ireland statutory bodies have an obligation to consider Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act in their agenda. According to the act, statutory bodies like the City Council, are required to promote equality of opportunity between persons of different religious belief, political opinion, racial group, age, marital status or sexual orientation; between men and women generally; between persons with disability and persons without; and between persons with dependants and persons without. As well as good relations between persons of different religious belief, political opinion or racial groups (Section 75 Northern Ireland Act, online).

DCC has a Community Relations Council, a Community Relations strategy and includes community relations objectives in most of their areas of influence.

I talked to City Council staff which deal with the changing of public space and the image of Derry. This task is combined with the City’s Good Relations Strategy of creating shared spaces (DCC Good Relations Strategy 2011/12-2013/14).

Ad 4)

“Involved citizens” describes people who actively participate in the city’s current transition process towards becoming a more peaceful city. This definition concerns people who have a voice which they raise either within the official Community Relations agenda of the City Council, or outside of this frame.

First, there are those who attend conferences, discussions and events within the city’s community relations activities (including discussions about Derry becoming City of Culture) as well as peacebuilding initiatives (for instance group meetings to discuss how commemoration of divisive events could become less contentious).

Often, there were the same people at such events and initially their commitment gave me the impression that the majority are striving for better community relations and supports the City Council’s activities. However, it is because so many do not get involved and keep their opinions to themselves that this is a dangerous misconception.

Involved citizens may include staff of cultural venues, artists, individuals who have experienced a change of mind through peacebuilding work, scholars, professors, ex-combatants or entrepreneurs who hope that change brings about economic benefits. Ex-Prisoner organisations have a large stake in the local peace building scene. It is said that ex-combatants were part of the problem and as such, had to be part of the solution as well. Members of ex-prisoner organisations are involved in cross-community exchanges and many of them talk in schools and tell young people why they should refrain from violence. Another important responsibility lies with cultural venues and artists as culture and arts are seen as a tool for peacebuilding. Therefore, many of my interlocutors combined their profession with some sort of community relations work.

I also talked to those who were the addressees of peacebuilding efforts, for instance participants of a community relations project. In terms of accessibility relating to these projects, there was a large difference between those who got involved in activities, and passive participants.

Moreover, there are those who are also involved in the city’s public life and peacebuilding projects but are opposed to the City Council’s mainstream agenda⁴, for instance the Bogside Artists. This is a point which I aim to discuss at a later stage of my thesis.

1.3.2 Peacebuilding and Community Relations in Derry

In conflict and peace theory, “peacebuilding” describes the process of consolidating peace in a society that has experienced armed conflict in order to prevent it from falling back into

⁴ Of course there were also arguments among those who supported the CR activities of the city.

violence. Peacebuilding activities endeavour to address the root causes of violent conflict (for instance socioeconomic inequality, scarcity of resources, longstanding fear etc.) and have to deal with the wider social, political, economic and psychological consequences of intercommunal or intranational violent conflict (Schneckener 2005:20). The deep-rooted divisions between Protestants and Catholics have been identified as the biggest challenge to peace for Northern Ireland. Therefore, there is a range of peace building initiatives in Northern Ireland that aim towards improving the tensed relations between the different communities. This involves all fields of political action and programmes that are directed to tackle issues that jeopardise sustainable peace. Many of these activities, no matter if carried out by individuals, community-based groups, non-governmental organizations or policymakers, are known under the name ‘Community Relations’ (CR) work.

Throughout Northern Ireland’s history there were always individuals who committed their efforts to achieve mutual understanding between both sides. The first attempt to efficiently organise these efforts was made by the establishment of the Central Community Relations Unit within the government in September 1987. In 1990, this unit set up the Community Relations Council (CRC) in order to encourage contact, co-operation and mutual respect between Protestant and Catholic communities. The CRC is an independent charity body that manages most peace building activities. The funding is primarily provided by the Good Relations and Reconciliation Division of the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (OFMDFM). The CRC sets the overall strategy for good relations work and facilitates a wide range of projects that intend to increase cross-community contact and challenge sectarianism by providing financial support, training and advice. It also has the responsibility to encourage all kind of policy makers, organisations and institutions (statutory agencies, churches or the commercial sector), to include a community relations aspect in their agenda. In addition, the CRC supports research to further develop peace building activities. The Community Relations Programme is based on Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 that builds the statutory basis for equality. The first policy document for CR called ‘A shared Future’ was published in March 2005. This strategy paper was replaced by the ‘Programme for Cohesion, Sharing and Integration’ in 2011.

1.3.3 Access to the field

I got a room in the “Duncreggan Student Village”, the official student accommodation of the University of Ulster, Campus Magee. The student village is a highly securitised, gated residence adjacent to the University’s grounds located at the Cityside not far from the city’s centre. The student accommodation must be the biggest “mixed” residential space in Derry.

Both, Catholics and Protestants from all over Northern Ireland study there and even share flats together. Their group affiliation was regularly quite easy to figure out as most people from Northern Ireland at one point would state that they were (or their background was) either Catholic/nationalist or Protestant/unionist. Although, certain prejudices and sometimes wariness against someone with a different religious/political background do exist (as it is the case in all circles everywhere), in general, to most Northern Irish students the religious/political backgrounds of their colleagues were not important in their social interactions. There was also a shared understanding that in order to avoid confrontation, one would not talk about contentious issues with people who had an opposite point of view, whether they were from their own or the “other” community. It was a clear decision not to include the observations I made in the student village in this thesis as I was particularly interested in the special situation of Derry and the student village seemed almost as an external little cosmos to me.

Having said that, to live in this external space made it harder to meet the locals on a daily basis in a non-official or not pre-arranged setting. Due to this circumstance, closer relationships with “Derry people” developed at a very late stage of my stay. Especially during the first three months, most local people I talked to were, apart from taxi drivers, those who were involved in some kind of peace building project or organisation. However, the choice of living in the student village had a major advantage as it was one of the few places that are seen as neutral to the local people, as students from both religious backgrounds live there and study at Magee Campus. Often, people asked me where I was staying in Derry and this was a safe answer which would not give a reason to assume any partiality to one side or the other. This was particularly important to me when I talked to people with a Protestant background who sometimes appeared more apprehensive in this regard.

In general, it was quite easy for me as a foreign girl to talk to different people from both sides. Some even approached me, asking where I was from and what I was doing here in Derry. The locals were open, helpful and many of my interlocutors already had experiences with researchers. Most adults were very interested in my research, wanted to comment on it in some way, and pointed out to me other people I should talk to.

The only time I had difficulties to keep up a conversation was with teenagers I met during a cross-community programme I attended. While my interest in all the different projects and initiatives was welcomed by adults, some young people seemed to feel estranged by my sudden presence⁵. I even felt some sort of resentment or mistrust towards me when I tried to

⁵ I was offered to take part in a cross-community project while the programme was already running.

get into a conversation with teenagers from Irish Street, who I met regularly through this programme. I would have needed to spend more time with the young people in their areas in order to gain their trust. Although I did not avoid contact with young people, I do have to admit I did not particularly search for it. In general, it took me more courage to address teenagers in Derry, which is probably also due to their strong accent and heavy use of slang words which made it difficult for me to understand and speak “their” language, but also because the issue of sectarianism and segregation is so sensitive, particularly regarding young people. However, what I did get, were observations I made during the cross-community project and during my visits in community centres. It was equally difficult to talk to adults who were not “involved citizens”; with the difference that they were even harder to meet than young people. Nevertheless, thanks to the Irish Street community centre, I also met a group of elderly men who meet there regularly for card playing, and gained some insights into their opinion towards the city (F_71).

1.4 Methods

Participant observation has a long tradition in anthropology and is seen as the major and defining method of this discipline. Basically it means that “a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (DeWalt/DeWalt 2002:1). For me, participation in the broadest sense meant becoming an “involved” citizen of Derry⁶, someone interested in “what is going on” in the city. I experienced a city in transition which offered its citizens many occasions to “participate”. Participation was encouraged not only in regards to festive events or in meetings where community-relevant decisions were being made, but also in terms of participating in the general process of transition towards a more open and “shared” society.

This transition involved a general drive towards a stable, peaceful situation as well as a transformation from a troubled and divided city to a city known for its creativity, arts and multicultural richness. I followed these invitations to get involved, and observed others doing so. For that purpose I often attended many “temporary sites” (Hannerz 2003:210), that is all sorts of public meetings and conferences that dealt with peace building issues as well as with discussing Derry’s economic situation or the upcoming UK City of Culture 2013 event. I talked to the key motivators for “positive change” but also to those who demonstratively abstained from involvement.

⁶ My interlocutors with Community Relations background often contrasted “involved” citizens with those who have withdrawn from public life.

In the four months of research, I carried out ongoing participant observation and collected 24 unstructured interviews with 25 different people. Most of them were taped on a digital voice recorder, apart from four interviews in the Fountain (I_12 and I_13) where I had to rely on my handwritten notes. All interviews differ in length and intensity as well as in structure and formality. In Hannerz' words, they could be best described as "mildly structured exchanges, with room for spontaneous flow and unexpected turns" (2003:209). I wrote 77 digital field notes as well as maintaining a handwritten diary. A list of the interviews and field notes that were included in this thesis is annexed in the appendix.

A lot of my fieldwork entailed going into different residential areas and to their respective community centres. There I tried to engage in conversation with staff and the people who hang around.

I also got the chance to participate in one cross-community project which was already running. The project was called 'P.A.C.T. (Policing and Communities together) for Peace' and had the intention to improve the relationship between young people from different communities, the police and other statutory organisations, whilst enhancing cross-community contact. 41 young people aged between 13 to 17 years from the interface areas Irish Street/Top of the Hill and Curryneirin/Tullyally participated in the project. They were accompanied by the community workers of their area. I joined the project for five different days in which they visited Stormont, the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) and went ice-skating and had talks with politicians from Derry City Council (DCC) and the District Policing Partnership (who have a mediative function between the PSNI and the communities) as well as educational lessons. During P.A.C.T., I learned a lot about the problems and issues concerning young people in Derry as well as how a cross-community project works.

Occasionally, I also participated in activities by various peace building initiatives, for instance discussions around how "ethical remembering" of historical events was possible in Northern Irish society. I was reading the local newspapers, followed local bloggers, and became "friends" with various organisations and groups on Facebook. Moreover, I collected all kinds of analogue material (information material by peace building organisations, community centres, research departments, reports and maps). Also visual data of images, symbols and spatial arrangements became a major source of information.

No anthropological research can ever be complete, however, as Clifford Geertz (1995 [1987]) has pointed out, what anthropologists have to do is to "rescue" what has been said in social

discourse from perishing (ibid. 30) and to make informed assumptions about the meaning of social actions (ibid. 25).

Based on Geertz' interpretive ethnography (1995:15), I provide "thick description" of four 'cases' with different emphasis on the transformation of segregated space. Hereby, I understand the production of social space and its visual displays as social actions as well as part of social discourse.

Each case study is based on different data and material and provides different perspectives on the subject of re-imaging segregated and territorialised spaces. They differ in length, focus and style. There is no intention to provide a comparative model between the case studies; instead I hope to offer a multifaceted (although far from complete) insight into the various processes of negotiating spatial change that are at stake.

1.4.1 Visual Analysis

As this thesis investigates the production and transformation of space, the visual aspects and spatial characteristics of the places I went to were as important as the oral accounts by my interlocutors and encounters I had in the various locations. As Emmison and Smith (2000:1) argue, visual data is not just the integration of photographic material in written text; rather it is the awareness of "issues of spatiality and visibility" as a source of information. What researchers *see* is equally important as what they *hear*.

The photographic material of visual displays, residential areas and public places as well as detailed description of specific spaces is provided for both, illustrative means and to draw conclusions about my research interest. Hence, my case studies mix oral data gained from interviews, readings and discussions with the visual data gained from my spatial observations and perceptions of space.

My research addresses the concrete visual displays produced by local groups and communities and placed in public space. According to Gemma Orobitg Canal (2004:32) the visual material that is produced by the people one is working with in the field can assist to reconstruct "the processes of social realities". Some of the images and artwork which I documented via photographs will be analysed according to Marcus Banks' (2001) instructions on how to interpret images.

Marcus Banks (2001) outlines the main tasks for the reading of images. First, the content has to be assessed on its most basic level (Banks 2001:7). This is first and foremost a process of applying labels (this is a bridge, this is a house etc.). In some cases this is easier than in others. A construction that connects the banks of a river is most likely recognised as a bridge, but especially if details are painted abstractly, interpretation and estimation has to be applied

immediately in order to make sense of the image. Then, one has to describe the encoded, connotative meaning of an image. Banks (ibid.3) describes this process as “bringing knowledges to bear upon the image”. For this task a greater cultural or regional insight is necessary (this is the Peace Bridge in Derry), as meaning is culturally specific and relevant to a particular time and place. However, even if an image is explained by an expert, it is still open to manifold interpretations (Jarman 1997:15).

After a good deal of information about the image is assembled, it has to be sociologized, meaning the “(partial) reading” of the image has to be placed within the context of a particular research project (Banks 2001:5).

As Banks (2001:7) points out, it is also important to find out the reasons for the existence of the image. “To do that, we must move beyond the content and consider the image as an object” (ibid. 3). Here, it is important to consider that I am responsible for the existence of the photographs as well as for their selection. However, it is the visual displays and artworks portrayed which are of interest, not my photographic representation of them. I employ the photographs mainly for illustrative means. They should provide some visual examples – which I subjectively deemed to be most telling – to the description of the representational space of an area. As there are a range of visual displays mentioned in this thesis, I cannot provide extended visual analysis of all of them. Nevertheless, the description of visual displays and representational space is an important element in my case studies. Hence, while in case studies 1 and 3 visual analysis refers to a summary of a series of visual displays, in case studies 2 and 4 there is also a more detailed visual analysis of two murals included.

The images are placed in my research context of negotiating the transformation of symbols of collective memory and segregated space. The analysis of what images and symbols in public space are maintained, changed, added or removed, may give further insights into the transformation of segregated space.

2 A City of Conflict: Historical Background

Do they really think people kill each other because one is doing the crossing sign and the others don't? I mean, give us a break. (Kevin Hasson, Bogside Artist, F_16)

Anyone who wants to wholly understand the conflict between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland has to look at the city of Derry/Londonderry. Even the name of the city is source of controversy between the two groups and confuses visitors, as there are two versions found on maps, road signs and publications: Is it Londonderry or Derry?

Since the 1980s, the two conflictants in Northern Ireland, the CNR community and PUL community have argued about what the legal name of the city should be. Whilst the

nationalist (who make up the city's majority population), say "Derry", this designation is heavily opposed by unionists who insist on 'London' as the prefix for the council's name. Those who try to stay neutral in this uncertain terrain opt for the rather unpractical two-name solution: Derry/Londonderry, which resulted in the nickname "Stroke City". The argument about the name stands for the centuries-old conflict between two groups who developed distinct and opposing identities.

The earliest roots of the conflict lie in the British's conquest of the isle of Ireland and the 'plantation' of the north in the 17th century. In order to maintain stability and control over the new territory and its native population, the British government sent settlers from England and Scotland to dwell in the planted counties. The majority of the settlers were of one of the denominations of the Protestant religion, while the Irish were Roman-Catholic. Gradually, Protestants evolved as a majority in the north-eastern counties of the province of Ulster (Darby 1995a:9). "The native Irish remained, as tenants and labourers, but were gradually forced by economic pressure to move to the worst lands" (Clarke 1994:192). However, the Protestant settlers sat uneasy and fearful in their dominant position, feeling constantly threatened by their hostile environment (Clarke 1994:193).

Although religion has played its part in the development and creation of the conflict, the question of who has the right faith or worshipped God in correct fashion was never at the heart of the conflict. The two antagonist communities employ the terms "Protestant" and "Catholic" to designate themselves or others, but to most people the Protestant/Catholic antagonism makes sense in the local context only. A foreigner who has a Roman-Catholic background is not perceived in the same category as the local Catholic in the eyes of a local Protestant.

Identity is a "relational and contingent" concept. It depends upon what it is defined against and is always in a process of change as it is interpreted differently in different places and circumstances (Giles/Middleton 2008:36). As Gingrich and Baumann (2004) have pointed out, there are always a multitude of dimensions of personal and collective identity, for instance culture, region, religion, gender, family, profession, language. These dimensions are multidimensional and characterised by interplay, which involves the possibility of contradiction and the feeling of being in-between. The feeling of belonging and not-belonging are "mutually constitutive components of identity". Therefore, "alterity" (othering) is not external to identity (Gingrich 2004:4).

The stories, symbols, memories and traditions that make up the contentious group identities are drawn from events that happened centuries ago as well as from the more recent past. In

consideration of the impossibility to give space to all the major aspects, actors and events that historians have documented and described until this day, I concentrated this summary on those parts and figures of history that are elementary to the visual, commemorative and cultural practices of Protestant and Catholic identity formation in Northern Ireland.

2.1 Plantation-Town: From Doire to Londonderry

The name Derry derives from the Gaelic name ‘Doire’ meaning ‘oak grove’ (McSheffrey 2000:32). It supposedly refers to the dense oak growth that presumably existed there in the 6th century, when the Christian missionary Colm Cille (known as St. Columba) built the first foundations of a monastery on the grounds where the city stands today (Mitchell 2008:9-14). The first documented evidence of Colm Cille’s activities is a church he built on an island in the river Foyle. Gradually, the western side of the island dried out and left the boggy area that today is known as the “Bogside” (Mitchell 2008:9-14).

In 1566 high up in the north-east of the island of Ireland, the English discovered the remote Irish settlement that had developed from a humble monastery to a wealthy village. The place had been the site of many Viking raids and power struggles between Irish high kings which never did its growth any harm. However, one year after the arrival of the English the centuries-old Christian establishment was destroyed by the British conquest and today there are no physical remains of the monastic period in Derry (Mitchell 2008:28).

At the beginning of the 17th century, the site of Derry was chosen by the English government to serve as a twin-city for London. At that time the English capital city had to struggle with great overcrowding and the government was looking for a place to accommodate overflows of population. With the settlers the English pronunciation of Doire, “Derry”, must have been established. The British Crown pressured the guilds of London to finance the development of Derry into a fortified town that would serve as a strategically useful point. Located on a hill, it was easier to defend and its navigable river intensified its trading potential (McSheffrey 2000:32). In 1613 the Irish Society was formed in order to organise the plantation. In the same year the construction of the city walls began and the city was renamed ‘Londonderry’.

The fortified settlement of Londonderry developed into the most successful plantation project as its port contributed to the city becoming a prosperous market centre. By 1640 Londonderry had grown to the largest city of the six planted counties, making up a population of 1.200 (McSheffrey 2000:35).

In 1641 the suppressed Irish started a rebellion which developed into a massacre of Protestant settlers. The Catholic rebellion was soon crushed but, effectively, Britain had to re-conquer

Ireland all over again (Holthusen 2005:38). From this time on, Protestants stressed their role as a loyal community that civilised the country for the English Crown (Loughlin 1998:2).

The 1641 Rising was to have a profound effect on the Ulster Protestant community, acting to consolidate its internal integration and to shape its identity and historical memory. (Loughlin 1998:2)

2.1.1 The Williamite-Jacobite War

Loyalty and surrender to England's enemies became part of Ulster Protestant identity. They felt their security was assured as long as they were under protectionism of the English Crown, at least as long as the king or queen was a Protestant. This mentality was strengthened when a Protestant and a Catholic fought for the English Crown. In 1685 James II of the Stuart dynasty became king of England. As he was a Catholic, the Protestant majority in England sought to replace James with a Protestant. In 1688 the Dutch prince, William of Orange expelled the Catholic king and James was forced flee to France. However James, in his attempts to regain the throne, organised a Catholic army made up of Irish, Scottish and French soldiers, intending to attack England via Ireland (Holthusen 2005:38).

Meanwhile, in Derry a change of the city's garrison raised alarm among citizens because the new regiment was made up by Catholic soldiers loyal to James. On the 7th of December 1688 the new garrison that had marched for days from Dublin appeared on the eastside of the Foyle. While the leaders of Derry held heated discussions over whether to trust this garrison or not, thirteen young apprentice boys took the keys to the city's gates and locked the soldiers outside (Holthusen 2005:39).

When James' troops arrived in front of the gates of Derry in April 1689, James sent out a messenger who advised the city to yield to the king. Derry's military governor Robert Lundy decided that it would be best to do so. However, this was strongly opposed by the majority and Lundy was named a traitor and expelled from the city. When James realised that the citizens would show "no surrender," he laid siege to it (Mitchell 2008:44-5). The blockade lasted for more than 100 days and as a result, Derry's population thinned radically through starvation and disease. In June, England sent three ships with supplies, but a wooden boom, erected by James's army prevented them from reaching the city. On the 28th of July, the ship 'Mountjoy' eventually managed to break the boom and saved the starving inhabitants. Realising a continuation of the siege would be pointless, the Jacobite troops gave up and retreated on 1 August 1689 (Mitchell 2008:45f.). On 11 July 1690⁷ William's Protestant army

⁷ Or 1 July 1690 following the Julian calendar. Anyways, the Battle of Boyne celebrations in Northern Ireland are held on 12 July every year.

defeated James's troops in the battle at the river Boyne north of Dublin (Valandro 2004:16). His victory became the triumph of Protestantism in England and Ireland.

As Derek Lundy (2006:98) writes: "sieges are the stuff of national myth-making". The story of the siege has gone down as cultural treasure in Ulster Protestant-mythology and tradition. Slogans referring to the siege are still pictured in Protestant residential areas. Images of King William III, the Apprentice Boys, the Battle of Boyne as well as 'the breaking of the Boom' for centuries comprised the major themes on murals in loyalist areas in Derry and other places in Northern Ireland as well as on banners in Protestant parades. They are part of Ulster protestant culture, a culture opposed to Catholics in Northern Ireland.

2.2 Creation of Loyalism and Republicanism

With the end of the Jacobite/Williamite war, Britain had almost complete dominance over Ireland. British Protestants, including those in Ulster, continued to see Catholics as a threat and ensured a system of laws that would keep Catholics socially and politically oppressed. Centuries of marginalisation were the result.

In the 18th century an Irish nationalist movement, made up of Protestants and Catholics, started to develop with the goal of achieving independence from Britain. In reaction to this, Protestants loyal to England got organised as well (Holthusen 2005:41f.).

In 1795 the Orange Order was formed organising loyalists into a secret society whose purpose was to defend the "Protestant Reformed Churches" (Bryan 2000:105f.). In the following years the fortunes of the Order fluctuated, but it often managed to be politically influential, with members holding powerful positions (Bryan 2000:60).

The aim of the order was to "ensure that the lessons of 1688-90 were not forgotten" (Loughlin 1998:3). Arguably, the most impressive feature of the Orange Order to date has been the holding of 'demonstration marches', organised processions through streets and villages, commemorating Protestant victory and ascendancy over the land. The first parades to celebrate the victory of the Battle of Boyne took place on 12 July 1796 (Bryan 2000:31). The symbolism of these parades was, and still is, highly provocative to the Catholics as they celebrate their defeat. Even today, the annual Orange parades continue to ignite violence between the antagonistic groups in Northern Ireland. And riots during marching season in summer have become an annual ritual. In 1814 another big Protestant organisation, called "the Apprentice boys of Derry", was founded in order to commemorate the closing of the gates and the battle of Boyne. Every year, on the nearest Saturday to the 12th of August, the Apprentice Boys of Derry march the walls of the city (Bryan 2000:114-5). In December, Ulster loyalists celebrate the closing of the gates. The day is filled with celebrations and

religious rituals and finishes with the burning of an effigy of “Lundy the Traitor” (apprenticeboys.co.uk, online⁸).

In the mid-19th century the Irish independence movement became more powerful. The fact that the Westminster government had failed in preventing the misery of the poor Irish population during a disastrous famine, led to a radicalisation of Irish nationalism. In the years 1857 and 1858, the ‘Fenian Brotherhood’ and the ‘Irish Republican Brotherhood’ (IRB), the predecessor of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), were established. Both demanded an independent Irish republic and both were ready to employ violent means to reach their aim. Their revolts were put down by the government, but the authorities realised that they could no longer ignore the “Irish Problem” (Valandro 2004:17-8).

By the end of the 19th century several developments intensified the cultural strengthening of Ulster Protestants as a distinct group loyal to the British. In the south, constitutional Irish nationalism enjoyed increasing success. The upcoming ‘Home Rule Movement’ that sought independence from Britain frightened Ulster Protestants (Holthusen 2005:55-6). In 1885 the Protestant ‘Ulster Unionist Party’ (UUP) was founded whose political agenda was to maintain the union with Britain. The cultural renaissance in Irish nationalism stipulated the cultivation of Gaelic language, games and culture, to which Ulster unionists responded with strengthening their identity through the use of symbols of British loyalism (Holthusen 2005:19).

2.2.1 Moving towards Partition

In 1912 the Westminster Parliament passed the Home Rule Bill causing uproar among unionists. The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) was founded to give clout to the political demands of unionists: unity with Britain for Ulster at least. Home Rule activists responded by arming themselves to enforce Home Rule. Ireland was close to a civil war. The British government decided on a special status for the parts of Ireland where Protestants made up the majority, that would allow them to remain part of the United Kingdom if a majority of the population would vote in favour of the union (Valandro 2004:20). The beginning of World War I in 1914 brought a suspension of the political question of Ireland’s autonomy until the end of the war in 1918 (Holthusen 2005:56). Also Irish and Ulster men fought in the British army. The 36th division was made up of predominantly UVF men. 5,500 of them died or were wounded on 1 July 1916 when Britain and France started their attack on Germany at Somme in Belgium. Over 1 million soldiers died in one of the bloodiest battles in history between

⁸ Shutting of the gates, <http://www.apprenticeboys.co.uk/features/parades/shutting-of-the-gates> [19.10.2012]

July and November, but nowhere is this tragedy more commemorated than in Northern Ireland. The blood sacrifice of Ulster Protestants served to remind Britain at Ulster's "renewed military and political legitimacy" (Bryan 2000:56). In stark contrast, those soldiers with Irish Catholic background that fought and died in the Great War are largely denied and ignored in nationalist folk history as other developments of the same year became the icon of Irish nationalism.

In 1916, while Britain was occupied in warfare, a group of about 1,600 radical Irish nationalists wanted to press for an Irish Republic. They were opposed to any compromise to full Irish independence and started an uprising in Dublin on Easter Monday. The rising lasted six days until the nationalists were defeated by the army and imprisoned. The authorities accused 15 of the rebels of treason and executed them without a trial. Although the rebellion itself gained little support by the Irish population, the proceeding response of the government resulted in strong sympathy for the rebels and their cause (Valandro 2004:20). The Easter rebels were later glorified as martyrs and blood sacrifice became tradition in Irish nationalism. Johnston McMaster described the Easter Rising as the "most successful failure in Irish history" in one of the "Ethical Remembering" group meetings which I attended (see also McMaster 2007). When the war was over and the UK parliamentary elections took place in December 1918, the Irish Republican party 'Sinn Féin' (SF) benefited greatly from the martyrs' sacrifice. In Northern Ireland the UUP was clearly dominant, but in the South, SF gained 73 of the 105 Irish seats in the British Parliament. However, the anti-British minded party members refused to take up their seats in Westminster. In January 1919, SF established its own Irish parliament in Dublin (Valandro 2006:20). At the same time former IRB members reorganised the republican paramilitary organisations and formed the IRA that effectively constituted the military wing of SF. Between 1919 and 1921, the IRA pursued a violent campaign to force the British to accept the independence of the whole island. As they were not strong enough to win, but still a problem big enough to be dealt with, the British government and the IRA leaders both agreed to meet for negotiation (ibid.21).

The Irish republican delegation was expected to return with the founding contract for the Irish Republic but what they got was a compromise: an 'Irish Free State' that would have its own political and administrative structures and institutions but would lose those six counties of the province of Ulster which had a Protestant majority population. The counties which would remain within the British Kingdom were: Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone and Londonderry (ibid.).

The majority of the Irish population agreed on the compromise to give up the North for the sake of peace. On the 6th December 1921 Britain and Ireland signed the treaty and Northern Ireland came into existence (Darby 1995b:9). However, peace was not yet achieved.

2.3 Discrimination leads into Trouble

While in the South republicans opposed to the compromise fought the Irish Free State (Valandro 2006:20-1), undisturbed the unionists in Northern Ireland set about creating a Protestant state (Mitchell 2008:80-1). As the Catholics were seen as a potential risk to this project, they were hugely discriminated against by the Ulster Unionist Party in Stormont. Catholics were disadvantaged in the allocation of social housing and public jobs as well as in the electoral system that attributed the right to vote not to individuals but only to landowners, registered tenants and their spouses (Holthusen 2005:74). In Derry the situation was particularly bad for the Catholic population. As the city had a Catholic majority, the proportional representation system was abolished and the electoral wards in the Derry Council area manipulated. This practice called “gerrymandering” was to ensure political sovereignty of the Protestant population (Mitchell 2008:81). Derry was divided into three electoral wards: The Southward contained 11,390 voters; the North Ward inhabited 6,711 voters and the Waterside Ward had 5,459 legitimate constituents. Almost all Catholics were crammed into the larger Southward which was made up roughly by the Bogside, Brandywell, Creggan, Bishop Street and Foyle Road area, so that the other two much smaller wards had a Protestant majority. South- and North Ward each had eight representatives to send to the Council, while the Waterside ward had four representatives to elect. Thus, only the eight representatives from the Southward were nationalist, while twelve representatives were unionists (Campaign for Social Justice 1965, online).

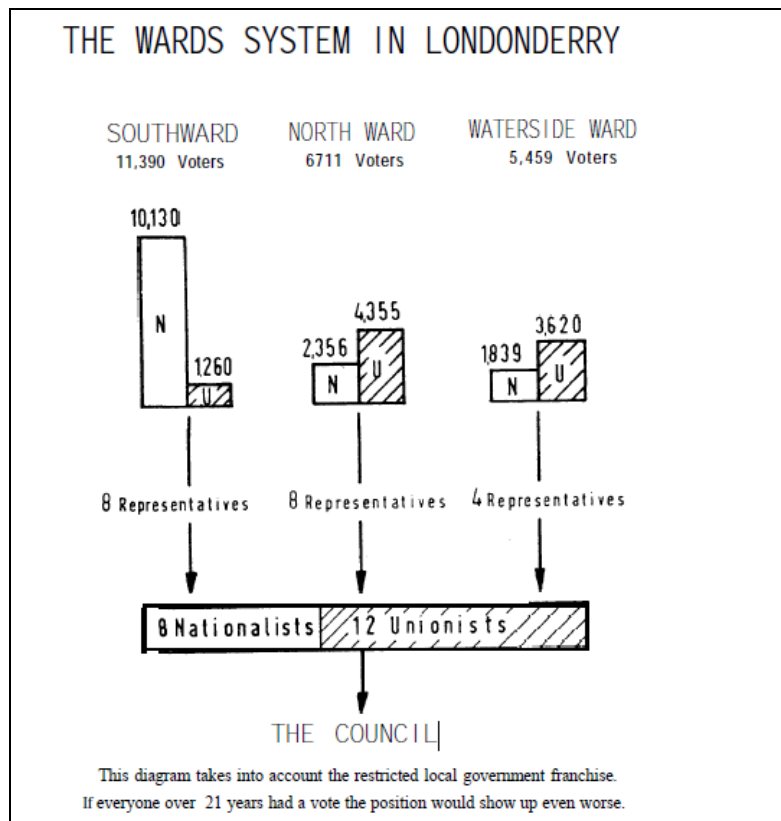


Fig. 1 Wards System in Londonderry (source: Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland, 1965, 19 February)

As McKittrick and McVea (2001) state, the unionist's control of Northern Ireland went so far that almost all judges and magistrates were Protestants, "many of them closely associated with the Unionist Party" (ibid.11). Also the state's police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), was 90 % Protestant and their heavily armed auxiliary force, the Ulster Special Constabulary (the 'B Specials') was exclusively drawn from the Protestant community (ibid.11).

2.3.1 *Marching for Civil Rights*

Inspired by the Black civil rights movement in America, the Catholics in Northern Ireland started to get organised in order to press for fair allocation of houses and democratic elections by peaceful civil rights marches (Holthusen 2005:74). The non-sectarian movement which started out in Derry was answered by the counter-demonstrations of hard-line loyalists (McKittrick/McVea 2001:38-9).

On 5 October 1968 a protest march in Derry "made history for the violence that accompanied it transformed Northern Ireland politics", as the journalists McKittrick and McVea (2001) recall in their summary work on the Troubles. The march was banned by the Unionist government which served to increase the number of people attending. As the protesters walked peacefully through the streets of Derry, they were brutally dispersed by the Northern

Irish police force (ibid.41). This event contributed to an enforcement of protesting activities among the Catholic population and “marked the start of the present ‘Troubles’” (Melaugh, online).

Many unionists believed the protesters were IRA members in a different guise that sought to destroy the union with Britain. Although, it was true that IRA members were among the protesters, at that time the movement had laid down their arms and followed a Marxist ideology that sought for uniting all working-class people no matter what religious denomination (McKittrick/McVea 2001:42-4). However, against the background of increasing insecurity within the Catholic population, a militant group split from the official IRA. The new Provisional IRA (PIRA) took up arms again and fought back (Holthusen 2005:76-7). With every attack against the Catholic population by state forces or loyalist mobs, more nationalists were encouraged to join and support the ‘Provos’ (Coogan 1982:462).

At the same time, insecurities about a moderate government and an increasingly vocal Catholic minority led radical loyalists to begin paramilitary activity.

2.3.2 The Battle of the Bogside

During the summer months in 1969 intercommunal tensions further increased; what had started out as a peaceful civil rights movement had become a violent sectarian conflict with active paramilitary organisations on both sides. On 12 August 1969, despite the predictable provocation of violence, the Apprentice Boys Parade in Derry still went ahead. Rioting between Catholics and Protestants started and the RUC forced the Catholic troublemakers to retreat to the Catholic southward. The RUC took position to keep the residents in the Bogside, while the rioters threw stones and petrol bombs at the police. The Catholic residents feared retaliation by the RUC and barricaded their streets. The area was declared “Free Derry” while the police placed their armoured cars in front of the Bogside and held their water cannons at the ready. On 13 August a battle between the police and the Catholic residents broke out. The stones and petrol bombs thrown by the Bogsiders were answered with CS gas, a newly introduced weapon by the RUC (Mitchell 2008:90-1).

Fierce rioting and sectarian violence spread out all over Northern Ireland. The RUC had completely lost control and asked London for help (McKittrick/McVea 2001:55).

2.4 The British Army in Northern Ireland

On 14 August 1969 British soldiers arrived in Derry and to the relief of the Catholics, the RUC and the B Specials were withdrawn from the Bogside. One day later, following major sectarian clashes in West and North Belfast, the British troops were also sent to Belfast

(McKittrick/McVea 2001:248-9). To the frustration of extremist loyalists in Belfast, the B Specials were dissolved and the RUC was replaced by the Ulster Defence Regiment that was in the control of the British army (Holthusen 2005:76).

At the beginning, the British soldiers were welcomed by the Catholic population but the initial relief soon abated as confrontations between Catholic civilians and soldiers increased. The British soldiers were not trained to deal with the Northern Ireland situation and the army was unable to sustain the impression of an impartial peacekeeper. The fact that the PIRA had started a bombing campaign in the 70s resulted in a general mistrust towards the Catholic civilians. House raids, curfews and the first deaths of civilians through military fire resulted in a deterioration of the army's already damaged reputation. Daily incidents of harassment by soldiers alienated the Catholics in Northern Ireland from the British army (Sluka 1989:83).

Instead of improving the situation, the intervention by the British army further contributed to an increase in violence as their aggressive approach to dealing with the Catholic population resulted in even more opposition, riots and support for republican paramilitaries.

In 1971, Stormont introduced internment without trial for paramilitary groups. Yet, this law was unevenly applied. While all republican paramilitary organisations were declared illegal by the government, this was not the case for all loyalist paramilitary groups: The Red Hand Commandos, the Ulster Freedom Fighters, and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) were proscribed (Sluka 1989:205), however their umbrella organisation the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) which was responsible in the assassination of Catholics remained legal until 1992 (Sluka 1989:220).

2.4.1 Bloody Sunday

On the 18th of January 1972, all marches and parades were banned until the end of the year, but people continued to protest against internment in the following days (Melaugh/Mckenna, online). On 30 January 1972 a peaceful protest march against internment took place in Derry. 15,000 people walked along Rossville Street in the Bogside when suddenly the Parachute Regiment of the British army opened fire at the masses. 13 people were killed that day and 14 wounded by gunshot. The army claimed that they had been attacked first but none of the eyewitnesses saw a weapon being used by those who had been killed or wounded. Although there was no evidence that there were bombs or guns used against soldiers, the ensuing inquiry led by Lord Widgery, who was appointed by the British Prime Minister, resulted in the exoneration of the British soldiers, portraying those killed as terrorists. The Widgery report was dismissed as "white-wash" by the victims' families who started to campaign for a

second investigation. In 1973 the first commemoration march for the Bloody Sunday victims took place which has been held every year since then (Melaugh 17 June 2010, online).

Bloody Sunday became a key moment of the conflict as it resulted in a radicalisation of the Catholic community (Holthusen 2005:78). Many young men and women who had experienced the army shooting their fellow protesters, decided to join the republican paramilitaries. The situation on Northern Ireland's streets further deteriorated and 1972 was the bloodiest year of the Troubles with 500 people killed and 5000 hurt by shootings and explosions (Holthusen 2005:78). When the British government removed self-administration from Stormont and installed "direct rule", the IRA intensified their bombing campaign (Holthusen 2005:79).

2.4.2 Hunger Strikes

Under "direct rule" many ill-judged decisions of the British government further escalated the violence. Measures to toughen up against "terrorists" resulted in more upheaval within the CNR community rather than achieving control in Northern Ireland.

In 1976 the 'Special Category Status' was removed from paramilitary prisoners in order to defame them as ordinary criminals. In response, republican prisoners commenced a series of protests⁹ but the British government did not give in. In 1980 the first hunger strike took place, but was called off before the first man died (cf. Walker 2008). The second hunger strike in 1981 was led by Bobby Sands, the officer in command of the PIRA prisoners in the H-Blocks (Walker 2008:66). To gain more support for the hunger strikers, Bobby Sands stood as candidate for Sinn Féin in the Fermanagh-South Tyrone by-election. After 40 days on hunger strike, Bobby Sands – hero and terrorist – was elected as MP to Westminster. Sands died a few days after his victory. Nine other men died before the strike was called off.

The intention of the British government to criminalise Northern Irish paramilitaries failed enormously. The cold ruthlessness with which the government reacted to the suffering of the hunger strikers completely alienated the Catholic population from the state. Sands became a martyr of the nationalist movement and his Christ-like image is still presented on murals in Derry and Belfast. The hunger strikes resulted in the IRA gaining more recruits and subsequent strength which prolonged their campaign for another 20 years (cf. Walker 2008).

⁹ Their refusal to wear the prison uniform further deteriorated the circumstances for those inmates on the "blanket protest" and the infringement of prison conventions and rules provoked increased humiliating and violent treatment by prison officers. Inmates were particularly vulnerable when they went to toilet or to the bathrooms, thus they refused to leave their cells and the 'dirty protest' began. As the officers refused to clean the cells and empty the buckets that prisoners used to relieve themselves, the so-called POWs (prisoners of war) were forced to smear their excrements on the walls (Walker 2008:47-50).

2.5 Negotiations for Peace

There had been several attempts to achieve a political solution for Northern Ireland, but they all failed due to extremists on both sides. The first real paramilitary ceasefire was achieved from 1994 to 1996, a second in 1997. After long and difficult negotiations a groundbreaking deal was made on Good Friday, the 10th April 1998. Apart from the DUP, all main local parties as well as the Irish, British and the US government and the leading paramilitary groups of both sides backed the Good Friday Agreement (GFA, also known as the Belfast Agreement). The aim was to mend the torn relationships between the two antagonistic blocs in Northern Ireland, as well as between the people “living either side of the Irish border and either side of the Irish sea” (Coulter/Murray 2008:2). The GFA addressed the fears of the unionist community of being deserted by their British protectors, stating that the whole of Northern Ireland would stay part of the United Kingdom. The constitutional status could only be changed “with the concurrent electoral consent of people living in both jurisdictions on the island” (Coulter/Murray 2008:2). At the same time, the nationalist aspiration for a United Ireland was acknowledged as legitimate. If a majority of the Northern Irish people democratically voted for a unification of the island, this would be a binding decision for the British and Irish governments (Valandro 2004: 35).

The contract also entailed an acknowledgement of Protestant unionists and Catholic nationalist being two distinct identity groups in their own right, who are “innately political identities, worthy of equal respect and representation” (Coulter/Murray 2008:22).

The agreement requested the installation of a Northern Ireland Assembly that would ensure equal legislative power to both communities through a proportional power sharing model. No elementary decision could be made without the consent of both sides. In addition, nationalist discrimination and disenfranchisement had to be abolished.

Another important element of the agreement was the fundamental reformation of the RUC, the establishment of a policing commission and the review of the criminal justice system. The agreement entailed concessions to unionists, for instance that all parties had to commit on the decommissioning of paramilitary groups as well as to republicans as political prisoners were to be released within two years. Most importantly from a community relations perspective, was the agreement to establish a Human Rights Commission and Equality Commission as well as the shared commitment to increase cross-community contact and to advocate measures that improve relations between the two antagonistic identity groups (Valandro 2004:36-7). The accord also implied a legally binding greater respect for cultural and linguistic diversity (Coulter/Murray 2008:3).

On 22 May the referendum for the acceptance of the agreement was held and 81% of the population in Northern Ireland voted in favour of it, that is 96% of the Catholics and 52% of the Protestants (Valandro 2004:42). One month later the Northern Ireland Assembly was elected with the SDLP and the UUP, the two relatively moderate parties, receiving most of the seats and further showing the strong support by the majority population (Valandro 2004:43).

However, the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement and its regulations proved to be a long and hard process, disturbed by paramilitary splinter group attacks, dubious political tactics and mutual distrust. (Valandro 2004:43)

No one had expected that peace would come easy, but the fact that it would take nine more years, before a stable Northern Ireland assembly was finally established, caused a lot of frustration (Coulter/Murray 2008:1).

The issue of decommissioning in particular was a constant source of argument between the two assembly parties SF and the DUP which eventually led the collapse of the Northern Ireland Executive in 2002. Although, it was the extremist parties who sabotaged the executive, in the following years both parties overtook their moderate equivalents in popularity because the failure of the peace process further polarised the population (Coulter/Murray 2008:9-10). After another painstaking series of negotiations, in October 2006 the St. Andrews Agreement was installed that demanded stronger commitment to the peace process from all principal players but particularly of SF (who had to recognise the police as legitimate) and the DUP (who were required to accept power-sharing with republicans). In the prospect of leading the government, the DUP and SF accepted the compromises St. Andrews demanded of them and “seemingly against all odds” managed to get the peace process back on track (Coulter/Murray 2008:11).

On the 8th of May 2007, the hard-line loyalist Ian Paisley from the DUP and the former IRA man and SF politician Martin McGuinness took their office as First Minister and Deputy First Minister (ibid.12). Since then, the power-sharing government between Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionist Party has remained stable and was re-elected in April 2011.

2.5.1 Developments since the Installation of the Peace Process

The implementation of the principles of the Good Friday Agreement created a stable political situation in which both traditions were equally empowered. Although the official loyalist and republican paramilitary groups did not fully decommission, their ceasefire was sustained and

the number of fatalities caused by sectarian violence¹⁰ had fallen significantly since the beginning of the peace process. Also the police reform had shown quicker progress than expected. The RUC was replaced by the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) in November 2001 with recruitment set to be 50 % Protestant and 50 % Catholic (Coulter/Murray 2008:14). In 2009 the Catholic composition of the PSNI stood at 27.85% compared to 8.3% in 2001 (Northern Ireland Office 2009:2). Nevertheless, continuing influence of former paramilitaries¹¹ in residential areas, dissident republican activity, seasonal confrontations between Protestants and Catholics particularly during the summer months, rioting and ongoing interface violence testify that Northern Ireland is not post-conflict yet.

The conflict had created a very volatile, traumatised population. According to the World Mental Health Survey Initiative 2011, Northern Ireland has the world's highest recorded rate of people suffering from post-traumatic stress-disorder (PTSD). Approximately 18,000 adults experience mental health problems caused by violence (University of Ulster 2011, 5 December, online). The legacies of conflict and trauma show in high levels of social deprivation, unemployment, broken families, alcohol and drug addictions, particularly in those areas most affected by the Troubles. Therefore, although, there is now a generation growing up, that has not experienced the conflict themselves, it suffers from the indirect effects of the Troubles.

This is particularly reflected in the high rates of suicides of young men in Northern Ireland. Between 1999 and 2008 suicide rates increased by 64%. In 2008, there were 282 people recorded who took their lives (DCC Good Relations 2010:22). It is mostly young men (77% in 2008) aged between 15 and 34 (72% in 2008) who come from disadvantaged areas (O'Hara 2011, online).

2.5.2 Religious Equality and Social Inequality

The peace process received great financial support by the United States, the European Union and Great Britain. The economic boost for Northern Ireland since the beginning of the peace process meant a fiscal benevolence and a resulting increase of the middle class in nationalist community. The huge subsidies by the British state (and its tax payer) have contributed to greater prosperity in the originally poor region. However, as Coulter and Murray criticise, the

¹⁰ The PSNI differs between sectarian and religious hate crime. While religious hate crime is associated with incidents that are perceived to concern the faith of a victim (e.g. Islamophobia), "the term sectarian is broadly understood to describe incidents based on a person's perceived religion or political opinion" (PSNI, online).

¹¹ The general usage of "paramilitaries" or "ex-combatants" designates those who fought in a paramilitary organisation which has – at least officially – decommissioned its violent campaign in accordance to the peace process. In contrast, the "dissident" paramilitary groups are opposed to the current peace process and have not deposited their arms. The designation "ex-prisoner" also refers to former paramilitaries.

benefits of the peace process have not been evenly distributed. The working-class areas continue to suffer from high impoverishment and the implications that come with poverty and lack of perspective. While the reformation of political structures in Northern Ireland resulted in a slow improvement of the socio-economic situation in the nationalist community, in unionist districts, the level of social deprivation increased over the years (Coulter/Murray 2008:16).

The mood of sullen disaffection that has descended upon working-class unionist districts constitutes the single most significant threat to the entire peace process. (Coulter and Murray 2008:18)

Despite the abolishment of systematic discrimination of the Catholic community, Northern Ireland remains a deeply capitalistic society that produces inequalities between certain strands of society. Colin Coulter (2000:63) argues that “social class has an enormous impact upon the manner in which Northern Irish society is structured and experienced”. The perpetuation of the disenfranchisement of those already most marginalised feeds into the problem of sectarian violence.

Many of the residents of the six counties in effect live apart from those with whom they share certain ethnopolitical sentiments but who occupy rather different positions within the prevailing hierarchy of class relations. The particular patterns of social distinction that arise out of socioeconomic status have an important – if often unacknowledged – bearing upon the manner in which Northern Irish people think, feel and act. (Coulter 2000:76)

This means that although antagonist group identities as either Catholic/nationalist or Protestant/unionist remain important among all classes, the repercussions of the contentious elements of these identity formations impinge on the lives of those most disadvantaged.

Voting patterns suggest that the two antagonist national projects continue to bear more importance in the choice of political party than other reasons, such as social reforms.

Thus, the leading politicians continue to keep the constitutional question of Northern Ireland on top of their agenda (at least when they talk to “their” communities) instead of addressing the socioeconomic inequalities of society.

One of the arrogant things that the politicians will come out is, they will tell you that they were the ones who brokered the peace and build the peace and you know that's so far from the truth. It is despite of the politicians. (Maureen Hetherington, the Junction, I_1).

At the same time, a significant part of the Catholic upper and middle class is sceptical towards a future re-union with the Republic of Ireland. Pragmatism tempers the political aspirations concerning the constitutional status of Northern Ireland for most nationalists as well as

unionists (Coulter 2000:51). Nevertheless, the ideologies of Republicanism as well as Unionism prevail in society and constitute a major challenge for a sustainable peace.

3 Derry - A Divided City

The city of Derry/Londonderry lies high up in the North West of Ireland, just on the border to Co. Donegal, Republic of Ireland. It is the capital of County Londonderry and the second biggest urban centre of Northern Ireland with a population of approximately 85.000 according to the 2008 Small Area Population Estimates by the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA 2008). Including the rural population, the whole County Londonderry/Derry City Council area makes up approx. 109,800 people (NISRA 2011:17). While in the whole of Northern Ireland Protestants are the majority population¹², Derry and its council area are predominantly inhabited by Catholics.

Derry is a segregated city. The antagonism between Protestants and Catholics is very much expressed spatially in physical space. First of all, there is an extensive physical segregation between the two sides. The river Foyle, which is at parts 400m wide, serves as a natural line for an artificially constructed demographical segregation between Catholics and Protestants. The Cityside, on the river's west bank, is almost exclusively inhabited by Catholics. Most members of the Protestant minority live on the east bank of the river, the 'Waterside', where the relational proportion between the two groups is more even (McCafferty 2001:83).

The illustration below gives a better insight in the contemporary spatial distribution of the two communities.

¹² According to the 2001 census the Protestants make up 53.1 % and the Catholics 43.8 % of Northern Ireland's population. However, the 2011 census, which is not published yet, shows a higher Catholic representation.

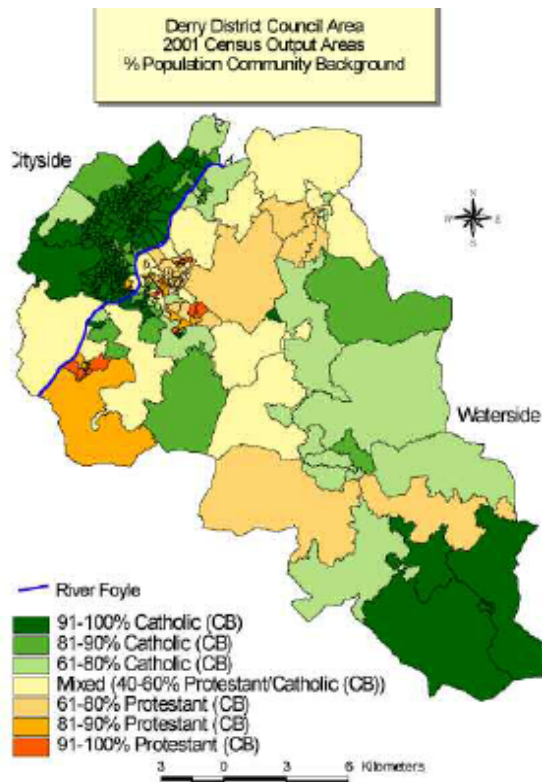


Fig. 2 Distribution of Catholics and Protestants in DCCA (Shirlow et al. 2005:3)

At the Cityside lies Derry's centre within the historic walls that still attest to the time when the English Protestant settler population ruled this fortified town. Before the outbreak of the Troubles, the Cityside was home to approximately 15,000 to 18,000 Protestants¹³; today there are less than 500 remaining (Cities in Transition, online). When in the 1970s, sectarian violence between Catholics and Protestants escalated all over Northern Ireland there were large population shifts that separated the antagonist communities from each other. Particularly in Belfast, many living in a "mixed" area were threatened or violently expelled out of their houses (Coogan 2002:92). Also in Derry there was large Protestant population movement from the Cityside to the Waterside. Brian Dougherty, director of St Columb's Park House (a centre for reconciliation and peace building), said that after Bloody Sunday in 1972:

A lot of people would have moved because of the sense of vulnerability, the sense of fear, in the city at the time, a lot of them were forced out, either physically forced by their houses being burned and a lot of them as well would have been because they were related to members of the security forces, the Army or the police service, so they were....some of the members were killed by the IRA at the time and then the other family members felt unsafe so moved to areas where they felt safer, areas that became predominantly protestant. (I_14a)

¹³ Numbers diverge according to different sources.

The only Protestant residential area that is left on the Cityside is the so-called “Fountain estate”, annexed to the city’s ancient walls and isolated from their Catholic neighbours through fences and gates.

According to the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE)¹⁴, public housing became more divided between 1971 and 1991 – a trend that hardly changed until 2001. Over 90% of the public housing is segregated in Protestant and Catholic neighbourhoods. According to surveys, the majority of people would prefer to live in mixed housing estates but changes happen very slowly (Madden 2010, online). In Derry, it appears that there has been an ongoing shift of the Protestant population from the Cityside to the Waterside, which further increased residential segregation. Between 1991 and 2001 the Protestant population on the Cityside shrank by 491 persons, while on the Waterside the number of Protestants increased by 578 persons (Shirlow et al. 2005:16).

Although numbers diverge, it is said that the demographic relation between Catholic and Protestant population at the Cityside is about 97 to 3 per cent. However, there is a beginning trend of more Catholics moving to the Waterside area because of cheaper housing prices, as Brian Dougherty told me (I_14b).

In addition to the denominational division, there used to be a lot of rivalry between the various Protestant residential estates on the Waterside. A lot of these internal divisions go back to differing paramilitary affiliations of each residential estate during the Troubles and thereafter¹⁵. Feuds between the loyalists paramilitary groups - Ulster Defence Association (UDA), Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) – created mistrust and fragmentation within unionist community.

Moreover, the architectural design of housing estates and streets in Derry is characterised by a cul-de-sac structure which further contributes to the boundary-mentality of people. The public had to be managed in times of conflict in order to prevent the outbreak of riots and hinder the escape of paramilitary combatants. Hence, most estates built during the Troubles, are characterised by a militarised planning with the objective to control communities: There is only one way in and one way out.

¹⁴ NIHE is the biggest landlord in the UK with 90,000 dwellings (<http://www.nihe.gov.uk/index/about.htm>).

¹⁵ The various Protestant residential estates in Derry were controlled by different paramilitary groups who aggressively recruited from these communities. According to accounts of my interlocutors, the loyalist paramilitaries caused a lot of pressure and terror within their own community. Hence, even during the Troubles the acceptance of paramilitaries in the PUL community was significantly lower than in the CNR community (F_22, I_7).

3.1 The Production of Segregated Space and Antagonist Identities

Segregated space in Derry cannot be merely understood physically/demographically, it is also emotionally felt, conceptualised and actively (re)produced in social interactions.

When violence was a daily occurrence in society, the categorisation and knowledge of places as safe and unsafe could have been necessary for one's survival (Aretxaga 1997). Until today, people associate danger or uncertainty with some areas in Northern Ireland. Most places in Derry are conceived as belonging to either "the Protestants" or "the Catholics". These are abstract concepts produced through concrete physical facts (segregated living space) as well as spatial practices (acts of violence, employment of symbolisms). However, these concepts affect the social relations of people and materialise in physical space (for instance through the building of walls). The urban sociologist Henri Lefebvre highlighted the interconnectedness of the material, the abstract and the social aspects of space (2004:20). His proposition that "(social) space is a (social) product" (Lefebvre 2004:26) suggests that every society produces its own space, thus, in order to understand and eventually transform sectarian divisions in Northern Ireland, one has to understand how segregated space is produced. Lefebvre introduces a concept of two dialectically interconnected triads of the dimensions of space: "the perceived, the conceived, and the lived" (Lefebvre 2004:39) respectively "*spatial practice*", "*representations of space*" and "*representational spaces*" (ibid.33, italics in original), which are all simultaneously involved in the production of space and affect each other.

The "perceived" space is the physical environment that the body can grasp with the senses. This moment of space correlates with spatial practice.

"*Spatial practice*" is the production, reproduction and appropriation or use of physical space (ibid.38). Lefebvre understands the body as an agent in the production of space (ibid.170). Marching the walls of Derry during the 12th July parade is a spatial practice that produces a mental concept of "Protestant space". At the same time the reality of spatial practice cannot be perceived without a simultaneous mental act which grasps spatial practice as a for example territorialising or cultural practice by Ulster unionists (ibid.415). This links already to the second manifestation of space: the space as it is "conceived", therefore the knowledge we have of space. The conceived space is a "*representation of space*". Lefebvre describes with this pair of terms the dominant concepts of space in a society, which emerge on a level of discourse which is formed by knowledge and power. The conceptual space is abstract but it influences social practice as well as spatial practice (the concrete material reality) inspires representation of space (Schmid 2005:217).

The third dimension of space is the “lived” and “*representational space*” which completes the dialectical triad. It is the “space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols” (Lefebvre 2004:39, italics in original). This dimension represents not space itself, but social values, traditions, dreams and collective experiences (Schmid 2005:223). Representational space is both real space produced by people, the space in which people live and which people use but it is also “imagined” in a way as it is invested with our experiences and collective memory.

Lefebvre (2004:50) understands the representational space as being restricted and dominated by the representations of space (which is the space of knowledge and power) whereas the content of images and memories of representational space “is so far displaced that it barely achieves symbolic force”. As this is not the case in Northern Ireland where the realm of the representational space is very powerful, it would be impossible to apply Lefebvre’s theory if it would not be Lefebvre himself who warns about generalising the distinctions between these two moments (2004:42), acknowledging that:

Spatial practice, representation of space and representational space contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period. (Lefebvre 2004:46)

Lefebvre’s triad is not about opposition; all three dimensions are simultaneously involved in the production and reproduction of space and relate to each other in a dialectical relationship (Lefebvre 2004:46).

In other words, the production of space is a triad-dialectical relationship between three processes of production: the production of material conditions, the production of knowledge and the production of meaning (Schmid 2005:21).

But space is not only produced and reproduced by social practices, it is simultaneously the “locus of production” in which social processes and structures become concrete (ibid.109). “Space is at once result and cause, product and producer” (Lefebvre 2004:142-3).

As Doreen Massey emphasised (Glasze/Mattisek 2009:42):

Space is now rendered as part (a necessary part) of the generation, the production, of the new. In other words the issues here is not to stress only the production *of* space but space itself as integral to the production of society. (Massey 1999:10; italics in original)

Identities produce space but space also plays part in producing identities (Massey 2005:10). Identity depends on relationships in particular times and places; they are produced through discourses in a specific social, spatial and temporal context and constructed in social action (Kelleher 2006:151).

That the production of space is integral to production of society and identities is illustrated when looking at the various interfaces that mark the topography of the city; these are areas where the antagonistic communities live in close proximity to each other. The interface is regularly ‘performed’ and thus reproduced through physically or verbally violent clashes between the adjacent communities (Feldman 1991:28) and through the act of trespassing in order to commit an offence that is considered as “sectarian” by the local community (e.g. to steal flags or to damage murals). However, the interface is not only produced, it is also a producer of the antagonistic identities that reproduce the interface. Engaging in a riot at the interface transforms bodies into one of the two antagonistic identities, while a fight in another location does not necessarily create sectarian identities. People living at the interface are automatically assumed to belong to this or the other side which makes them a likely target of sectarian aggression. This issue is going to be further outlined in case study 4.

Space has a large stake in local identity formations. This is well illustrated when looking at the practice of “telling”, as described by various anthropologists who did fieldwork in Northern Ireland (Kelleher 2006, Feldman 1991).

“Telling” describes the practice of reading various characteristics of a person, for instance body movements, clothing, speech acts as well as spatial categories, in order to identify his or her potential political-religious affiliations. During the Troubles walking into a so-called “no-go” area could have been as lethal as not recognising a stranger in one’s own area; therefore apart from knowledge of space, the knowledge of bodies in space became essential for survival. Until today, people employ telling to guess the background of others (asking a person where he lives, where she goes to school etc.) and people are aware that they might be submitted to “telling” by others and therefore apply it in a self-reflexive way. A young student from Lisneal College, a controlled and almost exclusively Protestant school, might change her school uniform for normal clothes before going to the Cityside, to avoid being identified as “Protestant” (even if she is not) and therefore targeted. These practices are closely related to spatial categories.

Space is invading social realities at all levels. People express and represent their identity in public space; they reproduce collective memory; they appropriate and territorialise space; concepts about Protestant and Catholic territory inform their knowledge about space as do the symbolic signs of the lived space; they categorise space and are categorised by spatial practices and they live and interact in space. At the same time concepts, for instance of safe

and unsafe spaces and complex symbolisms influence the spatial practice that produces segregated space in Northern Ireland.

Thus, in order to create a more shared society, it is necessary to transform space at all levels: Perceived space (the material environment/spatial practice), conceived space (knowledge and concepts of space) and lived space (social interaction, representations, symbols and memories). In the following chapters, the creation of symbolically loaded, territorialised and segregated spaces is further illuminated.

3.1.1 Collective Memory

As Neil Jarman (1997:6) wrote, a group must have a memory of itself, an “ideological armoury”. In his essay “Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire”, Pierre Nora defines the major characteristics of collective memory:

Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. (Nora 1989:8)

Historic events like the Battle of Boyne in 1690 or the Easter Rising of 1916 and mythological or historical icons like King William III are constructive parts of the two communities’ antagonistic identity formations.

Collective memory is not simply a recollection of past events, but the product of a dialogical relationship between the past and present (Rolston 2010:289). Pierre Nora contrasts the memory with history: While history claims neutrality, as it “belongs to everyone and to no-one” (1989:9), memory belongs to groups as well as individuals, it is “by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual” (ibid). Nora also highlights the material, concrete aspect of memory, while history is constricted to temporal categories: “Memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events” (Nora 1989:22).

Although Nora’s definition of memory is very helpful, his theories on the difference between “true memory” and “modern memory” (1989) are too rigid to be tenable. Yet, Nora introduces a concept which is very much apparent in the collective memorialisation culture of Northern Ireland: les *lieux de mémoire*, the concept of “sites of memory”. *Lieux de mémoire* are created to preserve memories from the processes of forgetting (ibid.12).

Museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments, sanctuaries, fraternal orders—these are the boundary stones of another age, illusions of eternity. (ibid.12)

While Nora understands them as the last means that keep memory within society, based on the “will” to remember, I suggest they are an addition to “true memory” that point to a

particular “need” of remembering. The question is not if “true memory” has been abandoned by society, rather how important certain memories become that they materialise in a lieu de mémoire.

As Hue-Tam Ho Tai writes in his review essay on Nora’s ‘Realm of Memory’:

It would seem that nations are most likely to be in need of *lieux de mémoire* when they are in their most liminal states: when they are being born and are in need of instant antiquity or when they are besieged, either by internal or external forces. (Tai 2001, online)

A *lieux de mémoire* consists of three aspects, it has to be material (not necessarily a place, but also an object, an image), it needs to entail a symbolic meaning and it has to fulfil a function. Flags and murals fit into Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire*: They are material objects which are invested with highly symbolical meanings and different functions:

The most fundamental purpose of the lieu de mémoire is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialise the immaterial (...) all of this in order to capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs. (Nora 1989:19)

3.1.2 The Importance of Symbols

Symbols and images are a crucial element in generating, maintaining and transforming collective or social memory that helps to construct a distinct identity. Murals in Northern Ireland are not just portraying history, the images and symbols displayed on them are constitutive of the collective identities of Irish Catholics and Ulster Protestants. The symbol itself carries no meaning; it is the meaning which creates the symbol (Rolston 2010:291). And this meaning does not derive from the past, but from present understandings of the past (Jarman 1997:5).

If an object or other “piece of knowledge” acquires meaning that is set aside from what it represents, it becomes a “symbol” (Buckley 1998:2), for instance the image of a boy with a gasmask becomes a symbol of people’s rebellion against state violence. Symbols have a lot of power; they are the “means through which people clarify the world” (ibid.). But the meaning of a symbol is always dependent on the person who interprets it as well as on time and place. For instance, the display of the Irish Tricolour in a nationalist neighbourhood in Derry might be interpreted as offensive by a Northern Irish unionist while the same flag displayed in Dublin is not.

As social or collective memory is not usually based on personal experiences it has to be constantly maintained and re-enacted. Commemorative performances, ritual and the display of symbols that link to such historic events constitute and actively re-enact a social or

collective memory which underpins the group identities (Jarman 1997:3). Although, social memory intends to generate a shared feeling that things had always been a certain way, remembering is an active process and always changes in regards to the present needs of a group (Jarman 1997:4).

Social memory is the understanding of past events that are remembered by individuals, but within a framework structured by larger groups. (Jarman 1997:6)

What is remembered by a group says more about the present than about the past and also about who are the power holders that influence the processes of remembering and forgetting. Therefore, it is important to understand why people memorise certain events/people in a certain way and at a particular time (Middleton/Edwards 1990:3).

“Remembering” is a very sensitive issue in Northern Ireland as the way how people commemorate often feeds into sectarianism, as Maureen Hetherington from the Peacebuilding Centre the Junction explained to me (I_1). Maureen has started to explore the question of how “ethnic remembering” could be possible. First of all, she concluded, there had to be a better and contextual understanding of historic events (F_14).

Collective memory works best if complexity is simplified or removed and those aspects that are deemed as most relevant by the group are highlighted and stressed. That is why images play an important part in the construction of social memory. Something can be best remembered in images, especially if an image is clear and simple, which makes it readily recognisable (Jarman 1997:12). In Northern Ireland the creation and maintenance of collective identity is highly connected to spatial practices: Marking territory through visual displays or commemorative/ritual marching through space.

3.2 Territorialising Practices

“Sectarian prejudices both articulate and are articulated through the organisation of physical space” (Coulter/Murray 2008:16). Fear has segregated people in single-identity areas and became materialised in concrete fences and walls, particularly at interface areas in Belfast (cf. Bell et al. 2010). However, the most striking feature of segregated spaces in Derry is the symbolical marking out of space by flags, colours, images and ritual appropriation of territorialised space.

As Colin Coulter (2000:38) states: “That which separates unionists and nationalists in Northern Ireland is often symbolic or cultural”. Both “Ulster Protestant” and “Irish Catholic” identity are performed in and through contested space by various spatial and visual signifying practices. One of the best examples is the practice of ritual marching (see chapter 2.2). Ulster Protestants invented this tradition to celebrate their superiority and claim dominance over

territory. Although, every summer during marching season, major riots and upheaval of violence can be predicted, unionists continue to march. This is justified because the Twelfth July parades are an important part of Ulster unionist tradition and cultural expression. While the violent confrontations are seasonal and bounded in certain time-frames, the effect they have is much more lasting in space. Parading reconfigures social space and asserts collective identities (Jarman 1997:79). Such spaces need no physical barriers to draw boundaries. Sharon Meenan, one of my interlocutors, who works on creating inclusive carnivals in order to reclaim territorialised space, explained how the Apprentice Boys Parades on the walls had formed them into a space where Catholics would not go:

The City Walls are very much perceived as belonging to kind of one distinct community. You know, in the marching season there would be parades around the city walls and they would be closed off to other communities and there would be kind of a hostility around that times, so the walls aren't really, they are no-go kind of space, so they're perceived as belonging to the Protestant or the loyalist, unionist communities. (I_17)

In Derry, carnivals are used as a tool to break down the negative territorialised perceptions of people and in recent years, the walls have become a popular promenade also by Catholics.

So the first carnival we did was to try and bring children from across the three interfaces together to do carnival workshops and then they had the walled city carnival parade, so it's about getting children from all communities from throughout the town to come in, and starting kind of young that sense of ownership of being on the walls, I mean for years the walls were closed, people couldn't get up onto the walls at all, so when I was growing up I don't really remember (...) having walked around the walls or seeing the different churches and stuff that are on the walls, so for young people now it is important that this is their city, this is their space and they can go wherever they want to. (I_17)

Another element in the manifestation of segregated space is the territorial marking out of residential areas by visual displays: colours, emblems, images and symbols show the affiliations and cultural background of the community as well as signalling the other community to keep out. In Protestant estates the colours of the “Union Jack”, the national flag of the United Kingdom, red, white and blue are painted on kerbstones, lamp posts and electricity boxes. In Catholic areas kerbs, lamp posts and other platforms are daubed green, white and orange, the colours of the “Irish Tricolour”, the flag of the Republic of Ireland.

The Union Jack and the “Ulster Flag” fly high in Protestant estates. The Ulster Flag is the former flag of the Government of Northern Ireland from 1953 to 1972 depicting a red cross on white ground and a white Star of David with the Red Hand of Ulster in the middle (CAIN

Web Service, online¹⁶). This flag is a loyalist symbol and forbidden to fly on government buildings.

In Catholic areas the Irish Tricolour is often accompanied by the Palestinian or Basque flags, both nations that follow similar objectives like the Irish republican movement. Israeli flags in Protestant neighbourhoods display contrasted solidarities. Apart from national affiliations, paramilitary groups and other organisations (e.g. the Orange Order) display their flags, emblems and symbols as well. Graffiti and scratchings on all kind of surfaces that display short threats or the names of paramilitary/dissident groups (e.g. UDA, UFF, RIRA, Provos) is another common sight, especially at interfaces. The density and kind of territorial marking is always in transformation, although the sight of painted kerbs and flags that obviously had been left hanging since a long time, can give an impression of stasis. In fact, apart from annual and official occasions for renewing, replacing or adding items of territorial marking, recent local or global events have a large stake in the display of markers. For instance, the death of the Libyan dictator Muammar al-Gaddafi, who is said to have financed republican dissidents, was widely commented on in graffiti and scratching, saying “Rest in Peace Colonel Gaddafi” in the nationalist residential estates Bogside and Top of the Hill. Graffiti and scratching might have become the most dynamic and widespread form of visual display. They can stir up new and/or increased appearances of divisive images as well as a voluntary removal. This goes beyond marking territory from the other religious group, but also from middle-class areas and the “establishment”. In the nationalist areas Creggan, Bogside and Brandywell at the Cityside, residents have formed a task force which took up the responsibility to remove very contentious graffiti immediately. This is done quite pragmatically as usually just the graffiti are painted over and wiped out, while the rest of the wall stays as it was leaving white and grey blots cover the surfaces.

The most impressive visual display in public space are still Northern Ireland’s famous murals, the large wall-paintings on gable walls on the windowless side of houses that display a vast range of images and symbols.

3.2.1 Murals – Painting Identity/Alterity

Mural painting has been part of Ulster Protestant popular culture since the early years of the 19th century. Most prominent motifs have been taken from Ulster unionists’ bygone history, overall the lifting of the Siege of Derry and the Battle of the Boyne, often symbolised by the image of King William III riding on a white horse. According to the Independent Research

¹⁶ <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bogsideartists/mural6/> [19.10.2012]

Solutions (IRS)'s evaluation report on the Re-imaging Programme (IRS 2009:51), Derry's past has always played a "unique role" for unionists across Northern Ireland. Most popular images and symbols on Protestant visual displays are taken from memories of events that are connected with the history of the city. The Apprentice Boys and the visualisation of King William's victories serve as a source of pride for Protestant communities.

The memory of past events therefore serves a confirmation of religious, cultural and national difference and separateness, sometimes a sense of superiority and arrogance, but also continuing awareness of danger and threat. (IRS 2009:51)

Murals were especially popular during unionist opposition to the Home Rule campaign (see 2.2) and after partition in 1921. "Cultural expression had flowered most strongly in periods and places of most tension and uncertainty" (Jarman 1997:74-5).

As Jarman (1997) describes, visual displays of flags, flowers and bunting have a long tradition in Orange celebrations. Especially during the commemorations of the Battle of the Boyne in July, wooden, metal or floral arches were installed in the centres of many Protestant residential areas. While arches were erected only for a short period of time, the introduction of murals in working-class areas of Belfast served as a permanent reminder to neighbours and others that people living in the area were loyal to the British crown (ibid.71). "Mural paintings transformed 'areas where Protestants lived' into 'Protestant areas'" (Jarman 1998:84).

Attempts by nationalists to parade or erect visual displays were often highly restricted or banned outright. This was challenged by the civil rights movement, but nationalist murals did not appear until the early 1980s in support of the Hunger Strikers. Mural painting became part of the "broad 'culture of resistance'" of republicans in Northern Ireland (ibid.234). Recent happenings and the suffering of the Irish people under British rule is a central theme in nationalist culture (Aretxaga 1997:44).

Both republican and loyalist paramilitary groups left their marks in the surface of urban space in form of murals in order to threaten enemies, commemorate fallen volunteers and to recruit from the communities. Sinn Féin employed images of dead volunteers for their ideological campaign that portrayed the IRA as a liberation army (Aretxaga¹⁷ 1997:45-7).

In opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, which stated that the constitutional status of Northern Ireland was to be decided as a democratic choice of a majority of the Northern Irish population (Holthussen 2005:85), murals portraying historical subjects like King William were replaced by more aggressive imagery of masked armed men, which were

¹⁷ See also: Rolston 1987, Sluka 1992.

commissioned by loyalist paramilitary groups to advertise themselves. While threatening imagery remained a dominant sight in Protestant working-class areas until long after the GFA, republican murals portrayed the political changes happening in the mid-1990s (i.e. Sinn Féin entering politics) in displaying a stronger emphasis on political and cultural subjects (Rolston 2010:295). “Religious, Gaelic and historical symbols and images were forged together with internationalist icons to create a new republican iconography” (Jarman 1997:233). After the installation of the GFA the republican movement took “a radical step in self-reimagining” and took all masked gunmen from their walls (Rolston 2010:295).

In contrast, loyalist paramilitaries had huge difficulties in adapting their imagery to the new developments as they had ambivalent feelings towards the peace process (Rolston 2010:295).

According to the IRS, when the IRA agreed on a ceasefire in 1994, many of the “more extreme” murals by paramilitary groups were removed on both sides (IRS 2009:53).

However, as Bill Rolston (2010:297) states, loyalist murals continued to be dominated by gunmen until in 2006 the government-led funding scheme for the removal of paramilitary murals was launched. Since then many loyalist areas have replaced their murals of hooded, armed men for murals that referred to World War I and the Battle of the Somme in 1960. Other themes were related to Ulster Scots language or “modern heroes such as George Best”, a Northern Irish football player who played for the Northern Ireland national team and Manchester United (IRS 2009:53).

Murals were and are also used to raise awareness for social problems like drug abuse, suicide or ‘joyriding’. Nevertheless, there was still a vast amount of murals that displayed images that were feeding into the segregation within Northern Irish society (ibid.).

In the current public discourse which is dominated by a Community Relations agenda boundary marking, threatening images and symbols in public space have been recognised as one of the biggest inhibitors to better community relations. Hence, in recent years the state government started to put an emphasis on the transformation of physical spaces and visual displays.

3.2.2 Growing up Separated

There are also very basic structural reasons for the continuing divide in society. Apart from the residential segregation, the segregated educational system has a large stake in the fragmentations of Northern Irish population. With a few exceptions the vast majority of children and adolescents visit a school which is either predominately attended by Protestants or Catholics. Most Catholics go to a school that is ruled by the Roman Catholic Church, a so-called ‘maintained’ school, while most Protestants visit a state ‘controlled’ school (Smith

2001:563). In theory, state schools are non-denominational, however, they often “promote a sense of Britishness” that fails to attract those with Catholic/Irish nationalist background (Coulter 2000:23). As a result, controlled schools in Northern Ireland are practically Protestant schools. Only 4.6 % of all children in Northern Ireland go to so-called integrated schools in which the proportion of Protestants and Catholics should not differ more than 40 to 60 % (Hayes 2005:26). Most of these schools are set up by parents who invested a great deal of money, time and labour in order to run a mixed school. In 1981, a group of dedicated parents set up the first integrated school in Belfast (Smith 2001:563). In Derry the first integrated primary school, the Oakgrove Primary, was established in 1991, followed by the Oakgrove College in 1992. According to surveys the majority of people in Northern Ireland would like to send their children into a mixed school, but there are only 61 integrated schools in Northern Ireland. Oakgrove is oversubscribed every year (F_74).

There are hardly any other institutional provisions that would counter-act this widely mono-cultural socialisation apart from peace building initiatives that foster “cross-community” contact. As most people live in single-identity areas, many young people grew up without having any close contact with someone from another religion until they leave school. Apart from the religious segregation, the education system mirrors a class-centred society that also segregates the socially and economically disadvantaged from those more affluent and/or with an academic family background. The selective examination for entrance to secondary ‘grammar’ schools practically decides who is going to receive academic education. As Dunn and Morgan (1991:181) criticise, this fact is often “hidden behind the smoke generated by the identity/culture debate”.

3.2.3 The Good Friday Paradox

Ambivalence is a regular in Northern Irish politics. On the one hand, there is a general urge for peace shared by both sides of the divide. On the other hand, contentious elements (parades, commemorations etc.) of each cultural tradition have been defended despite their recurring potential to instigate civil unrest.

Ironically, the consociational principles of the GFA had contributed to the ongoing separations between unionists and nationalists. The recognition of each group having its own distinct culture, religion and political perspective that have to be respected, provided no incentive to overcome differences. In contrast:

The institutions and processes initiated under the deal presuppose that people in Northern Ireland can mobilise politically only as unionists and nationalists respectively and insist that they compete for resources accordingly. (Coulter/Murray 2008:15)

Just as discrimination was coupled to religious denomination, the abolishment of discrimination was linked to positive affirmation of religious difference. Thus, instead of learning to share, in many respects cost-intensive double-provision became the solution to ensure equality.

One example for this was pointed out to me by Alice McCartney the Arts and Regeneration Officer by Derry City Council (I_10a). Bond Street, Clooney Estate and Lincoln Courts are three small Protestant housing estates at the Ebrington ward at the Waterside. All three neighbourhoods consist basically of one main road and several small one-way streets. Walking uphill from Bond Street through Clooney and Lincoln Courts would take not longer than 15 minutes. Yet the residents see themselves as separate communities. Thus, each community has its own job point, community centre, sporting facility and nursery. A few years ago, Bond Street worked together with DCC to build a play park for their area. Instead of making a play provision for all the other areas in walking distance, the park was considered to be for the children of Bond Street community only. Alice said that parents from Bond Street had sent children from Clooney away when they wanted to play there. A few years later, Lincoln Courts got its own MUGA (a multi use games area) within City Council's Re-imagining Communities Programme (see case study 1). Soon Clooney Estate wanted to have a play park too, but with two provisions so close already, it is almost impossible to get funding. Alice said it would have been more wise to do everything in a joint-up project in which for instance each area would get a play park for a certain age group, so it would be complementary and people could use all three parks and would have been drawn into all three areas.

3.3 Effects of Segregation

As schools, work-places and social activities are segregated; people are not living 'in peace' but just 'apart'. While the elderly have experienced positive relationships with members from the other group, a whole generation grew up not knowing peaceful times. Moreover, the majority of young people who have not experienced the conflict themselves still live segregated lives from members of the other community. I met 17-year-olds who had their first positive encounter with someone from the other side at the community relations project they attended (F_56). Considering the high level of deprivation and the lack of perspectives in some working-class residential areas, as well as the sectarian prejudices and trauma that circulate in their closest environment, the lack of positive cross-community contact which could challenge prejudices is devastating.

Prejudices and fear of becoming a victim of sectarian violence are still some of the major reasons for ongoing division along confessional lines. Although, the death toll of political/sectarian violence has fallen, non-fatal incidents of intergroup confrontation have grown since the 1990s (Coulter/Murray 2008:14). According to PSNI statistical reports, there has been a significant increase (+53.3%) of sectarian hate crimes in the Derry City Council Area between 2007/08 and 2010/2011. In the period 2010/11, the police counted 184 hate crimes that are classified as sectarian, compared to one incident based on religious/faith motivations (e.g. islamophobia), 17 incidents because of homophobic motivations and 55 racist assaults (Good Relations Strategy 2011:13). Often aggression is channelled in sectarian ways. Thus, it is important to acknowledge that sectarianism still damages lives and causes a lot of fear in society.

The fear produced by sectarianism creates physical segregation: there are still around 400 cases every year where people ask for re-housing because of intimidation, as Jennifer Hawthorne from the Shared Neighbourhood Programme of the NIHE explained in the 'Cities in Transition' Conference in May 2011 (F_76). Also in Derry, every now and then you hear about people who have been violently expelled from their homes by paramilitary groups¹⁸.

In a report by the Good Relations Council, young locals stated that they felt safest in their own residential neighbourhoods (Good Relations April 2010:5-6). The fear to move through areas of the other can be very restricting to the mobility of those who have to pass these areas to get to work or school. Many of my interlocutors described a sense of vulnerability when moving through certain spaces. Not always did this impression correspond with a direct experience of such a situation, but often people knew somebody who had made bad experiences and recounted them.

There's sometimes just if you're up round say if you're down by Waterloo Street or William Street or somewhere, you would see the odd wee crowd standing about (...) or even up at the walls if you're passing, and there is time where you think: Oh, I hope I get through here, because they look really rough and you know there is times, and nothing ever has been said to me or anything, but (you) get this: God, if they see you going now for a Nelson Drive bus, Maureen, or see you sitting at a Nelson Drive bus stop, they're going to know that you're from the Waterside and you just be kind of scared that they are maybe passing and call you an 'Orange B', you know, or something like that, because they would if you get the wrong boys but thankfully I never had no experience like that myself and I know of some who has have it, but thankfully I haven't. (Maureen, Nelson Drive, I_9)

Apart from the individual difficulties that go with this, the reluctance to enter places that are associated with the "other" community also poses a challenge to improving community

¹⁸ For example in May 2011 a family was forced out of their home at the Waterside by a group of masked men who shouted "UDA ra ra ra" while they smashed the windows of the house (Derry Journal, 6 May 2011, online).

relations in Derry. It is difficult to find a place to do cross-community work in which both communities feel comfortable. In the P.A.C.T. for Peace cross-community project I attended (see chapter 1.4) busses which were booked for this occasion picked up the participants from the various community centres of their neighbourhoods and drove the participants to hotels outside of the city where workshops, lessons or talks were held. Afterwards the bus drivers brought them back into their residential estates. Without this safety measure, many parents would not agree to let their children join such projects.

It is particularly the residential areas that are avoided by the respective other community as many of them are marked out by territorialising visual displays and threatening messages. Nevertheless, the city's centre – although it is described as shared by many Catholics – is not necessarily a neutral place for all Protestants. As the Cityside is generally perceived as being “nationalist”, many Protestants feel uncomfortable to go there (Shirlow 2005). As a result, there is a great sense of isolation in PUL residential areas. Particularly, as most of the city's entertainment facilities (e.g. the only cinema), all major cultural infrastructure and the most important educational facilities (the University of Ulster, the North West Regional College) lie at the Cityside. Also tourism is centred within the city's walls and close by. As there is only one cultural venue at the Waterside (the Waterside Theatre), in contrast to five at the Cityside (Millennium Forum, the Playhouse, the Verbal Arts Centre, the Nerve Centre, the Irish language arts and cultural centre Cultúrlann Uí Chanáin), most celebrations and events take place at the westbank of the river. Even the graveyard is avoided by some Protestants because it lies in the nationalist Brandywell area at the Cityside. Moreover, key findings of the “Population Change and Social Inclusion Study” produced in 2005 by the University of Ulster and Queen's University in association with St Columb's Park House, highlighted the problem of Protestants not feeling equally part of the city (Shirlow et al. 2005). Brian Dougherty said that for a time Protestants in Derry felt that there was no way that they could express their British identity outside their areas. He recounted that when he grew up during the Troubles, he and his friends felt isolated and unwelcome. They were attacked on their way to school at the Cityside and they had no feelings of connection to the city. Many Protestants of his and even following generations grew up hating the city.

I mean their attitude would have been, you know, if a bomb went off in the city, afterwards they said: 'Well, to hell with them, they are only bombing their own city'. The whole generation did not see it as being part of their city, part of their lively hood.
(I_14a)

Those who had the possibility left to study or work abroad, leaving behind an isolated working-class who lost out on educational and employment opportunities. Brian was the only

one of his friends who returned. However, Brian was optimistic that things were about to change, particularly as in summer 2010 important developments had taken place.

4 A City in Transition: Becoming a “City of Culture”

“Derry is not the place that it was before, it has changed. Hopefully, it is a place that moves forward.” (Brendan McMenamin, Public Meeting for CoC, F_38)

As my interlocutors told me, there had been major developments in the peace process during the last five years. As already mentioned, in spring/summer 2010 Derry had experienced two events that were soon deemed to be “watershed moments” by people. The publication of the Saville report and the apology by the British Prime Minister for the Bloody Sunday killings (see 1.1, p. 3), was a major step forward in terms of reconciliation.

On 15 July 2010, Derry had another reason to celebrate when the city was awarded the first UK City of Culture in 2013 (CoC). Inspired by Liverpool’s success as European Capital of Culture in 2008, the British government had launched a UK-wide contest in 2009. In the ‘UK City of Culture 2013 Bidding Guidance’ (2009:1) the overall aim of this initiative was “to encourage the use of culture as a catalyst of change”.

The choice of Derry seemed to be surprising considering the city’s tensed history with Britain; yet, major transitions had taken place in Derry in the last five years.

Society became more diverse: Since the peace process proved to be stable, immigrants from all over the world came to work and live in Derry. According to Brendan McMenamin, the Arts Officer of Derry City Council, there are 86 ethnic communities living in Derry and 65 languages spoken (I_6). DCC and the people working within Community Relations agendas have recognised the benefit of encouraging the involvement of these people in social life as they have no interest in the past of the city.

A new urbanity has started to develop within Derry’s city centre with French-style cafés opening that offer outdoor-seating and a “multicultural menu” and an increasing agglomeration of festivals, carnivals and celebrations (e.g. St Patrick’s Day carnival, Halloween carnival, carnival of colours, the Jazz Festival, the Maiden City Festival, Foyle Days Maritime Festival, the Gasyard Féile). Moreover, DCC have built up a cultural infrastructure at the Cityside and started to redevelop the abandoned Ebrington army base at the Waterside into a cultural open-air space. This went along with the building of a 235m long and four meter wide bridge over the river that connects the city centre of the Cityside with the Ebrington Barracks site at the Waterside. The building of the pathway was part of Derry’s regeneration programme which received £14.667m funding by the European Union’s Peace III Programme’s “Shared Space Initiative” (2007-2013) (ilex-urc.com, online). The

prestigious project was promoted as bringing the two sides closer together and nicknamed “Peace Bridge”.

While within the nationalist community there was criticism that the money could have been spent on more important things, like a women’s centre, some Protestants feared that the Peace Bridge would become a new interface.

Ah, I don’t know really what to think about it, to be honest because to me, I don’t really think we needed another bridge, we have the two bridges as it is (...) it will be handier for once if you had it like for a good walk and you want to go for the town it will be a nice walk over and walk back, you know, hopefully it will but as long as it doesn’t create anymore tensions or anything, you know maybe on a Saturday there you will get bawler over the town, you maybe get a crowd of Catholics waiting for a crowd of Protestants from the Fountain, you probably heard about it, and the would maybe fight or something or shout to each other in the town: ‘you are this, and you are that’, so hopefully like our boys go across over the Guildhall there is not a crowd over there waiting and slapping them and vice-versa if they come across for a walk and our boys are here to start you know, I hope that it does work out. (Maureen, Nelson Drive, I_9)

During a talk with DCC’s politicians within the P.A.C.T. project, the young people were asked what they thought about the bridge. Almost all of them were against it. The youth from the nationalist area Top of the Hill were critical that so much money was spent on this; some said there will be an increase of people committing suicide by jumping from the bridge and a Protestant boy from Irish Street who sat next to me said more to himself than to the podium that it will bring more sectarianism because people can walk easily over and attack the Waterside (F_35).

I would have been glad if the construction of the footbridge had finished during my stay, as it would have saved me money on taxis (who charge double for crossing sides). The bridge opened on 25 June 2011 during a weekend full of celebrations.

The staging of urban culture (Dangschat 2001, online) in contrast to Protestant and Catholic culture is a very new phenomenon in Derry. Brendan McMenamin told me five years ago a public celebration of St Patrick’s Day would not have been possible because of its potential for conflict – now a big carnival takes place which becomes bigger every year (I_6). The colours of the Irish Tricolour and Irish nationalist anthems still dominate the nationalist celebration, which is not easy to stomach for Protestants. One day before St Patrick’s Day I asked a girl from the Protestant Irish Street estate if she would go to the Cityside to see the carnival, she shook her head and said: “*You know, we are Protestants, we don’t do that*” (handwritten note, 16 March 2011). However, there are Protestants who are participating in the carnival which stresses Gaelic mythology and fantasy elements instead of Irish

nationalism. Particularly, children (from PUL communities) are increasingly uninhibited in regards to celebrating St Patrick's Day.

4.1 The City of Culture Bid

Derry City Council in partnership with the urban regeneration company Ilex, NI Screen¹⁹ and the Strategic Investment Board²⁰ had submitted an ambitious bid to the DCMS. The authors of the bid²¹ (DCC 2009, online) addressed the divide in society and the economic and social challenges the city was facing. Yet, they also presented the city as a place of hope and optimism. They highlighted the city's experience in reconciliation work and claimed that they were going to explore the role of culture in peacebuilding. The bid expressed that they were aiming for a lasting and groundbreaking change.

The Nerve Centre, an institution for creative media, in partnership with many local artists, groups and cultural venues produced an official film that supported Derry's bid. In seven minutes the film presents Derry as a multicultural city heavy with history but full of hope, a city that has "a new story to tell". The DVD also tries to depict the multicultural variety of people living in the city today, as migration to Northern Ireland is a very recent phenomenon. To the music and words of the song "Just say yes" by the alternative Northern Irish rock band Snow Patrol, beautiful images of the city and its people, of cultural activities, history and lifestyle are shown. Local musicians are featured who sing the refrain of the song ("Just say yes, just say there's nothing holding you back"). The film is a sequence of different footages in which impressions of the city are interrupted by scenes in which local people—originally from the city or living in it now—speak the following text that addresses the history of the city:

The film begins with a quote of Seamus Heaney's poem "The Cure at Troy" (1990):

*"History says, Don't hope
On this side of the grave,
But then, once in a lifetime
The longed-for tidal wave
Of justice can rise up,
And hope and history rhyme"*

Then a girl in white clothes who personifies the city says:

"I am the product of 6000 years of cultural activity in this ancient place."

Then different people young and old speak the following sentences in turns:

¹⁹ Northern Ireland Screen is the government-backed lead agency for film, television and digital content industry.

²⁰ The Strategic Investment Board Limited (SIB) supports the Northern Ireland Executive and Government Departments in delivering the investment strategy for infrastructure.

²¹ "Derry~Londonderry, Candidate City, UK City of Culture. Our bid"

"I inspired a great cultural guardian. I gave a reward. Hope. And believe. For Europe."

A man says:

"I am Derry;"

The woman standing next to him says:

"I am Londonderry;"

A young man on a skateboard says:

"I am Legenderry."

A construction worker points down from a crane:

"400 years ago the Guilds of London built these walls."

A mother that is picnicking with her children goes on:

"And shaped this city on Irish soil."

Again the camera shows different snapshots of people. In each scene one sentence is said:

"I'm the frontier of these identities. From then until now. My walls have supported. Separated. And shaped the cultures of my people. I was the leaving point for poets. Presidents. Paupers."

A young man on a sailing boat says in Polish:

"I am now the entry point for a whole new generation."

A woman says:

"I am a threshold."

A man standing on Craigavon Bridge that connects the two sides of the city says:

"My west is south, my east is north."

A girl says in Gaelic:

"Identities converge in me."

Two young men watching a film about the Troubles say:

"The world came to me in my darkest hours. And it comes to me now."

Then, an elderly woman says with a smile:

"I have new life."

Seamus Heaney himself speaks another verse of his poem:

*"So hope for a great sea-change
on the far side of revenge.
Believe that a further shore
is reachable from here.
Believe in miracles
and cures and healing wells."*

The girl personifying the city speaks the last words:

“I have a new story to tell. I need to tell a new story. Just say yes.” (City Voices DVD)²²

The video is an advertisement of the city and obviously intended to represent it in its best light, yet, it also tells a lot about the wishes and hopes of the “involved citizens” of Derry for change. Maybe, “Legenderry” would soon replace the city’s old nickname “Stroke City”.

However, after DCMS decided that Derry was the perfect choice to become UK City of Culture 2013, it was the local people that had to be convinced as well. When Derry won the bid the City Council started to have public meetings in which the local people could voice their opinions and concerns about City of Culture. There were very different attitudes towards CoC.

First of all, among the “involved citizens” there was a lot of enthusiasm and expectations regarding an increase in visitor numbers, jobs and the renewal of economy. In a conference and workshop for UK City of Culture called “Cracking the Code - Unlocking Creativity” with around 200 people attending, CoC was described as a “once in a lifetime opportunity”. The director of Oxford Economic, Neil Gibson, said in his keynote speech there was potential for a “major economic boost”; 2013 could be the step change the city had waited for. Many of the aims that were proclaimed for 2013 during the workshop reminded me of the working strategies that peacebuilders in Derry employ, i.e. to achieve better community cohesion, to raise a sense of pride through culture and to unleash the talent and local creativity of the people. However, when I asked in my workshop group about possible dissident opposition, I felt like a spoilsport. This was an issue nobody wanted to discuss (F_32).

Although, many people shared the hopes for economic benefits of CoC, they were sceptical if it was not only those in the city’s centre, the big companies and the big cultural venues who would benefit from the event while the individual and smaller local artists, entrepreneurs and the ordinary local people would not see any benefit.

Apart from the Bogside Artists who withdrew their initial support for CoC (see case study 2), all nationalists I spoke to said that CoC was a good thing. Nevertheless, there were also discussions that many from the nationalist community were annoyed that the designation implied that Northern Ireland was part of the United Kingdom which they rejected more or less fiercely. This went so far that there were discussions about dropping the UK element in their public relations material, said Brian Dougherty, who is a member of the City of Culture Company, an oversight body for the activities happening before, during and after 2013 (I_14b).

²² Watch online: <http://www.cityofculture2013.com/Our-2013-Bid/test-bid-dvd.aspx>

Moreover, republican dissidents sent a clear message as to what they thought about “UK” City of Culture when they bombed the City of Culture Office in Derry on the 17th of January 2011 and again in October whereby the second bomb damaged one half of the building severely. When I was spending Halloween 2011 in Derry I visited the office and talked to the staff. When I voiced my hopes that there will be no more bombs, the two employees just made a discarding gesture saying: “Oh, there will be”, and “As long as no one gets hurt”. The people working for CoC were more worried about the negative attitudes of the non-violent population and getting them on board.

I wondered if DCC would address critically the uncomfortable parts of British involvement in the Troubles. Niall McCaughan, director of the Playhouse and the first one who suggested applying for the bid, had a pragmatic answer for me. He suggested that instead of looking at the connections with Britain negatively: *“We should milk it for what its worth”* (I_15). He said they were going to explore the connections between the city of Derry and the City of London and maybe this could result in productive exchanges between famous cultural institutions based in London.

You know this is the only city in the world that is twined with the city of London, or more than twinning and that’s where Derry gets its name London from. (I_15)

Brian Dougherty emphasised that already the whole application process for UK City of culture was *“a positive statement from the nationalist community in Derry to say it was ok to be British”* (I_14b).

He said this improved Protestant confidence who often felt not equally part of the city.

And that helped bridge a lot of division as well. It’s happening and I would like to think by the end of 2013 and the years afterwards that the city would feel much more comfortable, you know, in itself, both Protestants and Catholics would feel more comfortable and it’s ok to be republican and it’s ok to be unionist, it’s ok to want to be Irish, it’s ok to want to be British, but people feel happy living in those jointly together without fear of violence or whatever. (I_14b)

Despite the fact that this award poses considerable possibilities to acknowledge British aspects of culture in a predominantly Irish nationalist city, many Protestants do not care about City of Culture, as they would not go to events happening at the Cityside. While the reluctance of the Protestant community to participate in social and cultural life of the city has become one of the major concerns of Community Relations in Derry, the threats by republican dissident groups are dismissed and ignored by the Council, peacebuilders complained.

According to Michael Doherty from the Peace and Reconciliation Group, there was no interest by “people who matter” to include the spoilers of the peace process in the discourse (I_3).

It is gonna get worse if they don't change the way they're dealing with it (...) they need to address more the dissatisfaction of the people who are joining these organisations, find out exactly what that is, and address it, other than just saying: We've got where we want to go and you're not helping. (Alice McCartney, Arts and Regeneration Officer, I_10b)

Politicians and other authorities and the media seemed to follow a strategy of giving the issue of dissident and paramilitary activity not too much attention. “We don’t want this”, was a clear public answer to dissident threat and attacks. Bombs scares and shootings do not fit in the picture of new optimism and the aspired upgrading of the city.

However, in order to create lasting peace in Northern Ireland it is important to address the multi-faceted divisions on many levels: socially, structurally, symbolically and physically.

4.2 Moving towards Peace

Derry has to struggle with the legacies of a conflict. At the same time, the city is also in a major process of transition, of which the city’s peacebuilding aspirations makes up the major driving force. As I already described in the introduction, there is a broad range of actors, institutions and initiatives that deal with the issue of “community relations” in some way. During my time in Derry, I sometimes had the impression that there was hardly any project that did not run under a Community Relations aspect. A lot of funding goes into the peacebuilding sector²³ and many investments are tied to the condition of having an extra benefit in terms of community relations. This does not automatically mean that money is where peace building is and “peace” is where money is, but certainly funders, politicians and the heads of the peace building sector in Northern Ireland follow a strategy of thinking urban regeneration, investment, culture and peace together.

For instance, the Halloween carnival has become a tourist attraction but at the same time it is also a community relations project: groups and communities from all over the city – particularly from the PUL community – are addressed (via their community centres) to join into the activities of creating a carnival (e.g. building costumes). While some people from the elder generations will never go to such events, particularly young children participate in this “cross-community project” and may gain a different perception of public space in Derry.

²³ Apart from funding, the peacebuilding sector is also carried by volunteers and people who work with all their heart and full commitment on improving local community relations.

On 27 July 2010 a draft of the new strategy programme for Northern Irish Community relations was published ('Programme for Cohesion, Sharing and Integration') which illustrated the strong focus of creating "shared spaces" as a key objective (which was later enforced by the final version). In the context of Northern Ireland, "shared space" refers to places (buildings, public spaces) which are seen as neutral, "non-sectarian" and safe by both, Catholics and Protestants (Jones/Boujenko 2011:2). The creation of such spaces has become a priority within Community Relations activities. The long term CR strategy of DCC emphasizes the need to encourage "shared neighbourhoods", to tackle interface violence, to reduce and eventually eliminate segregated services and to promote better understanding of expressions of cultural identity, including issues around flags and emblems, murals, bonfires, cultural expression and language (Good Relations Strategy 2011/12-13/14:6-8).

4.3 Removing Murals

People have in Northern Ireland particularly these symbols of their culture such as poppy for war commemorations or Easter Lily for the Easter Rising and all of these symbols and cultural symbols are tied up in your understanding of your history. Which is obviously one-sided. People don't want to dwell on the less pleasant side of their own culture and history. (...) There is a lot of fear involved in our culture as well, parades and marches and symbols and stuff and a lot of it is people are scared and if you can take some of this fear away hopefully you can begin to work towards more peace, towards a more peaceful society. (Anna Murray, Peace and Reconciliation Group, I_17)

In July 2006 the Arts Council of Northern Ireland (ACNI) launched the 'Re-imaging Communities Programme' intending to encourage the removal of "visible manifestations of sectarianism" and other forms of intolerance including murals, graffiti and divisive symbols in order to create a more welcoming environment. In addition, the programme set out to replace divisive imagery with artwork that provided "new, positive and forward looking presentations" (IRS 2009:14).

The programme offered a funding scheme with a spending budget of £3.3 million that financed the production of new murals and other public artwork that would replace the contentious images for a more shared vision of space. With this project the state government set a clear sign that visual transformation of public space was going to be high on the agenda for the following three years. By June 2009, 123 projects have been funded under the programme all over Northern Ireland. 73 per cent of these were based "in some of the most deprived super output areas in Northern Ireland" (IRS 2009:14).

As will be described in more detail below, it turned out that most members of a residential community were happy to get rid of flags, graffiti and colours as they made a run-down and

unwelcome sight, however, the removal of murals was a more difficult subject. Particularly the first Re-imaging projects that took place in Belfast primarily replaced offensive murals with new murals that fit more into a Community Relations agenda. This resulted in an impression that the Re-imaging Communities Programme was primarily dealing with murals. Eilis Haden from the Peace and Reconciliation Group was the first one who told me about the removal of contentious murals:

You know, friends of mine in Belfast were getting funding to have kids do murals of Bob Marley on Divis Street, you know, rather than murals of guys holding guns, so there has been a lot of initiatives to have these murals as opposed to murals of violence and sectarianism. (I_2)

Eilis shared the opinion that the changing of murals would contribute to bring the two sides together, however, not everybody thought positively about the replacement of murals.

With the installation of the Re-imaging Communities Project the friction between society's aspirations to come to terms with its troubled past while keeping up the memory of what makes up their identities came to the fore.

In an unstable society where symbols contribute to the divide in society and pose a risk to sustainable peace, the removal of divisive imagery seems logical. The vast culture of commemoration on visual displays in Northern Ireland evokes the impression of stagnation, however, images can take on new symbolic values and even completely lose any symbolic meaning; they might change or disappear naturally over time (Jarman 1997:15). In this perspective the Re-imaging Communities Programme can be seen as an initiative to speed up the natural process. However, as the images still carry a lot of meaning such ambitions are bound to create controversy. After all, these visual displays are not simply markers of boundaries, but also define the group that live inside the marked out territory. The sociologist Bill Rolston argued that:

These symbols are part of the warp and weft of the community. They are essential to the 'thick' narrative which cannot be left behind by a simple act of will, even if political change pushes society towards 'thinner' narratives. (Rolston 2010: 294)

Rolston deems the removal of symbols and images of the conflict as calling into question "the identity of the living" and their experiences made during the Troubles as well "an insult to the memory of their dead" (ibid. 249).

Some criticised the programme as a white-wash of history, a government-led initiative to get rid of embarrassing reminders of the Troubles. Belfast and Derry were trying to create new images as modern cities full with creative people embracing culture and arts. Others defended the murals as major tourist attraction.

The re-imaging of territorialised spaces started a new process of negotiating identities and social space. It created a setting which can be best described by Victor Turner's concept of "arena" (1994) that is a "bounded spatial unit in which precise, visible antagonists, individual or corporate, contend with one another for prizes and / or honour" (Turner 1994:132-3).

An arena is a framework in which antagonistic action takes place and in which new social orders come into play and are fought out openly in a power battle. In the struggle for a decision, symbolic or actual antagonistic (inter)action is characteristic for the critical points of processual change (ibid. 135-6).

4.3.1 The Re-imaging Communities Programme in Derry

When looking at Re-imaging Communities projects, it is important to consider that there were several initiatives preceding this programme which also addressed the physical transformation of space in different ways and most likely paved the way for the Arts Council's Re-imaging Communities Programme. However, Re-imaging Communities raised a lot of attention and the catchy word "re-imaging" made its way into people's vocabulary so that sometimes people said they "re-imaged" some street or wall although the Arts Council's programme was not financing the project. Therefore, this thesis is not about the Re-imaging Communities Programme or an evaluation of it but it is about various processes of negotiation which emerge when the physical and visual transformation of a symbolically loaded, territorialised and segregated space takes place.

Before the concrete removal of sectarian imagery was addressed, many projects dealt with the physical regeneration of urban space. Over the years physical regeneration became more and more intertwined with Community Relations objectives. Throughout the 1980s, physical regeneration in Derry happened mainly in the city centre and not in the isolated housing estates. This changed in mid-1990s, when a new regeneration strategy "set out the need for action on economic and community development, education and training, health, women, children, young people and community relations" (DSD 2005:14). In 2003 the 'Neighbourhood Renewal Investment Fund', led by the Department of Social Development (DSD) started to target those urban areas most deprived, so called "Neighbourhood Renewal Areas" (NRA). In Derry, there were six interface areas selected as NRAs: Bogside and Brandywell/Fountain, Currynierin/Tullyally and Irish Street/Gobnascale (DSD 2005). As the physical regeneration took place in those areas most affected by the Troubles and its equally destructive legacies, community relations and regeneration had to be thought together. Another development in government-led activities in the transformation of public space was the increasing involvement of arts in the process of physical regeneration. This complies with

the funding-policy by the Arts Council of Northern Ireland (ACNI) which is guided by an understanding that the arts should fulfil a social function. In their 5-year strategy for 2007-2012 “contributing to community-well being” was mentioned as one challenge the Arts Council embraced (ACNI 2007:5). As a consequence, the arts had become a popular community relations tool which proves to be very useful in discussing issues of social space. In 2005 the Arts Council put out a call for applications to a fund called ‘Arts and Regeneration’. I spoke to Brendan McMenamin, the head of the Arts and Culture Office who applied for this funding money. Brendan explained that he felt *“that regeneration meant regeneration of communities, re-engagement of communities and the inclusion of communities”* (I_6). So in his proposal to ACNI he emphasised that it was important to get people living in socially deprived areas involved in the decision-making processes of urban regeneration and renewal of their local area, that it had to be the community who decided what they wanted to do and that artists should work with the community.

Brendan said cultural activity could be a means to bring communities together. He was not interested in the former notion of economic regeneration but in a “process of inclusion”. For him culture was “a tool to build good citizenship”. *“And what we’re trying to do is to regenerate people’s attitude”* (I_6).

Within the Art and Regeneration projects that took place, residents were encouraged to reflect about their space and discuss about ideas and aspirations which they felt were most relevant for the improvement of their quality of life.

So, we then began with Arts and Regeneration that discussion: Is that who you are? Is that how you want to be represented? (I_6)

He explained that they wanted to enhance the abilities of communities and individuals, particularly those most marginalised, like young people, the elderly or people with disabilities, to express themselves through creative means. He said the artists should help the communities to think collectively about what they wanted to be and in what kind of place they wanted to live in. How could their communities become welcoming? *“And that came from a very basic premise which is that I believe that everybody wants to live in a nice place”* (I_6).

When Art and Regeneration was already in the process, the Arts Council launched its Re-imaging Communities Programme in partnership with the PSNI, the Housing Executive of Northern Ireland, and the Community Relations Council.

So they were all putting money together into a fund which they called “re-imaging”, because they all knew, collectively, from all of their perspectives, in terms of Housing Executive, in terms of the police, in terms of Community Relations, in terms of the Arts Council, if people started to do things that represented a physical change in their neighbourhoods and in their communities that would be the prerequisite, the essence

of cultural and social change, make a statement, make a statement of your intention as a community. (I_6)

Brendan said that the ACNI's approach initially was to take away sectarian murals and put up "nice murals". However, Brendan explained to them that it was not about taking down a UVF mural and putting up a "pretty one with butterflies in it". He suggested replacing sectarian imagery with three-dimensional sculptures instead. Moreover, DCC acquired professional consultancies who worked with the communities to figure out what they wanted and helped them through the application process. Communities were fully engaged, had to define very specifically what they wanted to say about themselves in order to receive funding and this contributed to capacity building.

In the interview Brendan, who also moderated the public meetings for CoC, connected the activities of the Arts and Culture Office with the wider implications for the general transition of the city, particularly within the context of UK City of Culture 2013.

What I would say: Without Re-imaging, things like City of Culture don't happen. But its things like Re-imaging that make this a cultural city. It makes it a city full of citizens who care about the place they live in, and are proud of the place they live in, and from civic pride you get citizenship, if we all have civic pride in the place we live in and we're all proud of it that's an incredibly important thing, and to build civic pride is about, building a civic society. (I_6)

He spoke about the necessity of bringing communities together in public space through carnivals and celebration, because for 30 years public spaces were associated with danger as it was here where bombs went off and riots took place. People tended to stay in their home or in their own community, hence, according to Brendan, people are not accustomed to and confident about using public space.

He said they had to build confidence within communities so that they can go out into the public realm. He spoke about divisions in society and that the Protestants of the city felt that they were not welcomed in the city centre. Thus, cultural activities could be a way of reclaiming their city. He emphasised that this links in with the Art and Regeneration and Re-imaging Communities where communities were confronted with the issue of sharing space.

So after 35, 40 years of conflict we're now starting to redevelop our public realm and public space. But we have to also then align to that a complete different education process of teaching people how to occupy their public space, how to co-exist in public space, how to behave in public space, and the thing we use, the tool to enable that to happen is culture. Cultural activity helps occupy and animate civic space, so if you programme cultural activity into that public space to make different things happen. (I_6)

5 Case Studies on the Transformation of Space

The following four case studies examine how recent and ongoing spatial and visual transformations are negotiated in different residential estates in Derry's Water- and Cityside.

They look at what happens if symbols of representational space are changed and replaced: How are collective identity and memory negotiated? What is considered as relevant by the various actors? How are social relations and social transformations negotiated visually/spatially?

While the first case study tries to locate the motivations, strategies and implications of these transformations from the perspective of experts, policy makers and social engineers who want to introduce a "shared space" in society, the other three case studies provide a close-up on very specific residential areas and outline what concepts, symbols and spatial practices are dominant in these areas.

The first case study looks at the process of physical regeneration and re-imaging by creative means from the perspective of Alice McCartney, the local project coordinator of DCC's 'Re-imaging Communities' and 'Arts and Regeneration' programmes. It tries to outline the intentions and strategies that stand behind such programmes as well as giving an insight into how spatial transformation in Derry links into other social and political issues that peace building work is dealing with. The study includes six short descriptions of residential areas where Re-imaging Communities took place or was negotiated. A description and interpretation of the material and visual outcome of the transformations is included.

The second case study gives a close-up on a residential area in which extensive process of re-imaging has taken place: the community in Caw and Nelson Drive, a protestant residential estate at the Waterside, had to rearrange and negotiate their relations with paramilitaries first, before a visual transformation could take place.

My main informant was the local community worker Linda Watson who initiated the changes. The study is also informed by participant observation, visual analysis and interviews with the woman who owns the house with the mural in question, and the local speaker of an organisation for loyalist ex-combatants (EPIC). The study shows the process of negotiating the removal and the replacement of a paramilitary memorial mural and the material outcome of these negotiations. A detailed description of the spatial and visual transformation of the

symbolically loaded representational space in Nelson Drive suggests that new concept of residential space that separates memories of conflict from living space are introduced.

The third case study deals with the nationalist heart of Derry: the Bogside, a place of specific significance to the republican community as well as a site of political tourism. In Rossville Street, the hot spot during the Troubles, images and symbols continue to be dominated by opposition and rejection of the British system.

In the Bogside, where symbols and collective memory dominate the residential space, representational space becomes a dominating concept that prevents or inhibits the creation of an envisioned “shared space”.

This case study is primarily based on my own ongoing observations about events happening in this area, on accounts by Alice, locals and tourists as well as conversations with Kevin Hasson, one of the ‘Bogside Artists’.

The fourth case study introduces the reader to the Fountain estate, the only protestant residential area at the predominantly nationalist Cityside. Despite the great density of murals, boundary marking and sectarian imagery, a Re-imaging Communities project took place without removing any sectarian imagery. In order to give some understanding of the Fountain community’s persistence on their cultural symbols and heritage, this study involves a detailed description of the living conditions of the Fountains residents, their attitudes towards the city and their cultural identity. The research is based on the accounts of the local community workers and members of the Cathedral Youth Club, as well as my own observations and accounts of other local interlocutors on the Fountain.

Each case study entails an introduction into the area highlighting the particularities of this estate as well as a detailed description of the symbols and images of representational space. At the end of each case study I summarise my thoughts and analysis about this particular case.

5.1 Case Study 1: Coordinating Re-imaging Communities in Derry

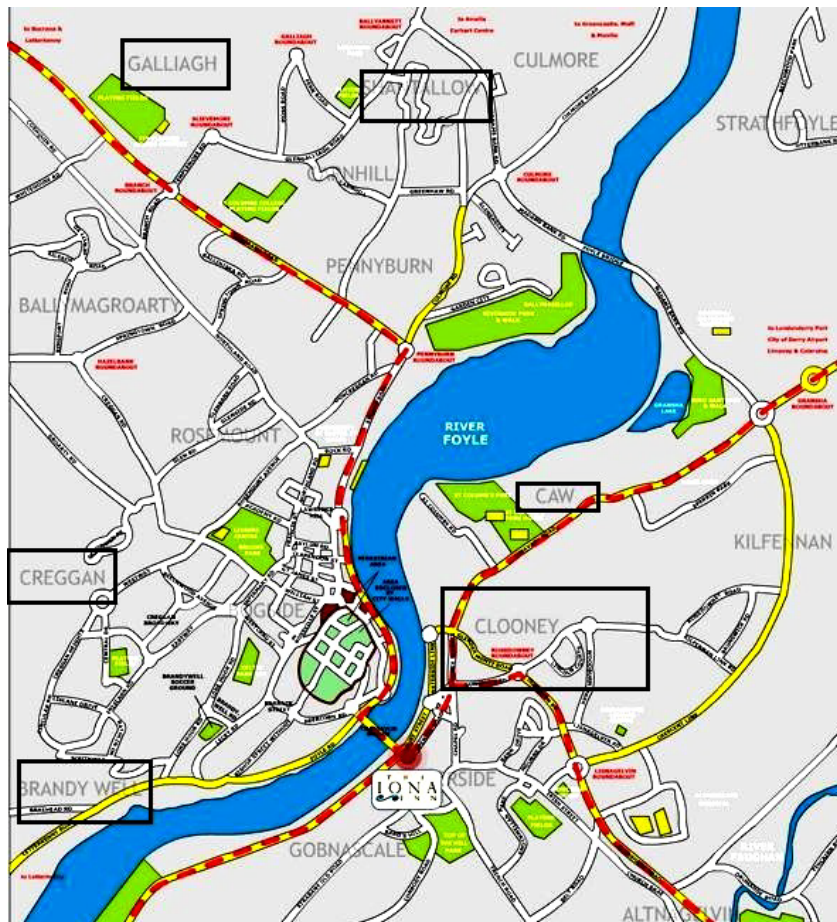


Fig. 3 Areas where Re-imaging Communities projects took place, marked by black rectangle (source: Iona Inn map, collected 2011, my editing)

Alice McCartney is the Arts and Regeneration Officer of Derry City Council (DCC). She coordinated the ‘Arts and Regeneration’ projects and the ‘Re-imaging Communities Programme’ in Derry. Her task was to work closely together with the communities to help them get through the processes of consultation, negotiation, decision-making and implementation. Alice gave me a two-hours-long interview in which she spoke about her work as well as the wider processes taking place over the city within the community relations activities. One day she also took me to eight different Re-imaging Communities sites all over the city. As she told me the stories of the re-imaging projects she took care of and the various problems that came up during the process, we also covered a range of topics that she was confronted with naturally when working with the communities.

For instance the issue of protestant alienation and the sense of a “gap” in Protestant identity, the ongoing influence of paramilitaries, the sensitivity surrounding traditional celebrations and the complications in creating a “shared culture,” were all topics that seemed to influence

the re-imaging process. Alice worked with a very diverse range of people and in the interview she sometimes spoke on behalf of the participating members of the residential communities. Therefore, this case portrays her perspective on the project from a coordinating position rather than saying “this is what happened”.

Re-imaging Communities was initiated due to political ambitions to remove sectarian images from public spaces in order to create more “shared spaces”.

We looked at why, first of all, these territorial markers were in place and to identify what they were and to identify what was seen as controversial and what was seen as cultural, and what's the difference within those concepts, and some of it is down to perception, and some of it is down to threat. (I_10a)

Here questions of how to share space interrelate with the question of how to share culture. She suggested that nobody really knew what “shared culture” should mean: Did sharing culture mean to remove all contentious elements of each culture so they could share what is left? Was it about looking back at the elements of culture they once shared (common symbols, a shared history) or was it about creating something completely new? There were no solutions yet. In addition, removing contentious elements is not that simple. According to Alice, while painting kerbs and murals was a “male occupation” (I_10a), it was often women who addressed the Arts and Culture Office if a removal was possible, and it was often those groups most isolated within their communities, like ex-combatants, who had to be convinced to remove the murals. Moreover, there are also anxieties within communities that there is “nothing left” if all that can be seen as contentious is removed from their cultural traditions. Also the invitation to join into the culture of one community (e.g. at a celebration), could be rejected.

When I talked about this with one group, they said: ‘You can make St. Patrick’s Day as pink and purple as you like, I don’t want to go. It’s nothing to do with me, it is just a Catholic event now and it’s not ever going to be for me.’ So you could take away all the flags and emblems and there are people that say the same about the 12th marches, that you could take away all those Union flags, they still wouldn’t go, still not part of their culture. (I_10a)

This is particularly the case if one side feels insecure about their identity. Alice pointed out the fact that Derry was predominantly a “nationalistic environment”, thus, the minority group had less possibilities to express their own culture.

Alice observed that the people she was working with understood the Re-imaging project differently than policy makers, because they were thinking about their living space first.

“Within Arts and Regeneration people are talking about real spaces as opposed to abstract concepts” (I_10a).

According to Alice, this was a good thing as most people have become quite adept in CR work and rather said what they believed people wanted to hear rather than what they really thought. In contrast, when it comes to their physical living space, they become less guarded and start talking about what they liked and what they disliked about their estate, about physical restrictions, pride, shame, fears and also prejudices came up during this process.

She told me an example where she worked with a group of young people from Bishop Street (from CNR community) which lies at the interface to the Protestant Fountain estate. She asked them what they would do with the extra space if the separation wall would be taken away, how could a joining of these two spaces function.

What we did is we got them to work out where they wanted to play, what access they had into town, so they were looking at physically moving through the spaces. So they weren't thinking in a community relations agenda (laughs). So at one point one of the young people said: 'Hold on, really you couldn't take away that wall because that is where Protestants live'. I say: 'Well, how do you know that's where the Protestants live?' – 'Oh, they're all ginger hair...' And you know, they come up with all those stereotypes of what Protestant people were (...) and then one young fella said (whispering): 'oh, you can't say that'. You know, but he hadn't been as guarded in his actual attitude, because he hadn't been thinking community relations is all about doves and shaking hands and being at peace. (I_10a)

Alice was convinced that removing murals and territorial markers was an improvement for the communities as they sent a clear sign to other communities that they were not welcome in this space, yet she was also aware that taking them away alone was not going to solve the problem of segregated space. Therefore, Alice emphasised that it was important to see the whole process of Re-imaging and the various side-effects these projects had.

The working strategy of the Art and Regeneration projects that proceeded Re-imaging was that communities had to be the ones who are instigating and leading the change. Alice emphasised several times the importance that all members of the community were involved and that all of their anxieties and apprehensions had to be addressed. Therefore, it was also necessary to convince the gatekeepers, mostly former ex-combatants of paramilitary organisations, to allow the removal of their symbolisms and emblems. In addition, many projects showed a focus on involving the youth as they were also seen as the ones who vandalised and marked their environment by graffiti.

According to Alice, the Protestant areas had been more pro-active in taking down their murals while in nationalist areas they were more ingrained in the community, or people argued that their murals were “social anyway”. Hence, mostly graffiti was removed in these areas.

Alice said that in public artwork there was “constant reverting” to have memorialisation in some kind.

In some ways, it's not that it's wrong or bad or any of those things, but it's not the only role [of public artwork], and I think if we want to move on and have a better understanding of what we can have in our public spaces and how we can make them shared space, yes there can be a certain amount of memorialisation, but it's not all we have to offer, it's not our only identity, and all of this goes back to this notion of: you have to pick, and align yourself to one identity, but I'm more than one thing, you know, yes I'm a Council worker, yes, I'm a woman, yes I'm a sister and a daughter, and a friend, and I'm Irish, and I'm British and I'm European, I'm of the world and in the world and it's about seeing the options for your identity and being able to choose what they are, and being aware that you can belong to more than one community. (I_10b)

Memorial murals were particularly difficult to remove. There was fear of memory loss, that the past sacrifices and pains are forgotten and that the dead do not receive the respect and honour they deserve. According to Alice, it was usually the paramilitary organisation that insisted on keeping a memorial mural up, while the family members of the persons portrayed kept silent.

Alice said she had the experience that many people suffered by seeing the loved-ones they had lost on a mural every day, and seeing them in a context which is not necessarily the context how they remembered them.

One guy said: 'You know that was my father and I really loved him, and I was really proud of him and I was really proud of this image for a certain length of time, but now I have children, but they didn't know my father, the only thing they know is this image, so this is the only ideal of their grandfather that they have whereas I at least got to see that part in context and I don't want that to be the only thing that they see. (I_10b)

Alice believed that the dead should be remembered at a graveyard instead of on murals. For her it felt wrong that everybody could make assumptions about the person memorialised on a wall, while remembering should be an individual, private matter. Alice had the opinion that it was not necessary to keep the murals in public space in order to warn people about violent conflict, instead murals should be archived in a museum where an explanation of their meaning and background could be added.

It should be not taken away without being documented, but I think there is a difference between living with it on a (...) daily basis and acknowledging it as part of our history and part of our culture, you know, because this isn't even part of our current culture. So, you know, it's not an expression of our current culture. (I_10b)

In that sense, the question ‘what’ should be remembered is as important as ‘how, where and in what form’. Do people want to remember the dead and the conflict all the time in their daily environment, or do they want to place it somewhere removed from their living space?

But Re-imaging was not only about removing territorial markers, the cleaned space had to be “occupied” (I_10a). Once a community agreed to remove their boundary markers (completely or partially) a second process started that dealt with the question what could serve as a suitable replacement for the taken image. The communities also had to think about creating a reason for other people to enter the estate, of something meaningful but still unrelated to the conflict.

So what we’re trying to get them to do is to identify the heart of their community, the central focus of their community. (I_10a)

However, Alice was aware, that the spectrum of replacement images and topics that were chosen by people was restricted:

It's either conflict or pre-Christian (laughs) or landscape or someone safe from outside, so we have a lot of work to do yet which is why I think it is important that the next step for re-imaging is about occupying the spaces that we have kind of cleared (...) if they are not used and they're not populated and, you know, kind of evolving spaces, then they sly back in what they were. (I_10b)

She concluded that there was still a lack of understanding and investigating into heritage. However, if graffiti did not come back in a re-imaged area, this was how she would know that they have done it right (I_10b).

Apart from the symbols and images, the material art form was another decision they had to take. Alice and the head of the Arts and Culture office of DCC both preferred sculptures to wall paintings, but for many communities it turned out to be very difficult to consider another art form than murals.

Each community Alice worked with had very specific issues and problems; therefore, according to Alice the re-imaging solutions had to be site-specific and could not work within a one-fits-all approach. Hence, the outcome in each community turned out to be pretty diverse. Below I give examples that further outline the diversity of processes of negotiation as well as of the results of each project.



Fig. 4 The neighbouring residential estates Clooney, Bond Street und Lincoln Courts marked by the black rectangle, cut-out of the “Local travel map Derry-Londonderry” (Sustrans 2011, my editing).

5.1.2 The Re-imaging Sites

Clooney Estate

Clooney Estate is the only mixed housing estate in Derry and consists of around 280 houses. It lies between the equally small Protestant neighbourhoods Bond Street and Lincoln Courts in the Ebrington ward at the Waterside. A few years ago, if a foreigner walked into the small estate it would have been an easy job to tell, where the Catholics and where the Protestants lived as the kerbstones in the streets inhabited by Protestants were painted in the colours of the Union Jack, and the street with Catholic residents in green, white and orange. Today, there is little that attracts the attention to an untrained eye: grey rows of houses with little front door gardens line the unmarked streets. I would not have realised the exciting story behind this unspectacular façade, if it was not for the local people who pointed it out to me.

From 2007 to 2009 Clooney Estate underwent an extensive process of re-imaging. Everything started out with the Arts and Regeneration project by DCC. At the beginning of the project, the Clooney Estate residents who engaged in the workshops were given cameras to document their living space, and then the photographs were presented to the whole community. The pictures showed piles of rubbish, abandoned things, graffiti and so on. This was not what the

residents had expected to see. *“People were very angry”*, Alice said. They accused Alice of showing only the negative aspects and said their area would not look like that. But Alice said that it was not her but residents who took the pictures. They just showed what they are surrounded with all the time. *“So if there are positive images, where are they”*, Alice asked them (I_10a). The project showed, that people had become so accustomed to their area that they had not realised how run-down and unfriendly their living space looked to an outsider. They agreed to remove the kerb painting but when the time came to physically take the colours away, people were hesitating.

Some people were saying: ‘How much is it costing? £2,000 to take away the kerb painting? See, it’s nearly all worn away, why not just let it wear away and we just agree to not do it again’. (I_10a)

But the physical removal was part of the deal with the Arts Council and afterwards people were amazed how clean their residential area suddenly looked.

When the Arts Council opened the funds for the Re-imaging Communities Programme Clooney applied for it. Alice, two artists and people from the community including young children, youth groups and elderly people worked together, looking for something that represented both Catholics and Protestants living in the estate. After various sessions of consultations, they decided to have sculptures inspired by the names of the streets which were named after birds (Heron Way, Curlew Way, and Lapwing Way). The outcome was a mosaic mural for the community centre and three steel sculptures depicting a nest, two wings and flying birds. The birds nest stands in front of the school facing the main road through the estate. Alice told me this sculpture stands for the notion of the school being a nurturing environment for children. At a green space, an approximately 4m high sculpture representing bird wings was placed. Not far away at the green space close to the welcoming entrance sign stands the third sculpture symbolising freedom.

Clooney became a trailblazer for other communities that now saw the impact of this physical change. People had never asked for a removal before, but now more communities wanted to participate in the project.



Fig. 5 The Wings Sculpture, Clooney (my photo, 2011)

Lincoln Courts

In Lincoln Courts negotiations to remove a paramilitary memorial mural took three years. Loyalists were protesting against “wiping out the name” of the six fallen volunteers of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) who were remembered on the wall close to the community centre. After ongoing negotiations, in 2010, the paint on kerbs and lampposts was removed. An UDA memorial mural was replaced by a sculpture and in turn the community received a Multi Usage Games Area (MUGA) in front of the community centre. An artist worked together with the local residents, including children and young people, to build the ring-shaped sculpture.

In the centre of the ring, three oak trees grow towards the inside so that their crown touches the ring. The oak tree is a symbol that stands for the city (see chapter 2.1). The leaves of the oak trees carry again images and symbols. One has to come close to see what images the leaves show: Many of them carry symbols standing for Ulster Protestant traditions like the red hand, the drums, the poppy wreath, marching bands, a man wearing a sash and the Apprentice Boys. There are also more ordinary images like faces of boys and girls, sporting activities, music instruments, the Giant’s Causeway. One leaf shows the crest of the PSNI and there are also many crests of local organisations for instance the crest of the Youth and Community Association, the city’s crest and the local football club’s crest.

As each tree has about 20 leaves, the residents had to find around 60 symbols and images that they could display on them.

The sculpture really, really made them think about their cultural identity because there were so many restrictions what they could and couldn't do in relation to what they put into the work itself. (I_10b)

Every single image had to be approved by the ACNI. One image they did not approve was the image of Lindsay Mooney²⁴ and another UDA volunteer who used to be commemorated on the mural that had been removed. However, the crest of the “Lindsey Mooney Memorial Flute Band” was allowed to go up. Apart from the ACNI, everybody else who was involved, including the committees of the Orange Order and of the ex-combatants, discussed each individual image.

Alice pointed out that the removal of the territorial markers went hand in hand with the placing of the new sculpture and the building of the MUGA so that people realised that these two processes go together.



Fig. 6 The Re-imaging Communities sculpture in Lincoln Courts with the MUGA and the house ‘without’ the UDA mural in the background (my photo, 2011)

Fig. 7 Close-up of the leaves (my photo, 2011)

For the community, the sculpture also provided a source of pride: it was shown in one scene of the City of Culture film that was created for the bid. Wendy, the local community worker, told Alice that when the video was launched, it was the first time that the local young people

²⁴ Lindsey Mooney was a member of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), who died when a premature UDA bomb blew up

were brought over to the Cityside for something “they had done, to be celebrated within the Cityside” (I_10b).

So even though it looks like these things happen in isolation, within communities, they do have the knock-on effect...the young people and the work that's done here has gone out from here and out across the city, and a number of people had asked, you know: where is that? (...) So that then maybe makes them to come over and have a look. You know, so it is about making something that makes other people want to come and see it. (...) So you have to invest the time and the money in making something that has quality, that has consensus and has some kind of residence with people, so that they have a connection with it. (I_10b)

After the Re-imaging project was successful, the paramilitaries decided that they would also replace another loyalist mural close to the entrance of the estate, but they wanted to deal with it themselves because the Arts Council's rules were too strict for them. Two new murals came up.

One depicts the strikes of the Ulster Worker's coalition in the 1970s. This strike of Protestant workforce was a reaction to the ‘Sunningdale Agreement’, published in 1973, which contained a power sharing approach that would include nationalists in the Northern Ireland Executive. It also entailed a provision saying that Northern Ireland was to remain part of the United Kingdom until a majority of the population voted for the re-union (Valandro 2004:27). This attempt for a peaceful resolution found fierce opposition by unionists who disapproved to any connection between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland²⁵. Particularly the fundamentalist Reverend Ian Paisley, head of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), incited opposition against the agreement. The Ulster Worker's Council (which was under strong influence by loyalist paramilitary organisations like the Ulster Defence Association, UDA) enforced a general strike (Valandro 2004:27). Eventually, the power-sharing executive collapsed in June 1974 and London continued to exercise direct rule (Valandro 2004:28).

Alice explains that one could compare this mural with the Bogside's civil rights march murals. Both murals portrayed rebellion of a workers force against the establishment and both could be offensive to the other community. For one side it is social history, for the other side it symbolises opposition to them.

The other mural proclaims: “Lincoln Courts Community Spirit. Remembering the Past...Striving for a better Future”. The message is complimented by the image of the ring sculpture and four pictures that surround the sculpture. Two are grey and symbolise the past: The first one shows three UDA volunteers coming out of the Lincoln Courts Community

²⁵ Also the Provisional IRA was against the Agreement and intensified its bombing campaign (Valandro 2004:27).

Association Centre (which is now the community centre), according to the text that is added it stands for “Defence” and the 1970s. The second one shows the 1980s and proclaims “Culture”, it shows a drum on which “Lindsey Mooney Memorial Flute Band” is written. The other two pictures are in colours. The first one is from the 1990s, saying “Tradition” and shows a bonfire, the last one, representing the 2000’s, shows young people standing in front of the community centre, the MUGA and the re-imaging sculpture and the word “Future” comments on the picture. The house that carries the murals also bears a tiny mural with the red hand on the side. It stands close to the entrance sign that welcomes to Lincoln Courts.

Bond Street

Bond Street is a very small estate at the Waterside, close to the Foyle, with a high density of territorial marking. Moreover, Bond Street is a so-called “mural area” which is pointed out on tourist maps. There are five big murals and one small mural, belonging to various groups of the area, which adorn the gable walls of the houses on Bond Street. Over a period of three years someone from the area approached Alice about removing the murals and kerb painting in the area. The Apprentice Boys (see chapter 2.2) came but they wanted only the refurbishment of one of their murals which was already falling apart, the local community group wanted a piece of art for the local park, but no-one was prepared to take up the responsibility to do the removal of territorial markers or to engage in a consultation process with other groups of the area particularly not with the ex-paramilitaries. Even the ex-combatants came and asked about a Re-imaging Communities Programme but their problem was that nobody wanted to talk to them. So, through a mediation process lead by St. Columb’s Park House, word was spread that everybody wanted re-imaging but nobody was working together. Eventually, the residence group together with the Royal British Legion (a UK Armed Forces charity), set up a steering group where Alice presented the Re-imaging Communities Programme to everybody interested in Re-imaging.

They (local residents group) have talked to all of the people in all of the streets, everybody who owns a house, they've written to them and got their written permission to change what's on the wall, they have the Apprentice Boys on the steering group, they have representation from the ex-paramilitary group, they have a letter from them saying they're happy for us to go ahead and do whatever needs to be done but that they have two murals that they want to manage themselves because the Arts Councils rules are also too stringent for what they would want to take away, but that's fine because there is so much else that can be done. (I_10b)

Although, the ex-combatants were not ready to remove a memorial mural of their fallen volunteers and the “Grim Reaper mural”, they opened up the way for the community to remove everything else. According to Alice, this had to be respected.

In the case of the Grim Reaper, a very famous iconic Protestant mural, they were thinking about keeping it but changing some elements of it:

What they wanted to do was take away the fist, the clenched fist, the threat above it, the sword, the blood covered sword, the Irish-Nationals with the Free Derry, the smashing of the Free Derry wall. ... But also the Arts Council would probably want them to maybe take away the canons, and they would definitely want them to take away the sword, so we had said possibly drumsticks instead of the sword, or they taking away the UFF uniform as well, but you know, they were concerned if they went through the Arts Council route, the Arts Council would have more to say in what they would and wouldn't go up. (I_10b)

By the time of my research they were still in the process of consultation and planning and no visual transformations had taken place yet.

But what they still want to, I mean, because they are really progressing, they really want to make changes, but it's that notion of being pushed too fast too far, too far too fast. (I_10b)



Fig. 8 The Grim Reaper Mural, Bond Street (my photo, 2011)

Galliagh

Galliagh is a physically huge nationalist area with a lot of green unused space at the outskirts of Derry's Cityside. Within this Re-imagining Communities programme it was mainly sectarian graffiti that was removed and the young people of the estate were involved in creating a large

steel sculpture which was placed on the green space in the middle of a roundabout. It depicts four children which hold up a diamond-shaped “time capsule”. The sculpture is made up by many small pieces stuck together that carry short declarations and thoughts of the children of the estate, for example “rubbish in the bins...Connor”, “I love my dog Benny...Elisabeth”, “I don’t like cars on fire...Daley”, “stop hijacking cars...DD”, “Make a difference...Rosie”, “Wii and X-Box!!!...Jamie”, “Grow and develop full potential...Bernie”, “Pope Benedict is our pope today”...James”, “bullies are stupid and people laugh at them...S”. Also images of everyday life unrelated to the conflict are displayed on the pieces. Just a few metres from where the children and youth declare their hopes and interests and hold up the aspirations for present and future, two murals testify of a continuing wish of the adults to remember. One pictures Micky Divine, a volunteer of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), who died in hunger strike at Maze prison. The other portrays Neil McMonagle, also an INLA volunteer who died “in action”.

There is a lot of this type of imagery that is stopping the adults of moving forward, this is keeping them, keeping kind of the hurt and the wounds open, so I do really believe that a lot of the physical changing of spaces is going to be really big. (I_10b)

Although McMonagle is pictured with a gun, it was impossible to remove the mural. I asked if it was the families who want that their lost relatives are commemorated on the walls but Alice explained that individuals had not much to say in what came up on a wall, but groups, particularly paramilitaries.

Close to the INLA memorial mural, a mosaic mural financed by Re-imaging Communities replaces the sectarian graffiti which once covered fences and walls in this area. As a subject for the mosaic an historic topic which cannot be put in context with the conflict was chosen: Amelia Earhart, the first woman who flew around the world and landed in Derry in 1932. Other images that were integrated in the mosaic were oak trees, flowers, a picture of an old city map and an image depicting the city divided by the river.



Fig. 9 Sculpture in Galliagh (my photo, 2011)



Fig. 10 Detail of mosaic mural, Galliagh Leafair Park (my photo, 2011)

Shantallow

Next to Galliagh lies Shantallow, another nationalist single-identity area. Here a “Shared Community Garden” was created within the Re-imaging Communities project. Alice said the project struggled with a lot of “internal problems” (I_10b). The local Residents Association wanted to transform a space which was described as a “hot-spot of anti-community behaviour” (Londonderry Sentinel, 25 June 2010, online) into a welcoming place for people to spend time. “*This was a place where street drinkers drunk, people would have gathered*”, Alice explained (I_10b). But the neighbours opened a petition that they did not want this section of the area re-imaged. They were concerned that making the space more comfortable would encourage more street drinkers to stay there. Alice told me that the Association wanted to ignore those opposed.

They were saying: those people, they gonna object no matter what, you know, there is nothing we can do and there is only a small number in a big group but we insisted that they bring them in and we talk to them and to get the artists to talk to them and address what their actual fears were and by the time we left the meeting, it took one meeting, they were all fine, they were all on board, it's that notion of being excluded from the conversation. (I_10b)

After the opponents got their opportunity to voice their fears and concerns they accepted that the garden was built. Alice emphasised how important it was that the whole community and not only those who were committed to re-imaging from the start got involved in the process in order to prevent new boundary markers from re-emerging and also because a change of mind needs time. If things were done too quickly, the re-imaged spaces were merely boundary

markers of a different kind, Alice was convinced. Street drinkers were obviously not included in this concept of community and inclusiveness.

The community wanted to enclose the re-imaged space because they feared that if it was left open, it would encourage those people to come and stay. Thus, the project in Shantallow became one of the last where the ACNI allowed putting up a “boundary feature” although this stood against *“the notion that re-imaging is supposed to be about including people, make people want to share the space”*, explained Alice (I_10b).

She said it was not a real fence, as anybody with a will could crawl into the garden, but more like a “psychological barrier”. The re-imaged space is now encircled completely: There was the new colourful and sculptural boundary feature created within the Re-imaging Communities added to the two walls which had already been there: a mason wall at the backside which used to be covered with graffiti and a large fence with narrow bars with spikes on top. The last one separates the adjacent primary school from the garden. A gate, also heavily protected by physical construction serves as a direct access from the school into the garden. The implementation of the sculptural boundary feature” completes the containment of the space and created the “Shared Community Garden” by physically setting the piece of the field apart from the rest.

The fence-structure entailed images selected by people from the community: an oak tree, children playing old games like swinging on the lamp posts or hula-hoop, images of race horsing, Irish dancing, the two churches, the two cathedrals etc.

The graffiti which covered the wall at the back was removed and replaced by “re-imaged” murals. The three new murals on the mason wall were done after Alice’s involvement. She was not satisfied with the outcome, and said they did everything which she would have advised against. One classically painted mural pictured five emblems on white ground: a Celtic symbol, a peace dove, the school crests and a half of a third image which seems to be unfinished on purpose, supposedly to encourage continuing the lines. Alice did not know what to make of it but worried that this was an imprudent invitation to have graffiti on the wall. The other two showed laser printed images made by children protected by a glass construction. The rain had damaged the mural and Alice criticised that the material they used was unsuitable for outside. A third mural stood outside the garden and was done within an “Off the Streets” project together with the local youth: it showed the earth globe surrounded by people holding hands, images of landscapes and the “tags” of the painters (the signing of an art work in graffiti language) surround the image. There is also graffiti which obviously

has been not intended to go up by the people who created the mural as it is sprayed over the images.

However, the initial apprehension against the project proved to be wrong: the upgrading of the space resulted in a voluntary displacement of the street drinkers as well as of other forms of so-called “anti-community” behavior like graffiti spraying. *“What normally happens in that kind of context is, it becomes too sociable for people like that to gather”*, said Alice.

Since the Re-imaging has taken place, the adjacent school seemed to have occupied the garden for playing. Wooden animals and little garden plots were added to the space after Alice’s involvement in the project. When Alice showed me the garden the children from the school entered to have an Easter egg hunt.



Fig. 11 Detail of sculptural fence of the Shared Community Garden, Shantallow (my photo, 2011)

Top of the Hill / Irish Street Interface

The nationalist neighbourhood Top of the Hill at the Waterside lies at the interface to the unionist Irish Street estate. Both areas are extensively marked out by flags, graffiti and colours on kerbs, electricity boxes, lamp posts and other surfaces. Rioting between youth from both sides is a common occurrence, particularly, as the youth from other estates comes here to join into the riots. Caroline, the head of the community centre in Irish Street, told me that she wanted to remove the territorial markers from Irish Street estate and was negotiating with the local paramilitaries but that they were still a long way from having the territorial markers removed from the area (F_22). In Top of the Hill the people from the local community centre had started their own re-imaging without going through the consultation process of the official Re-imaging Communities Programme, although Alice had advised

them not to do so. They had already started to clean a wall at the interface from sectarian messages and planned to put up three murals painted by the young people that attended the youth club of the community centre. Geraldine, a local community worker which I got to know through the cross-community project P.A.C.T. said they had not applied for Re-imaging Communities funding yet. They first wanted to try out if an artwork made by the children of the estate would remain undamaged before they put in a new, expensive art work which would be the “ideal target” for vandalism (F_37).

If they would receive the funding, they would also have consultations with the whole community. Geraldine invited me to the youth club where they were just about to paint the finishing touches on boards that should go up at the interface. One mural, painted by the youngest, welcomed people to Top of the Hill in English language. The greeting was surrounded by little drawings of music notes, two people dancing in a Disco, the City of Culture logo, Boxing Gloves, a Church, a flower (because the streets in the area are named after flowers). Images that symbolised what was important to them, as Geraldine told me.

Another, painted by the older youth, greeted people in Gaelic and pictured different crests of local organisations like the crest of the local sports clubs, the school, the family centre and so on. A third board carried all the names of the youth who participated in the project. Theresa, another local community worker, explained that the youth wanted to put images that were too political, so they decided to just put their names up.

They were not allowed for instance to put the emblem of the Celtic Glasgow football team on it, as this is seen as a sectarian image in the Northern Irish context. This derives from the historic rivalry between the two Glasgow clubs Celtic and Rangers. The Glasgow Rangers Football Club is a Scottish football team that is supported by unionist Protestants in Northern Ireland and Scotland. Their local rivals are Celtic Glasgow, which is supported by many Irish nationalists. Both clubs stand for different confessions and national affiliations. The Rangers are loyal to the British Crown, which is rejected by Celtic Glasgow which club’s philosophy stands for an independent Scotland and sides with the Northern Irish nationalists’ aspiration for a united Ireland. Thus, displaying support for one of these two teams is also displaying national and religious affiliation/opposition. The rivalry between the two clubs often provokes violent confrontation between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Equally, displaying the respective insignia of one of these teams displays whether a person is Catholic or Protestant and can be interpreted as offensive by the other side. Due to the risks of riots and violent confrontations, wearing their insignias on T-shirts and sweaters is sometimes forbidden in public places.

After I put my name on the last mural, Geraldine showed me the freshly painted wall at the interface. While we examined the area she spoke about the plans of the community centre. She planned to remove the Celtic Welcoming Stone from this area because it had been vandalised. Moreover, it would be an ideal platform that invited young people to sit and gather there, Geraldine explained. A big electricity box that they had freed from graffiti would soon carry stencil graffiti made by the young children.

Two days after Geraldine had shown me the cleaned interface I passed by and saw that a new graffiti already had gone up. In huge white letters, possible to read from the road while driving, there stood: “ONH²⁶/RIRA²⁷ still at war.”

The community workers painted over it and the boards and stencils did go up anyway. At the time of my departure they were still undamaged. When I spoke with Alice about the project a few weeks later, she said Top of the Hill had rushed things. She had offered to work with them and the young people, so they could be involved in the whole process from writing a funding application to receiving the money and building something that would have quality. She felt that the whole process of re-imaging could lead to much more benefits than just having something nice in public space.

Also then it feeds into self-esteem and skills-building, ownership of the development of that whole site, the idea that they can use that in a CV for potential for work or for college, or for further education. (I_10b)

Alice suggested, that the projects could show them how school subjects like Maths, English or secretarial administration applied in the real world. It could help give them self-esteem, whereas the Top of the Hill project resulted in “some stencils on an electrical box.

...and that's lovely and I'm sure they enjoyed doing it, but I'm not a great believer in - cause I think this is one of the problems that happened with Belfast as well is - in 'Do it quick'. (I_10b)

She said it was important that the young people would understand that the current demarcations had not always been there.

That the no-man's-land between there and Irish Street was actually all part of the one community at one point, and it's an artificial break and they have the opportunity to have an artificial break and look at how that can be, because...putting all of that all along there is still boundary marking, it's just a different type. (I_10b)

²⁶ Óglaigh na h'Éireann, an dissident republican group active in Derry

²⁷ Real IRA



Fig. 12. Children from the Youth Club of Top of the Hill show me their mural (my photo, 2011).

5.1.3 Analysis about the Re-imaging of Space

This case study outlines the aims, concepts and the strategies that stand behind the City Council's initiative to re-image residential areas over the city as well as the responses and outcomes of different communities to such ambitions.

Using Lefebvre's terminology (2004), I analyse first of all what kind of concept, what "representation of space" (ibid. 38) stands behind the Re-imaging Communities Programme.

Representation of space is "the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers" (Lefebvre 2004:38). It is the space of the people who develop and implement concepts of space based on knowledge, which is according to Lefebvre (2004:41) "a mixture of understanding (*connaissance*) and ideology – which is always relative and in the process of change" (Lefebvre 2004:41).

The aim of the "planners" or "social engineers" in Derry is to build "shared spaces", a space freed from political and sectarian images, a space that is not defined by two opposing identities but offers a possibility for new identifications. This aim is motivated by a general understanding that physical segregation feeds into the creation of prejudices and an antagonist identity. More "shared spaces" eventually lead to a "shared society" and sustainable peace. It is an ideology of peacebuilding and regeneration, as opposed to an ideology of antagonism and segregation. The actions and opinions of social engineers like Alice and Brendan show a general ambition to improve society or even to create a new society, an open, cosmopolitan and creative society that does away with the old, unnecessary enmities. The politically-led

increase in the attraction of residential space might be the beginnings of a “gentrification” process, the displacement of autochthonous residents by renters with greater purchasing power (Dangschat and Blasius 1990:9). However the upgrading of social space happens within a peacebuilding process. This means at least for now, the displacement of the lower social strands of society is not intended, rather there is the wish to transform the passive and isolated into active consumers – “involved citizens” that enjoy the possibilities the city (and peace) has to offer.

The discourse about creating “shared spaces” is informed by knowledge from Community Relations and peacebuilding objectives but also by a notion of “upgrading” social space. The protagonists of this process believe that everyone wants to live in a “nice” place (I_6). This means a space without open threats, offensive messages and memories of the conflict and the dead. It is also a clean space of which people feel some form of “ownership”, because if people feel that it was up to them if a space looked “nice” or if they were involved in the process of cleaning a space up or building an art work for the area, they are less likely to damage it.

As “Re-imaging” addresses the territorialising visual displays in residential areas, the programme intends to help communities to create a new “image”, a new way to portray them. This goes in line with the City Council’s ambitions to create a new “image” of the city – an image that describes Derry as a city of arts and shared culture rather than a city of conflict. This becomes apparent through the connections that were highlighted by Brendan between the Re-imaging programme and UK City of Culture 2013, because Re-imaging is about introducing or increasing this understanding that “shared spaces” are needed which goes in line with changing spatial practices of people and their representational space.

DCC has resolved to pin their hopes on “shared culture”, culture of reconciliation and arts instead of conflict culture. It wants to make the city centre and the residential areas attractive for its residents, particularly for the Protestant population which resides in Derry but works, socialises and shops in towns and cities where Protestants are the majority, e.g. Portrush.

Moreover, Derry has to compete with other cities for foreign direct investments and solvent tourists. Especially concerning tourism, the murals take up an ambivalent role: on the one hand they are marked out as tourist sights by the tourist board; on the other hand they are seen as embarrassing and divisive by the “social engineers”.

Against this background it is important to consider that it was not the “social engineers” like Brendan or Alice that had the leading role in Re-imaging. Alice made it quite clear that they did not want to give the impression that DCC was pushing anyone to take imagery down.

They wanted that it was the community who was leading the change and was responsible for the outcome.

The designation “the community” includes those residents of a neighbourhood who participated in the process of re-imaging either as initiators, leaders, contributors, opponents, sceptics or followers. There were always a group of people who came forward with the wish to do re-imaging, then Alice advised them to consult people and groups from the area and to negotiate with those who were opposed to re-imaging. They had to find out what kind of boundary markers there were in place and why. The mentioned examples showed quite clearly that people do not necessarily want to live within a territorialised area which often adds to the run-down look of the residential estates, but there was still the sensitive issue of memorialisation and the fears of losing something – for instance control, memory, identity, honour – by taking these images down, an issue that I will further explore in the following case studies.

Apart from tradition and legacies of conflict, there were also other reasons for the persistence of territorial markers, for instance the fact that people had become accustomed to their physical environment and were not aware of how these spaces represented them to people coming from the outside. There was also the sense that there were more important things on which money could be spent than on cleaning up public space.

However, the Re-imaging Communities process in Derry was less about persuasion than about proposing an “arena” (Turner 1994) which offered both groups, those who wanted a change and those who did not, a safe way to get into dialogue.

In an arena even where there is patent cooperation, coalition, and alliance, these are ancillary to the dominant mode of conflict. The second important point to note is that an arena is an explicit frame; nothing is left merely implied. Action is definite, people outspoken; the chips are down. (Turner 1994:134)

Once “the chips are down”, people were less guarded than in other community relations projects, where people participate within a comparatively artificial context, outside from the spaces where they are confronted with sectarianism and symbols of antagonist identities on a daily basis. Thus, in their own living space the ‘users’ were not only challenged with the question of what symbols should be removed and should go up but also with spatial practice.

“In *spatial practice*, the reproduction of social relations is predominant” (Lefebvre 2004:50). Thus, it is important to consider that the symbolic force and fears of losing identity are not the only aspects to consider but also basic social relations. Questions like who is working with whom, who has initiated what, do I like the persons involved, and so on influence if the process is successful or not. It is also a new negotiation of control of space. For a long time,

people did not address the issue of territorial marking at all, either because they did not care, they agreed with it or because they were not confident enough to say that they wanted it gone. In this arena of re-imaging they got the possibility to voice this opinion, at the same time the paramilitaries and other people who wanted to keep the images got the chance to say why it was important to them. Confronted with a new discourse that deemed these images as offensive (as opposed to a perception of them being cultural tradition or legitimate threats against the enemy), they were requested to explore this spatial practice. The benefits of keeping them had to be put in contrast to taking them down. The removal of sectarian imagery could entail different forms of an extra-benefit for the community either in terms of regeneration and infrastructure (a play space, a cleaner area) – a visible proof of the benefit of cooperating – or in the improvement of social relations as re-imaging connected people around the issue of space.

New Meaning-Production

Even though it is “the communities” who are leading the change, it is after all a regeneration and transformation instigated by government bodies and dependent on funding. Particularly, the notion of replacing the removed imagery instead of leaving a vacuum behind, ready to be filled with new offensive imagery, offered some room for the “planners” to control the production of new (or reviewed) symbolic meaning. It was also an opportunity to open up the way for new representational images, memories and imaginations which had been suppressed by the dominant symbols of Protestant and Catholic identity. The people who live in a residential estate were confronted with the task to find the “heart of the community”, and therefore, with the question of what is left if everything that is related to the conflict is removed. This task was particularly difficult, as representational space cannot be planned like representation of space; it has to be lived, imagined, memorised.

The material outcome of Re-imaging Communities shows that people still hold onto elements of Protestant and Catholic culture in their visual representations but accept that outright exclusive and threatening elements are kept out. This is particularly apparent in the sculpture and re-imaged murals in Lincoln Courts where symbols of Protestant culture were tamed or newly interpreted in order to be deemed acceptable to be included in the sculpture. In the projects where specific “Ulster unionist” or “Irish nationalist” images were avoided completely, the theme of an innocent sense of locality and local history pervades all projects.

This is apparent in the choice to display images of buildings in Derry, Irish landscape, typical local sport and games (i.e. Shantallow), specific plants (especially the oak tree) or animals

(the birds in Clooney) as well as historical local events unrelated to the conflict (Amelia Earhart landing in Derry).

In Galliagh, aspirations and present interests not related to the big narrative of a United Ireland made their way in representational space through the sculpture. The sentences of the youth placed on the art work that talk about hobbies, pets, and wishes like “rubbish in the bins” stand in strong contrast to the common political messages and traditional symbols displayed in nationalist areas that used to claim that they carry the leading meanings and values. The big narratives have not vanished from public space, but there might be a new space for alternatives to it. The criticism of re-imaging projects and community arts being apolitical and banal, however, does not hold, as the abandonment of the traditional political theme is a political statement in itself.

It is important to note, that in Northern Ireland many (particularly local) politicians are involved in peace building in some way. As Alice said to me: *“We have the strange situation here where a lot of our politicians are also community workers”* (I_10b). This has the advantage that community relations receive a lot of attention and are always on a high rank of political concern. Thus, the mindset of CR is also prevalent in the re-imaging aspirations of DCC. It determines the transformation of public space. Interpreting the processes and negotiations of re-imaging residential areas over the city, a tendency to make spaces “nice and welcoming”, clean, controlled and safe is apparent.

The CR agenda also emphasises “inclusion” and involvement which is not just about the Protestant and Catholic community, but also claims to challenge racism, homophobia and discrimination of people with disabilities. Even ex-prisoners have found their space in this peace building sector and (particularly on the republican side) they are involved in politics as well. Although, DCC claims to work on creating shared space for everybody, there are exceptions to the rule. As the example in Shantallow shows, the concept of “community” does not include those who are disqualifying themselves with their behaviour, like street drinkers, young people that gather in groups and sprayers of sectarian graffiti. Sprayers cannot be banned from communities as they are anonymous, thus only their actions are tackled. However, in the case of alcoholics, drug addicts and certain groups of young people measures are taken to push them from public space through CCTV (closed circuit television) protection, upgrading of neglected space, and of course a range of bans and rules.

In 1991 a bye-law was passed that banned public drinking from the city centre and places where tourists go, so alcoholics gathered at the outskirts or around the bridge areas, then in 2009 law was extended all over the City Council Area and there was nowhere to go anymore.

They are also not welcomed in the residential areas. Within the project initiated by the Verbal Arts Centre, the street drinkers were given the opportunity to articulate what they thought could be a solution of their problem. The result was a series of digital stories produced by the street drinkers where they told about their lives and why they needed a proper drop-in centre that was open every day. The film was sent to the Council and they received a £909,974 contribution from the Big Lottery Fund's 'Safe and Well Programme' which is being used to provide a safe place for street drinkers to be and to use food, laundry and shower facilities (from Interview with James Kerr, Executive Director of Verbal Arts Centre, I_8).

Also young people – particularly if they emerge in larger groups – are not welcomed to spend time in random public space which is not intended for shopping, sports, education or other activities. Especially, elderly people feel threatened or disturbed by them. One of my interlocutors from Irish Street Community Centre's Men's Club, told me that he would not go to the Cityside because it was "*not clean and not civil*", all you would see was drunk people (I_71). "*The kids today have no innocence*" (Men from Irish Street, I_68).

However, there are places where they are not only allowed to be but where they are desired to be (i.e. community centers, sports clubs, etc.). Thus, many provisions are taken to make these places attractive to them as opposed to other places which in turn are made as unattractive for "gathering" as possible.

The wish for security and order is not just government-led but desired by the majority of the population: I noticed that people were complaining that the police are not doing enough against "anti-social-behaviour"; that people wanted more patrolling of the police in residential areas; that provisions were being taken to avoid young people to "gather" and that there was a wish for harder consequences for rioters. During my participant observation with P.A.C.T. at a meeting with the District Policing Partnership, it became apparent that not only the adults but also the majority of the young people were for the publication of the CCTV snapshots of young rioters in the local newspapers (F_29). In the P.A.C.T. education lesson (F_39), the young people were informed about the consequences of getting an "ASBO", an anti-social-behaviour order. This could have negative effects on them when they want to apply for a job or higher education; it could even mean that they were forbidden to enter certain places (e.g. the Foyle side shopping centre). This information was accompanied by an endless list of "anti-social-behaviour".

Space became segregated because of fear in society, now, that this space should become a "shared space" and the public realm opens up, new insecurities arise and requirements of

safety are needed. As feelings of safety were connected to spatial categories the wish for safety manifests most obviously in public space. Spatial practices (e.g. behavior in public space) are controlled by physical measures, physical space is changed according to these needs (e.g. CCTV), and the memories, images and representations that are associated with insecurity and disorder are removed or deferred to a specific place (e.g. a museum).

Also the tendency to move away from one-dimensional murals to three-dimensional sculptures can be seen as such a measure. This decision is not just a question of taste but has also influence on the kind of meaning and symbolic force the artwork entails. Murals are not an ordinary visual display; they are specific because they made their way into spaces which were not intended to display symbols but to house people. Instead, the sculptures are placed at a specific location meant to serve as a place of memory (Nora 1989). A drift towards more concrete, concentrated places of memory becomes apparent.

The following three case studies provide a close-up into residential areas.

5.2 Case Study 2: The Re-imaged Caw/Nelson Drive Community



Fig. 13. Cut-out of the “Local travel map Derry-Londonderry” (Sustrans 2011). The black rectangle that marks the area and the red dot which marks the “Peace Bridge Mural” are added by me.

Caw/Nelson Drive estate is the largest social housing estate in the Waterside area of Derry. Although it is not located next to a Catholic residential area, it used to be a very rough place. During the Troubles, paramilitary groups controlled the various loyalist communities in

Derry. Nelson Drive was an Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) stronghold, but the UDA was also active in the close-by areas. As there were often feuds between the different loyalist paramilitary organisations, residents were cautious about not getting between the fronts. The paramilitary groups had left their marks in the public space in the form of murals and all kinds of territorial marking.

Linda Watson told me how horrible the place used to look when she moved here because of personal circumstances in 1995: Sectarian graffiti by UVF, UDA and UFF was everywhere, the kerbs and lamp posts painted red, white and blue, flags were flown until they were completely tattered and murals showing masked volunteers with guns were spread all over the place.

I really hated having to bring the children to come and live here because it really wasn't a very nice place to come and live. A lot of the houses would have been boarded up and you nearly could choose what house you wanted to live in, that was how many [empty] houses there were. (I_5a)

As a single mother of two she wanted to have a nicer place for her little children to grow up, so when a community centre was opened in 1998, she applied for the job as coordinator. The same year, the “Caw/Nelson Drive Action Group” was founded, a primarily community-led formation, which set about to improve living conditions in the estate. Apart from social programmes, the Action Group also addressed the visual representation of the estate. They worked together with the Housing Executive, the City Council and Groundwork NI on a general clean up of the neighbourhood.

5.2.1 Negotiating Change

The outcome of the visual transformations in Caw/Nelson Drive was the one most often mentioned to me by local people. It became known across the city because it was here where the first memorial mural of a loyalist paramilitary organisation was removed. However, re-imaging did not happen easily or quickly. Negotiations that took place in the process of transforming space addressed not only questions of commemoration and Protestant identity, but very basic questions of how their living space should look like and could be improved. Moreover, the community had to reconcile their social relations with the paramilitaries and ex-combatants that lived in their estate.

In many areas where a Re-imaging project was going to take place, negotiations with the local paramilitary groups and former combatants preceded the re-imaging.

While the community, according to Linda, was on board from the start, the local former combatants showed strong resistance against the removal of kerb stone colours, flags and murals. It took Linda two years to get their permission to remove some of the murals and the

territorial marking on kerbs and lamp posts. For this she had to start negotiating with paramilitaries at the local level and then went all up to the UVF in Belfast. Eventually, they agreed to the removal of kerbstone colours and more importantly, that they would not re-paint it in summer. They also settled that all flags that go up during the July commemorations had to be removed again afterwards. In addition, after painstaking negotiations, seven paramilitary murals were taken down. The agreement by the former combatants was not only necessary to assure that no new murals would come up, but also because people in the estate would have been too afraid to touch them without the permission of the paramilitaries. Therefore, ex-combatants had to be present at every removal to prove that the workers were safe. After the project was finished, there were four murals left.

In 2009 the Arts Council re-opened its funding scheme to take paramilitary murals down and Linda engaged again in negotiations to ask for the removal of one particular mural that was placed right at the main road close to the community centre. This mural was a very special case as it commemorated four UVF volunteers who died at a premature bomb explosion in 1975 and no commemoration mural had been removed until that point. The mural showed these men dressed in black with white socks and belts and black masks. Two of them point guns to the left and the right, while the other two hold the Union Jack and respectively the UVF flag and kneel in front of a memorial or grave, which says: “U.V.F. For God and For Ulster. In memory of our fallen Volunteers”, and the names of the four men.

However, this time negotiations turned out to be less straining and the UVF agreed very quickly to have the mural replaced.

I think at that time it was completely different from the time before, because at the ‘Creating Common Ground’ time when we took away the seven murals there wasn’t the peace that there was in 2009. And I think the UVF were ready in 2009 that they move and show that they were ready for peace. So I suppose doing that kind of thing was their contribution to say that we are ready to move and time for change. (I_5a)

The initial reluctance of the ex-combatants to get rid of their territorial markers can be also seen as a reaction to the tensed and ambivalent relationship with “their community”. Although most interlocutors preferred not to talk about paramilitaries, it was expressed that people were still afraid of them even after they had officially given up their guns.

While republican paramilitaries were widely supported by the Catholic community, in Protestant communities the relationship with the loyalist paramilitary groups was more ambivalent, as they stood opposed to the security forces and the state. Moreover, they created a lot of fear within their own communities. Young men were often pressured to join the loyalist paramilitary groups against their will, as Caroline, a community worker from Irish

Street estate at the Waterside, told me (F_22). Nigel Gardiner, a spokesperson for loyalist ex-combatants from EPIC, explained that loyalist paramilitaries had been only accepted in times of uncertainty and riots, people supported the paramilitaries but as soon as violence abated the communities wanted them gone (I_7).

Paramilitaries are not part of the communities because they have been excluded by the community. ... If I put in simple terms, when you look at republicanism, and when they came out of prison, they were embraced by their community, their community supported them, within the protestant, loyalist, unionist community, when the loyalist prisoner came out, he was castigated, he was seen as dirt, filth of the earth, have nothing to do with people like that, and that mindset is still very much prevalent today, the protestant community will not embrace the ex-combatant community from within the loyalist community. (Nigel Gardiner, EPIC, I_7)

For the ex-combatants this rejection was difficult to accept, especially as they felt that they protected their community. However, the situation for ex-prisoners has improved over the years thanks to organisations like Coiste (for republican prisoners) and EPIC and this might have contributed to a change of mind. Ex-prisoners on both sides become increasingly involved in cross-community exchange as well as in dialogue with school classes to discuss the damaging effects of violence. Moreover, the working strategy to include everybody in a dialogue about re-imaging emphasised the need to let them voice their opinion. These factors all might have provoked a change of mind among loyalist ex-combatants. This shows that discourse has changed which feeds into the changing of representational space.

In the newspaper STEPS from prison to peace (2009:7), Leslie Mitchell, a local politician of the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) said that with the fact in mind that the “act of patriotism” by the four volunteers was remembered at another site close by, loyalist ex-combatants agreed to have “the old mural replaced by a more cultural/historical based piece of community artwork”.



Fig. 14. The UVF Memorial Mural which got re-imaged, Nelson Drive (source: STEPS issue 1).

5.2.2 Living with a Mural on the House

I spoke to Maureen, a mother of grown-up children, who allowed the UVF to put up a memorial mural for volunteers on the gable wall of her house because at that time, she said, Caw was a UVF estate and “everybody was kind of one”. She said that at the beginning they were really pleased with the mural, but as the years went on Maureen’s perception of the mural changed with the changing circumstance over time. The UDA also started to have murals in the area, a sign that they were active too and there were sometimes fighting between the UVF and the UDA. Maureen began to feel afraid that her family would get between the lines of the internal rivalries of the paramilitaries.

Whenever somebody comes to your door, they go and collecting for prisoners aid (...) so at the time then when they start to doing that, well, couple of ones said to me: Why are you having to do both sides for? I said: If I give to UVF because of the mural they know that’s alright, so I say I give to the UDA, so we give them a pound as well a monthly for the prisoners, to me I thought that was keeping...they wouldn’t be saying: ‘Oh, you’re supporting them’, and the UVF wouldn’t be saying: ‘Oh, you’re supporting the UDA’, so we kind of keep it all in one, love, are you understanding where I’m getting at. (I_9)

Her pride of the mural vanished when she realised the danger of having this mural on her house also with regards to republican paramilitaries.

When the mural was first put up, the UVF one, oh every night, you were even scared to walk from my house to here. Because the young fellas were hanging about, you know, and you don’t know who they were and what was happening and you were

hearing this one getting their house burnt or their garage was getting burnt, but thankfully over the years, now there's kind of, well I hope there is a bit of peace, but now they have all settled right enough and most of them have their own families, but at one time it was really, you know, you were really scared to say you're from Nelson Drive at that time, but thankfully they are all, everybody is settled and everything, it is not as much now, (...) there would be scrap like ones fighting something, you know, but nothing serious compared to what it was years ago. (I_9)

Maureen's perception of the mural changed again when she was again confronted with the view by an exterior, yet, this time people from the Catholic community:

It was alright for a couple of years when the children were wee²⁸, we didn't really understand, but once the family started growing up and leaving school and meeting boyfriend and girlfriends, that was really a wee bit embarrassing them because with us being from a Protestant religion the young fellas ever meeting maybe a Catholic girl and getting interest in her, you know, and it wasn't...to me it was embarrassing, and even they felt embarrassed bringing them to the house with the UVF mural, so we were trying to get rid of all of that and bring peace you know. And then sometimes, there was one time I had to get the doctor out and it was from the other side from the Free States Order and they asked for directions and at the time, the only thing you could say was: when you turn in to Nelson Drive, come as far down as the two phone boxes and it's a house with the UVF mural, well at the time it wasn't very nice having to give people that direction, you know at the time all come to the house with the UVF mural rather than the actual address, you know. (I_9)

Maureen was very pleased when in 2009 the UVF agreed to take the memorial mural down.

5.2.3 The Re-imaging Process

When Linda got the UVF's agreement to take it down, she applied for funding from the Re-imaging Communities project. *"They were over the moon that we were going to be able to remove this mural"* (I_5a). Nowhere else a memorial mural had been removed before. After they received the funding, they started workshops in which the whole community was invited to become involved in the decision process regarding what they were going to put on the wall instead of a memorial mural. Even the ex-combatants and UVF people were kept involved. They were looking for something that would still refer to their culture and history but without contentious elements. They found a topic that connected local history and the vision of a shared future for the city. At that time the Urban Regeneration Company had just published their plans to redevelop the Ebrington Barracks site not far from Caw.

Ebrington Barracks is a former army base that was used by the Navy and the American Forces in the two World Wars and later by the British Army throughout the Troubles. When the British army left in 2000 they gave the site to the Department of Social Development (DSD).

²⁸ Irish/Scottish word used to describe something small.

Many residents had memories with the military base in Ebrington that was only less than a mile from Nelson Drive. The army base was a big employer for many people of this estate:

Many people who live in this area worked in there when it was the army and even before that in civilian type jobs like (...) cleaning or whatever, you know, security. (...) And during the Troubles that would have been like a wee estate nearly of its own. And it would have been like, you know, their life. Because, obviously, if they were going in and out of somewhere, their life was in danger so everybody sort of stuck together and they would have had discos and things in there that local people would have went to. So when we started to do the workshops it became very clear that a lot of people wanted, they were annoyed that the history of the Ebrington Barracks site wouldn't be remembered and they thought: well, maybe this is a chance for us in the new mural what had gone on in there over the years. (I_5a)

Together with local historians they collected ideas and pictures that reminded them on the various roles that Ebrington Barracks played for people.

So we knew we wanted to have Ebrington Barracks on it and we knew we wanted to have the City on it and then we came up – although the bridge haven't been build – we got a photograph of what it hopefully was gonna look like and we wanted to show that this bridge would maybe bring these two sides together instead of being a divided city. Maybe for once it would be joined up in some way. And then one of the children of the youth club actually came up with the film rail that goes round it. And then in each frame we tried to put in some of the ideas that came out from the workshop. So each frame tells a story that was someone's memory or something that came out from the workshop so it's very much become a community piece that everybody likes. (I_5a)

As the mural was painted in 2009, it was based on plans as to how the bridge was going to be designed to look.

The Peace Bridge mural shows the perspective of a ship approaching from the North of the city on the bright blue river. On the riverbanks stand various buildings under a blue sky. At the Cityside the tower of the Guildhall is recognisable while at the Waterside the image shows Ebrington side as it might look after the construction work is finished. The main picture is surrounded by a film reel that depicts 20 little images of people, buildings and ships. The images show people doing various sports, a couple that marries in front of the barracks, families standing at the river, soldiers with different uniforms, the advert “join the wrens” (the women's royal naval service), battleships of which the Arts Council requested that the guns had to be removed.

According to Linda, the community was very satisfied with the new mural and took a lot of pride out of it.



Fig. 15. The re-imaged mural, Nelson Drive (my photo, 2011).

In the interview, Maureen mentioned several times how glad she was about the new mural and the re-imaging of residential areas. She appreciates that in many areas one can walk without looking and saying:

Oh, that's a Catholic live there or that's a Protestants live there, you don't know who it is and you can go on about your business and just really enjoy the peace and everything. (I_9)

While the old mural embarrassed her, with the new one Maureen does not mind that cars and whole busses stop and take pictures of her house.

Now in my house, every time you look down there is a crowd waiting: What's that picture, what's that picture? And I say: wait until the painter comes round and ask him, he'll tell you (laughs). But thankfully we have right enough all interested now. You still see cars or those tour busses they all stop, every time there is a tour bus (...) from Donegal or some coming past and they all stop and out and the cameras going. It must be the most famous house in the world (laughs). (I_9)

The Community Garden

Like every community worker in Derry, Linda was happy to show me her estate and what the Action Group had achieved here. From the money that was left of the Re-imaging Communities Programme, they also removed the graffiti from the bus shelters and an artist worked with children from the youth club to get them painted with friendly topics (e.g. underwater or airspace themes). Few instances of new graffiti have come up and Linda believes this is because the young people felt ownership of their paintings. Apart from the

territorial marking, the Action Group also put a great emphasis on a general tidiness of the area. They initiated a range of initiatives that should encourage residents to keep the area clean and nicely looking, for example by a “Best Kept Garden Competition” or a “Best Christmas Window Competition” and a bulky waste campaign.

Within the Creating Common Ground project the estate also got a welcome sign at the entrance of the street, a “community mosaic” on a wall – an artwork made by residents, and a little community garden, placed next to a house that carries the last UVF memorial mural and a mural that remembers a soldier who died in the 36th Ulster division. Especially, the community garden attracted my attention: In the centre of the paved round place of about 30m² stands a monument that displays a dove of peace. On the base of the monument it says: “Garden of Reflection”. The paved place is surrounded by smaller green circle with space for bushes, plants and small trees. Linda told me that at its opening, the children of the community were involved in planting the green space with daffodils. A fence surrounds the community garden and there is one entrance gate that faces the main road. Inside there are two iron benches facing the monument and the entrance gate. A construction resembling a roof is spanned over the benches but offers no protection against rain or wind. There is a wastepaper basket but no desks. Hence, from a physical perspective, sitting is basically the only thing one can do here.

The garden of reflection reminisces at the “gardens of remembrance” which I saw in Falls Road, Belfast and the Fountain in Derry. In these gardens the names of people who died during the troubles are immortalised. This is not the case in the Nelson Drive’s garden of reflection, however, the architectural structure is similar and the spectrums of activities these spaces offer are equally restricted. The only purpose of these gardens is to “remember” respectively to “reflect”. While the two mentioned gardens of remembrance recommend what and whom to remember, the garden in Nelson Drive offers a more open approach as it suggests “reflection”. However, what is probably even more important is that the concept of the space desires that you make your thoughts and interpretations ‘in here’.



Fig. 16. The Community Garden, Nelson Drive (my picture, 2011).

5.2.4 Thoughts on Re-imaging Processes in Nelson Drive

This case study gives the perspective of a community who wanted re-imaging and – with the support by government bodies and funding – managed to transform a Protestant UVF territory into a residential area where people do not display their religious-political affiliations in public space. Caw/Nelson Drive has developed from a visually threatening place into a neighbourhood in which the people like to live. Since the general clean-up and re-imaging of Nelson Drive, more and more people buy their houses from the Housing Executive and there is a waiting list for people wanting to move into the estate. Moreover, for other communities coming into the estate the removal of paramilitary murals is a positive sign that makes it easier for them to enter, as Linda has told me.

Brian Dougherty who works a lot with Protestant communities in the Waterside said that in a current local survey about flags, they found out that people preferred to live in areas without territorial marking.

People don't particularly want to live in areas that have red, white and blue kerbstones, or murals, or flags flying, you know, (...) they rather live in an area that is cleaner and less intimidating for visitors and that is obviously what is happening now in Caw, they managed to get the flags taking down, they cleaned the place up and people feel more pride in their area now. (I_14b)

Yet, Brian was certain there is still a long way to go until such formerly territorialised spaces will be inhabited by both communities. But he pointed out the positive effect that re-imaging makes more people stay in their area which provides a bit of stability for communities. However, there were still limits in terms of “shared space”.

But it's still very, very unusual, or still impossible for a Catholic to move to Caw, for example. Or for a Protestant to move to a Catholic area, even if it was re-imaged and look nicer, because there is still a huge step to make there. (I_14b)

Yet, the transformation of representational space had a large effect on people already living in the estate. Removed from its symbols, it is not only easier for people to live without the label “Protestant/unionist/loyalist” but it probably also entails further developments that undermine Nelson Drive’s “representation of space” as an ordinary residential area. The process of re-imaging helped to raise the self-esteem of residents, as it was also about negotiating power relations. The removal of paramilitary symbols set a sign that loyalist ex-combatants were beginning to give up control over the estate which was probably achieved by a transformation of social relations in which ex-combatants were better integrated into their community than the years before. Admitting to come from Nelson Drive was now less accompanied with feelings of shame or insecurity.

The case of Nelson Drive shows very well that territorial marking was not only a boundary marker for Catholics but also for the people living within these boundaries. The representational space used to speak of Loyalism, paramilitary activity and maleness. Women were not represented in the visual displays in Protestant residential areas and traditional spatial practices like parades, mural painting and territorial marking were male activities.

Also other representations of identity were suppressed within this territorialised space loaded with loyalist imagery. The dominance of symbols in representational space had effects on the discourse of people as well as on spatial practice. In peace building times identities that may have been put on the backburner in times of conflict are now starting to gain priority.

The transformation of visual displays provided that other forms of identifications made their way in a representational space. This is also recognisable in the images chosen for the new mural which replaced the UVF volunteers’ memorial. The choice of putting the residents’ memories of the former army base Ebrington in the mural managed to highlight the social aspects of people working for the army. It is a real collective memory of local Protestants that does completely without anything connected to marching, flute bands and other sectarian tradition or symbols and images from the 17th century. The mural gives an understanding as to why the army base was important to people as it depicts moments of social life: People have loved and married there, they have built up friendships, experienced feelings of community, good times, bad times. The mural is not about honour and duty, but meaning derives from a sort of nostalgia based on social relations people have. The mural gives a more diverse picture of the Protestant community at that time that includes women and children and men being husbands and family members instead of men being portrayed as volunteers of paramilitary

organisations or by symbols of the police and security forces. By the film reel it is clearly indicated that these are images of the past, whereas it is an image taken from a plan for the future which stands in the centre of the mural: the image of the Peace Bridge is seen as a symbol of peace and reconciliation because it connects the two sides of the city which stand symbolically for the two communities. At the Waterside end the footbridge lands at Ebrington Barracks which is about to be redeveloped. At the time of the Re-imagining Communities project, the plans about the bridge and the redevelopment were just out, yet people already deemed it to be important. The bridge indicates the beginning of a new era, also for the Ebrington Barracks which is intended to be “regenerated for mixed use and shared public space” by the Urban Regeneration Company ILEX (ilex-urc.com, online).

The re-imagining processes showed the tendency to make space clean, organised and welcoming. The garden of reflection reminds of Michel Foucault’s concept of “heterotopia” (1991 [1967]:68): a realised utopia created for a specific cause only. Heterotopias are places that fulfil a specific function within a society and also in respect to other spaces (1991:69, 71). Thus, although a heterotopia is separated spatially from all other spaces, it is still connected to them and represents them. Heterotopias are often tied to specific timeframes, for instance opening times, schedules, visiting hours or anniversaries (ibid.70). Like the graveyard and the museum, both examples of heterotopias that Foucault employs, the garden is created to “place” memories. It is a separate space where people remember, honour and grief for the dead, or reflect on the past. Although, the graveyard or the garden is apart, it is still connected to the space of the living and comments on it. The garden stays within the community but takes on a more reserved role. The murals force you to remember while the garden invites you to do so.

Remembering still takes place but somewhere else and in a more private or controlled manner. People have to break out of their daily routine to enter this space made for memory, a true *lieux de mémoires* (Nora 1989). The transformation of space does not necessarily entail that memory is wiped out rather the process of remembering, the spatial practice, is changed. It does not mean that residents do not remember outside the heterotopia, but for outsiders the potential frightening interpretation of symbols and images in residential areas disappears.

The community garden reveals a tendency to place memory more neutrally than on the houses of people, however, there is still the preference to have a ‘peace bridge mural’ instead of a white wall. Although, Maureen has experienced how her position towards the UVF mural on her house had changed over the years, she wanted her wall to continue to be a platform for symbolism that represents the collective identity of the community. Now her wall was telling

a new story, while a white wall would leave people guessing about what happened to the mural and why.

As already mentioned in the first case study murals are no ordinary visual display, their messages are differently transmitted than a sculpture, not only because they have a long history in Northern Ireland but also because they are ubiquitous and the meaning of their images are often more obvious than on sculptures. Even if they are not boundary markers anymore, they are still marking the area in a sense that they display an opinion on the houses of people, while a sculpture in the middle of an open green space or a roundabout is set apart from the houses. Thus, it is not only important what kind of symbolic meaning is changed, but there is obviously a great difference between putting up a mural, a sculpture or creating a specific place in which symbols, memories and cultural images are sited.

5.3 Case Study 3: The Bogside – Entering Free Derry



Fig. 17. Cityside, Cut-out of the “Derry Visitor Map” which was newly published after the UK City of Culture nomination. The black circle added by me marks the Bogside area, the black rectangle marks the Fountain area. (Derry Visitor and Convention Bureau 2011, my editing²⁹).

The Bogside lies at the north-western side of the “walled city” on the Cityside and is almost exclusively inhabited by the CNR community. The area has become famous to people interested in the Northern Ireland conflict. It was at the border of the old Southward in

²⁹ I also added the red line that should demarcate the separation wall/Peace line, as well as the dots that mark murals and other points of interest located within the Fountain.

Derry's gerrymandering system. This liminal space became the location for events that heavily impacted on the increasingly violent course of the Troubles during the 70s and 80s (see historical chapter). It was here where the Catholic residents of the Southward fought against the partial police, barricaded the streets and declared the area to be "Free Derry". It was also here where the British army shoot into the crowd of civil rights marcher and killed 13 people on 30 January 1972. The collective memory of this era is literally all over the place.

5.3.1 Description of Symbolic and Conceptualised Space

"You are now entering Free Derry", this announcement is painted on a white wall standing in the middle of the intersection of the Lecky Road, Rossville Street and Fahan Street. The slogan was written on a wall when the residents of the Bogside and Creggan barricaded the streets to keep the police outside and declared the area to be "Free Derry" in 1969 (see historical chapter). The painting refers to this era and is probably the most famous mural of Northern Ireland. It is occasionally adapted in reaction to events happening at the present locally as well as internationally. For the gay pride the background was painted pink in 2007 and when Israel attacked Gaza in winter 2008/09, the wall announced "You are now entering Free Gaza" and pictured a bomb falling on a pushchair, to name some examples. The back of the mural is also used as a platform for political campaigns, for instance by Sinn Féin (i.e. manifesto against student fees in 2011) or local socialist parties.



Fig. 18. Irish Tricolour and "Sunburst Flag" flying, view from the walls at the Bogside, Rossville Street (my photo, Easter 2011).

The Bogside is marked out visually as a republican area. The Irish Tricolour flies next to flags associated with republican organisations with paramilitary background (i.e. Sunburst flag, see

fig. 18) but also flags of regions that have similar separatist or emancipative objectives as the republican movement in Ireland, for instance Palestine and the Basques Country. There are no paramilitary murals showing gunmen or posing threats but sectarian graffiti saying “RIRA”, “Brits out” or “Provos” is spread all over the place on traffic signs, fences, house walls and stone walls. Political slogans mark the walls on Rossville Street and are also painted on the outside of the ancient city wall that faces the Bogside: “End internment by remand and release Colin Duffy now”, “Support our POWs” (Prisoners of War, author’s note), “End torture in Maghaberry now!”, “32 CSM” (32 Counties Sovereignty Movement, author’s note) and so on. The kerbs, lamp posts and electricity boxes are painted green, white and orange and many houses carry murals. One house is particularly striking as it has the red-green stripes of the Celtic football team cover all four walls. It sticks out of the plain rows of houses. Particularly Rossville Street, which faces the “walled city” that thrones on a hill and looks down at the Bogside, is plastered with images of the past, symbols and memorials. The most striking features are the twelve wall paintings painted by the “Bogside Artists”, Kevin Hasson and the brothers Tom and William Kelly. The three men have lived in Derry most of their lives and experienced the Troubles front line. Their murals portray events and personalities from the local history of distress and struggle of the Catholic community in Derry in “the most authentic renditions possible”, as the artists claim (<http://www.bogsideartists.com/>).

The images are based on photographs and refer to the following events:

- the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in Derry (“*The Civil Rights Mural*”),
- the Battle of the Bogside (several references, see below),
- “Operation Motorman” in July 1972 in which the British army retook so-called “no-go” areas and killed four locals in Derry (“*Operation Motorman Mural*”),
- Bloody Sunday (“*Bloody Sunday – 30th January 1972*” and “*Bloody Sunday Victims*”),
- and the Hunger Strike of republican prisoners in Maze and Armagh Prison (“*Hunger Strike -Raymond McCartney Mural*”).

The *Civil Rights Mural* shows a crowd of men and women in different age groups holding up banners that ask for “One Man, One Vote”, “Civil Rights” and “Jobs no creed”, another banner says: “Anti-sectarian”. For the *Bloody Sunday* mural the artists chose to use a photograph as inspiration which made its way in international newspapers. The photograph showed a group of men carrying the body of 17-year old Jack Duddy from the scene of his shooting while a Catholic priest waves a white handkerchief to protect the teenager. The

Bogside Artists added the crowd of civil rights marchers in the back of the scene, and an armed soldier in the front who stands on a bloodstained civil rights banner. Apart from the red blood, the mural is held in black and white.

The “*Hunger Strike*” mural centres the republican prisoner and hunger striker Raymond McCartney, a “Derryman”, and a female unnamed republican hunger striker from Armagh prison. Both are wrapped in blankets referring to the republican prisoner’s refusal to wear the prison uniform. They were part of the first hunger strike in 1980 which was called off before any of the strikers died. According to the artists, the original photograph on which the mural is based, showing Raymond McCartney’s haggard and bearded face, tells “the whole story of the grief and suffering of the inmates” (CAIN Web service, online³⁰).

Three murals refer to the riots that took place in the Bogside as an almost daily occasion: “*The Saturday Matinee - The Rioter*”, “*the Petrol Bomber- Battle of the Bogside*”, and “*the Runner*”, showing three young boys escaping from tear gas (used as a weapon against rioters by the British army) and two small portrays of local boys who both died during the Troubles. All three murals show young boys being involved in the riots.

But there are also women portrayed: The “*Bernadette*” mural, which honours the political left-wing activist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, portrays her as a young student speaking through a megaphone during the upheavals. In the back another young woman is portrayed as she is knocking the lids of rubbish bins on the floor to warn residents of raids by the British army. Behind her two young men stand ready to protect “Free Derry”, one masked by a white scarf, the other holding a stick. They are surrounded by smoke and stand in front of the “You are now entering Free Derry” mural.

Another mural shows a girl in school uniform. It is the image of Annette McGavigan, a 14-year old girl that was shot by a British soldier while standing on the street close to where the mural stands now in 1971 (“*Death of Innocence*” mural). One mural displays the faces of the 14 victims of Bloody Sunday³¹ (“*Bloody Sunday Victims*”). The newest mural, which came up in 2008, is the “*A Tribute to John Hume*” mural, the founder of the Social Democratic Labour Party and main figure in the civil rights movement. The mural pictures John Hume together with three other Nobel Peace Prize winners: Dr Martin Luther King Jr., Mother Theresa and Nelson Mandela.

A “*Peace Mural*” picturing a white dove in front of a colourful background is the only mural that is not directly referring to the particular local history of the Bogside area or a local personality. The Bogside Artists named their murals “the People’s Gallery” saying that they

³⁰ <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bogsideartists/mural6/> [19.10.2012]

³¹ One victim, John Johnston, died later as a result of the injuries received that day.

picture the history of the people speaking up to a repressive regime. They understand the conflict as the result of institutionalised discrimination, “a crime against both Catholics and Protestants” (CAIN, Web Service, online³²). Since 1994 when the first mural (“*The Petrol Bomber*”) was unveiled, the murals are continuously restored by the artists with support by the local community.

These visual displays have contributed to the internationally high profile of the Bogside which has become a major attraction for tourists who are interested in the conflict.

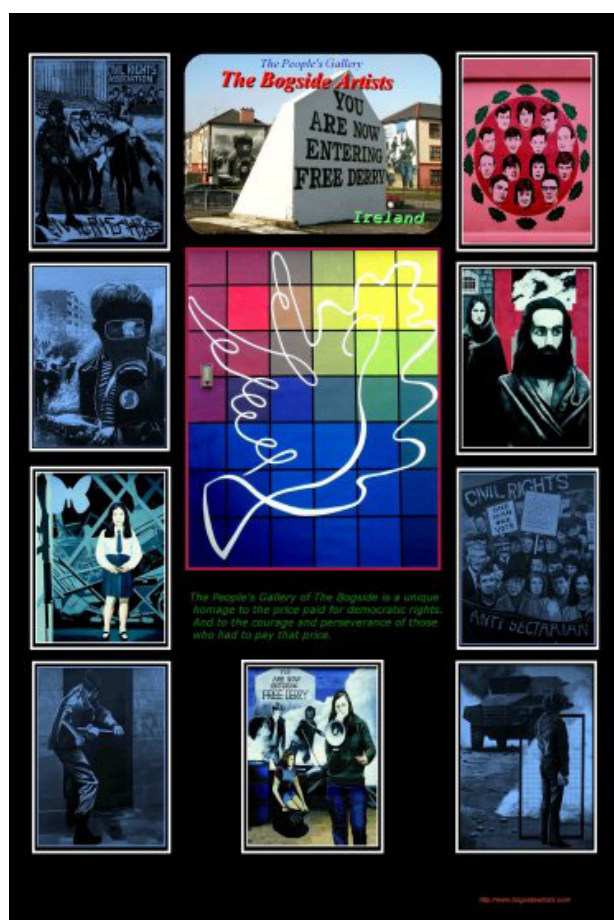


Fig. 19. Poster, collection of murals by the Bogside Artists (source: <http://www.bogsideartists.com/order.htm>).

5.3.2 An Iconic Space

For Irish nationalists and republicans as well as international sympathisers of the Irish nationalist movement, the Bogside has become iconic – a symbol for fighting against injustice, state violence and oppression. Moreover, the Bogside is also an important site of so-called political tourism. This kind of tourism became popular after the paramilitary ceasefire proved to be stable. People from all over the world started to come to Belfast and Derry to hear about the conflict first-hand. Tourists go on walking-, bus- or “black taxi”-tours where

³² <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bogsideartists/statement.htm> [19.10.2012]

former paramilitary combatants guide through the locations of conflict and tell their version of the story.

In the “Free Derry Tour” a republican ex-combatant leads you along Rossville Street and tells you about the Troubles, while the Bogside murals on the buildings of the street pose a visual component to this narrating. Most tourists coming to Derry also visit the ‘Museum of Free Derry’, which gives detailed information about the local history of the Bogside. Starting from its earliest plantation and leaving it open to recent developments; it shows a history of injustice against the Catholic population and of violent suppression of civilians by state security forces. A major focus of the museum is a reconstruction of the events on Bloody Sunday. The museum was opened in 2007 as part of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign in order to provide an opportunity to tell their version of the story after the first investigation in the case brought no justice to the victim’s families and friends. Initially, an instrument to raise awareness, the museum has received interim accreditation status by the South’s Heritage Council in 2011, and intends to gain full status in the coming years (Derry Journal 8 April 2011, online).

John Kelly, the man that sits at the reception of the small museum almost every day, has made it his duty to tell visitors about what happened on Bloody Sunday. His 17-year old brother, Michael Kelly, who went with John at the march, was killed by the paratrooper’s gunfire. For someone visiting Derry for the first time, the openness of the people with Catholic background to talk about the painful experiences of the past may come as a surprise, but John Kelly is not the only one who will tell you his story. The nationalist community talks *against* the “official versions” of events represented by the power holders and *for* justice that the relatives of many victims of British state violence had never received.

Testimonies of state violence are displayed in the small exhibition: photographs, video footage, plastic bullets which the army used, clothes of the victims with blood stains, posters of the civil rights movement and so on. The voice recordings of a journalist who joined the protest march against internment on 30 January 1972 are played in an infinite loop and make up the tragic soundscape of the exhibition. The singing of the marchers is interrupted by gun shots and turns into screaming and sounds of panic. Until summer 2010, the museum used to end with the frustrating results of the investigation that happened in the aftermath of Bloody Sunday. I remember vividly the first time I visited the museum. It was in November 2008 and I was a “political tourist” myself. It was a short visit but intense and created a strong empathy for the Catholics in Northern Ireland. Feelings of frustration and bitterness filled me with all this unsettling information. When I walked along Rossville Street, for the first time in my life

I could feel political tension physically at a place and the dire experience in the Bogside ignited my interest in the city.

5.3.3 Changes

However, this was before the publication of Saville. Thus, when I arrived in Derry for my fieldwork on 21 January 2011, it seemed that the weight of Bloody Sunday had finally been lifted and people in Derry were ready to make their peace. John Kelly, who still sat at the reception of the Free Derry Museum, said that the publication of the Saville report had changed “a lot” (F_6). The exhibition was enlarged by a section about the Saville report and the preparations for the upcoming Bloody Sunday March – the first one after the publication – were in full swing.

A four-day long event was organised with many discussions, talks and lectures, celebrations and the traditional mass and wreath laying ceremony. The march itself was the highpoint of the weekend which ran under a positive motto: “Vindication – Finally Justice”. For the first time the march was going to be one of “*celebration and achievement*”, said John Kelly (F_39).

The Bloody Sunday Trust, who organises the annual march, announced that 2011 would be the last march, because the victim’s relatives wanted closure.

Although major changes are happening, transition towards peace is not without conflict and ambivalence: Many from the nationalist community were taken aback by this decision. At the actual march on 30 January a group of protesters split from the procession at Free Derry Corner in protest to 2011 being the last march. The majority went on to the main square in front of the Guildhall where a stage was set up. A range of speakers –among them Gerry Adams from Sinn Féin – talked about the importance of Saville, of the achievements of the victim’s families and that other injustices committed by state violence were not forgotten. The names and photographs of “victims of state violence” were posted on a video wall and read out by John Kelly, whose reading was accompanied by applause from the audience. John expressed his wish “*Hopefully after the 15th of June people can start to heal*”. Then music started to play and the “Celtic singer” Frances Black performed two well-known anthems of civil rights movements (“Something inside so strong” and “We shall overcome”). Women who stood beside me sang loudly, people were dancing, clapping their hands and celebrated achievement (F_09). Yet, the opposition of ending the march was so strong that in 2012 the tradition was re-continued. The march was not only an annual reminder that another year had passed without having the English government admit to their responsibility in the killings of

13 unarmed civilians – the march was and is also an instrument for various groups to stage Irish nationalism/republicanism. As Conway (2007:27) writes, the Bloody Sunday March is a performance of memory, in which “competing political discourses” are fought out. It gave the cause of Irish republicanism legitimacy and significance. Moreover, the march was also a spatial practice that recreated the significance of Rossville Street and its symbolical meaning every year.

5.3.4 The Arena of Re-imaging the Bogside

The Bogside Artists are a player in the area. Unlike most other mural painters, they have become quite famous. They give their own tours of the murals, opened a studio and have created an international fan base via their website, their blog and Facebook where they have 5,365 fans (status: 4 September 2012). Most of them are from Derry and comment vividly on their activities. According to Kevin Hasson people also donate money for maintaining the murals. The artists sell merchandise like posters, books, clothes and a CD in their study and online and sometimes they are invited to other countries to give talks or paint murals (e.g. in Austria, Vordernberg, for the “Art of Reconciliation” project). The murals have become their business, although according to the artist they do not make any money out of it but struggle to keep their murals in good shape.

When I first heard about the Re-imaging Communities Programme and that murals were being removed, I was interested what the Bogside Artists would think about this. I went to their studio and talked to Kevin Hasson who was always eager to chat with people interested in their murals. Kevin told me that I was not the first who asked. When Re-imaging was launched, journalists called the Bogside artists, asking them what they thought about this project. This surprised them. *“We have no paramilitary murals; we just show people’s history”*, Kevin said (F_26).

It turned out that he was not a big fan of the Re-imaging programme. He said the project initially was called *“eradication of paramilitary murals”* but was renamed because it received so many objections. He told me, the government offered them £50,000 if they changed their murals but they refused. He said the project was financing sectarian groups for removing their murals, while the Bogside Artists would not receive financial support because their murals were “social”. Mocking the programme, Kevin said he could take some paint and go to some random wall and paint something like “Support the RIRA” or “Brits out” and then photograph it and ask for money to paint some Mickey Mouse or Daffy Duck over it. He suggested that people make a lot of money with this. Then he told me about a mural in Sandy Row, Belfast that was picturing the UVF members that fought in WWI and the UVF members that formed

during the Troubles as well as the “Grim Reaper”. He claimed, the UK government offered the paramilitaries £10,000 to change it but the paramilitaries rejected, saying it was their heritage. So they had negotiations going on for a while and then the government offered them £50,000 and they eventually agreed to change the mural in line with the Arts Council’s rule. *“But what is going to happen if in a few years the mural is worn down? Will they finance the renewal”*, Kevin asked not waiting for an answer.

I do not know about paramilitary groups being paid for their consent. According to my interlocutors who participated in Re-imaging Communities projects, the money was used for the implementation of the project (workshops, paying the community workers, the artists, cleaning costs, material costs), not to pay off paramilitaries (i.e. I_5).

Kevin also told me that they did not receive funding like other cultural venues in the city although they were a major tourist attraction for Derry. Five years ago, the Bogside Artists asked Derry City Council for funding to get their murals illuminated. As they did not receive a result for so long, they decided to do it themselves with the help of the community. The people living in the houses that carry the murals let them use the electricity of their staircases, which is paid by the Housing Executive who owns the houses. *“See, this is Free Derry”*, Kevin brushed away my question if they had a permission to do so. Kevin said, if the police would have tried to stop them, the people would have driven them out. Although, Kevin said he was glad that they stayed independent from the republican organisations, political parties, the Arts Council and Derry City Council because this kept their credibility within the community – he also criticised that the City Council was not giving them enough respect (F_26). Thus, the Bogside Artists withdrew their initial support for City of Culture. First they thought it would be good for the city, but then they realised that the money would all go to the elites in the city centre, he explained their decision.

In the Bogside Artist’s blog and facebook postings one could follow their own verbal war against Derry City Council and the “self-appointed cultural elite” (Bogside Artists blog entry, 30 March 2012) that organises City of Culture. They feel some powerful people whom they call “Moriarty”³³ are working against them (Bogside Artists blog entry, 27 February 2011). Kevin told me about his theory that British government realised that tourists from all over the world come to Northern Ireland for political tourism and that the Bogside murals were embarrassing them because they tell the world what the British did to the Northern Irish people. Hence, the UK government and the people who are dependent on it want their murals removed.

³³ Professor James Moriarty is a fictitious novel character and the archenemy of the detective Sherlock Holmes.

The staff of the Art and Regeneration Office did not hide that there had been disputes with the artists. Brendan McMenamin said straight out that he did not like murals and deemed the Bogside murals a tourist trap.

They're ugly, they don't do anything, they don't say anything, they're crap. There was a history of mural arts in the North, right, which was about communities at the time of conflict having the opportunity to reflect identity and political views, because they weren't represented in the media. But that time had gone. If the war is over and the conflict is over take the murals down, move on, take them away. (I_6)

He said that one could not force people to take murals down, yet, it seemed that at the moment the City Council was also not eager to support the restoration of the Bogside murals. Alice told me that there was a time when the council really wanted to support them but then an argument (about another group Alice was working with which the Bogside Artists did not like) and overhasty aggressive communication from the artists' side damaged the relationship lastingly. Alice and I talked about the Bogside when she showed me a Re-imaging project in close-by Brandywell (I_10b). She said that not everybody living in this area liked the murals and that the local support was not as big, as the artists claim.

I can see how people can see their point ... And I don't live in this area either, but I worked in this area and a lot of people said to me that they don't want them, and yet they [the Bogside Artists] say that they're speaking on behalf of the community but they're just three men within a whole community, who have created a platform for themselves to say that they are speaking on behalf of the community, (...)those three men want them to stay, they made them, but if you ask for proof if the community wants them to stay it's again anecdotal, I mean, my proof, that community don't want them to stay is anecdotal, this is what people are saying, you can ask. (I_10b)

She added that many people who want the murals to stay do not have to live with them.

They go back to their nice middle-class area, where they would be outraged if someone would put a sectarian mural on a wall in their environment, so while it benefits them to have that status quo of imagery within communities, they wouldn't live within that context themselves. (I_10b)

On top, she said, the local people do not have a profit of the tourists coming to see the murals, as they are bussed in and out and do not even eat in the area.

While we looked at a flyover where graffiti had been removed, a local community worker passed by and Alice asked him spontaneously what he thought about the Bogside murals. He said he was not very fond of them because they had a strong influence on young people in the area. He suggested that they were the reason why the local youth throws stones at police cars. "If they pictured people wearing Nike shoes, everybody in the Bog would wear Nike" (Declan, in I_10b).

Negative attitudes against the police, the establishment and a natural rejection of “the Brits” are still widely spread in the Bogside.

It is true that the murals portray a collective memory of the injustices the British and the police did to the local population. Yet, it is not the murals alone that have an influence on young people. The narrative of “Free Derry” is shared by the local middle-aged men and women who speak about the excitement of rioting against the police and the security forces during the Troubles. Now in times of peacebuilding, the Bogside continues to be a difficult area for the reformed police as it still happens regularly that young people provoke reasons to get the police into their area in order to throw stones and bottles at PSNI cars just for “the craic”. This is not unique to the Bogside, yet the area is the prototype of a nationalist working-class area. Amy, an 18-year-old girl from the Bogside, told me that it was very difficult for young people not to be influenced by republican ideology. Particularly, as most young people are surrounded by hard-line republicans all the time if it was not for community relations projects that try to get young people away (I_18).

This is particularly worrying, as dissident republican paramilitaries are still very active in nationalist areas and community workers assume they recruit from the young people who lack perspectives regarding their future. Thus, the general acceptance of an almost ‘republican youth culture’ has very dangerous implications when radicalism comes into play. The police stations in Derry that look like maximum security fortifications and the armoured police cars attest to the dangerous position for police men and women in Northern Ireland.

The presence and support of paramilitary activity in the Bogside is expressed in public space by offensive, threatening and sectarian graffiti messages. Apart from the graffiti like “RIRA” and “PROVOS” that covers the surfaces of the residential area, graffiti is also used to display concrete threats. For instance, when the 25-year old Catholic police officer Ronan Kerr was murdered on the 2nd April 2011 by a booby-trap bomb placed under his car by a republican dissident group, a series of offensive graffiti came up in the Bogside area, praising the murder and spreading threats to Catholic members of the PSNI like: “*GAA cops, look what use (sic) got*” (Graffiti in the Bogside, 5 April 2011).

The residents of the Bogside declared that the people spreading these messages were a minority and did not represent the community. Community workers and young people got organised to remove the graffiti immediately after their appearance.

As already mentioned, graffiti has become the quickest changing visual display in residential areas. Particularly in the Bogside the offensive and dynamic graffiti messages that comment on activities and events in the present, mix with the official, generally approved and more

static visual displays that also portray the locals people's opposition and rebellion but in another time and context.

5.3.5 Thoughts and Analysis

There are many arguments for keeping the murals in the Bogside: First of all, they pose “alternative” versions of history as opposed to what the UK government claims to be the truth. They testify the acts of state violence and suppression of one of the “*shining examples of Western democracy*”, as Kevin called Britain sarcastically (F_26). They are part of the established narrative that constitutes the Bogside as a historic place where the courageous working-class stood up against a suppressive regime which caused innocent deaths and created martyrs. The images make the horrors of the conflict graphic in a way that moves people who before may have only heard about the Troubles through the media. In combination with the narrative of the Bogside told in the museum, by people or on the description signs below the murals, these images create emotions, empathy and understanding for the republican cause. Moreover, they portray people's history and the story of the subaltern who fought for their rights. It is a success story which gives people hope and inspiration.

In contrast to the Protestant residential areas, the murals in Bogside show a more diverse picture of the community which includes women, children, and elderly persons. The Bogside Artists claim to portray “people's history”.

Yet, there are voices that question the relevance of keeping these images of the past in public space. As Alice and Brendan claim, the wish to remove murals is not just existent within the “Re-imaging Communities Programme” but also within communities as there are people who feel the murals are holding society back from moving further towards peace. The reasons why the murals should be removed are similar to the reasons why they should stay; just the interpretation of their meaning is different. The portrayal of people's rebellion against the state, in this interpretation, signifies antagonism towards the British and the police, both sources of identity for the Protestants in the City. Their popularity and potential for raising emotional solidarity, therefore, can be seen as negative with regards to the “nationalist youth culture” that glorifies fighting the police even today. Hence, the murals are seen as feeding into the segregation of communities.

As an outsider it was difficult to understand what was going on at the Bogside: on the one hand, I observed that the Bogside murals were a popular and important tourist site and that the artists had a big local lobby, on the other hand, I also followed their verbally aggressive blog in which they wrote about conspiracy theories. On the one hand, I observed the City Council

trying to consult and involve everybody in their ambitions for transformation; on the other hand, they got into a serious dispute with a non-sectarian local player. This was even more confusing, as they obviously managed to discuss constructively with paramilitary groups and accepted that sectarian or questionable imagery in some areas remained.

Certainly, as we deal with social space, social relations – and therefore factors like pride, misunderstandings or contradicting interests and motivations – come into play. Yet, this was the case also in other areas, where paramilitary groups had to be convinced to agree to the re-imaging. So why is it that the DCC has problems with a non-sectarian group like the Bogside Artists? Both are powerful players and both have the same interest in peace. Yet, this may be the very problem. Criticism and respectively lack of support is seen by both sides as a major insult as they both feel they are doing the right thing. In contrast, arguments with paramilitary groups are avoided, first of all because of fear, but also because there is nothing to gain as they have been dismissed as being a minority already.

The Council people understand their work of re-imaging as a community relations tool; hence criticism of their good intentions is not taken lightly. However, the Bogside Artists also feel that their achievements for the city in terms of tourism and international reputation are not being acknowledged by Derry City Council. Moreover, the council's new reconciliatory agenda involves moving away from the anti-British attitudes and stressing the positive sides of the city's connection with Britain. This is logical as the UK is a major financial partner but also in community relations terms, as Protestants feel that their British identity is not accepted in this predominantly Irish nationalist city. However, it is arguable if the removal of critical reminders of the British's involvement in the Northern Ireland conflict would raise the level of acceptance within the local population. First and foremost because it would put the images of people's rebellion on the same level with paramilitary and other sectarian imagery, but also because a space that silences social and political criticism cannot be truly a "shared space".

Furthermore, the Bogside murals are no ordinary murals, as they are also a tourist attraction and even became part of a specific popular culture. Images like "the Petrol Bomber" are replicated on posters and T-shirts. They have become meaningful to a larger audience than one local group. They are seen as objects worthy to be protected and refurbished, which points to a "musealisation" (Sturm 1991) of the murals as well as of whole Rossville Street.

However, the Bogside is not a typical out-door museum because people actually live there. Although, the Bogside Artists claim the support of the community, not everybody who lives in the Bogside might want to be surrounded by these images all the time.

The influence of symbolic visual displays in a residential space on the social realities of people who live there cannot be denied, as they are part of the production of space. They have agency in the shaping of concepts and spatial practices and thus, are part in the reproduction of the narrative of the Bogside being a space of people's rebellion against state violence and suppression. But they are just *one part* - the murals could never be the only reason for young people's negative attitudes. Moreover, what happens through musealisation is that the object or space becomes isolated from its original real or symbolic context (Sturm 1991:104).

Hence, through the musealisation of Rossville Street, the murals are put into the new context of international history concerning resistance movements against suppressive colonial systems. They have gained new meaning and cannot be placed at the same level with sectarian graffiti that covers the residential space in the Bogside.

The graffiti are not just messages for and against the police or the British; they are also messages for and against the people living in Derry. As it is assumed that it is particularly young men who are involved in these activities, it can be seen as a counter-action to reconciliatory aspirations of the majority population.

At the moment the measures to tackle graffiti involves an approach to remove them as soon as possible. The signs of aggression are wiped out, yet the problem that paramilitary organisations continue to attract young people remains unchallenged. Without the intention to diminish the importance of people from the community who counteract the sectarian graffiti, there needs to be a more concrete strategy to extremist attitudes in society than claiming that they are just a minority opinion.

It is not my task to judge if the musealisation of the Bogside is good or bad nor who is right or wrong, the DCC or the artist. What I am interested in is the fact that these discussions are happening at the moment. Like with the spatial practice of the Bloody Sunday March, the transformation of visual displays and iconic space is a controversial issue. Yet, looking at more static elements of a culture is a useful instrument to identify the frictions that come up during a transition process. The disagreement in regards of the relevance of the murals highlights the changing discourses and the difficulties of people dealing with them.

5.4 Case Study 4: The Fountain Estate

The Fountain Estate is the only Protestant/unionist/loyalist residential area that is left at the Cityside³⁴ and houses approximately 350-400 people. It lies right at the west end of Craigavon Bridge that connects the City- with the Waterside, between the river Foyle and the city's ancient walls. The Fountain estate is annexed to the city walls, thus, when walking on the walls one can see right into the estate. Union Jacks fly high and murals facing the wall put out a message to onlookers: "Londonderry West Bank Loyalists Still Under Siege, No Surrender", stands there in white letters on black ground (fig. 20, no. 10). The mural refers to the 17th century-siege by James's troops and says that the Fountain residents are keeping up their defence until today. In front of the mural there is a black mark on the ground which reminds one of the last bonfire that was lit to celebrate the lifting of the siege of Derry in 1689 and the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 (see chapter 2.1.1).

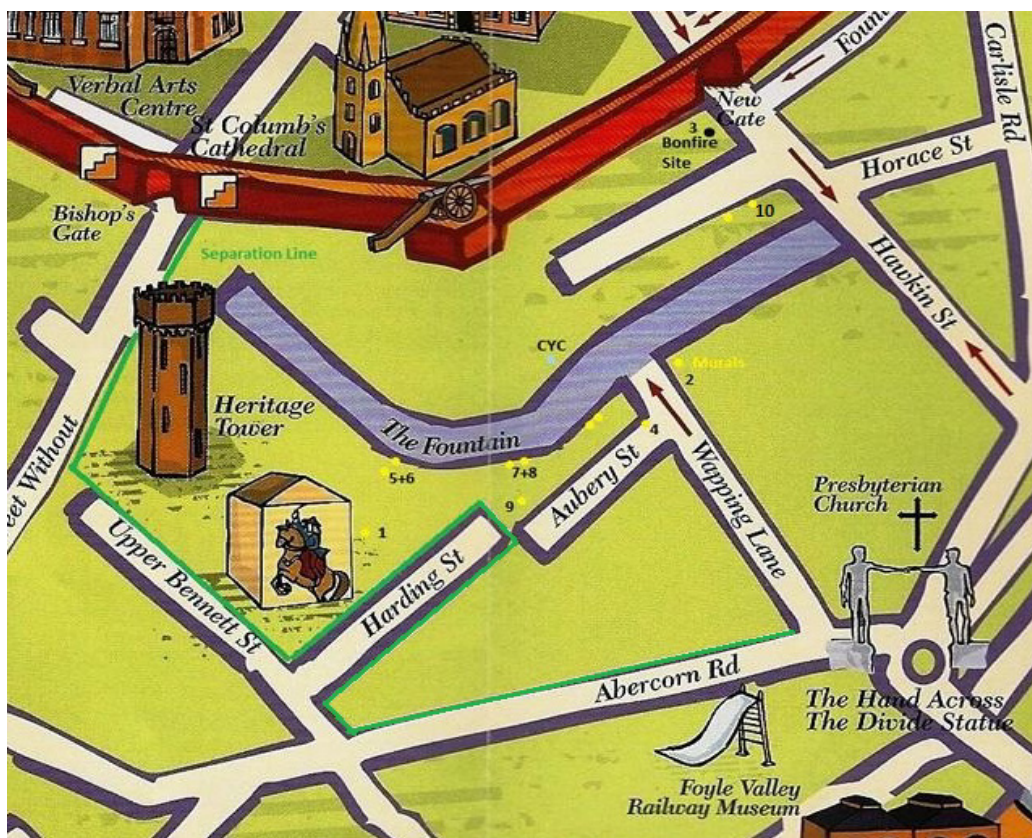


Fig. 20. The Fountain estate and its murals. Cut-out of Derry Visitor map (Derry Visitor and Convention Bureau, n.d.). My editing: the red line marks the separation wall, the dots and numbers are mark murals and other points of interest.

³⁴ The Fountain estate is marked as the tiny orange dot at the City Side area in Fig. 2.



Fig. 21. View from the walls, New Gate: Fountain, Bonfire site (my photo, 2011).

5.4.1 Living like under Siege

For some people, the Fountain is considered as the last stronghold in a predominantly Catholic environment, for others it is seen as a backward community that continues to live in the past. A lot of this impression derives from the visual displays of loyalist symbols and images that commemorate historic events and display Ulster Protestant identity. The fact that the estate lies at the Cityside, adjacent to the walls, and that it interfaces with the nationalist Bishop Street area has shaped the social memory of the community in a certain way. The residents live in the heart of the city but are still isolated.

The first time I wanted to visit the Fountain, I walked along Bishop Street in expectation to find an entrance somewhere close. Bishop Street leads from the “Diamond”, the centre of the Walled City, outside into the deeply nationalists residential areas and therefore is cut through by the ancient walls. While the first part of the street inside the walls (Bishop Street Within) is covered with offices of various peace building initiatives (i.e. the Peace and Reconciliation Group, the Junction, Headliners, Holywell Trust etc.), the part outside the walls (Bishop Street Without) becomes an interface area. A fenced wall was built to separate the Protestant population of the Fountain estate from their Catholic neighbours to prevent clashes and attacks. On the so-called “peaceline” a CCTV camera stands next to some rotten wind wheels, the reminder of a cross-community project some years ago. In addition to the separation wall, the houses in the Fountain which stand close to the interface have also tall grates installed in front of the houses to protect them from missiles that could be easily thrown from the city

walls. From the Bishop Street interface the only entrance into the Fountain is a small door, hidden in a tin-sheet that is closed every evening until morning.

Unaware of the hidden door I walked around half the estate until I could enter the Fountain. While I followed the road along the wall until the end of Bishop Street Without and further down along Abercorn Road, I noticed that the houses outside the Fountain had iron grates in front of their windows. Later I learned that these were due to the frequent rioting in the area. At the south end of Abercorn Road, Wapping Lane leads into the estate. I needed no welcome sign to know that this was the right entrance: red, white and blue colours painted on lampposts and kerbstones signified that it must be Protestants living there.



Fig. 22. Tin-shed that hides entrance at Bishop's Gate and fenced wall at Bishop Street Without (my photo, 2011).



Fig. 23. Wapping Lane Entrance into the Fountain (my photo, 2011).

The Fountain is not completely gated, if troublemakers dare, they could also use the entrance from inside the walls at “New Gate” leading into Hawkin Street, or two little side streets in the east of the Fountain estate: Fountain Street and Horace Street both lead into the Fountain from the shopping street Carlisle Road. Entering at these streets, one walks along abandoned and boarded houses, whereas entering at Bishop Street Without would be right at where most Fountainers live.

The feeling of trespassing came over me when I walked into the estate. I noticed that I raised the attention of the residents, as did my behaviour (taking pictures of what people see every day). The feeling of being out of place did not change with coming to the Fountain more often. At one of my later visits, two little boys threw small stones on a wall next to me, leaving me guessing if this was a joke, a warning, or if the stones merely had missed me. These feelings of insecurity – which I also experienced in other residential areas in Derry – stood in contrast to the friendly welcome people gave me in the local community centre, the ‘Cathedral Youth Club’ (CYC), which became an important source of information as the people working and coming to the centre were happy to tell me their point of view on things happening in the city.

Community Work in the Fountain

The Cathedral Youth Club's building is located right in the centre of the Fountain and is the only public in-door space in the estate. At the floor of the one-storied house is the office, a kitchen, a small room with computers mainly used to play video games, and a room big enough for all kind of activities (e.g. dancing classes, table tennis). Upstairs there is a computer room where various educational classes are being held (e.g. classes for computing, digital photography, creative writing workshops etc.), a bigger meeting room with a large table in the centre and a room that is reserved for the older youth, if they need a bit of rest or privacy when the children of the estate play downstairs. It is especially unemployed young men, some of them single-fathers, and little children who come to the club every day. At my first visit, Jeanette Warke, the head of the CYC, spontaneously gave me an interview about her work and about the living situation in the Fountain (I_4). The 69-year old energetic lady runs the CYC with her two sons, Alan and Graham. In 1972, when violence between Protestants and Catholics escalated, many parents were afraid that their kids would get involved in paramilitary activity, so they tried to find a safe space for young people. Jeanette's late husband started out with a record player and some board games. Today the Cathedral Youth Club is more like a community centre and offers a broad recreational and educational programme for young people and adults. When her husband died in 2003 Jeanette took over and became involved in many community relations initiatives and peace building projects throughout the city.

Like most community workers in Derry, Jeanette tries to keep the young people away from "bad influences", for instance elderly people who pass on their sectarian prejudices or the older boys who already became involved in illegal activities. Like the Bogside youth, the young men in the Fountain have a reputation of making trouble. Youth unemployment and early parenthood are another big problem. Lack of perspectives and boredom can lead to "anti-social" or sectarian behaviour which again feeds into the tensions between the Catholic and Protestant youth. Rioting and vandalising each others murals or stealing flags have become a favourite pastime. None of these social problems are specific to the Fountain but due to its location the estate has a special problematic to it. The people in this area feel that they are living in a hostile environment:

They don't want us here. (Young men, I_12)

They want us removed from the Fountain. (Other young men, I_12)

Due to its location at the walls, the Fountain is an easy target for all kind of aggression:

Most nights stones and other missiles are thrown over the interface especially at the weekends when the bars close. (Graham Warke, I_12)

Bottles, stones, fire works, bricks, paint bombs and even petrol bombs are thrown on houses, murals and sometimes people. Particularly those living close at the interface fear for their safety. Since there have been problems with young people waiting for the school bus outside the estate, the bus takes pupils directly from the inside of the Fountain to the Protestant school on the Waterside.

In a copy of the Cathedral Youth Club's own magazine, in which the members of the Youth Club report about activities, events happening in the Fountain and the wider city as well as topics the residents are concerned about, a young person wrote:

We feel like prisoners caged in our own area. We are attacked by Catholics when we are in and when we come out. (Cathedral Youth Club Newsletter, August 2009:3)

Although the Fountain is located in the city centre just next to the historic walls its residents feel isolated and gated. The people I met complained that there were no shops or bars, no playground, which seemed strange in consideration that all these things are less than a five minutes walk away if they would just leave the estate. Their mobility was heavily restricted as they are afraid of being beaten up or verbally attacked if they went into Catholic areas. One of my young interlocutors from the Fountain listed the streets he would not go because they were dangerous for him. Then he told me about his younger sister who has Catholic friends and goes to the city centre regularly. He said, to a stranger she would just say that she is from the Waterside and not from the Fountain. "*She gets away with it*", the 23-year old welder shrugged (I_12).

However, for the Fountainers their isolation seems to be intensified because of their location in a nationalist Cityside.

The young people still feel up here that they are living under siege. They don't have the freedom of the city, they certainly can't go shopping on the road and in the shopping centres. They usually go in groups of five or six and even to the local shops. So, it's quite sad actually. And even for the sporting activities, which we organise here in the Youth Club, everything that happens, we have to bus them out of here. We have to get a bus and it's a lot of money all the time, you know. (Jeanette Warke, I_4)

Apart from the CYC, there is little to do for people living in the Fountain area. Community Relations programmes offer trips and activities, but funding is often tied to cross-community projects. This is partly disapproved by the elder Fountain youth that had bad experiences with cross-community projects. Due to its proximity to the city centre and all the Catholic peace building groups, the Fountain was the first location which was involved in cross-community projects. Some of them went terribly wrong. Siuán McLaughlin, the Playhouse Good Relations Officer, who works a lot with the CYC said:

There's been mistakes in the past and even within the schools, where they...it has been two groups of children and they've got on a bus and went somewhere separately and then got back on the bus and went home again and there was no positive interaction they were just, you know, they were in a space together at the same time but there was no communication or interaction and that for me is not a cross-community project, you know, you get to go somewhere, you know, go to the zoo or go to the beach or somewhere, but it doesn't encourage dialogue, it doesn't build friendships, or it doesn't engage young people in meaningful work. (I_16)

The outcome was that they knew each other's faces which put them in danger of being beaten up for being from the other side: *"When you do cross-community work you're a marked man"*, the 23-year old welder explained to me (I_12b), who said that he would only support cross-community work for very young children or with people from other cities.

You know, so we do encourage participation but it's very, very hard (...) to work with young Catholics right on in this interface because when the young Catholics get to know ours and ours get to know them, if they meet out outside whatever, it usually ends up in [short break] a bit of bawler, you know what I mean? //mhm// so it's not really at that stage at you know where you can...can really encourage them to have a lot of communication together. (Jeanette Warke, I_4)

But the Fountain is not only on the receiving end, young people could get involved quite early in activities that could be interpreted as "sectarian" rioting (that is: meeting with young people from the other side and starting a fight), vandalising murals, writing sectarian messages, targeting objects that stand symbolically for the other.

Everybody does it [rioting], those who say they don't, lie. (I_12b)

In the conversation with the young welder it turned out that he understood tensions between Protestants and Catholics on a local level. When he visits his aunt who married a Catholic in the South, his Protestant background is not important. He was aware that only in Derry his "Protestant" identity is an issue, and also that his engagement in fights and riots when he was younger contributed to that. For young men like him it is almost impossible to engage in successful local cross-community work. Derry is a small city and those who once joined into sectarian activities, fights and riots quickly acquire a reputation that is not easily resolved with a cross-community project.

Although, these activities happen within a sectarian framework, terms like "recreational rioting" point to other reasons than sectarian hatred. Rioting was described to me as "good craic" by young people from both sides. Boredom and unemployment are reasons for their popularity but also because it had become kind of a 'youth culture'. The 23-year old welder explained that he stopped rioting when he found work, because he would not want to risk his job. He also explained that it was not so much Protestants against Catholics but rather like gangs fighting each other.

The Heritage Trail

Like the Bogside and Bond Street, the Fountain is outlined as a “murals area” in the up-to-date version of Derry Visitor Map. In 2010 the CYC established the tourist trail “Footsteps through the Fountain”, a walking tour similar to the “Free Derry Tour”.

A young man in his early 20s gave me the tour of the estate while his little son stayed at the Youth Club (F_20). He said he was unemployed and just started to volunteer for CYC. During the tour he showed me everything there was to see in the little neighbourhood. We started at the community centre and he showed me the small “Garden of Remembrance” at the back of the building. It was built by the young people of the Youth Club and “commemorates those who were killed during the Troubles”, so that people could come here to think of them instead of going to the graveyard, which lies in the nationalist Creggan area.

Then we walked along the murals and he said a little bit about them. He showed me the place where the most precious mural for the Fountain community usually stands, but which is not kept outside because of the risk that it gets damaged and vandalised. The mural pictures King William III leading the charge on a white horse through the Battle of the Boyne. It is only carried outside during marching season. At the location where the mural used to be white letters on black ground say: “Londonderry Loyalists Still Under Siege Says No to Derry” (fig. 20, no. 1). The original King William mural was painted by the local muralist Bobby Jackson in the 1920s and was continuously repainted by three generations of the Jackson family until the gable wall fell down in 1994 (McKenna 2003:18). The mural is remembered in a commemoration mural (fig. 20, no. 2), called “Streets of Yesteryear” and shows Bobby Jackson painting this mural as well as three pictures from the 1920s that show how the Fountain used to look 90 years ago. The first picture from the left side shows Wapping Lane in its more glorious time. Residents complain that the street now looks rundown and that this was a pity because the street once sent out great community feeling. The picture in the middle depicts the old Derry Jail as it used to look. Today only the tower is left. On the CYC’s website ‘footstepsthroughthefountain.com’ it says that this is “a sad loss to the City as we all feel the jail would have been a great tourist attraction”³⁵. The last image shows the place where Bobby Jackson lived. The ‘Yesteryear mural’ is a central part of the heritage trail and was developed by the CYC.

³⁵ Murals Streets of Yesterday, <http://www.footstepsthroughthefountain.com/tour/murals-streets-of-yesterday/> [13.04.2012]



Fig. 24. 'Yesteryear Mural' portraying Bobby Jackson (my photo, 2011).

Another part of the tour was 'the bonfire site' where the last bonfire from summer has left a large black mark on the ground which serves as a parking space for the rest of the year (fig. 20, no. 3). A sign placed next to the large black mark on the ground explains the meaning of bonfires for Ulster Protestants, how and when it is built and displays a picture of a bonfire prepared to be burned. My guide gave me some further information, telling me how the children of this area collect the wood and furniture for the fire and how older boys oversee its construction. I also learned that the fire burned down in a way that does not affect the nearby houses and that they used to build up the bonfire for months but now they have to do it in two days because otherwise the youth from nationalist areas would destroy it. He also told me about the measures put in place to prevent the wood from catching fire prematurely: two boys protect the bonfire and two big road blocks placed on Hawkin Street will force vehicles to drive slowly so that a petrol bomb cannot be thrown at the bonfire by a passing car. He also told me matter-of-factly that they put the Irish flag and pictures of Catholic politicians, like Gerry Adams, on fire.

He added that nationalists have their own bonfires and burn British flags or other insignia associated with the Protestant community (e.g. the Israeli flag) on them.

The tour also presented achievements by the CYC, for instance the "Bastion Plots" close to the primary school. It is a garden in which the young people from the Fountain can grow their own vegetables. My guide said the plots were one of the Youth Club's measures to prevent

young people from getting bored and being drawn into anti-social behaviour. On the homepage of the tourist trail it is highlighted that the design of the plots reflects the “heritage and character of the Fountain community”, as the gardens design is inspired by the Great Northern Railway which used to run along the nearby Foyle Road (footstepsthroughthefountain.com, online³⁶).

The interface and the CCTV camera on the fence are also part of the tourist trail, but also places where people from the Fountain used to work (the old Fire station, the shirt factory) or places that are connected with the Youth Club, like the Jewish Synagogue that used to host the CYC before they moved to their current location. As we walked along the city’s wall, my guide stopped to show me the point where during the Siege of Derry, women slipped out to get fresh water from the well and where the soldiers made their attacks. During our walk my guide mixed information about the various sites with information about everyday concerns of residents, for example when he explained to me that the CYC currently was trying to get funding for a sports pitch, because a grass field was not suitable for games due to the frequent rain.

5.4.2 The Symbols and Images of Representational Space

The Fountain area is small but the concentration of murals and other visual displays is higher than in any other unionist residential estate in Derry. Although, the Fountain is often perceived as being locked in the past, there is no stagnation in the Fountains visual representation. The topics and images, quantity and even the meaning of displays are changing and transforming continuously. Therefore, a description of the murals that can be found in the estate is always temporary, as the content displayed changes from time to time. However, the themes are more permanent or recurring than others.

³⁶ <http://www.footstepsthroughthefountain.com/tour/bastion-plots/> [13.04.2012]



Fig. 25. The Relief of Londonderry: The ship “Mountjoy” is breaking the Boom (my photo, 2011).

Historical subjects are popular, for instance “the Relief of Derry” (fig. 20, no. 4) when the siege by James’ troops was broken by ships which brought supplies for the starving population.

Then, there are murals that display local affiliations with various groups, for instance the Irish Football Association and the Glasgow Rangers Football Club (fig. 20, no. 5+6) or loyalist organisations like the West Bank Loyalist Youth mural portraying the Red Hand and the words “WBLY” (fig. 20, no. 7), next to a mural by the Orange Order saying “In God we Trust” in purple letters on orange ground (fig. 20, no. 8).



Fig. 26. Orange Order Mural: “In God We Trust” next to the WBLY mural with Red Hand (my photo, 2011).

The most flexible form of visual displays that mark public space is graffiti and unofficial messages written on all kind of platforms for instance electricity boxes. These messages are unofficial, usually very offensive and they do not enjoy the acceptance by the majority of the community like the murals. In the case of the Fountain, graffiti is less frequent than something written or scratched onto walls. Most often one can read shortcut names for sectarian groups (WBLY or WBL, UDA, UFF) but also sentences like “No Surrender 1998” or “God Bless Billy”. Sectarian rivalry is often carried out visually in public space. In one instance I documented, that the Rangers Football Club mural had been vandalised and the word “Celtic” was written over the word “Rangers”. Graham, who documented all attacks on the Fountain, showed me pictures of such incidents: for instance, kerb stones at the foot of Wapping lane were daubed green, white and orange, insulting graffiti that came up in Creggan (“Dear Fountain how’s your cage!!!”).

Flags are becoming a less frequent sight. During a short visit to Derry in October 2011 I recognised no flags in the Fountain estate. There are various reasons why murals, flags and other symbolism are taken down or put up and re-imaging is only one of the newest instigators for change. Different occasions can be the reason for a change as well as the need to restore, clean or renew a visual display. Talking with community workers about public space, I recognised that instead of insisting that flags had to be removed because of their sectarian symbolism, many community workers now argued that it was disrespectful and

made an awful sight if communities left flags flying until they were completely torn and tattered. Hence, there was a general tendency to encourage communities to take flags down after their traditional celebrations.



Fig. 27. "God Bless Billy", Fountain (my photo, 2011)



Fig. 28. "No Taigs" (No Catholics) written on a traffic sign, Fountain, New Gate Entrance.

Also the CYC building's façade itself is covered in murals on all sides visible from the streets.

The community centre stands on a platform which carries murals that commemorate the “military sacrifices of our forebears”. In black letters on orange ground the “Battle of Somme 1916” is written next to pictures of soldiers on horses surrounded by red poppies. Poppies grew in the battlefields of Flanders in World War I and are used to commemorate soldiers who lost their lives. The poppy has been seen as a unionist/British symbol, but is becoming more popular in the nationalist community as a sign of remembrance for the war dead. The mural also shows the “Thiepval Memorial” and the “Ulster Tower”. Text that names the buildings is added to the images. Both buildings stand in the village Thiepval in Belgium, where “some of the most desperate fighting” took place during the first day of the Battle of the Somme, and were raised in the memory of the men of the 36th (Ulster) Division, who died in World War I (Hall 2007:15). It is said that 99 men from the Fountain were killed while serving in this division.



Fig. 29. Frontal view of the Cathedral Youth Club Building (my photo, 2011).



Fig. 30. Part 1 of “mural of army forces involved in defending Ulster”, CYC building (my photo, 2011).



Fig. 31. Part 2 of “mural of army forces involved in defending Ulster”, CYC building (my photo, 2011).



Fig. 32. Commemoration Mural for Lindsay Mooney and the first part of the “Past, Present, Future” mural (my photo, 2011).

The platform also hosts another mural around the corner: eight different symbols of regiments that people from the Fountain served in are painted on the wall. The symbols are taken from the cap badges of their uniforms. The badges stand for the Royal Irish Rangers, the Inniskillen Fusiliers, the Royal Irish Rifles, the 36th Ulster Division, the Paras, the B Specials, the Irish Guards, and the Ulster Defence Regiment. The mural is named “mural of army forces involved in defending Ulster” by the residents. Especially, the honouring of the Paras and the B Specials, both part of the state security forces during the Troubles could be of likely offence to nationalists as these groups were not an impartial security force, but were also responsible in the killings and harassment of Catholic civilians. Both groups had a reputation for using excessive physical violence, and it was the Parachute Regiment of the British Army that killed 13 civil rights protesters at Bloody Sunday. I mentioned my thoughts to Graham but he did not go into my suggestion that these images might be contentious but explained that people from the Fountain had served in all of these groups.

The building also carries two murals that refer to the siege. They are located on the side wall next to the parking space of the house. A mosaic stands between the two small murals and informs people about the Cathedral Youth Club’s existence since 1972. Both have a text added that tells what one can see here: the mural with the two British ships depicts the “Breaking of the boom” and the other the upper part of the “Walkers Monument”. The first one reminds of the rescue for the besieged citizens of Derry, when an English ship with supplies managed to overcome a wooden boom erected by James’ army to prevent this from happening (see chapter 2.1.1). The person memorialised by the statue depicted in the second mural is George Walker, a joint Governor of Derry during the Siege of 1689. The original monument stood on the walls but was destroyed by a bomb explosion in August 1973 (siegeheroestrail.com, online³⁷).

Graham told me that the Youth Club building³⁸ used to be covered in paramilitary murals during the Troubles, but that they removed most of it when they received the building. The last one remaining commemorates Lindsey Mooney, the UDA member who used to be commemorated on the mural in Lincoln Courts (see chapter 5.1.2). As Graham told me, the family of Mooney does not allow taking it down. The rest of the building is free to be decorated by the members and children of the CYC. The commemoration mural that displays

³⁷ Walker Memorial Courtyard. <http://www.siegeheroestrail.com/mobile#trail-22> [19.10.2012]

³⁸ The first “youth club” took place every Friday in an old school outside the Fountain. In 1980 they moved into the old Unionist Rooms in the Fountain and eventually, in 1990, the Housing Executive offered them to use the premise in which Jeanette does her community work today.

the emblem of the UDA (a crown, the red hand and the sentence “Quis Separabit”) stands next to a modern piece in graffiti style that covers the rest of the wall.

5.4.3 Re-imaging the Fountain

In 2009 the CYC applied for ‘Re-imaging Communities’ money, but the community was very reluctant to remove any of their murals or territorial marking. Brendan McMenamin, the Arts and Culture Officer of Derry City Council, told me that it looked like the whole project was going to fail because the Arts Council wanted to refuse to fund a Re-imaging project if the Fountain community was not willing to remove “a series of murals on the wall” (I_6). But Brendan advised the Arts Council officer not to pressure the communities to take things down, as it would not work:

You know what will happen? Communities will come along and they’ll take those down, they’ll get the money of you, they’ll do what you want and see when you’re gone, in a month’s time, they’ll put them back up again. What are you going to do about that? (I_6)

Although no contentious images or boundary marking were removed, the Arts Council awarded the estate £44,850 to build a little community garden and a bronze statue (fig. 20, no. 9).

The sculpture, entitled the ‘The Apprentice Angel’, presents a young man who looks earnest but determined. His left leg stands in front as if he was about to go straight forward. A winged heart with a key hole in it is attached to his back. The statue was built after the image of one of the young men of the Cathedral Youth Club. A professional artist worked on the design together with the young people of the CYC. Inspiration came from the historical and cultural background of the Fountain as well as from the actual situation of living in a place where people feel locked.

The sculpture entailed keys from the various households of the community, including a cast of those keys that were used by the Apprentice Boys in the closing of the City Gates during the Siege of Derry. Keys from the households of the estate were used in the sculpture to symbolise how one could “unlock freedom”. According to the artist, Ross Wilson, this symbolises “the fact that an apprentice is someone who is given over to learning and knowledge and how we want our children to know the meaning of freedom” (CYC Magazine November 2009:10). In the Cathedral Youth Club magazine, Jeanette said the project was a unique initiative that encouraged young people from the estate to engage with one another to create a permanent art piece that would send out a positive message to residents, visitors and the wider community (CYC Magazine November 2009:10). For the CYC community workers

the Apprentice Angel was seen as a medium to present the young people of the Fountain in a more positive light.

In a copy of the CYC Magazine from August 2010 with the theme: Celebrating Achievement, the Apprentice Angel was described as the “future face” of the Fountain youth:

Strong, confident, determined and forward looking as we live out our lives in school and at home. This is the positive image that we present to those who have control over our life experience in terms of our health, education, leisure and employment. (CYC Magazine August 2010: title page)



Fig. 33. The Apprentice Angel (my photo, 2011).

Other “Re-imaging” Projects

In summer 2010 the CYC together with the Playhouse had another “re-imaging” project independent from the Council. As the Playhouse theatre is located right outside the Fountain at Artillery Street (within the walls), the CYC and the Playhouse often work together. Within that project they made the graffiti for the CYC building, already mentioned in the description of representational space. The graffiti mural takes off from all the other visual displays in the Fountain estate; it is a modern piece made by young people. Graffiti artwork had become a popular means to encourage young people to participate in the process of transforming their living space ‘The Playhouse International Culture Arts Network’ (ICAN) offers graffiti and mural workshops and started to engage in an international exchange with graffiti artists. Also in Re-imaging Communities Projects modern mural styles are popular. In Derry, professional

graffiti did also go up in the Bogside close to a community centre and Brandywell. Sean Cavan, an artist based in Derry, worked together with the local male youth who came up with the images and motifs for the artwork. The mural should portray the “past, present and future” of the Fountain. The mural that had been replaced for this graffiti had already been a non-contentious image. It pictured a globe surrounded by a plane, a train and a ship and smiling youths playing bongo drums, a reference to the “Cathedral Youth Club Samba Band”. The Samba band was created by CYC so that the young children could join parades within a non-offensive band.

As this graffiti is one of the newest visual changes, I am going to analyse its meaning in greater detail following Marcus Banks’ (2001) visual analysis (see chapter 1.4.1).

The mural may best be analysed if one divides it into three parts as it is suggested by the mural’s name, one signifying the past, one the present and one the future. However, looking at the graffiti as a whole, the image is not clearly divided rather names, images and symbols are mixed into the wild and colourful brush-strokes. The piece is interrupted by architectural elements (six small windows, a door, three wall lamps) and six different plaques that are installed on the wall, one of them commemorating David Warke.

The background of the first part, next to the UDA mural, is dominated by dynamic and wild brushes that reassemble a fire. At the bottom there are images that look like assemblages of red tiles, the stripes and wild brushes are painted with different colours but red and orange dominate, as well as yellow and blue.

Right next to the paramilitary mural, the initials of the Cathedral Youth Club are written in large blue letters, the name “Daniel” is signed (“tagged”) in small, white letters next to it (probably because it was his idea or work). Graffiti uses writing styles that are easily readable as well as styles that are almost impossible to read for an outsider (“wildstyle”) (Cooper and Chalfant 1984:69-70). Most names on the piece are small but recognisable, but there are two larger pieces that are recognisable as a row of letters but hard to decipher. I suppose it is the name “Mark” that is written here in the shape of a row of houses onto the wall. The windows with the lights turned on, a door and a chimney are integrated in the letters. Another row of letter which probably stands for a name starting with “Fred” is written in bubble style. There is also an image that seems to portray some kind of object but for an outsider it is impossible to recognize what it could be. “The Playhouse” is written in small, pink letters at the bottom of the first part. An image that looks like one of the gates of the walls has a letter, supposedly a “G” or “F” coloured red, white and blue in it.



Fig. 34. Graffiti Mural Part 1 (my photo, 2011).



Fig. 35. Graffiti, end of Part 1 and beginning of Part 2 (my photo, 2011).



Fig. 36. Graffiti, Part 2 (my photo, 2011).

As I assume that the first part represents the past, the wild brushes that resemble a fire out of control might stand for the conflict. The red tiles could be a bonfire or houses. The tags (CYC, Mark, Fred...) and the gate are the only elements of which a denotation is possible, while other elements leave the outsider guessing as to what they mean. The stable elements may signal a form of safety in rough times. The young man who (most likely) wrote his name in letters shaped like houses managed to integrate a sense of home and belonging with this style.

In the second part, the background changes with orange as dominant colour, because of the grey fade-outs of the orange brushes on the top the background still looks like fire but less messy. A face of a boy is pictured, who says: "Pride of the city". The orange colour lessens and the images of buildings show up in front of a greyish, bluish sky. They show a part of the walls and a canon standing on it, in the back a church is pictured in grey apart from its roof that is painted in bright colours. The orange behind the canon might again resemble fire and smoke seems to come from the canon. On the bottom, orange and pink flowers grow. There is also the image of a fortress with the Union Jack on top looking over the rest of the images. In front of the walls a round sign says: "William King Memorial Flute Band Londonderry", it is surrounded by graphic graffiti patterns in purple, green, orange and blue. The William Memorial Flute Band is a local group that exists since 1973. The sign on which the band name is written on is shaped like a base drum. Its name is dedicated to William King who had died in sectarian clashes in Derry in 1969.

The second part represents the present as there are some indications of the current attitudes within the Fountain community. First of all it shows elements that can be associated with Ulster Protestant culture and achievements in Derry, like the wall. The church most likely represents the St. Columb's Cathedral which is the first cathedral built by the Anglican Church and the first Protestant cathedral in Europe (<http://www.stcolumbscathedral.org/>). The sentence "pride of the city" may relate to the residents taking their pride from buildings and objects (the walls, the Cathedral) that are testimonials for a past when Protestant settlers built the city. The image that seems to show a fortress is not picturing a building that exists in Derry. Possible, the fortress points to the siege mentality kept up by people of the Fountain. This might also be a reason why the canon pictured, is active and stands in front of the background of the gloomy sky.

In reality, 24 cannons from the siege in 1689 are displayed throughout the City walls. The most impressive one is the “Roaring Meg” which probably is the cannon showed here. The sky brightens behind the image of the fortress where the Union Jack flies as if it celebrates British identity. The dominance of the orange colour that surrounds the boy’s face and lurks behind the walls stands in contrast to the three flowers that grow at the bottom of the walls.



Fig. 37. Graffiti, Part 3 (my photo, 2011).

The third part is easier to separate from the others, as the entrance door to the youth club divides it from the others. The background is again made up by wild paint brushes in orange, red and pink, but with a bit more white and blue which looks like the sky starting is to brighten. Two images are dominant: firstly, a river with a white bridge that connects the two banks of the river. The river has blue, pink and purple colours, six purple and orange flowers grew on the river bank. On each side that the bridge connects, buildings of a city are indicated. The other image is a boy that is standing on the riverbanks and showing thumbs up. It is a so-called “character”. In graffiti style a “character” can be invented or taken from media and popular culture. “Often a character expresses the writer’s own self image”, write Cooper and Chalfant (1984:80). The figure wears a red cap, jeans, sneakers and a T-shirt with “C.Y.C.” written on it and his speech bubble says: “We are the Future”. The figure is surrounded by about 50 male and female first names or tags that are written on grey stones that look like they are piled up like a wall.

The third part, the outlook into the future, shows the river Foyle and the new Peace Bridge that connects the west and east bank of the city. At the time of the creation of the mural, the bridge was in construction. The boy who shows thumbs up indicates a positive association

with that future. The names that surround him are by those who participated in creating the mural, and the members and youth from the CYC who wanted to be part of the mural, including Jeanette, Alan and Graham.

Interpretation of Graffiti Mural

The mural entails neither sectarian or paramilitary imagery nor images of King William and the siege. Instead, local Protestant identity is stressed in various elements. This is particularly true for the part that stands for the present which is the one best developed with the greatest density of recognisable symbolic objects. All of them connect the Fountain with the city and its history. It shows elements of which the young people are proud of and of which they claim that they should be “pride of the city”, like the flute band or other elements that are associated with the Protestant population of Derry and the Fountain (the ancient walls, bonfire tradition). British identity is also indicated by the Union Jack but is not prevalent; rather it is the city that serves as a source of identity here.

The design that surrounds the Flute Band emblem could stand for the young people that are starting to play in the band and are a new generation of bands people. The marching band is a conservative, well-established institution. Graffiti on the other hand is a subversive art form and even way of life to some people. In this new mural the modern art form is combined with the symbol of this old institution.

The large initials of the Cathedral Youth Club point to the importance of the CYC to the young people. Despite some of the tags in the piece that are female names, the mural represents the male Fountain youth that comes to the Youth Club. From a newspaper article in the Derry Journal about the project (‘Move over Banksy’, 16 August 2010), I know that it was only young men who did the graffiti. These boys identify a lot with the estate and its history but feel gated and disconnected from the rest of the city. Young men are those most marginalised in the Fountain estate, they are often unemployed and sometimes single-fathers, therefore a lot of community relations work tries to reach out for them.

The character in the mural claims “we are the future” and stands for the youth of the CYC. There is a positive connotation with the future signified by the thumbs up sign and the Peace Bridge symbolises the connection of the two sides. The mural was produced two months after the publication of the Saville report and one month after the City of Culture nomination but these two events seem not to have influenced the choice of images put on the wall. Apart from the Peace Bridge, the mural does not take up anything new nor does it offer a concrete imagination about the future. The messages “pride of the city” and “we are the future” are

positive declarations and go in line with most Ulster Protestant murals which tend to display pride and victory rather than using murals as a platform for social and political criticism.

The choice to use the image of the Peace Bridge for the future part shows an approval of its construction which contributes to bring Protestants and Catholics of the city closer together. In contrast to some Protestants from the Waterside who feared that the bridge might become a new interface, this fear is obviously not existent among the Fountain residents, who live at an interface anyway.

Already before its opening in June 2011, the Peace Bridge had become a very popular image for murals that came up within a community relations and re-imaging context.

The mural stresses “single-identity” and local collective memory. Yet, it offers few alternatives to the present identities of being a Protestant from the Fountain. The representational space is still dominated by loyalism, local history and maleness. In terms of community relations, the mural gives no concrete clues as to what the young people think of a possible shared space with Catholics, however, there is also no sign that would indicate a general reluctance to open up better community relations. In the face of the many boundary markers that represent the Fountain as a community under defence, at least in this mural, the boundary markers are gone.

5.4.4 Concluding Thoughts and Analysis

The Fountain’s representational space is dominated by loyalist imagery that does not just signify collective memory and affiliations but concrete opposition and delineation to the “other” community. Feelings of being isolated and under threat are expressed on murals and by extensive boundary marking. The theme of the “siege” is frequently invoked to draw parallels to the Protestants living in the city in 1689/90. Many symbols displayed in the Fountain would be seen as outright sectarian and provocative to the CNR community. One example would be the Orange Order mural, as this Protestant organisation was set up in order to show Catholics their second-class status (see also chapter 2.2). “Orangeism is popularly viewed as reflecting centuries of unchanging opposition: the opposition of Protestants to a predominantly Catholic Ireland” (Bryan 2000:7). However, loyalists claim that the Orange Order is an important religious and cultural institution and the parades a tradition constitutive for their identity.

Also the Glasgow Rangers mural is classified as an offensive subject unsuitable for public displays. Within the Fountain estate, the boys and men wear their football shirts all the time, in order to “support their team”, as one of them told me (I_12).

Probably, one of the most contentious murals shows the cap badges of English and Ulster Protestant army forces. Graham justified its display with the fact that people from the estate served in these organisations. Like so many commemoration murals, this one again stands for an unsolved problem in the Northern Ireland reconciliation process: who is a victim, who is a perpetrator? While the state security forces are honoured and fondly remembered by Protestants who often had family within the forces, for many Catholics, these were violent agents in the conflict just like paramilitary combatants.

The commemoration of the battle of the Somme has become a popular solution to replace paramilitary murals. Images of WWI soldiers and the 36th Ulster Division, but also poppies, and the Ulster Tower have become a frequent sight in Protestant areas in Northern Ireland. These images that symbolise the ultimate sacrifice of Northern Irish people fighting for the British army are not only to honour the soldiers, but serve also as a reminder to the British government that there are loyal “British” people living in Northern Ireland that must not be let down in times where the region has become a financial burden.

Many loyalist paramilitary murals have been replaced by WWI memorials; however, most symbols in the Fountain’s representational space are still too powerful to be removed. Hence, the Re-imaging Communities sculpture just became an addition to the present representations and no negotiations took place. The aspirations and hopes for the young generation that the Re-imaging sculpture symbolises, are based on an iconic symbol of the past, the Apprentice Boy. The visual displays that came up recently within community relations projects draw on cultural heritage that connects the local space directly with collective identity. While no sectarian images are employed, there is no evidence of cross-community work in any of the Fountain’s new visual displays. The isolation felt by residents of the Fountain is not challenged in these projects, rather more pride and sense of ownership and belonging to the place are encouraged.

There is a strong effort to produce significance that connects the Fountain community to the city. Everything has to have meaning; even gardening plots built for the local primary school are connected with a historical theme. Also in the heritage trail history is intertwined with locality, as if the trail was to demonstrate the Fountains importance or to justify their existence at the Cityside.

The graffiti mural and the heritage trail emerged from single-identity projects that intended to increase young people’s self-esteem by teaching them about their cultural heritage or providing them with new skills (i.e. graffiti artwork). However, what is increased in these projects is not individual self-esteem but pride in Protestant identity. The Fountain’s

representational space leaves hardly any room for identifications, symbols and imaginations outside the dominant discourse of Protestant identity. Moreover, the visual displays and cultural traditions that provoke the rejection of the Fountain and its residents are not questioned in these projects. Instead of telling the elderly residents that their visual representations of antagonism are impinging negatively on the young people's lives, the young men I met in the Fountain want these images to stay and defend them as harmless expressions of their culture.

The Fountain case demonstrates that space has a large stake in the creation of antagonist identities. The representations, concepts and imaginations that make the Fountain a loyalist space in antagonism to the Catholics in the city, also influence spatial practice/perception of space of both residents and outsiders. The symbols of representational space that conceptualise the Fountain as a loyalist area provoke certain reactions, for instance that frustration and boredom among nationalist youth is canalised in throwing bottles in the Fountain estate, or that the Fountain youth is regularly chosen as a partner in cross-community projects by peacebuilders due to its proximity to the city centre, to name just two implications.

Interestingly, female representations on the Fountain's visual displays are completely absent, as if women were not involved in the production of public space at all. However, this makes it easier for women to free themselves from the productive force of segregated space. They are more likely to cross spaces and make cross-community contact.

Through the triad-dialectical moments of segregated space, antagonist identities are produced: Apart from the concepts and symbols, spatial practice – the moving through space, practices like telling, kerb painting and rioting – makes the people living in the Fountain to the isolated and marginalised Protestants.

Allen Feldman described how “ethnic Other” becomes a spatially informed “sectarian text” through spatial categories:

The placement of the subject in a space with strong sectarian identifications can serve to reinforce and verify the somatic aura of the Other. In this instance meaning and semiosis flow from the coded geography to the body organizing the intrinsic signs of embodiment in sectarian text. (Feldman 1991:58)

In this symbolically loaded space the antagonism between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland is continuously re-enacted through spatial practice.

6 Conclusion

After having outlined the problem of societal segregation and the need to improve community relations in order to achieve lasting peace, I described the processes in the city that point to an

increasing ambition to become known for its (non-sectarian) culture and arts instead of the conflict. Within the context of this transition, the need to transform the territorialised, sectarian spaces in Derry has been recognised by the peacebuilding community and policy makers alike. The Lefebvrian concept of the production of space (2004) makes it possible to analyse the processes of transformation of social space in a way that allows conclusions about the wider transition process of the city of Derry as it considers the conceptual, the physical and the social level of space. In order to understand these processes I did not just *listen* to my research subjects but took a deep *look* at visual transformations and spatial categories in the territorialised residential areas of the city. My main research interest was the question of how the creation of a “shared space” may be achieved and what obstacles and issues arise in this transformation process, as well as the question as to what effects do these transformations have on the city’s community relations.

In four different case studies, I looked at what happens if the divisive imageries and symbols of the territorialised residential areas in the city are challenged, removed or replaced. The transformation of representational space is a complex process that involves the simultaneous negotiation of social relations, spatial practices and representations of space. As the case studies reveal, there is no one-fits-all solution for transforming segregated space; however in the following summary I will list some of my observations.

Freeing Communities from Dominant Representations

In Northern Ireland representational space is determined by the narratives of Irish nationalism/republicanism and Ulster Unionism/Loyalism, of people’s rebellion against repressive state forces and of a settler’s culture that surrenders to the “native” enemy. The memories, symbols and images of the two major collective identities have become so dominant that they also determine the concepts of space and the major discourse within society. Hence, residential space is dominated by symbolically loaded concepts of Protestant/Catholic antagonism which impact on spatial practice/perception of space and the production of collective antagonistic identities.

As the case study of the Fountain estate shows, in such a territorialised and antagonist space it is very difficult for people to develop identities outside the Protestant/Catholic antagonism. Instead of perceiving and conceiving the Fountain as a housing estate in which individuals with all kinds of identities live, the estate is conceptualised as Ulster Protestant territory in open defiance to the Catholic majority. This spatial conceptualisation marks ordinary residents as “Protestants”. Even just the fact of moving in the Fountain makes the body a

“sectarian text” (Feldman 1991:58). Spatial practices like marking out territory as well as rioting reproduce sectarian space and antagonist identities on both sides. This is particularly true for men as it is them who most eagerly engage in the production of segregated space and who are represented in the lived, representational space. As long as these men are associated with the images their residential space displays, it is difficult for them to develop identities outside the antagonism, at least on a local level.

The projects by the Cathedral Youth Club that address the visual and spatial categories of the estate move away from sectarianism but continuously refer back to local cultural heritage of the Protestants of “Londonderry”. They demonstrate the significance of the Fountain, stress pride and meaning, yet, they offer no sources of identification outside the Ulster Protestant discourse. The heritage trail and the graffiti mural are both projects that draw on this notion of upgrading social space in order to increase the self-esteem of residents, particularly of young men. However, instead of fostering “individual” self-esteem, it is the pride in local cultural heritage and local Protestant identity which is stressed in representational space. If self-esteem continues to be based on Protestant identity it is unlikely to overcome the antagonism on a local level.

In many re-imaging projects, residential space has regained its initial meaning to house people instead of displaying Protestant or Catholic identities. As a result, representational space has been opened up to new meanings of the *lived* social realities of people.

In Caw/Nelson Drive, the transformation of representational space involved a transformation of spatial practice/perception and representation of space. The removal of images with which the majority of the community could not identify anymore relieved residents from both paramilitary representation as well as their influence. Relief was also created not only because *they* did not have to look at them anymore, but also because it changed the look of *others* at their area and eventually, at themselves as residents.

The removal of paramilitary images was a visual proof that the paramilitaries would give up their control over the community and that this was desired by the residents. Re-imaging does not create a shared space but it makes cross-community contact easier which could be seen as a first step in direction to shared space.

Negotiation of Social Relations

The coordinator of the Re-imaging project, Alice McCartney, emphasised several times that it was necessary to consult and involve as many people from the community as possible. The transformations of visual displays involve a simultaneous negotiation and transformation of

social relations, collective memory and spatial practices. Re-imaging opened up an “arena” (Turner 1994) which made it possible to discuss issues that had been swept under the carpet for too long. Realities of social life could be addressed directly as the project dealt with the direct living space of people. The outcomes of each area were all very different which shows the dominance of the social component that weighs heavier than the conceptual aspect of the project (rules and strategies of Re-imaging) or the symbolical meanings.

If no negotiation of present spatial practices, social relations, offensive symbols and concepts takes place, the creating of a re-imaging artwork just adds into the dominant representational space, as it was the case with the Fountain.

Negotiation of identity/collective memory and the practice of remembering

As this thesis has shown, (collective) remembering is not just an abstract process; it is a spatial practice which is highly political and feeds into societal division. Yet, the issue of commemoration and collective memory is difficult to address because there are also fears involved in giving up commemorative practices on which collective identity is based. Hence, physical/visual transformation of space challenges this collective memory and stirs up opposition.

The Re-imaging projects that have taken place in Derry introduced a new approach to commemoration. Remembering still takes place but in a more private manner. Hence, the production of shared spaces invokes a material transformation of “*les lieux de mémoire*” (Nora 1989). The replacement of murals by sculptures and gardens frees people from the ubiquitous presence of a collective memory. This does not mean that the big narratives of Irish and British identity have vanished from public space but communities try to reconcile them with the new values of the peace process.

Finding new Representations

The Re-imaging Communities Programme requires a replacement of the removed visual displays in order to avoid them from coming up again. The re-imaged places have to be occupied by new representations of space and of the community. However, finding a suitable replacement is very difficult for communities. The communities had to find out what is left if conflict-related images are removed. Many visual outcomes of the Re-imaging Communities projects express an innocent sense of locality and belonging. Art is used as a creative tool to help communities in developing other ways of representation and remembering and also in stressing identifications outside the Protestant/Catholic antagonism. The replacement – if

done well – can be an important part in the process of giving an area a new “image”, a new representational space.

It is important to consider that – despite members of the community having a large stake in the process – the production of new meaningful representations is controlled and restricted by rules that derive from the Arts Council and Derry City Council’s Good Relations Agenda. These rules support that sectarian and exclusive symbolisms in residential areas are challenged.

Residential space looks more welcoming, although sectarian attitudes might still remain within the residents (particularly those who do not get involved in the re-imaging process). Nevertheless, the removal and replacement of these images makes it easier for people – especially the young – to develop identities and affiliations outside the Protestant/Catholic antagonism.

Establishing the Concept of Shared Space

As described in the first case study within the Re-imaging Communities Programme a certain concept of “shared space” makes its way into social space. This concept derives out of the city’s peacebuilding discourse which aims to remove divisive imagery and memories that keep communities from moving further towards peace. Moreover, the city’s ambitions in regards to urban redevelopment and the wish “to tell a new story” are influencing this concept.

A “shared space” should be freed from everything that causes offense and fear and it should provide people with pride. In some cases the decision what imagery is offensive and what cultural is difficult to make and compromises have to be negotiated. This results in questioning the ‘old space’ – its conceptualisation, its representative imagery and spatial practices which reconstruct the segregation. The perception of space alters.

There is no concrete definition of what exactly a “shared space” is and what it looks like, however in the context of the ambitions of becoming “City of Culture” there are certain imaginations that become more dominant than others. One view, which is present within the Re-imaging Communities Programme in Derry, equates shared space with a “nice and welcoming” multicultural society that embraces arts and creativity and in which the citizens take part in the city’s social life and support the council’s economic and social decisions. These are very ambitious intentions regarding the highly sensitive issue of segregated space in Derry. Although, the transformation of space happens in cooperation with people from the residential community, the “social engineers” and “planners” of these projects should be

aware that there is still a certain conception of “shared space” which provides the directions and sets the rules how the transformation looks like. Hence, there is negotiation of what is included in this conception and what is not. The Re-imaging Programme tried its best to be as tolerant and open as possible, yet, this seems to be easier in the peripheral residential areas than in a central location like the Bogside.

Accepting Ambivalence and Plurality

As case study 3 suggests, the “social engineers” of such a “shared space” have difficulties with including critical voices and other opinions about how a “shared space” should look like. They would prefer to place the Bogside murals which portray controversial history in a museum. The politically uncomfortable truth about British involvement in the conflict seems to be unsuitable in the concept of shared space that DCC’s Good relations strategy aspires. This concept prefers the replacement of all kinds of politics (which likely is a source of conflict) through ‘community (relations) art’ and non-sectarian culture. Yet, it is important to differentiate between sectarian, offensive, paramilitary imagery and murals that carry potential to offend. If shared space means to silence all kind of ambivalence, criticism and deviation, it is neither truly a shared space nor a space where art can emerge and develop.

Moreover, some murals are in a process of becoming de-contextualised from their original meaning: The Bogside murals and the “Grim Reaper” in Bond Street are increasingly becoming musealised objects. When such a musealisation is complete, they will be real objects of the past, not objects of present needs and concerns anymore. Ideally, they will be authentic and striking reminders of the conflict and will not provoke conflict anymore. However, only if social relations, spatial practices and concepts of space are negotiated and sectarianism further challenged.

Needs of Security

The provision of secure spaces is an important issue in Northern Ireland. Even if space is cleaned from sectarian imagery, it takes time until that space is perceived as safe. Through the re-imaging project people should be introduced to a new concept of public space and particularly of spatial practice for instance in terms of expressing cultural identity. People should learn to use public space and to take care of it.

As peacebuilding governs this development, it tries to involve as many people as possible, however, only if they act according to the rules of this space. Therefore, this aspired “shared

space” is not as inclusive as it seems: with the upgrading and re-imaging of social space, it becomes increasingly controlled and organised. Everything has its place, if it is commemoration, alcoholics or a group of young people. They are not welcomed to hang out in these spaces because they raise feelings of insecurity in people. The social acceptance of public surveillance, extensive sign-posting of rules and orders and hard consequences for “anti-social-behaviour” are signs of uncertainties that arise with the transformation of space. For decades, public space has been associated with danger; the segregation of communities was created because of anxieties and mistrust between communities. Therefore, the creation of “shared spaces” is accompanied with anxieties. Even if there is a general wish to improve community relations, people feel insecure about such contacts. The building of the Peace Bridge, for example, was received by most people as a construction that will bring the two sides closer together – both physically and symbolically. Although, this was seen mutually as a positive sign which is also reflected in the visual displays that came up recently, people also expressed worries of this space becoming a new interface.

Facing destructive elements of society

To gain a real shared space it is important to consider also other reasons for societal fragmentation than sectarianism. Therefore, it is also essential to address the issue of dissident paramilitary groups. It is not enough to “involve” only those who are ready to be involved. This means to take the views and actions of the people most isolated and marginalised seriously. Resignation leads to extremism: The popularity of destructive and illegal activity is enmeshed in a framework of nationalist and unionist antagonism (i.e. defining one’s culture against the other group) but derives from a lack of perspectives for their future as well as the lack of alternative sources of identity apart from being Protestant or Catholic.

Rioting, graffiti and other apparently sectarian spatial activities that happen within the context of this antagonism are not meaningless spatial practices as the notion of “recreational rioting” indicates. Sectarian spatial practices can be also seen as a sign of rejection by those most marginalised to a society that has left them behind.

They are expected to join the aspirations of moving towards peace but are offered no vision what to gain from it. Their violent practices are a denial to a peace process that makes “getting along” with “the other side” easier for some than for others. Yet, saying the extremists are a minority and dismissing them as irrelevant will not solve the problem of subversive elements of society.

It may still be a long process until residential space in Derry will be “shared”, yet, re-imaging territorialised residential areas helps to make shared spaces in general possible as a new understanding of living and public space is introduced. Moreover, divisive spatial practices like territorial marking are diminished.

In conclusion, to start the transformation of space through challenging representational space makes sense, even though it does not change them into a “shared space”. Space is only shared if it is used by both sides without the reproduction of the Catholic/Protestant antagonism. As a consequence, the representational spaces that define their residents as antagonist bodies have to be understood as – simultaneously influential – divisive spatial practices, concepts and lived social realities of the people, in order to be transformed in a sustainable and thorough way.

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Glossary

ACNI Arts Council of Northern Ireland
B Specials Ulster Special Constabulary
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
CCTV Closed Circuit Television
CNR Catholic/Nationalist/Republican
CR Community Relations
CRC Community Relations Council
CoC UK City of Culture
CYC Cathedral Youth Club
DCC Derry City Council
DCMS Department of Culture, Media and Sport (England)
DSD Department for Social Development
DUP Democratic Unionist Party
EPIC Ex-Prisoners Interpretive Centre
INLA Irish National Liberation Army
IRA Irish Republican Army
IRS Independent Research Solutions
MUGA Multi Use Games Area
NIHE Northern Ireland Housing Executive
NISRA Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency
NRA Neighbourhood Renewal Areas
OFMDFM Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister
P.A.C.T. Policing and Communities together for Peace
PIRA / “Provos”, Provisional IRA
PSNI Police Service of Northern Ireland
PUL Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist
RIRA Real IRA
RUC Royal Ulster Constabulary
SF Sinn Féin
UDA Ulster Defence Association
UFF Ulster Freedom Fighters
UK United Kingdom
UVF Ulster Volunteer Force

Appendix

1. List of Interviewees (I) used in Thesis in chronological order:

- (I_1) Maureen Hetherington, head of 'the Junction', a Community Relations Resource & Peace Building Centre, 31 January 2011
- (I_2) Eilis Haden, Training Officer, 'Peace and Reconciliation Group' (PRG), 3 February 2011
- (I_3) Michael Doherty, head of PRG, 3 February 2011
- (I_4) Jeanette Warke, community worker, The Fountain Cathedral Youth Club, 11 February 2011
- (I_5a) Linda Watson, community worker, Caw and Nelson Drive Action Group, 2 March 2011
- (I_5b) Linda Watson, 25 March 2011
- (I_6) Brendan McMenamin, Arts and Regeneration Officer at DCC, 16 March 2011
- (I_7) Nigel Gardiner, project coordinator for EPIC - Ex-Prisoners Interpretive Centre, 16 March 2011
- (I_8) James Kerr, Executive Director of the 'Verbal Arts Centre', 21 March 2011
- (I_9) Maureen, Nelson Drive, 25 March 2011
- (I_10a) Alice McCartney, Arts and Regeneration Officer at DCC, 29 March 2011
- (I_10b) Alice McCartney: Field Visits, 20 April 2011
- (I_11) Anna Murray, Project Officer at PRG, 30.03.2011
- (I_12) Members of the Fountain Cathedral Youth Club (three young men, one boy), 20.04.2011
- (I_13) Graham Warke, community worker, The Fountain Cathedral Youth Club
- (I_14a) Brian Dougherty, Director of Peace and Reconciliation Centre 'St Columb's Park House', 5 May 2011
- (I_14b) Brian Dougherty, 16 May 2011
- (I_15) Niall McCaughan, Director of 'the Playhouse', 5 May 2011
- (I_16) Siuán McLaughlin, The Playhouse Good Relations Officer, 13 May 2011
- (I_17) Sharon Meenan, North West Carnival Initiative, Derry City Council, 18 May 2011
- (I_18) Amy and Óine, from Headliners, a UK charity which encourages young people to make journalism which in Derry has a strong focus on community relations, 21 May 2011

2. List of further important field notes (F):

Irish Street Community Centre

(F_22) Caroline Temple, head of the Irish Street Community Centre

(F_71) Irish Street Men's Club

PACT project (F_29, 35, 39 and 56)

Gareth, youth worker at Irish Street Community Centre

Michelle Hayden, community worker at the Waterside, head of the PACT project

Geraldine, O'Donnell, community worker at Top of the Hill Community Centre

The young participants of the PACT project from Top of the Hill and Irish Street

(F_29) PACT meets District Policing Partnership (DPP)/ my first contact, 3 March 2011

(F_33) PACT Visit to Stormont and Ice-skating, 8 March 2011

(F_35) PACT meets Derry City Council, 9 March 2011

(F_39) PACT Learning about Rights and Wrongs, 16 March 2011

(F_56) PACT Last Day: Presentation and Certificates, 20 April 2011

"Ethnical Remembering" Meetings, the Junction

(F_14) "Rising, Blood, Sacrifice and Equality Deferred", 3 February 2011

Top of the Hill Youth Club:

(F_37) Teresa Dunlop, The Whistle Project

The Bogside:

(F_16, 26) Kevin Hasson, Bogside Artists

The Fountain

(F_20) Fountain CYC, Heritage Trail, 10 February 2011

Temporal Sites:

(F_7-9) "Bloody Sunday Weekend", 28 January – 30 January

(F_St Patricks Day), handwritten, St Patricks Day Carnival, 17 March 2011

Public Meetings for UK City of Culture

(F_38) with the local artists, Sandinos, Derry, 15 March 2011

(F_74) *Integrated School, Oakgrove Primary and College*, Derry, Waterside, with Colm Cavanagh, founder and head of the school

(F_6) *Free Derry Museum*, 27 January 2011

Conference:

(F_32) “Cracking the Code”, workshop on “unlocking creativity” for UK City of Culture 2013, The Playhouse, Derry, 7 March 2011

(F_74-75) “Forum for Cities in Transition”, Guildhall, Derry (from 23 to 26 May 2011)

Field visits:

Sites of the “Re-imaging Communities” and “Arts and Regeneration” Programmes:

Cityside:

Galliagh

Shantallow

Bogside

Brandywell

The Fountain

Waterside:

Caw/Nelson Drive

Clooney

Lincoln Courts

Bond Street

Top of the Hill

Abstract in Deutsch

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit dem Wandlungsprozess der geteilten Stadt Derry/Londonderry in Nordirland aus einer räumlichen Perspektive. Der jahrhundertealte Konflikt zwischen der protestantischen/unionistischen/loyalistischen Bevölkerung und der katholischen/nationalistischen/republikanischen Bevölkerung hat einen stark segregierten öffentlichen Raum geschaffen, der den Friedensbemühungen der nordirischen Gesellschaft im Wege steht.

Ausgehend vom Lefebvre'schen Raumkonzept, das Raum als eine triadische Dialektik begreift zwischen der physisch, durch Sinne wahrnehmbaren Dimension von Raum, der konzipierten, diskursiven Dimension des Raumes sowie der Dimension der Symbole und Bedeutungen, versucht diese Arbeit die Verschränkung von Raum und gesellschaftlichen Prozessen abzubilden. Sie untersucht wie visuelle Veränderungen des Raumes dazu beitragen die Beziehungen zwischen antagonistischen Gruppen zu verbessern, um in Folge der Frage nachzugehen ob und wie die Produktion eines gemeinsamen Raumes, ein „shared space“, möglich ist.

Der Fokus gilt dabei der Transformation von territorialisierten Wohngegenden in Derry/Londonderry durch die Entfernung beziehungsweise Ersetzung von konflikthaften und abgrenzenden visuellen Botschaften in Form von „murals“ (Wandmalereien), Markierungen von Gehsteigen, Graffiti und Flaggen. Am Beispiel von vier Fallstudien wird gezeigt welche unterschiedlichen Verhandlungsprozesse stattfinden, wenn dominante Symbole des kollektiven Gedächtnisses und der Identität/Alterität in Frage gestellt werden.

Da in Nordirland Identitätszuschreibungen stark über räumliche Kategorien erfolgen, kann die erfolgreiche Veränderung der dominanten Symbole in territorialisierten Wohngegenden dazu beitragen, neue Identitäten außerhalb des Protestanten/Katholiken Antagonismus zu entwickeln. Im Prozess der visuell-repräsentativen Neuerfindung einer Nachbarschaft werden soziale Beziehungen neu verhandelt und räumliche Praktiken des öffentlichen, kollektiven Gedenkens verändern sich. Weiters zeigen die Fallstudien, welche neuen Raumkonzepte eingeführt werden und wie diese von verschiedenen Akteuren und Akteurinnen aufgenommen werden.

Abstract in English

This thesis looks at the transition process of the segregated city Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland from a spatial perspective. The centuries-old conflict between the Protestant/unionist/loyalist population and the Catholic/nationalist/republican population has created deep societal division of public space which is seen as a major inhibitor in Northern Irish society's peacebuilding aspirations.

Applying Henri Lefebvre's concept of space, which understands space as a triad dialectic between the physical dimension of space, which can be perceived by the senses, the conceptual, discursive dimension of space and the dimension of symbols and meanings, this thesis tries to portray the interconnection of space and societal processes. Moreover, it investigates how visual transformations of space contribute to the improvement of the tensed community relations between the antagonists, in order to follow up the question if the production of a "shared space" is possible.

The thesis focuses on the transformation of the territorialised residential areas in Derry/Londonderry through the removal respectively replacement of contentious visual displays in form of murals, kerb paintings, graffiti and flags. Four case studies give an insight into the negotiation processes that take place when dominant symbols of collective memory and identity/alterity are questioned.

The case studies show that a successful re-imaging process of territorialised residential estates can free people from the dominant identity ascriptions which are often based on spatial categories. This can contribute to the development of new identifications outside the Protestant/Catholic antagonism. In this re-imaging process social relations are negotiated and spatial practices of public collective commemorations are transformed. Moreover, the case studies reveal what kind of new concepts of space are introduced into society and how they are perceived by various actors.

Curriculum Vitae

Irina Teresa Scheitz, Bakk. phil

Wien, November 2012

irinascheitz@hotmail.com

Date of birth: 22nd October 1986

Academic Studies

Since October 2009

DPP CREOLE – Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes

Joint European Master Degree in Social and Cultural Anthropology

University of Vienna

09/2010 – 05/2011

CREOLE Erasmus year at the **National University of Ireland, Maynooth**

4 months of research in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland

10/2005 – 03/2009

Publicity and Communication Science, University of Vienna

Bachelor's Degree, March 2009

Title of 1st Bachelor' thesis: Darstellung von Afrika und Afrikaner/innen in den westlichen Massenmedien (Representation of Africa and Africans in the western media)

Supervisor: Mag. Dr. Cornelia Brantner, 25.02.2008

Title of 2nd Bachelor's thesis: Kann Blog-Journalismus den traditionellen Journalismus verdrängen? (Are weblogs a threat to conventional journalism?)

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Roland Burkart, 30.03.2009

Study related professional experience

06/2008 – 01/2010

Researcher at **Women without borders** (Frauen ohne Grenzen)

Kirchengasse 43/13
A-1070 Wien
T: +43/1/533 45 51
office@women-without-borders.org

- “3rd Millennium Muslim men”: Study on young Muslim men in Austria on behalf of the Ministry of Social Affairs
- Two corresponding studies on Muslim and Austrian pupils and the cooperation between Muslim parents and non-Muslim teachers on behalf of the Ministry of Education: “*Gemeinsam leben lernen in der Schule*” (*Learning to live together in school*) and “*Für eine Kultur der Begegnung in der Schule. Interkulturelle Eltern-LehrerInnen Kooperation*” (*For a Culture of Encounters in School. Intercultural Parent-Teacher Cooperation*)
- *Project manager* of a survey on work-life-balance among working parents in Austria on behalf of the Ministry for Health, Family Affairs and Youth.

Activities: organisation and coordination, conducting academic literature research, development of a questionnaire, interviewing, transcription and preparation of reports.

07/2007 – 09/2007
and 02/2008

Au Pair, England, Bedford

07/2006 and
09/2006 – 07/2007

Freelance Journalist at the Austria Presse Agentur (APA)

Chronik Ressort

Laimgrubengasse 10
A-1060 Wien

Languages

German, English (fluent), French (basic knowledge) and Spanish (basic knowledge)

