Interface Issues
An Annotated Bibliography
2007 Update

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Preface

Belfast Interface Project (BIP) is a membership organisation committed to informing and supporting the development of effective regeneration strategies in Belfast's interface areas. Much has been written about interface areas and issues by researchers, academics, community and statutory agencies and others. This body of work represents a considerable store of knowledge and experience, insight, theory and opinion in this area, gathered over many years. One of the aims of BIP is to enhance and develop the knowledge base regarding Belfast's interface areas.

We produced in 2005 a collection of abstracts booklet called 'Interface Issues: an Annotated Bibliography', which contained summaries of 82 different pieces of literature that had been written about interface areas and issues over the period 1976-2004. We commissioned the Institute for Conflict Research (ICR) to prepare this for us. The booklet is also available for download from our website at www.belfastinterfaceproject.org

This document represents the 2007 update to that booklet, prepared for us by ICR and containing summaries of more recent pieces of work plus some that we missed last time. Again, the update is also available for download from our website and, again, BIP has brought together a library of hard copies of the source materials summarised within it. This library is housed in our offices and is available to BIP members and key stakeholders.

This update is a compilation of research on interface issues and areas, which has been undertaken by voluntary agencies, academic institutions, research organisations and community forums. This publication provides a resource for individuals interested in the dynamics of interface communities, aims to assist researchers in their studies on Belfast interfaces, and allows for comparisons to be drawn between research findings. The update aims to disseminate good practice policies, research findings, successful ventures and community viewpoints to interested parties across Northern Ireland.

Please note that the document reflects the author's interpretations of the provided material. It does not necessarily directly reflect the perspectives presented in each publication.

We aim, over future years, to continue to regularly update both the collection of abstracts document and the library of source materials as new literature is added.

We hope you find this resource relevant and useful.

Chris O'Halloran
Director, Belfast Interface Project.

1. **Burrows, Rosie & Keenan, Bríd (2004)** *'We'll never be the same'. Learning with children, parents and communities through ongoing political conflict and trauma: a resource*. **Belfast, Barnardo's Northern Ireland**.

This is a resource pack developed as an aid for organizations concerned with children, young people, and families, as well as those involved with education, peace building, community development and/or relations, and therapy/counselling organizations. The pack consists of one main document and five booklets. The researchers stress that the pack is not a how-to or an academic study, rather it outlines a more holistic approach to support work with those individuals who have experienced life threatening events, either directly or indirectly.

The main document provides background information, a description of the work with parents, information regarding the theories underpinning the authors' model, and reflections on the effectiveness of the process. The researchers worked with two groups of parents to provide support and to deepen the parents' understandings of the impact of political conflict on themselves, their families, and the wider community.

The two groups involved were one that included individuals from a Catholic/Nationalist/Republican community and the other from a Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist community. Both groups included women over 30 years of age, who came from disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and who had experienced traumatic events in the company of their children in the past year. The parents outlined that their main needs concerned safety, coupled with a desire to learn more to educate their children, to understand what happened, and to improve their communities.

The research discusses the unique nature of each group's approach and compares the ability of one group to proactively take action within their community with the other group's approach as being more reliant upon outside actors. Despite disproportionate levels of community support within the two groups, the general consensus was that they believed that traumatic events had impacted upon their ability to protect their children.

The researchers worked with an integrative model drawing from a vast amount of psychological research and theories underlining the methods utilized, ranging from social psychology, child psychology, educational psychology, and counselling. The theories focused upon the relationship between the parent and child, and the individual and the wider environment. It was indicated that individual pre-planned sessions were not effective and that there was a need to use a more fluid, holistic approach that encouraged mutual learning with the group and its needs developing over time.

In order to measure the effectiveness of the group work, the researchers examined baseline reports from the parents concerning what they hoped to gain from the program, parent reports and comments and finally observations from the facilitators of the groups. The parents indicated that they wanted to regain a sense of safety; to have the skills necessary to support the recovery process at a personal, family, and community level; and to understand what trauma was and to have the ability to recognize the affects in themselves and their children. At the end of the sessions the

parents felt that they had indeed gained the steps necessary to support themselves, their families, and their communities. The conclusion was that the sessions had led to a growing awareness of the impact of trauma on the parents' lives, an increasing recognition of the skills and knowledge needed for support, and a willingness to create opportunities to support their children.

Below is a brief synopsis of the five accompanying booklets.

Considering trauma and recovery examines various definitions for trauma and seeks to provide one that takes into account the context of over 30 years of political conflict in Northern Ireland. The booklet discusses models of trauma recovery, and includes the model of group support forwarded by Henson. The authors also provide a review of intergenerational transmission, or the manner in which trauma is passed down from generation to generation, or across families, communities and social systems.

Considering children and parents/carers provides information on recent research on child development and the process of attachment and attunement between parent and child. They stress that the carer is a vital link between the child and the world. With this in mind the role of the adult is crucial, and one must consider the different ways that children cope with trauma to provide for better support for them through the process. The booklet provides information on the variety of ways children cope and contains practical tips for parents.

Considering victims and workers describes the complexity of the definition of victimhood in Northern Ireland. The publication examines the implications of victimization and the unique relationship that exists between victims and those working with victims. The Lichtenberg model is discussed and the authors highlight the need for the worker to understand their own feelings in such a way as to better enable them to meet the victim authentically, to support their feelings, and to allow them to come to terms with the events.

Considering groups and leadership discusses groups as a learning community for those involved. Information is provided regarding the way that groups develop and the role that facilitators and leaders play in this process. A three-stage model for group work with trauma is explored by Herman that shows groups moving from safety-needs to an examination of the traumatic events, and eventually to a period of reconnection. The publication also examines Paulo Freire's experiential approach to participatory education.

Considering communities and transformation explores the centrality of the cultural and political context. The research describes the need to create opportunities for developing and co-creating narratives and repairing disruptions as fundamental to long-term peace efforts. The nature of sectarianism, prejudice, and discrimination are discussed and Sider's map of political conflict and trauma recovery is explored.

All of the booklets expand upon information provided in the main document and conclude with a bibliography and resources for additional information about the issues discussed.

The resource as a whole points to co-ordinated efforts by multiple agencies working

in tandem with political actors. The resource pack concludes that both children and families face post-traumatic stress symptoms, and it is suggested that parents and communities need skills to provide themselves and their families with support to deal with trauma.

2. **Byrne, Jonny (2005)** *Interface Violence in East Belfast during 2002. The impact on residents of Short Strand and Inner East Belfast*. **Belfast, Institute for Conflict Research.**

This report examines the events that took place in Short Strand and Inner East Belfast during 2002. Throughout the year there was persistent and recurrent violence at the interface areas between the Nationalist and Unionist communities. The report draws upon a number of interviews with residents, community workers, elected representatives and statutory and voluntary organisations that provide their experiences and perspectives of the violence and disorder that affected both communities. From the discussions a number of themes emerge which illustrate the impact the interface violence had on both communities.

The report provides different accounts from representatives of both communities on why the violence started, and why it intensified around the interface at Cluan Place/Clandeboye Gardens. Several respondents also discussed the physical and psychological impact that the violence had on their families and the sense of helplessness that was emanating from both communities at the time. The findings also revealed that four parties were prominent throughout the communal conflict in East Belfast. Women, the PSNI, Paramilitary groups and the Media are discussed at length along with the role they played in facilitating, restricting, influencing and engaging in the interface violence. The discussions revealed negative perceptions within both Short Strand and Inner East Belfast communities relating to the role of the police and the media in particular.

The report concludes with an analysis of the various groups and strategies that were employed in bringing the interface violence to an end. The role of outside agencies and the influence of community workers are widely discussed, together with the contributions these made to decreasing the violence and re-establishing contacts between the two communities. Byrne suggests that each community appeared to deny the reality of the 'other' community's experience and portrayed the other community as aggressors and themselves as the victims. The work suggests that it is vital to acknowledge the other community's experiences and that without such an acknowledgement; such difficulties at the interface will remain intractable.

3. **Donnelly, Paul (2006) Interfaces**. in *Sharing Over Separation: Actions towards A* Shared Future. **Belfast, Community Relations Council.**

This publication is a compilation of the conference speeches and the research reports from the Community Relations Councils conference entitled 'Sharing over Separation', held on April 27th 2006. This chapter outlines a number of prominent issues affecting the daily lives of those who live and work in interface communities in Northern Ireland based on a series of interviews and discussions with individuals living and working in interface communities. The paper hopes to link the development of government responses to tackle interface issues with the promotion of A Shared

Future.

The research outlines that it is very important to support communities in conflict prevention, management and their transformation, and acknowledges that there are concerns that without a holistic, interagency approach the onus to resolve interface conflict will be placed on those individuals who live and work within the interface communities themselves without broader government and statutory support.

The author discusses several key issues facing those who live and work at interface areas, such as the restricted access to services and facilities. The article highlights that addressing the issues needs to move beyond 'managing' responses and into a proactive policy drive, with an imperative on new methods and approaches to address these issues. Donnelly contends that it is not just interface residents alone who have to affect change, but that they need support from policy service providers working in tandem with communities.

It is suggested that despite much effort being focused on conflict management schemes such as those which utilise mobile phone networks, much greater policy work is required in addressing the ongoing features of disadvantages endured by interface communities. The report outlines these ongoing features of disadvantage as;

- Disadvantages created by violent conflict and its legacies.
- Disadvantages due to restricted access to services and facilities.
- Disadvantages due to social and economic decline.

The author highlights that one manifestation of this disadvantage has been that educational delivery in interface areas has remained a low priority for policy makers and service providers, and contrasts this with the practice in Great Britain, whereby educational priority is given to economically and socially marginalized communities.

The chapter discusses the effects of these disadvantages facing young people in particular, and discusses the challenge of developing constructive and diversionary roles for young people in interface communities. However, Donnelly acknowledges some of the main issues affecting these projects, such as inadequate funding and the late release of money, which limits the impact of the projects in the long-term.

The difficulties facing the limited number of shared communities in the Province are also outlined, with the specific focus on the role of the free market and gentrification process in threatening their composition. The research argues that if government is serious about A Shared Future, then shared spaces should be nurtured to support their mixed composition, with an immediate focus on creating structures that support the retention of such communities through supporting schooling, social housing and affordable housing.

Finally, the chapter identifies the role local government and councils in particular as service providers can play in helping to create more stable and healthy interface communities. The author states that on a political level there needs to be more constructive leadership by councillors and local representatives, with a focus on creating a shared seeking of resources in order to increase trust and optimism between interface communities.

Interfaces concludes with ten recommendations, which most importantly include a proposed mapping of existing and potential interface sites to identify potential problems and solutions; a longer-term strategy by government towards regeneration and a commitment to not build any more interfaces. There must also be an acknowledgment of the key role of young people as both part of the problem and solution to interface violence.

4. Hall, Michael (2007). *Building Bridges at the grassroots: The experience of the Suffolk-Lenadoon Interface Group*. **Newtownabbey, Island Publications.**

This brief publication documents the efforts of residents of the predominantly Protestant Suffolk and predominantly Catholic Lenadoon communities in attempting to bring stability to their interface area. The booklet provides an overview of the beginning of 'the Troubles' from the perspectives of residents of Suffolk and of Lenadoon, and identifies the years 1976/1977 as when the road first became a permanent interface. Both Suffolk and Lenadoon residents express their views as to why the changes occurred. It is suggested that once the line was established, people began to focus on the difficulties within their own community, which enabled each group to build capacity and confidence separately before making contacts with the 'other' side.

The development towards cross-community contacts was tentative at first, beginning in the 1970's with some relatively secret initial meetings. However, participants referred to the levels of opposition they often faced within their respective communities. Despite initial contacts, the 1980's saw the first Resident's Associations developing separately and focusing on their own community issues.

The document highlights that once discussions started to develop, it was decided to attempt the first joint project, which was a joint protest at a lack of traffic lights on the Stewartstown Road. The success of this initial protest led to dealing with bigger issues, with several participants believing that once people had met and discussed the issues in their own areas, they realised that the 'other' community was experiencing the same difficulties.

The participants discuss the impact of the Drumcree parades dispute in 1997, which saw the worst year of violence in the area for at least ten years. The pamphlet illustrates the impact this violence had on relations across the interface, as trust between the two groups collapsed. The violence served to increase hostility within each community to contacts with 'the other side'. After one month of cooling off, the residents on both sides realised Drumcree would in all likelihood happen again and they needed to establish some form of mechanism to deal with it. The meetings eventually led to the establishment of the Suffolk-Lenadoon Interface Group (SLIG).

One key issue arising from the contacts was the role of rumours in creating fear on both sides, and an acknowledgement that tackling these rumours was key to improving relations at the interface. It was suggested that rumours invariably led to more people from outside the area coming to the interface to potentially cause trouble. To counter these difficulties, the residents established a mobile phone network in 1997, which aimed to maintain contacts across the interface during times of tension.

The lack of violence in the area associated with the Drumcree dispute in 1998 was seen as a direct result of both communities being better prepared to deal with potential troublemakers. This success increased the potential of developing other projects and a new company was established to build shops and property and replace derelict buildings along the Stewartstown Road. Despite the participants acknowledging that they did not have total support within their respective communities to contact the other community, it was suggested by one participant that after two or three years, people realised the benefits of the project. The issue of transparency and being up front with ones' own community was highlighted as critical in maintaining enough support to be able to establish contacts with the other community.

Residents of both Suffolk and Lenadoon mention the problems with securing funding and the general lack of understanding among statutory organisations of the sensitivity of interface issues, which are not simply an ill which can be 'cured'. Rather, interfaces are seen as volatile even at the best of times, with stability depending on constant hard work by people on both sides.

The publication concludes with a discussion of the future, with the Suffolk-Lenadoon Interface Group seen as a model of good practice. The author believes that much of its success is due to the bottom-up nature of its approach. The residents conclude that reconciliation was never their priority, rather it was simply to improve the well-being of their communities. It is argued however that this approach allowed each community to increase their respective capacity and confidence before making the first tentative steps towards cross-community contacts.

5. Hall, Michael (2006). *Loyalism in Transition 1: A New Reality?* **Newtownabbey, Island Publications.**

This publication is a form of 'preamble' and presents an outline of the Ulster Defence Association's (UDA) and Ulster Political Research Group's (UPRG) Conflict Transformation Initiative. The pamphlet describes the outcome of an extensive internal debate among the organisation's membership from November 2004 and throughout 2005, and is an attempt to provide an accurate reflection of current feeling within the rank and file UDA membership. The main thinking behind the project was a decision to try and convince the British government that they needed to support a conflict transformation process which engaged the Protestant and Loyalist community.

The pamphlet begins with a brief overview of the beginning of the Troubles in 1969 and the formation of the UDA in 1971 and subsequent establishment of the UPRG in 1978. Hall highlights the 1978 political document 'Beyond the Religious Divide' and 1987's 'Common Sense' document as illustrating the complexities within Loyalist para-militarism vacillating between a military and political approach to the conflict. The author also suggests that such documents indicate that the current UDA interest in a community development strategy is not something new, but rather has been a long accepted reality.

Discussions revealed that some participants felt that the UDA should retain their arms due to a need to defend various interface areas, such as the Fountain Estate, Cluan Place, and the White City. It was argued that any act of decommissioning in the

current political climate would leave these communities defenceless. There also appeared to be concerns regarding the activities of dissident republicans over recent years.

One key issue raised was a belief by the majority of respondents that the war was not yet over and that there was still a need to defend Ulster, yet there was widespread recognition that the nature of the war had now shifted from a military to a political conflict.

Individual members mentioned the distrust they had for mainstream unionist politicians and the need for working-class loyalism to have a voice, and expressed the desire that the UDA end any association with criminality and drug pushing, which they believed had tarnished their image in their communities.

The pamphlet then proceeds to discuss the 'Conflict Transformation Initiative: Loyalism in Transition', and highlights a number of historical and contemporary dangers which this initiative seeks to address. Of particular relevance was the view that those at the interface of conflict come from the most socio-economically disadvantaged communities, and much of that disadvantage remains in place. There was a belief that Unionist political leaders do not recognise the need and benefit of community development to move the Protestant working-class out of the conflict.

The publication concludes by highlighting the tasks that would need to be undertaken with this initiative, which include initiating or supporting cross-community and interface contacts. 'Loyalism in Transition' is proposing that the British government must recognise the need to fund a genuine conflict transformation initiative which would begin to tackle the myriad of issues currently facing Protestant/Loyalist working-class communities.

6. Hall, Michael (2007). *Loyalism in Transition 2: Learning from Others in Conflict.* **Newtownabbey, Island Publications.**

This pamphlet is the second in a series of publications based around the Ulster Defence Association's (UDA) Conflict Transformation Initiative, and focuses in particular on the outcomes of an eight day 'International Foundation Workshop' held in Belfast between the 8th and 15th October 2006. The proceedings involved members of the UDA's Inner Council, spokespersons for five UDA Brigade areas, ordinary grass-roots UDA members, members of the Ulster Political Research Group (UPRG) as well as international participants from Moldova/Transdniestria, Israel and Palestine and also a team of facilitators. The exchange of experiences was designed to assist the UDA in particular to move along its path of conflict transformation.

The document is essentially a narrative piece, beginning with a brief introduction of the groups involved in the discussions, and the publication provides a documentation of some of the outcomes of the discussions. The marching season was highlighted as a possible threat to the conflict transformation process, given that several representatives of the UDA felt that their role in facilitating relatively quiet marching seasons was ignored. One respondent complained of receiving a raw deal from both the government and the Parades Commission, despite what they believed to be the positive influence of their members at peace-lines to create shared space. The

respondent argued for a strategic policy to tackle sensitive parade disputes.

The pamphlet also documents the positive impact of joint cross-community work along interface areas particularly in North and West Belfast, and also discusses the difficulties which will face the conflict transformation process in the future. One participant believed that the macho image in the organisation hindered attempts to stop trouble at interface areas, as people would think the individual concerned was a coward.

The document outlines participants' responses when asked to consider their vision for Northern Ireland in ten years and what role the UDA would have. Several key factors were identified, which included a desire for an increase in integrated education and housing, an acceptance of all traditions, including those of new migrants, and good relations with the 'other' community and an end to interface areas. It was hoped that these interface areas would in time become shared spaces.

Participants were asked with whom they should engage, in what way, what to engage about and what obstacles are going to have to be overcome in the engagement process. Interface issues were seen as one crucial aspect to this engagement. One member of the UDA stated that some members of the organisation have been involved in community work and have moved into dialogue with Sinn Fein and Republicans. The pamphlet outlines the benefits of a forum with representatives from a variety of organisations including politicians, churches, women's groups, the UVF, the Loyal Orders, and the Apprentice Boys. The fact that any decision taken was a group one invariably made any decision to engage with Sinn Fein and Republicans that much easier.

The publication proposes that conflict transformation is different from conflict resolution. Hall suggests that the statements made by participants not only revealed a willingness within the UDA to transform the conflict, but also a desire to resolve the conflict. Hall cites the support for integrated education, the call to turn sectarian interfaces into shared spaces and a willingness to address the historical and cultural roots of the conflict as examples of this.

The pamphlet concludes with some final thoughts. The author outlines that the goal of conflict resolution will prove far more difficult to achieve than conflict transformation. According to the author a need for honesty was a recurrent theme of the workshop, and subsequently it is contended that although the UDA/UFF talked about 'taking the war to the IRA' the ordinary Catholic community suffered appallingly. Similarly, the document concludes that the IRA will have to acknowledge that their violent pursuit of a United Ireland was not the pure and idealistic liberation struggle it was so often portrayed as being. The state is also identified as having to accept its share of culpability. Nevertheless, despite the UDA's role as one of the main protagonists in the violence of the Troubles, the author believes that recent developments signify a genuine effort by the UDA to play a more constructive and positive role in building a new future for Northern Ireland.

7. Hall, Michael (2004). *Reflections on the 'peace dividend': the views of women from Nationalist North Belfast*. **Newtownabbey, Island Publications.**

This document was prepared following a series of discussions convened by the North Belfast Interface Consortium involving female community activists from Nationalist interface areas of North Belfast. The aim of these discussions was to provide an arena to share and explore everyday experiences working in an interface area. While a number of the topics discussed were on a personal level, the vast majority focused upon the issues and challenges facing the communities along the interface. There was general concern that sectarianism is still as prevalent as ever and that contact with the 'other' community is at an all time low.

It became apparent that many of the participants believed that attempts to counter violence at interface areas through cross-community contacts were often ineffective and stressful. It was argued that there was a need for face-to-face contacts with the same people on both sides of the community, and that there was a need to work together for mutual benefit to secure funding for joint projects. It was felt that if this cooperation was lacking it would be to the detriment of both communities.

It was revealed that emotions still ran very deep over the Holy Cross dispute, and many participants felt that such a dispute brought their own community closer together but at the expense of inter-community relations. There was a feeling amongst participants that the Holy Cross dispute made them even more negative in their perceptions of the police.

The pamphlet revealed a general consensus that sectarianism was still a major ingredient of interface problems. The interviewees believed that problems at interface areas led to nationalist residents of North Belfast not being able to avail of certain leisure facilities, which were located in Protestant areas.

The group discussed other factors which they felt contributed to interface difficulties, and it became apparent that housing issues were a major source of inter-community tension. Several of the women believed that empty houses in Protestant estates behind 'peace-walls' should be allocated to Catholic families, given the acute housing shortage which exists in nationalist areas of North Belfast. There was a feeling that the nationalist community was not being allowed to expand, and that one of the main problems with interfaces was that they turned communities into ghettoes.

The group felt that some of the most pressing issues at interface areas were related to young people and included tackling feelings of youth alienation, a lack of employment and opportunities, the rise of alcohol and drug use, high suicide rates, and an increase in anti-social behaviour. The group discussed the negative impact of these issues, which they linked to social and economic deprivation, limited future prospects, and the negative role of paramilitaries.

The interviewees discussed the role of young people at length, and mentioned the difficulties that can be faced in the summertime when young people are off school, and that often the lack of things to do can lead to 'recreational rioting' with the interface acting as a magnet for violence. The pamphlet indicated a criticism of the Housing Executive due to the perceived lack of youth facilities, or play areas in

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interface communities, which could possibly provide an alternative to violence at the interface.

The was a perception that despite peace, the two main communities were as far apart as ever, and there was a general fear that children would continue to grow up in the same divided society that the women grew up in. It was concluded that despite the fact that there are still cross-community projects ongoing, there needed to be far greater engagement and honesty between the two communities in an attempt to confront divisions.

8. **Hansson, Ulf (2005)** *Troubled Youth? Young People, Violence and Disorder in Northern Ireland*. **Belfast, Institute for Conflict Research.**

Various researchers have noted the influence that young people play in sustaining violence and tension within and between communities. With this in mind, the aim of this research was to examine issues of community order that related to forms of violence, anti-social behaviour and policing, including an analysis of the relationship between communities and the manner in which young people help to define these relationships as hostile. The research also sought to acquire an increasing understanding of the behaviour of young people who feel they are socially excluded from their communities.

The research examined two specific localities within Northern Ireland, North Belfast and Derry/Londonderry. The methodology included a quantitative as well as a qualitative component including observations, interviews, focus groups, newspaper reviews, and surveys. The body of the report was comprised of four major sections: young people and violence, gender and violence, facilities and engagement, and responding to violence and disorder.

Young people from both communities agreed that it takes very little to start interface violence and that often both sides are equally responsible. There was a tacit agreement that young people initiated some violent incidents due to a perceived need to defend their area, and as a response to violence started by the 'other' side. It is noted that in the areas that saw a decrease in rioting, there were noticeable increases in incidents of anti-social behaviour involving young people. The report suggests that most rioting and anti-social behaviour was not in fact politically motivated, but 'recreational' in nature and deriving from a general sense of boredom.

It is noted that previous research on youths and violence has focused primarily on young males, with young females often regarded as passive victims. Examining survey data from young people and through focus groups with young women in North Belfast, the report noted distinct similarities and differences in young male and young female attitudes and experiences of violence. The report indicated that young women, like young men, are actively involved in a variety of incidents of violent and anti-social behaviour, such as underage drinking and 'slabbering', or verbal abuse. Discussions revealed that young women were more likely than young men to feel that their movements and travel were restricted due to high levels of violence. Perhaps more positively however, young women also indicated that they had more cross community friendships and had a more positive view of the police.

A recurring theme throughout the report was that there was a distinct 'lack of things to do', regardless of gender or community background. Hansson reports that while a limited number of recreational facilities are available, the young people reported that they were not stimulating enough or that they did not take sufficient consideration of their needs. The most effective youth projects appeared to be those which involved young people in their design and implementation from the beginning, therefore providing a sense of 'ownership' over the project.

The final section in the report highlights young people's relationship with the different structures in place to respond to violence and disorder. It is noted that in general, relations with the police and paramilitary figures are not based on respect or trust but rather on fear and hostility. There was a perception that there was an equal threat of violence and harassment from police and paramilitaries. Young people acknowledged that while they participated intermittently in a variety of negative activities, they felt that they were incorrectly categorised as troublemakers and viewed as the recurring source of local problems. The author contends that the lack of dialogue and culture of violence in Northern Ireland has led to suspicious and strained relations between young people and adults in the community.

The report concludes that for many young people, violence is seen as a recreational activity, and as something to do during periods of boredom. The recurring violence and a lack of social engagement can be viewed therefore as a both a cause and effect of young people's feelings of alienation. A clear connection is drawn between anti-social behaviour and underage drinking, and it is reported that at many times these went hand in hand. With this in mind, there is a need for more facilities to engage young people. It is also imperative to improve the strained relationship between young people and authority figures within the community. Hanson concludes by suggesting that these findings, supported by previous research, point to the need for a multi-agency approach to issues of youth violence.

9. **Hargie, Owen; Dickson, David and O'Donnell Aodheen (2006)** *Breaking Down Barriers: Sectarianism, Unemployment and the Exclusion of Disadvantaged Young People from Northern Irish Society*. **Jordanstown, University Of Ulster.**

This study investigates social exclusion among young adults from interface areas of Belfast, focusing on unemployment and social exclusion as features of sectarianism. The study aims to chart ways employers can facilitate the recruitment of individuals from minority communities in their areas through promoting harmonious cross-community relations in the workplace.

The report utilises qualitative research methods and includes 198 interviews with young people, community and training providers, and employers and trade unions with a view to determining the influence that sectarianism may have on young people from interface areas. The research also features a detailed literature review addressing the features of social exclusion, youth unemployment and sectarianism.

One of the key findings of the research was the fact that young people living in interface areas often face a "double penalty", given that they face serious problems linked to poverty while simultaneously suffering from the effects of sectarianism. The report outlines that this development can serve to exacerbate social exclusion in

interface areas, particularly given that many respondents felt that sectarianism had increased since the Good Friday Agreement.

A key theme emerging from the discussions was the role of sectarianism acting as a barrier to employment. The report identifies the three main forms of sectarianism as verbal abuse, displays of emblems and physical attacks. Interviews with young people revealed that half of respondents would refuse a job which was located in an area dominated by the 'other' community, with the majority of respondents stating that they would most be in fear of physical attack. The report suggests that this reluctance to leave one's own area is in part linked to what the authors term a "Bubble Syndrome" whereby the young people felt comfortable and secure in the micro-society of their own community and did not wish to leave.

The discussions revealed other barriers to employment, including the provision of transport, with many young people simply not able to afford to travel long distances to other areas to work. This it was felt helped to contribute to social exclusion in interface areas along with other factors such as lack of education, negative parental influence, and the role of drugs and alcohol. The authors identified an increasing sense of frustration and alienation at the lack of job opportunities, particularly among young Protestant males, given the decline of heavy industry such as Shorts and Harland and Wolff.

One of the central themes emerging in discussions was the importance of a culture of neutrality in the workplace to prevent sectarianism developing. Discussions with employers revealed that although blatant sectarianism was not tolerated in the work place, lower-level "banter" often went "under the radar" of management.

The report draws conclusions based around four key themes relating to economic, social and physical barriers to employment, the relationship between unemployment and social exclusion, sectarianism and workplace relations, and the "Bubble Syndrome". The report concludes that the "Bubble Syndrome" in particular led to a vicious cycle, with unemployed young people not trying to find work in other areas and choosing to stay within their own area, often remaining jobless for an extended period of time.

The report recommends that consideration should be given to how young people can be reached in the key school-to-work transitional years. The report states that if possible, consideration should be given to providing or promoting transport to hard to access areas for employees, while stressing that there is a need to build longer-term relationships between the employing organisations and the surrounding areas. The report contends that employers need to facilitate positive relations in the workplace through developing subtle facilitating schemes within a culturally neutral environment.

10. Hensel, Susan (2005) *The Sharp Edge of Segregation: Interface Areas in Northern Ireland*. **Unpublished Master's Thesis. Chemnitz University of Technology.**

This thesis explores the phenomenon of interface violence in an effort to reveal the roots of the disturbances. As a secondary aim, the thesis examines how interface

violence can be addressed and prevented. It provides a critical analysis of peace building approaches aimed to reduce tension and counter outbreaks of violence along interfaces, and looks at why this range of initiatives has had such a limited impact.

The work begins by defining commonly used terms, after which a brief historical background to the political conflict in Northern Ireland is provided. Hensel gives a brief synopsis on the plantation of Ulster, the partitioning of Ireland, the civil rights campaign and the Troubles, as well as the peace process since 1994. While the discussion on the peace process initially begins by focusing on the developments within the political arena it later moves to the situation 'on the ground'.

While it is noted that Northern Ireland has seen a significant reduction in politically motivated violence, the aftermath has been a profound legacy of fear and mistrust between the two communities. It is argued that ongoing inter-community tensions and sectarianism have led to a more polarized and divided society and it is at the interfaces that these two communities are forced to meet.

Different types of interface are discussed: the enclave area, the split, and the buffer zone, as well as the different mediums of segregation such as a road, a row of shops or a landmark, or in some cases physical barriers. Despite the decline of politically motivated violence, Hensel argues that the need for these physical barriers or 'peace walls' remains. The author discusses the various roles that the euphemistically termed 'peace walls' play, and explains that they provide a sense of security against future attacks, mark safe boundaries, and provide a sense of psychological security.

Hensel discusses four sources of interface violence, including violence related to territory intruders, paramilitary violence, youth led attacks, and violence related to parades. A large degree of interface violence, it is suggested, is rooted in the lack of activities and the boredom that young people face, and with this in mind the study outlines strategies of prevention needed to provide alternative activities for young people, particularly in the summer months. One key issue highlighted with summer projects is their short-term impact. The projects are only able to engage young people for a couple of weeks at a time. The author suggests that prevention programs need to address the roots of tension and violence by building relationships between the two communities.

Three major kinds of approaches that work to build community relations are identified as single identity programmes, cultural diversity programmes, and cross-community programmes. Single identity and cultural diversity programmes work to decrease negative attitudes by increasing tolerance and understanding of differing cultures. It is argued however that education is not enough and that contact is necessary if positive relations are to be built, and the study outlines the importance of the role of cross-community work in this respect.

The thesis provides an analysis of peace-building initiatives in interface areas, and distinguishes between three different strategies: containment, intervention, and prevention. It is argued that containment measures have not been able to stop violence, but only displace it. Similarly, intervention measures make a contribution, but by nature they are only a reactionary approach and need to be supplemented by longer-term objectives.

The report discusses the important role that young people can play in the creation and maintenance of positive community relations, with Hensel providing a number of examples of cross community work that focus on youth. It is suggested that while this method holds much potential, these initiatives struggle with a variety of problems, with the report indicating that both communities have difficulty moving beyond preparatory work. The nature of funding is precarious and this affects long-term strategising. The thesis establishes that some of the most effective efforts in bringing communities together involve those issues which are explicitly non-political in nature and are with a view to establishing a sound working relationship as a basis for future progress. It is argued that the most effective community work must engage both young people and adults alike.

Moving beyond cross-community work, community development initiatives such as community capacity building and physical and economic regeneration are discussed. The research outlines the potential for capacity building initiatives in providing attractive alternatives to young people. The report also assesses the impact of regeneration projects in interface areas and highlights the positive effect the projects can have in not only improving the physical environment, but also in improving inter-community relations.

The study also addresses issues associated with violent incidents at parades and the role of paramilitaries in the community, and states that the formation of the Parades Commission was an attempt to reduce such incidents. The study acknowledges that while the Commission has had some success in reducing some violent disputes over parading, Hensel describes the limitations facing work with regards to paramilitary activity. The thesis proposes that political representatives, community organizations, and people on the ground have a role to play in encouraging paramilitaries to transform and provide a more positive impact on communities.

The study concludes by describing the complexities facing peace building approaches such as insecure funding and the fragile and sensitive nature of relationship building approaches. The author argues that the key issues intrinsic to interface violence are based upon sectarian attitudes and inter-community hostility. The research suggests that interface areas have had an impact on the wider society, and contends that the political process and peace-building initiatives must act in unison to improve inter-community relationships and reduce interface violence.

11. Inter-Action Belfast (2005), *The Role of Ex-Combatants on Interfaces*. **Belfast, Inter-Action Belfast.**

This brief publication is based upon ten interviews conducted by Inter-Action Belfast with ten politically motivated ex-prisoners, and examines their role in and contribution to community activism along the Springfield Road interface in Belfast.

Section One outlines the formative years of the ten politically motivated ex-prisoners, five loyalist and five republican, and their roles in the conflict and gaol experiences. The section continues to chart the progression of political and educational development within the gaol system, which led to the development of early dialogue between the republican and loyalist community representatives. The chapter goes on to suggest that leadership skills are one of the key dynamics in conflict

transformation.

Section Two deals with the reintegration of the ex-prisoner respondents back into the local community, and discusses the notion of ex-prisoners as powerful symbols of the past who can play a positive role in reducing violence at interface areas. This, the chapter argues, is due to the high regard in which many ex-prisoners are held, particularly by young people in their own community.

Section Three discusses the positive contribution that ex-prisoners can make towards conflict transformation and reconciliation, and proposes that there are two differing perspectives from republican and loyalist respondents of how this process should occur. The document outlines a republican perspective of the process of paramilitary transformation as gradually falling into place once conditions are created which mean there is no longer a need for defensive measures. Conversely, loyalist respondents expressed a need for a proactive approach to paramilitary transformation in which Government and statutory agencies need to play a lead role. Republican ex-prisoners it is suggested are held in higher regard in their areas than perhaps loyalists are within theirs, where it was felt there was a greater stigma attached within the wider Unionist community to being an ex-prisoner.

The report contends that ex-combatants are centrally placed stakeholders but they cannot carry out work unassisted and government and policy makers must take the lead. The article stresses the need for ex-prisoners to use their leadership position to facilitate incremental change, but argues that prior to this development, political and social stability are needed within communities first, in order for the perceived need for a defensive role for paramilitaries to become irrelevant.

The document highlights respondents' views that engagement with the 'other side' does not dilute one's position, but can in fact enhance understanding and draw out the complexities of the situation. The report continues that the cultivation of existing skills and leadership is essential in order to continue movement forward politically, and to ensure that interface areas no longer remain theatres of violence but rather become spaces of transformation.

The report finally illustrates a range of challenges to the work, including the impact of the Independent Monitoring Commission's reports (IMC), the fragmentation of Protestant, Unionist, Loyalist communities and the negative influence of political apathy. The booklet makes six recommendations;

- **A Long-term approach:** is needed both within communities and within paramilitaries.
- **Dialogue and facilitation:** are necessary to enable stakeholders to discover ways to live with their differences as well as building relationships. The publication goes on to argue that the success of grass-roots approaches is largely due to the utilisation of local knowledge and by harnessing locally generated solutions.
- **Existing programmes, experiences and local solutions:** need to be validated and built upon.
- **Resources, funding, and technical support:** are needed and there is a need for a partnership approach to be adopted with local stakeholders.

- **The peace process and the political process:** must work in tandem in order to remove threats and underlying rationale for paramilitary groups. The document claims that political and social stability are central to this.
- **Policy decisions:** there is a need on the part of policy makers to be aware of the impact of policy on local communities and the effects on intra and inter community relationships.

12. Jarman, Neil (2005) *Interface Mapping Project*. **Belfast, Belfast Interface Project**, www.belfastinterfaceproject.org

This brief online resource documents all of the known Northern Ireland Office (NIO) identified security fences or 'peacelines' in Belfast. Jarman identifies 41 distinct barriers in Belfast, and contrasts this with previous NIO figures in 2003 of 27 and 44 barriers respectively. The differences in figures result from a decision to identify those barriers which form a continuous and connected division as a single, rather than a multiple barrier, as well as treating gates across roads as separate and distinct barriers.

This change in classification affects several areas, including the barriers between the Falls Road and the Shankill Road, but the document suggests that even the figure of 41 barriers is not definitive given the numerous other barriers, fences and walls in Belfast. The list identifies four barriers in South West Belfast, twelve in West Belfast, five barriers in East Belfast, and twenty barriers in North Belfast, and provides an identification of the location of each barrier and the date of its construction. Jarman highlights that nine of the barriers have been erected since the 1994 ceasefires, with a further eleven heightened, lengthened or otherwise since 1994.

13.   Jarman, Neil (2006), *Working at the Interface: Good Practice in Reducing Tension and Violence*. **Belfast, Institute for Conflict Research.**

This brief publication provides an overview of the value and importance of interface activities developed in response to interface violence in Belfast, and documents some of the current effective practice. The report highlights the importance of a small number of events (such as parades, football matches, Halloween), activities (alcohol, flying flags), and categories of person (young people, outsiders) as key triggers raising tensions and sparking violence.

The document contends that while historically interface violence has been linked to the wider political conflict, more recently disorder at interface areas can often be little more than either anti-social behaviour or "recreational rioting" due to boredom or frustration, particularly amongst young people.

The report identifies a range of "fire-fighting" or responsive activities to stop or reduce interface violence, with the key feature common to all that they were grass-roots and therefore "bottom-up" initiatives. These include preparatory activities such as sharing information, diversionary work with young people, preventative work including environmental and regeneration activities, relationship building activities among neighbouring communities, and strategic planning work among local networks to develop longer-term responses to reduce tensions. The document stresses that much of this work is based on a growing number of cross-community networks in Belfast, leading to a building of trust, sharing of information and developing local and

strategic plans.

The document also highlights the positive role that the establishment of a mobile phone network from 1997 has had in maintaining relationships between communities during periods of tension. It was noted that interface workers themselves stressed the importance of maintaining support within their own communities and that levels of tension and pressures may lead to scaled down cross-community relations in the short-term.

Jarman outlines the importance of building connections and relationships with other sectors and acknowledges the important role that the statutory and private business sectors can play, whilst recognising certain difficulties such as a lack of funding for projects. Other difficulties, such as the severity of incidents being exacerbated by local politicians and the media are also discussed. The report found that the most effective and successful networks are those that are most inclusive and involve those people who have the most significant influence at a local level in dealing with public disorder.

The publication concludes with an acknowledgement of the role played by a small number of community activists and workers in reducing tension and violence in interface areas of Belfast in recent years. The report however suggests that in many interface areas intercommunity tension is still the norm rather than the exception.

The research highlights that despite a variety of attempts to address problems being confined to localised issues and concerns, a number of common approaches have emerged. The booklet identifies seven such approaches;

- **Communication:** The importance of communication within and between communities.
- **Relationships:** The booklet attributes some of the success in some areas of limiting tension and conflict to the development of personal relationships between individuals and interface workers from the 'other' side.
- **Networks:** The importance of developing networks amongst a variety of stakeholders to assist in intervention and prevention work.
- **Inclusivity:** The work contends that many local groups have highlighted the need for inclusivity of all key local actors through discussions and the ability of communities to choose their own representatives.
- **Young People:** Encouraging young people to take more of a responsibility in becoming part of the solution as opposed to part of the problem at interface areas.
- **Trust:** It was also found that the building of trust was important in sustaining communities, relationships and networks between individuals rather than the community they represent.
- **Connections:** the importance of developing connections and links with other forms of community activity, and there was a recognition among many activists that there was a need to tackle issues revolving around anti-social behaviour, drug and alcohol misuse and mental health problems.

Jarman concludes by stating that the challenge remains in developing programmes, strategies and more wide ranging relationships across a broader range of groups.

14. O Dochartaigh, Niall (forthcoming 2007) *Conflict, Territory and new technologies: Online interaction at a Belfast Interface.* **Political Geography (2007) www.elsevier.com/locate/polgeo**

This article examines the relationship between new information and communication technologies and territorial boundaries through an analysis of an interface in North Belfast. The article in particular discusses territory, conflict and communication in Northern Ireland, focusing on territorial strategies of penetration and control.

The study focuses on the Whitewell/White City and Graymount interface and assesses intense online interaction between people on either side of the interface. The article examines three websites associated with White City, Whitewell, and the Whitewell Defenders Flute Band and over 400 messages posted on these websites between 2003 and 2005. The methodology also involved semi-structured interviews and less formal conversations with politicians, community workers, academics, and mediation workers.

The document stresses that much previous work on online interaction has argued that new information technologies have liberated people from their offline identities and localities, eroding territorial jurisdiction. O Dochartaigh contends that new technologies neither transcend nor remove territorial boundaries, but can actually serve to extend the role of physical boundaries as locations for violence and he argues that in actual fact the adoption of new media technologies has had a direct impact on patterns of street violence in Belfast.

The author suggests that the physical boundary gains intensified importance and significance as new technologies reinforce its role as a location for confrontation, and he briefly discusses the role of mobile phones, text messages and the internet to allow for pre-organised riots to occur at certain times and venues. He also highlights the use of photos online to convey a threat or 'penetration' into the 'other' community's territory.

O Dochartaigh states that a key function of boundaries is to provide security, and the breaking of boundaries provides a powerful means to erode this sense of security. He concludes that far from transcending boundaries, the new lines of communication are reinforcing them, with many residents throughout an interior space now playing a more direct and significant role in representing and defining that region at its outer boundaries.

15. Roche, Rosallen (2005). '*Something to Say!' Project Profile.* **Derry Londonderry, Blackstaff Press.**

This publication documents the findings of a three-year study conducted in the Derry City Council District area. The study was the result of a series of workshops and questionnaire responses hosted by Derry Youth and Community Workshop, involving 900 young people. The Toward Reconciliation and Inclusion Project (TRIP) sought to uncover some of the most common contemporary concerns facing the young people aged between 15-25, both Catholic and Protestant, male and female.

Section One documents the young people's experiences of schooling and current

employment status. Young people had varied feelings about their school experience, with some displaying positive experiences, while many also felt feelings of regret and of inadequacy at school. The study also found that many young people had left school at their parents' behest to pursue a trade, often with their parents having left education early as well.

Section Two explores young people's attitudes and opinions on living in the area, as well as their pastimes and hobbies. The research found that a majority of respondents liked living in the area (63%), but of those who did not the most common reason was a feeling of boredom with the area. It was highlighted that only 50% of Protestants compared to 71% of Catholics liked living in the city.

Section Three discusses alcohol and drugs and asks why young people use them. Only 4% of young people reported that they were completely drug and alcohol free, with 14% of young people suggesting that they first got drunk at just 11 years of age. The most common reasons cited for taking alcohol or drugs, were to relax, for excitement, and to relieve boredom.

Section Four assesses young people's opinions on and interactions with authority figures and in particular, the police and paramilitaries. Young people's views regarding restorative justice and retributive justice are also discussed. The section highlights that over one third of respondents found the police to be disrespectful and impolite. When asked about restorative justice, 70% did not know what it was. The section reported that 42% of respondents felt that paramilitaries should look out for their own communities, with almost a third believing that paramilitaries should punish anti-social behaviour.

Section Five examines young people's feelings of safety and issues around sectarianism, with young Catholics more likely to regard the city as safe than young Protestants. The section found that 61% of respondents felt that there was a lot of sectarianism in the area, with over a third of respondents having experienced sectarianism in some form. More Protestants than Catholics reported experiences of sectarianism. Significantly, when asked about the Troubles, Protestant young people were more likely to feel that the 'Troubles' were ongoing.

The study concludes with a brief summary of the findings and suggests listening and learning from young people themselves to learn together and move forward.

16. Shirlow, Peter; Graham, Brian; McEvoy, Kieran; O hAdhmaill, Felim and Purvis, Dawn (2005) *Politically Motivated Former Prisoner Groups: Community Activism and Conflict Transformation.* **Coleraine, University of Ulster.**

This study assesses the impact of imprisonment and the role of politically motivated former prisoners in the process of conflict transformation in Northern Ireland. The study's main aim is to examine ways in which former prisoners are involved in peace-building and conflict transformation work and to evaluate the constraints and impediments placed upon their activities by the effects of gaol, politically motivated release and residual criminalisation. A central concern of the report is to encourage understandings of the former prisoner community which stretch beyond the stereotypical depictions found within much of the public domain.

The methodology involved both quantitative and qualitative research and included a survey questionnaire of 300 former prisoners (150 republican, 150 loyalist) and their families, two focus groups, a one-day workshop and semi-structured interviews with key former prisoners, representatives of former prisoner groups and members of 'civil society'. The research was facilitated by the Loyalist Ex-Prisoners Interpretive Centre (EPIC) and Tar Isteach, the republican former prisoner group which is part of a larger umbrella organisation, Coiste na n-larchimi.

The study begins by outlining a history of the former prisoner groups, and highlights the fact that there is much less history of imprisonment in loyalist groupings. The authors see this as attaching greater stigma to loyalist former prisoners within their communities, which then appears to constrain the effectiveness of loyalist former prisoners in working within their communities. In comparison, republican former prisoners are seen to be held in much higher esteem within their own communities, and are often much more engaged in community activism.

The research study discusses the impact of imprisonment on prisoners and their families, and in particular focuses on the resulting physical and psychological problems, relationship problems, difficulties with employment and problems in coping with life outside of the gaol system.

A major focus of the study is the effect of criminalisation on former prisoners. At one level this can lead to difficulties in securing employment for former prisoners who are invariably judged not on ability but on presumed morality. The study highlights that republican former prisoners in particular see the criminalisation process as part of a 'Two Tribes' theory. For republicans, criminalisation was part of the apparatus of the state to depoliticise the conflict, whereas they insist that the British government was a principal party to the conflict. The study documents that republicans see criminalisation as an attempt by the British state to reduce the conflict to one of 'two tribes' fighting each other, while presenting themselves as some sort of neutral arbiter between the two. Rather, republicans focus on the historical colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland as defining the true nature of the conflict.

Conversely, loyalists' scale of engagement was at a much more local level and less 'ideologically framed'. The study suggests that loyalist former prisoners saw criminalisation as something to be endured for the greater good of the unionist community. The key process here was the 'Ulsterisation' of the conflict whereby Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) forces replaced the British Army as the main opponents of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Although republicans believed they were attacking the state, attacks on security forces personnel therefore were perceived as an attack on the unionist community themselves.

The study also addresses differences between traditional community relations approaches and those of conflict management and conflict transformation. Conflict transformation is identified as the most significant community work undertaken by former prisoners since their release, the majority of which is focused on interface work and attempts to reduce the impact of interface violence. There was a general belief that the role of former prisoners has led to a reduction in interface violence, and

was identified as a key element in efforts to achieve peaceful marching seasons.

The study distinguishes between these community and voluntary society initiatives which have entailed dialogue and co-operation between segregated working-class communities, with a traditional community relations approach, which both loyalist and republican former prisoners appear to be opposed to. They perceive the 'two tribes' language of statutory and other organisations as inherent in this community relations approach. The authors conclude that both republican and loyalist former prisoners view conflict transformation as ultimately a more ambitious process than a more traditional community relations approach.

17. **Shirlow, Peter; Graham, Brian; McMullan, Amanda; Murtagh, Brendan; Robinson, Gillian and Southern, Neil (2005)** *Population Change and Social Inclusion Study Derry/Londonderry.* **University of Ulster, Jordanstown**.

This research documents the findings of a collaborative project conducted in 2005 by representatives of St. Columb's Park House, University of Ulster and Foyle Community Research Group. The study focuses on the Protestant community in Derry Londonderry and aims to establish the structures and policies needed to encourage new forms of co-operation and sharing in the city. The research outlines two recent developments of change in Derry Londonderry in recent years. The first of these is a halt to Protestant demographic decline and increasing re-engagement in the Cityside of the town, which is attributed to the decrease of violence since the ceasefires. The second is described as a pervasive sense of Protestant alienation from Derry Londonderry society.

The research employs both quantitative and qualitative research methods, and includes a household survey of 399 Protestant residents, discussions with twelve focus groups made up of Protestant and Catholic residents and political representatives, and interviews with policy makers, and representatives of the voluntary and community sector. The authors also analyse census data for 1991 and 2001 to assess patterns of segregation and change, and also carry out a policy audit.

The findings revealed both positive and negative perceptions, and found an increasing Protestant civic re-engagement with the predominantly Catholic Cityside in terms of shopping, attending church and so on. However, in terms of cultural and identity factors, the research appeared to find more negative perceptions, with many Protestants believing their culture to be in decline, and a general belief that they were 'cultural underdogs' since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement.

The report assessed the policy response affecting the Protestant community aimed to deal at addressing this sense of alienation, and highlighted that despite a number of initiatives in place such as the City Vision Partnership Board, their impact was limited due to the sense of feeling of being under threat and the lack of confidence in the political process of many within the Protestant community. The study outlines the Protestant community as a fragmented community with a relatively weak community infrastructure with divisions which have been exacerbated by ongoing tensions between loyalist paramilitaries.

The report concludes that despite a new form of Protestant engagement in the Cityside

part of the town, and a stabilising Protestant population for the first time since 1971, there is a need for particular long-term support of the efforts of groups working on interfaces and within communities to facilitate a long-term approach to growth and development, and to build upon a traditionally weak community infrastructure. It is hoped that by building up intra-community capacity in the long-term it will hopefully help to facilitate improved inter-community relations in Derry Londonderry.

18. Shirlow, Peter and Murtagh, Brendan (2006) *Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City*. **London, Pluto Press.**

This book argues that despite the 1994 paramilitary ceasefires, the division between the unionist and nationalist communities has remained and if anything, increased. Shirlow and Murtagh draw on a series of interviews and on two previous surveys they had conducted in interface areas of Belfast in 2004, totalling data on 9000 individuals. The authors contend that the nature of violence has shifted away from paramilitary and state assaults, towards a more sectarianised and repetitive violence of interface rioting and attacks upon the symbols of tradition such as Orange Halls, GAA clubs and churches. The authors contend that segregation plays a pivotal role in the reproduction and growth of sectarianism.

Chapter One: *Even in Death Do us Stay Apart* explores the meaning of place and how the reproduction of spatial relationships echoes the existence of social, cultural and economic polarisation. The chapter contends that the recent building of new interfaces is a testament to the strength of segregation, and that this segregation has had the effect of creating 'containers' with the interface wall coming to represent the 'other' community. They link residential segregation to wider processes of territorial marking such as wall murals, the flying of flags and painting of kerbstones, and state that interfacing encourages the enclosure of ideas and the symbolic exclusion of the politically undesirable. It is also argued that few government policies are in place to challenge the 'spatialisation of fear', and those policies which are in place tend to be short-term and linked to crisis management.

Chapter Two: *The Belfast Disagreement* evaluates the usefulness of the institutional approach which has dominated conflict resolution attempts in Northern Ireland, and argues that the consequences of everyday interface violence and restricted mobility were ignored. It is argued that the Good Friday Agreement itself encouraged ethno-sectarian competition by institutionalising difference through promoting resource competition. The chapter also highlights the role played by respective political leaders in playing upon people's mistrust and suspicions of the 'other' to maximise their vote.

Chapter Three: *Interfacing, Violence and Wicked Problems* highlights how residential segregation has been a permanent feature of urban division within Belfast since the beginning of the Industrial Age, increasing rapidly after the 1960's and the onset of the recent Troubles. The immediate impact of interface walls therefore is to create social, political and cultural distance between communities, whilst also acting as an enduring memory of harm inflicted and possible future threat from the 'other' side. The chapter also highlights the link between interface communities and socio-economic deprivation, stating that of the 25 physical interfaces in Belfast, 77% (17) are in the top ten most deprived wards in Northern Ireland as measured by the Noble Index. The chapter also alludes to the financial costs of interfaces, given the need for

dual provision of facilities to serve both communities. Shirlow and Murtagh also illustrate the link between interfaces and very high levels of violence during the Troubles, stating that one third of victims murdered in Belfast were killed within 250 metres of an interface.

Chapter Four: *Between Segregated Communities* explores the meaning of physical separation in relation to the mobility of communities. It proposes that the most evident impact of interface violence is to stimulate fears and prejudices and that interface violence in whatever form reasserts the desire to keep the boundary wall. The authors claim that a meaningful intercommunity dimension will not take place while there is interface violence present, given that each community desires and requests security. The chapter argues that Northern Irish society at large has ignored the implications of interfacing, and that conflict transformation will not take place if those who suffered the most are ignored. The chapter discusses the vital role of policymakers in planning for neutral space, particularly since 78% of respondents gave examples of at least three publicly funded facilities that they did not use because they were located on the 'wrong' side of the fence.

Chapter Five: *Coasting in the other City* considers the middle classes and their sharing of space and outlines that although space is shared in middle class areas, this sharing is not convincing and a benign sectarianism still exists.

Chapter Six: *Workspaces, Segregation and Mixing* examines the policy landscape characterised by dispersed and isolated programmes and initiatives on a small scale and concludes that sectarianised places continue to undermine the capacity for social justice, equity and political progress. The chapter appears to corroborate other research in that it indicates that there is a link between segregation and employment which is related to distance travelled, and whether or not individuals from one community had to travel through an area dominated by the 'other' community.

Chapter Seven: *Ethnic Poker: Policy and the Divided City* plots micro-programmes dealing with specific interfaces and despite highlighting the positive developments from several environmental programmes in particular, claims that weak community capacity and lack of imagination linked to muted policy responses can hinder the development of more successful schemes. The most innovative projects it is argued are those emanating from local consciousness raising agendas, but it is pointed out that these are as yet mostly untried and in limited numbers.

The book concludes by stating that the central goal of both the Irish and British states in promoting 'parity of esteem' and 'mutual consent' has undermined political pluralism, and claims that a wider sense of powerlessness amongst many in the community is at fault for the failure of intercommunity politics to emerge.

19. Zurawski, Nils (2005) *"I Know Where You Live!" – Aspects of Watching, Surveillance and Social Control in a Conflict Zone (Northern Ireland).* **Surveillance and Society (2005), Vol. 2, No. 4.**

This article examines the special role of non-technological, everyday surveillance and its meaning within Northern Ireland, and explores how the culture of conflict also produces a culture of surveillance of both the 'other' community, and of one's 'own'

community. The research is based on 55 interviews carried out between 2000 and 2001.

Zurawski argues that external surveillance of the 'other' community was closely connected to acts of violence, while internal surveillance of one's own community was linked to control, policy and discipline in the absence of a regular police presence in many republican and loyalist communities.

The paper draws particularly on Peter Shirlow's 'Spaces of Fear' theory and argues that the anticipation of violence in certain areas, and particularly in working class communities, leads to these areas also becoming 'spaces of violence'. Violence appears to be the flip side of fear generated mainly through the ghettoization of urban space, the political geography of which are dominated by visible displays such as murals which mark out territory.

The author sees surveillance of one's own community and of the 'other' as vital in the building of a concept of communal deterrence, which heightens a suspicion of all things unknown, including 'outsiders'.

The article also discusses the shift of surveillance priorities post-1998, with the emphasis now on civic surveillance of public places through CCTV to monitor and control anti-social behaviour as part of a new 'neutral' approach to policing and governance in Northern Ireland. He suggests that a 2004 survey carried out by the PSNI appeared to show that CCTV had reduced riots and inter-communal violence in interface areas.

The document claims that many individuals, particularly within the Catholic community, see the cameras as a reminder of the old British military surveillance techniques. The author concludes that there is a need to change attitudes towards the history of watching, visibility, control and fear, and warns that new methods of surveillance could perhaps become the source of new antagonisms and insecurities.

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Burrows, Rosie & Keenan, Bríd. Barnardo's Northern Ireland (2004) *'We'll never be the same'. Learning with children, parents and communities through ongoing political conflict and trauma: a resource*.

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