Is a fence the best defence?

A comparative case-study on the influence of the peace lines on the sense of place and identity of residents in West-Belfast

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Pictures on the front page are taken by the author on Falls Road and Shankill Road in Belfast, May 2016

II.   Summary

Belfast is not an ordinary city. In this city, Protestants and Catholics have been living separated for centuries and have been in conflict for years. Protestants, also referred to as loyalists, consider themselves British and feel part of the United Kingdom. Catholics, also named nationalists, feel Irish and want to be a part of the Republic of Ireland. In 1969, a violent period called The Troubles started. During these next thirty years of violence and disruptions between the loyalists, nationalists and the British army, the building of the peace walls started. These barriers were created to remain control during The Troubles and to keep the fighting groups apart. Although official peace was established in 1998 by the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement, the peace lines have not come down. On the contrary, the amount of peace lines has increased after 1998, to almost 100 structures in 2016. The peace lines differ in looks. Some are meters high steel fences, others are brick walls attached to homes. Besides built structures, communities are bordered by smaller signs like a flag or an abbreviation on the streets. On the peace lines and on walls of buildings through Belfast, murals are painted. Sometimes these murals tell stories of the past of Belfast, like the story of the building of the Titanic, but more often these murals tell political stories. Areas where these politically loaded murals can be found are nationalist Falls Road and loyalist Shankill Road. Located in the west of Belfast, these two communities are placed next to each other but could not be more different in ideas and beliefs. Shankill Road is the heart of loyalism, whilst Falls Road is home to many nationalists. These areas are divided by the biggest peace wall of Belfast.

Because there has been almost twenty years of official peace, the Northern Ireland government proposed a strategy that aims to move Northern Ireland away from the conflict and into a united society. This Together: Building a United Community-strategy (TBUC), adapted in 2013, aims to remove all the peace lines in 2023. Research of Byrne et al. (2012, 2015) on the attitudes towards peace lines shows that less and less people want the peace lines to come down. Since the sectarian areas of Shankill Road and Falls Road are divided by a peace line, this research focuses on the attitudes towards the peace lines and the effects it can have on the sense of place of residents of West-Belfast. The research objective is therefore as follows:

The aim of this research is to understand the effect of the peace lines in West-Belfast on the identity and sense of place on its populations and, with this knowledge, to formulate recommendations for the implementation of the Together Building a United Community-policy on the removal of the peace lines in Belfast.

Translating this into a research question: *What is the effect of the presence of the peace lines on the identity and sense of place of the population in West-Belfast, and how would the removal of the peace lines influence the sense of place of the population in West-Belfast?*

In order to answer this main question, the current situation regarding the conflict in West-Belfast is researched, as well as the effect of the peace lines on identity and sense of place of the West-Belfast population. Furthermore the opinions towards the removal of the peace lines will be analysed.

To answer the main question and sub questions on of this research, two theories are used. The first theory is Bourdieu's theory on Habitus and Fields. This theory focuses on the phenomenon of social inequalities, why they are reproduced over time and why these inequalities are accepted by the lower classes. The second theory of Yi-Fu Tuan explains how the concepts of space and place are interlinked and how they influence the perceptions and feelings of identity of people.

The research is an in-depth qualitative empirical research in which a case-study design will be used to gather information. The data is gathered through standardized open-ended face-to-face interviews. Four interviews have provided data that are used to answer the research question.

Peace lines shape the identity of people because of the place identity. Feelings of belonging and knowing who you are, are attached to physical spaces in Belfast. Peace lines create massive mental barriers for people. The peace lines show who is in and who is out. Interview data show that people label themselves and others through the labels of Catholic and Protestant. These strong feelings of identity can also be found in the notion of sense of place. There is a very strong sense of place in West-Belfast. The Falls Road and Shankill Road are hard-core communities where either loyalism or nationalism is still very present. This influences the sense of place, habitus and identity. The peace lines reinforce the habitus and therefore the sense of place. Place is perceived in a different matter when the barriers are made so clear instead of more vague mental barriers. The habitus and sense of place influence the segregation, with the peace lines as visible and physical result.

Interview and survey data show that there is little support for the removal of the peace lines. People do not feel ready to demolish the peace lines yet. Removing the peace lines would change the sense of place in such a way that people would not feel safe anymore in their own communities because they do not know where there are safe anymore. When people are in their own community, they know the people and know that the ideas and beliefs they have are shared. The sense of place is expected to be highly influenced by the removal of the peace lines. When the barriers are gone, the place identity can weaken since the defined barriers that mark territory have faded. However, the place identity is not only defined by physical structures, the mental maps residents have on whether

they are in their own area or not influence their sense of place as well. This leads to the conclusion that the sense of place of the residents of West-Belfast will be influenced by the removal of the peace lines, but not in an extreme way.

Recommendations can be made on two different levels. First of all, recommendations towards to TBUC-policy designers and implementers have to be made. The TBUC-policy and its aims are a good policy, but Belfast is not ready yet to leave its past behind. The residents that live near the peace lines are not ready to live in an area where there are no peace lines anymore. They do not feel safe without the barriers present. The removal of the barriers should be the results of the policy and not the starting point. In order to really create a united community, the education system in Northern-Ireland should become more integrated. Separating children in education makes that the new generations do not know each other. Not knowing the other creates and reinforces feelings of fear and separation. Another level on which recommendations can be made is the field of further research. Since there were no respondents from the Falls area, it is recommended that that this group is (more) involved in further research. Because the TBUC-policy has only been implemented since 2013, no clear results can be distinguished yet. In future research, it is advised to interview more people and a more diverse group of people so views from all ages and both genders can be represented in the results.

Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 Project framework

Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland is not another average city. This city has been experiencing a divide and conflict between two different groups for centuries. The conflict can be viewed as the competing of two ethno-national groups with religion acting as the boundary that divides the communities (Muldoon et al., 2007 p. 90). This divide between on the one side Protestants that consider themselves British and are loyal to the crown and on the other side Catholics that consider themselves Irish and want to belong to the Republic of Ireland has left its marks on this city. During the period of extensive violence, The Troubles from 1969 until 1994, physical barriers were created to keep the loyalist British communities and the nationalist Catholic communities apart. These so-called peace lines were only supposed to stay for a couple of months, but nowadays almost 100 barriers can still be found throughout the city. The Troubles came to an end in 1994 with the signing of the Good Friday/ Belfast agreement in which the official peace was established. The peace lines were expected to come down after the signing of this agreement, but the opposite happened. After the signing, the quantity of peace lines throughout Belfast increased (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 67). These walls function to keep people apart and make them feel safe. The violence and attached exodus of certain groups from mixed areas to areas where a majority of the population belonged to one community, created a Belfast with segregated communities. In some parts of the city, whole communities can be found in which the population predominately Catholic or Protestant.

A broad distinction in the city can be found between the areas east and west of city centre. As can be seen in figure 1, most Protestant-dominated areas can be found in the east, while most Catholics live in the west. However, right next to the city centre, two different communities live next to each other.

These areas of Shankill and Falls are separated by a massive six meters high peace line.

The area around Falls Road is nationalistic, this means that the people here want to be a part of Ireland and consider themselves Irish. On this road, Irish flags and Gaelic signs can be found everywhere. On the other side of the peace line lays Shankill Road. This area is defined as Protestant loyalist. This means that the people here are proud of their Britishness and are loyal to the Queen. In this area, the Union Jack waves everywhere. Both Falls and Shankill area are seen as the hearts of either nationalism and loyalism. During the period of The Troubles, this Shankill/Falls area was one of the most dangerous places. Unsurprisingly, this area was one of the first to be divided by an official peace wall. Now, in 2016, Belfast is almost approaching its twenty year anniversary of official peace. The Department of Justice, which is mainly responsible for the peace walls, stated that Belfast is now ready to move on from its past. In 2013, this thought led to the creation of the Together: Building a United Community (TBUC) strategy. One of the aims of this strategy is to have all the peace lines taken down in 2023. Byrne et al. conducted a survey on the attitudes towards the peace lines in Belfast. The questionnaires were carried out in 2012 and 2015. The most recent survey of 2015 showed that only 35 percent of the people wanted the peace lines to come down some time in the future. This leads to the question whether this TBUC policy can be carried out effectively when less than half of the population actually wants to peace lines to come down in the future. This research focuses on the attitudes towards the TBUC and how the peace lines influence the identity and sense of place of people who live near the peace lines in both Shankill Road and Falls Road. This research is designed to find out what the effect of the presence is and how TBUC can influence the lives of people.

1.2 Research objective

During reading the relevant literature on the subject, I found that most authors take the existence of segregation as a given fact without really looking into whether this is right or not. Therefore, I needed to create my own perspective on what exactly segregation is from my point of view and if this is indeed present in Belfast. I follow the definition of Knox and Marston (2013, p. 387, stating that "*segregation is the spatial separation of specific subgroups within a wider population".* When looking into the history of Belfast, it can be seen that the spatial separation of different groups has always been present in the city. During the period of extreme violence and disruptions, The Troubles, the first measures were taken to create physical barriers within the city to deliberately keep different groups apart. These so-called peace lines now divide the city. The almost 100 walls throughout Belfast influence the daily life of the residents. When researching these peace lines, it becomes clear

that the walls have different functions and meanings in the conflict and have shaped the aftermath of The Troubles by keeping groups apart when peace was established (Gormley-Heenan et al., 2013, p. 82; Leonard & McKnight, 2011, p. 570). The peace lines are borders, and one of the characteristics of borders is that they include and exclude people. These inclusions and exclusion are linked to the concept of identity and territoriality, which links back to the segregation.

After extensive reading and reflecting on the existing literature, the following research objective has been formulated.

The aim of this research is to understand the effect of the peace lines in West-Belfast on the identity and sense of place on its populations and, with this knowledge, to formulate recommendations for the implementation of the Together Building a United Community-policy on the removal of the peace lines in Belfast

To acquire this understanding, I chose to do a practice-oriented research where both literature and other sources of information (people and institutions) provided the necessary information and made a contribution to a possible solution. Every research aims to contribute to the process of gaining knowledge, insights and information which can be used to solve a problem (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, p. 33). In this wide range of researches, a division is made between practice- and theory-oriented research. The aim of a practice-oriented research is to provide knowledge and information that can contribute to a successful intervention to change an existing situation (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, pp. 33-34, p.45). It is stated that this research is practice-oriented because this research has a practical focus in the sense that it is focussed on gathering data and gaining knowledge that can contribute to a possible change in the policy objective or implementation. This is contradictory to a theory-oriented research which is focussed on contributing to theory-development or the testing of theories. When choosing from the different types or research options Verschuren and Doodewaard give, I would describe my research as a combination of both problem analysing research and diagnostic research (2010, pp. 47-48). This combination is chosen since a diagnostic research cannot be carried out without prior problem-analysing research (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, p. 52). A problem-analysing research focuses on what the problem is, why it is a problem and whose problem it is. The problem in this case will be the yet to implement policy on the removal of the peace lines. The problem-analysing part of the research is minor, the main focus lies on the diagnostic approach. Within this diagnostic frame, the research further has a focus on opinion. In the diagnostic opinion research, the insights in the opinions and perceptions of the different stakeholders can give great information about the background and causes of the problem. Stakeholders are those people or groups that influence or

are influenced by a problem. These different groups often have a own viewpoint on the issue (Darke & Shanks, 1996, p. 88).

Residents of the researched areas can provide helpful information on the background of the status-quo and how things have evolved over time. In the case of West-Belfast and the TBUC-policy, the opinions of the people that are or will be affected by the implementation of the policy are important and useful to understand the consequences of the actions that are taken by government officials. In order to make clear what the focus and therefore relevance of the research is, the other research types are now discussed and it will be argued why these research designs do not suit the research objective. This research cannot be defined as a design research since the policy has already been made. This is not a research that aims for an intervention, since the policy is not yet implemented much. There are no results yet to measure. Subsequently, carrying out an evaluation research is not possible. There is not much to evaluate when the policy has not been implemented yet (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, p. 53). So, this research focuses on bringing knowledge and data from different sources together in order to be able to influence the drafting or specific implementation of the TBUC-policy. Identifying the impact and possible consequences of the TBUC-policy on the feelings of identity and sense of place of the population in West-Belfast. When trying to position the research, the intervention cycle can be used to visualize where the research stands. The intervention cycle is a predefined set of steps the reach a solution (Verschuren & Doodewaard, 2010, p. 47). Since the research consists partly of a problem analysis, it can be placed at the start of the intervention cycle. Most of the research, however, can be positioned in the second block: the diagnosis. After this, a design of policy can be made that leads to an intervention, which can be evaluated later on. As can be seen in the figure below, this research is positioned in the bigger, black outlined blocks.
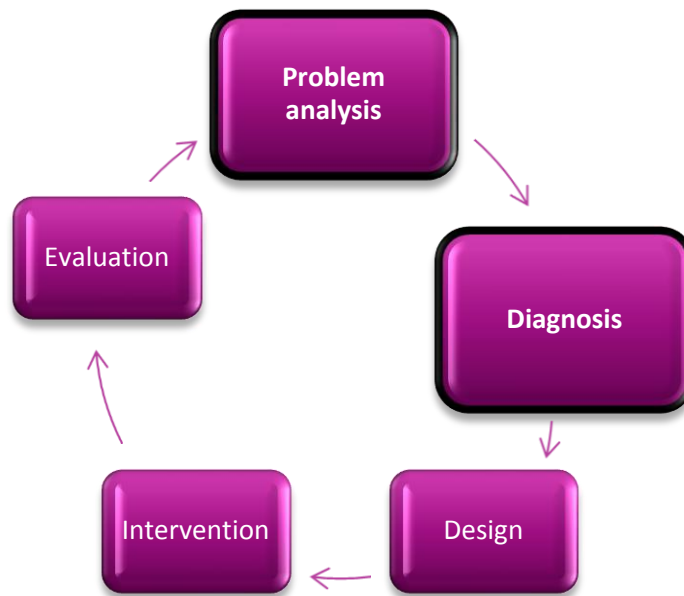
Figure 2: Intervention cycle (Verschuren & Doodewaard, 2010, p. 47).

1.3 Theoretical and practical relevance

In order to show the importance of the research and for what purposes it can be used, a theoretical and practical relevance will be given.

1.3.1 Theoretical relevance

A lot of research has already been conducted about Belfast, its history, the segregation and peace lines. Authors from fields like history (Bardon, 1982; Hepburn, 1996), sociology (Leonard, 2004; McGrellis, 2010) and political science (Hirst, 2002; Budge &O'Leary, 1973) all have researched Belfast and its conflict. Different methods and focuses have been used by a broad range of scholars to investigate this interesting city. Most authors either conduct desk research (Nagle, 2009) or use a quantitative method (Doherty & Poole, 1997; Healy, 2006) when measuring segregation or opinions towards peace lines. The qualitative approach is often used to research smaller groups within a population, for example children or women in a certain neighbourhood (Healy, 2006; Leonard & McKnight, 2011; McIntry, 2002). Although both methods are often used, I feel that the qualitative research methods are not used to their full extent and could contribute more to the scientific knowledge. With my qualitative research, I want to contribute to the existing gap of knowledge about the attitudes of people towards the peace lines and how the removal of the walls would influence the identity and feelings of sense of place of the people in West-Belfast. The new, yet to implement, TBUC-policy brings a new dimension to the ongoing story of segregation in Belfast. This new view is not yet researched in a qualitative way. Most researches have quickly become outdated

because of the new policy and changing attitudes against peace lines. Creating a research in which the opinions and attitudes of residents are being examined can give an insight in the feasibility of the proposed policy.

1.3.2 Practical relevance

The practical relevance of this research is significant on two levels. First of all, the case of Belfast could be used as an example for other segregated areas throughout the world where lives of people are highly influenced by segregation, sense of place, and borders in everyday life. The research will have a focus on the peace lines and the influences of the barriers on the sense of place and identity. These insights can be used to understand behaviour of people, not only in Belfast but also in other regions where people are being separated by barriers. Gaining an insight in these processes can help societies to explore the options of policies on removal of borders and reducing the segregation.

Furthermore, the research has a practical relevance on the local level of Belfast. It has become clear that the attitudes in Belfast regarding the peace lines can change rapidly over a short period of time. Byrne et al. conducted a quantitative research throughout Belfast on the public attitudes against peace lines in both 2012 and 2015. A striking result from a comparison of the results of the 2012 and 2015 questionnaire is that in 2012 58% of the respondents wanted the peace walls to come down at some time in the future, this percentage dropped to 35% in 2015 (Meredith, 2015, Byrne et al., 2015). These fast changing opinions can influence the affectivity of the policy in a great deal. This new 2015 report makes the situation a hot topic for Belfast's residents and policymakers.

1.4 Research question

1.4.1 Main question

The research will make use of one central question and several sub-questions. Following the research objective the following central question has been formulated:

Central question: **What is the effect of the presence of the peace lines on the identity and sense of place of the population in West-Belfast and how would the removal of the peace lines influence the sense of place of the population in West-Belfast?**

To help answer this central question, several sub questions need to be formed. First, an insight in the history is needed to be able to understand the current situation in West-Belfast. Mapping the background can provide insight in the way the current has been formed. The second question will help gain insight in the effect that the barriers throughout Belfast have on the identity of the population. The third question is asked to gain an understanding in the way the sense of place can be

influenced by the peace lines. The fourth and the fifth question focus on the opinions of the residents of the chosen areas on the planned removal of the peace lines.

1.4.2 Sub-questions

With these questions an answer to the main question can be found. The sub-questions are as follows:

1. What is the current situation regarding the conflict in West-Belfast?

This question will take history and the present into account. Understanding where the conflict came from and how it has developed though time helps to understand the current situation. Belfast and Northern Ireland as a whole will be discussed, but the situation through time in West-Belfast will also be included.

2. What is the effect of the peace lines on identity of the West-Belfast population?

In this part of the research, the effect of the peace lines on the identity will be discussed. Understanding how the peace lines have influenced, and still influence, the feelings of identity of the West-Belfast population will help to understand the opinions of the respondents. This question will be answered with the use of the concept of habitus from Bourdieu.

3. What is the effect of the peace lines on the sense of place of the West-Belfast population?

The third question focuses on the sense of place of the researched population and how this sense of place can be influenced by the peace lines. Mapping the different effects of the peace lines can help to give insights in the current situation and the opinions of the respondents. I have used this sub-question in my interviews and asked it to the respondents in the Shankill area. This question will be answered with the use of the concept of habitus from Bourdieu.

4. What are the opinions towards the planned removal of the peace lines in Shankill road?

Building on the previous questions, this question brings together the identified effects and the opinions towards the peace lines and its planned removal.

5. *What are the opinions towards the planned removal of the peace lines in Falls road*?

Building on the first, second and third question, this question brings together the identified effects and the opinions towards the peace lines and its planned removal in Falls road.

2. <u>Methodology</u>

2.1 Research strategy

I defined my research as an in-depth qualitative empirical research in which a case-study design will be used to gather information. According to Verschuren and Doodewaard (2010, p. 159), a case study-research uses the combination of detailed observation on location, conducting interviews and studying all sorts of documents. This method has been used in order to gain a thorough insight in the way different processes in Belfast regarding segregation, shaping and maintaining of a certain identity, and the effects of the peace lines take place. Case studies are partly characterized by a small number of research units, open observations on the sites and a selective sample (Verschuren & Doodewaard, 2010, p. 179). Using small numbers of research units means that a quantitative analysis of the data is not possible. Therefore, my research is qualitative. The focus will be on comparing and interpreting the information from different sources to answer the central question. In this way, a general idea of the object as whole is obtained. These different research materials on which a general idea will be formulated, are explained in section 2.2. The results of a case study are often reported as a detailed analysis of the case(s) (Creswell, 2013, p. 105). Since the two areas will be compared, this case study is a multisite study/collective case study. Often in a collective case study, different cases are purposely chosen to show different perspectives on the issue (Creswell, p. 97). This is definitely the case in this research, by showing the (ideological) differences between the groups and how this might affect the attitudes, the different perspectives can be shown. Different sources, that will be accessed and examined in different ways, will be used in the research. This is called the triangulation of methods and sources. This triangulation is used to achieve in-depth research, by using several sources. An in-depth research cannot be conducted when only one source is used (Creswell, 2013, p. 98). By selecting the sample beforehand, it is made sure that the small number of research units are useful for my research. Another characteristic of a case study is that the objects are studied in its natural context. Since I went to visit Belfast, the researched objects have been witnessed in their natural context. Vennix (2011, p. 103) and Creswell (2013, p. 101) warn that the boundaries of what is included and excluded in a case study can be vague. This means that it had be clearly be set out what is seen as part of the researched cases and what is excluded. This process is intrinsic, since the exact focus can change during the carry out of the research or when analysing the research results.

2.2 Research model

In order to reach the research objective, a combination of research methods is used. With literature research an insight is gained in the history, elements and processes behind the conflict. Quantitative data, conducted from different census, can give information about a great number of people. By using qualitative data gained from interviews with people that are connected with the areas of Shankill Road and Falls Road, it is tried to understand what the effects of peace lines are on the feelings of identity, sense of place and how they influence the segregation. When creating this research I felt that in order to get a complete and non-biased image of the current situation, visiting Belfast myself would contribute greatly to this research. Observing in the city and sensing the different vibes in the different areas could help me understand the situation in a better way and make the research more valid.

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Theory on
peacelines

Theory on
segregation

Theory on
identity                    Conceptual
                            model

Preliminary
research                    Shankill
                            Road

Falls Road

                   Result of
                   analysis

                                  Conclusion and
                                  Recommendations

                   Result of
                   analysis

   (a)      (b)              (c)              (d)
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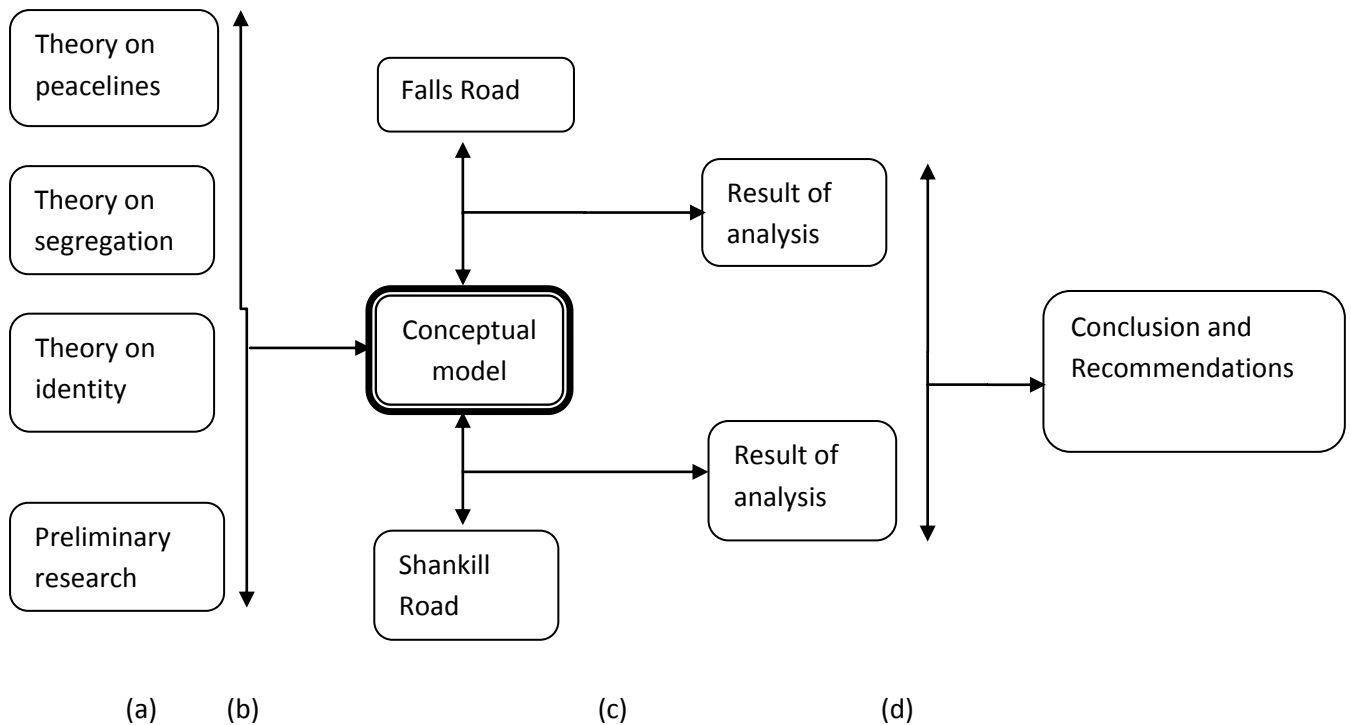
This research model shows the path that is followed in order to be able to achieve the goal of my research. The steps to be taken in the course of the research project are formulated as follows: (a) a study of the theories of peace lines, segregation and identity, and preliminary research results in a conceptual model, (b) to be used in gaining an understanding of the peace lines on the sense of place and identity in Falls Road and Shankill Road. (c) A confrontation of these analyses results in (d) contributing to the drafting of the policy on the removal of the peace lines in Belfast.

2.2.1 Research objects

The research objects are the different phenomena that will be studied and on which statements based on the research will be made. When looking at the research model, the following different research objects can be distinguished.

Peace lines

The peace lines throughout Belfast, their different shapes and sizes will be observed. Not only the peace lines in the research areas are interesting, but also barriers in other areas can provide useful information. Theories on borders, walls in cities and segregation provide a framework in which the peace lines can be researched. Furthermore, the messages that are being presented on the walls are an object of observation.

Residents of Falls Road

This area can provide information about the Catholic/republican side of the story. Analysing and comparing the results of this area with the results of the other research area will contribute to answer the main research question. By using theories on identity and segregation, a better understanding of the status quo in the Falls Road area can be created. Although the residents of the Falls Road are a research object, unfortunately they were not interviewed face to face. Arrangements for the interviews were almost made when suddenly both of the parties did not respond anymore. The residents of Falls Road will still be researched, but with different sources than the residents of the Shankill road. Luckily, other data like surveys and literature can provide the needed insights for the research.

Residents of Shankill road

This area can provide information about the Protestant/unionist side of the story. Analysing and comparing the results of this area with the results of the other research area will contribute to answer the main research question. By using theories on identity and segregation, a better understanding of the status quo in the Shankill Road area can be created.

Together Building a United Community (TBUC)-policy

Part of the aim of the research is to gain an insight in how the residents of Belfast feels towards the removal of the peace lines. This removal is planned in the TBUC policy. By analysing the policy and its implementation and combining this analysis with the results from the fieldwork, the policy can be evaluated and recommendations to the policy makers can be made.

2.2.2 Research sources and material

The sources and materials that will be used in the research are diverse. Therefore, they will be elaborated to make clear what specific function the different sources can have. This sections shows that different sources with each a high value are used and therefore, the lack of interviewees from the Catholic side is not damaging to the results. The other sources and material can provide the information needed.

1. Survey data

Researchers (Byrne et al.) from the University of Ulster have created a research report to the Office of First Minister and Deputy Minister regarding the attitudes to peace lines and public awareness of the peace lines. By using quantitative surveys, the opinions on different subjects were gathered and processed. This survey has first been carried out in 2012 and an almost similar version has been carried out in 2015. These two surveys can be used to distinguish different attitudes from different groups towards the peace lines. Comparing the data can give insight in how the opinions might change through time and what the effects of these changes are.

2. Academic literature

The biggest source of data and knowledge that is being used for the theoretical and methodological part of the thesis is the academic literature. This literature can function both as a knowledge and data source. The knowledge that is needed to gain theoretical insights and to make connections between different phenomena is provided through the literature. Besides acting as a knowledge source, the extensive list of relevant literature can also serve as a data source (Verschuren & Doodewaard, 2010, p. 217). By looking at what has already been written on the subject and attached concepts by different authors, a well-rounded view on the different concepts can be given. Comparing different authors and the methods, concepts and approaches they use helped me in finding my own methodological path. Furthermore, writing a background analysis on the conflict and the current situation in the city would have been impossible without the use of the academic literature. Using books, journals and articles from a broad range of authors gives an extra depth to my research.

3. Media

Articles from newspapers, websites, documentaries and YouTube videos provided another source of information. They can give great insight in the current situation in the city and how this situation is seen from the eyes of different stakeholders. They can be used as illustrations of the conflict and its effects in everyday life of the population in West-Belfast. When using the media as a source, it

always has to be kept in mind that the information can be portrayed in a biased way. This means that when the media are used as a source, the researcher has to maintain a critical view on from which point of view the story is being told.

Electronic media like documentaries can be used to support the understanding. Seeing the situation in Belfast in motion pictures can give information in the empirical reality. Example of documentary is the BBC production Petrol Bombs and Peace: Welcome to Belfast. The content can be observed and analysed and used as illustrations and examples for different cases. News articles from e.g. the BBC website are a source of information when topicalities regarding Belfast occur.

4. <u>People</u>

Qualitative semi-open interviews with residents of the chosen areas are a source of the attitudes towards to peace lines. These residents can provide new insights in the matter and give the problem a more practical setting, putting real life stories to the theory can improve the legitimacy. Interviewing as a way of gathering data is a widely used method (Creswell, 2013, p. 163). Like with observing, Creswell provides a checklist for conducting interviews. First on the list are the research questions. These research questions will be answered by the interviews. Secondly, the interviewees have to be identified. Different interviewees have been distinguished before going to Belfast. The first group is are the residents of Shankill Road and Falls road. I conducted several individual semi-structured interviews with residents from Shankill Road to hear the opinions and attitudes towards the peace lines and feelings on identity, sense of place and opinions towards the removal of the peace lines etc. Another possible respondent group will be the policy makers from the Belfast City Council, and/or the researchers (Byrne et. al) that have carried out the surveys on the attitudes against peace lines. This is categorized as an expert interview (Verschuren & Doodewaard, 2010, p. 209). Their knowledge and experiences regarding my research topic can provide a valuable source of information. After deciding who is going to be interviewed, it is important to choose the type of interview. I conducted face-to-face standardized open-ended interviews, in this way I got the information that I wanted, but it also allowed some space for further information that might come from the respondents in my interview guide (Vennix, 2012, p. 252). Since the questions are open-ended, there are no previously determined answer possibilities present. My aim was to interview residents of both Shankill and Falls road. When visiting Belfast, sadly two of planned interviews with people that either worked or lived in the Falls Road area were cancelled. This means that no interview data coming from residents can be used when researching Falls road. This is however not a major problem for my research since the interviews are not the only source that provide information. By analysing literature, surveys and media, the needed insights were gained. Luckily, I did manage to find residents from Shankill Road that wanted to talk to me about the peace lines, their feelings

towards them and how their lives have been and are affected by the peace lines. In paragraph 2.2.4 the interviewees will be portrayed.

It is important to design and use an interview protocol, in which the interview questions are written down, space for answers and notes is present. This interview protocol will be the guidance through the interview. The interview guides used can be found in appendix 9.2. The interviews will be transcribed and coded with the use of Atlas TI. Creating families of codes will help to see relations between different respondents and their answers. After applying the codes and creating the families, useful quotes to support my findings will be used in the thesis.

5. <u>Visiting Belfast</u>

Visiting Belfast provided me with a healthy dose of reality. Beside all the desk-research, seeing the situation with my own eyes gave useful insights. It is hard to fully grasp the impact of the conflict, the peace lines and ways of living without being in the setting where it all takes place. By visiting Belfast myself and seeing the situation with my own eyes and sense the vibes throughout different areas, I gained a better understanding of the matter. Furthermore, I could gather visual material like photos that can be used as illustrations and examples. Also, by going to the research areas myself, the interviews were held in a more relaxed setting than for example Skype which could lead to better results. This allowed me to anticipate more during the interviews and made it easier to see and feel the emotions the interviewees could show during the time we spoke. It is important to keep in mind that when using observations as a source of information that the controllability of the research outcome can be limited. When an author describes the situation in an objective way, the respondents are not pushed into a certain direction or point of view on the matter. It is debatable whether this is possible when discussing the matter in Belfast since a biased observation is easy to produce. Furthermore, observations can be hard to process into outcomes that answer the research questions (Verschuren & Doodewaard, 2010 p. 233). The method of observation can be carried in different forms. To make the best observations possible, Creswell (2013, pp. 167-168) developed a series of steps regarding observations. After selecting the site, the role of the observer has to be assumed. The role the researcher plays in the setting influences the way the data are gathered. I adapted the role of nonparticipant/observer as participant, where I am an outsider of the group under study. Watching from a distance and taking notes on the movements and actions of people in the researched neighbourhoods allow me to record data without direct involvement. Designing an observational protocol beforehand makes recording notes in the field easier. Recording aspects such as the physical setting and my own reactions were also an important step in making useful observations. After observing, full notes should be prepared immediately.

2.2.3. Portraits of the interviewees

<u>Jonny Byrne:</u> He is a lecturer at the University of Ulster who is specialized at Criminology politics and Social Policy, working in research in the social sciences. He finished his PhD doctorate on the physical segregation in Northern Ireland, with a focus on the peace walls and interface barriers. He is one of the authors of the Public Attitudes to Peace Walls of both 2012 and 2015. His interview is categorized as an expert interview with a neutral, professional view.

<u>William Mitchell:</u> project director of the ACT initiative. ACT stands for Action for Community Transformation. Mr. Mitchell is a man from a loyalist background who took part in The Troubles and was convicted for a political murder. He spent thirteen years in prison, but ended up as the project director with a PhD. As stated by Mitchell himself, he wanted... *to serve my community down in another role than I did before and one of those roles was work with young people and trying to help to deter from the route I went down* (personal communication, May 10, 2016).

The work of the ACT initiative is stated to be *'a transformation initiative which supports former combatants province-wide, in the post ceasefire climate. Through tailored training and support, ACT builds the capacity of its members, supporting them to engage in the social, economic and political structures of Northern Ireland. ACT also encourages its members to embrace new, positive leadership roles within their local communities* (act-ni.co.uk, n.d.). I categorized this interview as supporting the loyalist side, but also as an expert interview since Mr. Mitchell tried to give a more analytical perspective on the matters as well. Both of the women I spoke to in the Shankill area were called Jane, therefore I labelled them Jane 1 and Jane 2. These two women were interviewed at the Shankill Women's Centre (SWC). This centre is a key provider for training, health awareness, childcare and young women's activities in the Greater Shankill and beyond. Besides this, a project on Cross Community Outreach has been organized to bring women from the Shankill and Falls roads together by walking through both areas (www.shankillwomenscentre.org.uk, n.d.). I chose this centre to be my source of interviews since they could get me in contact with residents from the Shankill road, and so I could question them about the cross community work.

<u>Jane 1:</u> Jane 1 is a fifty-five year old woman who travels to the centre every three or four days a week to do crafting. She lived in the Shankill area during The Troubles and has experienced personal losses because of the conflict. Because of her regular visits to the area, I found her suitable to interview. I categorize her as someone from the loyalist side since she is a Protestant woman that has a connection with the Shankill area from the past which influences her present opinions.

<u>Jane 2:</u> Jane 2 is an seventy year old woman who is originally born in Belfast, grew up in Canada but returned to Belfast when she was seven. She is retired and now is attending different classes of the

Shankill Women's centre which makes that she is on the Shankill Road several times a week and therefore knows what is going on in the area. Jane 2 is categorized as a Protestant, loyalist woman.

Another interview with a third woman was conducted at the SWC but these data were not usable for this research and are therefore not included. Transcriptions of the interviews can be found in appendix 9.1. The codes used for ordering the interviews in AtlasTi are located in appendix 9.3

2.3 Central concepts

2.3.1 Segregation

According to the Oxford Dictionary segregation is "*The action or state of setting someone or something apart from others".* Behind this simple definition lies a whole field of causes, effects and manifestations that are attached to segregation. When the concept is applied to geography, it is said that segregation means that population groups are divided along racial/ethnic, social class, sex or age lines (Acevedo-Garcia & Lockner, 2003, p. 265). Segregation, most of the times based on both economic and ethnic characteristics, is a feature of most cities in the world. However in Belfast, it is based on religious, economic and territorial dimensions. This has been present in the city for centuries, as Leonard and McKnight (2011, p. 570) state that *'Belfast has always been a divided city.'* Segregation is usually measured on the basis of the spatial distribution of individuals or households belonging to a particular economic or ethnic group (Boal, 1969, p. 30). There are multiple quantitative methods available to measure the presence of segregation in a certain area. Defining the exact level of segregation is a challenge because segregation is relative and can be seen in multiple forms. The actual measuring of segregation in Belfast is usually done by the use of census data. The spatial units in these censes are altered per census. Therefore the results cannot simply be compared, making detecting changes throughout time harder. Segregation is not always seen in residential segregation, it can exist in the mind of people which then creates certain mental borders. This type of segregation is also difficult to measure and track (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 59). In this research the segregation will not be measured, but it will be seen as a given. The segregation is present, this is seen in the academic literature in the works of for example Boal (1969, 1972, 1996, 2002) and Shirlow & Murtagh (2006). For example. Shirlow & Murtagh (2006, p. 2) state that *"Belfast is one of those cities in which history, identity and culture are played out in a public manner, through the instruments of threat ... and violence. The highly observable forms of spatial division remains as unfamiliar when we compare it to other cities"*. On top of that, the observations made in Belfast show a deep divide in the city.

Knox and Marston (2013), who focus on the geographical side of segregation, state that segregation is the spatial *"separation of specific subgroups within a wider population"*(2013, p. 387). For the

purpose of this research segregation is understood as the spatial separation of the Catholics and Protestants in Belfast. This segregation is often the result of congregation and discrimination. *"Congregation, defined as the territorial and residential clustering of specific groups of people, is a place-making activity and an important basis for urban structure"* (Knox & Marston, 2013, p. 386). This congregation of the Catholics and Protestants can clearly be seen in the areas of Falls and Shankill road, where either Catholics or Protestants are living together. This can be seen in the map below, figure 3 where the distribution of Catholics throughout Belfast is shown. One can clearly see that in the South-West area, large numbers of Catholic inhabitants are present. The population of, for example, areas like Falls and Glen road consists of over 90 percent of Catholic inhabitants. On the other side of the city, most areas have less than 20 percent Catholic inhabitants. This residential segregation is one of the many manifestations in which segregation can be seen.

Residential segregation has been defined as *the sorting of population into various neighbourhood contexts and shapes the living environment at the neighbourhood level"* (Acevedo-Garcia & Lockner, 2003, p. 265). The residential segregation has been present in Belfast for centuries. As early in the 16th century, a clear divide was present. The Catholics lived outside the town and the Protestants lived inside the town walls. During the 19th century when Belfast extended industrially and a great flow of migrants from northern Ireland arrived, mainly Catholics caused a growth in population from 20.000 in 1800 to 320.000 in 1900 (Boal, 1996). Boal (2002) and McAtackney (2011) note that this group of migrants didn't follow the usual path of a new group in a city. Unlike what happened with other immigrant enclaves in e.g. Liverpool and Glasgow, the segregation didn't decline over time. The immigrants did not assimilate with the receiving population and reminded to be considered as outsiders by the Belfast population. McAtackney (2011) notes that during this time, the Catholics were no longer living outside the town walls but came to live within the walls albeit still segregated from the Protestants. Later in the 19th century the segregation increased. This increase was firstly caused by Catholics wanting autonomy or independence for Ireland instead of being a part of the United Kingdom. Secondly, Protestants felt threatened by the increase of Catholic emancipation, e.g. voting rights. At the end of the 19th and the in the beginning of the 20th century tensions between Catholics and Protestants rose because of the political changes. The violent period of The Troubles acted as a catalyst. Because of the violence, people from mixed areas moved away creating single-identity communities. Moving forward to 2016,now the socially more mobile Catholics move into mixed middle-class communities that then causes some Protestants to move out which stimulates the separation (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 65).

Figure 3: Distribution of Catholics in Belfast. (Kelleher, 2012, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/gis/maps/gismaps-02.html)

Although segregation can be found in most cities, the case of Belfast is quite extreme, groups of people have been living, working, shopping and worshipping apart for centuries and it does not look like it will change any time soon. The influence of the deep divide can be shown with an anecdote that was told during a city sightseeing tour in Belfast. The tour guide explained that after the period of The Troubles, Belfast wanted a new sports team that would neutral and therefore suitable for all inhabitants. Like with most sports teams, certain people from certain areas support particular teams (Leonard, 2008, p. 483). Where most sports teams were somehow relatable back to either the Catholic or Protestant community, this new to be made team was supposed to be neutral. The sport that came out the be the most neutral was ice hockey, creating the Belfast Giants team. Noteworthy fact is that there were no professional ice hockey players in Belfast, and therefore the players had to be found oversees. Because of the neutral aim of the club, no flags are allowed in the arena and the British anthem is not played before games. This shows how deep the segregation is embedded in the social life of Belfast and how creating a neutral place is challenging .

Shirlow and Murtagh (2006) state that in the case of Belfast, the segregation (still) exists because of the fact that it works. In the case of Belfast, the segregation takes place between the Catholics and Protestants. This segregation is embedded in most parts of society, children only go to schools that are attached to their group, people take different public transport lines and drink a pint in different

17

pubs. The consequences of this segregation manifest themselves physically in the peace lines spread throughout the city. These peace lines were created during The Troubles to keep the rioting communities apart. After The Troubles the peace lines did not disappear, the quantity even increased after the Good Friday/Belfast agreement. This raises the question, do peace lines continue the segregation or is the segregation the factor that makes the peace lines needed. The same vicious circle can be found when discussing the feelings attached to segregation. In Belfast, segregation and sectarianism are interlinked. Sectarianism is defined as the "*threatening, abusive or insulting behaviour or attitudes towards a person by reason of that person's religious belief or political opinion; or to an individual as a member of such a group*" (TBUC, 2013b, p. 19). This sectarian behaviour can still be found on Shankill and Falls road. This behaviour can be seen as both a cause and a result of segregation. Do people live separated because they feel that the 'other' threatens them, or do these feelings occur because people live separated from each other and the unknown makes it possible to develop sectarian feelings? This chicken and egg story illustrates how difficult it can be to understand where segregation comes from. The people of Belfast have always lived separated, looking into the reasons of separation in the Middle ages and industrial times is a subject for another research. The feelings of sectarianism can be connected to the concept of sense of place, which will be discussed next.

2.3.2   Sense of place

"… if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause. Each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place…"

When looking at this almost poetic description of space and place by Tuan (1977, p. 6) it becomes clear that the concept of place and space is vague and therefore hard to define (Shamai, 1991, p.348). What makes this concept a struggle to define, is the fact that it deals with abstract ideas. Barker (1979, p. 164) states that *understanding what creates a true sense of place… is a complex task.* Place and space are central concepts of geography, but only since the 1970s place has been conceptualized as a particular location that has acquired a set of meanings and attachments. Creswell (2009) has put together an overview of the different approaches to space, place and the meaning of the concepts in the different geography approaches. He states that place is a meaningful site that combines location, *locale* and sense of place. Location is the where of the place, the absolute point of a place in space. Location is measured with coordinates and distances to other locations (Creswell, 2009, p.1). Connecting the concept of location to the areas of Shankill Road and Falls Road translates into saying that Shankill Road can be found at N 54.361° W -5.572° and Falls Road at N 54.591° W -5.965°. Location becomes place when it becomes meaningful. This meaning can be created by the *locale,* the way a place looks. Places are often recognized because of the way

they look, the material structures create a place that people recognize and identify a certain space with.

The combination of location and locale can lead to a sense of place (Creswell, 2009, p.1). People play a big role in the process of space becoming place. A person is its own centre of the world he lives in, the space around one is implemented in the place. Different social groups experience the same spatial setting in a different way and attach different meaning to the space (Kianicka et al., 2006, p. 55). On the other hand, meanings can also be shared and create a sense of identity (Creswell, 2009, p. 2). This sense of place identity further explained in the section on identity, 2.3.3.

Human beings have a sense of place which means that they apply morals to sites and locations (Shamai, 1991, p. 410). Shamai and Ilatov explain that sense of place cannot only be understood when looking only at location, an experience of the place is needed to create a sense of place (2004, p. 468). This matches the approach of Creswell (2009), who states that the place combines location, locale and sense of place. Space becomes a place when it is used and people live it in, the sense of place we get from a certain space is depending on the practices that are being done in a place. What people do, can affect the meanings that a place might have (Creswell, 2009, p. 2). This conception of place is based on the idea of experience, people create their own meaning of the world through their own actions. Experiences transform the scientific concept of space into a meaningful concept of place (Creswell, 2009, p.4). This humanistic approach on sense of place is followed in this thesis because the experiences of people of different groups in the same areas of Belfast are expected to differ greatly. Since places are always changing and the perception of people changes with it, a set definition of the concept is hard to provide. Although, for the purpose of this research the following definition, which uses ideas from the work of Creswell (2009), Knox & Marston (2011) and Shamai (1991) will be used: The sense of place are the feelings of people as a result of a combination of the experience, locale and location. This sense of place is what transforms a space to a place.

2.3.3   Identity

Identity as a concept is quite a challenge to discuss. The concept has different philosophical layers to it, creating a definition depends on the focus that the researcher chooses. In (social) identity theory, the self is seen as reflexive. This means that the object, in this case the human beings, can categorize, classify or name itself in certain ways in relation to the other present social categories. This process of self-categorization makes it possible that an identity is formed (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 224). Knox and Marston (2013, p. 6), state that identity is "*the sense you make of yourself through your subjective feelings based on your everyday experiences and social relations."* This definition of identity comes across as vague and makes the concept difficult to measure and compare. Knox and

Marston (ibid, p. 6) link identity to place, explaining that sometimes the meanings given to place become a central part of the identity of people. Shirlow and Murtagh (2006, p. 14) describe how the construction of identity is usually based on relational concepts. This subjectivity of the meanings attached to the concept does not help in setting out a clear definition. Because this research is placed in the human geography field, the concept of identity will be linked with space. The role of space in creating and maintaining a certain identity is discussed by Neill (1999), he also acknowledges that identity can be a vague concept. He quotes Hobsbawn (1996, p. 40) about the growing importance of space in identity formation. Hobsbawn states that *"men and women look for those groups to which they can belong, certainly and forever, in a world in which all is moving and shifting, in which nothing else is certain".* Neill continues by stating that *'a sense of meaning and belonging is found in an identity group'* (1999, p. 271). For the purpose of this research, identity is understood as that what makes people feel attached to a certain group. The social identity theory is followed, this means that identity is shaped through the self-categorization.

Place identity

According to Prohansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983, p. 60), place identity is a sub-structure of self-identity.

 "The place identity consists of the cognitions of the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being. At the core of such physical environment-related cognitions is the 'environmental past' of the person; a past consisting of places, spaces and their properties which have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs"(Prohansky et al., 1983, p. 60)*.*

It has to be noted that the physical structure changes from time to time and can therefore also differ in the degree in which the needs of the actor can be fulfilled. Furthermore, differences in the properties of place-identity exist between age, sex, social class etc. (Prohansky et al., 1983, p. 60). In the process of shaping the (place) identity, the influence of other people is also important. What other people feel, do and say about what is right or wrong in a certain place influences the identity of the actor. This can be seen everywhere, but relating back to the Belfast case, the influence of others can be seen in and between the segregated communities. When others show that certain behaviour in the own environment is not right, for example wearing a football shirt that supports the British team when in a nationalist area, the actors' identity and feelings of right and wrong in a certain space will be shaped. This marking of space is reinforced by sectarianism and local knowledge (Shirlow &

Murtagh, 2006, p. 66).

The concept of borders is linked to identity, borders create a sense of 'us' versus 'them'. Discussing borders means deciding on who is in and who is out, who belongs to 'us' and to 'them' (van Houtum, lecture on 1st of September 2014). Borders are those lines that signify the limits of social groups (Anderson & O'Dowd, 2010, p. 594). These lines are literally seen in the concept of peace lines.

2.3.4 Peace lines

Walls are important in every city, they direct the physical experiences in cities throughout the world. However, in Belfast they play a particular important role due to the deep divide in the society (McAtackney, 2011, p. 78). The walls that divide Belfast are called peace lines, peace walls or interfaces. Leonard and McKnight (2011) discuss how the name 'peace walls' is a rather optimistic one for a construction that is created to keep people segregated. They also explain that throughout the city, the barriers differ in shape and size. This is further discussed by McAtackney (2011) who brings together the different names like peace-lines, peace walls, security walls and interface barriers under the most common name of peace lines. Gormley-Heenan et al. (2012, p. 6; 2013, p. 367) also use the term peace line to cover all kinds of barriers. In my research the same terminology is followed, since peace lines is the most commonly used term and is also the discourse used by the government. These peace lines can have different shapes and sizes. Figure 4 clearly shows the peace lines throughout Belfast and the different segregated areas. In this research, peace lines are understood to be (mostly) walls dividing Catholic and Protestant communities to prevent fighting (McKitttrick, 2011). During the period of 'The Troubles' the first *official* peace line was built by the British Army as a temporary security response to keep the groups apart (Boal, 1996; Gormley-Heenan, Byrne & Robinson, 2013). The walls were supposed to be a temporary measure, supposed to be gone by Christmas 1969, but after fifteen years of peace 88 walls are standing widespread throughout the city (Gormley-Heenan et al., 2013, p. 82; Leonard & McKnight, 2011, p. 570). I refer to *official* peace line, because according to Gormley-Heenan et al. (2013, p. 362) before the arrival of the army in Belfast, communities themselves already produced barricades with burnt out cars, furniture and barbed wire. These barricades limited the movements of the army so they were demolished and later replaced by the official peace lines. Although the walls were never supposed to stay for a long time, they can still be found throughout the city. The presence of the borders in the city make that it is important to pay attention of the consequences when a city is physically segregated through borders. Newman and Paasi (1998, p. 188) put focus on the effect of borders, stating that

'*even if they (borders) are always more or less arbitrary lines between territorial entities, they may also have deep symbolic, cultural, historical and religious, often contested, meanings for social*

communities. They (borders) manifest themselves in numerous social, political and cultural practices. Relating back to the previously explained concept of identity, that was explained as that what makes people feel attached to a certain group, this quote shows how the feelings of identity can be influenced by the borders. The meanings on different levels that walls can have, all influence the (sense of) identity.

2.3.5   Shankill Road and Falls Road, West-Belfast

Located in the west of Belfast is one of the most segregated areas that nowadays exist in this city. In this area, 12 peace walls and 6 gates are present (TBUC, 2013b, p. 21). As it can be seen in figure 4, West-Belfast is the home to many Republicans. In 2004 80% of its inhabitants was Catholic, and is therefore considered to be mainly a Catholic area. On the other side of the peace line however, lives a Protestant population around the Shankill Road (Wiedenhoft Murphy, 2010, p. 543). This relative small amount of Protestants inhabitants in the nationalist West-Belfast area relates back to the period of The Troubles, when mass exodus of Protestants from West-Belfast occurred (Leonard, 2004, p. 931). In these two areas, the hearts of either loyalism or republicanism can be found. Located on Falls road, for example, is the main office of the republican party Sinn Fein.

The area of Shankill/Falls became segregated in the nineteenth century, when a flow of urbanization brought new people into the city. Spatial segregation came into place when these new residents did not mingle (Kliot & Waterman, p. 142). This segregation maintained over time, in 1969, before The Troubles started, Boal (1969, p. 33) already described the Shankill/Falls area in Belfast as an interesting one. During The Troubles, the Shankill Falls divide in west Belfast was for many years one of the most intense flashpoints in the violence between the loyalists on one side and the IRA and other groups on the other (Agnew, 2014, p. 857). In this area of West-Belfast, two major segregated residential concentrations were found. This area further showed a low socio-economic status (Lyons, 1972, p. 605). Both areas are working class areas (Carter, 2003, p. 270). Over time, these areas have remained segregated. Nowadays, the areas are divided by a twenty foot high steel wall on Cupar way (Geisler, 2005, p. 174). The segregated areas of Belfast almost all have a dominant road running through them that act as the spines where the most activities take place (Boal, 1969, p, 14). Because of the significance of these roads, the described areas are called after the main roads.
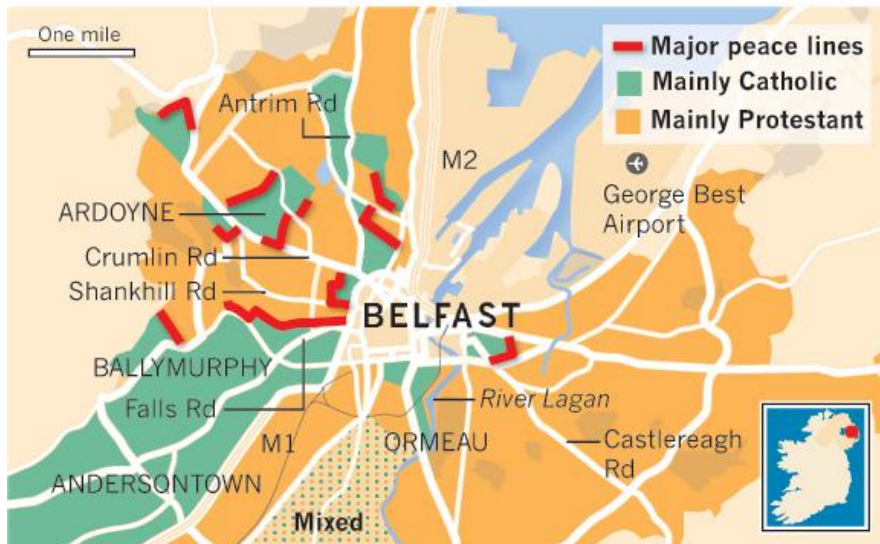
Figure 4: Peace lines in Belfast (McKittrick, 2011)   *Figure 5: Map of Belfast (Doherty & Poole, 1997, p. 524)*
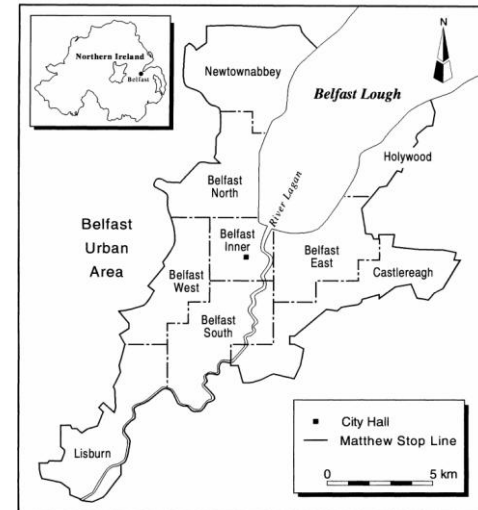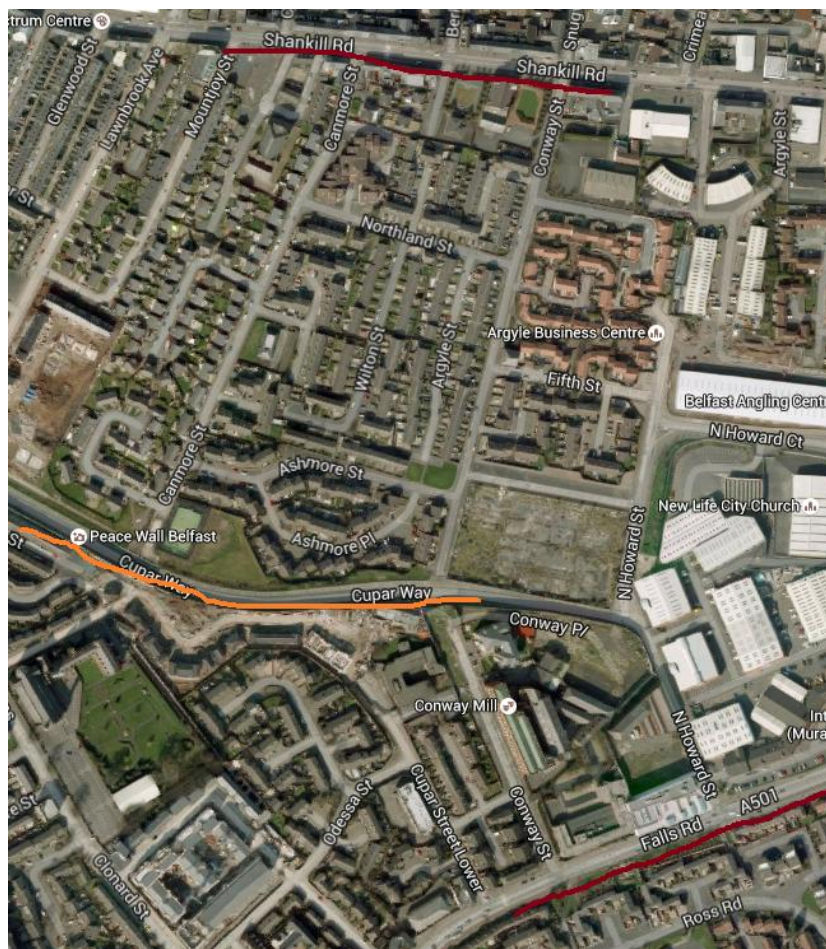
Figure 6: Map of West-Belfast, Google Maps (own work)

Map 5 shows the urban area of Belfast. Left of the city centre, the area of West-Belfast is indicated. In this area are Falls Road and Shankill Road located. The map in figure 6 shows West-Belfast, the red lines indicate Shankill Road and Falls road. The orange line shows the peace line. To the east on this map is the city centre. Because of the close proximity of two extremely different areas and the peace line that divides these areas, the areas are chosen as the case studies of this research. Having two communities located next to each other, makes comparing the areas easier. There are no major differences in landscape (like rivers or mountains) that could serve like a barrier and influence the way people feel. Further, the areas are both the heart of either loyalism or nationalism, making them very interesting to research since the roots of the communities can be found here. On top of that, the residents of both areas know about the other area and how they feel towards this other community. Because of the close proximity, the other community is never far away.

The Shankill/Falls divide also has been marked by Byrne et al., (2015, p. 6) as an area that is located near a peace line and therefore interesting to research since the close proximity of a peace line can affect the feelings of identity and sense of place and also influence the way the TBUC policy is viewed since removal of the peace line would be something happening close to the homes of the researched residents.

3. <u>Theoretical framework</u>

This research makes use of two theories; the theory of habitus and field by Bourdieu and the theory on sense of place by Tuan. The theory of Bourdieu is used to understand why social inequalities are reproduced over time and why they are generally accepted by the lower class. The different classes as described by Bourdieu are used in this research as dimensions by which the position of the residents of the Shankill and Falls Road can be identified. The theory of Yi-Fu Tuan explains how the concepts of space and place are interlinked and how they influence the perceptions and feelings of identity of people.

3.1 Theory of Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) most important political projects in his academic life were to understand why social inequalities are reproduced over time and why these inequalities are generally accepted by the lower class in society. Bourdieu wants to free people from oppressive social conditions by the invisible structures in society. Bourdieu explains that people have particular goals they think about consciously or subconsciously, which creates a mental structure that individuals develop throughout their life in a certain social sphere, called the habitus. He further states that people have resources at their disposal to pursue these goals. These resources are described as capital. Lastly, he states that people act in particular social context, described as fields. The concepts of habitus, capital and field will now be explained. Finally, the connection between the theory of Bourdieu and the topic of this research will be set out.

3.1.1 Habitus

In his research on Structures, Habitus and Practices Bourdieu (1990) first explains that through objectivism the world is seen by an observer who takes a certain point of view on the actions. The observer has a high position in the social structure and this observer sees the social world as a representation, a performance and he sees the practices as nothing more than the acting out of roles or the implementation of plans. In order to be able to research the concept of habitus, the researcher has to step down from the sovereign objectivist point of view and needs to be situated within the practice as such (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52). Habitus can be described as the mental structure individuals develop during their life in a certain social sphere (Lippuner & Werlen, 2009). Habitus is a concept that creates a link between the structures and agency. It is a set of patterns, the ways of thinking and acting of people. The habitus is considered by Bourdieu as a practical function (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52). Bodily habits, likes and dislikes are all part of the habitus (Pijpers, personal communication, November 24, 2014). Connolly and Healy (2004, p. 16) describe habitus

"as a set of predispositions individuals develop to approaching, thinking about and acting upon their social worlds that they have come to learn over time as a consequence of their experiences. The more that they employ such thoughts and actions and find them to 'work' within particular social contexts, the more they become a durable and 'habitualised' part of their subconscious' (Connolly & Healy, 2004, p. 16)*.*

The habitus is a product of history, and it produces collective and individual practices. People that grow up in the same social setting form a more or less similar habitus. Therefore, Bourdieu describes social class as a group of individuals who have the same habitus. Consequence of the habitus that is influenced by the history, is that the correctness of practices is often based on this past (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54). Since practice is located in time and space, the concepts of Bourdieu can be used in a geographical study (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54). People experience habitus as natural, as a given fact. Objects cannot have a habitus, it cannot be equated with a particular space (Pijpers, personal communication, November 24, 2014). Every moment the habitus structures new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences. As stated by Durkheim (1977, p. 11) *"In each of us,..., is contained the person we were yesterday".* The new experiences that we encounter everyday can modify the structures and are therefore carefully selected within the limits defined by the power of selection that the concept of habitus has. Although habitus is influenced by the practices of every moment, it does not mean it cannot be calculated. Bourdieu (1990) states that the practical world in which the habitus is constituted, is a world of already realized ends. Procedures that have to be followed are already clear and the paths to take are already set it. This is because the regularities appear to be natural since they are the basis of the schemes of perception. This means that there is a close correlation between the scientifically objective constructed probabilities and the subjective goals of the agent. These goals are described as motivations and/ or needs. Agents adjust their goals or aspirations subconsciously to the possibilities that can calculated. This affects the aspirations of an actor in such a way that the unlikely practices are excluded out of the options. The importance of the lived experiences in order to understand segregation have been highlighted by different authors like Harvey (2000), Imrie (2004) and Marcusse (1993). They have highlighted the need to understand the lived experiences in order to understand the subjective interconnections and emotional factors that drive feelings of rightness behind the segregation. Feelings of rightness in this sense mean the feelings that make the segregation feel morally right (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 14).

3.1.2 Capital

Another important concept is capital, Bourdieu widens this concept behind the classical economical meaning. There are three different kinds of capital; cultural, social and economic. Cultural capital can be categorized in three different forms. First, the embodied state which is the state of long-lasting actions of the mind and the body. Another cultural capital form is the objectified state in which the cultural goods such as pictures books and machines are considered (Bourdieu, 1986, p.247). The last version of cultural capital is the institutionalized state which is a form of objectification of the cultural capital (ibid., p. 249). Economic capital is the capital that is directly convertible into money and could be institutionalized in the form of property rights (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Social capital consist of the actual or potential resources of the membership of a group, the relations between people in space (ibid., p. 250; Lippuner &Werlen, 2009). According to Putnam (2000, p. 19), social capital refers to the connections between individuals. These social networks and the norms of trust and cooperation that arise from them are what makes that the social capital can be defined as a good of the communities. A sufficient amount of social capital in a community makes that group more likely to benefit from better health, higher educational achievement and better economic growth. This means that social capital can act as an effective resource for particular groups, but its full potential can only be reached when the bonds of trust and solidarity within a community are strong (Leonard, 2004. p. 928). The different forms of capital help people reach the goals that come from their habitus. Furthermore, the social capital and its effectiveness depends on the membership of a social group whose members establish boundaries through symbolic and actual exchange (Bourdieu, 1986). According to Shirlow and Murtagh (2006, p. 14), this formation of boundaries creates division between the chosen and the rejected of a certain group. In this way, the concept of social capital is linked to who is in and who is out of a community.

3.1.3 Field

The concept of field has two meanings in the work of Bourdieu, the level of individual experiences and the level of society (Pijpers, personal communication, November 24, 2014). Fields present themselves as structured spaces that are defined by the position and which can be analysed by the characteristics of the inhabitants of the certain field (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 72). Each field has its own logic, and the social space is composed out of different fields (Lippuner & Werlen, 2009). The field on the level of personal experiences refers to the different social contexts relevant to people.
Fields are structured by power relations. Each field has its own logic and law. This causes a struggle to take place within the field, when a new actors enters the field and tries to break the monopoly of the dominant group. The structure of the field is a state of the power relations between the agents of institutions. These struggles at the level of society are for example about the monopoly of violence.

This then relates back to the notion of capital, the distribution of a certain capital within a field. Another property of field, that also can be found on the more individual level, is that all the agents that are involved in the field share a number of fundamental interests. This is everything that is linked to the existence of the field (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 73).

3.1.4 Class

In the theory of Bourdieu, a social class is a group of people who have the same habitus. Of course, the habitus of the people in one class cannot all be exactly the same since their experience will not be the same nor have they happened in the same order. Bourdieu created three classes. There is a upper class with a sense of superiority, the middle class has the aspiration to become upper class. Lastly, the working class experiences a sense of inferiority and mocks the pretentions of the middle class. The classes exist of people who are the most alike in the most respects possible. This creates classes that can easily be distinct from each other on the one hand, but on the other hand a large number of classes is possible. In order to make a clear divide, the classes are based on the largest possible separation with the greatest largest homogeneity within the class (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 5). It is assumed that the class somebody belongs to, can influence the way other people or classes are seen. This can influence the segregation and negative feelings towards the other community (Pijpers, personal communication, November 24, 2014). The borders of the classes are not set, Bourdieu states that these boundaries are like *"flames whose edges are in constant movement"* (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 13). Connolly and Healy (2004, p. 17) explain that the middle and working class attach different meaning and significance to the lack of opportunities and resources. The different fields in which people live create a limitation to the opportunities of gaining more (social) capital. Because of the greater access and better position of the higher class, they can hold a more dominant position. This gives them the opportunity to define their own lifestyle as being superior and worthy of respect (Williams, 1995, p. 589).

3.1.5 Translating the theory of Bourdieu into the topic of this research

This theory matches this research because the segregation, with attached social inequalities, has been present in Belfast for centuries and seems to be reproduced over time. This can be seen in the fact that although peace has officially been established for almost twenty years, the city remains segregated on the levels of residence, working and transport. By gaining insight in the habitus of the residents, the TBUC-policy and other policies can be adjusted. This can increase the effectiveness of the policies. The concept of social capital and the effect it has on creating boundaries on who is in and who is out of a certain group can be used in understanding the reasons why people include and exclude others of the social capital. Since the capital is used to achieve the goals that come from the habitus, it is understandable that people who are not considered to contribute to the goal of the

community are excluded. When the goal of the Republican community is considered to be reuniting Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland, the loyalist community will be excluded of this community since they do not share the same goal nor have the right social capital that is useful for the republican community. Of course this also works vice versa. Social capital can be seen as a tool for the habitus. The fields in which the actors act and in which they struggle for power are important in Belfast. The dominant group operates in a field and they form a power struggle with the newcomers when these newcomers try to tackle the monopoly. In the case of Belfast, the struggle in the field clearly took place during The Troubles. With the presence of the peace lines, the spatial structure and fields are clearly established. It makes one wonder what will happen when the peace lines disappear from the researched communities.

3.2 Space and place

A more domain specific theory that is used in this research is the theory on space and place of Yi-Fu Tuan. This theory consists of the concepts of space, place, body, culture and sense of place. A main difference is made between space and place. Space is a geographical location people take for granted because they live in it (Tuan, 1977, p. 6). A location created by human experiences is called place, place exists of space that is being valued and filled with interpretations by people, it is unique and different that other places (Tuan, 1979, p.387; Shamai, 1991, p.350). The human beings in the space have preferences for vertical lines, right angles and symmetrical shapes, this makes that a city can have a back or front area based on one's location (Shamai, 1991, p. 394). Human beings oppose a scheme on space, which is considered as culture. The theory comes from a humanistic perspective, which means that the study of the spatial feelings of people is at the core of the study (ibid., 388). The sense of place concept is not easy to define (Shamai, 1991, p. 348). The combination of location and locale can lead to a sense of place (Creswell, 2009, p.1). People play a big role in the process of space becoming place. A person is its own centre of the world he lives in, the space around one is implemented in the place. Different social groups experience the same spatial setting in a different way and attach different meaning to the space (Kianicka et al., 2006, p. 55). On the other hand, meanings can also be shared and create a sense of identity (Creswell, 2009, p. 2). Human beings have a sense of place which means that they apply morals to sites and locations (Shamai, 1991, p. 410). Shamai and Ilatov explain that sense of place cannot only be understood when looking only at location, an experience of the place is needed to create a sense of place (2004, p. 468). A person is its own centre of the world he lives in, the space around one is implemented in the place. Each locality has a distinctive character. This place identity or sense of place is often referred to as the *genius loci* (Puren et al., 2012, p. 136). The place identity in Belfast is highly connected to the peace lines.

Knowing where you are safe and amongst people of the same community creates a sense of place in which the residents of Belfast feel secure (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2006, p. 16).

3.3 Combining the two theories

The spatial feelings that are part of the habitus, what people feel when they are in a certain space and what makes it a place for them, can be used in order to understand the continuation of the segregation in Belfast. To understand the sense of place and how this is established is also part of the habitus. The fields in Belfast together create a certain space, in which the segregation takes place. As stated by Shirlow and Murtagh (2006, p. 19), the segregation in Belfast is a form of spatial practice that is constantly reproduced as a system that has proved to work. This proven system encourages struggles over spaces. These spaces are both physical and symbolic. This system can be linked to the fields of Bourdieu. The different classes are expected to have a different sense of place, feeling where you belong is partly depending on where you feel like you are among people of the same class. Bourdieu (1987, p. 5) even explains that the sense of place of an agent creates a sense of humbleness and a desire to keep the others out. Connolly & Healy (2004, p. 16) state the lower and middle class create a different habitus because of the fewer resources and opportunities available.

3.4 Conceptual framework
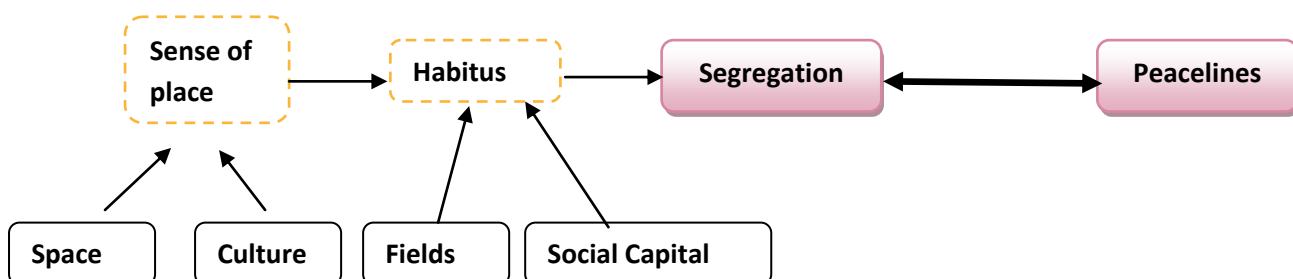
This conceptual framework first shows the interactive relation between the concepts of segregation and peace lines. They are interlinked because the segregation is influenced by the peace lines, and the peace lines exist because of the segregation. The situation is of course much more complicated in real than shown in this conceptual model, showing the links between the concept can understanding this complicated reality. In this thesis, I look into the influence of habitus on the segregation. Therefore, there is an arrow from habitus to segregation. Habitus as a concept is quite spatial. Although the habitus cannot be equated with a particular space, it can predispose particular spatial preferences. The habitus consists of the sense of place and fields. Space and culture are important

factors that create a sense of place. The operationalisation of the concepts will be done by showing the dimensions and indicators. The operationalisation scheme shows segregation as the core concept. This segregation consists of the dimensions of spatial segregation, habitus and sense of place. The spatial separation can be measured using data that look at the percentage of Catholics or Protestants within a certain predefined area. Furthermore, the spatial separation is shaped by the presence of peace lines in the researched areas. Within this broad concepts of peace lines, physical barriers like walls and fences can be observed. Beside these harsh barriers, mental barriers are also present in the areas. These borders cannot be seen, but local residents know where they are placed. The habitus of residents consists of the field they live and the identity they have. The field as perceived in the theory of Bourdieu consists of the space. Although identity is hard to measure and an endless range of aspect that are part of identity can be given, in this case I chose to focus on the aspects of religion, residence and age. Religion is an important part of identity since, in Belfast it can determine whom you belong with, where you are save and what your chances are. With residence I mean the place where inhabitants of the researched area live and how long they have lived here. The age of the researched population is important since there are differences in identity between the people of Belfast who have experienced The Troubles and who have not (Byrne et al., 2012). Sense of place is also a broad concept that can be difficult to measure. To understand the sense of place of people, the space that is perceived and the culture people identify themselves with has to be determined. The specific spaces that can influence the sense of place are determined to be Shankill Road and Falls Road in this research. Culture is another concept that can be very vague and broad, but for this purpose of this research it has been operationalised into religion and class. Class in this research is seen the way Bourdieu perceives it. In this theory, he created three classes. There is a upper class with a sense of superiority, the middle class has the aspiration to become upper class. Lastly, the working class experiences a sense of inferiority and mocks the pretentions of the middle class. It is assumed that the class somebody belongs to, can influence the way other people or classes are perceived. This can influence the segregation and negative feelings towards the other community (Pijpers, personal communication, November 24, 2014). Deciding which class people or communities belong to will be done by the use of both literature and the data gathered from interviews. The researched areas in Belfast have previously been defined as a certain class by different authors in academic literature. During the interviews, the respondents were asked in what class they would label themselves and/or the researched areas.

The concept of social capital that is present in the in the conceptual framework is not further operationalized since it is the concept revolves about the relations between people. In order to correctly research this, a much bigger number of respondents have to be interviewed about this matter. Furthermore, a deeper insight in many factors is needed in order to create an overview of

the social capital in a certain community. The reason (social) capital is discussed is because it does influence the extent in which the goals that come from the habitus can be carried out. Understanding that when social capital is low or not sufficient and therefore affecting the habitus is important in order to understand why habitus is reproduced.
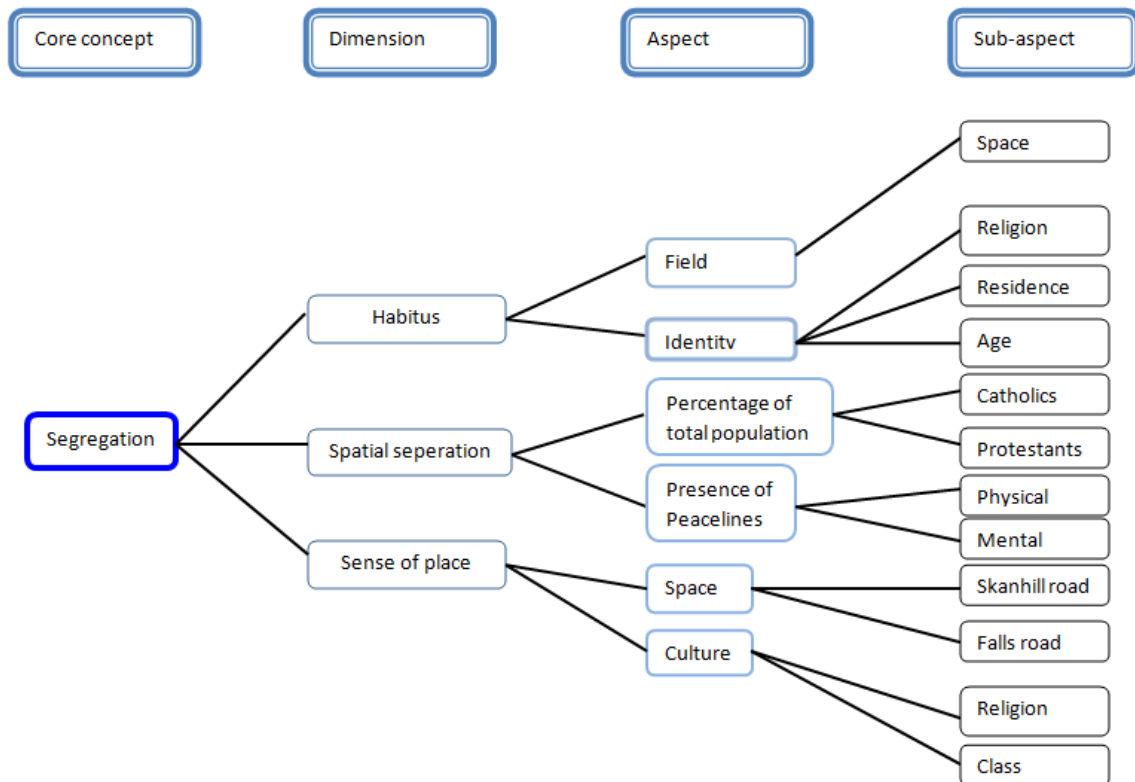
4. <u>Background</u>

This section will provide an answer to the first sub-question *What is the current situation regarding the conflict in West-Belfast?* Although a small insight of the situation in Belfast has already been provided, a more in-depth analysis of the background of the topic is given to create a better understanding of this divided city. Firstly, the history of segregated Belfast will be set out. When describing history, a particular focus must be chosen to prevent the writer from writing an entire chronicle of history. Therefore, the described history focuses mainly on the segregation through time. Secondly, the period of The Troubles will be set out. This is important because its influence is still present all over Belfast today. This section is followed by highlighting the most important parts of the Belfast Agreement/Good Friday Agreement and its effects. After that, the concept of peace lines, their history and the importance of murals will be explained. The next paragraph 4.3 focuses on the geography of the researched Falls Road and Shankill road. This section will be closed by providing a look into the Belfast of 2016. Combining these different analyses, the first sub-question *What is the current situation regarding the conflict in West-Belfast?* will be answered.

4.1 History of the segregation

4.1.1 Belfast until 1969

When looking into the city of Belfast and analysing the state it is in today, it is impossible not to look at the past. McIntyre (2002, p. 398) states that in Belfast '*the past is ever present, the present is ever informed by the past'.* A long history of division and violence is connected to Belfast, to understand the city of today, its history needs to be discussed. As Leonard and McKnight (2011, p. 570) state that *'Belfast has always been a divided city.*' Boal (2002) describes the history of the segregation in Belfast and shows that indeed the city has always been spatially segregated. He states that there are four different phases in which the segregation has developed. The first phase is the 16th century *colonial city* where segregation was complete, the Catholics lived outside the town and the Protestants lived inside the town walls. The second phase, *the immigrant-industrial city,* took place in the 19th century when Belfast extended industrially and a great flow of migrants from northern Ireland arrived, mainly Catholics causing a growth in population from 20.000 in 1800 to 320.000 in 1900 (Boal, 1996). Boal (2002) and McAtackney (2011) note that this group of migrants didn't follow the usual path of a new group in a city. Unlike what happened with other immigrant enclaves in e.g. Liverpool and Glasgow, the segregation didn't decline over time. The immigrants did not assimilate with the receiving population and reminded to be considered as outsiders by the Belfast population. McAtackney (2011) follows the phases described by Boal (2002) and notes that in this second phase, the Catholics were no longer living outside the town walls but came to live within the walls albeit still segregated

from the Protestants. Later in the 19th century the segregation increased, this 3rd phase is labelled as *the ethno national city: beginnings* by Boal (2002). This increase was firstly caused by Catholics wanting autonomy or independence for Ireland instead of being a part of the United Kingdom. Secondly, Protestants felt threatened by the increase of Catholic emancipation, e.g. voting rights. At the end of the 19th and then in the beginning of the 20th century, the 4th phase of Boal -*the ethno national city: rampant*- appeared when tensions between Catholics and Protestants rose. In 1920 this problem was solved by Government of Ireland 1920 act that made the partition of Ireland into the republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland that is part of the United Kingdom possible. Jumping forward in time, we come to the second half of the twentieth century when the relatively stable situation took a dramatic change. This period of Troubles, deeper explained in 4.1.2 also caused more segregation. Doherty and Poole (1997, p. 522) explain that when people are confronted with violence, as it was the case during The Troubles, most people seek protection. This protection was and is found in the concept of residential segregation. Living with the people you know and sharing an identity creates a certain sense of safety and belonging

4.1.2   The Troubles

On the 5th of October 1968, international attention is being drawn to Derry/Londonderry because of a confrontation between civil rights protesters and the police. This date is often seen as the day The Troubles started. This meant the beginning of a period with extreme violence, The period can best be described as "*the period of conflict that occurred between the main communities and the security forces in Northern Ireland from 1969 onward.*" (Topping & Evans, 2005, p. 374). These Troubles were the result of the confrontation between the British state, the Irish Republicans and the Protestant paramilitaries. The origins of The Troubles can be traced back to the early 1600s when the English and Scots came into the Ulster area (Conway, 2003, p. 306). Throughout the centuries periods of relative rest and violence alternated, often caused by government intervention. Until 1969, when the Catholic groups were inspired by the African-American civil rights movement and decided to put an end to the social, economic and political exclusion this group had experienced (Conway, 2003, pp. 306-308; Dawson, 2005, p. 159). The increase of civil rights of the Catholics was seen as an erosion of the privileges held by the Protestant citizens (Leonard, 2004, p. 931). The Irish Republicans were mostly represented by the IRA, examples of the loyalist paramilitaries are the Ulster Freedom Fighters and the Ulster Volunteer Force (Mesev et al., 2009, p. 894). Paramilitary organisations played a central role in the conflict. No one was safe from them, sometimes certain groups were targeted whilst at other times everybody was a target. During this violent conflict, 3600 people died as a direct result of The Troubles and over 40.000 people had been injured (Topping & Evans, 2005, p. 376). In Belfast, 90% of the deathly victims were civilians and not military (Griffin, n.d.). This high

number of civilian deaths made the relations between the authorities and competing groups worse throughout time. The British army was sent in 1969 to help the police out. At first these troops were welcomed by mostly the Catholics, thinking that the situation would soon be settled now. Unfortunately this was not the case, on the Shankill Road loyalists fought against the British army and police to show their outrage against changes in the British army (Ulster Museum, 2016). One of the most violent events against citizens of The Troubles took place on 30th of January 1972, when the British army shot thirteen unarmed Catholics dead that were part of a protest march for civil rights (Conway, 2003, p. 308). This Bloody Sunday and its victim only got an official apology from the British government in 2010. The British army remained on duty in the region until 2007.

To make matters even worse, a new version of the IRA was formed in December 1969. This Provisional IRA saw themselves as the defenders of Catholic neighbourhoods. Besides protecting, the IRA also targeted military and service installations. This led to a quick spread of tension, fear and shock that would go on for thirty years. A timeline of The Troubles, as displayed in the Ulster Museum, can be found in appendix 9.5.1.

What is striking about the conflict is that it is seen or perceived as a different type of conflict by different groups of people. It has been labelled as theological, cultural, economic or an ethnic conflict, but I don't think it can be explained by one single factor. The conflict influences the lives of many people, the policy making and the political structure in Northern Ireland. Children go to separated schools, people take different bus routes depending on which community they belong (BBC, 2013). The political arena is dominated by political parties from both communities that have a hard time cooperating and bringing political issues back to sectarian issues (Mitchell, personal communication, May 10, 2016). This broad range of influences makes that multiple factors have to be taken into account when analysing the conflict. Focusing on different factors makes that a well-rounded view can be given. Although it is impossible to discuss all the influencing factors, aim was to involve those factors that are most relevant and explanatory. Muldoon et al. (2007, p. 90) describe the conflict as "*the competing position between two ethno-national groups where religion acts as a socially determined boundary*." The risen tensions led to an increase in parades/ marches, where groups of Catholics would demonstrate against the inequality or the Protestants would show their 'power' and claim of territory (Dawson, 2005, p. 160). These parades of showing pride and identity still frequently take place in Belfast. Finally, in 1994 a ceasefire was established and in 1998 the Good Friday/Belfast agreement was signed, creating a relative stable peace. Although peace was established, the so-called peace lines that were created to temporarily keep the two communities apart, only increased in number and size after the ceasefire, leading up to over eighty barricades in 2013 (Gormley-Heenan et al., 2013, p. 82; Leonard and McKnight, 2011, p. 570).

4.1.3   The Belfast Agreement/Good Friday Agreement.

The Belfast Agreement was signed on the 10th of April 1998 as a result of multi-party talks followed by a referendum in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Four years after the ceasefires, the parties were able to agree on an arrangement that would set out the future of Northern Ireland. This agreement aimed (among other things) to *"provide for equality provision and the endorsement of British and Irish cultural rights, bring forth the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons and other forms of demilitarisation groups"* (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 37). This agreement was put to a vote with the use of a referendum in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. 71 percent of the people on the northern side of the border voted in favour, and 94 percent on the south, so the agreement was accepted with a generous majority (Reynolds, 1999, p. 614). The most important subjects that were agreed on in this agreement were the recognition of the Northern Ireland's union with Great Britain, and the change of the government of the Republic of Ireland. The Republic changed the territorial claim over Northern Ireland into an aspiration to Irish unity (Ruane & Todd, 2003, p.122). These changes contributed to the central goal of removing the direct rule from the British government (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 36). Furthermore, the rights of both the unionists and the republicans were guaranteed. Constitutional changes were also made, this meant the creation of a power-sharing executive Northern Ireland Executive, often referred to as Stormont; to the building where this parliament is seated. This parliament has to work according to the principle of power sharing, this means that the ministers must be selected from both unionist and loyalist parties. This power sharing Executive can only let big issues pass when there is an overall majority, plus a majority in both the nationalist and unionist camps present at the time of voting (Ruane & Todd, 2003, p.124). This makes that on one side, it can be made certain that one side is not worse off but it also leads to a government that can hardly do anything and loses significant amounts of time trying to reach a consensus. Through the agreement Stormont has a high-level competency on the fields of education, health, economy, social services and finance. Besides the agreements on how Northern Ireland should be ruled, arrangements regarding the violence were also made. The paramilitary organisations had to be decommissioned, the weapons had to be destroyed and every other form of military organisation had to be dismantled (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 36). The term Belfast Agreement is preferred by the unionist side since Belfast is the English name for the city whilst the republican community prefers the term Good Friday Agreement. This use of different names shows how deep the division is and how something as simple as a name can be seen as provocation by one party (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2006, p. 33).

4.2 Peace lines throughout the city

4.2.1 History of the peace lines

"Sir, it will be over by Christmas"

This was the answer of a soldier to a resident from the Falls-Springfield Road who asked when the barricades would be removed (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 67). During the period of The Troubles the first *official* peace line was built by the British Army as a temporary security response to keep the groups apart (Boal, 1996; Gormley-Heenan, Byrne & Robinson, 2013). The army first used barbed wire to keep the people apart, but soon started building more permanent structures made from steel fences and brick walls (Prieto, n.d.). The walls were planned to be a temporary measure, supposed to be gone by Christmas 1969, but after fifteen years of peace 88 walls are standing widespread throughout the city (Gormley-Heenan et al., 2013, p. 82; Leonard & McKnight, 2011, p. 570). I say *official* peace line, because according to Gormley-Heenan et al. (2013, p. 362) before the arrival of the British army in Belfast, communities themselves already produced barricades in 1969 with burnt out cars, furniture and barbed wire. These barricades limited the movements of the army so they were demolished and replaced by the official peace lines. Although the walls were never supposed to stay for a long time, they can still be found throughout the city. The number of walls even became higher after the signing of the Belfast Agreement. Besides the increase of the quantity, the existing walls have been heightened and reinforced (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 67). The terms used to define the walls that divide Belfast are peace lines, peace walls , barriers, walls, divides or interfaces. Leonard and McKnight (2011) discuss how the name 'peace walls' is a rather optimistic one for a construction that is created to keep people segregated and to protect them against violence. The wall that divides Shankill and Falls Road came into place at the end of a massive riot. 1850 people had to flee their burnt homes, this led to a change of the construction of the interface area. Since the situation was extremely dangerous, the government used this 'gap' of the burnt houses to create a barrier to keep the two groups apart (McAtackney, 2011, p. 89).

4.2.2 Ownership and types of walls

Until 2010, the Northern Ireland Office was responsible for the construction and maintenance of the peace lines. When the policing and justice powers were decentralized, the ownership of the walls came in the hands of different parties (Byrne et al., 2012, p. 4). Of the 109 peace walls that are present in Northern Ireland, the department of Justice owns 51. The Housing executive owns 20 and the others are either privately owned or are in the hands of various public agencies (Black, 2016). The interfaces can differ greatly in the way they look. A broad distinction can be made between the physical barriers and the symbolic barriers. The traditional physical barriers are the peace lines,

impermeable walls of steel and brick. On Cupar way, the road that divides Shankill Road and Falls Road, a meters tall steel fence topped on another fence divides two communities. Closely located to the International Peacewall are two massive steel doors that can be closed when needed. These walls are more permeable, usually opened during the day and closing off the road during night. Not only roads are divided by the barriers, public spaces as parks are also segregated by walls and fences. Besides the clearly distinctive walls and gates, other non-physical barriers keep people segregated in Belfast. The showing of flags, signs supporting particular political parties or football teams and painting on the walls and sides of buildings are all ways in which the local people know when they enter another area in which they do or do not belong. The importance of the paintings, also called morals, is explained in paragraph 4.2.3. What is striking about the non-traditional peace lines is that fact because they are not physical, only the people who live in the area know the meaning behind certain landmarks. Small things like a turn in the road or a shop can act like an interface and limit people in their ability to move without being conscious of their surroundings and safety feelings.

4.2.3 Murals

Beside functioning as a physical barrier, the peace lines in Belfast also have a communicative role. They are often used as canvas to tell stories from the past, show the reigning culture and pay tribute to the fallen by paintings on the concrete (McAtackney, 2011, p. 77). Furthermore, they are used as a form of territory marking. Because of the murals present in a community, one can immediately tell what side of the conflict is being supported in this area (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 68). These murals are not only found on the peace lines, but throughout the whole city on the sides of buildings. McAtackney (2011, p. 77) explains that the murals are used as a means of maintaining and reinforcing the identity of the inhabitants. By visually communicating opinions on the society, the paintings proclaim a particular, exclusive identity. Sometimes these paintings show events from the past, like battles during World War I, but most of the time the walls show a sectarian message. In appendix 9.5.2 and 9.5.3 several examples of murals found on both Shankill and Falls Road can be seen. In the area around Falls road, the murals tell the story of the loyalist community. Tribute is paid to those who lost their lives during The Troubles via the murals. McAtackney (2011) found that there is a difference between how the unionist and the loyalist communities use the morals in order to represent their identity. The mural tradition has its roots in the unionist communities, the first murals arose in the 1980s. These murals are often focused on maintaining the status quo of the traditional British identity (Geisler, 2005, p. 175). Images vary from pictures of the Queen, the showing of historical events like the Battle of Boyne in 1690, to the representation of paramilitary groups during The Troubles. The nationalist tradition only emerged during the period of The Troubles. This caused the pictures to be used more as a display to show the social and political

injustice. Furthermore, the murals have been identified as being more fluid because of the broader range of subjects that are covered on the sides of buildings. The concerns of the nationalistic community are portrayed, during the period of commemorations the murals can be updated to display current worries of the community. So although both communities use the art of telling stories via visual data, the execution differs (McAtackney, 2011). Although it might seem that the murals are only used to strengthen a sectarian message, there are also murals around Belfast that tell different stories. For example, a tribute to the thousands of people who worked on the Titanic in Belfast is paid through a meters long mural as can be seen in appendix 9.5.6.

4.2.4　The importance of walls

Walls are important in every city, they direct the physical experiences in cities throughout the world. However, in Belfast they play a particular important role due to the deep divide in the society (McAtackney, 2011, p. 78). The presence of the borders in the city make that it is important to pay attention of the consequences when a city is physically segregated through borders. Newman and Paasi (1998, p. 188) put focus on the effect of borders, stating that

"*even if they (borders) are always more or less arbitrary lines between territorial entities, they may also have deep symbolic, cultural, historical and religious, often contested, meanings for social communities. They (borders) manifest themselves in numerous social, political and cultural practices".*
Relating back to the previously explained concept of identity, that was explained as that what makes people feel attached to a certain group, this quote shows how the feelings of identity can be influenced by the borders. The meanings on different levels that walls can have, all influence the (sense of) identity. Although people that live around the interface areas state that the peace lines give them a degree of security, the areas around the walls are also often the location of violence. Besides acting as a device of segregation, the walls are becoming more and more a popular tourist destination. Black cab tours take the tourists around the most important walls and murals (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 65). Concluding, it can be stated that the long presence of peace lines in Belfast has left its marks on various fields in society.

4.3 Geography

The social, political and theological differences between the residents of Belfast can be seen in the geography of the city. The social segregation is represented in residential segregation, which leads to predominantly Catholic or Protestant areas, as can be seen in figure 7. This map also clearly shows how the areas of Shankill Road and Falls Road are the border regions between two social blocks in the east of Belfast. The red lines indicate the peace lines, the main divide between Falls Road and Shankill Road can be seen. Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016) stated about the Falls/Shankill area:

"Their peace wall is the largest one, and the most infamous one. And I think that it may be the last one to ever come down. But I think the key point there is, is that the Falls community is increasing and the Skanhill community is decreasing significantly and that causes more of a pressure point.
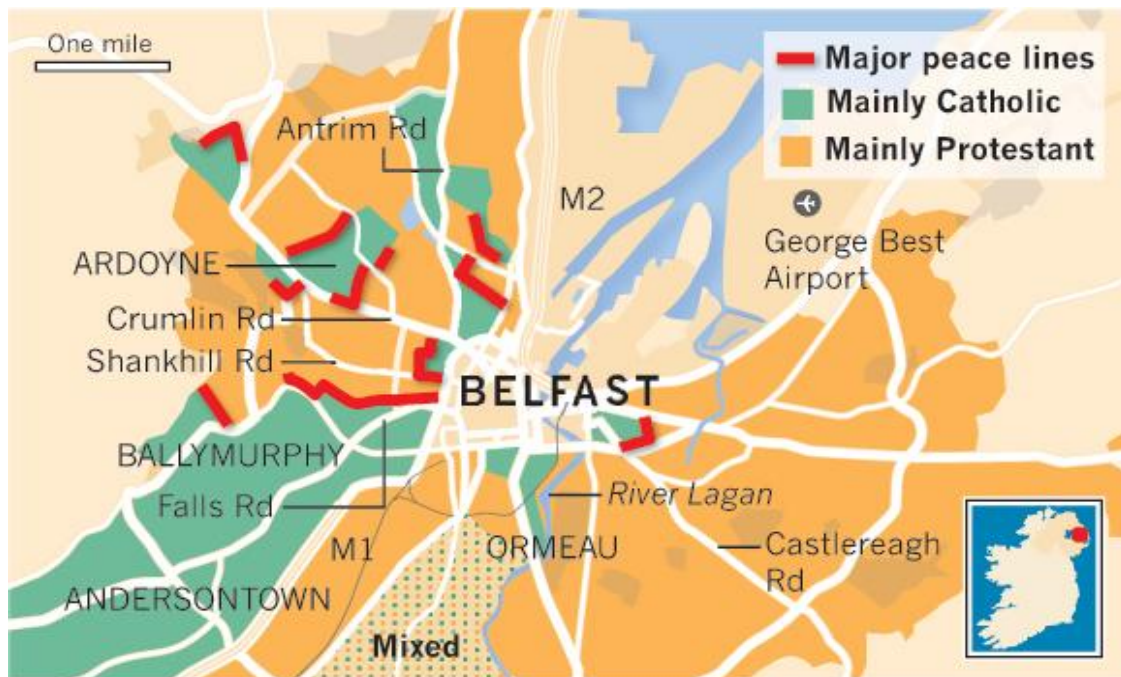
Figure 7: The divided city (McKittrick, 2011)

When researching two different cases, it is useful to set out the characteristics of these areas to understand the differences in feelings towards the TBUC-policy. These areas might be extremely different in sense which side is supported, but what they do have in common is the fact that both areas suffered greatly during The Troubles and were often the scene of extreme violence. Because of the close proximity and the sectarian vibe in the two areas, they are often labelled as interface areas. Interface areas can often be found around peace lines (Jarman & O'Halloran, 2001 p. 4).

Prieto (n.d.) states that these interface areas are still perceived as zones of tension and violence. The presence of mainly social housing and the working class are typical for these parts of Belfast.

As stated before, the area of Shankill/Falls became segregated in the nineteenth century, when a flow of urbanization brought new people into the city. Spatial segregation came into place when these new residents did not mingle (Kliot & Waterman, p. 142). This segregation maintained over time. In 1969, before The Troubles started, Boal (1969, p. 33) already described the Shankill/Falls area in Belfast as an interesting one. During The Troubles, the Shankill/Falls divide in West Belfast was for many years one of the most intense flashpoints in the violence between the loyalists on one side and the IRA and other groups like different protestant paramilitaries on the other (Agnew, 2014, p. 857). This lead to the placement of a six-meters high peace line on Cupar way. This divide is still

very present in the area. This area further showed a low socio-economic status (Lyons, 1972, p. 605). Both areas are working class areas (Carter, 2003, p. 270). Over time, these areas have maintained segregated. Nowadays, the areas are divided by a twenty feet high steel wall on Cupar way (Geisler, 2005, p. 174). The current Falls/Shankill area consists of 3298 residents (Byrne et. al., 2015, p. 7).

4.3.1 Shankill road

When entering the area of Shankill Road, one can immediately tell that this a loyalist area. Murals, as shown in figure 8 and more in appendix 9.5.4 show pictures of Queen Elizabeth, the Union Jack and tributes to fallen soldiers. Besides being able to tell the favoured side from the murals, the ever present Union Jacks around the streets clearly show the loyalty to the United Kingdom. As stated by one of the respondents, Shankill is the heart of loyalism (Mitchell, personal communication, May 12, 2016).

Figure 8: Mural showing loyalty to the Queen on Shankill Road (Veerbeek, 2016).

During The Troubles, Shankill Road was the centre for the loyalist paramilitary organizations like the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) (Mitchell, 2016). During the period of violence, the area was bombed a couple of times by the republican paramilitary forces (McDonald & Cusack, 2004, p.8). Shankill Road is often defined as a traditional working class area (Carter, 2003, p. 275). The presence of this Protestant enclave is quite extraordinary since most Protestants tend to live in the east side of the city (Neeson, 2013). In West-Belfast, 80% of the inhabitants is Catholic (Northern Ireland Assembly, 2013. p.2). The age of the Protestant population in Belfast is relatively high, in 2011 70 percent of the Protestant population was aged 75 years or older (Russel, 2013, p. 13). This leads to a natural decline of the number of residents in the Shankill area. A distinct feature of the Shankill area is the presence of marching bands. The tradition of parading is still very present in the Shankill area. During marching season, which starts in March and goes on until the end of the summer, marching bands will walk

through the streets to show the culture of the loyalist community and how proud they are to be British. Bands are at the heart of the loyalist culture, these Orange parades serve as one of the essential ingredients of commemoration and celebrating (Jarman,2000. p.159). During summer time, these marches often end up in riots between the loyalist and nationalist community because the loyalist parades cross through nationalist areas (BBC, 2013). During The Troubles, Shankill Road was home to the Ulster Volunteer Force, and the Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom fighters (Silke, 2003, p. 43). Although the paramilitary organisations should have been disabled after the Good Friday Agreement, sectarian feelings and expressions are still very present in this community. Because of the many murals and memorial gardens present, it is almost impossible to escape the past and the sectarian message when walking on the Shankill road. Most murals have messages like *"For God and Ulster"* and *"Proud to be British"* written on them making it very clear that this area of Belfast is loyalist.

4.3.2 Falls Road

Entering the Falls Road feels like entering another country. The Irish tri-colour is shown everywhere and plenty murals undoubtedly make clear that one now has entered the nationalist, Catholic area of West-Belfast. Murals here tend to be more filled with a political message, showing events from the past that have been significant for the republican community. Messages like *"this combatant was killed by the British*" and "*we bleed so our nation can live. Damn you England, we want our country"* are shown throughout the area. The main office of the political party Sinn Fein is located here, on the side of the office a massive mural dedicated to Bobby Sands can be found. This mural, shown in figure 9 comes across as more politically loaded than most of the murals on Shankill road.

Figure 9: Bobby Sands Mural on Falls Road (Veerbeek, 2016)

The population of Falls Road is also considered to be working-class (Dowler, 1998, p. 161). When I visited Falls road, the elections for the new Northern Ireland parliament based on the hill of Stormont in Belfast (therefore often referred to as Stormont, like The Hague and Washington when talking about governments), were held just a week ago and the campaign posters were still up. These posters really showed a different message than one usually sees on posters of political parties. As can be seen in figure 10 and in appendix 9.5.5, these posters are not related to subjects that plead for better housing or higher wages, but they are spreading a pro-Irish message. This area shows the heart of nationalism. Most texts on for example shops were also written in Irish-Gaelic, which is the Irish language, instead of English.

Figure 10: Campaign poster from Sinn Fein on a lamp post, Falls Road (Veerbeek, 2016)

4.4 Belfast in 2016

Belfast in 2016 might seem like a normal city at first. The city centre is vibrant with beautiful amazing architecture and great leisure facilities. A newly developed waterfront and the Titanic Museum brought over 7.59 million visitors to the city in 2012 (Belfast City Council, 2012). Unfortunately, Belfast is not a normal city, and question is if it will ever be. When in 2012 the Belfast City Council decided to remove the Union Jack from City Hall on certain days, loyalist protests broke out. The summer of 2013 was one filled with violence, riots and destruction (BBC, 2013). Official peace was established in 1998, but the conflict is nowhere near solved.

Bringing everything of this chapter together, the first sub-question *What is the current situation regarding the conflict in West-Belfast?* can be answered.

The city is still in conflict, maybe not as violent as during The Troubles but sectarianism is still very present. As indicated by interviewees, Belfast is in a new mode of conflict which creates separation through the discrimination of the 'other' and the attached community. When walking through the neighbourhoods of Shankill and Falls, radical messages are portrayed through the murals and posters. The peace lines divide entire communities. Besides the residential segregation manifested in the many peace lines, the new generations are being separated when they enjoy their education. The collective memory from communities still deals with the losses, injuries and mental scarring left by The Troubles. Although the city centre has made a wonderful revival, the rest of this city is nowhere near free from conflict. Especially in West-Belfast, where the hearts of loyalism and nationalism can be found, the conflict is still very present. The main reason why the conflict is still very present in Belfast 2016 is the fact that the issues from which the conflict arose, are not being addressed. As indicated by multiple interviewees (Byrne, Mitchell, Jane 2), the conflict is being managed instead of being solved. Because the roots of the conflict are not solved yet, the separation and segregation continues. The feelings of pride, identity and culture are being passed on to new generations in different ways. The most important factor in the continuing of the separation is the separation of schools. Around 7 percent of the schools are integrated, meaning children from both Catholic and Protestant backgrounds go to these schools. The rest of the schools are separated which leads to a new generation that does not know much about the other community. The research of Connoly and Healy (2004) showed 10-11-year-old Catholic boys stating things that they would never go to the areas of Protestants and that all Protestants have guns. Furthermore, some young people tend to glorify the conflict. William Mitchell from the ACT initiative explains why this happens in his reaction to the question whether he sees that younger people feel like they should remember the past and keep the memory alive:

 "Well, I think there is some truth in that. It is hard to imagine why that is taking place. Some young people are still sectarian, even though, I am not saying there was a legitimate cause for it in the past, but there was a more understandable cause for people being sectarian towards each other. Because we were in a country in the middle of a conflict, but that is a thing of the past. Why are young people still like that? Especially people born after the conflict, if you are born after 1998, you know nothing of conflict other than you have heard or read or seen in the media. So why do people still feel like they need an interface? And unfortunately that is a fact because they hear the stories of the old people who get arrested. And unfortunately for some people the conflict is glorified, in mythological terms and they like the arms, especially the more macho man" (personal communication, May 10, 2016,).

This glorification of the conflict creates a sense of pride of the events of the past. This pride is displayed in the parades during summer. Marching bands walk through the streets of Belfast to celebrate their culture, but often the routes of the bands go through the areas of the other communities. This makes that almost every summer some of these parades end up in riots, as can be seen in the BBC documentary Petrol Bombs and Peace: Welcome to Belfast. This new mode of fighting creates tension in the city, year by year.

Another factor that keeps the conflict alive in present Belfast is the trauma people have to deal with. Suffering from losses, injuries and mental issues, for some people The Troubles are nowhere near over. In the city itself, many remains can still be seen. Beside the peace lines and murals, abbreviations like KAT (Kill All Taigs- Taigs meaning Catholics) are widespread through the city. These signs, flags and other markings of territory that are not immediately spotted make the city still feel divided for the local people. The never ending presence of sectarian messages, collective history, presence of multiple peace lines and reinforced sectarianism through the parades and attached riots makes that this area of West-Belfast still has a long way to go to be conflict free.

5. <u>Identity and peace lines</u>

In this section, the sub-questions 2 *What is the effect of the peace lines on identity of the West-Belfast population?* and 3 *What is the effect of the peace lines on the sense of place of the West-Belfast population?* will be answered. Question 2 focuses on identity. First a more in-depth view on the identity in Belfast will be given. Secondly, the sense of place of both the Shankill and Falls area will be discussed. Quotes from the interviews will be used to illustrate the findings. Because habitus and sense of place are interlinked, the 3rd question on sense of place will also be answered in this section.

5.1 Identity and habitus in Belfast

As explained in 2.2.3, identity is that what makes people feel attached to a certain group. People feel attached to each other by the presence of a shared property. These shared properties differ in Belfast because of the different political and religious views. Tempelman (1999, p.1) explains the importance of (cultural) identity, stating that "*(cultural) identity creates a basis for the self-respect of people, and for the freedom to live life according to one's own insight".* So, living in a society should mean that all civilians have the right and opportunity to have and maintain an own cultural identity. Problems, like in Belfast, are created when the rights of the different cultural groups collapse. The difference in human rights was one of the reasons behind The Troubles. The data from the 2011 census show that 42 percent of the people were brought up as Protestants, and 49 percent were brought up as Catholic (NINIS, 2011). Over time, these numbers fluctuated, leaving sometimes the Protestants as minority whilst in other time periods the Catholics were outnumbered. These fluctuations of who was the minority created a sense of inferiority at both sides where the domination of the other community was feared (Timmerman, 2015, p. 42). When the dominant group can suppress the minorities, discrimination can take place. This can lead to the unequal treatment of people, and the violation of freedom rights by the exclusion of certain people (Tempelman, 1999, p. 2). These differences in identity can be seen in the residential segregation of the groups, the segregation of education and the sectarian behaviour. These practices all contribute to the creation of a certain habitus. As explained in 3.1.1, habitus is the

 "*set of predispositions individuals develop to approaching, thinking about and acting upon their social worlds that they have come to learn over time as a consequence of their experiences. The more that they employ such thoughts and actions and find them to 'work' within particular social contexts, the more they become a durable and 'habitualised' part of their subconscious"* (Connolly & Healy, 2004, p. 16).

This habitus creates a class-dependent naturalised way of thinking that individuals use to feel, act and classify the social world and their location within it (Williams, 1995, p. 568).

This concept has been operationalized in 3.4, where it is stated that the dimension of habitus consists of the aspects of field and identity. The sub-aspect of field is space, and the sub-aspects of identity where defined as religion, residence and age.

Because of the small scale of the research, there are only a few respondents that could provide insights of their habitus. However, they did provide information about how they perceived the situations in the past and the present. These experiences can be used to analyse the situation on Shankill road, and relating this back to the concept of habitus.

5.1.1 The habitus of Shankill Road and Falls Road

The concept of habitus is operationalized in the aspects of field and identity. Field is in this case the space, here being either the Shankill Road and the neighbourhood Shankill or the Falls Road and the Falls neighbourhood. Identity is broken down into the sub-aspects of religion, residence and age. There were no interview respondents from Falls road, but other data sources will be used to give an insight in the habitus.

Shankill Road

The Shankill interviewees that participated in a knitting class at the Shankill Women's Centre were asked question about residence, age and religion. Interviewee Jane 1 is 55 years old and is not directly living on Shankill Road or in the Shankill neighbourhood. However, she spends three to four days a week in Shankill Women's centre. Interviewee Jane 2 is seventy years old, and living close to Shankill road. Both women categorize themselves as Protestant and loyalist. Because of their age, they were asked how they experienced The Troubles. Jane 2 was not living in Belfast during The Troubles, but did visit the city from time to time to see family and therefore experienced some of the events. Jane 1 was more involved during The Troubles:

"Also when we were growing up there was a bomb on our street. And it completely destroyed the car, it was a car bomb. I have a picture of it on my phone. There were only remains and it destroyed a lot of windows. And then we had a huge army barricade, because I came from north Belfast which was one of the worst areas to be in. We were just used to hearing the crash of the bullets on the street. And we just knew when we heard that, what we had to do. We just grew up with it, it became the norm" (personal communication, May 12, 2016,).

When asked about the period of The Troubles and how this has affected their lives, both women clearly stated that for them The Troubles are not completely over:

"For me it did not feel like things settled down after the agreements. Even though The Troubles were over, there were still things going on. There were still people being punished and there were still people being shot" (Jane 1, personal communication, May 12, 2016).

"But things could erupt because it is still there. I am sure people will tell you that it is over. But sorry, I do not believe that. It is all still there, the IRA is still there, I do not care what Gary Adams says, The IRA are still there! And they are still underground shall we say. On the other side, the Protestant side, they are also still there. Because one side is not going to let the other side have any advantage" (Jane 2, personal communication, May 10, 2016).

The concept of fields, as stated in 3.1.3, are the structured spaces that are defined by the position and which can be analysed by the characteristics of the inhabitants of the certain field (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 72). Each field has its own logic, and the social space is composed out of different fields (Lippuner & Werlen, 2009). All agents in the field, here the people of Shankill road, share a number of interests (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 73). The characteristics of the agents of the Shankill field are first of all that they are nationalists and Protestants. This can clearly be seen in the present murals, that tell a nationalistic Protestant story. An aspect that influences the habitus is the notion of social capital. Social capital is the connection between individuals. These connections make that communities have resources they can use in order to improve the overall well-being of the community. This social capital is another factor that influences the habitus. In the Shankill area, the SWC acts as a valuable source of social capital. By bringing women together and give them tools to socialize, learn and develop the social capital in this area can be increased, which empowers the entire neighbourhood.

Falls Road

Falls Road acts as the field of the Catholic habitus. The agents in Falls Road are the Catholic nationalists. This can be seen in the Falls area by the presence of the Irish flags, Gaelic signs and many murals that remember the ones who died in battle during the conflict. Besides the presence of the murals, the residence of the headquarters of Sinn Fein make clear that this area is Irish/Nationalist.

Because of the rise in population, the social capital of Falls Road can increase. The more connections that can exist among different people, the more resources can be used to improve the overall well-being of the community. This can create a stronger habitus since the social world is shared with more people and the thoughts and actions that create the habitus are practiced more. Shirlow and Murtagh (2006, p. 99) conducted interviews with republican residents of West-Belfast, one of them stating that

"one of my neighbours bought a suite of furniture from a place in the Shankill. I told him I would not

be in his house as long as that furniture was there. Like, he was giving money to the people who [had] attacked us!"

This quote shows the othering of the Shankill community by people from the Catholic community, this othering goes as far as despising someone from the own community who bought something from the other community. The respondent justifies his behaviour by stating that buying something from the Protestants is like giving money to terrorists. Shirlow and Murtagh (2006, p. 98) explain that buying goods from the other community is seen as supporting paramilitaries and contributing to violence in the own community.

The Catholic community is, on average, younger than the Protestant community. In the research of Muldoon et al., a 14 –year-old Irish Catholic boy stated that "*I do live in Northern Ireland but I do not sing along to God save the Queen, or salute the British flag. I salute the tricolour (Irish flag) and sing along to Soldiers are we"* (Muldoon et al., 2007, p. 18). This quote shows the reinforcing of the sectarian feelings within the younger generation of Catholics. This behaviour could be explained by the current school system where children are educated and separated by religion. The habitus that this boy shares with his fellow Catholics is influenced by the past of The Troubles and is still influencing the way people think about themselves and others. Byrne (personal communication, May 12, 2016) expects a strong sense of identity in the Catholic areas because of the changing demographics. In the future there will be (relatively) more Catholics because of the changing demographics. As explained by Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016*), the changing demographics where you have more Catholics and Protestants now does affect the mentality about the peace walls.*

Designing a certain definition of the habitus of Shankill Road and the habitus of Falls Road that fits all residents is not possible since all individuals experience events differently, but there definitely are characteristics that are shared by most people in the communities. Older people that have experienced The Troubles still deal with the trauma of violence and loss. The younger generation that was either quite young or not born during The Troubles can show traumatic behaviour since they see their parents and relatives deal with trauma. Since the conflict is not over yet, people are still trying to reconcile. This clearly shows the way habitus is affected by the experiences in the past, especially major events like The Troubles leave their marks. The identity of the residents of Falls and Shankill Road is highly influenced by the religion. People in West-Belfast define themselves and others by religion, your faith determines whom you belong to and who is not part of your identity group.

The identifying of the habitus will be used to understand how the identity of people is influenced by the peace lines in section 5.3.

5.2 Identity and sense of place in Belfast

To further understand the habitus, it is important to pay attention to the sense of place of the interviewees. As stated in the conceptual framework, the sense of place influences the habitus. The sense of place has been previously been defined as *the feelings of people as a result of a combination of the experience, locale and location. This sense of place is what transforms a space to a place.* In the operationalisation scheme, sense of place is set out in the aspects of space and culture. Space is either Shankill or Falls road. The culture is defined by the religion and class. The religion most found in Shankill is Protestant, and Catholic in the Falls area. Class is defined by Bourdieu as a group of people who share the same habitus. The ordering of to what class the areas belong is done by both the own categorization of the interviewees and with the use of academic literature. For example, William Mitchell states that

"Loyalism is seen as the grassroots working class community. Their voices go unheard because they do not have political representatives. There are loyalist parties, but because of the class distinction they are not connecting. So you will not openly hear those unionist politicians speaking on behalf of people like, because we are people that were part of the problem" (personal communication, May 10 2016).

Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016) explained why the working class seems to be more involved in the sectarianism. When asked whether feelings of strong identity and segregation happen more with people who have a lower income, he stated

If you look at football gangs, if you look at gang culture, if you look at social movements and if you look at the riots in Paris, if you look at what goes on in Amsterdam, if you look at where hot bits of nationalism exist, they exist in working class communities or student areas. Primarily working class areas or areas that suffer from low educational participation and high numbers of deprivation. There is something of a link in between them. In Northern Ireland and the peace wall areas it is a chicken and the egg scenario. You know, people argue that if you take the walls down, the social conditions will improve. Other people argue that the social conditions are not going to improve because they are simply deprived areas. And you get those areas anywhere in the world. You will get them in Manchester, London, Dublin, Amsterdam, Paris. We have places and parts of the city that can be identified as socially deprived. We just got walls around ours!
The previously discussed social capital also influences the class and how much resources are available to the members of the community to improve the situation".

Both the Shankill area and Falls area can be categorized as working class areas. Residents in the area are expected to share the same habitus because of the events of the past. This sharing of the habitus

makes that the residents belong to the same class, according to Bourdieu.

Culture has been operationalized by religion and class, in order to create some categorization. In Belfast, being identified by religion goes further than whether someone reads the Bible or the Koran. People label themselves and others with the use of religion. This influences their lives on many different levels (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 86). Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016) explains that:

"Religion, culture and identity, they are all interlinked. People are still defined by the religion Catholic, Protestant, other. From religion becomes nationalism, unionism, loyalism and republicanism, orange and green. Because of equality forms, you have to say if you are Catholic, Protestant, other or not. So everything is still that defined as a single identity."

When the concepts of culture and identity are linked in the case of Belfast, it clearly shows the importance of celebrating culture, which also means celebrating identity. The influence of identity on the sense of place in the different researched areas will now be discussed

5.2.1   Sense of place in the Shankill and Falls area

In 5.1, the habitus has been discussed. In this segment, the sense of place is added to the habitus to gain an understanding in how the place and space can influence identity. The identity of a person is influenced by the sense of place this agent holds. The locale, the way a place looks, is an important part of the sense of place, particularly in West-Belfast since the peace lines here are more than just concrete walls. The walls define who is in and who is out, are a daily reminder of the conflict and the violence and can limit people in their movements. When visiting Shankill and Falls road, one cannot ignore the locale. The looks of the places influence someone's perception strongly, as an outsider it felt quite surreal to be walking in neighbourhoods that showed such strong sectarian messages whilst people are just living their ordinary life, doing groceries and children playing around. The surroundings of the residents of Falls and Shankill Road create a sense of belonging. On the Falls road, these surroundings are filled with Irish flags, Gaelic slogans and murals reminding the past, as previously shown in figure 9 and 10. The murals can also be found on Shankill road, commemorating those who have fallen during the conflict but also reminders about the aims of the loyalists are displayed. Further aspects that influence the sense of place on Shankill Road are the Union Jacks, pictures of the Queen and red-white-blue marks on the streets. As explained by Creswell (2009, p.2), the meanings attached to locale are shared by the populations of a certain place. This shared sense of place created a foundation for a shared identity. When morals are applied to the location, a sense of place is created. In the case of Falls road, the morals are the republican views, and the Shankill morals are attached to nationalistic aims. The sense of place serves as an amplifier/enhancer for creating a shared identity and maintaining this identity.

5.3 Identity and peace lines

Relating back to the sub-question *What is the effect of the peace lines on identity of the West-Belfast population?* It first has to be understood why identity is so important for the people of West-Belfast. Because of the conflict, identity is very important for the residents of West-Belfast. As Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016) explains "*identity is such a personal and emotional thing. And the thing about it again is you don't really know you have it until it is taken away from you. And when you think your identity is under threat, you respond.*" As explained in 5.1.1, the habitus of the residents of Falls Road and Shankill Road is highly influenced by the history and the community they live in. The place of residence, located near peace lines, is important to take into account when understanding the effects of the peace lines on the identity.

The categories that people belong to matter greatly in these areas that are considered to be the hearts of loyalism and nationalism. They want to show and celebrate who they are and do not want to be stopped by the other group. Giving in is losing pride and dominance. As explained by Jane 2, "*people do things.., because they have a notion in their head of what they want and they are going to get it at all costs. And they do not care about the human aspect, or who they hurt or what they do to achieve it*" (personal communication, May 12, 2016). The peace lines 'help' maintaining a certain identity because they provide a safe haven for the communities. Because of the walls, people know where they are safe and can show their identity without fearing the others. The feelings of belonging, who is in and who is out (categorizing), and the fear of violence are connected to the presence of peace lines. Besides the physical barrier present that shaped the habitus, the murals on the barriers also influence the identity. Seeing the events of the past, sectarian messages and memorials on the walls and sides of buildings does not help in moving on from the past. The peace lines provide safety, but are also a barrier for possible integration. Creating a shared identity between different groups is fairly difficult when there is a wall between two residential areas. Because of the lack of shared identity, people do not know each other which leads to fearing each other: unknown, unloved. Concluding, the influence of the peace lines on identity can be found on the notion of habitus, social capital and the ability to move on from the past.

5.4 Sense of place and peace lines

An important aspect of sense of place, as explained by Creswell (2009, p.1) is the concept of locale. Locale is the way a place looks. Places are often recognized because of the way they look, the material structures create a place that people recognize and identify a certain space with. The place identity, as explained in 2.3.3. is shaped by the structures in the environment that a person lives in. Since the habitants of Falls and Shankill Road have the peace lines, barriers and the attached murals as an environmental surrounding, the place identity is affected by these structures. As explained by

Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016) states: *"people like to stick with what they know. The wall becomes a barrier, the wall protects homes and it makes you feel safe. It also protects your sense of community and identity"*.

An overall answer for the West-Belfast population on the question *What is the effect of the peace lines on the sense of place of the West-Belfast population?* can now be given. The sense of place is influenced by the peace walls since it borders their territory. The peace lines decide where they belong, where they feel safe. The sense of place transformed the space into place. These places would be considered as a different space when there were no peace lines. However, it is hard to predict what these places would look like without peace lines, and more importantly, how this would affect the sense of place of the inhabitants of West-Belfast. As Byrne (2016) says *"there is no evidence that when a wall comes down the communities still live together, because we have not done that yet".* However, this is planned by the government to happen within 8 years. Chapter 6 will elaborate on this subject.

6. Removing the peace lines

6.1 Introduction

In 2013, the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister published a new strategy to improve community relations. This *Together: Building a United Community*-strategy aims to continue the journey of Belfast towards a more united and shared society. The strategy focuses on the future of Belfast, where a united community and shared society have to serve as a base of the city (Office of the First Minister and Deputy Minister, 2013). What makes this TBUC-strategy rather interesting, is the Contested Space/Interface Programme, where it is stated that *"we have agreed on the strategic actions... a 10-year Programme to reduce and eventually remove all interface barriers, working together with the local community."*(TBUC, 2013b, p.1). This aim of removing the peace lines within ten years caused quite some turbulence among the residents near the peace lines, some stating that they would not live in their current homes if the peace line was not present (Meredith, 2015). The department of Justice funded the surveys of Byrne et. al., in both 2012 and 2015 that were researching the public attitudes against the peace lines. In section 6.1.1, the data from 2012 and 2015 will be compared to gain an insight in the attitudes of people towards the TBUC-policy. The interview with Jonny Byrne will be used to give more insight into the surveys. A more in-depth analysis of the TBUC-policy will be given in 6.1.2. In the sections 6.2 and 6.3 the attitudes on the TBUC-policy in both Shankill and Falls Road will be set out. This will be done with the use of interview data.

6.1.1 Results of census data on removal of the peace lines

The researches was carried out as a postal survey. In 2012 1451 people responded and in 2015, 1012 people from across Ireland responded. Respondents were all adults who live in the neighbourhoods around the peace lines in Belfast, Derry/Londonderry, and in Lurgan/Portadown. The aim of the researches was to

"explore the current attitudes of residents living beside peace walls in Northern Ireland in the context of the Northern Ireland Executive's 'Together: Building a United Community' (TBUC) strategy, published in May 2013,which sets itself a target of removing all interface barriers (peace walls) by 2023" (Byrne et al., 2015, p.3).

In the interview, Jonny Byrne explained that the surveys were demanded by the Department of Justice because

"Policy requires evidence, to change policy you need to provide good evidence. Up to 2012, there was

no quantitative data, it was all qualitative. And so we needed to produce quantitative data, because people like statistics. People like stats, they like to see what percentage they can use to measure change. So that is why we started this to do every three years. Trying to see if we can change attitudes and to map the attitudinal change around the peace walls " (personal communication, April 15, 2016).

After locating the peace lines in the researched areas, locations and sub areas were created. The location of West-Belfast was defined in the sub areas of Upper Springfield, Falls/Shankill and Suffolk/Lenadoon. Further zooming in, using the data from the 2015 census since they are the most up to date, the population of households in the Shankill/Falls area was 3.298. 28 percent of these households returned the postal survey. This means that this has to be taken into account, when discussing the results, that the outcomes represent the thoughts of 28 percent of the inhabitants. Unfortunately, the results represented in the report do not show the answers on location or sub area level. Taken these flaws into account, the survey still does provide a great insight in the attitudes towards the peace lines. More importantly, the change in opinion through time is demonstrated. Between the report of 2012 and 2015 major events took place that influenced the attitudes of the respondents. The most important change was the introduction of the TBUC-policy.

The questionnaire focused on the following themes:

Proximity to a peace wall and opinions on the area as a place to live

Interactions with other communities

Perceptions of the function of peace walls

Awareness of various related policy initiatives

Roles and responsibilities in relation to peace walls

Views on methods of transforming and removing peace walls

Perceptions of the impact of removing peace walls

The demographic of the sample shows that more Catholics than Protestants participated in the survey, 59 percent against 32 percent. This difference can be explained by the fact that more Catholics tend to live close to a peace wall (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006, p. 65). Data from both reports show that residents who live close to a peace line, tend to live here for a longer period of time. Table 1 shows the percentage of people divided by religion who have lived at the property for more than 15 years .

	Protestant %	Catholic %
2012	36	56

2015	48	58

Table 1: % of respondents who have lived longer than 15 years at the property (Byrne et al., 2012; Byrne et al., 2015).

The survey further discusses the characteristics of the respondents regarding, age, gender etc. For the purpose of the research, these results will not thoroughly be discussed here. The focus will lay on the perception towards the peace lines.

When asked what the functions of the peace walls were, in 2015 an overall majority of 70 percent said the walls functioned as a tool to keep the communities apart from each other. This shows that for most people the walls exist to protect 'us' against 'them'. The 2015 survey further asked the respondents how much they knew about the TBUC-policy. 50 percent of the Protestant respondents answered they knew nothing at all, and 43 percent of the Catholic population pointed out to know nothing at all about this new policy. Combined with the responses on the *hardly at all* option, an overall 73 percent of the respondents hardly know or know nothing about this policy.
Both surveys continued with asking questions about the future. When asked whether the inhabitants of interface areas would be able to imagine a time when there would be no peace lines present in the areas, small differences 2012 and 2015 results appeared, as shown in table 2.

	Protestant %	Catholic %	Total %
2012	23	45	38
2015	27	48	41

Table 2: % of people who answered yes when asked whether a time without peace lines could be imagined (Byrne et al,. 2012; Byrne et al,. 2015).

Although it might look promising that more people can imagine a future without peace lines present in the areas, the results of another question tell another story. When asked whether they wanted the peace lines to come down somewhere in the future, percentages dropped from 44 percent to 35 percent in between 2012 and 2015. Here the effect of the TBUC-policy can clearly be seen in differences in outcomes, as shown in table 3. This change in attitude against the removal of the peace lines makes a further investigation of the TBUC-policy relevant, this will be done in 6.1.2. Another factor that could explain the differences in answers is that in the second question, it was asked whether the peace lines should come down any time soon. This might scare people, whilst answering the other question on whether a time without peace lines would be possible does not contain some sort of time frame and therefore can be perceived as less scaring.

	Protestant %	Catholic %	Total %
2012	40	45	44
2015	25	40	35

Table 3: % of people who want the peace lines to come down sometime in the future (Byrne et al,. 2012; Byrne et al,. 2015).

6.1.2   Discussion of the TBUC-policy

In 2013, the Together: Building a United Community Strategy (TBUC) was announced. This strategy was part of the Programme for Government 2011-2015. According to the First Minister and the Deputy First Minister, the established peace "*created space to shape the kind of society we all want to see"* (TBUC, 2013a, p. 1). The strategy reflects the aim of the Executive's office to improve the community relations in the journey towards a more united and shared society.

The strategy's main vision is to create

"a united community, based on equality of opportunity, the desirability of good relations and reconciliation - one which is strengthened by its diversity, where cultural expression is celebrated and embraced and where everyone can live, learn, work and socialise together, free from prejudice, hate and intolerance." (TBUC, 2013b, p.3).

An overview of the different projects that are part of the TBUC-policy can be found in appendix 9.4. The focus will now be put on the strategy's aim to remove all peace lines by 2023. Byrne et al., (2015, p.4) explain why this aim and strategy have been formulated during this particular time. Since 2012, much has happened in the political, policy and social field. The extremely violent riots in the summer of 2013 in the North of Belfast showed that the conflict is not gone yet (BBC, 2013). These riots led to a hardening of attitudes between the two communities and the slowing down of the peace process. The economic situation in interface areas was already alarming, and the global economic crisis made the situation in these deprived areas worse. These factors showed the importance of creating a policy that would tackle the problems. Since the peace lines are still viewed as a necessary protection against violence of 'the other', taking down the walls is a sensitive subject (Byrne et al., 2015, p. 4). The policy is set out in four different key priorities, 1*. Our children and young people; 2. Our shared community; 3. Our safe community;* and 4*. Our cultural expression.* The key priority *"Our Safe Community"* deals with the presence of the peace lines. The aim of this priority is "*to create a community where everyone feels safe in moving around and where life choices are not inhibited by fears around safety*" (TBUC, 2013b, p. 6). The contraction of a safer community will be done by reducing and eventually removing the peace lines. The government really aims at creating a new

society in which the segregation is no longer present on any level (TBUC, 2013b, p. 12). One might wonder whether that is possible in a city that has been segregated for centuries and still deals with the aftermath of The Troubles and the managing of an on-going conflict. Besides taking down the peace lines, the safe community has 4 other aims, that can be found in appendix 9.4. Because of the sensitive matter regarding the removal of the peace walls , the strategy states that "*We must be sensitive to the views and perceptions of residents and balance this against the responsibility on us to create the conditions within which division and segregation can become resigned to the past*" (TBUC, 2013b, p. 54). Furthermore, the strategy acknowledges the consequences the removal of the peace lines could have regarding the safety in the areas. This leads to a promise to "*work to confront and eliminate all behaviour which results in legitimate fear, mistrust and suspicion*" (TBUC, 2013b, p. 58). In appendix 9.4.2 an example of changing the peacewall into a more open peace gate is set out. The process of taking down the peace lines cannot succeed unless all parties agree on the removal and feel ready.

'Taking down interface barriers is not something that can be achieved without engagement with consent and support of the people who live there. We must be sensitive to the views and perceptions of residents and balance this against the responsibility on us to create the conditions within which division and segregation can become resigned to the past' (TBUC, 2013b, p. 54).

As explained by Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016)

"In terms of should they (the walls) come down, I suppose that is not really a question I can answer or anybody who doesn't live there on one level or those who live beside them believe they need them for safety and the reason they need it for safety is because everybody else has let them down in terms of policy and in terms of policing and in terms of the peace process"

These quotes show how the people who are affected the most, the residents near the peace lines, should be involved in the process in order to make the policy work. Byrne (personal communication, April 15, 2016) puts emphasis on the fact that the residents themselves also need to take action

"It is all about consulting, it is about giving people a voice. It is about knocking doors and holding public meetings. It is about putting adverts in the local newspapers. It is about setting up Facebook pages. And if people don't want to bite into it, that is fair enough, but at least give them the opportunity to contribute."

What is striking about the creation of the policy is the fact that the number of the 2012 survey were used in the TBUC strategy to give an insight in the attitudes of the people living nearby the peace walls . The key findings of this survey were divided into findings of the general public, and the results

from people who live close to a peacewall. Where 76 percent of the general public would like to see the walls come down now or in the near future, only 58 percent of the people living close to a peace lines would like to see this happen. This shows a difference in who is feeling safe and what the perceptions of feeling safe are (TBUC, 2013b, p. 54).

However, because the TBUC-strategy was presented in 2013, the outcomes of the 2015 have not been incorporated in the new policy. These outcomes, as discussed in 6.1.1, show a significant drop in the amount of people that want the peace lines to be gone. Although the aim of the government looks very promising, the people of Belfast tend to think differently. As shown before, the support for the walls to come down some time in the future dropped from 44 to 35 percent between 2012 and 2015. The interview data confirm this declining support, as will be shown in the next paragraphs.

6.2 Attitudes towards the TBUC-policy in Shankill road

In this section the sub-question *What are the opinions towards the planned removal of the peace lines in Shankill road?* will be answered.

When asked about any knowledge of the TBUC-policy Jane 1 answered

"Yes, I have heard about that (TBUC). I keep hearing that they are going to come down. I personally don't believe they will come down. Unless they change the source, which is the city itself, I argue that people do not want them to come down. People still deal with the losses from the past and still see the other community as the one to blame. So why would they want the protection to come down? There is still of lot of bitterness within the families. It must be hard for somebody that really has been living beside the lines for years to just let go of that... It is going to take a lot of time to make people see each other as just people and not focusing on being Catholic, Protestant whatsoever (Jane 1, personal communication, May 12, 2016).

So, the respondent knew about TBUC, but does not feel like the city is ready. Taking down the walls is viewed more as a result of other changes instead of being the first step into changing the society. When asked if she thought whether it was right that the walls could come down in the future, she answered

Yes, I think once people come around then it would be possible for the walls to come down. Some people will say that it is not good for the people if the walls come down, but I think people would be better when the city is integrated. But right now people also do not really have a choice, because we are already segregated. And I think if people did have the choice it would be different (Jane 1, personal communication, May 12, 2016).

This answer shows that it could be possible in the future, but when asked whether she would feel safe in a Belfast without walls, she answered that she would be scared because the conflict is not over yet; "*I think I would be scared if the walls come down because there has been an awful lot of shootings and things going on that people do not really get to hear about* "(Jane 1, personal communication, May 12, 2016).

Jane 1 indicated that the conflict is not over yet, despite what most people outside Belfast think. This is confirmed by Jane 2, who says that

 "*I am sure people will tell you that it is over. But sorry, I do not believe that. It is all still there, the IRA is still there, I do not care what Gary Adams says, The IRA are still there! And they are still underground shall we say. On the other side, the Protestant side, they are also still there. Because one side is not going to let the other side have any advantage*" (personal communication, May 12, 2016).

So, although official peace has been present for almost twenty years, people do not feel like the conflict is over. This leads to negative feeling towards the planned policy. People do not feel safe yet and see the walls as protection. Besides feeling that the city is not ready to let go of its walls, the negative attitude towards the TBUC comes from the perceived lack of consultation of the residents near the peace lines in the loyalist community. William Mitchell, who is representing the groups of ex-prisoners and ex-combatants from the loyalist community explained that he did know about the policy, but was not consulted in any way. Although he does not live in the Shankill area, he does reflect the opinion of people living in this area who are involved in the ACT program.

"Yes, I have heard, this TBUC is a top down project. It is more or less between two opposing parties who do not know about the people living in the shadows of the wall, particularly in the loyalist community, you will not hear them demonstrating the policy of TBUC because they disagree with it. They do not want it happening. So last year there was a survey in which the communities were consulted, and it showed a back drop in the support of the policy. Less people want these walls to come down " (personal communication, May 10, 2016).

This goes against the statements of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister who state that "*in developing this Strategy we have listened carefully to the wide range of detailed views provided in response to the earlier consultations on our approach to good relations*" (TBUC, 2013, p. 1).

When asked whether the peace lines should come down or not, a two-sided answer was given. On the one hand, Mr Mitchell wants the walls to come down so it will improve the way the city looks. On the other hand, he asks "*how can that be done without disregarding the people that live there. There is still conflict at the interfaces. So although I would say yes to letting the walls down, but I am also mindful about the people living near them*" (personal communication, May 10, 2016).

When asked if she would like the peace walls to come down, Jane 2 answered that on one side the peace lines are needed in some areas to keep people apart because things could erupt easily. But on the other she states that she would like to see the walls down because of the aesthetics: "*I would hope so, I would like to see that. Because we have a lot of beautiful architecture, and better than that; we have a lot of beautiful people*" (personal communication, May 12, 2016).

The answer to the research question *What are the opinions towards the planned removal of the peace lines in Shankill road?* consists of two parts. First, the respondents did not feel that Belfast is ready to live without peace lines. The conflict is still there and violence can break out any time, especially during marching season people are scared that violence can erupt any second. The peace lines (still) offer the protection that the respondents feel is needed. On the other hand, the respondents stated that the city does not look very appealing because of the walls. For the sake of the appearance and attractiveness of the city, the walls should come down. However this is only possible when the people feel safe in their own communities. The results from the interviews match with the results from the discussed survey. People want the peace lines to come down, but not any time soon. First, a change in society is needed so that the peace lines are not needed anymore. The removal should be the result of the implementation of the TBUC-policy and not the starting point.

6.3 Attitudes towards the TBUC-policy in Falls road

Although there are no interview data available on the topic of attitudes towards the new policy, an overview of responses of the 2015 survey can provide some insight. Since most people on the Falls Road are Catholic, the data from the survey that describe the overall view of the Catholic respondents can be used to create an answer to the sub-question *What are the opinions towards the planned removal of the peace lines in Falls road*?

In the Byrne et al. 2015 survey, residents were asked whether they felt safe in their own community. Of the Catholic respondents, 50 % stated they felt fairly safe. When people did have contact with people from the other side, 71% of the Catholics stated they believed the contact was mostly or always positive. From the Protestant side, 60 % of the people shared that view. When asked about the function of the peace line, 57 % of the Catholics said the walls functioned to protect against the loyalist violence, and 33 % stated it was to protect against republican violence.

Only 6 % of the Catholic knew a lot about the TBUC, and 45 % knew nothing at all. 40% of the Catholics would like the peace walls to come down some time in the future. This is substantially more than the 25% of the Protestants respondents who want the walls to come down some time in the

future. Taking these numbers into consideration, it can be stated that the Catholic population is more in favour of the TBUC strategy than the Protestants. It is debatable whether this can be said for the residents of Falls Road since this is the heart of nationalism and people might still feel very threatened by the Protestants and would prefer the walls to give them a sense of safety.

Taking these survey results into account, it can be stated that the Catholic population feels safer in their own community than the Protestant respondents. Whether the Catholics feel safer because of the presence of the peace lines or other factors influence these feelings cannot be explained by the survey data. However, 58 % of the Catholics respondents stated that the current function of the peace line was to "help me feel safer" and 70 % said that the peace line functioned to keep the communities apart from each other (Byrne et al., 2015, p. 15). This shows the view towards the peace lines and what their function is more clearly, the main function of the barriers is the keeping apart of the communities, according to this group. These views have to be taken into account when trying to describe what the opinions of the Falls Road inhabitants towards the removal are. If the peace line were to be removed, 24% of the Catholic respondents expects minor incidents of anti-social behaviour and only 9% expects everything to stay the same as present. This shows that the Catholic respondents feel that the chances of violence and conflict are still present.

The answer to the sub-question *What are the opinions towards the planned removal of the peace lines in Falls road*? can now be given. Because of the lack of interview data from the Falls Road area the specific attitudes towards the removal cannot be given, but the survey data do show some insights on the Catholic population in general. The Catholic respondents feel that the peace lines still have a very distinct function in keeping the two communities apart and expect minor incidents and violence if the walls are removed. It is expected that this is even more the case in the Falls area since the people here are live in the heart of nationalism. Furthermore the 2015 survey showed that the peace lines are still functioning to help the Catholic residents feel safer. This implies that the Falls residents are not positive towards the removal of the peace lines since this structure gives them a sense of safety. Combined with the expected violence when the peace lines are removed, the overall attitudes towards to removal of the peace lines is expected to be negative. The low rate of people knowing about the TBUC-policy is alarming and will not contribute to a more positive view of the removal. It is expected that the attitudes towards the removal of the peace lines in the Falls area do not differ much from the attitudes of the Shankill residents since both groups are working class and share a sectarian habitus. However, to gain a more detailed answer to this question for the specific Falls area interviews should be conducted.

7. Conclusion

In this section, the main question will be answered. Secondly, recommendations regarding TBUC and the removal of the peace lines will be made. Thirdly, recommendations for further research will be made. This section closes with a critical reflection on the research and writing process.

7.1 Conclusion

The main question posed at the beginning of this thesis is as follows

What is the effect of the presence of the peace lines on the identity and sense of place of the population in West-Belfast and how would the removal of the peace lines influence the sense of place of the population in West-Belfast?

In order to answer this question, different insights gained through the research will be used.

In order to understand the effects of the peace lines on the sense of place and identity in West-Belfast, it is important to understand how the past is still present in Belfast. The history of The Troubles is still very present in the mind of people and can be seen on the streets via murals and peace lines. People still deal with the traumas and losses from the violent periods. The interview respondents all indicated that the conflict is still present, maybe not in the extreme violent version as it was during The Troubles, but on another level. History is also used in electoral campaigns, the campaign posters on Falls Road were focused on the republican message instead of messages that e.g. rooted for the better houses or lower taxes. Parades commemorating the past cause riots every year between the two groups and the armed forces during the summer. This shows that Belfast is nowhere near leaving its violence past behind, even when official peace has been established for almost two decades. The sectarian message from the past is clearly present in modern day Belfast, especially in the areas of Shankill and Falls road. The murals are a nonstop reminder of what happened during the conflict and who have died and what the groups have been and are fighting for. Murals in areas like Shankill and Falls keep the memory and message alive and are hard to escape. This makes it understandable why the younger generation who have not experienced The Troubles themselves are showing sectarian behaviour. Peace lines shape the identity of people because of the place identity. Feelings of belonging and knowing who you are, are attached to physical spaces in Belfast. Peace lines create massive mental barriers for people. The peace lines show who is in and who is out. Interview data showed that people label themselves and others through the labels of Catholic and Protestant. These strong feelings of identity can also be found in the notion of sense of place. There is a very strong sense of place in West-Belfast. The Falls and Shankill Road are hard-core communities where either loyalism or nationalism is still very present. This influences the sense of

place, habitus and identity. The peace lines reinforce the habitus and therefore the sense of place. Place is perceived in a different matter when the barriers are made so clear instead of more vague mental barriers. The habitus and sense of place influence the segregation, with the peace lines as visible and physical result.

Interview and survey data show that there is little support for the removal of the peace lines. People do not feel ready to demolish the peace lines yet. Removing the peace lines would change the sense of place in such a way that people would not feel safe anymore in their own communities because they do not know where they are safe anymore. When people are in their own community, they know the people and know that the ideas and beliefs are shared. The sense of place is expected to be highly influenced by the removal of the peace lines. When the barriers are gone, the place identity can become less strong since the defined barriers that mark territory have faded. However, the place identity is not only defined by physical structures, the mental maps residents have on whether they are in their own area or not influence their sense of place as well. This leads to the conclusion that the sense of place of the residents of West-Belfast will be influenced by the removal of the peace lines, but not in an extreme way.

7.2 Recommendations

Recommendations will be made for two parties. First of all, recommendations towards the TBUC policy will be made. Secondly, recommendations regarding further research will be proposed.

7.2.1 TBUC-policy

 The conflict in Belfast and the attached problems with segregation and sectarianism should be viewed differently. As residents indicated, the removal of the walls should be the result of the policy, not a starting point. By creating a sense of place in which people feel safe and secure to go to the other community, people could see the walls as useless. When this state of mind is reached, then the walls can come down. Residents who do not feel save in their own community and then see their protection being removed, are not expected to integrate with the other community. Although the integration of communities and reducing of the segregation are also part of the TBUC-strategy, the aim of 2023 is too soon. It cannot be expected that structures that have been present for over fifty years can simply be removed, especially not in West-Belfast where sectarianism is still high as was explained in chapter 4. In the end, taking down the walls should be the easy part. When people do not feel the need to stay safe behind the wall anymore, the walls can safely be removed. Until this sense of place is not present in the residents, it is not recommended to take the peace lines down. As seen in chapter 5, sense of place is a vague concept that is influenced by different factors. When the habitus of people can slowly change and the shared history is used in order to promote peace, the sense of place can change into a direction that can favour the TBUC-policy.

In order to really create a united community, the education system in Northern-Ireland should become more integrated. Separating children in education makes that the new generations do not know each other. Not knowing the other creates and reinforces feelings of fear and separation, as explained by different interviewees. Although their experiences with conflict differed, they all saw the same solution in the integration of education. When the newer generations learn that they can go to school together, in the long run this is expected to have a positive impact on reducing separation, sectarianism and segregation. The integration of schools is now

although the shared summer schools that are part of TBUC are a nice start, it can be debated whether a two weeks programme will help in reducing the feelings of otherness with the youth.

The answers and conclusions regarding the different sub-questions showed that on different aspects West-Belfast does not seem to be very ready to leave its past behind and move on to a non-segregated community. People are still dealing with the trauma from The Troubles, sectarian messages are very much present in the daily surroundings of the populations of both Shankill and Falls road. This has to be taken into account when implementing the TBUC-policy. Although people might be up for the idea to remove the peace lines at some point, it really is the question whether this should happen in this relative short amount of time.

7.2.2 Further research

Since this research was only conducted on a small scale, the results have to be viewed with a conscious mind. Beside the low amount of respondents, another flaw of the research is the lack of respondents from the Catholic communities. Further researches can focus on interviewing more people . This bigger group of respondents should also be more diverse in age, gender and place of residence. The people that have been interviewed in this research were all older than fifty. It would be interesting to see the differences between the generations of people who have experienced The Troubles and who have not and how this affects their attitudes towards to peace lines. The surveys that are carried out every three years are a very valuable source of information. This way of researching can clearly show differences and changes over time. When TBUC will be implemented more and more, these surveys are an excellent way of monitoring the attitudes. Keeping track of the (changing) attitudes of the people who are affected by the TBUC-policy can give great insight to the policy makers whether the strategy is supported or not and how support can be increased.

7.3 Critical reflection

Overall, I am happy with the produced thesis. Visiting Belfast was both exciting and scary. Travelling alone and conducting the interviews with complete strangers was something new. In the end, I am very proud of myself for going to Belfast. I feel that the visit made my research better since I was able

to see the peace lines, talk face to face with my respondents and see the literature come to live. Although I had arranged 5 interviews beforehand, 2 of the interviews got cancelled. I could have handled that better, I could have found the respondents that I needed when I was visiting the Falls area, but I chickened out when I was there because I was overwhelmed with all the displays of Irish flags and murals. The interviews themselves went pretty well, the Skype interview with Jonny Byrne was shorter than expected but I was able to get all the information I needed in a short amount of time. After that first interview I started working on the transcriptions soon but this took longer than expected. The interviews in Belfast were really nice. The interview with William Mitchell was a unique experience, one does not talk with an ex-prisoner with a PhD every day! Unfortunately, the recorder that I used with this interview did not record the data very well. I was able to transcribe it, but this also took much longer than expected. The interviews at the SWC went better recording wise since I used both my phone and a separate recording device to capture the data. A flaw with the interviews at SWC is that I talked with the women while they were doing their crafts. On the one hand this led to a relaxed environment for them to talk but it was really noisy because of the other women present. When I came back from Belfast and was done transcribing the interviews, I realized that I had quite a short amount of time to get everything done to finish my thesis on time. Still, in the end I think I can be very proud of the product that I have created.

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9. **Appendix**

9.1 Appendix 1: Transcription of interviews

9.1.1 Byrne

Q: Well, first of all thank you very much for wanting to help me with my research. Can you shortly introduce yourself and tell something about the work that you do?

A: My name is Jonny Byrne, I am a lecturer in Criminology, I teach Psychology and Crime and Police in Society. I finished my PhD doctorate in 2012 on physical segregation in Northern Ireland, specifically looking at peace walls and interface barriers. I specialize in radicalisation, physical segregation, policing and paramilitary violence.

Q: Ok, perfect. My research is about of course the peace lines in Belfast and mainly focussing on the new policy that wants the walls to come down and I'm wondering how you feel about that policy. If you feel, think that it would be good if the walls come down.

A: I think there is a number of different ways of looking at your question. First of all, do I think the target is a good thing? I give you two answers, yes and no. Yes it is good to have a target because it provides focus. It provides a benchmark. And it provides a goal to aim for and I think everybody in life needs some form of goal or vision. So it does that, it provides vision, it provides a framework and it provides a target. On the negative, it means the people become concerned and worried, it's like a clock ticking on a bomb. So they see the deadline and they panic about whether they will get… So, it places pressure on communities. So it can work both ways. But personally I think it is a good thing because we need structure. I think we lacked structure in the subject area and policy wise, so I think 2023 has given us some vision and something to aim for so I think it's good. In terms of should they come down, I suppose that is not really a question I can answer or anybody who doesn't live there on one level or those who live beside them believe they need them for safety and the reason they need it for safety is because everybody else has let them down in terms of policy and in terms of policing and in terms of the peace process. Do I think they are bad, yes! I think that any society that needs physical structures to separate two communities has to ask itself why. Not those who live there but society why allowed that to happen. I think that the sad reality is that, and a lot of people don't like saying it, but physical segregation works. Segregation does work as a policy, to separate two communities. And from 1969 until 1994 the peace walls were required to keep people apart for safety, and it worked. So now we are living with that legacy.

Q: So, you think that the peace walls are continuing the segregation, and keeping the situation the same and they don't create any space for new developments?

A: At one level, yes, it allows us to manage peace. In Northern Ireland, we are managing peace. We are not resolving peace, we are managing peace. And that is all, whether or not. And maybe that is normal, maybe that is what we should be doing. The peace process is only twenty years old, you know so maybe my expectations are too high. But, my problem with them is this, and it is very simple, and even thinking of Scandinavia or America, people would say that the peace walls should be taken down and they should be integrated. Ironically, globally communities have never been more apart. You know, think of migrant communities, refugee communities coming into Scandinavia or Germany, and the Afro-Black communities in America. Look at middle class, upper class, working

class communities. We don't force them to integrate, and share space. It's a thing I am still trying to work out in my head but internationally we are building more walls than ever now internationally for immigration, for terrorism and for drugs. In Northern Ireland we are trying to take ours down, and my problem is we talk about that we need to create shared space and we need to integrate communities. But what does that really mean? I live in a nice area and I don't integrate with my neighbours. I tell you what it means, for me the benchmark is this. People, you don't have to integrate, like forced socially. But what you do need is space where people can go anywhere, without feeling threatened because of who they are, in terms of their religion and ethnicity and if we create space where people can feel safe, then that is all we really need to do.

Q: I feel that people have their own little space because it is part of their identity and I think that is definitely the case in Belfast because people feel threatened if they don't have their own space anymore, they feel that their identity is going away.

A: Yes that is true, absolutely, identity is such a personal and emotional thing. And the thing about it again is you don't really know you have it until it is taken away from you. And when you think your identity is under threat, you respond. So I think in terms of the walls, all we can do is try to take walls down and create space where people can move and feel safe. Moving around, walking and travelling through different communities and don't feel prosecuted because of who they are.

Q: But you don't think that if the walls come down people will, because in the research/survey people say oh if the walls come down I think I would feel more threatened. But you don't that more like troubles will start?

A: No, the thing is, taking the wall down is the easy part. So all the stuff around it, all those fears would be addressed before a wall comes down. So you would do that and then the wall would just come down naturally. So, my point being it is a stage process. You would do it in different ways, and it that way the wall becomes a ?? 7:05 as opposed to a supporter of engagement. And in that way, people would just get on with life without the wall being there.

Q: And also in your research, it shows that people who are living in the highly segregated areas, they are often living in social housing and are more in the lower class. Do you think that the feelings of strong identity and segregation happen more with people who have a lower income or?

A: Ha, that is a good question. If you look at football gangs, if you look at gang culture, if you look at social movements and if you look at the riots in Paris, if you look at what goes on in Amsterdam, if you look at where hot bits of nationalism exist, they exist in working class communities or student areas. Primarily working class areas or areas that suffer from low educational ?? 8.09 ?? and high numbers of deprivation. There is something of a link in between them. In Northern Ireland and the peace wall areas it is a chicken and the egg scenario. You know, people argue that if you take the walls down, the social conditions will improve. Other people argue that the social conditions are not going to improve because they are simply deprived areas. And you get those areas anywhere in the world. You will get them in Manchester, London, Dublin, Amsterdam, Paris. We have places and parts of the city that can be identified as socially deprived. We just got walls around ours!

Q: And I was wondering, why did you do the survey? In 2012 and 2015, what was the main reason for researching people's attitudes?

A: Well, it is very simple. Policy requires evidence, to change policy you need to provide good evidence. Up to 2012, there was no quantitative data, it was all qualitative. And so we needed to produce quantitative data, because people like statistics. I do not, I am very against statistics. Well, people like stats, they like to see what percentage they can use to measure change. So that is why started this to do every three years. Trying to see if we can change attitudes and to map the attitudinal change around the peace walls .

Q: And between 2012 and 2015 the policy of that the peace walls had to be taken down came out, do you think that changed a lot in the attitudes.

A: Well, the survey shows there is a slight roll back of people that want the peace walls to come down, it is only a small number but I think it did not help for those who live the closest to them and it focussed minds of people and people became like oooh (scared noise) what is going to happen. So I don't think it has helped. It might have had a slight effect on the results but not enough to skew them. But I think it did affect how people viewed the walls, especially those who live beside them.

Q: Yes, and in the research you divide people by Catholics and Protestants, but how much is religion still part of this issue?

A: It is massive! Religion, culture and identity, they are all interlinked. People are still defined by the religion Catholic, Protestant, other. From religion becomes nationalism, unionism, loyalism and republicanism, orange and green. Because of equality forms, you have to say if you are Catholic, Protestant, other or not. So everything is still that defined as a single identity. The same goes for housing, so 79% of housing in Belfast is segregated into Catholic or Protestant. 11:35???? So it is still an issue how we asses these different areas of policy.

Q: And do you think that the new policy can bring people more together and reduce the segregation, because besides taking the walls down they have so much more stuff they want to do?

A: Well, let me ask you this. How much segregation is there in Holland?

Q: Well, I do not know the specific numbers but we do have neighbourhoods that have immigrants and not immigrants.

A: But you do not have walls.

Q: No, we do not.

A: So, you know it is the exact same thing, think about it. Put it in your terms and then imaging asking somebody how do we get those communities to integrate more. The response would be: why would you want to? So it is the same thing in Northern Ireland. We are a deeply divided society, coming out of conflict and I think we need to be careful with how we define success in terms of integration. Because, as I said before, globally we are becoming more and more segregated ironically. Nationalism is on the rise and cultural identity is becoming so important. Look at the migrant crisis in Europe, and the rise of right winged politics. It starts to grow. Integration is not mainly a problem for us, and taking down the walls won't address the issues around segregation and integration. It is an identify thing, a cultural thing, you know it is all these other areas that need to be considered when discussing these issues.

Q: So, do you think it is actually even necessary to take away the walls or is it just natural for humans to have some sort of divide in the community they live in?

A: Well, when you are under a certain threat, you try to maintain and stick with what and who you know. Social identity theory, you got to stick with ? 13:50?. If you remove the threat you like to that you are immune to >????, so I think if we address this threat then it is ok, even if we need to live in different areas and are self-segregated at one level. But this is about removing the threat and in the end you can go into those communities without feeling threatened. That is the difference. It would be easier than when there is a wall between two communities.

Q: Ok, and my research is specifically about the areas of Shankill and Falls road. And in your research it stood out to me that in this area there a really large number of households, over three thousand. But it is quite a small area, do you think that this intensifies segregation if there is a lot of. people, that people feel more threatened by the numbers of the other?

A: Yes, absolutely, the changing demographics of the city make it more difficult to start taking down walls. A few communities outside the walls, ???, 1558, and one community is completely dominated by the other community, they fear that if the walls come down it will swallow up their community and then that will affect issues around identity, culture, commemoration, remembering. So I think can get a new meaning, a new purpose.

Q: Protestants feel more threatened, do you think that is because of the comparative relative bigger numbers of Catholics.

A: I think it has something to do with it, the changing demographics where you have more Catholics and Protestants now does affect the mentality about the peace walls and what they will look like in the future because there is no evidence that when a wall comes down the communities still live together, because we have not done that yet. So if you do not know, it is like a ? 15:50, no matter how much you that it needs to change, people will not change. It becomes very difficult, people like to stick with what they know. The wall becomes a barrier, the wall protects homes and it makes you feel safe. It also protects your sense of community and identity. So that becomes another layer of the response that go in to these areas before you can go take down a wall. So that has got nothing to do with 1969 until 1998, but it has got everything to do with the now, with how a community feels.

Q: Do you think it is possible for Belfast to ever leave its past behind or is it just the way it is and people should not be wanting to change so much, it is just the way it has been and shall always be like that?

A: That is a good question, I think we got another three or four generations to go before we can get there first of all. It is all still too raw. You will be 17:20 … by this, but I think that ironically we are becoming more European, even when we are becoming more isolated, in our thinking as well. So I think while Europe adapts, that we will have to adapt as well. And also with how cities adapt, cities are changing, like what they are about. Belfast right now has over 6000 student apartments in its city centre, we never had that before. So Belfast is moving into the city centre. So you are going to have like fifteen thousand people coming in there every day. So Belfast will start adapt and will change over the twenty five, fifty years. And I think that it is about how we tell the story of the past and are comfortable with it. I think you are always going to have barriers and Catholics in the Falls and

Protestants in Shankill. But do not forget, when you go to New York, you go to Chinatown, you go to the Bronx, you go to particular pockets of areas. You know it is the exact same thing in London or in New York, where you go to different areas that are segregated. I think we just need time to be comfortable. People have to feel safe, have to feel comfortable wherever they go.

Q: Otherwise it is not going to work?

A: It is not going to work, that is the point. And the key to a … 18:45 of safety is a change of attitude. Perceptions, ideas and values.

Q: And how do feel that the policy makers can include the residents when implementing this new policy to make sure they feel safe?

A: It is all about consulting, it is about giving people a voice. It is about knocking doors and holding public meetings. It is about putting adverts in the local new papers. It is about setting up Facebook pages. And if people don't want to bite into it, that is fair enough, but at least give them the opportunity to contribute.

Q: So, people have to be involved otherwise it is not going to work?

A: People have to be involved. If you don't get people involved, they won't feel ownership of it. They also need to know the benefits so we need to start creating some momentum here. I always believe that like domino's, and if you get the first one and make positive change, then other people and other communities will see the positive change and they will want it. So you start to have a domino effect around the city and they start to come down.

Q: So they just need like one success story and hopefully the rest will follow?

A: Yes

Q: And is there anything specifically you can tell me about the Falls and Shankill area?

A: They are two of the most common/ well known parts of Northern Ireland. Shankill being unionist/loyalist and Falls being republican/nationalist. The wall between the two of the, the Cooper ?? 2105, built in 1969, was the very first peace wall build in Northern Ireland. They have seen the worst of the conflict, they are seen as the ?? in sense of emotion and feeling in terms of identity and in terms of the conflict. Their peace wall is the largest one, and the most infamous one. And I think that it may be the last one to ever come down. But I think the key point there is, is that the Falls community is increasing and the Shankill community is decreasing significantly and that causes more of a pressure point.

Website: Action for Community Transformation (the ACT Initiative), is a transformation initiative which supports former combatants province-wide, in the post ceasefire climate. Through tailored training and support, ACT builds the capacity of its members, supporting them to engage in the social, economic and political structures of Northern Ireland. ACT also encourages its members to embrace new, positive leadership roles within their local communities.

About the work of the organisation:

The ACT initiative originated from 2007, and we work together with former combatants. We have nine areas throughout Belfast in which we work and in this way old combatants can have a more positive influence on the community. We tell the story from a loyalist perspective. We support the former combatants of the UVF. We host groups here and we give them a perspective on the conflict. It is not a multi-dimensional story that we tell. It is our own historical perspective.

After seeing the exhibition

Q: It is really interesting, It is really impressive to see everything here, I have been reading so much about it and now I actually see…

A: You see it come to life, right? We get visitors like you all the time, people from all over the world. There is a group of international students coming later, and I will show them around, show them the things that are on display, and in the end we open a discussion on what they know, what they have been shown and what they have been heard and what their perceptions are and so forth. And we have had almost 400 visitors here since last January.

Q: That is very nice, that people are interested in hearing your story

A: Yes, and what I try to do is, you know this is not a passive display, people connect to the artefacts. People see them and it brings it to life more.

Q: Yes it does bring it to life. First of all being here made what I am working on more real, to actually see the peace lines and see that the city is still so divided. For me, I just cannot imagine people living next to each other but being so different.

A: Most times you cannot really tell the difference. You know, you could go walk down the end of this street and not seeing a difference, but people living here know when they enter another area instinctively. They do not know because they are seeing flags or anything like that, they just know it. And you are in North Belfast now. What is the truth about North Belfast, those so called interfaces, are the areas people live very close to each other, are one of the worst places of where the conflict happened. And there is no visible barrier that distinguishes one from the other. So it is not like there is a peace line, like a forty foot barrier, you do not know it here. And that was not always helpful during the conflict, because you had to know your way around. And at the time it would not have been favourable for Protestants to be in a Republican or Catholic community. it would be very dangerous. And this is north Belfast, during the conflict, 25% of the killings happened in this area. So you are talking of almost a thousand people down in this one community, the greater North Belfast community.

Q: So that leaves quite a big hole in the society?

A: Yes, it is something people still are trying to get over, still trying to reconcile. Thankfully it does not happen much now, luckily there is no people going out and getting their revenge or riot or attack the security services whatsoever.

telling something about my research and why I came here

Q: So, you have been involved in this organisation for a while now, and do you feel that the nonviolent approach works? Do people feel heard?

A: Well I say yes and now. I say yes and no because of the category of people I work with. Their voices are often disregarded. I am talking about the ex-prisoners and the ex-combatants, and it certainly is because of their personal role in the conflict. Like myself, I am an ex-prisoner. I was in prison for thirteen years, from I was seventeen until I was thirty. And even though I have the right qualifications, I still find it hard to be accepted in this community because of my past. And that is very frustrating, it is almost like you are banging your head against the wall. If people just ignore what you have to say. And I want to make sure that through this the voices are being heard. Because collectively we can create a cohesion and give them a voice. It is not about given a voice for the sake of it, they would argue they had a role during the conflict that was very responding to the republicans while at the same time, ??? of the community. they feel they have a role to play in the community and they feel they have to be accepted, or at least considered. Loyalism is seen as the grassroots working class community. Their voices goes unheard because they do not have political representatives. There are loyalist parties, but because of the class distinction they are not connecting. So you will not openly hear those unionist politicians speaking on behalf of people like, because we are people that were part of the problem. So on one hand we are collectively trying to demonstrate that there should be a voice of ex-combatants and ex-prisoners, while at the same time we cannot get to the level where they are changing policies and so forth.

Q: So you say you cannot be heard, did you hear about the TBUC- policy?

A: Yes, I have heard, this TBUC is a top down project. It is more or less between two opposing parties who do not know about the people living in the shadows of the wall, particularly in the loyalist community, you will not hear them demonstrating the policy of TBUC because they disagree with it. They do not want it happening. So last year there was a survey in which the communities were consulted, and it showed a back drop in the support of the policy. Less people want these walls to come down.

Q: I spoke to that researcher and he conformed, yes they (the percentage of people wanting the walls to stay) are going down but the policy makers do not seem to understand that. Do you think they should come down?

A: Well, first I have to say yes. You know, how can that be done without disregarding the people that live there. There is still conflict at the interfaces. The most ?? form of them is the parade. It is okay from the point that it is more ecstatically pleasing, but if there is living someone that is getting comfort by these walls, knowing there is a forty foot barrier. So although I would say to letting the walls down, but I am also mindful about the people living near them.

Q: So people feel like they are still needed to keep them safe?

A: Technically yes, we have had the ceasefire since 1994, an agreement since 1998, we are approaching twenty years of it so you would think the peace lines would be a thing of the past. But unfortunately they are not.

Q: Belfast cannot leave its past behind or?

A: The opposite, Belfast rears its past and grabs the opportunity. You see it now we are in the middle of a campaign and all that we do is commemorating the past. I am not saying you should forget it, but having a fixation on it that people of my generation cannot seem to move on because of our connection to it. And maybe it is different for the younger people, but if you look at the polls, I do not see that changing.

Q: Do you see that younger people feel like they should remember the past and keep the memory alive?

A: Well, I think there is some truth in that. It is hard to imagine why that is taking place. Some young people are still sectarian, even though, I am not saying there was a legitimate cause for it in the past, but there was a more understandable cause for people being sectarian towards each other. Because we were in a country in the middle of a conflict, but that is a thing of the past. Why are young people still like that? Especially people born after the conflict, if you are born after 1998, you know nothing of conflict other than you have heard or read or seen in the media. So why do people still feel like they need an interface? And unfortunately that is a fact because they hear the stories of the old people who get arrested. And unfortunately for some people the conflict is glorified, in mythological terms and they like the arms, especially the more macho man. … inaudible… Maybe that is also what history is for. People of my generation, who have been through the conflict, who have been active in it, are the ones who want to end it. I do not know anyone of my age who would say that the conflict was something that you could glorify, I have never heard that from any individual. We bring young people in, and that is also part of what we are doing here, that is what we are focussing on. We are focussing on, we focus on moving away from it so that young men do not repeat what we did.

Q: And do you think that these young people maybe get some sort of identity from acting like this, that they know what group they belong to?

A: I think they do, but I think it is a number of things that create the identity. … inaudible... And that is something young people have not seen enough, that is part of the problem that identity is something that you should celebrate whilst still respecting someone else's. That just has been fundamental, we have seen the world in her more extreme form of violence, people becoming radicle and vulnerable. But identity is something that should be celebrated but not at the costs of someone else's. I am a pluralist, I think you can celebrate your identity without having to pick on someone else's. And of course we have identity issues because we have not resolved the conflict. If anything, we are in conflict managing mode. We just try to manage it better. But we are also dealing with a conflict in a different time, and that is, as you pointed out, a conflict of identity, a conflict of division, a conflict of low sense of ?, like the flag, parading, symbolism. We are in a different sort of attacking each other. And thankfully most of it is gone. It has been gone through a legitimate way, through politics, and it is gone within the conflict most of the time. But of course in the areas around the peace walls where there will be a reaction and attacking. I hope we can have peace forever because I do not want to come back to that.

Q: But also the schools are still segregated?

A: Yes, the schools are still segregated, I believe that that is not the right thing. I sent two of my daughters to integrated schools, they are graduating now and they have friends all over this city, something that I never had growing up but that is something I did not want for them. I wanted them to be more open minded, to broaden their horizon. But we still do not have a lot of it, it is less than seven percent of our entire education system that is integrated. And unfortunately, people cannot be educated together. They are being separated from a very young age. These people never meet. And when that happens, you get a different perspective on the others. And this causes that you do not know the people. If you run into each other and although you do not necessarily know them, you know 'who' they are. Every conflict that is ever fought starts with people that do not know each other which creates a fear factor.

Q: Do you think integrating all the schools can create a new generation?

A: I would most certainly like to see to see that happen, and again to go back to the critics, the ones that do not want the integrated schools are the people who control them. So the Catholic church who rules the Catholic schools does not believe in integration. But also the state that is high in the Protestant hierarchy do not want it either. The main critical unionist party here, they believe in the grammar system. Which is the system where they assess people at the age of eleven , where their future lies. In grammar education or in secondary education. And as long as we have that, we are never going to get integrated. And they are nowhere near changing, the side lines in education have been there for years. The first integrated school opened almost seven years ago and we are only at seven percent now.

Q: Do you think the situation has improved over the years? Has it calmed down or is it still there but not so violent?

A: Yes it is still there. And this goes back to the root causes of the conflict, those things have not been addressed and I do not think they are going to in my generation. We are still educated apart, we worship apart, we live apart, we more or less work apart. Although there is of course an integration in the working department. People do not gather together. Well, maybe they are more united than when I was growing up. But until we tackle all these things, that take us apart, I do not think we will ever get over it. And unfortunately, we still have this challenge, this constitutional issue, it is always going to be like that. At the same time it might be peaceful but we have this agreement of settlement between unionists and loyalists. So here is the settlement: the republic of Ireland has established a community in the north, let us all live happily ever after. Unfortunately, republicanism saw it as a step to something else. And now they are working on it but in a different mode, thankfully. We but are not going to solve the problem. And i personally do not believe they will ever be untied. Especially after the recent polls that shows people do not want to become a part of Ireland. And people in the Republic of Ireland do not feel like taking them in. They do not want to be dragged in to something, they feel like 'oh they cannot even handle it themselves. It is never going to happen, it is an aspiration. You now, just recently last year, people were surveyed if they felt any aspiration over northern Ireland or not, and over sixty percent of the nationalist community said they did. But then they were asked a subsequent question, well if it aspiration the amount of money in your pocket, it dropped to sixteen percent. So the figure dropped below twenty percent. So people do not want a whole Ireland.

Q: It is something they have always heard, and part of their identity as well but they do not think it is true?

A: Yes, it is a folklore thing. It is something from their ancestors from a hundred years ago and that is something from which the republicanism emerged from.

tells something about the re-enactment of the battle of the Somme and how prior to this a parade will be held

Q: So the marches, or the parades, they are still very important to you?

A: Well, commemoration is still a blank feature. It is a sort of multi- media celebration. There are stories from multiple families of people that have died during the conflict. Also there is information through headphones for visitors to learn about the people who have lost their lives here. Unfortunately, one community commemorating is seen as by the other community as they have done something... inaudible...

Q: So for you it is remembering but for the others it can be seen as provocation maybe?

A: Precisely, it is this new mode of conflict because we are in this conflict mode of fighting each other in a cultural way instead of the traditional way. And the most symbolic way of this is when people parade on the streets. So they feel opposed in number and the passing here. So it is a more subtle mode of conflict where we fight each other on cultural and identity things, but it is still conflict I believe. Because if the other community wanted to show who they are to everyone who lives here, why do it at the same time, assembling and then being confronted with the British-ness of the other community. So between the communities there is another sort of conflict. But you know, it is just on going all the time.

Q: And do you feel it is the problem a certain class? Is it a more working class thing?

A: Yes, but you know the thing about it, the working class, they hate more than the more middle or upper class, or are more affiliated with sectarianism. But because of the circumstances of the conflict, they became easier involved in it. So they can easier hate their involvement. The working class, or the more deprived communities were more complicated. It was where it actually happened. It did not happen in those suburban areas of our city, it happened where people lived here, in close proximity. It is no surprise that the working class, the people themselves suffered most of it, and therefore the people demonstrated the most too.

Q: So maybe a new dimension that needs to be taken into consideration are the people from the working class? Because in the TBUC policy they want to guide all the children for twenty years long to make sure they do well in school and provide internships and everything. So could that be new dimension into resolving the problem?

A: Well, it is a new dimension because one of the factors with our working class community is the pure under treatment of the community. And that is an linked factor with the conflict. People have lost the importance of how are our young people educated. And maybe it is more an actor for the loyalist working class, because still the worst community here is in a pure loyalist working class community, for the pure education treatment of young people. So the community and the education

is a factor that is challenge to all of us. And I do not necessarily mean demonstrating that young people are qualified in something. It does not have to happen in our schools, it can happen in our youth clubs, in our community. The importance in this is the way we can change perspective and the way we teach curtain things. And I believe that is what needs to happen. We are responsible also in the long term, especially in those areas. But of course also with that, you have the second and third generation of under achievers. So the ones from my generation that did not have the qualifications have passed that on to their sons and then that is passed on to their grandsons and so forth. So it is the underachievement of the children in the working class that is going to be harder to address. And there is a lot of ideas and programmes happening but in the end you know this is not something that goes like oh they are all underachievers, let us make them overachievers. It is going to take a generation.

Q: And often groups are being labelled as either Protestant or Catholic, how much is religion still involved or is it just a label?

A: I think it is an easy way to categorize us all. Unfortunately, we live like this here, we put labels on everything. You learn how to categorize people from a load of different things: their names, where they live, where they work. So those labels and categorizations has been taught for years, so you could easily categorize someone because of that.

Q: And, you have one of your action working areas in Shankill road, why there?

A: Well, we are former combatants, we are supporting the families and the former combatants. And Shankill Road is one of the areas that had a massive amount of this category of people. It originated on the Shankill road, it had the first involvement of the Shankill Road and that is how it grew into the conflict. So Shankill Road is more or less the heart of loyalism.

Q: And then you have Shankill Road with Falls Road close to it, that is an area where a lot of different people live with a lot of different views and with a really big peace line. Would that be one of the hardest areas to ever make non-segregated? Could it even become non-segregated?

A: Yes, I would say, because of historical developments of it, yes. But that is hard to understand if people do not communicate with each other. My understanding is that people do move freely in and out of each community. There are projects to stimulate the cross-community, one of them is ACT. We collaborate with people on the other side of the peacewall. But it is not an area where I could see people peacefully living together. Also because of the difference in housing, I do not see whole communities living with each other. This has to be in the hands of our children. It is hard for the people of my generation to see beyond the conflict.

Q: And how did you personally move on, you have been imprisoned, and chose a more peaceful way of living?

A: well, Marlies, the answer to that is quite simple. I never want to go back to that. I know lots of people that have been killed, I myself was part of the conflict. I have been convicted for a political killing. I spent thirteen years in prison and it was period of reflection. I behaved well and got myself educated. I when I came out I wanted to serve my community down in another role than I did before and one of those roles was work with young people and trying to help to deter from the route I went down. Unfortunately, it is always one step forward one step back. I think we are progressing in the

right direction. I do not know if anyone wants to go to that direction, I do not want to get back. And luckily there is a sufficient amount of people that think like me and want to make progress into the right direction. I spent a long time in prison and I learned a lot from it. But you would not say to someone else, for you to transform you have to spend ten years in prison. So there is obviously a learn from it, and I hope others can learn from it. I see myself as a practitioner, some people might consider me an academic because of my PhD, but I am a practitioner. My job is with my hands, and face to face. I always work face to face with people who others might consider hard to work with.

Q: What does your dream Belfast look like?

A: Well, my dream Belfast is when someone like you would come here and would not be able to notice any difference. So now, you are able to tell we are in a certain part of Belfast and you can see the segregation and the difference. You still here have the symbols, the identification that makes us different from each other. I would like you to come here and know whether you are in one community or the other. I wish everyone would be some sort of pluralist, when we can respect each other's identity and are not reduced to one single identity. The sign of the flag here is provocative, and no other country in the world has that. And it is here because of our history.

9.1.3   Shankill 1

Q: Can you tell me something about yourself?

A: My name is Jane, I am 55, I travel to the centre every three/ four days a week to do the crafting classes. There are no classes in the area where I live so that is why I come here.

Q: Okay and can you tell me something about what it is like to live in a city that is divided?

A: When I was younger, you would stay in your own community. You would not go out of the safety of your own community. There was a lot of fear. So we grew up, within my teenage years you would socialize in your own community. .. inaudible… you would never meet somebody from the other side of town because the other side was different, we never talked about it in our community, they were just different and this was the way we were growing up. There was never an opportunity to meet people from the other side. At the same time, although we did not meet anybody from the other side, my mommy and daddy were not bitter about the other side. And then I ended up going down to the coast when I married and had a child, we had a caravan down the coast. And then we had to ring home, to check which road to get to get home, because if you ended up on the wrong street and something was happening you could get caught up in something and that can be quite scary. So I could have rang home and there would be fighting, so they would say do not go into that street or take that long road in order to get home. So The Troubles already started here, so you were caught behind the fence. I wanted my kids to be away from that as much as possible so we would go down to the seaside as much and spend time in the caravan. And it was so funny how everyone lived during the holidays, because nobody lived together on the street. So that is the way it affected me more. And then it ended up, my daughter got an Irish husband so I started to learn a little bit more about them. And then I ended up learning more about Irish culture. And then the church organised ??? programme so of one divide they came to another and then I also learned more about them. It was through funny stories that we learned about each other. And then throughout the generations we

discovered that each side had it just as bad. One side believed the other side was better off, and then through the church programme we all ended up together and we realised that we were going through the same things. They were struggling getting food on the table, we were struggling getting food on the table. We wanted better housing, they wanted better housing. We all wanted the same thing! So it was all propaganda, saying that the other side had it better. And then this war was going on in our streets, we were drawn towards to war on the streets, just to find out that sides just wanted the same. We had different backgrounds and we were divided by religion, but we all hated the war. They were joined because they were fighting for one cause. So there was definitely discrimination on each side. But over time we realised that the… ???... And we went with the church and we went over the gate, to the Falls and went all around the memorial. And that showed me we were not too different, so I am not afraid of them.

Q: So over the time it has improved for you, you are actually connecting?

A: Yes, I am!
… inaudible… and I have to say because of the way I was brought up, I wanted something else for my kids. …Inaudible… They could have been hurt by ones from the own community for being , and they could have been hurt by people from the other side because of who they are. You think they would have been safer, There could have been confusion about to which side they belonged.

Q: And throughout the city I have seen many peace lines and interfaces, what is living with that like?

A: Where I came from, they was a peace line at the bottom of the street. Also when we were growing up there was a bomb on our street. And it completely destroyed the car, it was car bomb. I have a picture of it on my phone. There were only remains and it destroyed a lot of windows. And then we had a huge army barricade, because I came from north Belfast which was one of the worst areas to be in. We were just used to hearing the crash of the bullets on the street. And we just knew when we heard that, what we had to do. We just grew up with it, it became the norm. When The Troubles first broke out I was quite young, but I can remember areas becoming predominantly Catholic or Protestant. Before, we were just living together, Protestants in a Catholic area and Catholics in a Protestant area. We were just sharing the street. My chummy from next door was a Catholic girl. *emotionally tells a story about her childhood where a Catholic girl from next door always was her friend but suddenly moved away during The Troubles and they never saw each other again.* So, people just started moving out of the area in the beginning of The Troubles.

Q: So, The Troubles increased the segregation? Before, the segregation was less and the area was mixed and during The Troubles people moved out?

A: Yes before it was not really a problem, but then during The Troubles we started to live on different sides. And that was happening on both sides. And that just became the norm for us, we just went on with our lives.

Q: Okay, and were you feeling scared all the time?

A: I would have said yes. Because it became the norm to watch your back. Every moment you would have to be aware of what you could get caught up in next. It was the same when driving back to the city, you could not get up in the wrong road. Or the same when you would drive in an area and saw the funeral of somebody from the wrong religion or something like that. And then you could just see

oh there is trouble. They would stop the cars and search them. I remember my husband telling me not to be intimated and to put my foot down. Because you didn't know what was going to happen. So I was quite aware of that and that used to frighten me back then. And luckily nothing really happened to me, but I could see it happening to them. And I do not know if I had been able to cope, to actually put my foot down against them. But then we saw things happening around us, my chum, she lost her sister, she lost her sister in law in a car bomb and I could not get ever that. I started worrying about what people would do. I remember when … inaudible… and he was shot. I remember my husband being the first on the scene. You know, when you start the think about the horrors you have seen, but you just got on. And I can remember worrying about the future. About the young ones and how they could know that the shootings and all the fighting were not normal. And it was just the norms for me, hearing the arms and bombs and seeing people being killed and I realised that was my children having to deal with the trauma of knowing people that were killed. They grew up in a time that was really bad and caused trauma.

Q: And how did you manage to do it over time, when the Good Friday agreement came into place and things were settling down? How did you manage to let go of the fear?

A: Well for me it did not feel like things settled down after the agreements. Even though The Troubles were over, there were still things going on. There were still people being punished and there were still people being shot. And then recruiting became a big part and also for my children because they would come into the community and trying to recruit them into something. And once you are in it, you are in it. So I remember telling my son, if they ever approach you please let me know and talk about it. And then he came to me one time because his friend had been recruited. And that friend was a really sensible boy, but he was afraid and needed protection. And it was like if my son would go out and get caught in a fight and hit somebody from the wrong side or wrong community or someone that was connected to a curtain organisation, he would need that protection from the gangs as well. Because they could come haunt you down and send somebody to shoot you. So then you would have to get into the safety of an organisation to prevent yourself from being shot. But that was what the peace was like. So that was just the thing, you would just get on. So that recruiting all started and that was wrong, to have recruiting going on when the peace came. All these young men that might have had some alcohol, it could easily become nasty and people getting in the wrong way. So that started to really annoy me, because it was happening all over the place. But luckily my boy had a bit of a different life, because he would go and meet young people from the other side of town and get connected. So that was better.

Q: Okay, and do you know about the plans of the government to take the peace lines down within less than ten years?

A: Yes, I have heard about that. I keep hearing that they are going to come down. I personally don't believe they will come down. Unless they change the source, which is the city itself, I argue that people do not want them to come down. People still deal with the loses from the past and still see the other community as the one to blame. So why would they want the protection to come down? There is still of lot of bitterness within the families. It must be hard for somebody that really has been living beside the lines for years to just let go of that. …inaudible… But it is so much harder to get a chum (friend) who lives on the other side of the fence, so then you hang out with the people inside your community. It is going to take a lot of time to make people see each other as just people and

not focusing on being Catholic, Protestant whatsoever. But it has to start with the children, they do not care about what you are, whether you are a Protestant, Catholic or whatsoever, they are just playing. So, a lot has to change before people will feel safe to make them saying that the walls can come down.

Q: Okay so maybe in the end the walls can come down but it should not be the start of the process?

A: Yes, I think once people come around then it would be possible for the walls to come down. Some people will say that it is not good for the people if the walls come down, but I think people would be better when the city is integrated. But right now people also do not really have a choice, because we are already segregated. And I think if people did haven the choice it would be different.

Q: And the schools are really segregated as well right?

A: Yes most of them sadly are, but it is us from the community, we think that you just put schools wherever you need them, and we decide. *conversation is interrupted by the leader of the women's group with an announcement*

Q: Would you feel safe in a Belfast without peace lines?

A: Never say never, it might not be too hard for me since I am not always in this area. I moved to the sea side because my husband could not take it any longer. He could not be relaxed anymore in Belfast and deal with the trauma so that is why we moved to the seaside. But I am still up in here all the time because my family lives here. But I think I would be scared if then walls come down because there has been an awful lot of shootings and things going on that people do not really get to hear about. Especially in this area because it is a big community here.

Q: Do you think it will ever be possible for the walls to come down?

A: Maybe, but it will not be any time soon. I have to go now.

9.1.4   Shankill 2

Q: Can you first tell me something about yourself?

A: Hi my name is Jane, I am nearly seventy years old. I was born in Belfast but I was brought up in Canada and I came back here when I was seven. School was very different here, as you can imagine, and then I went into nursing because that was what I wanted to do. After my general nursing training I went into training in Scotland called neonatal nursing, which is looking after babies until they are 28 days old. Then I did my children's training in Glasgow. But then my mother died and I came home to look after my brother, sister and grandfather. So I worked in several hospitals until my retirement. So now i am enjoying my retirement, and then I did some computer studies. And I met Roberta, have you met Roberta?

Q: No I have not yet.

A: Roberta is one of the managers in the office, she works for in the center in the education sector. And Roberta got me involved in here. We were involved in something called PEC, I do not know if you have heard from this.

Q: No, I have not.

A: It is another organization in which they help women get into a non-traditional craft. Such as gardening, electricity and other things. So with the computer studies I could go there. So Roberta got me involved here, for a number of years now. And I love it! They do a lot of cross community work here, and that I particularly like.

Q: And why do you like that so much?

A: Because, we are all human beings and we are all the same, we all have eyes, noses and ears.But we are taught different things, we are taught to hate. and that is a very wrong thing. I have never been brought up that way. I think that all people are equal and that we get to do the same things in the same way in the same city in the same country and not hate one another.

Q: And how did you experience The Troubles?

A: I spent part of The Troubles in Scotland. But I did come back when they were still going on but I never really came into Belfast. Maybe I came back once a year for Christmas shopping or something like that. But no, not really ever in Belfast. I did experience a bomb scare, I came special to buy something but then I had to leave it and I could see other people being??? 07:00, so that was another experience. And I noticed sometimes there were bombs and this were not the way they used to be. and the cross community thing, people are very interesting so that has been very good to me.I was brought up in Canada in a British ????, it was considered to be the best school and my parents sent me and therefore so I learned about the Catholic side as well. and when I came here I could not understand it all. Because The Troubles broke out, of course it was not really The Troubles at that time but how some people viewed other people of the different religion. I could not understand that and I still cannot understand that.

Q: Me neither, I am here and to be in the city with all the different neighborhoods showing the different flags, I just do not get it, like we are in a West-European country and yet I stuff like this.

A: Yes, and why having a problem with flags. If people would put up a German flag, nobody would complain. And if you put up a Southern Ireland flag, people complain. And I just cannot understand that. Anywhere in the world it would be normal to put up a flag, but here it is seen as provocative.

Q: And how do you feel about the peace lines?

A: I think sometimes in some places they are necessary and that is very unfortunate. Why can people not live together.

Q: But you do not think they are needed to keep people apart from each other or to keep people safe?

A: I think so, in some places, in some areas. Not much now but things could erupt because it is still there. I am sure people will tell you that it is over. But sorry, I do not believe that. It is all still there, the IRA is still there, I do not care what Gary Adams says, The IRA are still there! And they are still underground shall we say. On the other side, the Protestant side, they are also still there. Because one side is not going to let the other side have any advantage. well, in a way that is quite right but at the same time it is wrong. And I mean when The Troubles started originally, the Catholics in Belfast

were suppressed. And they did not get the jobs they were supposed to get. You would not hear many Protestants telling you that.

Q: No, it is always a biased story that you hear from a certain point of view. And do you think it will ever be possible for the peace lines to come down?

A: I would hope so, I would like to see that. Because they are an 1017 in our beautiful city. Because we have a lot of beautiful architecture, and better than that; we have a lot of beautiful people.

Q: Yes you do. For me it is so weird to see this city being still so divided when peace officially has been established. But when I am here it does not feel like the city has moved on .

A: Yes, you are right! But when you are reading about a particular aspect, there are always different versions. And that is part of our history and it always has been. Even when I was a teenager, I hated Irish history, because they were always fighting, and fighting each other. And at that time I could not grasp and I feel like it has not really changed, And I mean the roots of the problems are the people. And they are teaching the young ones the wrong things. And I do not know if we will ever get something out of education, or integrated education. I think we certainly established quite a lot, but it is not going to be the final 1149

It is going to take a very long time and I do not know if ever there will be peace.

Q: Because there is still too much going on?

A: People are too indifferent, and they have learned to hate. And until something happens to them, they are not going to learn. And that is so, so sad.

 Q: Yes, like people have been through things but they still want some sort of revenge? And until they are feeling like okay I do not want others to feel the way I feel now so they do the opposite?

A: I think you used a very powerful word: revenge. And often it is revenge. Although there are times people do things and they are the provocateurs, because they have a notion in their head of what they want and they are going to get it at all costs. And they do not care about the human aspect, or who they hurt or what they do to achieve it. And also you have to remember too that at the time people liked to go out rioting. People enjoyed going out for rioting, it was good fun for them.

Q: They were fun?

A: Yes some people would have enjoyed it! Some people have a bitter soul and like being vicious. Some people like playing with arms. So that were all aspects of it as well. And I am very glad that in this country we do have a gun policy and not everybody is armed. And I am very glad that our police are armed. Because it is really necessary.

Q: And how do you feel the government is managing?

A: Not, they are not managing. We hardly have a government that is effective. And a lot of it is because of our politics. And a lot of it is because we have DUP and Sinn Fein and for the last number of years they really have been only the two parties that have been against each other so to say. And I am very glad with the new government we have now forty two other people within

the parliament. And forty two is more than thirty eight that the DUP got. So DUP do not have the majority, which is great. I know some of them will ally with the DUP but other will also combine with Sinn Fein but hopefully we got more of an opposition going on at the moment so they can achieve more.

Q: So you do not think they put in enough effort to make Belfast better in the sense of the divide and the conflict?

A: Sometimes yes, sometimes no. I think Arlene Foster who is our brilliant Prime Minister, I think she has done a lot already in the sort time that she has been in power. I think she is an amazing woman. Do you know her history?

Q: I think I read something, cannot clearly remember what it was.

A: You really should look into her history. Her father…

Q: Oh yes I remember.

A: And she was also bombed when she was on a bus, that was another problem of The Troubles. So from an early age she knew how nasty things and people could be. But she rules above that! She came from a good home where she was taught the right ideals.

Q: And that is what you need? People with the right ideals?

A: Yes people with the right mind and rules

Q: Okay so then people can get over it. They can show people how to get over it in the right way.

A: Yes, and it you have the power and you can use the power in the right way. And she has done that.

Q: Okay, and do you think it is right from the government, because they want the peace lines to come down within less than ten years, do you think that will…?

A: Well, I think that they have to continue watching what is going on. They have to be able to take them down

interrupted by the singing of Happy Birthday for one of the women

A: (discusses the birthday girl and talks about her mother who is also in the class): She is very much an Orange woman, and you will not get a lot from what I have said from her.

Q: Okay and is that for you to be around people that do not feel the same way in that sense?

A: I just have to respect and accept them. I mean I think you have to make compromises. Life is full of compromises, no matter what you do you have to make choices. And your choices are what you have to live by. And I mean I have my faith and other people have their faith, and we may not have the same but for me that does not matter. I was not to brought up to think that it matters.

tells anecdote about how she was in the hospital and wanted to go to a church service but there was no Protestant service, and how a priest came around and assumed she did not want to talk to him because he was a Catholic priest

Q: And that is the hospital on Falls Road right? So maybe that is why they do not have a Protestant service?

A: But then why would you have an Islamic service on a Friday, I am going to throw this back in your court, and why would you have two Catholic services on a Sunday, and no Protestant service at all? And if you want to go somewhere during the week you go to a different place for the Protestant service than you do for the Catholic chapel. Why is not just one place for Catholics and Protestants? Protestants would just not go something called a chapel. Methodist church maybe, but not a Catholic chapel. And some people cannot handle that.

Q: They cannot get over it?

A: For me it does not matter, it is a church and you both go to talk to your God.

Q: Yeah and he does not look and sees oh this is that kind of church and that is that kind of church. He just listens.

A: And he answers, maybe not in the way you want it, but he answers.

Q: You are a very remarkable woman

A: Oh thank you, I think I am just different

Q: Why do you say that?

A: I think it is because of my upbringing. My father was in the army, my mother was a nurse. My cousins were Jewish, I was brought up in a Catholic school. So I have always had different religions around me. And none of it were ever considered different around the others. We w ere all the same, we were all family. So maybe I was very fortunate to experience it all. Because some people, they will not get outside their group. You have it here in Belfast, but outside Belfast as well. They have their Protestant side, they have their Catholic community. And that is wrong, and they have tried and tried and tried over many years to stop this from happening, and they have tried integrating people. But the people did not want it, and the people burnt other people out of their homes. And that is awful. So I have been very fortunate that way.

9.2 Appendix 2: Interview guides

9.2.1 Jonny Byrne

What do I want to know?

Introduction

Can you shortly introduce yourself and tell something about your specialisation?

Why this research?

Reason behind it and why the follow up? is it a hot topic? Before the TBUC-policy not that much? First survey in 2012

Function of the peace lines in current day Belfast?

Keeping the peace or are they keeping the segregation going?

Taking down the walls in 2023

would the segregation indeed decrease if the walls are taken down? or is the fear of the 'other' so much implemented in the perception of people? lack of understanding

Segregation

Is a non-segregated Belfast possible?

Is the spatial segregation the cause of the effect of the issue?

Identity

How could the sense of place be changed into a more 'together' feeling instead of us and the other feelings? Will the removal of the peace walls do this alone or is that just a start maybe?

How much is religion still part of identity in the highly segregated areas?

Do protestants feel threatened by the relative increasing numbers of Catholics? 44% of respondents want things to stay the same, when only 23% of the Catholics want this. Also more concerned of sectarian violence if the walls would come down, 33% of P expects constant problems if the walls come down.

West-Belfast/ research area

numbers bij zoeken

When researching WB, the sub-area of Falls/Shankill Road was chosen. Why?

Large number of households in this area, makes the high density the situation more complex?

Report says that majority of people living in social housing is living in segregated areas. Are the less fortunate more likely to have stronger feelings of segregation and identity?

TBUC- policy

Planned removal of the peace lines in 2023, is that possible?

New policy, how is that going to be implemented when the group of people that want the peace line to stay has increased over the years?

Will Belfast ever be ready to leave its past behind?

When looking at the numbers in your research, it shows that the younger generation seems to have more contact with people from the other community or from behind the peace lines, is this the solution? A new generation?

TBUC: maximal consensus should be achieved, is that ever possible.?

9.2.2 Shankill Women's Centre

Can you tell something about the work of your organisation and why it is needed in this area?

In your values and principles it is stated that good relations are promoted and sectarianism will be challenged. How do you manage to do that?

What are the struggles specially of women living in this area?

How would you describe the community here, how do people live and what do they stand for?

How is their daily life influenced by the segregation and the presence of peace lines?
How does the segregation affect their opportunities for good education?
Does the segregation make your work harder?
How do you feel about the plans to take down the walls in 2023?
Is a non-segregated Belfast possible? Is it something you want?

9.2.3   William Mitchell. Project Director of The ACT Initiative

Action for Community Transformation: helping former combatants to engage in the social, economic and political structures of Northern Ireland.
Can you tell something about the work that you do?
Is the non-violent approach working for the former combatants?
Can you describe the Skanhill/Falls area, tell something about the communities and the way people live?
Do you feel that the situation in the communities has improved over the years? Do people feel like they can still express themselves?
How is everyday life (still) influenced by the conflict?
How much do you know about the Together Building a United Community Policy?
If known, have you been involved in designing the policy? Have you been consulted.
How do you feel about the plans to remove the peace lines?
How much is religion still part of everyday life and how much does it defines who you are?
Is it possible for Belfast to leave its past behind?
What does your dream Belfast look like?

9.3 Appendix 3: Codes interviews- applied with the use of AtlasTI

9.3.1   Byrne
Attitudes
Catholics
Change
City centre
Class
Continuing of segregation by walls
Culture
Data needed
Deeply divided society
Defined by religion
Demographic
Effect TBUC on sense of place regarding walls
Falls
Fear of losing space
Future
Global view
Habitus
History
Identity
Including residents
Integration
Interlinkage
Introduction
Large number of households
Losing identity

Low education level
Loyalism
Managing peace
Map attitudes
Measure change
More troubles?
Nationalism
Negative on TBUC
Other segregated areas
People scared of change / TBUC
Policy requries evidence
Positive on TBUC
Process
Protestants
Reason for survey
Religion
Removing walls
Republicanism
Safety feelings
Segregation
Sense of place
Shared space
Skanhill
Socially deprived areas
Structure needed
TBUC
threat
Unionism
Walls
Walls coming down
Walls needed for safety
Walls negative
Why integrate
Working class

9.3.2   ACT

ACT
Aspiration of joining Ireland
Barriers
Bring it to life
Catholics
Class
Community
Conflict is still here
Conflict managing
Deeply divided society
Discrimination
Divided society
Dream Belfast
Education
Falls
Folklore
Future
Gap between classes
Glorification of the conflict
Identity
Integrated schools

Introduction
Keeping the memory alive
Labels
Life of ex-prisoners
Loyalism
Moving on
New generation
New mode of conflict
Non visible borders
North Belfast
Not knowing each other
Parades
Peace line
People being heard
Politics
Protection
Protestants
Provocation
Representatives
Republicanism
Respect
Safety feelings
Shankill
Support walls down
Survey
Symbolism
Takes time
TBUC
Trauma
Troubles
Walls
Walls down
War zones
Working class
Young people involved

9.3.3   Shankill 1

Attitudes
Catholics
Change
City centre
Class
Continuing of segregation by walls
Culture
Data needed
Deeply divided society
Defined by religion
Demographic
Effect TBUC on sense of place regarding walls
Falls
Fear of losing space
Future
Global view
Habitus
History
Identity
Including residents

Integration
Interlinkage
Introduction
Large number of households
Losing identity
Low education level
Loyalism
Managing peace
Map attitudes
Measure change
More troubles?
Nationalism
Negative on TBUC
Other segregated areas
People scared of change / TBUC
Policy requires evidence
Positive on TBUC
Process
Protestants
Reason for survey
Religion
Removing walls
Republicanism
Safety feelings
Segregation
Sense of place
Shared space
Shankill
Socially deprived areas
Structure needed
TBUC
threat
Unionism
Walls
Walls coming down
Walls needed for safety
Walls negative
Why integrate
Working class

9.3.4   Shankill 2

Arms
Attitudes
Biased story
Bombs
Catholic
Choices
Church
City Centre
Community
Conflict
Continuing of segregation by walls
Cross community
Deeply divided society
Defined by religion
Deprived areas
Discrimination

Divide
DUP
Education as tool
Effectiveness
Effort
Faith
Falls
Fighting for a cause
Flags
Future
Giving in
Government
History
Human aspect
Humans are all the same
Ideals
Identity
Integrated education
Introduction
IRA
It is not over yet
Loyalism
Managing peace
Marking territory
Moving on
Nationalism
Peace lines
People
Person introduction
Personal history
Police
Policy
Politics
Power
Prime Minister
Process of peace
Protestants
Provocation
Respect
Revenge
Riots
Rising above it
Segregated schools
Segregation
Service
Sinn Fein
Suppression
TBUC
Threat
Troubles
View on others
Walls coming down
Walls needed for safety
Walls negative

9.4 Appendix 4: Together Building a United Community:

9.4.1   Summary of the strategy

Together: Building a United Community

We will publish the new good relations strategy, "Together: Building a United Community" within the next 2 weeks

We will establish an All-Party Group to consider parades and protests; flags, symbols and emblems and related matters; and the past

We have agreed a package of significant and strategic actions including;

- o The creation of **10,000 one year placements** in our new "**United Youth Programme**" offering young people in the NEETS category structured employment, work experience, volunteer and leisure opportunities along with a dedicated programme designed to foster good relations and a shared future
- o **100 Shared Summer Schools / One or two week Summer Camps** to be held across NI by 2015 for post primary young people
- o **4 Urban Village Regeneration projects** for large scale urban regeneration in targeted areas of deprivation
- o **10 Shared Educational Campuses** to be commenced within 5 years
- o DSD Minister will be tasked to bring forward proposals on **10 new Shared Neighbourhood Developments**. The proposal will be brought forward in the next 2 months
- o Creation of a significant **Cross-Community Sports Programme**
- o A 10-year **Programme to reduce and eventually remove all interface barriers**, working together with the local community

Good relations across all parts of our community are an essential ingredient of building a prosperous, peaceful and safe society which is enriched by diversity and is welcoming to all. Specifically, tackling the twin blights of sectarianism and racism in addition to other forms of intolerance is essential in shaping a shared and cohesive community that can move forward and collectively face the challenges of an ever-changing world.

Our vision is a united community, based on equality of opportunity, the desirability of good relations and reconciliation - one which is strengthened by its diversity, where cultural expression is celebrated and embraced and where everyone can live, learn, work and socialise together, free from prejudice, hate and intolerance.

However, we also recognise the difficulties that have prevented agreement from the five parties that comprise the Executive to publish the draft CSI strategy. We have agreed a proposed way forward that will involve the establishment of an all-party group. The all-party group will consider and make recommendations on matters, including parades and protests; flags, symbols and emblems and related matters; and dealing with the past. It will be comprised of two nominees from each of the five political parties and Junior Ministers. We will appoint an independent chair from outside the political parties. The group will want to hear from the various stakeholders across the community as to how best to address the issues that cause community division.

Whilst recognising there are no easy answers we are committed to attempting to find long-term and sustainable solutions that are in the best interests of the community we serve.

At its first meeting the core group will determine which stakeholders shall be invited to join the working group and which other interested organisations should be asked to give evidence.

In parallel to the creation of this group, we will publish our community relations strategy within 2 weeks.

Project Detail

Building on the responses to the draft strategy consultation and the new framework, the key strategic projects will focus on;

- Education
- Young People not in Education, Employment or Training
- Regeneration and deprivation
- Housing
- Learning from the Past

10,000 Young People through the "*United Youth*" Programme

In Northern Ireland there are approximately 46,000 young people who do not have employment, are not involved in training schemes or in education.

There are 3 key objectives of the programme;

- Building better community relations
- Creating better citizens
- Giving employment experience and structured volunteer opportunities, supported by a stipend, for a potentially lost generation

This *"United Youth"* Programme is designed to target this youth group in order to;

- Divert them into constructive alternatives
- Create opportunities to take part in a range of activities that will aid their development and create better citizens on a shared basis
- Create strong and robust cross community bonds
- Create cross community trust and tackle misperceptions
- Give them training and experience in community and employment
- Help young people take on new challenges and learn new skills
- Facilitate them to meet new friends they would not have met otherwise
- Grow their confidence and CV
- Help the community
- Empower young people
- Help create responsible citizens
- Encourage volunteering

The *United Youth* Programme will build on other international examples.

The programme would provide 10,000 voluntary places, with each cycle lasting 1 year. The participants would be given an annual stipend. This will be designed to ensure existing benefits are not impacted. In addition each participant will be given a range of other incentives to participate in the programme.

The programme will include a number of elements that will potentially include;

- Work placement for part of the week
- Accredited volunteering each week with a recognised community based organisation or charity per week. Part of the community placement will be in a community not traditionally aligned to their own
- Good relations based activity (training, learning, sport, leisure etc) within a shared environment

The training and activities will include improving empathy, understanding and trust along with an emphasis on respect and responsibility. The programme will have tackling sectarianism and hate at the very heart of its design.

At the end of the programme each participant who has completed the programme will receive an accredited Diploma.

The scheme will be open initially to those;

- Between 16 and 24 years of age
- Who have not been in work, education or employment for a specified period of time to be agreed

100 Shared Summer Camps / Summer Schools

As a step towards greater sharing in education, we will create 100 one or two week summer schools or summer camps across Northern Ireland.

The running of these camps will have to meet the following criteria;

- Activities are also designed around creating trust, empathy and greater understanding of each other
- Schemes must have a minimum of attendees from each community
- Schemes can be run in community settings, schools or away at camps (all safety and child protection requirements must be met)
- An open application process will apply to those groups and organisations wishing to run a scheme. Applications can be made collaboratively
- A group, school or organisation can run more than 1 scheme or camp

The relationships fostered over the summer will be followed up by in year activities.

Cross-community youth sports programme

We will develop and roll out a cross-community Youth Sports Programme. We will initially pilot a Youth Sports Programme at urban and rural interface and contested space areas with a view to rolling it out across our society.

4 Urban Villages

This project aims to use innovative urban village design to create and stabilise change within communities. The project will create 4 urban villages.

The aim is that each urban village will be designated a development zone and a local board created. The board will be tasked with coordinating and overseeing the planning and design of the urban village. The board will be given the powers to enable large scale urban village development in a coordinated and needs based way. Each urban village will have a community focus.

Each design should be based on;

- Creating community space
- Improving the area and its aesthetics
- Community focus

Shared Education Campuses

Work on 10 shared education campuses will be commenced within the next 5 years, building on the project proposals for Lisanelly.

The first step will be an assessment and identification of potential options. Shared Education campuses have the potential to bring together a range of schools and aid sharing of classes, subjects and sports and extra curricular activities.

These campuses will be the pathfinder projects potentially leading on to a wider programme of shared education capital projects. The Campuses will also integrate community activities and resources and other services including statutory provision where appropriate.

Better Housing integration

DSD Minister will be tasked to bring forward proposals on **10 new Shared Neighbourhood Developments**. The proposal will be brought forward in the next 2 months.

There will be an overarching review of housing to bring forward recommendations on how to enhance shared neighbourhoods.

Interface Barrier Project

We will establish a 10 year Programme to reduce and eventually remove all interface barriers working together with the local community.

Taking down interface barriers is not something that can be achieved without engagement, consent and support with the people who live there. We must be sensitive to the views and perceptions of residents and balance this against the responsibility on us to create the conditions within which division and segregation can become resigned to the past.

Community confidence will only be built when assurances can be given that the intimidation and threat which led to the erection of barriers has been

removed. We are committed to finding alternative ways of reassuring communities that safety can be achieved without separation.

Removing interface barriers and other structures of division will send out an important message that our society is continuing on its journey to peace and reconciliation, but more importantly will bring community benefits. The elimination of these physical reminders is necessary in progressing as a community and facilitating the reconciliation that has been prevented for so long through division.

Through this Strategy, we will identify suitable assets within interface areas and at contested spaces that can be transformed from places of division and separation to places of sharing and mutual enjoyment.

Consideration will also be given to the transfer of unused public assets to the community where appropriate.

Within this context, we will also ensure that all government contracts for work at interface areas and areas of contested space contain a social clause insisting that the local population are able to avail of associated training and employment opportunities.

Intervention

The key objective of the programme is to have no interface barriers by 2023. This is a 10 year plan.

Key Principles

- Local communities should come together to produce a phased plan of how to reduce and eventually remove the barrier
- Maximum consensus should be achieved from both sides of the wall
- Community, family and property safety is a core issue and consideration for the plan

Interface Barrier Support Package

Interface barriers will only be reduced and removed with local agreement and support. Local communities around the interface will be encouraged to come together and decide if they want to be part of this programme. If there is

agreement to become part of the programme then the area immediately surrounding the barrier will be able to avail of a range of support and help over a 10 year period, provided agreed targets are met throughout the period.

The support package is designed to encourage communities to come together and agree to take action. The package would include the following benefits;

- Community interface workers to support the putting together of the plan, ensure the implementation of key actions on the plan and to support the local community to create the conditions to reduce and remove the barrier over an agreed and specified time frame
- Establishment and funding support for an on-going community forum to implement and monitor the plan
- Capital improvement package which will be designed to change and improve the barrier while ensuring walkways and gates are included that can be used as part of phased opening
- Community capital and project grant specifically targeted at the local community in addition to the community interface workers

9.4.2 Example of reducing and taking down a peace line

Suffolk Lenadoon Interface Group

The work of the Suffolk Lenadoon Interface Group (SLIG) demonstrates what can be achieved when communities work together. The origins of the Group date from the late 1990s when people from the neighbouring Suffolk (Protestant/Unionist) and Lenadoon (Catholic/Nationalist) communities of West Belfast began meeting informally. SLIG was subsequently formally established to address the range of issues arising at the community level associated with the Suffolk Lenadoon interface. The Stewartstown Road – a major arterial route through West Belfast – separates Suffolk and Lenadoon estates and represents a dividing line/interface between the two communities.

Relationships between the two communities have been difficult for many years and the Stewartstown Road has been the main interface where outbreaks of sectarian violence have taken place. SLIG's work has allowed for the establishment of strong relationships between the Lenadoon and Suffolk communities, relations which were practically nonexistent 15 years ago. The group has taken practical action to address shared social issues and promote dialogue between the local communities. Major initiatives include the Stewartstown Road Regeneration Project, an award winning social economy Headline Action: We will ensure that all government contracts for work at interface areas and areas of contested space contain a social clause that provides training and employment opportunities, and that members of the local population will be able to apply for these opportunities. 69 development which includes office and retail accommodation; Sparkles Daycare Ltd, a cross community childcare facility; and a range of youth, health, sports and community programmes. While challenges remain, in the last few years local community relations have come a long way. SLIG's work has played a pivotal role in this and resulted in some significant improvements

in community relations in the interface area. The Group's ultimate aim is to establish a shared and better future to benefit everyone in the area, particularly future generations.

(TBUC, 2013b, p. 60).

9.5 Appendix 5: Pictures

All displayed pictures have been taken by the author during the visit to Belfast in May 2016

9.5.1 Timeline of The Troubles, seen in the Ulster Museum, Belfast

Timeline of the Troubles

Date		Event
3-1965		New Prime Minister Terence O'Neill attempts to improve community relations. Taoiseach Sean Lemass visits Belfast at O'Neill's invitation.
1966		Tensions rise, however, and there are three sectarian murders by the UVF.
1968	5 October	Often seen as the day the Troubles started. Confrontation between police and civil rights protestors in Londonderry draws international attention.
1969	14 August	The British army is placed on active service in Londonderry, and in Belfast the next day.
1971	9 August	Internment (detention without trial) is introduced in an attempt to curb mounting violence. Over three days, 22 people die.
1972		The most violent year of the Troubles. 323 civilians, 41 police and 103 soldiers are killed.
	30 January / 21 July	Bloody Sunday, 14 people are shot dead by British soldiers in Derry. Bloody Friday, 2 soldiers and 7 civilians are killed by Provisional IRA bombs in Belfast.
1973	December	After agreement at Sunningdale on 9 December, the power-sharing Executive first meets on 31 December.
1974	May	The Ulster Workers' Council strike brings down the power-sharing Executive.
	17 May	31 are killed by loyalist car bombs in Monaghan town and Dublin.
1976	10 August	Three children are killed in a terrorist-related incident. This sparks the formation of the Peace People.
1979	27 August	The IRA kills 18 British soldiers at Warrenpoint, and Lord Mountbatten and three others at Mullaghmore, County Sligo.
1981	5 May – 20 August	Ten republicans in the Maze prison H-Blocks die on hunger strike.
1985	15 November	The Anglo-Irish Agreement is signed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald.
1987	8 November	11 civilians are killed by a Provisional IRA bomb while attending a Remembrance Sunday commemoration in Enniskillen.
1993	15 December	The Downing Street Declaration offers talks to paramilitaries if they end their campaigns of violence.
1994	31 August	Provisional IRA ceasefire announced.
	13 October	Combined Loyalist Military Command ceasefire.
1998	June	The Good Friday/Belfast Agreement establishes a power-sharing Executive. David Trimble (Ulster Unionist Party) is First Minister and Seamus Mallon (Social Democratic & Labour Party) Deputy First Minister.
	15 August	29 are killed by a Real IRA bomb in Omagh – the worst single incident of the Troubles.
1999	September	The Patten Report recommends radical reforms in policing.
2001	4 November	The Police Service of Northern Ireland replaces the Royal Ulster Constabulary.
2007	May	A new Executive is formed with Ian Paisley (Democratic Unionist Party) as First Minister and Martin McGuinness (Sinn Féin) as Deputy First Minister, following implementation of the St Andrews Agreement in October 2006.
Now		The locally-elected Executive continues to govern Northern Ireland ——

9.5.2   Murals Shankill Road

9.5.3 Murals on Falls Road

EVERYONE
REPUBLICAN
OR OTHERWISE
HAS THEIR OWN
PARTICULAR
ROLE TO PLAY

...OUR
REVENGE
WILL BE THE
LAUGHTER
OF OUR
CHILDREN

Bobby Sands MP
POET, GAEILGEOIR, REVOLUTIONARY, IRA VOLUNTEER.

9.5.4 Shankill Road showing loyalty to the Queen of England

ULSTER
TO
ENGLAND

"THOU MAYEST FIND
ANOTHER DAUGHTER
WITH A FAIRER FACE
THAN MINE,
WITH A GAYER VOICE
& SWEETER,
AND A SOFTER EYE
THAN MINE;
BUT THOU CANST NOT
FIND ANOTHER
THAT WILL LOVE THEE
HALF SO WELL!"

9.5.5 Campaign poster on Falls Road

9.5.6. Mural remembering the workers of the Titanic as seen on Stroud street