

Time Passing With The Innocent

Trauma, Time and Place in the Northern Irish

Troubles



Dirty protestors Hugh Rooney and Freddie Toal in their cell.

www.bbc.co.uk/history/events/blanket_no-wash_protests_maze

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Synopsis

This thesis examines the interaction between the creation and use of memory and the conceptualisation of place within the Northern Irish conflict in the late 20th century.

The conflict between the republican, predominantly Catholic and Irish community and the unionist, predominantly Protestant and British community revolved around the use of “The Six Counties” – in the wake of the independence of the Irish Free State and later the Republic of Ireland, six counties in the North remained under British governance, leading to disputes regarding the establishment of a unified Ireland, and the place of British governance within a predominantly Irish community, similar to other British colonial disputes.

This project will examine how place and memory interact in order to create violent conflict. First, it will examine how the construction of religious communities that acted in conflict with each other utilised lived spaces, through the establishment and de-establishment of “no go areas”, checkpoints and development of security provisions. Second, it will examine how the concept of place is destabilised through the reconfiguration of typical structures of order, such as within prisons, or through the conscious self-destruction of lived environments. Third, it will examine how the memories of the conflict are utilised within the tourist sector at present, as sites of violence and trauma have been reconstructed in order to provide economic and social benefits for both local communities and international tourists. In all of these situations, the effects of this violence on recollection will be examined, as historical actors with experience of this conflict reflect on their actions and beliefs with the development of hindsight. The effects of this conflict on individual and communal memory can thus be demonstrated through this interaction of remembrance and social environments.

This thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

This thesis is 18,820 (eighteen thousand, eight hundred and twenty) words in length.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

It all began over an apartment.

The initial division of the Six Counties from the Republic of Ireland in 1920 was greeted with widespread violence from parties opposing the division – the Irish opposing the separation of Ulster from its possession of Ireland, and the British opposing their withdrawal from an island they believed was rightfully theirs. In the late 1950s the IRA commenced a campaign to re-instigate this violence, but was largely unsuccessful, leaving the political violence of the 1920s a distant, but powerful memory. In beginning this campaign of violence, the IRA re-established its association with the Catholic community in an attempt to gain popular support. This association continued to develop through the development of the paramilitary organisation and the changing relationship between the British government and Catholic populations. As the anniversary of the Easter Rising, violent uprisings that resulted from British occupation of Ireland leading to the establishment of the Irish Free State, loomed in the late 1960s, preparations were made in case violence re-emerged around its commemoration.¹ Despite such concerns, the anniversary of the Easter Rising in April 1966 passed relatively peacefully, as seen through the low amounts of arrests during

¹ National Archives of the United Kingdom, "Preparations Being Made To Meet The Threat of IRA Violence," Vol. HA/32/2/26, No. HA/32/2/26 (4 April 1966).

these commemorations.²

Or so it was believed by British observers – the widespread social discrimination that arose from the 1920 division ensured that its memory remained a potent source of discontent. In all areas of society, Irish culture was placed in opposition to British ideals. Education was restricted to the English language, which caused dissension from Irish communities wishing to educate their youth in Gaelic and express their own identity and culture within institutional systems. As a number of traditional industries such as shipbuilding began to decline, Protestant businessmen established new businesses. Despite such renewal, Catholic unemployment became rampant because these firms hired long-term unemployed Protestants rather than Catholics, as the new factory operations could run largely on unskilled labour. As a consequence, Catholic men were 2.6 times more likely to be long-term unemployed than Protestants;³ in some Catholic areas of Belfast, unemployment was prevalent in as high as 38% of the population by 1969.⁴

Against this backdrop there was further unrest that related to the ways in which local governments interacted with public housing. When the Northern Irish government was established by the British government with the schism between the Free State and the North in 1921, the Northern Irish government adopted British legislation regarding suffrage, but did not update it in line with British reforms. The ability to vote for governments was therefore restricted to homeowners, which had two noticeable effects

² Roisin Higgins, *Transforming 1916: Meaning, Memory and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Easter Rising* (Cork University Press, 2012)., p. 178.

³ A.M. Gallagher, "Employment, Unemployment and Religion in Northern Ireland," (1991)., section 8.

⁴ John Darby, *Conflict in Northern Ireland: The Development of a Polarised Community* (Dublin : New York: Gill and Macmillan; Barnes & Noble Books, 1976)., p. 147.

on Catholic representation in the polls. As Catholic families tended to be larger, more socioeconomically disadvantaged and therefore have more people living within one household, Catholic voters were comparatively under-represented in election turnouts.

⁵ More controversially, the large population of homeless or impoverished people across communities were given public housing not based on what would be most efficient in terms of alleviating cross-cultural poverty, but rather based on what would be most conducive to ensuring Protestant members of councils and governments would remain in office. ⁶ The disproportionate voting power of Protestants and absence of Catholic representation thus perpetuated a cycle of discrimination in relation to public welfare.

The discrimination evidenced around public housing provision is now seen as the spark point for the Irish conflict, reflecting on the response to the Caledon Protest. ⁷ In June 1968, a house in Caledon, County Tyrone was allocated to Emily Beatty, a 19 year old unmarried Protestant woman, ahead of numerous homeless Catholic families with children, under the auspices of her upcoming marriage to another Protestant and subsequent establishment of a household within the county. ⁸ In response, nationalist member of Stormont, the government for the Northern Ireland, Austin Currie, squatted within this house in protest, and was promptly arrested for “alleged illegal entry of dwelling house.” ⁹ In response, a civil rights march was arranged in Derry in October

⁵ Paul A. Compton, "Family Size and Religious Denomination in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Biosocial Science*, Vol. 17, No. 02 (April 1985)., pp. 143-144.

⁶ Christine Kinealy, *War and Peace: Ireland Since The 1960s* (Reaktion Books, Limited, 2010)., p. 36.

⁷ David McKittrick and David McVea, *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland* (New Amsterdam Books, 2002)., p. 40.

⁸ Paul A. Stokes, "'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland, 1968-2005: a case of humiliation. ," *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2006)., p. 19.

⁹ Chief Crown Solicitor, "'Alleged illegal entry ... No.9 Kinnaird Park ... Mr Currie, M.P. and others', ," Vol. HA/32/2/27(26th June 1968).

1968, which broke out in violence that was at that stage uncharacteristic of the conflict between communities, requiring hospital treatment for over sixty civilians, as well as several members of the police.¹⁰ While shocking in its severity and scope, events such as this would become part of everyday experience within five years.

Taking inspiration from the contemporaneous struggle of African-Americans, prominent political and social figures within the Catholic community¹¹ decided to engage this perceived injustice on the basis of civil rights and began participating in marches in order to bring attention to the issues they saw confronting them.¹² Initially they used principles of pacifism similar to the African-American movement, as this was perceived as “the only effective protest”.¹³ However some members of the civil rights movement, especially those within the leadership associated with the IRA, considered non-violent action to be ineffective, and splinter groups began to form within the Northern Irish Civil Rights Association¹⁴ leading to the beginnings of violence within radical civil rights activists, instigated by IRA Chief of Staff, Cathal Goulding.¹⁵ The Protestant community chose to respond similarly rather than maintain the pacifist course of action favoured by their leadership,¹⁶ leading to widespread violence in Derry in August 1968, and reprisals in Belfast as armed police from the Royal Ulster Constabulary and loyalist supporters attempted to invade the

¹⁰ Simon Peter Prince, "5 October 1968 and the Beginning of the Troubles: Flashpoints, Riots and Memory," *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2012)., p. 405.

¹¹ Tim Pat Coogan, *The Troubles: Ireland's Ordeal and the Search for Peace* (St. Martin's Press, 2002)., p. 57.

¹² Simon Prince and Geoffrey Warner, "The IRA and Its Rivals: Political Competition and the Turn to Violence in the Early Troubles," *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2013)., p. 276.

¹³ *Derry Journal*, January 14, 1969.

¹⁴ Prince and Warner, "The IRA and Its Rivals: Political Competition and the Turn to Violence in the Early Troubles.", p. 273,

¹⁵ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, *The Origins of the Present Troubles in Northern Ireland* (Taylor & Francis, 2014)., p. 43.

¹⁶ Prince and Warner, "The IRA and Its Rivals: Political Competition and the Turn to Violence in the Early Troubles.", p. 275.

Catholic stronghold, later known as the Bogside, on the west side of Derry. Petrol bombings and shooting between the two communities began to overtake street brawls as the dominate form of violence, and “no go” zones were instituted in Catholic neighbourhoods locations around Derry in order to protect loyalists from further harm.¹⁷ Sectarian violence in Northern Ireland was reborn.

What can be seen through examining the narrative of the conflict is that the intensity continued to rise as violence was accumulated against these different communities, all of which is related to domination and conflict over physical spaces. As the contestation over space became more intense, the levels of violence between sectarian groups increased. This increased affected wider swathes of the community, which in turn created more contestation over place. This violence also created cultural significance through the association between place and pain, which only served to further increase disputes over place. These newly constructed spaces would then be combated through the domination of government forces or the refusal to cohere with structured experience within these places, and so the conflict began to revolve around the contestation of physical and psychological places.

While there is arguably a disproportionate amount of material regarding the conflict in Northern Ireland in relation to the size of the affected population,¹⁸ a large portion of the literature relates to the political development of events and interactions between the British and Irish governments and so does not evaluate the experience of those affected by violence. Scholarship evaluating violent experience began by compiling

¹⁷ Graham Dawson, "Trauma, Place and the Politics of Memory: Bloody Sunday, Derry, 1972-2004," *History Workshop Journal*, No. 59 (Spring 2005)., pp. 159-160.

¹⁸ Kieran McEvoy, *Paramilitary Imprisonment in Northern Ireland: Resistance, Management, and Release* (Oxford University Press, 2001)., p. 7.

statistical data regarding the conflict and so utilised a quantitative rather than qualitative approach – Jeffrey Sluka’s work evaluated political attitudes within one economically deprived apartment block in West Belfast,¹⁹ Marie Therese Fay attempted to compile statistical data on wide effects of violence on the Northern Irish population,²⁰ and Yonah Alexander attempted to examine the different perceptions of war and terror in the Irish conflict.²¹ As all of these works were published while the conflict was still active in the 1980s or in the immediate aftermath of peace agreements in the 1990s, sufficient time had not passed to evaluate the effects of violence on the Irish population, as the events were still prominent in the political psyche. In focusing on quantitative research, these scholars were limited to saying that violence was affective without the ability to articulate Irish violence’s unique nature. In order to develop the field, scholars began to utilise testimonies from those with experience of these events in order to articulate the unique character of these experiences.

The publication of Ian McBride’s *History and Memory*²² marks a turning point for the development of Irish memory studies, and introduces new themes to be developed upon by later literature. Most of the text focuses on the nature of memory in pre-partition Ireland, but the concluding section of the text demonstrates how these previous memories accumulate to affect the current state of Irish memory. McBride then states that remembrance was an informal, communitarian concern for Catholic

¹⁹ Jeffrey Sluka, *Hearts and Minds, Water and Fish: Support for the IRA and INLA in a Northern Irish Ghetto* (JAI Press, 1989).

²⁰ Marie-Therese Fay, Michael Morrissey, and Marie Smyth, *Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Costs* (Pluto Press in association with The Cost of the Troubles Study, 1999).

²¹ Yonah Alexander and Alan O'Day, *Ireland's Terrorist Trauma: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).

²² Ian McBride, *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

populations due to an absence of space to develop their narratives of memory, such as newspapers or memorials, and the lack of formal acknowledgement of pain in either the immediate aftermath or through the much longer grieving period of trauma. As a consequence of this lack of reparation, memory and anger is transmitted between generations against the mediation of official memory by the state, creating memories “stamped with the ruling passages of time” in populations without that personal experience. Finally, McBride states that the religious basis of remembrance, the maintenance of sites of conflict and the questionable nature of apology for trauma due to Catholic confessional models amongst the population all interact tensely with the major part of the Irish economy dedicating to increasing tourism and economic developments. In doing so, memory becomes linked with the time and place within which they develop, allowing McBride’s work to become foundational for further analysis within Northern Irish contexts.

Graham Dawson’s ²³ foundational work on the nature of trauma and community is pivotal for this project. Dawson places a strong emphasis on the interrelation of memory and community, inferring that the foundational memory creates a certain interaction with community, which then shapes how memory is formed in the present, creating a cyclical effect. Furthermore, Dawson theorises on the absence of experience and memory, suggesting that populations can develop emotional responses without personal experience, as in the case of “post-memory” in younger generations, where those without experience of violence are influenced through growing up in a society formed around conflict. Finally, Dawson focuses on how spatial identity is constructed

²³ Graham Dawson, *Making Peace With the Past?: Memories, Trauma and the Irish Troubles* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2010).

in the physical environment through the development of memorials, focusing on how these concepts of cyclical interaction and post-memory are expressed. However, while Dawson's work does cross over both Catholic and Protestant communities, by limiting itself to memorials and other public displays of memory, it does not articulate the construction of these monuments beyond the political and social backgrounds to them – demonstrating that the language and construction is specifically tailored to demonstrate community memories would make this work even stronger.

The transformative effect of this violence and its interactions with notions of place make traditional historical examination difficult, as the effects of violence are inexpressible through objective evaluation. This project will thus utilise the growing archive of oral history relating to the Irish conflict in order to articulate the effects of violence on the wider community. In the early stages of examining the conflict, publication of these histories was limited by potential political implications and the fragile state of ceasefires, requiring anonymity and limiting the potential benefits of these accounts. With the increasing distance from the traumatic events of the conflict and the deaths of significant figures, these histories have become more predominant, such as in the case of Ed Moloney's publication of oral histories from prominent members of both the republican and unionist community.²⁴ This application of historical distance has also allowed histories to articulate narratives that contrast with official memory narratives mediated by the British government, as seen through Eamonn McCann's publication of testimonies relating to the Saville Inquiry, an inquiry attempting to evaluate the effects of a paramilitary shooting later termed "Bloody Sunday" on witnesses and the wider population of Derry and Northern

²⁴ Ed Moloney, *Voices From the Grave: Two Men's War in Ireland* (PublicAffairs, 2010).

Ireland.²⁵ Similarly, Laurence McKeown has utilised his own recording of experience within Northern Irish prisons in order to allow for further examination and publication of his fellow prisoners' experience, through conversations regarding their shared experiences, in order to express the shared emotions inexpressible at the time of earlier historical examination.²⁶

Catherine Nash's *Irish Borderlands* demonstrates how the strong Irish connection to place is prevalent through examination of personal experience of those living on the border between the Republic and the North.²⁷ The contestation over the northern six counties of Ireland had profound effects on residents living between the two countries, as shown through reactions to republican violence and the imposition of British border controls. In interviewing figures generally unassociated with either sectarian faction and excluding unnecessary personal details such as surnames, Nash allows for a more personal insight into everyday life in a particular geographic location.

Memoir surrounding the Northern Irish conflict predominated biographical publications since the beginning of work surrounding the Troubles, taking a political focus in investigating the motivations of prominent figures such as IRA Chief of Staff Sean MacStíofáin²⁸ and Northern Irish Second Minister Brian Faulkner.²⁹ The development of distance from violence allowed for more nuanced understandings of the effects of conflict, as memoirists began to express the emotional and psychological

²⁵ Eamonn McCann, *The Bloody Sunday Inquiry: The Families Speak Out* (Pluto Press, 2006).

²⁶ Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time: Irish Republican Prisoners, Long Kesh, 1970-2000* (BTP Publications, 2001).

²⁷ Catherine Nash, Brian Graham, and Bryonie Reid, *Partitioned Lives: The Irish Borderlands: The Irish Borderlands* (Ashgate Publishing, Limited, 2013).

²⁸ Sean MacStíofáin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (Free Ireland Book Club, 1979).

²⁹ Brian Faulkner and John Houston, *Memoirs of a Statesman* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978).

effects of sectarianism. Memoirs of those who engage in violent action are often used to justify their actions.³⁰ The externalisation of stories allows for more considered expressions of empathy, giving the act of memoir therapeutic benefits.³¹ The publication of memoirs in the post-conflict period also allows for a freedom of expression, both in regards to the content within and the vocabulary utilised. Individuals select and splice their memories from disorganised clusters of words, images and feelings to create a sense of self.³² As individuals react to violence in different ways, this necessitates unique uses of vocabulary in order to allow for pure expression of recollection.

Stephen Hopkins³³ has worked extensively on the nature of memoir, as shown through his book-length examination of memoir within the Northern Irish conflict. Hopkins suggests that memoirs seek to transmit and interpret the dramatic changes the movement has lived through, demonstrating these changes through the authors' ability to place their own experiences within the changing political framework and the wider political sphere within which the conflict exists.³⁴ This focus on memoirs provides a new perspective on the development of political events within the Northern Irish conflict through focusing on important political actors and examining their private motivations for their actions.

³⁰ Lucy Robinson, "Soldiers' Stories of the Falklands War: Recomposing Trauma in Memoir," *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (December 2011), p. 573.

³¹ Alison Parr, "Breaking The Silence: Traumatized War Veterans and Oral History," *Oral History*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2007), pp. 61-63.

³² Sean Field, "Beyond 'Healing': Trauma, Oral History and Regeneration," *Oral History*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Spring 2006), p. 34.

³³ Stephen Hopkins, *The Politics of Memoir and the Northern Ireland Conflict* (Liverpool University Press, 2013).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

This project will also examine the public expressions of conflict memory in the present in order to evaluate how the relation between memory and place can be uniquely transformed by physical mediums. The inability of traditional historical analysis to articulate the effects of memory can also be applied to written sources as a whole, due to the inexpressible nature of emotions and the singular perspective from which written and oral memories are sourced from.³⁵ Placing recollection within the public sphere requires that its contents are representative both of large portions of the community within which it is placed, and of a distinct communal memory separate from individual memory.

Brian Conway has written extensively on the nature of public recollection following the events of Bloody Sunday, an incident occurring at the height of political tension, in January 1972.³⁶ During a peace march towards the city hall of Derry, British soldiers fired at unarmed protestors, killing thirteen civilians over the course of the protest. Conway states this event was immediately seen as transformative within the public, and retains this connotation through its continued representation from the immediate aftermath of the event, to the present.³⁷ This continued representation takes the form of the construction of memorials, participation in commemorative marches, and the painting of murals in public locations. In all of these examples, the exhibition of memory within the public sphere mediates its construction, requiring different uses of memory when compared to individual recollections.

³⁵ Jacqueline Vansant, *Reclaiming Heimat: Trauma and Mourning in Memoirs by Jewish Austrian Reémigrés* (Wayne State University Press, 2001), p. 83.

³⁶ Brian Conway, *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory* (Basingstoke, Hampshire England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Neil Jarman³⁸ suggests that the undercurrent of political violence had become prevalent with the interaction between political developments and visual media, such as through television and newspaper reporting. Throughout this development, the “disease” of violence erupts in Ulster, and the political character of the Northern Irish population is transformed from peacefully passionate to uncontrollably vengeful with the rapid dispersion of violent imagery. Jarman then utilises murals as an expression of disruptive displays of thought, focusing on the act of painting as opposed to the content within as politically significant. Andrew Hill and Andrew White³⁹ build on Neil Jarman’s work on murals through their depiction of the deterioration of space, especially the maintenance and subsequent manipulation of murals, as representative of the communal perceptions of spatial experience. As murals are removed to make neutral space by the government, memory is further mediated and dominated by official sources. Leaving murals from the periods of violence to deteriorate is thus representative of the passing of time between their painting and the present, and so would be inferred to assist in processes of recovery. However, the government’s interference because of their interests in tourism creates a tension between recovering from the direct stimuli of violence, and recovering from the socioeconomic deprivation which caused the tensions that led to violence.

It can be seen that the Troubles have been examined from many perspectives during and after the conflict. While examination has been done into the relation between

³⁸ Neil Jarman, "Violent Men, Violent Land: Dramatizing the Troubles and the Landscape of Ulster," *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1996)., pp. 39-61

³⁹ Andrew Hill, "Painting Peace? Murals and the Northern Ireland Peace Process," *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (February 2012)., pp. 71-88.

memory and place, this has only been applied to small sections of conflict, and has not examined the interaction of these concepts across multiple periods of time. This thesis will demonstrate how this relation is foundation, through its application within multiple locations and timeframes. The prominence of this interaction in the present through the development of Troubles related tourism and the continued debates surrounding the redevelopment of violent sites demonstrates the effects of sectarian violence in the present.

The breaking out of violence within Derry in 1968 set the baseline for conflict within Northern Ireland, as bombings on infrastructure became commonplace in an attempt to disrupt British attempts to maintain order. In response to this, the British government reinstituted legislation such as the Special Forces Act, which gave police the ability to detain those suspected of engaging in sectarian activity for up to 48 hours without charge or trial,⁴⁰ in an attempt to provide a tactical advantage for unionist communities⁴¹ through the mass internment of republicans.⁴² The persistence of violence after the implementation of this policy led to the dissolution of the Northern Irish parliament at Stormont and the institution of Direct Rule from Westminster at the end of March 1972. This removal of political autonomy from the Northern Irish population only contributed to a sense of alienation and exclusion that both sectarian

⁴⁰ Laura K. Donohue, "Regulating Northern Ireland: The Special Powers Acts, 1922-1972," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (1998).

⁴¹ Paul Dixon, *The British Approach to Counterinsurgency: From Malaya and Northern Ireland to Iraq and Afghanistan* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)., p. 278.

⁴² Only 107 of the 1981 people interned under the Special Forces Act were from unionist backgrounds. Martin J. McCleery, "Debunking the Myths of Operation Demetrius: The Introduction of Internment in Northern Ireland in 1971," *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 2012)., p. 278.

factions had developed over the course of British involvement in the conflict between them.⁴³

The second chapter of this thesis will examine how the sectarian conflict between Catholic communities attempting to create a unified Ireland and Protestant communities wishing to retain the northern counties of Ulster utilised these conceptualisations of place in order to justify the gradual increase in tension and violence, through the increasing conflict in cross-community neighbourhoods, the increased involvement of the British Army and the effects this had on republican movement and action, and the move to defensive positions by republican communities as a result of increased unionist violence. In response to this, republican communities had to reconfigure their own courses of political action in response to the intrusion into their own communities. To do so, these communities first rebuilt their homes in order to provide for defence against violence, and transformed their political activity from violence to rebellion.

The third chapter of this project will examine the ways in which oppressed communities subverted structures of power in order to regain a sense of control over their environment. As paramilitaries were imprisoned without trial under the provisions of the Special Forces Act by the British army, they lost the ability to utilise violence as a means of placing pressure on the British and Irish governments. In response, they began to deconstruct their environment through dirtying their own cells to the point of discomfort, placing British guards under duress and garnering support

⁴³ Kevin Bean, "The new departure? Recent developments in Republican strategy and ideology," *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 3, No. 10 (Spring 1995), p. 6.

from communities outside of the United Kingdom due to the human rights violations that occurred as a result. Tropes of “dirtiness” also began to be demonstrated outside of prison contexts, as civilians began to consciously dirty their own lived environments through the accumulation of filth and the painting of political murals on their own homes in order to further the effects of this dirty protest within the wider context of Northern Irish conflict. This conscious dirtiness aimed to remove value from these properties, allowing for the Republican assertion of power within these spaces. These contestations left such an impression on Northern Irish society that prison sites and communal murals have become two of the focal points for the Northern Irish tourist industry in the post-Troubles period.

Chapter four will demonstrate how public displays of traumatic memory are influenced by developments in these individual memories, how these become manipulated by outside forces in pursuit of financial profit, and how the re-exposure of memory in public spaces prohibits moving on from these events. Due to the conflicting communities within divided cities, multiple recollected narratives of events have developed; Protestant narratives have institutional support and attempt to play down the disruptive nature of events, while Catholic narratives often come from collected memories of individuals within the community and focus on demonstrating how violence proved fundamentally disruptive to their community. As these two factions are broken up into further divisions with differences in perspective within sectarian alignments, public memory necessarily integrates many narratives in an attempt to provide a balanced interpretation of events; in doing so, it loses structural coherency in this integration of conflicting perspectives. In order to capitalise on this reservoir of memory within afflicted areas of the country, tours, memorials, museums

and commemoration marches have all developed; in some cases, these function as a method of expression for these communities to begin to move on from these events. In other cases, these spaces are exploited by groups who purport to express the “authentic” forms of memory, which suffer from problems of ideological balance due to the constraints of tourist experience and the need for narrative simplicity. Finally, the effects of these expressions of memory on the public sphere interact with lived memory and what has been termed post-memory, keeping violent events close to mind.

Chapter 2

Violence and Place in the Early Troubles

At heart, the conflict within Northern Ireland is a contestation of space. The conflict began over the allocation of public housing and its disproportionate use by Protestant communities, erupted into violence in response to protests regarding these issues of inequality, and continued in this violence due to the close proximity of extremist religious communities and their interaction within densely populated areas. This chapter will examine the interaction between space, power and memory throughout the Irish conflict, and will demonstrate how the domination of space by the British government created painful, traumatic memories for those who experienced events, and how the reconstruction of space by Republican communities assisted in processes of reversing this power struggle and benefiting the construction of their recollection. First, it will examine the role of violence within civil rights marches in the early part of the conflict. Intended as non-violent protests to put pressure on the British government to withdraw from the country or to institute reform regarding cross-community policy, the rapid descent into violence was especially shocking considering the intent of these marches. Second, it will examine the role of sectarian violence in the mid-1970s, which was concentrated on the Catholic heartland of Falls Road, and the Protestant stronghold of Shankill Road. As hostilities intensified, these streets became sites of violence with increasing numbers of kidnappings and violent murders, constructing them as landscapes of fear for the respective community.

The concentration of Catholics in certain cities within Northern Ireland, notably within the western ward of Derry and the capital of Belfast, led to the development of religious based communities within these wards in order to prevent conflict caused by routine interaction between Protestants and Catholics. While Catholics were also predominant in wards in the south, bordering the Republic, and in the western districts of Omagh and Cookstown,⁴⁴ the low population density within these areas prevented the development of these as separate communities,⁴⁵ instead leading to coexistence between Protestants and Catholics. Despite the relatively small populations of these cities compared to British or American equivalents, the geographical and social interaction between these communities forced each to become aware of each other's ideological standing – instead of being able to perpetuate archetypes of the opposite community through their absence, engaging in daily activities on a cross-community basis allowed for understanding and acceptance of alternative communities within smaller towns.⁴⁶ Within Derry and Belfast, however, tensions between these communities were such that certain areas of each city became Protestant or Catholic neighbourhoods. In Belfast, a large portion of the poverty-stricken west of the city remains predominantly Catholic, with a smaller section in the Northwest similarly populated. While the southern part of the city had approximately equal religious representation, there were two areas of the city that were dominated by Protestants – most of the eastern side of the city, and a small area centred around Shankill Road, bordered by the two areas of Catholic predominance, on the west side of Belfast.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See Appendix A, A1.

⁴⁵ See Appendix A, A2.

⁴⁶ Steve Bruce, "Paramilitaries, peace, and politics: Ulster loyalists and the 1994 truce," *Studies In Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1995), p. 197.

⁴⁷ See Appendix A, A3.

This spatial mapping by religion combined with sectarian tensions to create “safe” and “unsafe” places.⁴⁸ Similarly Derry was divided by the River Foyle, with the Catholics concentrated on the left side of the river, and the Protestants concentrated in the inhabitable parts of the right side of the river, with a small portion residing within Derry’s “walled city”, created from the conflicts of the 17th century between Protestants and Catholics.⁴⁹ Prior to the Northern Irish civil rights movements, these locations remained relatively peaceful, with the communities keeping distance from each other’s space. With the beginnings of violence and the gradual encroachment of each community upon the other’s neighbourhoods, an individuals’ daily experience began to change as the threat of violence and death became embedded within Irish culture.

The transformative effects of violence within religious communities are explicitly stated in Gerry Adams’ account of his experience of “The Battle of Bogside”, resulting from the presence of the Apprentice Boys Parade within Catholic communities. The Apprentice Boys march commemorated the Protestant victory at the Siege of Derry in 1689, and was thus seen as symbolising the Protestant control of the city. However, the presence of the march within Catholic communities in Derry was seen as a “calculated insult” to the Catholic community,⁵⁰ compounding the grievances surrounding political decisions and the allocations of public housing within Derry. At the annual Apprentice Boys parade on August 12th, 1969, trouble broke out, leading to the use of tear gas and petrol bombs by Republicans, Unionists and police, resulting in

⁴⁸ Kevin Hearty, “The Great Awakening? The Belfast Flag Protests and Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist Counter-memory in Northern Ireland,” *Irish Political Studies*, (2014)., p. 3.

⁴⁹ See Appendix A, A4.

⁵⁰ Eamonn McCann, *War And An Irish Town* (Pluto Press, 1993)., p. 114.

approximately 1,000 injuries and the destruction of approximately 150 homes;⁵¹ while notable, this was not a large proportion of the homes in Derry.⁵² Similarly, in Adams' hometown of Belfast, conflict occurred in response to news of the parade and the violence lead to exchanges of gunfire and the burning and gutting of homes within the western neighbourhoods of Belfast,⁵³ culminating in the killing of several Catholic and Protestant civilians, most notably Patrick Rooney, a child caught in the crossfire between republicans and unionists near the city centre.⁵⁴ Adams recalls the aftermath:

*"The old familiar streetscape was shattered. The environment that I grew up in was gone. For ever. The self contained, enclosed village atmosphere of the area and its peaceful sense of security had been brutally torn apart, leaving our close-knit community battered and bleeding in mind, body and spirit. The everyday world in which we had passed our childhoods had been transformed, destroyed and a sense of devastation entered our hearts."*⁵⁵

This account shows the intersection between spatial experience and personal reflection. First, the invocation of injurious metaphors suggest that Adams perceives loss and actual harm to his sense of self as a consequence of these events, furthered by the space itself being torn apart. Second, perceiving this injury as permanent suggests that the possibility of recovery does not exist; the internal perception of damaged

⁵¹ Robert White, *Provisional Irish Republicans: An Oral and Interpretive History* (Greenwood Press, 1993), p. 75.

⁵² The population within Londonderry at the time of the 1971 census was approximately 66,259, due to being counted on a population present basis. Census Office, "The Northern Ireland Census 1971 - 1971 Towns and Villages Booklet," (1971).

⁵³ McCann, *War And An Irish Town.*, p. 118.

⁵⁴ David McKittrick, *Lost Lives: The Stories Of The Men, Women and Children Who Died As A Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles* (Mainstream, 1999), p. 34.

⁵⁵ Gerry Adams, *Before The Dawn: An Autobiography* (Heinemann, 1996), p. 107.

space will remain. Third, the reference to “the everyday world in which we had passed our childhoods” indicates a desire to return to a previous temporal moment in order to avoid the ramifications of these events, or signifies how the innocence of daily life had been lost as a result of the disappearance of peace and the gradual, and foreseeably permanent increase in violence, as shown through the increasing focus that violence plays in Adams’ personal narrative. It can thus be seen that an individual’s mental construction of place is transformed by the effects of trauma. As Norman Brown suggests, repeated incidences of violence within a single location cause an individual to reconfigure their own autobiographical narrative around the violence in these locations, viewing these spaces as disruptive and integral to personal development.⁵⁶

The events of Northern Irish civil rights marches and the violence that resulted from the conflict between these communities changed the practice of having spaces for each religious community within the boundaries of one city. When the British Army sent paratroopers in order to quell violence within Derry in 1970, their presence was initially welcomed by Catholics looking to restore order. However, their intention was to remain in the area for only a short period of time to restore some semblance of order and provide short-term assistance to the local government.⁵⁷ One of the first actions the Army took in order to restore peace within the community was to institute a two week ban on unionist activity within the Catholic communes of the Bogside and Creggan areas of Derry to allow for moderate policing to occur from within the community in order to locate provocateurs of violence.⁵⁸ In the process, a policy of

⁵⁶ Norman R. Brown et al., "Living in History; How War, Terrorism, and Natural Disaster Affect the Organization of Autobiographical Memory," *Psychological Science*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (April 2009), p. 403.

⁵⁷ Aaron Edwards, "Misapplying lessons learned? Analysing the utility of British counterinsurgency strategy in Northern Ireland, 1971–76," *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010), pp. 305-306.

⁵⁸ Niall Ó Dochartaigh, "Bloody Sunday: Error or Design?," *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (March 2010), p. 95.

restraint was instituted by the British Army, as they perceived any invasion into the territory as being provocative to the Catholic community due to the high risk of casualties. As Sir Robert Ford noted: “much will be made of the invasion of Derry and the slaughter of the innocent.”⁵⁹ Their intention was to restore order to these cities through minimal involvement, letting their presence rather than their actions assist in these processes

Interactions around the border offer further evidence to the existence of these transformations of place. While there was little in the way of geographical difference or signifiers to mark the border, the construction of checkpoints served to instil fear in both those who crossed the border to commit violent acts, or to escape from the consequences of such. The construction of these borders was designed to intimidate or frustrate civilians and paramilitaries moving between towns or across the border, through their design or practice. Checkpoints could be as simple as a small gate across a road guarded by two security officers, or an intimidating structure of steel bars and labyrinthine paths with heavily armed guards viewing every point within the checkpoint, as at the entrance to one Belfast mall in the downtown location.⁶⁰ Further, the security processes at these checkpoints were intended to create frustration in travellers – one civilian noted that “there was six stops to go to a fella to hire a chainsaw, and I had to go through the six of them on the way back in. And those were the kind of things that in the end of it all, scraped away at people’s tolerance.”⁶¹

⁵⁹ Sir Robert Ford, "Future Military Policy for Londonderry: An Appreciation of the Situation by CLF (Major-General Ford)," (14 December 1971)., paragraph. 4.

⁶⁰ See Appendix A, A5.

⁶¹ Catherine Nash, "Border crossings: new approaches to the Irish border," *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (August 2010)., p. 273.

These checkpoints were not only designed to create frustration and disrupt the everyday lives of those living near the border, but to create resentment within these populations towards paramilitary groups whose actions necessitated their creation.

Cultural geographer Catherine Nash states that the mobility of the IRA across the border into the Republic created insecurity for residents living on the Northern side of the border.⁶² As support for the IRA was far more prevalent in the Republic, paramilitaries did not have to move covertly within the Republic in order to avoid internment, and so checkpoints were instituted in order to prevent the easy retreat into the Republic, in an attempt to keep IRA members within British jurisdictions. This ease of escape allowed them to engage in increased violent activity on wards which bordered the Republic, and also allowed for provisions such as medical care to be utilised – Catholics who were admitted to hospitals for gunshot or shrapnel wounds would come under scrutiny due to the associations these injuries had with paramilitary groups.⁶³ As the violence that followed the formation of the Irish Free State in the 1920s and the failed Border Campaign of the late 1950s was focused on the arson and destruction of Protestant farmland⁶⁴ these border locations became sparsely populated, creating a sense of siege within the Protestant community in opposition to republican action, as Protestant populations moved away from the border in order to prevent further damage to their property and person. Furthermore, the prevalence of traumatic symptoms in Northern Irish border counties is approximately double of Republic border counties, as the prevalence of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder related directly to

⁶² Nash, Graham, and Reid, *Partitioned Lives: The Irish Borderlands: The Irish Borderlands.*, p. 72.

⁶³ George Clarke, *Border Crossing: True Stories of the RUC Special Branch, the Garda Special Branch and the IRA Moles* (Gill & MacMillan, Limited, 2009)., p. 63.

⁶⁴ Henry Patterson, "Sectarianism Revisited: The Provisional IRA Campaign in a Border Region of Northern Ireland," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (2010)., p. 343.

Troubles-related activity can be seen to be linked to the increased amount and intensity of violent events within northern border counties. Utilising the Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Checklist, which evaluated personal experiences of the Troubles and the long term effects of these experiences on the persons involved, Muldoon et al. demonstrated that Troubles-related PTSD occurred in 12% of evaluated border county citizens in the North, compared to 6% in the South,⁶⁵ further showing how experience of violent spaces can directly lead to psychological damage.⁶⁶ This conflict between groups with strong claims to physical space dominated by Catholic communities and that dominated by Protestant communities thus created a sense of disorientation and caution within residents, as they could be attacked from any direction at any point.

This intrusion into the Irish sectarian conflict by the British Army in the early 1970s and the creation of security checkpoints on the border only heightened this sense of fear within those passing through, both for paramilitary purposes and through civilian action, for instance, crossing the border to go on holiday or for business purposes.

When reflecting on his experiences as a double agent working within the IRA in order to destabilise their actions within border counties, George Clarke reflects that “inwardly I knew I would worry like hell until I crossed the border, and even after that. I didn’t feel like explaining to a British Army road stop what the hell I was doing with an IRA armalite in my car.”⁶⁷ Even with the required clearances to identify himself to the border patrols, the intensity of the initial suspicions that occurred upon

⁶⁵ Orla Muldoon, Schmid, Katharina, Downes, Ciara, Kremer, John, & Trew, Karen, *The Legacy Of The Troubles: Experience Of The Troubles, Mental Health And Social Attitudes*. (Belfast: Queen's University Press, 2005)., pp. 40-47.

⁶⁶ Finola Ferry et al., "The Experience and Psychological Impact of 'Troubles' related Trauma in Northern Ireland," *The Irish Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 31, No. 3-4 (2010)., p. 100.

⁶⁷ Clarke, *Border Crossing: True Stories of the RUC Special Branch, the Garda Special Branch and the IRA Moles.*, p. 130.

being found with weapons was worth considering when beginning operations. Similarly, civilians who crossed the border reflected that upon moving into the Republic from the North, “the landscape did not change dramatically, but psychologically you were going into somewhere, you were breaking free...there was just a real sense of freedom and you could go wherever you wanted and there was no stress...”⁶⁸ The construction of these checkpoints was thus indicative of the scrutiny and restriction that was placed on movement within the North, as their gradual dismantlement following the beginnings of peace negotiations in the 1990s, “kind of just...opened us up...or opened Derry up”,⁶⁹ as one local remembers, demonstrating the effects of what the British intended as a “confidence building measure.”⁷⁰ The sense of control that was placed on Northern Ireland by the British government was coercive to the point where people would change their place of residence or expose themselves to violence from paramilitary groups in order to avoid the ordeal of crossing through checkpoints. One civilian, for instance, stated that “the way most people looked at it was that the checkpoint was a target”⁷¹ and so built a residence in the Northern ward of Fermanagh as opposed to the Republic ward of Cavan so his wife did not have to negotiate a military checkpoint. This reduced the risk of being involved in paramilitary violence targeting stationed guards, and circumvented potentially lengthy waits and harassment at the border because of their Catholicism.⁷²

These processes of instituting checkpoints, restricting movement and influencing the settling of families within the Republic and the North of Ireland thus created a

⁶⁸ Nash, Graham, and Reid, *Partitioned Lives: The Irish Borderlands: The Irish Borderlands.*, p. 91.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 91.

⁷⁰ Jessie Blackbourn, *Anti-Terrorism Law and Normalising Northern Ireland* (Taylor & Francis, 2014)., p. 110.

⁷¹ Nash, Graham, and Reid, *Partitioned Lives: The Irish Borderlands: The Irish Borderlands.*, p. 99.

⁷² Ibid.pp. 99-100.

destabilisation of place and the loss of perceived ownership over both countries. The beneficial effects of considering a location as “home” were thus nullified, as Irish people felt their connection to the places they inhabited was fractured through British interference. One of the factors distinguishing the concepts of place and space is a sense of personal connection, whether that of ownership (of homes) or of communal attachment (as in the local café), ⁷³ in essence developing a connection to lived place based on the interpersonal connections within and the memories and actions associated with locations. ⁷⁴ To create place, space is invested with personal meaning ⁷⁵ and so requires some form of experience – property developers for example might view houses as economic assets rather than sites of personal significance. Furthermore, Seaman argues that “home is an intimate place of rest where people can escape from the hustle of the outside world and have some limited degree of control over a limited place.” ⁷⁶ Cresswell continued this delineation by stating that “the creation of place necessarily involves the definition of what lies outside.” ⁷⁷ Home is of importance as a concept because it is seen as separate to and possibly in opposition to other homes, or to shared public spaces without the privacy and freedom of the home. Finally, Cresswell concludes by stating that “home, insofar as it is an intimately lived place, is imbued with moral meaning.” ⁷⁸ This sense of moral meaning contributed to feelings of intrusion on both sides, as the obligation to maintain each community’s home was not

⁷³ Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Wiley, 2004), p. 11.

⁷⁴ Carla Pascoe, "City as space, city as place: Sources and the urban historian," *History Australia*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2010), p. 9.

⁷⁵ Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ David Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest and Encounter* (Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 78-85.

⁷⁷ Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, p. 102.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

only for those currently inhabiting it, but for those who would come to inhabit it in future.

In the wake of the increase of violence following Bloody Sunday, the British Army undertook an operation entitled Operation Motorman in July 1972. In contrast to the sparse occupation that had occurred in 1969, over 30,000 armed service personnel began to move into the “no-go” areas within Derry and Belfast, destroying barricades and instituting checkpoints in a military occupation that ranked as “one of the biggest deployments of British forces since the Second World War, and the largest troop concentration in Ireland in the twentieth century.”⁷⁹ In the process of dismantling these no-go areas, Motorman “severely eroded the [IRA’s] operational capacity...in removing safe havens where it could plan attacks. Further, these districts were also used by the Provisionals to foment a constant level of rioting and sniping that did much to keep urban areas in a state of disorder.”⁸⁰ In the process of instituting this campaign, teenagers Daniel Hegarty and Seamus Bradley were killed by the Army under suspicion of paramilitary activity, causing intense distrust amongst the republican community,⁸¹ later compounded by claims that Bradley was ordered to stop before the British Army opened fire, in essence creating a public execution. In doing so, and killing teenagers in the process, a sense of outrage permeated throughout the community through the excessive use of violence and the destruction of what were considered to be safe places. The Claudy bombings in a village a few miles away from

⁷⁹ Tony Geraghty, *The Irish War: The Hidden Conflict Between the IRA and British Intelligence* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 72, McKittrick, *Lost Lives: The Stories Of The Men, Women and Children Who Died As A Result of the Northern Ireland Troubles*, p. 240.

⁸⁰ Michael Rainsborough and Peter Neumann, "Motorman's Long Journey: Changing the Strategic Setting in Northern Ireland," *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (December 2005), p. 426.

⁸¹ "Appeal For Motorman Witnesses," *Republican News*, 22 October 1998.

Derry, believed to be undertaken by a Catholic priest acting as an IRA quartermaster,⁸² killed five Catholics and four Protestants immediately after the institution of Motorman, and while this attack was believed to be in response to the removal of the no-go areas,⁸³ what can be shown is that the intended effect of Operation Motorman was undermined, as paramilitary violence continued and escalated despite the loss of republican controlled no-go areas.

However, what this operation instituted within the community was outrage and a sense of insecurity within the civilian population. The occupation of these cities by the army provided implicit support to unionist communities, allowing them to escalate the Protestant campaign against the republican community, leading to claims of collusion between paramilitary groups and the military.⁸⁴ In removing these safe areas for the Republican movement, the benefits of having these areas for the communal psyche were removed, as the degree of control the community had was removed. As the no go areas were utilised to provide safe haven for republican paramilitaries and thus afforded freedom of movement to Catholics that could not be guaranteed outside of these strongholds.⁸⁵ As a consequence of this, unionist paramilitaries increased their levels of violent action against the republican community, as their avenues for safety within the environment were reduced through this action.

⁸² Mark Simpson, "Claudy bomb: A priest who got away with murder?," *BBC Northern Ireland*, 24 August 2010.

⁸³ Rosie Cowan, "Does this letter prove a priest was behind IRA bombing?," *The Guardian* 21 September 2002.

⁸⁴ Julia Hall and Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, *To Serve Without Favor: Policing, Human Rights, and Accountability in Northern Ireland* (Human Rights Watch, 1997)., p. 139.

⁸⁵ Tony Craig, "From Backdoors and Back Lanes to Backchannels: Reappraising British Talks with the Provisional IRA, 1970–1974," *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (March 2012)., p. 106.

At the beginning of the conflict, deaths were seen as an unfortunate side effect of damage intended to disrupt infrastructure or to contain rioting or as a secondary effect of measures intended to disrupt either the British presence in Northern Ireland, or the republican communities attempting change. As the conflict developed, the growing involvement of the British Army and their move from attempting to maintain peace between paramilitary groups to providing support for unionist activity, saw republican violence shift from being mainly disruptive to attempting to defend the community from the constant harassment of unionist ultraviolence. By 1975, cross-community murder was no longer seen as a side effect of other violent measures, but rather the explicit aim of sectarian actors. This can be seen through the establishment of the infamous Shankill Butchers, a group of killers with their headquarters located in the Protestant stronghold of Shankill Road, infamous for their use of murder as a representative tool in order to demonstrate political aims. After the formation of the Butchers, unionist killings moved from shootings and collateral damage to mutilation designed to create horrifying displays for the wider community, in order to further disrupt and terrify Catholic communities. This can be seen through the murders of such individuals as Stephen McCann, a young Catholic student of Queens University, located in shared areas in the south of Belfast – abducted from the streets, brutally stabbed, decapitated and dismembered to make this violence obvious – his throat being slit to the back of the spine to ensure that this killing could only be taken as deliberate.

⁸⁶ This violence became more than a means to an end – instead becoming its own entity to provoke emotional responses in divided communities. In response to this, the Catholic community began to redevelop their neighbourhoods in a defensive manner in order to prevent such violence from intruding into their homes.

⁸⁶ Martin Dillon, *The Shankill Butchers: A Case Study of Mass Murder* (Random House, 2009)., p. 180.

One of the interesting consequences of the proliferation of spatial responses comes through in the commercialisation of trauma. In the aftermath of unpredictable domestic bombings in the 1980s, several security companies were founded in these communities in order to outfit IRA member's houses with steel security doors. As a consequence, the physical appearance of the area remained relatively unchanged, but the spatial experience of these areas undertook massive change, which was then exploited for commercial gain. In reflecting on his practices regarding security within Belfast in the 1980s, former leader of the Progressive Unionist Party and member of the Ulster Volunteer Force David Ervine stated that "the presence of such precautions...of heavy grille doors to deter intruders...was a sure sign that the house was a Republican one."⁸⁷ Ervine's prior arrest in 1974 for possession of explosives suggests that he had some knowledge in examining homes in order to create the most destruction.⁸⁸ In response to this use of appearance to denote security within these communities, security companies have begun to install "security grilles that can be fitted inside windows, providing a security solution by acting a visual deterrent"⁸⁹ without the actual physical benefits that grille doors bring. In transforming their individual houses in response to the demands of violence on security, Catholic neighbourhoods engaged in this evolution in order not only to protect their own families, but also to continue the conflict against Protestants, whilst also maintaining the social integrity of the wider Catholic neighbourhood through the promotion of mobility and accessibility for those non-vital to IRA efforts.

⁸⁷ Moloney, *Voices From the Grave: Two Men's War in Ireland.*, p. 417.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁸⁹ DW Industrial Doors, www.dwindustrialdoors.co.uk. 12/08/2014

What can be seen is the influence that contestation over lived spaces had on the Northern Irish conflict. With the gradual development of inequity between the two communities, conflict inevitably broke out in an attempt to bring about institutional change. This conflict may have petered out if the two communities were largely separated and institutional change gradually brought into practice, but their constant interaction through the intersection of neighbourhoods meant that the transformative effect of initial violence did not have time to be repaired, but rather was continually aggravated through the escalation of conflict. The British government then utilised restrictions on place in order to attempt to quell this violence, in practice only worsening it through the provocation of republican communities and their support of unionist paramilitaries.

Chapter 3

Memories of Disgust

The latter half of the 1970s represented a desperate moment in the Troubles for republican, Catholic communities. The introduction of internment, the destruction of no go areas and the Protestant increase of violence caused Catholic communities to take a defensive position and focus on their own safety instead of engaging in widespread rebellion. Engaging in direct conflict became hopeless, due to institutional support of unionists and the limited financial support available due to economic deprivation.⁹⁰ To re-affirm their position within Northern Irish culture and to place pressure back onto the British government, republican actors, followed by the wider Catholic community, reconceptualised the notions of oppressive space in order to regain power over their lived spaces. First, prisoners who were interned under the Special Force Act began to deconstruct the oppression that imprisonment conferred, through their refusal to participate in routines such as wearing a prison uniform and leaving their cells to defecate. The develop of these rebellious actions was the utilised by the Catholic communities outside of the prison context in order to further disrupt British oppression, through their own subversion of typical practices surrounding the disposal of waste and the upkeep of their lived spaces. In engaging with these acts of causing discomfort to their selves, both of these groups used the memories of British

⁹⁰ A stolen report from IRA member James Glover estimates IRA income during 1978 at £950,000, and IRA expenditure at £780,000. Brendan O'Leary, "Mission Accomplished? Looking Back at the IRA," *Field Day Review*, Vol. 1(2005).

colonial states in order to garner widespread support for their politics, through notions of disgust and perceived societal progress.

The reconceptualisation of symbolic spaces was instituted by repressed Republicans within prisons and Catholic neighbourhoods in order to regain power over their living environments. The British government introduced policies of internment in order to assert power over the perceived rebellious populations engaging in paramilitary activity; in response, internees reconceptualised the space within which they were interned in order to regain power and inflict suffering onto British wardens. In reconceptualising these spaces and reasserting power over them, the physical domination that the British had over prisoners and wider Republican communities turned from a form of political domination, through the changed perception of Irish prisoners from aggressive to sympathetic. In doing so, they inflicted discomfort upon themselves in order to displace the power of British violence upon their person, and utilised the violence inflicted on their individual bodies to develop shared emotions regarding events. Similarly, communities outside prisons turned to graffitiing and degrading their own lived environments in order to disrupt the British dominion of public spaces – by rendering their own living space uninhabitable, they inflict discomfort upon themselves and break free of the British welfare system's gifts of comfort and dominion.

The status of "Special Category" was initially given to political prisoners to differentiate them from the criminal prisoner population. In 1976, the political status of "Special Category" was removed from prisoners interned for acts relating to paramilitary action, regardless of any formal charges or criminal conviction, leading to

their co-existence with apolitical prisoners convicted of criminal offences, and the stripping of privileges afforded to political prisoners. In response to this designation, paramilitary prisoners began to engage in a protest campaigning for fundamental rights later dubbed “The Five Demands” – the right to not wear prison uniforms, to free association, to abstain from prison work, to education, and to receive one parcel, one letter and one visit a week.⁹¹ In order to demonstrate these demands, Republican prisoners stripped themselves of the prison uniform and utilised prison blankets in order to clothe themselves. As the uniform was a requirement for prisoners to receive visits from their families, the stripping of this clothing presented a conflict within the protesting prisoners – either they could don the uniform for the sole purpose of receiving visitors, and resume their protest afterwards at the expense of breaking their message, or continue their protest and become isolated from their family and community. At the beginning of the protest, the majority of prisoners refused to break their protest, as “those who took a visit were still guaranteed a beating”⁹², until the promotion of future hunger striker Bobby Sands to commander within the prison, and the recognition of the potential political gains through demonstrating the effects of prison on the body.

In contrast, however, the spatial experience of prison life did not afford safeties or experiential freedom, but rather created an atmosphere that served to mimic the experience of being trapped at home, in fear of being assaulted in the streets. When describing his experience in Long Kesh Prison following the murder of Sean

⁹¹ Paul Howard, "The Long Kesh Hunger Strikers: 25 Years Later," *Social Justice*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (106) (2006)., p. 69.

⁹² Richard O'Rawe, *Blanketmen: An Untold Story of the H-Block Hunger Strike* (New Island, 2005)., p. 65.

Corcoran, Sean O'Callaghan states that;

In prison, a lonely labyrinth at the best of times, those tendencies [of plotting and paranoia] became if anything more exaggerated than before, and the sense of isolation was extreme. It was almost like a form of madness. ⁹³

This experience of Long Kesh is supported by Gerry Adams' account of the claustrophobic nature and the effect environment had on experience;

Prison affects everyone differently. It can be a mind-bending experience, sucking the very marrow from the spirit. The actual structure of Long Kesh was particularly difficult. While the communal nature of the place had huge advantages in terms of solidarity and company, at the same time privacy was impossible. ⁹⁴

While occasional violence and threats were perpetuated by prison guards onto prisoners, the experience of being interred, while uncomfortable, did not present any immediate threat to a prisoner's life; security was heightened around political prisoners in order to prevent both their escape and their murder. This is not restricted to British experiences of prison cells; when reflecting on his own perceptions of penitentiaries, Colombian prisoner Juan Gonzalez describes prison as

⁹³ Sean O'Callaghan, *The Informer* (Corgi, 1999)., p. 235.

⁹⁴ Adams, *Before The Dawn: An Autobiography.*, p. 241.

*[F]ulfilling a symbolic role in the individual unconscious, acting as a mechanism to keep a person within the norms...after I was arrested, prison acquired for me a different, opposite meaning. Faced with the threat of torture and death, prison seemed to me like the hope of survival and lost its previous stigma.*⁹⁵

Similar threats were given to members of the IRA within these cells, as they were told their families would be found and tortured in order to extract information regarding the organisation, thus causing this sense of survival to develop. This sense of survival was supported by conversations with social worker Sean McDonald, who stated that “you needn’t be surprised at the numbers in prison – they’re queueing up to get into the H Block.”⁹⁶ It’s an escape from the larger prison into the smaller prison.”⁹⁷

Despite these measures of attempting to utilise prison as an escape, prisoners were still experiencing the same forms of mental distress, whether their location was within a prison cell or within the self-enforced confines of their own home. This suggests that the traumatic experiences of violence and interaction with sectarian groups are not limited to affecting a single experience, but rather shape multifaceted claustrophobic experiences, regardless of the actual location of these experiences.

⁹⁵ William Carrillo Leal, "From My Prison Cell: Time and Space in Prison in Colombia, an Ethnographic Approach," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (January 2001)., p. 153.

⁹⁶ The H Block is a colloquial term for Long Kesh Prison, based on the physical construction of cells in a H shape.

⁹⁷ Tim Pat Coogan, *On the Blanket: The Inside Story of the IRA Prisoners' "Dirty" Protest* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)., p. 71.

In conducting a blanket protest, the no wash protest and hunger strikes prisoners turned the wardens' tactics of spatial domination against them, asserting dominance over space through reappropriation of action. At the same time Denis O'Hearn states that "while authorities can fund and engineer massive mechanisms of control in a physical environment, insurgents change meanings and uses of space, sometimes even turning their material poverty to advantage."⁹⁸ Tim Pat Coogan suggests that only solitary confinement would have assisted the British intention of demoralising internees, as the use of compounds to maximise disciplinary efficiency causes "virtually a loss of all disciplinary control" within the cells.⁹⁹ In all of the instances of protest within prisons, internees deprive themselves of necessities: clothes, sanitation and eventually food. In doing so, they reassert their dominion and independence within prison confines, drawing further public attention to their protests through their condition. The "mechanisms of control" lost their power once this disruption of the domination of routine entrenched itself, allowing for the redevelopment of the capacity of freedom, achieving a symbolic victory over wardens through their autonomy of action.¹⁰⁰

In reconfiguring these notions of space, prisoners also begin to develop shared identity through this sensory deprivation, creating what O'Hearn calls "a solitary culture within the H Blocks" unlike other sections of prisons.¹⁰¹ These protests did not begin as histrionic cries for attention by a large group only to die down upon initial

⁹⁸ Denis O'Hearn, "Repression and Solidary Cultures of Resistance: Irish Political Prisoners on Protest," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 115, No. 2 (September 2009), p. 495.

⁹⁹ Coogan, *On the Blanket: The Inside Story of the IRA Prisoners' "Dirty" Protest*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁰ Rosa Gilbert, "The system will break before we will: Irish republican prisoners' blanket and no-wash protests against criminalisation" (Masters of Arts, Department of Historical Research, University of London, 2012), p. 29.

¹⁰¹ O'Hearn, "Repression and Solidary Cultures of Resistance: Irish Political Prisoners on Protest.", p. 517.

repression, but slowly gained momentum as prisoners realised the power their collective deprivation had on their surrounds. Feldman states that in becoming imprisoned, “the bodily interior of the inmate was detached from his control and transferred to the skeletal machinery of administration.”¹⁰² By refusing basic necessities such as clothing, sanitation and eventually food, they begin to transcend their experienced solitary space by undergoing a collective experience.

One of the ways through which prisoners could circumvent the restraints of prison authorities would be through the smuggling of contraband. While those engaged with the blanket protest were not allowed visits from family, prisoners would often don the uniform in order to visit their family and receive narcotics, writing materials, and other prohibited items. Initially, they smuggled contraband within their buttocks – the prison guards then instituted a rectal exam consisting of squatting over a mirror to ensure contraband was not hidden within the buttocks. Prisoners responded by having these materials placed in metal enclosures and anally inserted. Prison guards then instituted the use of metal detectors to be scanned across the prisoner’s abdomen, followed by rectal searching, often with the same unwashed hand then used to conduct dental examinations. Prisoners responded by instead wrapping contraband in plastic and inserting them within the foreskin.¹⁰³ The authorities continued with their present searches, but could not institute further searches for fear of sexual assault accusations.

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¹⁰² Allen Feldman, *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland* (University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 174.

¹⁰³ O’Hearn, "Repression and Solidary Cultures of Resistance: Irish Political Prisoners on Protest.", p. 507.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 508.

Prisoners widely engaged in acts of smuggling in response to bodily inspections, instituting a sense of shared experience – all of the abuses instituted by prison guards throughout these searches would be shared by the entire community, and so preparation for resisting and antagonising guards could also be shared. As the potential threat of physical violence gave way to the actual experience, prisoners compared their beatings and gained a sense of empowerment through persistence; initial blanket protestor Kieran Nugent recalled his initial view on not taking visits, maintaining the protests and receiving beatings as “upsetting [his family and fellow prisoners], and me at first, but you get used to being beaten up and the dink, even the baton sometimes.”

¹⁰⁵ Second, the sense of disrupting the order that routing and searches attempted to institute was shared across the entire community, proving what O’Hearn defines as “an intensity of shared emotions, from fear...to shame...to depression, to collective satisfaction and achieving agency by enduring a new act of repression or smuggling tobacco.” ¹⁰⁶ In reflecting on his own experience on the blanket protest, Richard O’Rawe suggested that the brutality inflicted on the prisoners by the wardens through their beatings and bodily invasiveness meant that “the more pain heaped on us, the more we drew on each other. The brutality only ensured that the famous blanket de corps made us soulmates, rather than cellmates – we became indestructible.” ¹⁰⁷

In engaging in a form of dirty protest, Special Category campaigners were portrayed as “savage and irrational” to audiences within Britain and the Republic, ¹⁰⁸ due to the unprecedented nature of the uprising and the nature of this self harm on both the

¹⁰⁵ Coogan, *On the Blanket: The Inside Story of the IRA Prisoners' "Dirty" Protest.*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁶ O’Hearn, "Repression and Solidary Cultures of Resistance: Irish Political Prisoners on Protest.", p. 519.

¹⁰⁷ O’Rawe, *Blanketmen: An Untold Story of the H-Block Hunger Strike.*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁸ Begoña Aretxaga, "Dirty Protest: Symbolic Overdetermination and Gender in Northern Ireland Ethnic Violence," *Ethos*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (June 1995)., p. 124.

prisoners constructing this environment and the wardens who made attempts to deconstruct the protests through moving their ward and decontaminating affected cells, only to find their new cells similarly fouled. When reflecting on his visits within the cells, political journalist Tim Pat Coogan stated:

*“Having spent the whole of Sunday in the prison I was shocked at the inhumane conditions prevailing in H Blocks 3, 4 and 5, where over 300 prisoners are incarcerated. One would hardly allow an animal to remain in such conditions, let alone a human being. The nearest approach to it that I have seen was the spectacle of hundreds of homeless people living in sewer-pipes in the slums of Calcutta. The stench and filth in some of the cells, with the remains of rotten food and human excreta scattered around the walls, was almost unbearable. In two of them I was unable to speak for fear of vomiting.”*¹⁰⁹

Reducing their own living conditions to that of those living in the British-colonised Third World, the protesting prisoners created the effect of inflicting inhumane conditions upon themselves in order to create the perception of being denied the basic necessities of modernity. Reflecting on the initial creation of the British Empire, colonial historian Thomas Metcalf states that “from the beginning, the British conceived of India as a land of dirt, disease and sudden death.”¹¹⁰ In creating a protest based on the gradual accumulation of bodily waste within a confined space, the no

¹⁰⁹ Coogan, *On the Blanket: The Inside Story of the IRA Prisoners' "Dirty" Protest.*, p. 158.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge University Press, 1997)., p. 171.

wash protesters utilised the first two of these colonial conceptions, subverting the third through the prolonged nature of their inevitable demise, whether due to disease or, later, starvation.

In committing to covering their cells in excrement, they created a sense of disgust in the prison wardens that persisted beyond the end of their shift. One ex-prison welfare officer reflected that wardens felt “defiled...the protest extended into their private lives, their bodies, their sense of cleanliness, their marital relations and their relations to their children.”¹¹¹ In reasserting autonomy over their own bodies and breaking free from the shackles of British oppression, dirty protesters also caused a loss of control within the prison administrators through this effect on their personal lives outside of the prison.

Within the external context of the dirty protest, images of the protestors with long scraggly hair, unkempt beards and noticeable weight loss and deterioration became symbolic of the struggle, inspiring responses within the wider republican community. In a society built on religion, the gradual appearance of Christ-like figures in support of republican actions contributed to community morale and rebellion against British repression,¹¹² leading to the dispersion of imagery suggesting that the blanket and no wash protesters were equivalent to figures from the Bible due to their appearance and eventual martyrdom at the hands of an oppressive empire.

¹¹¹ Feldman, *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*., p. 193.

¹¹² Aretxaga, "Dirty Protest: Symbolic Overdetermination and Gender in Northern Ireland Ethnic Violence.", p. 140.

This trope of conscious dirtiness was not limited to undermining the authority of prison guards, however. With the development of the no-wash protests within prisons, the Nationalist community of uninterred IRA members and non-members began to utilise buildings within Derry and Belfast as sites of protest, through the construction of murals and art upon them. In doing so, they reacted similarly against notions of spatial control through degrading, at least according to the conventional sense of aesthetic beauty, their lived environment, but doing so without creating an effect of deprivation within their own experience. Instead, they create a reminder of these events and undermined the power authorities have over their creation of memories,¹¹³ engaging in “cultural hijacking”.¹¹⁴ In doing so, they dismantled the totality of this control through dirtying their environment.

The British authorities recognised the effects this would have on the communities, and so engaged in a process of whitewashing these buildings. In doing so, a number of tropes were invoked – in cleaning off artistic expressions of memory, and designating them as “filth”, the British army compared this process of cleaning to the colonial imposition of British aesthetics upon foreign cultures, and so created an Irish solidarity with other forms of colonial conflict in the second and third worlds.¹¹⁵ In supporting unionist action rather than inflicting continual direct action, the army attempted to avoid these claims of colonial imposition. In doing so, a religious divide was created that focused more on social and political differences rather than doctrinal divergences.

¹¹³ Bret Benjamin, "Dirty politics and dirty protest: Resistance and the trope of sanitation in Northern Ireland," *Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1999)., p. 76.

¹¹⁴ Eamonn Collins and Mick McGovern, *Killing Rage* (Granta Books, 1997)., p. 7.

¹¹⁵ Benjamin, "Dirty politics and dirty protest: Resistance and the trope of sanitation in Northern Ireland.", p. 79.

¹¹⁶ While the appearances of Protestants and Catholics were indistinguishable, the perceptions of Protestants as colonial settlers “cleaning” the uncivilised counties of Ireland, similar to British actions in East and South Africa, remained in the British government’s actions. ¹¹⁷ The unionist Irish thus took the role of enforcing British colonialism from within. Liam de Paor thus states that “in Northern Ireland, Catholics are blacks who happen to have white skins...racial discrimination between the colonisers and the natives is expressed in terms of religion.” ¹¹⁸, describing comparing the discrimination of non-English persons from Irish and non-European backgrounds within Protestant communities as equivalent to discrimination against non-Europeans in other colonised nations.

The recurring construction of these murals through their repainting and their association with disgust, however, presents a form of oppositional by the community. When combined with the prevalence of the Troubles in areas that were already considered “ghettos” and the economic instability of the 1980s, the perception of occupied Ireland became one of a filthy society that the British authorities were powerless to revert, as their white-washing appeared to be perpetually disrupted through the dirtying of the streets.

In creating filth over the course of daily activities, such as placing rubbish on the streets as opposed to within receptacles for weekly collection, or painting murals on homes in the absence of police presence, the identity of dissenters was not disclosed.

¹¹⁶ Pamela Clayton, "Religion, ethnicity and colonialism as explanations of the Northern Ireland conflict," in *Rethinking Northern Ireland: Culture, Ideology and Colonialism*, ed. David Miller (Longman, 1998)., p. 45.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 51.

¹¹⁸ Liam De Paor, *Divided Ulster* (Penguin Books, 1977)., p. 1.

The ability of the British government to identify and thus punish those engaging in sectarian action was thus removed, as wide swathes of Catholic neighbourhoods engaged in defiance on an anonymous basis. That this action occurred so widely had two implications on British representations of power. First, public opinion of the British government from international governments deteriorated rapidly, especially from those with large Catholic populations such as the US or Italy. From an international perspective, the deteriorating situation within Catholic neighbourhoods and prisons were perceived as human rights abuses, leading to an increase in American visits to Northern Ireland under the auspices of political and emotional support.¹¹⁹ In appealing for peace between sectarian groups on a papal visit in 1979, Pope John Paul II condemned the use of violence by Catholic communities, instead offering emotional support and the hope of rehabilitation to those imprisoned for political violence through the use of his special envoy to speak to the dirty protestors.¹²⁰ This pressure meant the British government could not engage in widespread persecution of persons engaging in self-filthing. As a result, the British government lost institutional power through their inability to enforce, as the global political consequences of widespread coercion were potentially more detrimental than allowing republicans control over their own environments.

To prevent the threat of prosecution for terrorism charges, the creators of murals did not leave identifying material such as signatures on the paintings, giving ownership to the community within which the material resided. In response to the formation of the Republic of Ireland in 1949, the British government passed the Flags and Emblems

¹¹⁹ Joseph Thompson, *American Policy and Northern Ireland: A Saga of Peacebuilding* (Praeger, 2001), p. 90.

¹²⁰ John Brewer, Gareth Higgins, and Francis Teeney, *Religion, Civil Society, and Peace in Northern Ireland* (OUP Oxford, 2011), p. 60.

Act (1954), banning the flying of the Republic flag and other nationalistic symbols in situations where a disturbance to the peace would be caused.¹²¹ In painting murals sympathetic to the republican cause within Catholic neighbourhoods, political messages were displayed in environments where they would be met with support, rather than conflict. By publishing these messages anonymously, policing forces were unable to arrest authors under the auspices of disturbance. This anonymity allowed for comment on political events, whether focused on the past, as in referring to eighteenth century Irish revolutionary Theobald Wolfe Tone's concept of "alien laws" being forced upon the Irish, or in the present, seen through the representation of the use of plastic bullets in order to maim members of the neighbourhood through policing action. With the threat of persecution taken away through the use of anonymity, these murals would gradually take on a more militant stance as events within the prison system escalated, and would remain present on the houses of the community as a means of expressing communal views towards these political issues rather than merely the author's perspective.

While the Irish conflict continued on after the escalation of protest within prisons for a further decade, the gradual dissipation of tension and eventual development of peace talks demonstrate how the use of disgust and self-harm as a means to cause political change could not be built upon by either denomination in order to break the stalemate. The effects of this escalation in conflict are still prevalent within representations of this culture in the present day, the self-sacrifice surrounding prison sites and public

¹²¹ Bill Rolston, *Politics And Painting: Murals And Conflict In Northern Ireland* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991), p. 81.

spaces provided an emotional impetus for the commemoration and reconstruction of these sites for heritage and tourism purposes.

Chapter 4

Heritage and Memory in the Post-Troubles

The interaction of spatiality and trauma in Irish culture has remained important in post-Troubles society, becoming prevalent within such forms as murals, monuments and memorial processes in the period following the signing of ceasefires between the IRA and the Combined Loyalist Military Command (consisting of the Ulster Volunteer Force, the Ulster Defence Association and other unionist groups) in late 1994.¹²² In the process of developing such sites and activities in Northern Ireland, the government has had a conflicted relationship with memory. In some instances they have instituted tours in order to offset the expenditure that was spent on these sites, as well as developing the environment around sites of memory in order to boost the broader local economy. In other instances, they have attempted to distance themselves from these sites in promoting rural areas of beauty along with other heritage sites as identity defining. As these official expressions became inadequate for the needs of both the local community and the increased tourist numbers and interests, interactions disconnected from the official narratives of memory began to develop in order to fulfil these needs, both in search of assisting with community needs for psychic reparation and to financially profit and prevent the economic deprivation that initially caused this traumatic violence. In doing so, communities have reconstructed the environments

¹²² Paul Dixon, "Guns First, Talks Later: Neoconservatives and the Northern Ireland Peace Process," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth history*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2011)., p. 650.

they live in, reappropriated the contents of these environments in order to change their associative meaning, and inscribed signs and symbols within the pre-existing lived environment that worked in conflict with each other in order to demonstrate how methods of expression and the motivations behind these expressions can change the meaning they articulate.

One of the massive conflicts involving memory has to do with the distance between official narratives and counter-memory, involving the suppression of alternate narratives in order to maintain the coherency of British accounts through the use of memory for economic gain. While the active suppression of memory has ceased with the publication of confidential materials surrounding Troubles events, the supersession of the Widgery Report with the Saville Report in 2010, and the release of publications detailing Republican memory, the tourist market that has developed surrounding this conflict still relies on suppressing alternate narratives in order to ensure profit – Republican landscapes are sold almost solely as Republican places, Loyalist landscapes as Loyalist places.¹²³

What can thus be seen is that there is a complex relation between public displays of memory and commerce within Northern Irish culture. This chapter will first examine the nature of commerce within physical places, as seen through the conflicted history surrounding Long Kesh Prison and Crumlin Road Gaol, and the differing nature of these sites' uses for remembrance purposes. It will then examine the use of Belfast's

¹²³ Sara McDowell, "Selling Conflict Heritage through Tourism in Peacetime Northern Ireland: Transforming Conflict or Exacerbating Difference?," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 5 (September 2008), p. 406.

Black Cab Taxi tours, as a method of commoditising movement and utilising authenticity as a method of attracting tourists to what different communities perceive as the correct version of events. In bringing up questions regarding authenticity of narrative, it also asks questions regarding the internal use of memory for financial gain against the external use of memory, as non-participants develop companies that rely on this perception of authentic memory in alleviate the economic deprivation that surrounds these sites. This conflict also becomes clear when examining the nature of funding for Troubles related tourist sites as opposed to non-Troubles related sites, owing to the Northern Irish government's reluctance to promote former sites of violence to tourists. Instead, the focus is shifted towards more neutral cultural sites, such as through the development of Gaelic-centric sites of cultural and artistic output. This idea of artistic output is not limited to non-violent sites, however, as the use of murals to demonstrate the effects on Irish societies and the allure this holds for international tourists shows that an audience is available for conflict art, even if the government actively dissuades foreigners from engaging with these sites.

The development of violent spaces into unrelated appropriated sites of commerce has been met with much derision from counter memory communities, as can be seen with the redevelopment of Long Kesh and Crumlin Road Prisons. Following the introduction of internment in 1971, Long Kesh became pivotal in the development of Republican memory due to its political importance. In 1976, prisoners began their protests against the removal of their Special Category status, arguing that their position as political prisoners conferred them special rights relating to uniform, visitation and

education. This developed into the “dirty protest” of 1978,¹²⁴ before culminating in hunger strikes in 1980 and 1981, leaving to the death of ten prisoners in protest. As a consequence, this site gained significance due to its profound effect on significant figures in the Republican movement, and became emblematic of the treatment of “political prisoners” by the British government.¹²⁵

In contrast, Crumlin Road was constructed between 1843 and 1845, and utilised for prisoners outside of the process of internment. Prior to its closure in 1996, the prison had developed into a significant site for both republican and unionist populations due to the political significance of figures held within, including loyalist politicians Michael Stone and Ian Paisley, as well as republican figures such as Martin McGuinness, Gerry Adams and Bobby Sands.¹²⁶ Unlike Long Kesh, Crumlin Road is also located within walking distance of republican stronghold of Falls Road and the unionist stronghold of Shankill Road, leading to it becoming a central location for protests and riots resulting from these sites of conflicts.

In both cases, these sites’ redevelopments have been disputed by communities wishing for their permanence in order to recognise the implications of past violence in the present. In the case of Long Kesh, the proposed redevelopment of a prison that was influential on both the political and social development of the conflict into a sporting stadium has been met with great derision from the community due to a perceived erasure of history. In redeveloping a space that was integral to the development of

¹²⁴ Benjamin, "Dirty politics and dirty protest: Resistance and the trope of sanitation in Northern Ireland.", p. 72.

¹²⁵ Adams, *Before The Dawn: An Autobiography.*, p. 222, p. 241.

¹²⁶ Jenny Muir, "Neoliberalising a divided society? The regeneration of Crumlin Road Gaol and Girdwood Park, North Belfast," *Local Economy*, Vol. 29, No. 1-2 (2014)., p. 58.

traumatic memories, both through the direct experience of the site and through its wider implications on Northern Irish society, organisations opposed to the development suggest there is an inherent trauma embedded within the site as it existed at the construction of these memories; to be sufficient as a site of heritage, it has to at least appear as it did at the time, recreating a trace of the memories with which the heritage is built upon.¹²⁷ As a result of this increased interest in traumatic heritage, an increased sense of interest at the expense of objective perspectives develops, creating what Leerssen defines as a “hypertrophy of historical awareness.”¹²⁸ This increased awareness of events means that those with stronger ties to these heritage issues lose the ability to objectively evaluate the benefits and detriments of constructing heritage to serve one particular purpose,. The “hypertrophy of historical awareness”¹²⁹ that surrounds this area thus influences “objective” analyses of the development of the area. Kate Flynn suggests that formalised remembering at this site remains off limits due to perceptions about what would be commemorated there; victims of violent attacks are adequately commemorated in Omagh, Enniskillen and Derry through yearly commemoration marches and the increased state funding allocated to newly constructed memorial sites dedicated to mourning civilian victims of sectarian violence, but police forces who were murdered over the course of political action are only officially commemorated in Staffordshire, England, receiving no significant commemoration within Irish jurisdictions.¹³⁰ The place within which they engaged with political prisoners would appear to be most appropriate for this commemoration,

¹²⁷ Yvonne Whelan, *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity: New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape* (Ashgate Publishing, Limited, 2012)., p. 21.

¹²⁸ Joep Leerssen, "Monument and trauma: varieties of remembrance," in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* ed. Ian McBride (Cambridge University Press, 2001)., p. 217.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹³⁰ Sara McDowell, "Armalite, the ballot box and memorialization: Sinn Féin and the state in post-conflict Northern Ireland," *The Round Table*, Vol. 96, No. 393 (2007)., p. 735.

but would also entail a lack of engagement with the changing societal needs of memory. Because sport is often perceived as being divided along political lines by the association of the Gaelic Athletic Association, the construction of a stadium would assist in unravelling these associations.¹³¹ Communities thus reacted with suggestions ranging from levelling of the site altogether to preservation as a museum for peace and remembrance.¹³² These narratives of remembrance and heritage and their effect on the communal sense of identity are thus further complicated by the multitude of perspectives on the development of these memorial sites.¹³³

Colin Worton, a civilian whose brother was killed by the IRA, states that “the site should not simply be put on the shelf and then brought out to re-erect at a later stage. The whole lot should be flattened...the Maze was going to be a shrine...a terrorist that murders innocent victims, their story should not be told.”¹³⁴ In contrast, Alan McBride, whose wife and father-in-law were killed in a bomb in the Shankill, states that “people need to go there, they need to learn from our conflict and we need to make a very definitive statement that these things should never, ever happen again.”¹³⁵ While both men are against the use of the site for glorification of IRA activity, the ways in which they are affected by this conflict subtly affect the way in which they perceive the site – as Worton’s brother was directly targeted by republican forces, his focus is on the implications for his own personal healing, and so creating a space that

¹³¹ Kate Flynn, "Decision-making and Contested Heritage in Northern Ireland: The Former Maze Prison/Long Kesh," *Irish Political Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2011)., p. 391.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 391.

¹³³ Margo Shea, "Whatever you say, say something: remembering for the future in Northern Ireland," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 4-5 (July-September 2010)., p. 289.

¹³⁴ BBC Northern Ireland, "Maze peace centre: Reaction to Peter Robinson statement," 15 August 2013.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

is seen as glorifying murder is personally detrimental. Conversely, as McBride's family were caught within the crossfire of violence and were not directly victimised by sectarian violence, he feels that the potential consequences for the wider community should be articulated, and so focuses on the benefits for society in supporting the development of commemorative heritage within the prison.

One of the obstacles regarding this development has been the conflict between the First Minister, Peter Robinson, and the Deputy First Minister, Martin McGuinness. As the redevelopment was partially funded by European Union funding, both politicians initially crossed the sectarian divide that had caused conflict between them in the past, with Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) member Edwin Poots describing their involvement with the redevelopment as a "corporate decision."¹³⁶ As members from the unionist community expressed their reservations to Robinson regarding the effects of this redevelopment on their current position of moving on from the conflict, the DUP withdrew their support on grounds of opposing the glorification of IRA action and distressing the unionist communities they represented.

People who were interned within the prison recognise that the difficulties with finding a compromise in redevelopment have to do with pressures from the constituency and the problems with living with this location at the present. Former republican prisoner Paul Butler reflects that "it is not going to happen at the present. But what Robinson has done - along with the DUP - is that he is looking at future elections and the battle for hearts and minds within unionism. But they will have to come back to it. If they do

¹³⁶ BBC News Northern Ireland, "Plans for former Maze prison site get go-ahead," 18 April 2013.

not, the Maze/Long Kesh site is going to be a wasteland.”¹³⁷

In becoming reticent with this development, unionists engage with their own party instead of actually conferring with those directly affected by violence. The representative for non-governmental organisation Families Acting For Innocent Relatives, Willie Frazer, states that "There is a reluctance to deal with the genuine victims and their concerns. Even with the situation with Mr Haas there is a continual attempt to keep us away from him and a refusal to let us engage with him. Nobody wants to move on as much as the victims but not at the expense of glorifying terrorism and demonising our loved ones, thereby justifying the murders and maiming of thousands of innocent people." ¹³⁸ In attempting the censor the differing narratives that could be utilised throughout the redevelopment of the site because of the possibility that one narrative can cause discomfort, the political parties tasked with organising redevelopment fail to focus on the possible benefits that redevelopment could have for the majority of the population.

The peace centre is not the only divisive location within the Long Kesh development. The construction of a football stadium has also lead to much criticism within both the unionist and republican communities. As there are separate soccer teams for the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, support within Northern Ireland is already divided, as Catholics fear being recognised and targeted by unionist supporters, prefer to support the Republic team due to political ideology, to the point of refusing to watch Republic matches within the redeveloped stadium, as that would infer

¹³⁷ Ireland, "Maze peace centre: Reaction to Peter Robinson statement."

¹³⁸ Ibid.

supporting British redevelopment.¹³⁹ This boycotting of the site due to Unionist involvement may also lead to the boycotting of the site as a whole. In contrast, the use of the stadium for other sports such as Gaelic football or hurling may serve to alienate the Unionist community, due to the legislative bodies involved in the promotion of these fixtures. As these sports are heavily associated with the Gaelic Athletic Association, these fixtures heavily favour republican ideology, as the enforcement of Rule 21, banning players associated with the British Army or the RUC, heavily restricted unionist support within these codes.¹⁴⁰ The institution of fixtures on Sundays further prevented unionist involvement with Gaelic football and other republican sports, as the strict enforcement of the Sabbath within Protestant communities prevented spectators from attending games.¹⁴¹ As a consequence, Unionist involvement with these sports on a redeveloped site that already proposed commemorative support for the IRA became discouraged, and so Unionists also boycott the site based on the proliferation of these narratives.

Sport as a sectarian tool is not limited to the institutional divides, but also through interactions between different communities of fans. McDonald reflects that

Much of this moronic gloating over the destruction of fellow human beings was in reaction to the equally repulsive sloganising from across no man's land at the Oval, Windsor, Seaview, Shamrock Park etc., all about the "heroic" exploits of murderers like the Shankill Butchers as well as other

¹³⁹ Henry McDonald, *Colours: Ireland - From Bombs to Boom* (MAINSTREAM Publishing Company, 2005), p. 46.

¹⁴⁰ Michaelene Cox, *Social Capital and Peace-Building: Creating and Resolving Conflict With Trust and Social Networks* (Taylor & Francis, 2008), p. 17.

¹⁴¹ Darby, *Conflict in Northern Ireland: The Development of a Polarised Community*, p. 153.

*equally cruel and ruthless loyalist gangs...I look back now with a real sense of shame when I see myself walking across the dual carriageway to the Oval or across the M1 singing those disgusting tunes.*¹⁴²

The sectarian conflict that erupted between these two communities would be exacerbated when performed on a pitch built upon locations of institutional violence and Republican uprising. The stadium may then be avoided out of this shame in an attempt to prevent such conflict from occurring, or maybe utilised in conjunction with the peace site in order to reignite the conflict and undermine the purpose of attempting to move on through development.

This contestation over reconstructing violent sites is not limited to the former Long Kesh prison, however, as the redevelopment of Crumlin Road Prison within the Catholic neighbourhood of the Ardoyne in North West Belfast creates similar conflicts within communities. Crumlin Road Gaol was reopened for tours in late 2012, at a cost of £8.50 per person for entry. While the foundations of the building remain identical to when the prison closed in 1996, the contents of the rooms were mostly restored to the original specifications when the prison first opened in 1846, rather than the socially significant holding cells of the late 1970s. In some areas of the prison, recreations from different time frames exist within the same physical space – one corridor of the prison displays the developments of prison cells through the lifetime of the prison, culminating in the one consistent aspect of the prison experience throughout its entire existence: the doublewide execution cell., the only part of the prison which remained consistent in its use throughout the gaol's development.

¹⁴² McDonald, *Colours: Ireland - From Bombs to Boom.*, p. 49.

This temporal dislocation creates a conflicting experience, as the viewer moves between different time frames within the same space – instead of being immersed in an authentic recreation of a historical period and engaging with it wholly, their attention is divided between these temporal representations, preventing full engagement through this conflict of experience. This conflict of experience is further exacerbated when walking through the processing cells and the underground tunnels connecting different sections of the prison: while the rooms have been refurbished authentically, they are bordered by a series of modern conference rooms hired out to buildings, creating a perceptive dissonance between the Victorian architecture of the prison and the brutalist architecture of some of the rooms within.¹⁴³ In describing the prison corridor as “this majestic surrounding...that will leave your delegates truly captivated” despite the surroundings of prison cells and barred windows, sites of oppression are repurposed in order to provide a comfortable experience for patrons.

This demonstrates two conflicts with the use of violent spaces and the construction of memorial sites. Firstly, a sense of historical accuracy is important to the construction of memorial sites. In attempting to recreate the two significant periods in which the prison was active within the same physical space, the architect have successfully created only an image of both; the viewer cannot achieve full immersion into the spatiality of the museum through this dissonance. Museums typically articulate the uses of prisons within different times in the same space, doing so in a manner that focuses on providing information about these places from a modern context. The

¹⁴³ While the execution room itself is not available for functions, the Gaol Circle is available for banquets of up to 180 guests, with other more conventional conferencing rooms available for smaller functions. Details of the different locations within the gaol are available at <http://www.crumlinroadgaol.com/CRG-Conferencing.pdf>.

constant development of scientific knowledge and budgetary constraints require that archaeological exhibitions display their findings anachronistically, but this display is framed from a modern perspective, with the intention to educate viewers.¹⁴⁴ Crumlin Road attempts to recreate this information in a physical space, providing an immersive rather than informational experience. In doing so, it confronts the museum's "anathema" of anachronism, by attempting to recreate multiple periods of time within the same building by isolating them from each other in an attempt to maintain authenticity.¹⁴⁵ By providing guided tours and confronting the problems of recreating the prison in different periods by ignoring the requirements of complete authenticity and reconstructing different temporal representations of the prison in conflict with each other, the site attempts to reconstruct the site in a way that both satisfies tourist needs for historical accuracy and allows for the confrontation and interrogation of the behaviours that led to this site becoming significant. In presenting two time periods in direct opposition to each other, "the focus on authenticity...which distracts from the need to face the horrors...[and] can be a shield from uncomfortable questions"¹⁴⁶ is negated, as "it is only after [we] confront the inauthentic that [we] appear to be able to experience authenticity."¹⁴⁷

The emphasis on linear narratives, however, does have an interesting impact on the role of memory within this site. The tour takes viewers through a number of locations where violent actions occurred, such as riots by prisoners and the subsequent beatings,

¹⁴⁴ Bettina Messias Carbonell, *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts* (Wiley, 2012), p.322.

¹⁴⁵ Didier Maleuvre, *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art* (Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 60.

¹⁴⁶ Jenny Edkins, "Authenticity and memory at Dachau," *Cultural Values*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (October 2001), p. 417.

¹⁴⁷ Anne-Marie Hede, "A journey to the authentic: Museum visitors and their negotiation of the inauthentic," *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 26, No. 7-8 (July 2010), p. 702.

and the executioner's room behind "the condemned's cell". At no point are these sites depicted as they would have been during these actions of violence; the recreations depict the prison during an imagined "everyday" period of stability, without any of the riots or uprisings that were commonplace during the prison's experience. The linear tours are thus constructed in a way limits the traumatic effects on tourists who would have some connection to events that occurred within. By presenting these recreations within multiple timeframes, as seen through the multiple depictions of prison wings or the sequential develop of prison cells, the Gaol recreates scenes from within living memory and outside of living memory. By presenting these narratives in a linear configuration and instituting guided tours of the grounds, the site consciously limits the potential of triggering traumatic reactions, as it presents heritage from the distant past prior to that of the recent past, preparing viewers for the possibility of emotional reactions to historical events they remember very gradually. This allows for viewers to be prepared for the gradual escalation of possible emotional responses as they gradually move towards events and environments that reconstruct their own lived experiences.

In examining the reasoning behind reopening Crumlin Road for public tours, there is a distinct rift between the expectations of the operators and the expectations of the community in regards to the benefits that the redevelopment of the site has on local and national affairs. When contemplating the redevelopment of the gaol in 2007, the Belfast Interface Project, consisting of therapists and social workers within North Belfast, stated that "the regeneration of Girdwood Barracks and Crumlin Road Gaol in North Belfast offers a once-in-a-lifetime-opportunity for local residents to begin to

tackle multiple deprivation and decades of sectarian division”,¹⁴⁸ but that there is “little evidence of economic benefits for communities in 2007.”¹⁴⁹ As the economic deprivation that pervades the North Belfast area means that there will be a smaller amount of income from immediate locals, this group suggests that the redevelopment should ignore the possibility of reconstructing in order to alleviate this economic deprivation, and should focus on instead bestowing social benefits through this development. Furthermore, they express scepticism as to whether the government is actually committed to this redevelopment for purposes beyond economic gain, as they question “whether the government is committed to keeping peace within North Belfast outside working hours, or whether it’s content to let it remain derelict due to the high social improvements but limited economic benefits from redeveloping these sites.”¹⁵⁰ As the redeveloped site is only accessible to the public during working hours and for limited periods on the weekends, the social improvements of having such a site within an economically deprived neighbourhood are limited – furthermore, the economic benefits are confined to weekend visitors, tourists without the constraints of employment, and the unemployed, who are likely to utilise their funds for basic necessities over historical education.

In contrast, Belfast Tours Ltd., which operate the Crumlin Road site in addition to the City Sightseeing and Belfast City Tours, focus almost entirely on the interaction that tourists have with the Crumlin Road Gaol, at the expense of social benefits for the local community. In discussing the site’s aims, the director of the company, George Grimley, stated in 2010 that “We are confident that this will not only provide another

¹⁴⁸ Manus Maguire, "Girdwood Barracks and Crumlin Road Gaol - Community Development for North Belfast," *Interface*, March 2007.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

valuable part of the overall tourist experience in Northern Ireland, but will also have very positive economic benefits for North Belfast... we have ambitious plans to develop the onsite facilities, as well as developing strong linkages between the Gaol and other cultural sites within the city of Belfast.”¹⁵¹ There is no consideration made for the effects that this may have on the local community, instead focusing on relieving the economic deprivation that exists throughout the entire country at the expense of benefiting the immediate area around the site. The economic deprivation that immediately surrounds the redeveloped Crumlin Road site is utilised to contrast the possibility of economic benefit shown through the redevelopment of the site, with the reality of economic deprivation within the neighbourhood surrounding the site.¹⁵²

Jenny Muir suggests that the redevelopment of Crumlin Road gaol is not due necessarily to the prominent position it holds in either Republican or Loyalist narratives, but due to being one of the few locations that both communities can agree is significant.¹⁵³ While this redevelopment has assisted in bridging the gap between the two communities through its articulation of multiple memory narratives within one location, the lack of progress in integrating these narratives into more isolated spaces suggest that this is due to each community wishing to demonstrate their own ideology rather than integrate these narratives. As Crumlin Road and Girdwood Barracks were centres for the republican and unionist memory, due care is taken to present the site as it would have affected both communities rather than focusing on one or the other.

¹⁵¹ Michael Flood, "New Visitor Attraction and Conference Centre at Crumlin Road Gaol," 08/08/2014

¹⁵² Molly Hurley Dupret, "'Troubles Tourism': Debating History and Voyeurism in Belfast, Northern Ireland," in *The Business of Tourism: Place, Faith, and History*, ed. Philip Scranton and Janet Davidson (University of Pennsylvania, 2007), pp. 157-158.

¹⁵³ Muir, "Neoliberalising a divided society? The regeneration of Crumlin Road Gaol and Girdwood Park, North Belfast.", p. 61.

Catholic and Protestant paraphernalia is represented within the same section of the jail, despite not coexisting within typical practice of the prison, in order to avoid unnecessary development costs and maintain a concise visitor experience. . Muir then suggests that a “piecemeal approach” to the redevelopment of shared space is necessary to allow the healing of traumatised communities to commence.¹⁵⁴

Girdwood Barracks, within which the British soldiers and other wardens who worked within Crumlin Road has been proposed to be redeveloped into a playground, an indoor sports arena and several sports pitches.¹⁵⁵ In declining to redevelop soldiers quarters into heritage sites, the Northern Irish government recognises the emotive weight plays on the success of such sites. Girdwood does not have the political significance of imprisoning socially significant figures, nor is it emblematic of the conflict between republican and unionist prisoners within the confines of the gaol.¹⁵⁶ As the Barracks serves little purpose for social improvement as it currently exists, redeveloping the sites into facilities that are socially beneficial without relying on the painful memory of sectarian experience will enhance the wider benefits of memorial sites through the benefits for wider society.

Crumlin Road works in tandem with the official city tours and thus in opposition to the Black Cab taxi tours, another group of operators focusing on the residential areas of west Belfast. As a consequence, a sense of geographical division in recollection and heritage takes place. The Black Cab Tours focus mostly on the development of conflict within West Belfast, centred around Falls and Shankill Road, and generally

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 61,

¹⁵⁵ "Transformation Plan for Girdwood," (2012).

¹⁵⁶ Muir, "Neoliberalising a divided society? The regeneration of Crumlin Road Gaol and Girdwood Park, North Belfast." , pp. 59-60.

does not visit the Ardoyne area of North Belfast, where similar levels of economic depression and community conflict take place. Similarly, while the development of Crumlin Road and Girdwood Barracks does posit that developers are made in order to link the Ardoyne with the Lower Shankill, these developments have been limited by the constraints of funding and the social benefits of redevelopment surrounding Crumlin Road. While there is more funding from both the British government and the European Union surrounding the Crumlin Road sites, their focus on economic benefits for the country as opposed to social benefits for the immediate locality, as well as their permanence and staticity may lead to questionable benefits for the collective psyche of the area. Conversely, while the taxi tours benefit from their mobility of coming from within the community, the lack of financial support from the government means that large scale reconstruction of the environment in order to completely remove rather than reappropriate limits the potential of actually progressing on from these sites of violence and utilising them as therapeutic locations as opposed to re-exposing audiences to disruptive memory.

In contrast, the Girdwood Barracks within which the British soldiers and other wardens who worked within Crumlin Road has been proposed to be redeveloped into a playground, an indoor sports arena and several sports pitches. In declining to redevelop soldiers quarters into heritage sites, the Northern Irish government recognises the emotive weight plays on the success of such sites. Girdwood does not have the political significance of imprisoning socially significant figures, nor is it emblematic of the conflict between republican and unionist prisoners within the confines of the gaol. As the Barracks serves little purpose for social improvement as it currently exists, redeveloping the sites into facilities that are socially beneficial

without relying on the painful memory of sectarian experience will enhance the wider benefits of memorial sites through the benefits for wider society.

The non-governmental “Black Cab Troubles Tours” that are currently being undertaken in Belfast rely on mobility and reappropriation of environment rather than reconstruction in order to demonstrate experiences of sectarianism. For £30, “customers” are taken to sites of importance and quickly given the basics of political and cultural significance of sites before concluding at “the peace wall” where customers are invited to sign at a Jerusalem-esque wall, articulating the division of religious communities. This experience relies on the concept of space to have cultural significance or commercial viability – if bombsites were merely damaged expressions of space without past experience influence, there would be no use for commercialisation of these locations.

The importance of utilising taxis rather than buses for these tours relates to authenticity and convenience. As the public transport system in Belfast is quite poor due to the frequency of vehicle bombings through sectarian violence because their utility for transporting large numbers of people caused hijackings for use as a negotiation tool and immolation of buses to create a violent spectacle. This resulted in a distrust of public transportation.¹⁵⁷ As a consequence, taxis became the prominent method of transport and escape from sectarian areas. This led to taxis being targeted by assassins due to the possibility of carrying politically significant actors, and therefore gaining iconic status as vehicles within which people were killed.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Lorraine Dowler, "No man's land: 'gender and the geopolitics of mobility in west Belfast, northern Ireland," *Geopolitics*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Winter 2001), p. 172.

¹⁵⁸ Fay, Morrissey, and Smyth, *Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Costs.*, p. 167.

However, different companies operate in different areas – while some companies are located in neutral places within the city centre, other companies only operate in certain neighbourhoods due to the possibilities of violence towards their drivers. This knowledge has led to peculiar manipulation from opposing sides – Lorraine Dowler describes how, in his previous experience as a taxi driver, “a Protestant paramilitary group hijacks a Catholic taxi and then when a call comes over the radio, they pick up the unsuspecting Catholic and murder them.”¹⁵⁹ Once this precedent for violence drawn from sectarian divides had been set, taxi drivers thus modified their practice of providing private transport for the inhabitants of Belfast in fear of being similarly attacked, and so recall this shift in coverage areas in relation to particular events of violence.

As there is no consensus on what sites are important due to the sectarian divide, the tour may give an ideologically loaded perspective of events that does not reflect the plurality of memories that have developed since the beginnings of ceasefires. The perception that the driver’s memory is the “correct” version thus predominates, and leads to exaggeration in order to maximise profit – the more violent the memory, the more sympathetic it becomes, and thus the more engaged tourists become with the driver.

¹⁵⁹ Dowler, "No man's land: 'gender and the geopolitics of mobility in west Belfast, northern Ireland.", p. 169.

In focusing on sites of violence, the government and tourists alike engage in what John Lennon and Malcolm Foley define as “dark tourism.”¹⁶⁰ Sites are constructed around violence and death, and tourists act voyeuristically in their engagement with such sites, without actually engaging with the experiences that give these sites their social significance. Similarly, the government constructs their own tourist experiences in a way that allows for emotive engagement with these sites, while also ensuring a juxtaposition with conventional experiences of comfort in order to maintain profit. The bus tours of Belfast are proposed to be specifically constructed in order to allow for this experience, Siun Carden theorises – by driving through West Belfast without allowing for passengers to disembark, memorial sites can only be viewed from the distance of the road and the height of the double decker bus. The tourist thus views these sites without actually engaging with them – these tours then continue on through Belfast to conclude at traditional sites of tourist commerce, such as restaurants and luxury shopping.¹⁶¹ As a consequence, these tours have lost popularity with large portions of tourist audiences due to this contradiction – as Belfast lacks traditional tourist sites aside from the Titanic Quarter, which utilises tragedy and death as a form of engagement, but maintains distance through the absence of wider community experience and the reappropriation of the Titanic narrative by the international entertainment industry, audiences are likely to desire engagement and personal narratives as opposed to voyeurism.

Marie Simone-Charteris and Stephen Boyd suggest that there is a change in the audience’s requirements for adversity in their consumption of culture. In their work,

¹⁶⁰ John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism* (Continuum International Publishing Group, Limited, 2000).

¹⁶¹ Siún Carden, "Making space for tourists with minority languages: the case of Belfast's Gaeltacht Quarter," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (March 2012), p. 56.

they suggest that tourists are willing to engage with dangerous and violent experience in order to construct a unique experience that they can transfer to local audiences when they return home. Organised tours thus have the problem of commerciality and “captive audience” which leads to criticisms of inauthenticity.¹⁶² In allowing for passengers to disembark and experience these areas, the Black Cab Tours provide customers with a technically unique service while each guide undergoes their own identical path with each tour – in doing so, their experiences of spatiality are transferred to tourists in providing a “unique” empathetic experience.

With the global recession, these income streams have become increasingly important with the prevalence of youth unemployment. In a sense, this increase emphasis on economic stability is used as a preventative measure, considering the profound effect economic deprivation had on stimulating the conflict. As tourist expenditure accounted for £716 million of profit within the country in 2012-13,¹⁶³ to remove tourist incentives from contested locations would significantly detriment the country’s economy. However, as this income is perceived as exploitative by the official tourist industry, which wishes to remove these businesses from the city, there is no official advertisement of these tours within official documents from tourism sectors.¹⁶⁴

Interestingly, despite criticism of contested sites as exploitative, especially from local communities viewing international tour operators as not benefiting communities with

¹⁶² Maria Teresa Simone-Charteris and Stephen Boyd, "The Potential for Northern Ireland to Promote Politico-Religious Tourism: An Industry Perspective," *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, Vol. 20, No. 3-4 (2011), p. 463.

¹⁶³ Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, "Northern Ireland Tourism Statistics, October 2012 to September 2013," (2014), p.10. Accessible at <http://www.detini.gov.uk/quarter3.pdf>

¹⁶⁴ Angela Kelly, "Images of post-conflict Belfast," *Photographies*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2013), p. 95.

their financial profit,¹⁶⁵ none of these sites appear in official evaluations as the most prominent tourist attractions in Northern Ireland. While the Titanic Museum and the Giant's Causeway develop significance through their importance in popular culture and World Heritage designation, respectively, the complete absence of the Troubles from official reporting of tourism suggest that either these accusations are unfounded, or that the government refuses to officially recognise these sites as profitable. Similarly, the Gaeltacht [Gaelic Quarter] in West Belfast focuses on the promotion of language and its use in music and theatre as opposed to its use in republican action in order to refocus tourist attention away from violent pasts.¹⁶⁶

Conversely, the heritage located in Derry does not rely on recreation of the past, but rather reappropriation of existing environments and demolition of harmful locations in order to create present expressions of past experience. As visitors enter the museum, they are greeted by John Kelly, the brother of Michael Kelly, who was killed in the incidents of Bloody Sunday. Kelly's involvement as a self-described "walking artefact"¹⁶⁷ lends authenticity to the project – in directly talking about his experiences as an indirect victim of sectarian violence, the site becomes imbued with emotional weight, and a sense of breaking free from what official narratives dictated the effects of the conflict were. This is most evident when examining the "Free Derry Museum". The inside comprises of a typical museum depicting experiences of the Troubles in Derry, combined with primary evidence from these events, such as Jackie Duddy's winter coat, Edward Daly's iconic handkerchief, and William McKinney's

¹⁶⁵ Wendy Ann Wiedenhoft Murphy, "Touring the Troubles in West Belfast: Building Peace or Reproducing Conflict? Building Peace or Reproducing Conflict?," *Peace and Change*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (October 2010), p. 540.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 552.

¹⁶⁷ Freya McClements, "'I'm a walking artefact' of Bloody Sunday," *BBC News* 14 June 2010.

photography of previous civil rights events.¹⁶⁸ In creating this, the community has ideologically loaded the memory of the site to counteract official narratives and present what the community views as important – there is no attempt to create any image that does not reflect their continued mourning.

The interesting part of the site is the exterior – a red brick building emblazoned with political caricatures, messages and sloganeering. This building has been refurbished with the increased budgets given to tourism in Northern Ireland, and is currently undergoing further refurbishment as a result of a £500,000 grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, a £300,000 grant from the Department of Social Development and a £1,200,000 grant from the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment, in order to develop a National Civil Rights Archive and consolidate processes and research surrounding remembrance.¹⁶⁹ In the process of doing so, however, criticism has been directed at the redevelopment due to the potential obscuration of murals surrounding the centre, as a lack of consultation with the local community has led to anger surrounding the role of the community in developing these narratives.¹⁷⁰ As only one public meeting surrounding the redevelopment has taken place, the Free Derry Museum has once again become a site of contestation between official narratives and community memory through the disruption redevelopment has on the latter.

At present, the Free Derry Museum retains some of the original architecture as portions of the unfinished exterior laden with bullet holes and tank shells have been left exposed and then reappropriated into portraiture, one portrait depicting an

¹⁶⁸ "New home for iconic Bloody Sunday handkerchief," *Derry Journal*, 30 January 2009.

¹⁶⁹ BBC News Northern Ireland, "£2m extension to Free Derry Museum 'ready by 2016'," 17 June 2014.

¹⁷⁰ "Residents riled by museum plans," *Derry Journal*, 11 July 2014.

execution of a blindfolded, restrained Irish mother by an British soldier labelled “Impunity”.¹⁷¹ In doing so, the artists has taken the site of authenticity from the past and brought it into the present in order to construct an ideologue regarding the long term perceptions of violence on society. As most of the persons injured on Bloody Sunday and within sectarian violence were quite young and still lived at home, evidenced through the deaths of eight men aged twenty years old or younger on Bloody Sunday¹⁷², sectarian violence not only targeted those agitating for change on the streets, but also damaged the family structure through the effects on youth. The image of the British soldier executing an Irish mother demonstrates that sectarian violence does not simply affect those physically harmed, but also damages the family dynamic within which Irish culture is built upon.

The walls of the museum are further decorated with images linking the Irish conflict to other revolutionary conflicts, such as murals depicting Che Guevara’s Irish heritage¹⁷³ or linking the conflicts in Ireland with those in Gaza,¹⁷⁴ to contemporise global narratives of conflict to the local community. Utilised internationally as a symbolic method of representing revolution, the iconic image of Guevara was co-opted by the city of Derry due to his maternal Irish heritage, and his development as a revolutionary figure at the end of the 1960s with the development of republican action within Northern Irish communities.¹⁷⁵ This reappropriation was then subverted in Derry’s celebration of International Women’s Day in 2004; instead of replacing these images with female Irish fighters in order to maintain the militaristic iconography, these

¹⁷¹ See Appendix A, A6.

¹⁷² Dawson, "Trauma, Place and the Politics of Memory: Bloody Sunday, Derry, 1972-2004.", p. 162.

¹⁷³ See Appendix A, A7.

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix A, A8.

¹⁷⁵ Jeff A. Larson and Omar Lizardo, "Generations, Identities, and the Collective Memory of Che Guevara," *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (December 2007).

images were instead replaced with “Cher Guevara”, utilising the American pop star’s image to present a subversion of patriarchal and militaristic norms.¹⁷⁶ In connecting the conflict in Gaza to the Irish troubles, the community demonstrates to a population without experience of violence what revolutionary action looks like from afar. Linking the conflicts in Ireland to other international conflicts emphasises the role spatiality plays in remembering through the sense of psychic projection that results from viewing these images. Viewers sight the degraded environment around them and imagine this degradation happening as a result of violence internationally, but the specificity of experience is constricted to what the Irish population experienced as a consequence of their violence. In linking to international conflicts through the development of these murals, the painters link a number of conflicts that varied in motivation, severity in both casualties and effect on spatiality, and implications for global geopolitics, and then equivocate them in terms of the issues of smaller nations being subjugated by larger nations, and of violence permanently disrupting the foundations of society through conflicts of large societal constructs such as religion, and through the massive physical disruption of space.¹⁷⁷

A similar display of empathy is located on Cupar Way within Belfast, creating far more disruptive effects. In this case, similar displays of empathy are constructed – figures such as Nelson Mandela,¹⁷⁸ Palestinian freedom fighters,¹⁷⁹ the Basque revolutionaries and the Cuban Five¹⁸⁰ are all depicted as being supported by the Irish

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix A, A9.

¹⁷⁷ Debbie Lisle, “Local Symbols, Global Networks: Rereading the Murals of Belfast,” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January - March 2006), p. 41.

¹⁷⁸ See Appendix A, A10.

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix A, A11.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix A, A12.

Republican movement, in an attempt to disempower the governments that seek to oppress. In doing so, the politicised landscapes surrounding these international murals are detached from their local social context, allowing for international visitors to apply their own political contexts to the west Belfast conflict, allowing for the exercising of moral judgement.¹⁸¹

Neil Jarman and Jonathan McCormick suggest that murals are sought after by tourists due to their authenticity, but are actively presented by locals due to the recollective properties of intimidation and trauma they re-ignite, as opposing the painting of murals and the claiming of space implicitly opposes the paramilitary presence within these spaces.¹⁸² The painting of international conflicts within the contexts of Northern Irish violence thus serves as a link between the local and international, allowing tourists to develop perspectives into the Irish experience through their own culture.

There is also an intriguing interaction between community-driven expressions of pain and grief, as can be seen through the use of graffiti in Irish communities and the way in which they interact with murals and memorials. This graffiti takes a number of forms within communities – in some instances, it may be used simply to express the ideological affiliation of the community, as seen with the scrawlings of “IRA”, “DRY” (Derry Republican Youth) and AFA (Anti Fascist Action) on unlikely locations such as the rooves of corner shops and pubs.¹⁸³ In other instances, public space is utilised to articulate some form of thought the community holds – this can be as simplistic as

¹⁸¹ McDowell, "Selling Conflict Heritage through Tourism in Peacetime Northern Ireland: Transforming Conflict or Exacerbating Difference?.", p. 408.

¹⁸² Neil Jarman and Jonathan McCormick, "Death of a Mural," *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2005), p. 54.

¹⁸³ See Appendix A, A14.

“free all POWs” or as obscure as “Sit With The Queen, Mcg. Sinne Fein” [sic], or an expression of public mourning such as “remember the 41st AE of Bloody Sunday 1972”.

What is intriguing about these placement of the graffiti is that memorials and murals are not interfered with, despite sharing a provenance – even in geographically close areas such as the Falls and the Shankill, murals are left intact. Furthermore, the communities have actually collaborated on pieces which decry common enemies, removing sectarian graffiti in the process. As a corner shop on Shankill Road itself, a piece of anti-Republican graffiti has been scrawled over, replaced with graffiti decrying the prevalence of drug dealers within impoverished areas of the city.¹⁸⁴ The use of graffiti to affirm resistance against harm does not merely extend to political violence, but is also utilised to defend against social harms that transcend cultural or political boundaries.¹⁸⁵

While defacement of these places is considered unacceptable by the wider community, there have been alterations in space to express the community’s support for international or wider cultural causes, which are felt to be more important than the struggle for independence. This can be seen through the use of the large Free Derry memorial outside the Bogside – at various points this large memorial has been repainted pink in support of International Woman’s Day, rainbow in support of LGBT

¹⁸⁴ Alexandra Hartnett, "Aestheticized Geographies of Conflict," in *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*, ed. Helaine Silverman (Springer, 2010)., p. 80.

¹⁸⁵ Julie Peteet, "The Writing on the Walls: The Graffiti of the Intifada," *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (May 1996)., p. 140.

rights, or with the word “now” replaced with “not” in support of abortion rights.¹⁸⁶ In all of these cases, communal space that relates to violence has been co-operatively manipulated in order to express cross-communal views on these issues, suggesting there is some willingness to put political violence behind the community.

Murals were important to the community not only for what they expressed, but also through their method of construction. To suggest that murals are not “proper art” depoliticises their intention, as the concept of formal competence in art constrains its audience through the focus on aesthetics. This process strips the art of its rhetoric power.¹⁸⁷ Through the constraints of time and available artistic talent, formal artistic traditions such as the squaring of the painted space and measuring out the images placed were not adhered to. Instead, large portions of the younger community were enlisted in order to construct imagery as swiftly as possible, especially within Republican communities where paintings acted against the official narrative of political events.¹⁸⁸ These constraints meant that expressions of memory had to be agreed on by large portions of the community in order for them to coexist and present their narratives.

In doing so, they required a specificity of focus that the wider community agreed on – to sit and merely express an emotional narrative would be insufficient. Most of these paintings thus focus on one specific event or political support for a single candidate rather than attempting to encompass the entirety of violent experience within their borders. As the paintings of these locations gradually ceased with the downturn of

¹⁸⁶ Sean Kay, *Celtic Revival?: The Rise, Fall, and Renewal of Global Ireland* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011), p. 158.

¹⁸⁷ Lisle, "Local Symbols, Global Networks: Rereading the Murals of Belfast.", p. 32.

¹⁸⁸ Rolston, *Politics And Painting: Murals And Conflict In Northern Ireland.*, p. 63.

public outrage following the 1981 hunger strike, only to be revitalised with the increasing anniversaries of formative events and changing communal narratives,¹⁸⁹ decrying the provocation of violence through these mediums.

The necessity of spatial expression of traumatic memory is not solely linked to commercialisation, but the role the dollar plays in this interaction cannot be ignored. As long as there is an audience for traumatic memory in Northern Ireland, these expression will continue, despite the upcoming transfer from lived memory to postmemory. Allowing sectarian violence to continue is unacceptable in the view of the governments and communities which determined the acceptability of visual mediums, but the gradual acceptance of the portrayal of violence and the coexistence of differing perspectives on sectarian violence demonstrate the progress made in recovering from trauma. If the redevelopment and reconstruction of space continues in the piecemeal approach currently adopted by these communities, the trauma of those with lived experience may not be repaired, but future generations will not endure the same pain. The gradual retirement and death of those currently exploiting the surrounds for financial gain through expressing their own experience will either render taxi tours obsolete, or require a far more balanced narrative, and a reconsideration of the nature and requirements of authenticity.

The complexities of the Northern Irish conflict are bound in their present representations, as seen through the conflict over memorialisation within places of violence. Arguments over the appropriations of commemorating or glorifying

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

paramilitary activity persist in the present due to the transformative effect violence had on personal and communal recollection. As a consequence of these debates, the Northern Irish and British governments had attempted to shift tourist attention away from political tourist sites and refocus on other aspects of Ireland's cultural knowledge, attempting to remove the stigma political tourism has on the country. In attempting to do so, however, the possible benefits of reconstructing these sites for the local population have been lost, leading to the deepening of wounds caused by these events. The close proximity of these communities during this violence and this continued interaction throughout and after the conflict serves to emphasise the inability or ineffectual nature of current redevelopments within these landscapes of violence to repair damage done as a result of conflict.

Conclusion

The development of traumatic sites into tourist attractions, utilising the interaction between traumatic memory and conceptualisations of place as a commercial product, creates many difficult questions surrounding commemoration and reconstruction of this violence. The discomfort and hastened deaths dirty protesters and hunger strikers condemned themselves to makes negotiation between different communities regarding the reconstruction of contested sites difficult – for a republican to allow concessions to unionists would disrespect those who engaged in sacrificial protests, and for a unionist to allow concessions to republicans would recognise the effectiveness of these protests and ignore the contributions of prison guards to the continuation of unionist governance in Northern Ireland. The imprisonment of republican paramilitary is not sufficient to account for the continuation of these debates in the present – the unusual, unprecedented and horrific nature of the dirty protests and hunger strikes causes their imprisonment to still resonate today. Graham Dawson suggests that this commemoration may serve to further aggravate the present grievances of Unionist communities.¹⁹⁰ Therefore, the difficulties of articulating republican and unionist narratives within inclusive conflict resolution processes may be impossible to overcome at present, while these narratives and conflicts still exist.

The presence of conflicts over spaces formerly dominated by the British Army and street art's continued existence despite the demilitarisation of Northern Ireland in

¹⁹⁰ Dawson, *Making Peace With the Past?: Memories, Trauma and the Irish Troubles.*, p. 260.

recent years demonstrates the presence of this conflict, and the continued insecurity over lived spaces that resulted from unionist destruction of republican sanctuaries. The deaths that resulted from this conflict only served to further antagonise these conflicts, allowing them to maintain their present relevance – not taking advantage of the ability to maintain control would prove to be disrespectful to those who had been killed as a consequence of this contestation. Expressions of emotion relating to the Troubles in the public sphere thus have to be at least partially sourced from within the local communities surrounding these violent locations in order to allow for this sense of control to remain free of the contestation that fuelled violence within the early parts of the Troubles. The further use of community expression of memory for commercial gain demonstrates how the struggle over place continues in the present day – in profiting off tourist exposure to violent sites, the British government continues its attempts to assert some form of power and thus refuses to admit full culpability in their violent actions within the conflict.

The relation between memory and place is still prevalent within Irish culture in the present, despite the apparent distance of sectarian violence in the past. The continued development of peace talks between republicans and unionists inhibits the creation of memory free of the burdens of conflict within younger generations, allowing for progress to be made in the future construction of environment surrounding the conflict. At present, however, the effects of violence and displacement of place through sectarian activity can be seen through the debates over the redevelopments and reconstructions of contested landscapes, debates which will persist as long as the lived recollections of sectarian violence are retained within Northern Irish culture.

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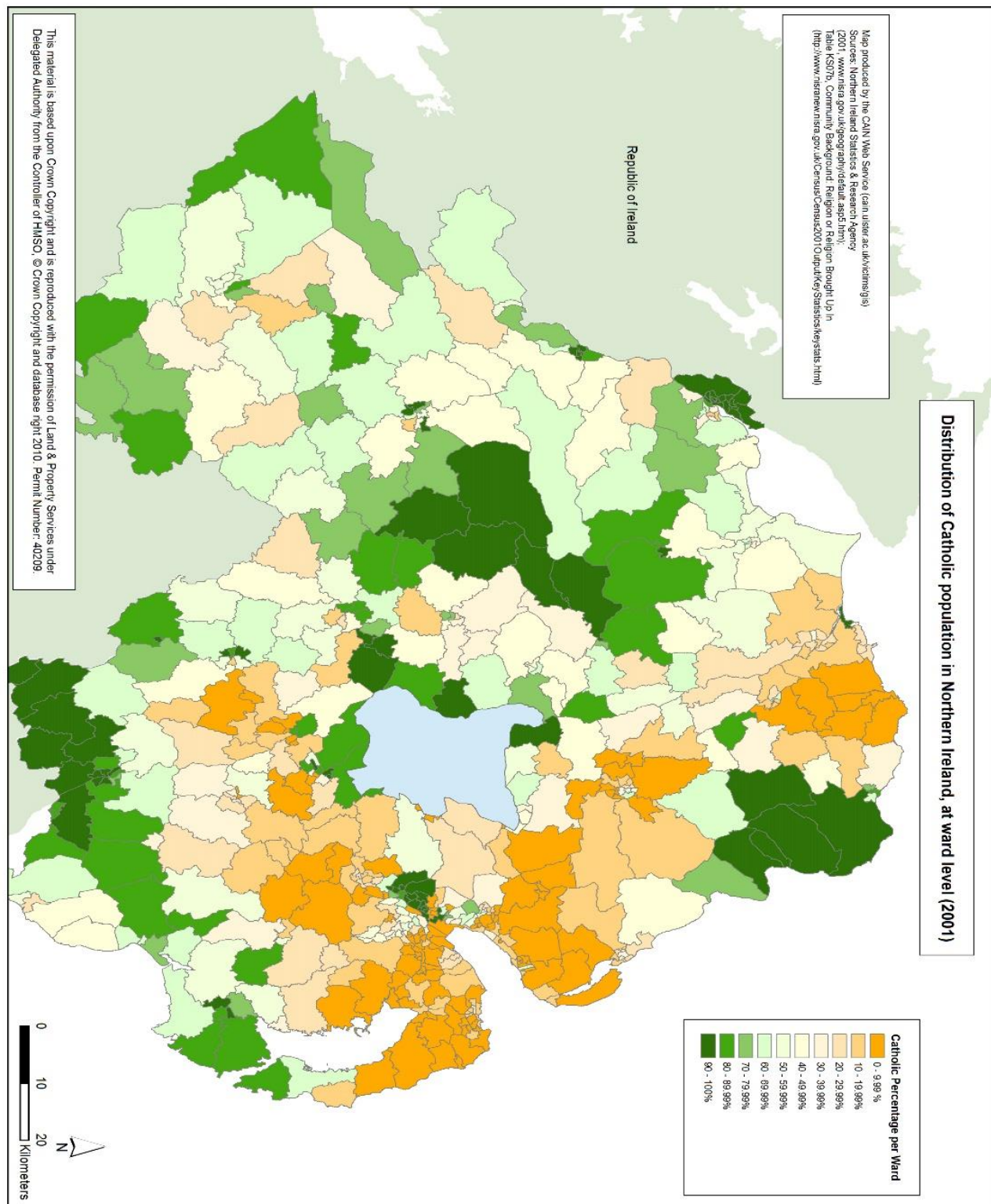
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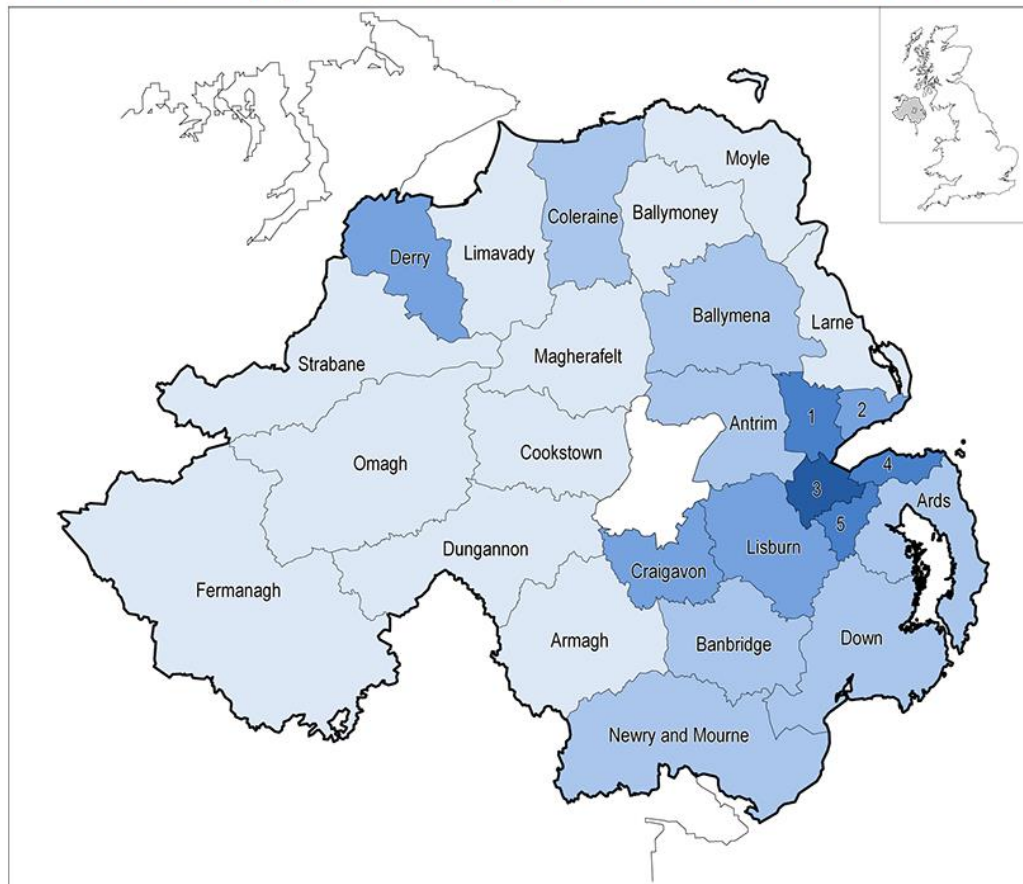
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Appendix A: Visual Sources



A1. Map 1. Northern Irish Statistics and Research Agency, *Distribution of Catholic Population In Northern Ireland At Ward Level (2001)* accessed via Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN). http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/gis/maps/h-jpg/CAIN-Map_NI_Religion.jpg (accessed July 7, 2014.)

Northern Ireland population density: by district council area, 2010



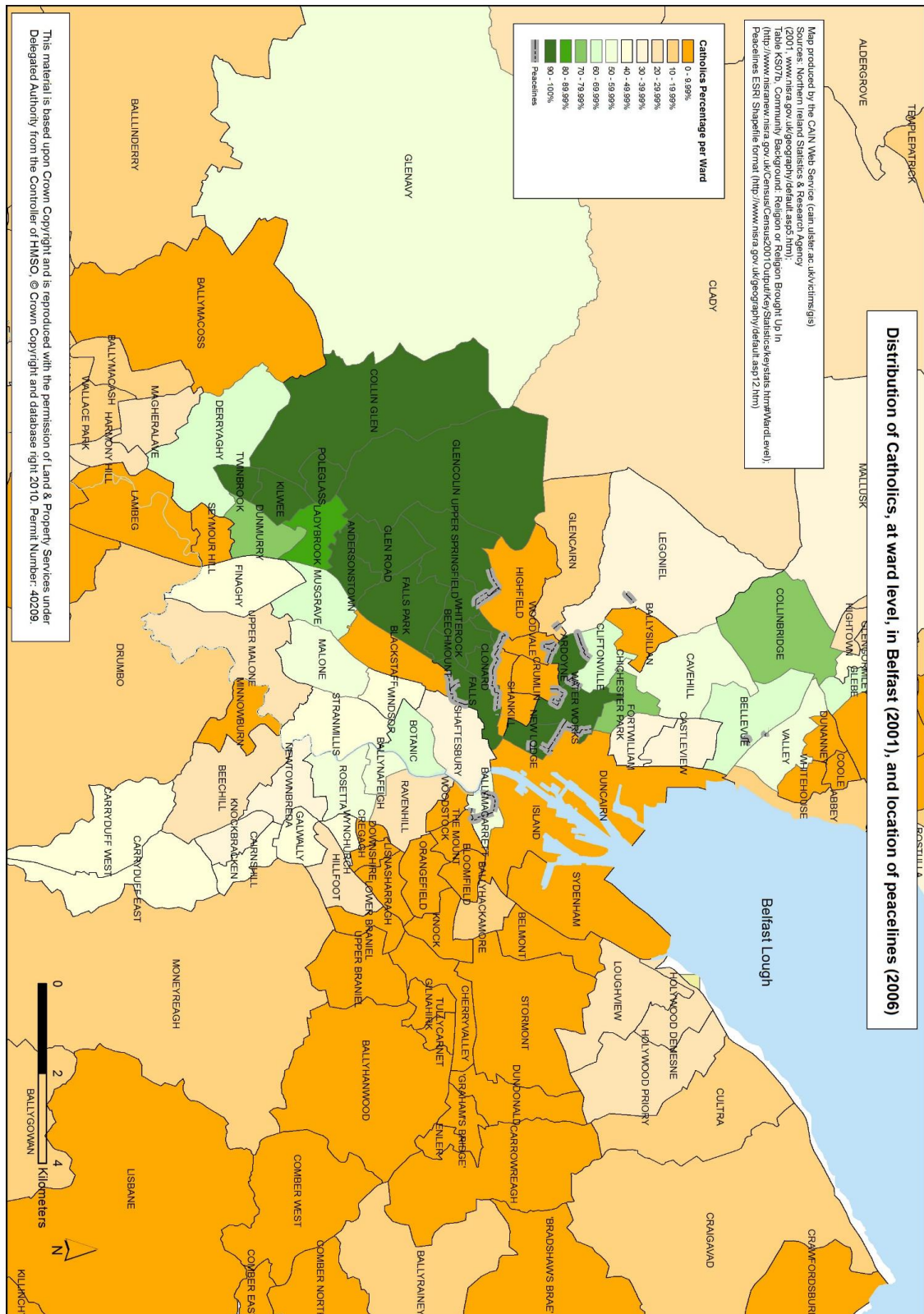
Contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2012
Contains National Statistics data © Crown copyright and database right 2012

Population density, 2010
(people per sq km)



- 1 Newtownabbey
- 2 Carrickfergus
- 3 Belfast
- 4 North Down
- 5 Castlereagh

A2. Map 2. Office For National Statistics. *Northern Ireland population density: by district council area, 2010*. Accessed via the Office For National Statistics.
<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/regional-trends/region-and-country-profiles/key-statistics-and-profiles---august-2012/key-statistics---northern-ireland--august-2012.html> (accessed July 5, 2014)



A3. Map 3. Northern Irish Statistics and Research Agency, *Distribution of Catholics, at ward level, in Belfast (2001), and location of peacelines (2006)* (2001). Accessed via Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN). http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/gis/maps/h-jpg/CAIN-Map_Belfast_Religion_Peacelines.jpg (accessed July 7, 2014.)

A4. Map 4. Northern Irish Statistics and Research Agency, *Distribution of Catholics, at ward level, in Derry (2001), and location of peacelines (2006)*. Accessed via Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN). http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/gis/maps/h-jpg/CAIN-Map_Derry_Religion_Peacelines.jpg (accessed July 7, 2014.)



A5. Photograph 1. National Army Museum, *British soldiers man a checkpoint in Northern Ireland, 1970s*. Accessed via National Army Museum. <http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?acc=2007-12-6-284> (accessed 10th June, 2014.)



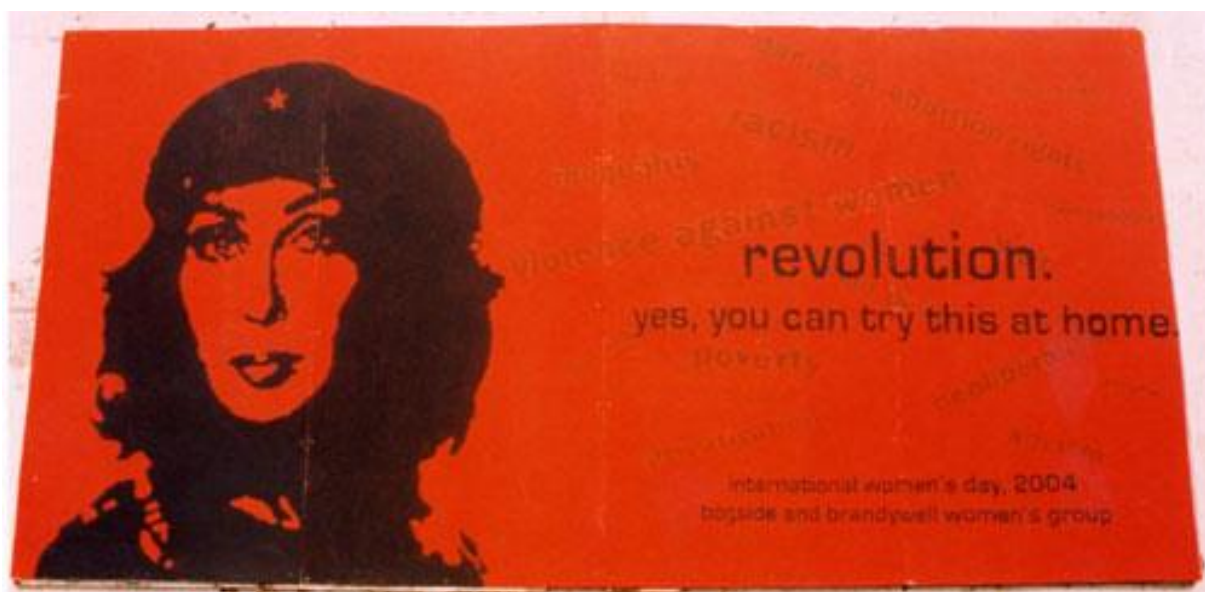
A6. Photograph 2. Liam McCann, *Impunity Mural at Free Derry Museum*. (created 23rd April, 2014.)



A7. Photograph 3. Liam McCann, *Ernesto Che Guevara Lynch Mural*, Derry (created 23rd April, 2014).

A8. Photograph 4. Liam McCann, *Palestine Mural at Free Derry Museum*. (Created 23rd April, 2014.)





A9. Photograph 5. Jonathan McCormick, *Cher Guevara*, *Opposite of Free Derry Corner*, accessed via CAIN Mural Directory.
<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/mccormick/photos/no1991.htm#photo> (accessed 15th July, 2014.)

A10. Photograph 6. Liam McCann, *Mandela Mural, Falls Road, Belfast*. (Created 29th April, 2014.)





A11. Photograph 7. Liam McCann, *Climate Change and Solidarity Murals*, Falls Road, Belfast. (Created 29th April, 2014.)



A12. Photograph 8. Liam McCann, *Brendan Hughes and Palestinian Solidarity Murals*, Falls Road, Belfast. (Created 29th April, 2014.)



A13. Photograph 9. Liam McCann, *Cuban Five and Otegi Murals, Falls Road, Belfast*. (Created April 29th, 2014.)



A14. Photograph 10. Liam McCann, *Rooftop Graffiti*. (Created 24th April, 2014.)

