

**“Touring discourses:
Legitimizing division
at The Shankill-Falls”**

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For Elizabeth, Marcos and Oscar

In memory of Remigio Bottaro
(1924-2010)

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This thesis is based on my two months field research in Belfast, Northern Ireland. During the period of my master programme, students from my specialization were stimulated to undertake an apprenticeship. The idea is to combine theory and practice in a productive empirical experience. And so it was! I would like to thank the CIBR – Centre for International Borders Research at Queen’s University Belfast, as well as to the School of Sociology, especially Angela Anderson, for being part of this intense and incredible experience. A special thank to those who directly shared and supported my ideas, they are Katy Hayward, Liam O’Dowd, and Milena Komarova. I also would like to thank that unique person that stand for and with me in those happiest and worrying moments, throughout these last two years. Not only a professor and my mentor, but also an incredible friend, thanks you, Olivier T. Kramsch!

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Introduction



When I first came to create a thesis theme, I started to look over what I have learned in the past two years studying Human Geography and how those themes would connect to my previous bachelor in International Relations. Nevertheless, when I first decided to undertake the master course specialization 'Conflicts, territories and identities' I did not realize that those topics would match, not only in the title of the course, but also in the studies of conflictive human geographies. Following this title and what essentializes it, I came to know what drives me most and what also intrigues me. That is the co-relationship of people with the space/territory and how they create a bounded and sense of place. Moreover, how these elements can trigger opposite relations with 'others' and how they can maintain and re-produce differences, even in micro-level spaces, such as within a city. In this way, my premise is that space/territory does matter and not only in the mind of a border/boundaries researcher, but also in the everyday life of those whom border/boundaries influence and from whom they are also created.

Inclusive to the study experience, it was suggested that students should take an apprenticeship, especially, in institutions which would contribute to the professional experience, as well as to access data, 'know-how' and, consolidate a field research. In this way, it is a normal process to investigate or acknowledge the set of options. There are incredible live laboratories for the study of territorial dispute and borders' discussion, especially within Europe. I have chosen Northern Ireland, specifically to study territory and discourses in the micro level territoriality existent in the city of Belfast. For me and I hope for you too, while you read this dissertation, that it is an exciting live laboratory. It involves directly the study of territory and territorial change at several spatial levels, primarily at the local level of segregated areas surrounded The Shankill-Falls; the historical demarcation of national

boundaries within the island of Ireland and its 'rooted' ideologies and narratives, to the control and ownership of resources (land, population, jobs, housing and school system) at the intra-state level during The Troubles (and previously) and throughout the processes of ethnic and national residential segregation and separation of Republicans and Loyalists neighborhoods, and its local and micro levels of territorial behaviour and territories strategies.

In order to fulfill my field research, I moved to Belfast, Northern Ireland, to a short period from May to July, 2011. While living there, I was possible to experience the city context and gathered all necessary data. In this way, this dissertation is directly expression of this investigation.

1.1 Contextualizing the Problem and Research question

When reading and listening about the Northern Ireland, the common impression of an ordinary person would be of an endangered territory because of the bombing threats and riots. Every week when I was in Belfast a bombing threat (alarm) or riots would occur; if not both at the same time. Despite that all, Belfast and Northern Ireland are lovely places, with incredible landscapes, history, and friendly people and, the only excepting factor is the exaggerated island rains, classified from Heavy to Light Shower. Can you picture that?!

The advantage of being, exactly, in time and space of your object of study is the great possibilities to not only gathered data from documentary source, but also undergoing in ethnographic observations, especially when it is participatory. In this way, my period in Belfast was composed of participating at civic processes by being a temporary resident especially in the events connected to the study's subject; and at the same time of observation, collection and documentation of (amazing) field data, by means of notes and pictures, which helped at findings, presented in Chapter 4.

The field research served to gather an inside image or impression of the place's context. Watching and reading local news, participating in academic and governmental congresses, and informally talking to and socializing with people while fulfilling common daily activities, an essential and productive data was observed and collected. It was through this process that I could acknowledge the city's challenges and needs, especially when accounting that for some people, the city remains in post-conflict condition.

Accounting and acknowledging the several actors participating in the city's matters, what drove my attention were the constant and justifiable efforts of the Belfast City Council to transform the city's space from a contested one to a shared one. Here, it accounts also the developed and positive network, joining Institutes of research and education, NGO's, individuals and local, national and supranational governmental sphere to plan, manage and consolidate revitalization initiative and cross-border relations projects.

Despite that new shared areas were conceived, especially to restore city centre and the innovated Titanic Quarter, some areas in Belfast remains contested and segregated, such as Short Strand in East Belfast and Shankill-Falls in West Belfast. Those areas are not only outcomes of social and economic deficits related to the on-going globalization, but importantly, because of past social, political, economical historical and geographical legacies, mainly related to The Troubles outcomes. So, these initiatives remain challenged in overcoming these issues.

One example of this is the touristic sector development. During 2009, Belfast received 9.3 million visits, and the total amount of money injected into the local economy by visitors in that year was £451 million (see Belfast Tourism Facts and Figures 2009 at belfastcity.org.uk). Belfast intends to uncover its marvels place, history and culture in order to become one of the top destinations, at least in Europe, whether being business, ecological or

historical tourism. My attention was specially inclined to the historical and political tours, organized by bus, taxi or walking, in the contested and segregated areas West Belfast. Those tours gained room, because while they, intensely, aim to demonstrate and inform people about the city's history, they also reinforce and legitimate certain discourses, and those are in great manner related and opposite to each side they refer, principally, through the increasing interest to know places such as the Solidarity (or International) Wall in The Falls and the Loyalist murals at the The Shankill. Thus, similarly as border and boundaries, tourism contributes and refers as connector while supports the city's development and as separator while reinforce the on-going discursive and practiced division.

In order to investigate how and in what extent those tours may become essential actors in reinforcing the on-going (territorial) dispute, while attempt to uncover Belfast history to the tourists, I have undertaken three tours - a bus, taxi and walking tour - throughout the chosen site of investigation, which is The Shankill-Falls at West Belfast. In this way, my investigation seeks to answer the following research question: **do the discourses delivered and legitimated in the city tours reinforce the division between as well as the groups at The Shankill-Falls.**

1.2 Relevance

So far, in the contemporary Globalized world, processes of deterritorialization and borderless world are in vogue. Particularly, these processes connect with the on-going discussion of disappearance of the States and its international borders. In this way, the macro-level of spaces, territories are central when discussing state formation, nationalism and relations among states. Nevertheless, border and bordering remain important, especially into localized level, i.e. within state. Therefore, territories and territorial behaviour at a micro level become essential in understanding contested spaces, such as state within a state, 'internal nationalism', ghettos, and transnational relations.

Thus, it is crucial to acknowledge territorial behaviour and territorial strategies, as well as bordering processes and the disposition of border and boundaries operating in smaller spatial levels. Moreover, macro-level of spaces are correlated to the micro-level, one does not exclude the other, rather, macro-level spatiality may have important and strong outcomes in micro-level, especially in people's daily spatial practices and narratives, while micro-level spatiality contribute to the macro-level processes, whether being a counter-force or not on the national and international politics.

In this way, this dissertation aims to contribute to this multidisciplinary debate - which connects social sciences such as international politics, geopolitics, human geographies and borders studies - by studying the micro-level territoriality in The Shankill-Falls and more specifically, how discourses are instruments and outcomes of this contested space and reproduce the symbolic and material characteristic of those distinct territories - The Shankill and The Falls.

Further, discussion on securitization, revitalization, and (economic) development must be addressed - both symbolic and tangible characteristics. Political leaders largely ignore that at The Shankill-Falls, symbolic features are at the central part of their public discourses, and therefore, political leaders must negotiate, primarily, over those factors. In this way, I attempt to contribute to the discussion over revitalization and development initiatives, especially the process from contested to shared city by providing them useful data from my field research. I hope these data and investigation can help scholars, researchers, governmental and NGO's personnel, and particularly, the political leaders, to be aware that the division still being reinforced through the regulated and institutionalized city tour's, and to stimulate them to seek for ways to overcome or decrease this division's polarization.

1.3 Structure

Discussion over the importance of micro-level territoriality, especially through how territorial strategies and identities are shaped and at the same time shape, control, claim and protect territory are dealt in the Chapter 2. There also accounts the crucial role of the critical geopolitics in understand and investigate how discourses shape the social dynamics and world, in whatever scale. Here, discourses become the key concept, where conceptualize and are shaped by the narratives and practices. Discourses are the outcomes of the territorialization and at the same time the means, in which meaning are regulated and therefore, become a hegemonic discourse. It also encompasses the importance of both, material and symbolic border, as a spatial strategy to 'fix' identities, territory and discourses.

Chapter 3 presents the methods used to undertake this research, mostly based in participatory ethnographic work, and the collected and analyzed data is qualitative. Furthermore, it also situates historically and locally the space of analysis, under covering rooted differences and division. The main findings are presented at the chapter 4, where the emphasis is in the role and importance of the city tour's discourses to reinforce and reproduce the 'naturalised' division. There, three discursive elements are explored – routes, peace wall description and murals – data obtained during the bus, taxi and walking tours.

At the beginning of the Chapters 2 to 5, the reader will encounter reflections on the Belfast's issues, challenges and on-going mentality. Those reflections contain a picture and a chat that occurred at that place and moment, during my field trip. Through them, I hope you, reader, will also 'experience' the city's context.



Figure 1: Peace Statue, Belfast

Taking photos, at this exactly place; a man approached us, Oscar and I, and started talking:

- Hey, what is that?

- This monument? Well, it says there, at the sign, that it symbolizes the peace.

- What is peace?

- ...

- I'm from East Belfast!

- ...

2. Theoretical Framework



The main objective of this dissertation is to investigate the contribution to reinforcement of the Shankill-Falls division (s) in West Belfast through the legitimized discourses of the three city tours, especially the dynamics of that territory and its re-production through narratives and practices.

In order to understand this objective of study and its vary dimensions, it is important to acknowledge and conceptualize crucial constructs. I based my dissertation's framework on the precepts of Critical Geopolitics, especially through Ó Tuathail's writings and the key concepts on border/boundaries discourse, which are Territory/Space, Border/Boundary and, Discourse.

2.1 Critical Geopolitics

The tradition of Geopolitics has constantly changed, because its diverse geopolitical thoughts and processes followed the changing of world politics, especially the way to understand state's formation and competition. Past concerns were focused on the 'imperial expansion and ideological struggles between competing territorial states' (Ó Tuathail, 2006:4). Nowadays those concerns also considered and shared different perspectives than realistic, such as Critical Geopolitics.

Geographical thinking is predominantly associated with the political realist approach to international politics. Since the early 1980's, political geographers and international relation analysts has developed the Critical Geopolitics' perspective. It is an 'intellectual move' beyond the realist essentialism, because it rejects state-centric view and more important "it recognizes how people know, categorise and make sense of world politics is an interpretative cultural practice" (Ó Tuathail, 2006:6-7). Critical Geopolitics recognizes our world as constituted by through discursive languages (narratives) and

practices. Thus, Geopolitics is discourses and the cultural context that gives its meaning. For Müller (2008), Critical Geopolitics seeks to understand powerful geographies and deconstruct hegemonic fixations over spatial imagination, identities and therefore, adopting a constructivist approach, Critical Geopolitics is capable to investigate the construction and effects of those geographical imaginations and identities (p.323).

Geography is about power, affirms Ó Tuathail (1996). He argues that 'although often assumed to be innocent, the geography of the world is not a product of nature but a product of histories of struggle between competing authorities over the power to organize, occupy, and administer space' (p.1). First, these histories and stories (narratives) with their images give means and constitute our world. Therefore, according to Ó Tuathail (2006), attention must be paid "to the ways in which global space is labeled, metaphors are deployed, and visual images are used in process of making stories and constructing of world politics" (p.1). In other words, it must be taken in account the images, discourse (narratives and practices) that construct a meaningful world, but specially construct spaces and territories through bordering process (see also Dodds & Sidaway, 1994). Second, those struggles over the administration and mastery of territory/space constitute the dynamic of contemporary world politics. Thus, the study of space and territory is a perceived political topic, which, according Newman (2008) 'reflects the nature of past, present, and future control of land by the hegemonic power of the State' (p.2).

Further, Dijkink (1996), emphasizes that geopolitical language refers to re-production of narratives and words referring to boundaries and the conflict between and within the territoriality interests (p.5). Geopolitical language refers to shared visions (narratives) and practice that produce and re-produce meaning of the one's place. These particular discourses can be seen within 'internal nationalism' and regionalism territory, which resurged in the recent

decades. Over time, geographical and spatial discourses have changed. Traditionally, Political Geography focused on the change at national scales, 'namely the configuration of national territories and their role within the changing international and global political environment' (Newman, 2008:13).

Since the early 1990's, the globalization phenomenon and its impacts generated the notion of a Stateless world or the end of the Nation States and the national territories, therefore, became contested. Within this context, political territory and spatial organization seems to lose its importance, especially within the discussion of de-territorialization and borderless world. Even though, a counter- narrative has argued that "while globalization has impacted the territorial and spatial formation of political spaces, borders remain important in many places (Newman, 2008:13)". Subsequently, their functions and significances have shifted from the national scale to local scales. Van Houtum (2005) argued that in Political Geography and Geopolitics the last few decades has occurred a turn, where the focus shift from boundaries, as states' limits, to borders as socio-territorial constructs. Border's dimension did not become reclusive in the national scale, but can be studied within regional and local scales. Whether geographical, social, and/or cultural, borders remain as 'barriers to the movement of people and ideas, and as social and territorial demarcations for diverse groups of people, differentiated along a variety of social, cultural, and national criteria' (Newman, 2008:13).

For Berg and van Houtum (2003) the claiming of space through border discourses and practices is currently and critically re-interpreted, principally at the critical geopolitics and critical geographical debates over claiming of space (p.2). Furthermore, it is along borders that one can best appreciate the acuteness of this perpetual struggle over space in global politics (Ó Tuathail, 1996:3) and nowadays, within States.

In sum, the Critical Geopolitics' approach emphasizes the crucial role of the discourses for the construction and re-production of spaces and territories, in

a global or local scale. This perspective is important, specially, because it recognizes that the world politics and its processes are discursive construction that can change and be re-produced over time, and represent, primarily, the struggles over management, control, differentiation and mastery of a space/territory, their representations and bordering processes within and by State, groups and individuals in the contemporary global space.

2.2 Defining key concepts

2.2.1 Territory/Space

Territory, argued Storey (2001), is the geographic space which is claimed or occupied by a country, individuals, and groups or by an institution (p.1). Traditionally, it refers to the claimed land by a sovereign State. Even though, territories are constituted from diverse spatial scales, from the national and global disputes to the regional and local and, they do not annul each other. 'The macro level and the micro level are not structurally separate geographic spaces', affirmed Storey (2001:7). Macro-scale and micro-scale are co-existent, because at the macro-scale, many processes encounter localized impacts while those localized events can well impact at global level.

This territorial scale reflects also the discussion over and within the advent of the globalization processes. While the globalization discourse stress the deterritorialized and borderless world, when investigating many contemporary events and conflicts, it is arguable that the territorial factor remains playing a major role, especially at the European space and its micro level. This is, because, according Newman (2006), 'the political organization of space is not limited to notions of the state but are equally, perhaps even more importantly, impacted at the local and micro levels of daily behaviour and practices' (p.4). In this way, rather than focus on the State level, some cases

are of a great relevance when investigated through the ongoing claims, management and discourse at the local and micro levels of space.

National and ethnic conflicts context are in their majority played out at the local and micro level, especially through processes and legitimating of spatial segregation, division and mutual exclusion. Moreover, significant territorial reconfiguration and reterritorialization are taking place, this according to Newman (2003) shows that the world is not becoming deterritorialized. He believes that "human activity continuous to take place within well defined territories (Newman, 2003:287)", especially at the Western world, "the spatial core of the 'borderless world', where territorial contestation remains (Newman, 2003:288).

Still, many of the contemporary territorial discussion and studies have focused on the Nation State space and its tangible dimensions, such as shape and size and, its relation with the neighborhood territory, and consequently these elements were primary when comes to investigating and justifying conflicts. However, this perspective largely ignored the essential notions of symbolic dimension of territorial attachment, which refers to the notions of historical narratives, myths and daily experience and, the feeling of belonging and ownership of a territory, which further explains territorial contestation and conflicts.

According to Wilson and Donnan (2005), territory "is an extremely emotional concept for many political communities, precisely because it is a frame to social and political life that is experienced daily, a site and symbol of group membership, and the literal landscape of culture and community (p.9)." It is primarily through daily practices of narratives and action that these spaces are reinforced and re-produced. Thus, people, events and places are also essential to investigate and explain territorial processes.

Nowadays, control of territory represents the geographical expression of the political power and territorial ordering remains an essential process, especially through the (re-) production of border, fences and walls. Furthermore, Storey (2001) states that power 'is exerted over individuals whether through controlling the behaviour of those in a specific territory or through excluding people from the territory' (p.14-15). Individuals, groups or institutions seek to control spaces, whether through the states practice of sovereignty and political control, but also within the neighborhoods, private and personal spaces. Within urban areas, such as cities, the spatial divisions are outlined, especially, in terms of class and ethnicity.

According to Storey (2001), those ethnical concentrated divides denominated 'ethnicized guetto' and, its formation is 'a clear territorial feature' (p.5), which manifests social inequality and uneven distribution of power (p.152). When those ethnical and national territories are contested, normally, those ethnic and national groups are competing for power, especially, through the claim and defense of a territory. The question is that, when those groups are constitute of or are forced to constitute a 'ethnicized guetto', it engenders a homogeneous territory, which encompasses, concomitant, fear and superiority relationship with the 'other'. In ethno-national disputes, residential segregation is the common expression of those concentrated divides, in which conflicting groups reside within separated housing areas and neighborhoods.

What compel humans to claim and defend space is rather a co-ordination between the biological aspect and social conditioning. One can play a substantial role than the other, depending on the studied object and context and, even though, one can not be separated from each other. It was Robert Ardrey in 1966 that introduced the 'territorial imperative' concept of humans to claim and defend territories and their territorial strategies and behaviour were seen as 'natural and unchanging phenomenon' (Storey, 2001:10-11; see

also Malcolm Anderson, 1996: 29). However, this deterministic view while recognizes the pre-programmed human behaviour, it overlooks that social, political, economical and cultural environments may shape human actions and subsequently, human behaviour. In this way, human territorial behaviour can be conditioned by the environment within it exists. Storey (2001) believes that 'central to this is an emphasis on power relationships rather than biology' (p.14). Thus, this framework defends that the human behaviour to claim and defend territory is a biological urge, but also a product of social conditioning, especially through the power relationships.

Recognizing the tangible and symbolic aspects of territory attachment, leads to the conclusion that territory/space is human creation produced from biological and social conditioning of human behaviour. Consequently, as those processes are not static, human territorial behaviour is constantly being subject of change, production and re-production and, if humans create territories, thus, territories are also being created, shaped and re-shaped. So, territories are object of change and therefore, it has a dynamic aspect. Newman (2006) argues that this dynamic aspect of the territories 'creates a new spatial realities', in the extent that the imposition of borders of separation are rooted in reality and consequently, creates 'new socio-spatial landscapes' (p.8). Even though, these processes are not in one-way, this means, human behaviour (re-) constructs territories, which results in the creation of new spatial realities and socio-spatial landscapes, while territories and their processes impact and (re-)shape human life and consequently, human behaviour and, so on.

Territoriality

While territory is the geographic space, (in) which humans claim and/or defend, territoriality is the expression or the deployment of power when

claiming or defending a territory/space. Thus, territoriality is the spatial form of power, defends Storey (2001):

"[...] territoriality can be seen as the spatial expression of power. The processes of control and the contestation over particular territory are thus a key element in what is known as political geography." (p.6)

Territoriality implies the type of human territorial behaviour and strategies deployed to claim, control and defend a space, primarily, through the impositions of boundaries. Boundaries, argues Storey (2001), "indicate territorial control and, hence, power over prescribed territory" (p.16). For Anderson & O'Dowd (1999), this border territoriality has always been "inherently contradictory, problematic and multifaceted" (p.595). Moreover, those human behaviour and strategies are not necessarily connected to the states matters, i.e. the national level, but also can be localized, such as in (-between) a neighborhood or street.

While many scholars would reinforce the existence and crucial role played by the territorial sovereignty as the key element that safeguards the right to control and defend a specific territory, especially, denominated by the nation state, Zellman (2008) in his article "Concept Paper on Ethnohistorical Territoriality", considers that, nowadays, within the global changes and reconfiguration, this type of sovereignty became contested. The globalization events contribute to the decline of the Westphalian States, especially due to the deterritorialization and borderless processes and, consequently, states become contested constructs. In this way, Zellman (2008) suggests the concept of 'ethnohistorical territoriality', which according to him, opposes sovereign territoriality and, constitutes a suitable expression of the control and defense of a specific territory. While the sovereign territoriality refers to the state power within internationally recognized boundaries which are the political

and legitimated partition of the world, ethnohistorical territoriality recognizes the partition of

"[...] the "rightful" boundaries of states as defined by historical claims tied to ethnonational identity. Whereas sovereign territoriality is legitimated by international structural and normative conditions, ethnohistorical claims are informed primarily by domestic discourse on appropriate territoriality. Such claims often problematize status quo territorial divisions and propose alternative arrangements conforming to pre-1945 or even pre-modern boundaries" (Zellman, 2008:1)

Ethnohistorical territoriality recognizes that by assessing historical claims of original ownership, it can draw on the notion of mutually exclusive territory of each state. These historical claims are, according to Zellman, recognized as the nationalist rhetoric and ethnocultural narratives, hence, those discourses are domestically conceived (p.2). Moreover, this territoriality remains essential, particularly, to understand and investigate the growing number of territorial disputes, especially those that contest existing borders and the territorial sovereignty aspect inherent of the international world politics.

Hence, as the territory/space is human construct, ethnohistorical territoriality equally are also shaped and (re-)produced by human behaviour and strategies. Thus, the inner constructions of symbolic/ideational elements such as the identities and boundaries are, mutually, being shaped.

Territorial strategies and identity

Territorial imagery and territorial strategies are crucial in addressing the construction and (re-)production of the nation, group, and individual identity, and simultaneously, reinforce or resist political configurations. Thus, both are essential to contribute to the territorial claims and disputes, as well as territorial contestation. In this way, symbolically and practical processes, are important in account territory.

Territorial strategies are used and deployed by individuals or groups in order to attain or maintain control; hence, they are the means through which power is maintained or contested. Naming streets, the painting of murals, erecting of border, walls and fences, the displacement of flags, symbolic parades are ways of deploying territorial strategies. Storey (2001) states that territorial strategies may, in many ways, be used to attain not just control but broader political goals (p.96). They can serve either to resistance to a particular space/territory or reinforce a sense of bounded space.

This sense of bounded space is an essential characteristic of territory and, it is also both, constituent and constitute of territorial identity. According to Storey (2001), 'people do form bonds with place and, in this sense, territory is vitally important to people and may serve as an integral component of self-identity' (p.17). Identity, arguably, is a relational element. This is, identity, whether territorial, national, local, cultural and ethnical, are formed through the differentiation from and among others. It unites people who have something in common and connected 'us' from 'them'. In other words, the dynamics of 'othering' in which peoples and communities were first fragmented and constituted as bounded units or 'homelands' are reorganized into territorial units opposed to others along ethnic and/or religious 'imagined' communities.

If territory is essential to the formation of people's identity, thus, it is important to observe how these territorial identities are crucial to overall sense of identity, moreover, how territorial strategies may support the sense of identity. This leads to the discussion of 'sense of place'. This term is referred to places that we like, such as place with fond memories, we grew up in, and places we associated to common past and myths. People live their lives in places and, the shared experience embodied in those places contributes to the communal and territorial identity.

Human beings are expected to develop roots and a sense of bonding with a territory. Newman (2006) argues, that when this happens, future generations would perceive the territory in question as their 'natural homeland' (p.9). Historical facts, myths and crucial events of a particular place are key elements in the territorial imagination, especially when deployed through territorial strategies. These elements constitute a set of common beliefs about the people and the space where they live, which are according to Anderson (1996), named as territorial ideologies (p.34). These territorial ideologies, has argued Anderson, appeal to history and events for justification, however those elements are based on 'flimsy' historical evidence (p.35). This means that rather they are based on history and events, those elements lack solidification because their contents varies according time and place, as well as depend on the people involved. Even though, the content of territorial ideologies is a prime element in initiating and sustaining claim, defense and control over a specific territory, especially that one in which people already presents a 'sense of place' and shared bond.

2.2.2 Border/Boundary

Borders and boundaries are essential territorial manifestations and contribute to territorial demarcation. Thus, as borders and boundaries are the primary elements in which territories are shaped and defended, it is necessary to understand the way in which ways these elements are produced by the human beings and its processes in the micro level and how they produce the territory and territoriality of those groups. In sum, border and boundaries are of great importance and must be accounted when investigate territorial behaviour and strategies within contested and marked localities. Zellman (2008) has defended that:

"It is virtually impossible to study international politics without addressing the issue of borders. Even as many have argued that the importance of borders is dramatically decreasing in an age of globalization, the very fact that debates over international trade, security, development,

population movement, and the environment remain framed in terms of the effective presence or absence of border considerations only confirms its persistent centrality in international affairs. Yet to say that borders matter is not enough; one must also clarify precisely how they matter.”
(p.1)

The key aspect of European integration project has been the removal of border, especially, to forge trade and nowadays, to permit mobility of people, money, work and information. Even though, a counter movement shows that localized borders emerged and are been, increasingly, source of contestation, and thus, it remains and increasingly become an object of investigation. For Newman (2003), “Some boundaries may be disappearing, or at least becoming more permeable and easy to traverse, but at the same time many new boundaries – ranging from the state and territorial to the social and virtual – are being established at one and the same time (p.277).”

Authors such as Newman (2006) and Linde-Laursen (2010) recognize border and boundary not only as division entities, but also recognize their function as connectors, bridges (see also Van Houtum & Strüver, 2002). Newman (2006) has argued that “in a world where many borders are becoming increasingly permeable, borders should be seen as places of potential interaction, points of contact and transition between two neighboring territorial or social entities” (p.25). However, here, in this dissertation, the focus is on the separatist function of the border as predominant phenomena when analyzing micro levels of territoriality, especially those observed in Northern Ireland.

It is recognized that scholars, often, intermingled the terms of borders and boundaries. Here, rather discussing types of and difference between boundaries and borders, the focus is on the impact of imposing borders and boundaries, especially legitimating them through discourses. Border and boundaries are essential outcomes and instrument when acknowledging and investigation territorial disputes.

A boundary is, normally, denominated as the precise line separating one territory from the other (Storey, 2001:29; see also Anderson, 1996:p.9). Within the scholars, especially political geographers, boundaries are distinguished in 'natural' and 'artificial'. They argue that 'natural' boundaries are engendered by rivers, mountains, by natural phenomena which will determine the course and demarcation of the borderline (Newman, 2003:279), while 'artificial' boundaries are man-made construction. However, all boundaries are artificially constructs determined by people (Newman,2003: 279-280), and as argued by Storey (2001), even "some rivers become borders (or cease to be borders), others do not" (p.30).

Border is seen "as processes, practices, discourses, symbols, institutions or network through which power works" (Paasi, 2011:62). As Van Houtum (2005) suggested, we must not seen border as "given, fixed, linear or stable" (p.6), border is a social, political and territorial construction of human beings, and as such derive function and meaning for those whom it divide from others. Thus, border perpetuates difference and 'othering'. "All the borders [...], are and always have been constructions of human beings. As such, any border's delineation is subjective, contrived, negotiated and contested" (Diener and Hagen, 2010:3).

When marking, delineating and delimiting territory, it is a process of bordering. Bordering reflects politics in many ways, such politics of delimitation, but also the politics of representation and identity that come into play (Paasi, 2011:62). Bordering is also subject of change, (re-) negotiation and contestation, and therefore bordering:

"[...] must be regarded as a dynamic cultural process, always changing in response to historic developments and constantly being transformed by and transforming the social, cultural, and political contexts of the very nature of the limit". (Linde-Laursen, 2010: 2)

Furthermore, Linde-Laursen (2010) has argued that the challenge is to acknowledge bordering as a dynamic cultural practice of making sense of and manipulating everyday lives and experiences (p.5) and how this is performed and adapted by individuals and groups and, consequently it may be considered as an individual act (p.8). The manipulation and making sense of everyday lives and experiences are connected and constitute to the territorial behaviour and strategies that defend, control and claim their bounded territory. If bordering embrace and permit both barricading and facilitating transnational flows of people, goods, capital and information ; thus, the border in this perspective is perceived both a separator and a connector" (Linde-Laursen, 2010: 2).

If border and boundary are socially constructed and contested by people in their daily lives, they reflect issues related to power relationships, based on ethnicity and/or class, and they are constituted and constituents of discursive narratives and practices. According to the power relations, border and boundary are used to control, in some circumstances, territory and people. When they are located within states, it is often the mark of the limits of political identities or may create new ones. Those political identities have been the outcome of long historical process of conflict; therefore, border and boundary are also an outcome of long historical process. In this way, border and boundary are subsequently based on military or security needs (Anderson, 1996:107). The use of technical devices of control and surveillance of landscapes are forms of monitoring those spaces and this, consequently, strengthen bordering in a society of distinctive groups (Paasi, 2011:63), because bordering are commonly related to create a space of safety for those who fear the 'other'. Border, boundaries and its physical variations, such as walls and fences, are constructs which serve, primarily, to separate groups and individuals, in addition;

"[...] they may provide a limited amount of physical security in terms of safety, but they also constitute artificial constructions which make the "other" side invisible. Invisibility breeds ignorance which, in turn creates a new

dimension of fear – fear of the unknown emanating from the other side of the border.” (Newman,2006:25)

Concerning to border and boundary, they contribute to and are social and discursive construction. It is agreeable that they are historically rooted in practices and discourses related to the groups ideologies and identities. Their manifestation is, according to Paasi (2011), related to processes of nation-building and nationalist practices, being “labeled as discursive/emotional landscapes of social power that often draw on various forms of nationalism” (p.63), especially ‘internal nationalism’ which can be found in micro level of territoriality, such as within Northern Ireland. For Paasi (2011), ‘emotional bordering’ is expressed into territorial behaviour and strategies, such as deployment of flag, (military) parades, cemeteries, sports events, nationalized and memorialized spaces (p.63).

In sum, border and boundary are not just lines dividing territory and particular territoriality, they are not just material (or physical) expressions that separate groups and individuals from each other, and consequently their ‘bounded’ (imagined) community, they are not just representation of power relationship and other political matters, they are social and discursive constructs that make sense for people and their everyday lives, and in a myriad ways, border and boundary shape and are shaped by them and they daily lives. Moreover, as Kramsch has stated (2010), they act as “expression of socially constituted and institutionalized wholes” (p.1009).

An important dimension of border and boundary is their implications, whether social, cultural, political and geographical, within and among those living in the border area. As stressed by Newman & Paasi (1998), boundaries create and reinforce distinctions, differences, exclusion. Thus, understanding and investigating how borders and their discursive narratives and practices affect, transform, create cooperation and/or conflict among two self-denominated distinctive groups.

Storey (2001) has stressed that formalizing border and boundaries can lead to significant differences among the opposite groups. This is, mainly, because, people may forge distinctive attitudes towards the border. For him, “the creation or imposition of a physical border can result in the creation of a partitionist mentality through which people on opposite sides drift apart owing to their political separation” (p.33). Further, those groups may acknowledge the border and boundaries in different ways and perspective, and therefore, becoming more complex the way to investigate their natures and outcomes, as well as potential solutions. Following this argument, Berg & van Houtum (2003) stated ‘a border is not a border’. This is because people may have different understanding and interpretations of what a border is and means (p.2).

2.2.3 Discourse

As we have noticed in the previous topics, discourse is a common element among them. McNeill (2004) has suggested that students of borders should pay more attention to ‘narratives and discourse’ (p.149). Therefore, it is obvious the essential role played by discourse in this study, not only as instrument, but also outcome in which territorial behavior, strategies and bordering processes are (re-) produced.

Ó Tuathail (2006) has emphasized that discourse become an important object of investigation in contemporary critical social science (p.95), especially in the Geography and Geopolitics field. Müller (2010) believes that resembling the Foucauldian understanding of discourse, discourse is “as a comprehensive social meaning structure that permeates all aspects of society” (p.6). Therefore, studying discourses allow and request to take in consideration diverse disciplines and a complexity of identities, which “are formulated in a multitude of different sites, in different situations and across scale levels” (Müller,2010: 6).

More generally, the conceptualization by Campbell (2010) encompasses foremost that a discourse is “a specific series of representations and practices through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethnical outcomes made more or less possible” and, that it is ‘performative’, constituting the objects of which it speaks (p.226).

The territory where people lives is constantly exposed and (re-)produced via discourses, which are (re-)produced by locals and its events, history and identities. Those elements contribute to (re-) produce spaces of differentiation among people, especially, because discourse create opposing terms to describe places, people and other phenomenon, and placed them opposed through language (Kirby, 1996:2). Dijkink (1996) has stressed that “how experiences and discourse together create an ‘imaginative geography’ of the outside (and inside) world is a complex and fascinating story” (p.3). For Ó Tuathail (2006), discourses are not “simply speech or written statements but rules by which verbal speech and written statements are made meaningful” (p.95), they enable people “to write, speak, listen and act meaningful” (p.95).

National stories, through myths, events, images and facts, produce and reproduce a sense of nationhood, as well as local groups and individual’s identity. These stories are narratives in which people use to trace their group/nation collective past. According to Storey (2001), those narratives are not necessarily ‘accurate version of the historical facts, but a ‘suitable’ past necessary to reinforce the sense of bonding and ‘homeland’ (p.77).

Following this argument, if a particular territory is part of someone or some group historical narrative, then it can not be part of the ‘other’. In this way, argued Newman (2006), it seems to be more difficult to share territory, especially in on-going territorial disputes (p.13), because if territory is the focus of competing claims, people will create and reinforce spaces with their

historical narratives. Those narratives become the suitable and essential strategy to prove that a certain group has ownership and exclusivity of the territory in question. This, consequently, contribute to the symbolic dimension of the territory. According to Newman (2006), it is difficult or in some cases impossible to manage or resolve territorial disputes tied to those symbolic dimension, because the territory and its elements seems to become an indivisible body (p. 22).

Along with the concept of discourse, discourse analysis has gained popularity. According to Müller (2010) it is a methodology within social sciences, especially the constructivist stream, in which, he considers as the field of international relations and critical geopolitics. Moreover, discourse analysis has been used as tool to understand and investigate the social construction of world politics, especially broadening the agenda to incorporate issues such as (re-) production of marginality, resistance, otherness, difference, discourses, regimes and identities in the present world (p.1-2). While discourse, in the Foucauldian tradition, refers to the social constructs that gives meaning to the world(s), connectedly, discourse analysis refers to interpretation of meanings, its systemic regularities (supremacy), hence, look to understand how discourses regulates the social world (Müller, 2010: 7).

For Strüver (2003), the Foucauldian's discursive approach is concerned about how meanings are legitimized, normalized and finally accepted as reality and social rules, through powerful ways. She agrees that discourses refers to and are ways of constructing knowledge about a particular topic through the formation of ideas, images and practices. Consequently, they provide ways of talking, forms of knowledge that may be conducted and reproduced into particular social activities and institutions. In this way, social spaces as well as borders are constructed, practiced and reproduced through discourses (Strüver, 2003:173). Thus, narratives and images are constitutive of the border

and social spaces, as well as people's identity. Moreover, Strüver (2003) argued that the discourses' analysis "is not only, but one attempt to understand and explain everyday practices along and towards borders (p.173)".

Conversely, for Müller (2008), a Laclau and Mouffe's discursive approach is unique because considers that the whole social space is engaged in the process of creating and temporary fixing meanings (p.329). Discourse in this perspective is narrative (language, image) and practice. Müller (2008) uses the example of brick-layer from Laclau and Mouffe to illustrate it:

"I am building a wall and ask a workmate to pass me a brick which then add to the wall. The first act e asking for the brick, is linguistic, the second, adding the brick to the wall, is extra-linguistic but they are both partial moments of the totality of building a wall (Müller, 2008: 329)."

Narratives reflect on texts, including both language and images. It is associated to individuals' agency, this means that individuals produce narratives and subsequently are manipulated by them and or elites (Müller, 2008: 328). While (social) practices are constructed and structured in discourse (Müller, 2008: 330).

The theory of discourse by Laclau and Mouffe in 1985, is according to Müller (2010), a methodological basis for the conceptualisation and analysis of discourses and identities (p.14). They divided the theory in three apparatuses: the discourse apparatus, the identity apparatus and the politics apparatus. The discourse apparatus engenders the creation and fixation of meaning through system of difference; the identity apparatus concerns with the construction of meaning of the identities and the politics apparatus introduces the concept of hegemony (ibid, p.10), which refers to the process in which one meaning of an element is articulated and exclude others, and consequently achieve supremacy over the other(s).

As meaning and consequently identity are 'fixed' by system of difference, this process of temporary fixing is termed by Judith Butler as 'performativity' (see also Jacobs, 1996: 148). Jacobs & Fincher (1998) argued that difference refers to distinctions among people and groups (p.4), and these distinctions may be marked through ethnicity, gender, race, life course and others (p.5). For them, it is more likely that differences may be articulated through a combination of those defining characteristics (p.3), above mentioned. Jacobs & Fincher (1998) believed that processes of representation, signification, and performativity are fundamental components in which identities are constituted and articulated (p.6) and furthermore, it is through processes of regulation and repetition of the discourses, that uneven and empowered differences, identities, narratives and practices are made to appear natural. This natural appearance may connect to the stereotyping practice. For Strüver (2003) stereotyping is a representational practice that appears naturalized. She also argues that:

"It reduces people to a few 'essential' characteristics, which are represented as 'original' and unchanging. [...] They exaggerate and simplify the types and hence, essentialise and 'fix' social difference. [...] stereotyping is one of the mechanism of border maintenance, of drawing (physical) borders between those who belong and who do not, between insiders and outsiders, we and 'other' (Strüver, 2003: 165)."

It is in this process of construction and contestation of identities through discourses that hegemonic practices and narratives are articulated (Müller, 2008: 332). This hegemonic aspect is a key element in which is possible to acknowledge what kind of discourse are superior. Nevertheless, it is also part of the hegemonic analysis to acknowledge and identify the excluded discourses (Müller, 2010: 15). In this way, a hegemonic discourse is the one which achieved to unify the social world around articulations and fixations of particular meanings (ibid, p.12). This fixation can always be partial and do not enclosure meaning, because is never permanent (Müller, 2008:331).

Following this argument, what is most relevant is to understand how hegemonic discourses (re-) produce territorial identities, especially by

excluding and differentiating conflicting positions. Furthermore, Müller (2008) argued that conceptualizing discourse through hegemonic narratives and (social) practices enforces coding and institutional representation, especially when translating them into local level's daily practices (p.333).

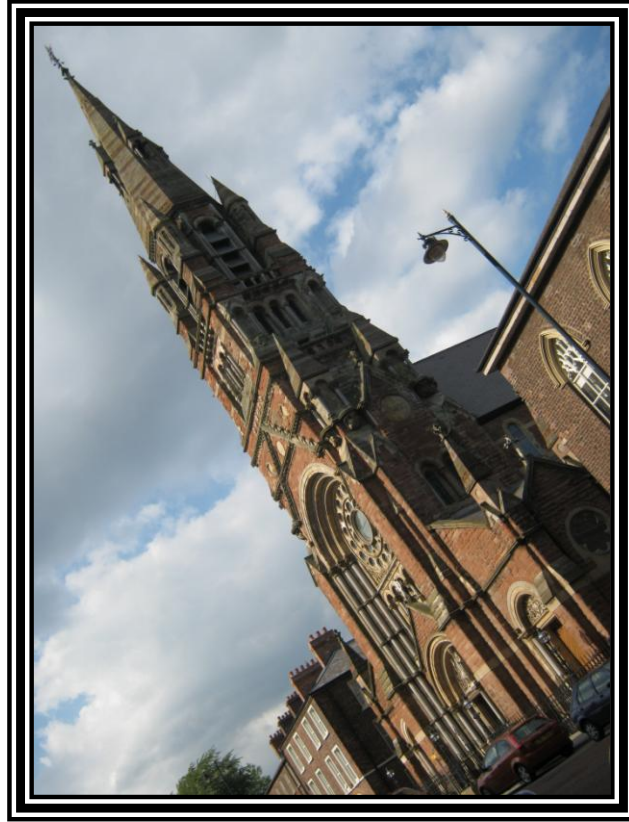


Figure2: St. Patrick's Parish, Belfast

After taking the picture from the St. Patrick's Parish, a taxi driver approached me and asked:

- *Are you a tourist?*
- *Yes.*
- *Why? Why you came to Belfast?*
- *Cause it is a beautiful city, full of architectures, history and wonderful people.*
- *No, no. Can't be! You, for sure, came because of something else.*
- *Why?*
- *Because nobody comes to Belfast just because is a tourist. There is nothing to see here.*
- *Ow, come on! There is! Why you don't like your city?*
- *...*
- *Fine, I confess. I'm tourist and student.*
- *What kind of study?*
- *..., conflict studies.*
- *See, I knew! I told you so. Nobody comes to Belfast, except for those who want to see our conflict history.*
- *...*

3. Investigating The Shankill-Falls



In order to introduce The Shankill Falls, this chapter seeks to present information over the chosen methods; the space in study, its historical legacies, division and differences; and to present The Shankill-Falls' limits, where the research was conducted.

3.1 Methods

The research on territorial strategies, identities and bordering has included the micro level contexts and practices of daily lives, which are relevant to the discursive construction and reproduction of a territory. In this way, ethnographic approaches can achieve a better investigation of the context in study and as argued by Müller (2010), can be a central component for the discursive research (p.5).

Moreover Müller (2010) argues that ethnographic research has the capacity to record how discourses "are reflected, enacted, recited and reworked through particular situated practices (p.5). As discourse is constituted by both practice and narrative, thus, language, images and practices, data must be combined and researched in order to fully understand how discourses are hegemonic and reproduced, consequently, reproducing differences.

Ethnography is, according Gobo (2008), a methodology of observation, and where other secondary sources such as informal conversations, individual and/or group interviews and documentary materials (newspaper, field notes, diary, photographs and audiovisual material, as well as organizational/institutes documents) are used (p.4-5). Ethnography can be implemented through non-participatory and/or participatory strategies.

Following this argumentation, and in order to fulfill my field research, I rely on the ethnographic methodology, specifically by participatory observation by means of personally taking the three tours along the city of Belfast. Here, I used individual and informal interviews and conversations, especially during the taxi and walking tour; field notes analysis; and the documentary analysis, such as from images (photos and video) taken during the tours. Thus, this research relies, mainly, in qualitative data and methods.

3.2 Historical roots

3.2.1 Past legacies

Authors, such as Anderson and O'Dowd (2005), believe that to understand Northern Ireland's conflict, it is crucial to account the colonial legacy, i.e. the imperial and nationalist struggles that occurred in the late 19th century until 1920's. For them, the Irish Border was a "British idea" (Anderson & O'Dowd, 2005: 02). They argued that Ireland's partition was an imperial creation and shaped by the complex Irish nationalism and British imperialism. Both, empires and national states are mutually constitutive (Anderson & O'Dowd, 2007: 935). Ignoring the colonial legacy, it is to ignore that nationalist and unionist are, according to Loughlin (*et. Anderson & O'Dowd, 2007: 940*), 'twin projects' of state formation and therefore reinforce the over-simplified stories about both groups.

Moreover, while the UK engaged in imperial process, establishing and stimulating Northern Ireland to become an imperial frontier, the Irish engaged in a nationalism project. In such project, the main objective is to construct a homogenous 'nation'. Here, is crucial the creation and reinforcement of homogeneous cultural and ethnical values, which leads to the consolidation of 'US' and 'THEM'. Consequently, supports the construction of a discursive division, based on political, ethnical, cultural,

ideological values, which were later polarized as religious division. Therefore, the imperial and nationalistic legacies contributed to support the roots of division and differences between the Nationalists and Unionists, because (1) they are the outcome of these projects and (2) it supports the differentiation among Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, as basis to consolidate both, antagonistic and co-existent projects.

Since 1921, after the national war within the whole island of Ireland, the 26 counties that constitute the Republic of Ireland became independent from UK, while the other 06 counties remained part of UK (Darby, 2003). The partition of the Island represented in one side by the claiming independence from UK and united Ireland for the Irish people while in the other side by those who wanted to secure a Protestant territory from the threat of a united Ireland. Through this opposite contests, Northern Ireland was created and so was physically consolidated the Irish Border, as well as they supported the N-Ireland's conflict. Those who want to remain part of UK were in majority Protestants, with Scottish, Walsh and English ancients, and they can also be denominated as Unionists. Those who want to ensure a united Ireland were in majority Catholics and with Irish or Celtic ancients and they are also named as Nationalists.

Historically, the demarcation of the Irish Border after 1921 and the selection of the 06 counties are justified, according Anderson & O'Dowd (2007: 945), by the imperial architect in ethnic basis dividing, ideologically, Protestants and Catholics. This practice triggered and supported the following practices of restrict voting rights, employment, housing policies and schooling towards the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. Moreover, the political and social segregation towards Catholic population dated from the colonization times, where under the Protestants system, restrictive and sectarian laws were established against them. Consequently, the impacts of such discriminatory and sectarian practices deepened the divisions and differences among the two

groups, Protestants and Catholics, and exacerbated perceived grievances and created news.

In this context of discriminatory practices and constant distrust between the groups, the conflict remains even in such minor scale of violence. According to Darby (1995), through the centuries, the 'Irish problem' shift significantly from Irish-English problem, dated until 1921 and configuring the Ireland's struggle for independence from UK, to Ireland and Northern Ireland struggle dated from 1921 and sets the opposite aims of ensure a united Ireland or the unification with UK, to finally become a Northern Ireland internal 'Troubles', where the two main protagonists are the Unionists/Loyalist and Nationalists/Republican.

3.2.2 Forging division and differences

Stereotypes, past traumas and collective memories are used to reinforce the division. According to Byrne (1999), 'religious beliefs are used to rationalize political claims on all sides' (p.233). Here is clear the manipulation of ethnicity, represented in this case within the dichotomies: Irish/British; Catholics/Protestants; Nationalists/Unionists; Republican/Loyalists. This 'instrumentalist' use of religion, culture and ethnicity, is addressed by Oberschall (2000). He suggests that ethnicity is manipulated by (political) leaders and intellectuals to forge some political agenda. In doing so, they implement the fear tactic, which comprehends to 'demonized and dehumanized' the potential 'enemy'. This fear, mainly of extinction and assimilation, increases when connected with historical grievances, consequently, the relations between groups can shift from normal to hostile.

Differently from the instrumentalism and constructivism aspect of ethnicities is the 'primordialistic'. According to Anderson (2008: 93), nationalisms take in consideration the 'primordialistic', natural and unchangeable aspect of

ethnicity, and therefore, reinforcing the unique existence of those 'two Traditions' in Northern Ireland and consequently ignoring the social construction of the ethnicity identities, and therefore changeable aspect in time and place, and its manipulation, especially among leaders.

The manipulation of ethnicity, especially the religious beliefs, contributed highly to trigger the 'Troubles', which is the most historical and institutionalised form to address the Northern Ireland's conflict. Within these two legitimized perspectives, Nationalists/Republican and Unionists/Loyalist, the outcome was a long legacy and reinforcement of division, hatred and fear among those groups, which triggered the Troubles in late 1960's. In 1968, as a response of the civil rights campaigns by the Catholics, the Northern Ireland state and paramilitaries groups from both sides, Loyalists and Republicans started violent actions. These violent campaigns among British army and paramilitaries groups represent The Troubles. It dates that within the Belfast "Good Friday" Agreement the Troubles ended, however, the struggle within those two groups remains.

Unionists believed that they must protect the union with UK and resist the threat of a united Ireland while Nationalists perceived the conflict as a struggle in favour of self-determination and integrity of the island of Ireland and at the same time as perceived grievances performed by the (Unionist) government, where successive unfair and uneven practices took place (Darby, 2003), such as voting, housing, schooling and employment rights (see also Storey, 2001:156). For Anderson (1996), these two groups, were divided by symbols, traditions, religion, education, political allegiances and historical memories. Most of their historical memories, especially presented through narratives (i.e. murals) are related to violent confrontation between the two communities since the sixteenth century and beliefs about the threat represented by the other community (p.52).

Particularly, the attempt to peace agreement was polarized within the Belfast Agreement (1998), which was based on consociational structures of government and society. This means, the Northern Ireland government would be based on power-sharing by proportional representation and inclusion and certain culture autonomy (Horowitz, 2002: 194), largely between the two groups – Unionist and Nationalist – as the basis for the power-sharing (Hughes, 2009: 289).

While the state response will be by accepting the two-community base and therefore the sectarian practices, it will strengthen the division and uneven relation. This, according to Anderson (1998) leads the state to promote management of sectarian conflict rather than conflict resolution (p. 204). This particular act serves to demonstrated, as Pringle (1996) argued:

“As long as local political socialization processes operate within segregated spaces, the net outcome is likely to be a perpetuation of distrust rather than the establishment of a common identity”(p. 394)

Additionally, Hayward (2004) stated that this divide is at all levels, from state to local institutions and even that this particular agreement was “ideologically, constitutionally and politically associated with unionism in Northern Ireland”(p.11-12). This means, that this agreement ensures the maintenance of the border, even the local borders and therefore prevails the opposite groups, its opposite goals, consequently, this agreement is reinforcing the divisions and discriminatory practices and violence.

3.3 Placing The Shankill-Falls

Shankill Road and Falls Road are the two main roads at the heart of the working-class territory at the Western part of Belfast, Northern Ireland. The Shankill Road is predominantly Protestant and it is the heartland of Loyalism in the city of Belfast. The Falls Road, in the other hand, is predominantly Catholic and it is renowned as the heartland of the Republicanism. In-between

these two roads, there is the internationally known peace wall from Belfast. Over a mile in length and forty foot high (Mitchell & Kelly, 2010:24), this divide is the physical and material border of these two groups – Republicans and Loyalists.

Here, The Shankill-Falls refers to the space/territory which includes the surrounds of the Shankill-Falls divide, specifically where the Peace Wall is. The focus is on the areas of low Falls Road, low and middle Shankill Road and its interconnection, which are represented by the peace wall and its security gates. This area is represented at *Figure 3*.

In Northern Ireland, cities remain separated or divided, even from ‘natural’ wall, such as the river in Derry or the peace wall in Belfast. In this way, the power sharing established with the Belfast Agreement did not remove or contained the difference and divisions on the local/micro level, such as the city and its neighborhoods. The Western part of Belfast has been the site of number of killings, bombing attacks, mainly during the Troubles and constantly intimidation remains, especially those considered by the disposition of flags, murals and parades. A testimony to this enduring relationship is observed in form of the Protestants ‘guettos’ and Catholics ‘guettos’, this is, by the sectarian territoriality, so well perceived in cities of Northern Ireland, especially in Belfast. Arguably, Boal (2008), affirmed that the segregation in Belfast is commonly referred to the residential segregation.

This segregation in Belfast is what Storey (2001) recognized as the best known example of territorial separation within urban areas. For him, the macro level territoriality has impacted at the local level, named as the sectarian neighborhoods in Belfast, especially at the western part of Belfast. The existence of ‘essentialized’ spaces, such as the Protestants and Catholics ‘guettos’, concomitantly, the Loyalist and Republican spaces are according to Storey (2001) an ethnic determinist that may readily mislead the conflict,

because not all Protestants are loyalists, and similarly not all Catholics are republicans (p.156-157).

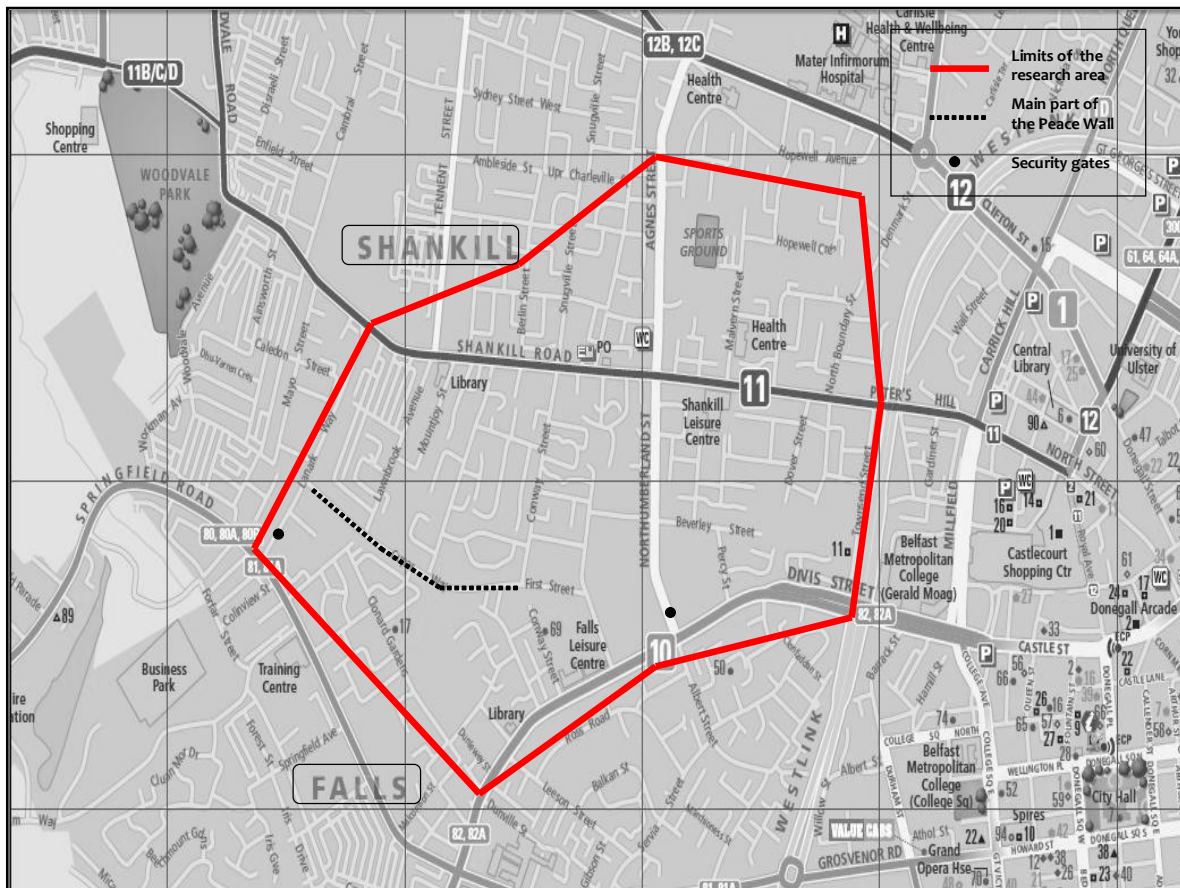


Figure 3: Map limiting the research area.

Despite the ghetto's formation, there is also the interfacing practice. According to Mitchell & Kelly (2010), interfacing constitutes vary of practices to "create and maintain lines of division between areas inhabited by groups engaged in conflict" (p.14). Examples of it could be the erecting of walls and other physical division (fences), and the marking of spaces with the paintings (images) in the murals, flags, emblems. Therefore, interfacing practice refers to a group of territorial strategies to demark and claim a specific territory/space, whether they are represented through material/physical expressions, such as a fence, wall, whether they are discursive practices. Interfacing, argued

Mitchell & Kelly (2010) are powerful (territorial) strategy, intended to separate divergent groups, perceived to be a source of conflict when are in contact (p.14), therefore a strategic practice to control and prevent future disturbances.

Segregated spaces and interfaces challenge initiatives of city planning, development and revitalization (see also Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006). In the other way, those processes frequently are not dealt in the negotiating agenda of peace and conflict management. For Newman (2008), those micro level of territoriality and segregation encourage separation, and this consequently contrasts from project of cooperation, development, and crossing-border practices, strongly defended and presented at the macro level, mainly at the political discourse.

Since the mid 1990's, Belfast become target by political leaders, to hold initiatives, promoted by the Belfast City Council and relevant departments and the European Union to forge securitization, but also revitalize spaces in the city, in order to create a shared and peaceful city for everyone. Programs, such as the Peace and Reconciliation (PEACE I, II, and III), and financed by the European Union, aim to encourage initiatives that will target social, economic and cultural challenges within Belfast (Mitchell & Kelly, 2010:5). The Shankill and The Falls, have been target of those initiatives and programs. According to Mitchell & Kelly (2010) among one is the initiative to rebrand those sites to be interest for tourism (p.24). According to Belfast City Council (2010), within the PEACE III Programme, the local action plan for Belfast aim to achieve, positively, important achievements around four key themes – security shared city space; transforming contested space; developing shared cultural space; and building shared organizational space (p.2).

Despite the attempts to reduce inequality; improve community relations and intergroup education, preservation and acceptance of cultural traditions -

especially Gaelic - and political accommodation; a new generations of grievances and problem emerged with and from those issues (Cairns & Darby, 1998: 759). Therefore, the divisions and struggle remain. Therefore, apart from the direct costs of the conflict, a prevailed outcome, inhibited, according the Belfast City Council (2010), "the development of the city as a modern European capital (p.2)". New shared areas were conceived especially the restored city centre and the innovated Titanic Quarter, yet some areas in Belfast remains contested and segregated, such as Short Strand in East Belfast and Shankill-Falls in West Belfast. Those areas are not only outcomes of social and economic deficits, which everywhere else in the Globalize world is subject of, but importantly, and much because of the past social, political, economical historical and geographical legacies, mainly related to The Troubles outcomes.



Figure 4: Hunger strike mural at Ardoyne, Belfast

During the taxi tour, the tour guide stopped in front of this monument in Ardoyne. He talked about Orange Order. In some point of his statement, he announced that he is Protestant, and because of it, he is embarrassed by the atrocities committed by the Orangemen. Few minutes later, back in our track, I asked him:

- *So, you said that you are Protestant, are you?*
- *Hell no!*
- *...*
- *Ow, you mean because of that!? I just said that, because if I didn't I'll sound biased.*
- *...*

4. Findings



The polarization of the conflict in Northern Ireland and its attempt to resolve it by consolidating a border contributed to reinforce difference, instead of solving it, because ethnical heterogeneous space especially intermingled as Northern Ireland, will produce and reinforce in local scale the divisions of “US” and “THEM”, instead of creating one common identity. For Anderson (1996), the division between the groups – Ulster Protestant and the Catholic Republicans has been described as a ‘cultural divide’, especially because of the language and religious combination (p.45).

The current context in N-Ireland can be identified as ‘not-war-not-peace’, a term presented by Sluka (2009). According to him, the peace process endures from the last fifteen years and still is not fully and successfully complete, especially because of the (1) refuse of the unionist paramilitaries to disarm; (2) existence of armed struggle despite the disarmament of former I.R.A; (3) remained perceived grievances; and (4) promotion of sectarian and provocative parades and rioting. Sluka (2009) believes that the parties will only engage in a successful peace process when it accommodates their own terms, and this contribute to mutual mistrust and fear, therefore, they mutually engage in an exclusive political aspirations (pp. 282).

For Storey (2001), territorial strategies play an important part in the on-going the Northern Ireland contexts, whether those strategies are the deployment of flags, painting in murals and parades. They symbolises rejection at the same time they demark a ‘bounded territory’ from a specific group, that share identities and territory. Agreeing with Storey (2010), those symbols become “important signifiers of territorial desires (p.101)”. He also compares international border and territorial markers with these local and micro signifiers. They represent and indicate exclusive location of a specific group,

such as the segregated residential areas (ibid, p.158). As territoriality can be seen at micro-levels, those micro levels territorial strategies are deployed to claim the control or the supremacy over a specific territory.

The main question of this dissertation is – do the discourses delivered and legitimized in the city tours reinforce the division between the groups at the Shankill-Falls. First, it is need at this stage to acknowledge discourses as narratives (language and images) and practices. Second, that the process of delivering and legitimizing embedded that those discourses are being repeated, performed and temporary fixed. Thus, these discourses become hegemonic. Third, the division is both – symbolic and material. Finally, these city tours become hegemonic discourses, because they are both the means and outcome of those social processes of signification and articulation of meanings.

Following this argumentation, I shall examine and describe the hegemonic discourses presented by and during the city tours. Here, my focus is on the discourses reproduction in the routes taken, the description of the wall and what kind of murals was chosen to be presented.

4.1 Tours

The importance of tourism as a commodity used to promote future development relies on four things. First, tourism are seen (or perceived) to be the main form of (corporeal) mobility (McNeill, 2004:129). Second, Tourism is a common first-hand representation for acknowledge information and knowledge over other places and their inhabitants, and their history, culture, and so on (McNeill, 2004:4). That information can be, at first, acquired when reading or looking to an advertised poster, in so doing it, “the impressions of other places will have been significantly mediated by the tourism industry (Sharp, 2009:94). Third, tourism is inherently spatial (McNeill, 2004:130). Finally, it is arguably that tourism is the most important “mediation of

otherness in terms of or sense of experience of difference" (ibid, p.94). According to Sharp (2009), when an individual experience to travel, he/she will be in directly contact and exposure to difference (p.95).

Through tourism, the city is made attractive to the tourist, and consequently, process of reduction and simplification are deployed to make accessible the places and its histories. Moreover, McNeill (2004) has argued that:

"(...) the positive images projected by civic boosters and the advertising firms they hire amount to a coaching process: advertisements and tourist articles interpret a city's essence, its history and culture, and tell the tourist what to do, even what to feel. Tourist images invariably invoke a romanticized, nostalgic sense of history and culture (p.95)."

Belfast touristic sector development, during 2009, has received 9.3 million visits, and the total amount of money injected into the local economy by visitors in 2009 was £451 million (Belfast Tourism Facts and Figures 2009). Belfast intends to uncover its marvelous place, history and culture in order to become one of the top destinations, at least in Europe, whether being business, ecological and/or historical tourism. As the tourism industry is increasing and developing, it is to expect that part of Belfast development and the city imagery will come from the tourism. Bus tours are easily considered by the tourist because, it is commode quickly, while tourist opting for a more in-depth tour is advised to take or the taxi or the walking tour.

Here, city tour is considered to permit tourist to experience the city's history, aesthetics, struggles and movement. City tour can be seen also as a performatic means of understand and gather information from the city's processes, because each of tour brings and reproduce their own system of languages and images. Hence, city tour is legitimized and regulated forms of the city's knowledge and it is the performatic practice of the city's knowledge.

It is also subject of change, because city tour is constitutive of discourses that are manipulated by groups, and those discourses are dynamic constructs.

Acknowledging that city tours are forms of legitimized and regulated knowledge, whether through the city tour's company, the locals and/or the local government, it is through tourism that the territorial narratives and practices are reproduced and performed. Moreover, it is through the city tour's discourses, which is the sites visited, pointed, and the history, names and facts told, that hegemonic discourses over the territory of study, The Shankill-Falls, are legitimized. Consequently, these hegemonic discursive and material division, are remembered, reinforced and reproduced.

4.1.1 Routes

Why routes are important? Here, routes can give a better picture of what kind pathways were taken during the city tours. Through these different pathways we can perceive that different ways were taken, yet the quite same places, monuments and murals were presented.

Analyzing and comparing the routes maps, we can first perceive that also through them territorial differentiation are being placed, performed and reinforced. This is because, the bus tour is considered more neutral tour in comparison to the others, and therefore, it is perceived that, inside of the research area, the bus tour contoured mostly, all the important and legitimized places (*see Figure 5*). In other way, it is clear the constraints faced when taken the walking tours, because each of the tours guide remained in their specific territory/side (*see Figure 7 and 8*). There is no potential crossing, even in a touristic pathway. In the taxi tour, the focus delivered by the taxi driver was on the (peace) wall, and therefore, the legitimized itinerary become not so mobile than the others, because trying to follow the points on the physical border (interfaces/walls), challenges the mobility, especially when using auto (*see Figure 6*). Those separated and barred streets between both

sides, decreases the flux mobility from one side to the other, and consequently, drivers are constrained to take small route options, such as through security gates. Those gates also serve to regulate the transit (walking or in auto) from one side to the other.

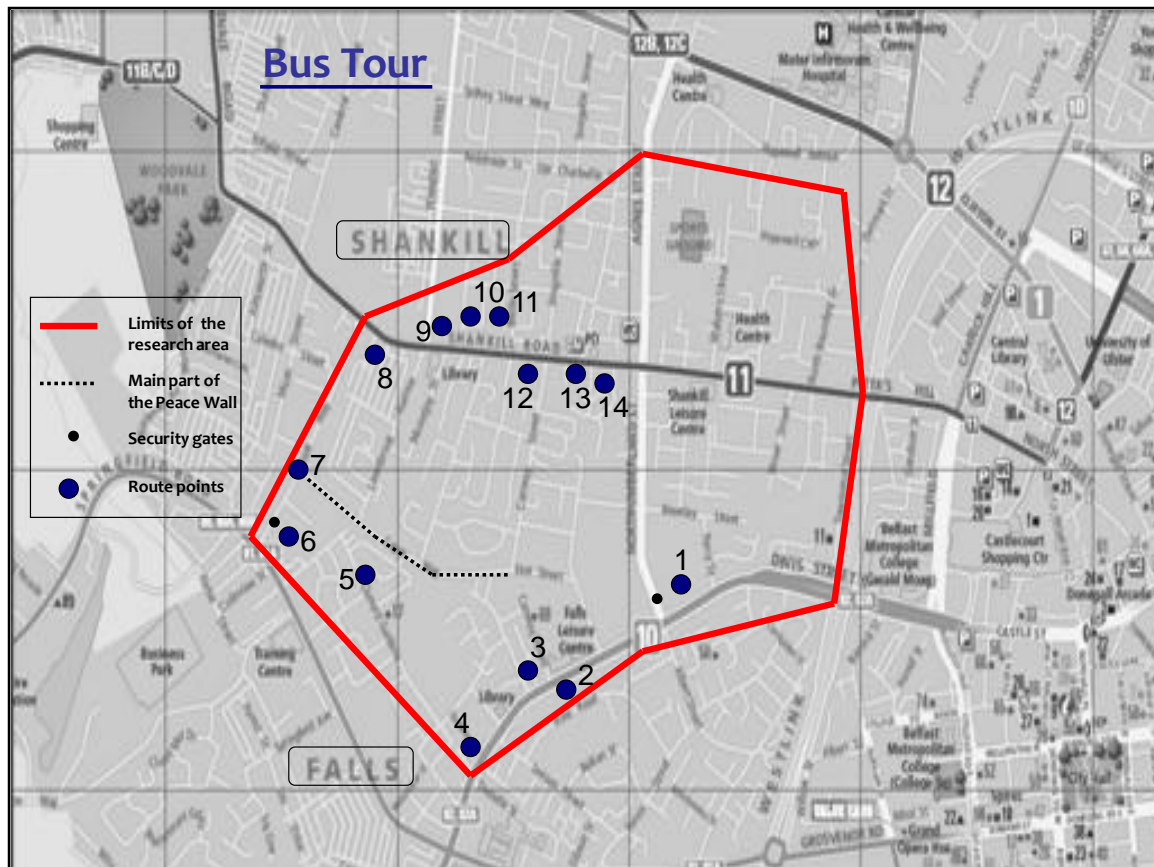


Figure 5: Route map from the bus tour

Moreover, through the analysis acquired by the routes maps some specific places are being, repetitively, considered from majority of the tours. Places such International Wall at The Falls (see pp.62), Sinn Féin headquarters, Bombay Street, Glasgow Rangers club, Bayardo monument, the place where occurred the Shankill bombing (the previous Fish Shop) and the remembrance gardens from each side, demonstrated types of sites that reinforce history, identity, and past traumas and overcoming, as well as constant remembering. According to Purbrick (2007), those sites are named as sites of conflict and for

her they become potent representations. Additionally, “the relationships between places and histories, between spaces and memories (...) are evident and powerfully” (p.2) at sites of conflict.

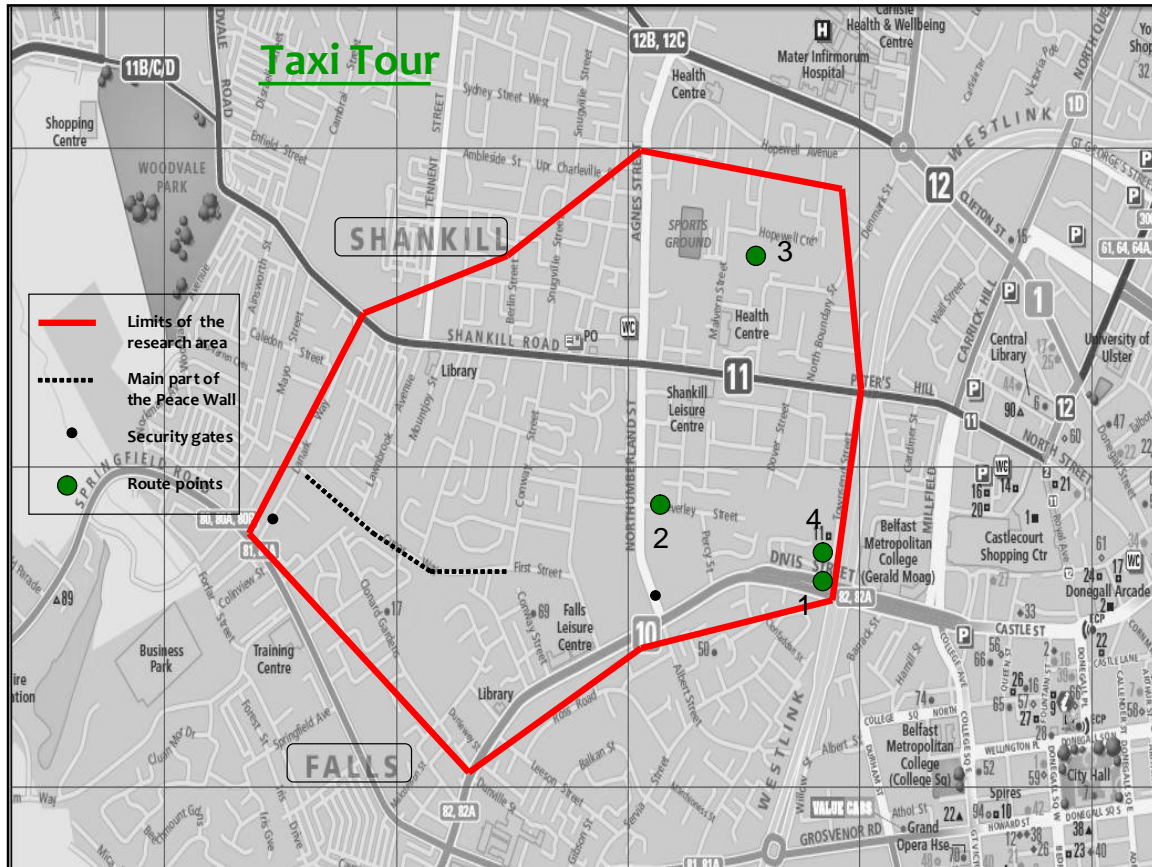


Figure 6: Route map from the taxi tour

At the Falls Road, the Sinn Féin headquarters not only represent the political stream of Republicans, and therefore their institutionalized political power, but also serves to display memorial plaques (*see Figure 9*), remembering fellow Republicans, who were killed by R.U.C (Royal Ulster Constabulary) and other loyalist paramilitaries. Bombay Street (*see Figure 10*) has a considered importance within the Troubles and Republican history. The street, during the Belfast Riots in 1969 was burned down by loyalists, considered both by the bus and walking tour (The Falls side) terrorists. Even though, as stressed by the tour guide at the falls side, the people manage to rebuild the houses. This

historical revive is remembered and maintained through the Bombay Street memorial and represented in the slogan: “Never again”.

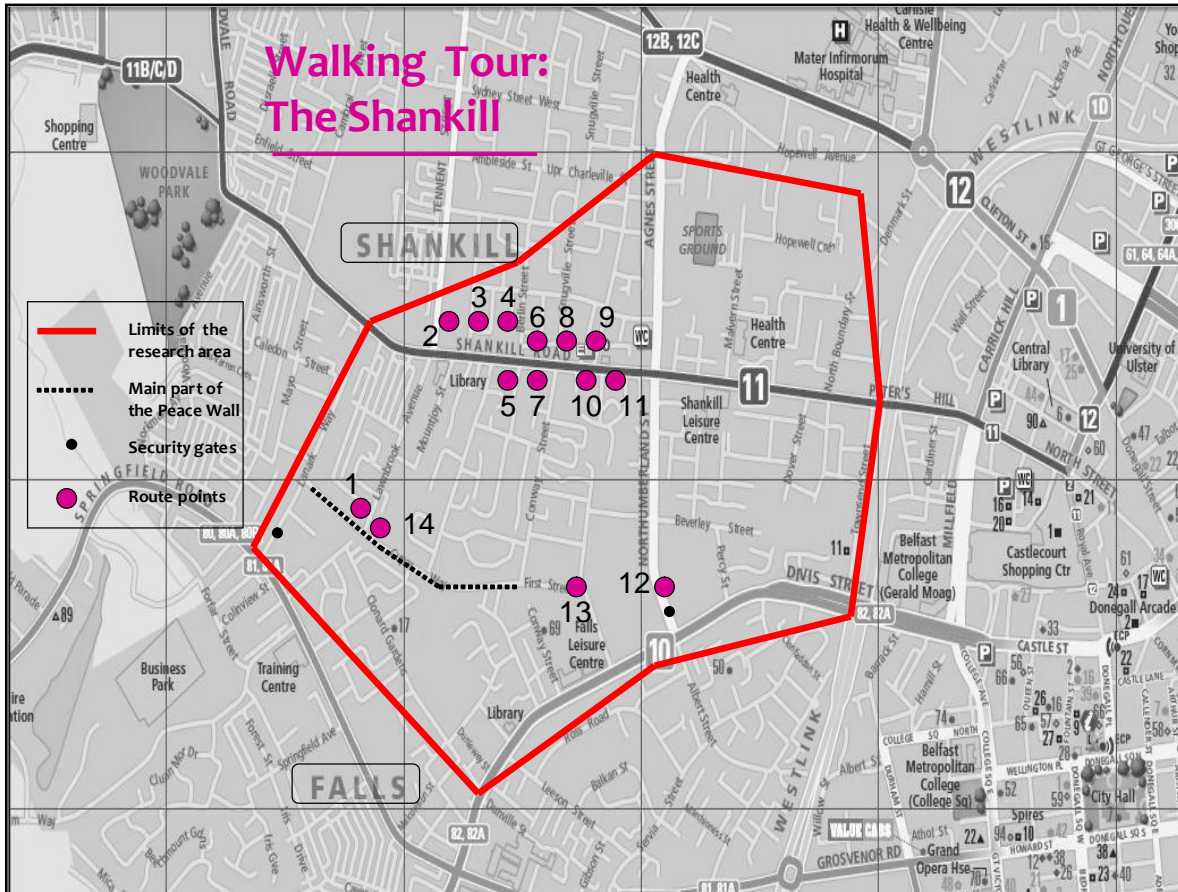


Figure 7: Route map from the walking tour at The Shankill

At the Shankill Road, Bayardo Monument (see Figure 11) and the plaque at the Court Credit Union - former Fish Shop site, (see Figure 12) are representations of the common struggles, suffering and consequently fear from the Protestants/Loyalist over the Republicans. These two sites signify the place where Republicans, sometimes referred as from the Ireland Republican Army (I.R.A). In October 1993, at the first floor in the former Fish Shop, according to the bus guide, a meeting from the U.V.F (Ulster Volunteer Force) took place and the I.R.A tried to plant a bomb, however the bomb exploded, prematurely, killing 9 civilians and one of the bombers. This bombing is recognized as the Shankill Bomb. For the Shankill guide, this event only made

The Shankill grown more apart from The Falls, especially because, the Sinn Féin Leader, Gerry Adams carried the bomber's coffin during the burial. In August 1975, occurred Bayardo's bombing and gun attack, which killed five people.

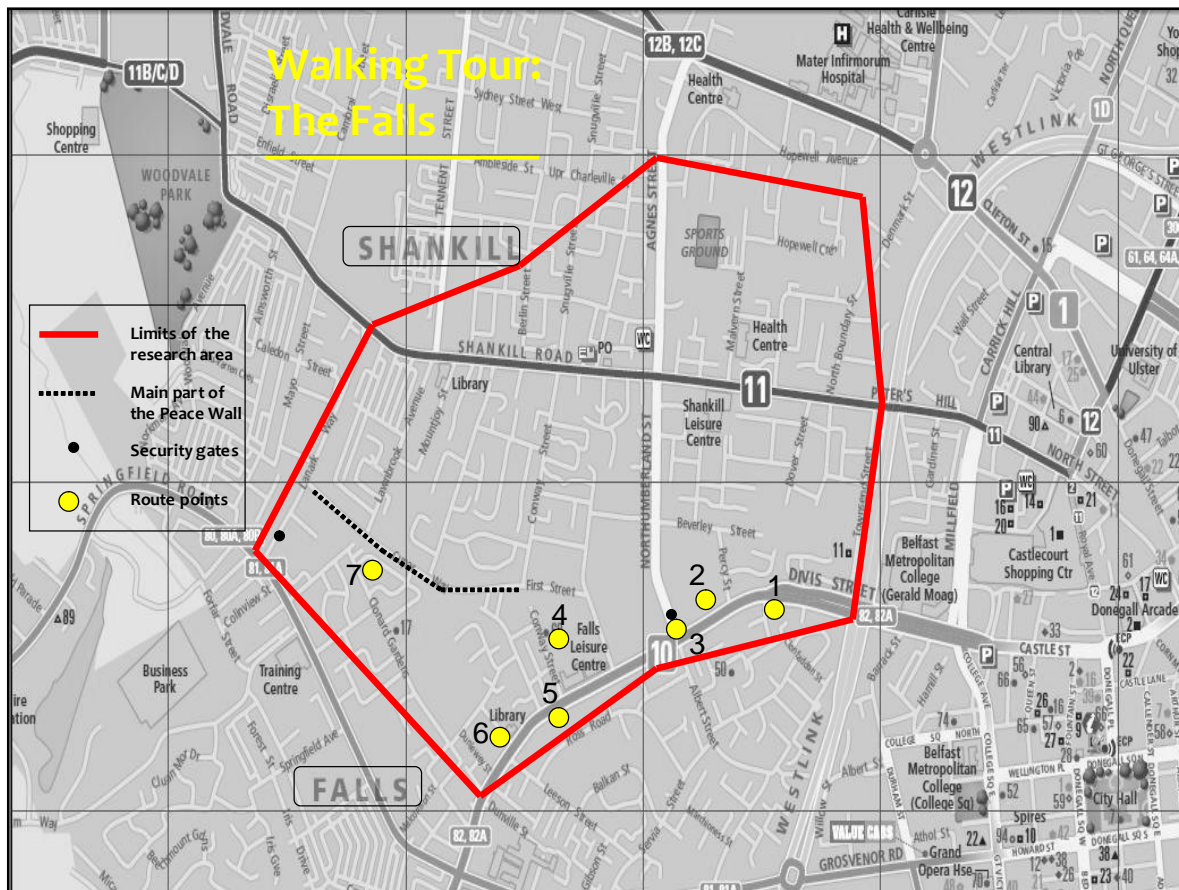


Figure 8: Route map from the walking tour at The Falls



Figure 9: Plaques displayed at the Sinn Féin's Headquarter, The Falls

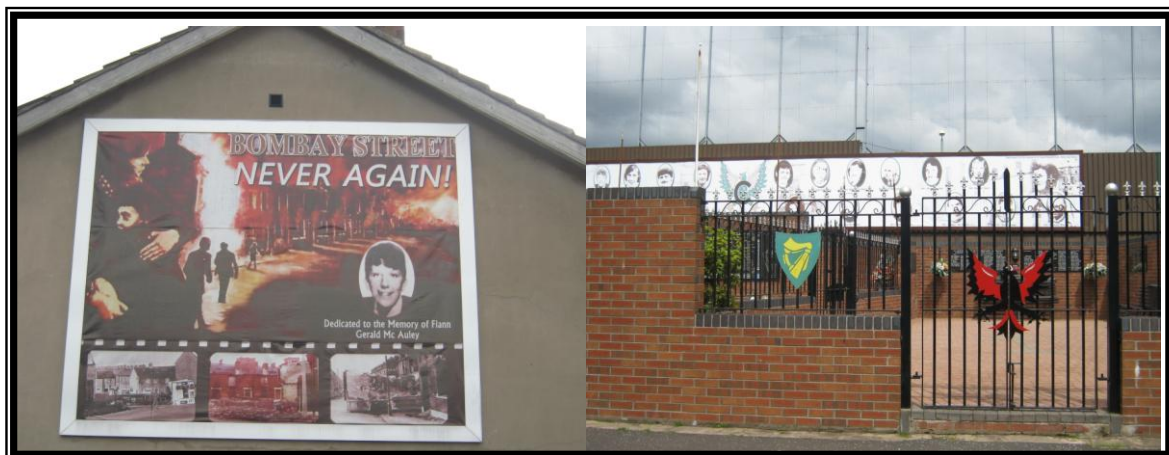


Figure 10: Bombay Street's Slogan and Memorial.



Figure 11: Bombay Street's Slogan and Memorial.

While Sinn Féin Headquarters is an expression of the political and cultural identity of the Republicans, the Glasgow Rangers Club is a representation of the Ulster Loyalist identity. It tries to make a mention to the Ulster Scottish tradition, especially because this soccer team is from Scotland and second moves away from the Gaelic games tradition, which connects to the Republicans. This has to do with, the fact that Ulster protestants, according to Pringle (1985), were unified by the mutual cultural exclusion from the Irish Nationalists (p.213). For him, the Ulster protestants need internal unity, due to perceived fear from the Irish Nationalists, and therefore, they start to emphasize the similarities among different Ulster protestants.

All these places together produce and reinforce each side identity, hence, produce also each sides counter narratives, shaped through the differentiation. Thus, they produce the bounding sense while produce the division among the two groups, because one group relies on specific parts of the history and events, while the other relies in distinctive ones.

Following this argument, we can affirm that those places are being hegemonic presented by the city tours discourses, while are being reproduced by peoples narratives, such as keeping alive the messages displayed in those and about those places and practices by visiting and maintaining those places.



Figure 12: Fish Shop's plaque

It was arguable, that it is primarily through daily practices of narratives and action that these spaces are reinforced and re-produced. Thus, through the daily narratives and practices implemented and legitimized through the tour by the tour guides, but also by the hundreds of tourists that take the tour. The selection and repetition of those places in the itinerary of such different types of tour, implies that those places are in some extended considered to be superior and therefore, they are the one, the chosen to represent and inform each side history, struggle and identity.

These distinctive elements may have similar roots or reasoning, however they remain to reinforce one side over the other. An example is that, gardens of remembrances (*see Figure 13*) are routed in most of the tours, being neglect only by the taxi tour. Those gardens are both maintained by local population and serve to remember the victims and people that died in combat.

The distinction here is made when they determine and connected these garden to their own history, a history that reinforce suffer and victimization. This is, while at The Lower Falls the garden refers to the victims and the I.R.A volunteers killed or by British troops or by Loyalists paramilitaries during the Troubles; The Shankill garden remains rooted in the bravery history of those who lives served the Ulster Division during the World War I. In this way, people, events and places are also essential to investigate and explain territorial processes.

These processes are not in one-way, this means, human behaviour (re-) constructs territories, which results in the creation of new spatial realities and socio-spatial landscapes, while territories and their processes impact and (re-) shape human life and consequently, human behaviour and, so on. As showed, territorial processes, especially of the creation of bounded and temporary fixed territory are constitutive of the identity formation. Thus, those places are and belong to their identity and the reasoning behind it, and may constitute in cases of ethno polarized and segregated spaces, a challenge to change or overcome it.

Here, we also can see the display of flags at both memorial gardens. Flags are also expression of political and cultural identity. According to Bryan et al (2010), in Northern Ireland the use of flags is directly connected to express legitimate identity and to demarcate territory. Therefore, the display of flags is also a territorial strategy, the same way as memorials, murals and walls.



Interestingly, the bus tour and The Falls walking tour have mentioned the displayed flags, especially at the Republican Memorial Garden. According to these guides, the colour of the Irish flag represent both sides, Orange represent the Protestant/Loyalist; Green represent Catholic/Republican; and the white is, optimistically, represented by the desired peace between these two groups. For the bus guide, he exclaims over this endeavor as: “Well, we’re working on that”.

4.1.2 Description over the Peace Wall

The most interesting and polarizing aspect here, is that the peace wall (*see Figure 14*) is acknowledged by all the tours. Not only because it is the only common place among them, but also because, overall, all the tour guides when describing the tours inscribed that it creates division, especially by binaries meanings.

This is, generally, the tours presented that the parts involved and divided by the peace wall are in their words:

“This side is 100% Loyalist, the other is 100% republican” (bus tour); “This side is Catholic/Republican and there is Protestant/Loyalist” (taxi tour); “Separates here from there” (Walking tour at The Shankill) and “The wall divide both communities from The Falls and The Shankill” (Walking tour at The Falls).

The territory where people lives is constantly exposed and (re-)produced via discourses, which are (re-)produced by locals and its events, history and identities. Those elements contribute to (re-) produce spaces of differentiation among people, especially, because discourse create opposing terms to describe places, people and other phenomenon, and placed them opposed through language (Kirby, 1996:2). In this way, this (peace) wall and its

discourses reinforce and reproduce the on-going divisions and meanings, and in turn are reinforced by this process. This is also, because if border and boundary are socially constructed and contested by people in their daily lives, they reflect issues related to power relationships, based on ethnicity and/or class, and they are constituted and constituents of discursive narratives and practices. According to the power relations, border and boundary are used to control, in some circumstances, territory and people.

Through those distinctive effects on the groups' identities, materialized in contradictory characteristics, the peace wall, become contested, because while people may feel safe, it also creates other fears. Generally, barrier is seen as controlling mechanism (Jarman, 2008: 24), when separates along ethnic lines may contribute to segregate the parties and provoke more grievances. "Peace lines", officially, would contribute to provide security, even though; they also maintain fear, tensions and divisions, consequently, delimited territory of exclusion, segregation and divides, reinforcing the conflict among the groups. Border, boundaries and its physical variations, such as walls and fences, are constructs which serve, primarily, to separate groups and individuals, and according to Newman (2006) it may provide a feeling of safety. Yet, these may contribute to see the other as invisible; therefore, this creates ignorance and may in turn create others forms of fear (Newman, 2006: 25).

Storey (2001) has stressed that formalizing border and boundaries can lead to significant differences among the opposite groups. This is, mainly, because, people may forge distinctive attitudes towards the border. Further, those groups may acknowledge the border and boundaries in different ways and perspective, and therefore, becoming more complex the way to investigate their natures and outcomes, as well as potential solutions.

For the taxi tour, which emphasized on the peace wall, the guide argued that while British and other call it peace wall, he prefers to refer as Belfast Berlin

Wall. This is, mainly, because, the wall is not peaceful at all. It brings division among people but not peace. Here, we can reason that his way of thinking and explain is connected to the ideologies and hegemonic discourses defended by the republican. The same is perceived with the walking tour guide from The Falls, which is an ex-prisoner. He believed that the wall was raised and created to bring them together, by contending the insecurity, however, it effectively, separate them, and do not speak of peace.

Here, their group identity - Republicans, and their shared narratives are present. This is, when the British troop came to pacify, during the Troubles, the republicans at first believed that they would help them, turned out to be the opposite. The British troop raised, in 1969, the peace wall and the main target was to control and suppress the Falls Road groups, especially the republican paramilitaries. In turn, the wall symbolizes also mistrust processes. According to Diener and Hagen (2010) those spaces remain a frontier of mutual suspicious, mistrust of the other and consequently reinforce the desire to maintain group or national exclusivity in one place (p.10).

On the other hand more positivistic and emotional attitudes were also shared. Starting with the positivistic expression from the bus guide, that while Peace wall would may give the idea that Catholics and Protestant do not speak to each other all over Belfast, he believes that this is not the case at all, especially because he also believe that a "vast majority are too glad to accommodate one another". The emotional expression over the peace wall came from the tour guide from The Shankill tour. He states that: "This wall here represents Shankill's victory". Therefore, for the Shankill side, the wall would be a symbol of pride.

"Peace lines" attempt to bear the differences; however, they also reinforce the division by institutionalizing affiliation of one side or the other, reinforced the divisions and perpetuated the discriminatory practices. Therewith,

reconciliation and integration policies and actions, according to Anderson (2008), legitimize the territorial configuration and (ethnic) identity fixation, therefore, reinforce and confirm the divisions, rather challenge them (pp.101).



Figure 14: Peace wall sides at Cepar Street

Through this fixation, whether temporary or not, people tend to find the place 'natural'. The walking tour guide from The Shankill affirmed that this interface, as he nominated is 'just' a wall. He grew up with it, and therefore it is nothing out of normal or to be contested.

Other effect of this division and also the differentiation process is that the border can be perpetuated discriminatory practices. This is clear, when the taxi guide, call our attention to the signs through the security gate at the beginning of the peace wall, at the Townsend Street. At the Falls road side, the sign state 'Pedestrian exit', while at the Shankill Road's side, it says 'Pedestrians entrance'. For this guide, this does not speak equality or justice. Thus, the border reinforces practices and narratives of inequality, from one side towards the other, which make more challenge towards solution, and hence, reproduce on-going divisions.

4.1.3 Murals

Territorial strategies are used and deployed by individuals or groups in order to attain or maintain control; hence, they are the means through which power is maintained or contested. Naming streets, the painting of murals, erecting of border, walls and fences, the displacement of flags, symbolic parades are ways of deploying territorial strategies. Storey (2001) states that territorial strategies may, in many ways, be used to attain not just control but broader political goals (p.96). They can serve either to resistance to a particular space/territory or reinforce a sense of bounded space.

The tradition of political murals in N-Ireland began as a supportive weapon that legitimate unionists values, histories and memories. After the 70's, murals become also widely used by Nationalists and its slogans (Davies, 2001: 156). Political murals are a remembering process, in which the conflict and its dimensions are being reinforced. It also institutionalizes and delimits the territory of each community.

Analyzing the bus and walking tours, the common Loyalist images at the *Figure 15*, represents the historic images and events crucial to the Loyalist identity. And when displayed as murals, where everyday it is possible to look

and also presented through the tours, it becomes a hegemonic positioning of the Loyalist memories and suffer. One image invokes the bravery of the Ulster Volunteer Force, specially the C. Company. While the other invoke to remember the atrocities committed by republican paramilitaries groups.



Figure 15: Legitimized murals at The Shankill.

Both, images and its narratives reinforce one point of view, legitimized and made as exclusive and superior from the Loyalists. This point of view is that they are superior groups, formed by brave and strong people that served to they country, to their nation, the Great Britain, and that they have been massacred by the terrible actions perpetuated by the 'other'. While, the common Republican images at the *Figure 16*, reinforce republican narratives of inequality and oppression imposed by the British government. They represent and illustrate important republican, considered heroes and refer to the group struggles for civil and political rights.

Importantly, the murals on top in the *Figure 16*, represent the republican dead overdue the Hunger Strike, during the 1980's and which was internationally coverage by the media. These twelve men, which undertook the Hunger Strike were heroes and represent a great valor to the republican cause, especially when clamming for political rights in the Maze Prison. In between these men, highlights Bobby Sands, the leader of Hunger Strike and the first elected Republican to become a member of the United Kingdom Parliament.



Figure 16: Legitimized murals at The Falls

The International Wall, or Solidarity wall, recognized internationally and became one of the touristic places in Belfast. This wall not only represents the Republican and Gaelic identity's struggles and memories, but also refers to other, foreigner struggles, such as Palestine, Cuba and Basque Country (see also Store, 2001:158). According to the walking tour guide, this is symbolic dimension, representing a larger political context, where the Republicans established alliances with those other movements of contestation and independence. This wall is also, a materialize dimension of the symbolic level, because, if we consider wall and borders, socially constructed, this wall according to the walking tour guide of The Falls, it is a 'live wall'. It changes from time to time, and it incorporates the on-going struggles and political agenda. It is this feature that Storey (2001) stated that those historical images are designed to make 'contemporary political statements'.

Following this reasoning, the murals presented by the taxi tour are confined in a space between the Shankill Parade and Hopewell Crescent. There, several loyalist murals are deployed. There is a longer history of mural painting in loyalist areas. Indeed, it has been argued that such painting was instrumental in the 'construction' of 'protestant areas'. In recent years, it has been observed that Republican murals tend to adopt a more cultural form, shifting from the militaristic way. While Loyalist murals remain and appeal more to a militaristic set of images of gunmen, weapons and a continued assertion of 'Ulster' defense (Storey, 2001:158).

Even though the selection made in the tour, bring together the historical, militaristic and contemporary themes. This can be confirmed by observing the *Figure 17*. There you can see the historical mural, reinforcing and reproducing the common background and identity, sharing the historical event of the Battle of Boyne in 1690. This event is not only represented through murals, but also plays a crucial role in the Orange Parades. Those marches are considered the demonstration of what these Orangemen believe to be, the

supremacy from a royal protestant Dutchmen, William of Orange, over the catholic king James II, and therefore, these still implies nowadays. This



Figure 17: Legitimized murals at the taxi tour

historical event is also a demonstration of how identities and history are manipulated to each group making sense. The militaristic mural represents the loyalist gunmen, reinforcing the statement of the paramilitaries organizations and their motivations, and the contemporary mural is one of the

attempts in create more neutral and peaceful, especially, because that area is near a school. The idea is politically correct, by emphasizing expressions of solidarity, peace and sharing, among kids and youth, referred as the future generation.



Figure 13: Security gates through Northumberland St.

At the 'no-man land', space in-between the security gates and a neutral place where nobody can claim control, at the Northumberland street, in the Peace Wall, I have questioned the walking tour guides to cross from their side into the 'no-man lands'. Both couldn't do it and, even not explain why.

(At the Shankill side)

- Hey, come over here. (I was at the 'no-man land')
- No, I'm not going.
- Why?
- I can't.
- But, why?
- ...

(At the Falls side)

- Hey, let cross here?
- No, I just cross from one side-walk to the other.
- Why?
- Because is.
- But, why?
- ...

5. Conclusion



So far, in the contemporary Globalized world, processes of deterritorialization and borderless world are in vogue and the macro-level of spaces, territories are central when discussing state formation, nationalism and relation among states. Nevertheless, border and bordering are still important, especially into localized level, this means, within state. Borders and boundaries are essential territorial manifestations and contribute to territorial demarcation. Territoriality implies the type of human territorial behaviour and strategies deployed to claim, control and defend a space, primarily, through the impositions of boundaries. Border and boundary are socially constructed and contested by people in their daily lives, they reflect issues related to power relationships, based on ethnicity and/or class, and they are constituted and constituents of discursive narratives and practices.

Critical geopolitics approaches are connected to the key concepts studied on this dissertation – territory, border, discourse. This approach emphasizes the crucial role of the discourses for the construction and re-production of spaces and territories, in a global or local scale. This perspective is important, specially, because recognizes that the world politics and its processes are mere discursive construction, that can change and be re-produced over time, and represent, primarily, the struggles over management, control, differentiation and mastery of a space/territory, their representations and b/ordering processes within and by State, groups and individuals in the contemporary global space.

Using Laclau and Mouffe's discursive approach, social space is engaged in the process of creating and temporary fixing meanings (p.329). It is through processes of regulation and repetition of the discourses, that uneven and empowered differences, identities, narratives and practices are made to

appear natural. Those (imaginative) narratives are the (internal) national stories, through events (Battle of Boyne and Hunger Strike), images (wall and murals), sites (garden of remembrance) and facts, produce and reproduce a sense of nationhood, 'natural bounded' local groups and individual, and identity. The (social) practices, but in some extend, political studied refers to the city tours within that region, whether it is by bus, taxi and/or walking.

For this we must, first, acknowledge the tourism discourses as narratives (language and images) and practices. Second that the process of delivering and legitimizing those discourses are being repeated, performed and temporary fixed, and consequently, through these processes discourses become hegemonic. Third, the division is both – symbolic and material. Finally, these city tours become hegemonic discourses, because they are both the means and outcome of those social processes of signification and articulation of meanings. Thereby, tourism is forms of legitimized and regulated knowledge, whether through the city tour's company, the locals and/or the local government, it is through tourism that the territorial narratives and practices are reproduced and performed. Moreover, it is through the city tour's discourses, which is the sites visited, pointed, and the history, names and facts told, that hegemonic discourses over the territory of study, the Shankill-Falls space, are been made and legitimized. Consequently, these hegemonic discursive and material division, are remembered, reinforced and reproduced.

Nevertheless, the main challenge here was to understand and cope with two hegemonic discourses, manipulated by the two main groups, the Loyalists and Republicans. In order to investigate how the tours may become essential actors in reinforcing the on-going (territorial) dispute, while attempt to uncover Belfast history to the tourists, I have undertaken three tours - a bus, taxi and a walking tour – throughout the chosen site of investigation, which is the borderland of Shankill-Falls divide in West Belfast. Following this

argumentation, I attempted to examine and describe the hegemonic discourses presented by and during the city tours.

Here, my focus was on the routes taken, the description of the wall and what kind of murals that were chosen to be presented by the guides. Murals, peace wall and sites in routes are the production and reproduction of the groups' identity, differences and it is through the discourses in tour, this is, the touring discourses that those narratives and practices, were one more time, legitimized, performed, represented, reinforced, contested and reproduced. All these processes account to reproduce and reinforce divisions, both – symbolic and material, being they borders, narratives or images (murals). Especially in divides rooted in colonial legacy, and naturalized identities and stereotypes.

Thus, through the tours, we could acknowledge and investigated the routes, description of the peace wall and the murals, elements recognized to support and are territorial strategies, in order to border, materially and symbolically, their own sides in the material divide at Shankill-Falls. Shankill Road and Falls Road are the two main roads at the heart of the working-class territory at the Western part of Belfast, Northern Ireland. This location is recognized by the highly level of segregated practices and narratives. Moreover, we considered their dynamic characteristic, and yet, we also recognize that through discourses superiority, we must account the performativity, which refers to the temporary fixing of categories and meaning, and consequently, from where hegemonic discourses are created.

Further discussion on securitization, revitalization, and (economic) development must address both – symbolic and tangible characteristics. Political leaders largely ignore that in Shankill-Falls border (land), symbolic features are the central part of their public discourses, and therefore, political leaders must negotiate, primarily, over those factors. I hope scholars,

researchers, governmental and NGO's personnel, and particularly, the political leaders, will be aware that the division is reinforced through the regulated and institutionalized city tours, and to stimulate them to seek for ways to overcome or decrease this division's polarization.

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