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FROM: IAN MAYE
PS/MR SEMPLE
11 NOVEMBER 1997

- cc PS/PUS (B&L)
- Mr Steele
- Mr Thomas
- NI Perm Secs
- Mr Bell
- Mr Leach
- Mr Stephens
- Mr Watkins
- Mr Brooker
- Mrs Brown**
- Mr Canavan
- Mr Hill
- Mr Maccabe
- Mr Perry
- Mr Woods (B&L)
- Mr Warner

Mrs McAuley 14/11
Mr Jones 13/11

MR FERGUSON

FEAR (FERMANAGH) LTD: ADDRESSING THE NEEDS

1. Mr Semple has agreed to meet Jeffrey Donaldson to discuss the attached report (which Mr Donaldson mentioned to the Secretary of State when he met her on 22 October). At that meeting he agreed to discuss the report with Mr Semple in the first instance.
2. The meeting has been arranged for Friday 21 November at 4.30 pm in Mr Semple's office (Room 107), Parliament Buildings. Mr Donaldson will be accompanied by Ken Maginnis and Arlene Foster.



3. I should be grateful if you would co-ordinate briefing for the meeting and if you would support Mr Semple at the meeting. Please let me have the brief by noon on Thursday 20 November. Many thanks.



IAN MAYE

☎ 28488

F.E.A.R. (Fermanagh) Ltd.
Addressing the Needs of
Displaced Families.

“People,
they don’t realise the hurt
of having to leave
what you have worked for
all your life”.

Research Document and Development Plan

Before 1972, there were three families and homesteads of Saddlers.

Family One.

Man and wife who lived in a farm less than one mile from border with Irish Republic.

The man was a member of the UDR but they both were murdered in September 1972. Their immediate family closed up the house and my late husband continued to rent the land from them. About 10 years after the murder the family decided to sell the property and after consultation my husband decided to buy it. We had just about paid off this loan when my husband died.

Since then my sons and I have been improving the farm buildings, reseeding and draining, bit by bit so that the farm would be able to support a family again. A short time ago one son employed an architect and had plans drawn for renovating the house. As he had not enough money to go ahead with this work he has taken up other employment. He had applied for a Housing Executive grant a few years ago but there was no funds available. The Housing Executive has been out since but state that help will probably not be available for two years. He does not feel like waiting two more years to find out then he might not even qualify for a grant. He has started work on the house and will go on slowly doing only what is absolutely necessary so that it will be habitable in a year or so.

Family Two

Elderly mother and son (my brother in law).

The son was joint owner of Filling station and store, along with my husband. A few days after the murder of his cousins the filling station was demolished by the IRA. He was held at gun point and robbed before the terrorist planted bombs. The terrorists told —, they were doing this "because he spoke to the BBC" following the murder of his relations, a few days earlier.

Previously, he had received telephone calls stating that there were bombs planted on the premises. Another time windows of filling station were broken. The people who carried the window incident were known to us and lived about 1/2 mile away in the republic. They thought it would be a good laugh.

After the filling station was destroyed my brother in law was unemployed. He finally found a position in Lisnaskea. Following the terrorists incidents, Simon was determined to leave and move to Lisnaskea. He bought a site and built a bungalow but as his mother was old and frail and all took it in turn to look after her he stayed with her until she died. When she died he moved into his new bungalow and just came out and visited us a few times a week. He died a year later in the RVH following open heart surgery.

The house he left at Derrylin was vacant for a few years but we have had tenants in it now for some time.

Family Three

My own family

We did not move away inspite of all the atrocity committed around us. There was an incident here as well - they left land mines just a few yards from the entrance of our own yard. We were really uneasy after the murders here and that of Mr. McÍvor in Roslea. I would have moved but my husband was determined to stay.

In order to encourage families back into the border area again, they would have to feel there was security. For years we felt there was never any. We always had to be vigilant.

Edited Notes from letter written by J. Saddler. (fictitious names)
August 1997.

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Introduction

F.E.A.R. (Fermanagh)Ltd, Addressing the Needs of Displaced People formed in 1995, in an attempt to address and support individuals and families who have been victims of violence of the current "troubles". No such group in Fermanagh takes into account the collective needs and experiences of individuals from the Protestant/unionist community including the security forces community of rural areas of Fermanagh.

It is quite likely the case that a number of individuals and families have links with other organisations, such as, the Disabled Police Officers Association, or W.A.V.E for psychological support and may on occasion may have received assistance from funds in the past, such as, the UDR Benevolent Fund.

F.E.A.R.'s interest and approach is to take a broader look at the experiences and the collective needs of individuals and families and is concerned in particular to address the needs of those who were displaced and forced to abandon roots, their homes out of direct intimidation or fear. It is concerned with the symbolism of derelict buildings once homes a few of which remain around the border areas of Fermanagh. It's approach is in part informed by the belief, that the experiences of republican violence of the past twenty five years in many cases directed at security force personnel, was/is infact an attack on the entire Protestant/unionist community and this belief is explored within the report.

F.E.A.R. set up with the intention to establish a Trust fund for specific projects addressing the economic regeneration and symbolic recognition of abandoned border areas. The primary concern of the group is to secure funding in order that an injection can be made - in the words of current Chair - "*an injection is needed to help in a small way, in order that these people catch up on what they have lost out, over the years, as a result of having to move*".

A Development Grant was awarded by N.I.V.T, to assist the group in establishing itself and identifying the needs and projects. This report is the product of an exploratory piece of research into the needs of individuals and families from within the Protestant/unionist communities who had to abandon their homes or farm lands.

Summary

1. 14 out of 16 questionnaire respondents indicated that they were displaced or forced to abandon their residences or their farm business due to direct or indirect intimidation and fear.
2. Qualitative data indicates that one of the remaining two was forced to abandon the family farm only and the other felt unable to take up residence on inherited family farm due to fear.
3. Incident which led to the forced abandonment of farms have taken place in Fermanagh in the last three decades. The highest numbering the earlier decade of the 1970's
4. All, with the exception of three, relocated from isolated rural areas along the Fermanagh border with the Irish Republic. Of the three exceptions one was displaced from a farming business along the Fermanagh Tyrone border. Another moved from a rural area elsewhere in Fermanagh and the other from a rural village near to the border.
5. Forced abandonment of homes was not restricted to any one area of Fermanagh or the Fermanagh/Irish Republic border. However, from this sample, the highest number of incidents of forced abandonment took place along the Fermanagh/Monaghan border and Fermanagh/Cavan borders.
6. Respondents moved from rural areas (usually townlands) to built up locations, such as villages and towns.
7. **6 of the respondents understand the underlying cause as to why they were targeted as being membership of the security forces, 6 of the respondents believe the underlying cause was membership of the Protestant/Unionist community and 4 believe it is because of both.**
- 8i. Vulnerability of individuals due to membership of security forces complicated further by geographical isolation in rural areas and in particular the perceived vulnerability of the border area, is a factor **in some but not all** individuals leaving.

8ii. 6 individuals in this sample had no connections with the security forces and believed they were targeted and were victims because of their perceived belonging to one community (the Protestant community) and not another. This in part may explain the wider perception and query as to whether the primary cause is membership of security forces or a wider community membership. If perceived wider community membership is a factor, as it does appear in 6 cases, there is the question what makes some individuals of this community targets and not others? Possible answers provided within this research, is individuals **vulnerability and isolation in geographical terms**, location in relation to the border, **ownership of land and businesses, and families to pass land on to**.

9. Regardless of the arguments of the republican movement regarding strategy, perceptions of the purpose and intention of violent attacks and intimidation are mixed within the Protestant community. Evidence suggests that on occasions, and quite possibly in specific areas in Fermanagh (with a history of inter community tension) there has been much "muddying of the waters". The conflict in part is characteristically "ethnic". Republican violence has in part been experienced as "ethnic conflict", hence the term "ethnic cleansing" has been used.

10. Respondents, whether as members of security forces or as members of a wider community are "victims of violence", in this case, republican terrorist violence.

11. The majority of respondents forced to move, were prior to the move, farming as a primary occupation. Less than half indicated their secondary occupation were as part time security force personnel. A smaller number were primarily security force personnel and the same number had primary occupations in other sectors.

12. Forced abandonment brought with it considerable costs and losses to individuals and families involved. These included, forced change in occupation and in some cases resulted in unemployment and in one case medical retirement.

13. Financial Losses and Costs have been incurred. The greatest of these being the loss of farm and home improvement grants, individuals and families would have been eligible for, had they been able to stay on their farms.

14. Other financial costs included: losses in sales of cattle and machinery, losses in sale of property and land, the cost of having to move, the depreciation of the value due to having to let go of upkeep, the loss of sheep and cow subsidies, the loss of milk quota's, the waste of already made home improvements, the cost of new rent or mortgages, the refurbishment of a new home, the alterations of disabled access to a new home.

15. Social Costs and Losses have also been incurred. The greatest of these is the forced abandoning of roots.

16. Other social costs as a result of intimidation and fear leading to forced abandonment, which are difficult to quantify include the loss of a way of life, the forced separation of and from family and friends, the loss of an inheritance, the death of an elderly father on the day after, the death of new born child, social exclusion from geographical areas due to a sense of insecurity, a sense of social unacceptability, the traumatic cost of the upheaval, the loss of personal belongings and clothes in fire.

17. Seven respondents indicated an interest and desire to move back. Three respondents indicated they themselves would be moving back with their spouses and other family members, one respondent indicated that they would be moving back with their spouse and three respondents indicated a son would be interested in moving back.

18. For the seven respondents who indicated an interest in returning, the financial support required to assist with the regeneration of home and farm lands included, assistance with a replacement dwelling (7), assistance with structural work (3), assistance with farm re-stocking (6), with farm re-seeding (6), the building of farm sheds/out houses (96), drainage (6), fencing (96) and repairs to lanes (6). One respondent requested other assistance, the provision of mains water, electricity and telephone.

19. In general, for those for whom moving back is an option, the main type of support required is with the regeneration of farm and home steads.

20. In general, for those for whom returning is not an option, the main type of support required was other financial assistance followed closely by a symbolic gesture or recognition of their experiences. The question of recognition appearing to be of more relevance to those in this category.

21. The returning of individuals to areas where they or family members once were forced to or felt they had to leave speaks of a degree of trust and hope. Carried out in the right spirit there is an opportunity to begin to underpin peace and reconciliation in the wider community as well as for individuals concerned. It will undoubtedly be met with a matching spirit and a determination to build on and develop these degrees of trust within local communities by those involved in endeavouring to further peace and reconciliation.

The Needs of Displaced People

Background

This report is unique in that it begins to document some of the Protestant communities experiences of Republican violence, in particular the experience of displacement, and forced abandoning of roots. These perspectives from the Protestant community, come from a range of individuals, some of whom, but not all, had joined the security forces in the past (usually on part time basis) in the Fermanagh area.

The intention of the report is to engage with these experiences and perceptions in order to begin to identify what peace and reconciliation, social inclusion and might mean for the individuals concerned, the wider community to which they belong and the government and development agencies which also play a role.

The question as to *how significant the border is* to existence of violence, and the processes involved in rural political violence remains and is highly relevance to the addressing of "peace and reconciliation" and of regeneration of border communities.

Just as, there are different perceptions of violence in Northern Ireland and different interpretations of almost every event in Northern Ireland, there are different experiences of the border, this being most obviously highlighted by the practice of the official closing border roads, and campaigns to open border roads. The question of the border and e vulnerability of border areas for some within the Protestant community does arise within this research.

It may be of use to mention briefly another research work by way of contextualising this study. Whilst the realities which confront Northern Ireland, also confront communities in Fermanagh, Michael Poole's work draws distinctions between the urban and rural areas of Northern Ireland. His mapping of the spatial pattern of rural violence (*Fig 5:2- "The Geographical Location of Political Violence" - Pg 77*), emphasizes sections of Northern Ireland along the border which have easy land access to the Republic of Ireland and contextualises Fermanagh - bordering with Monaghan, Cavan, Leitrim and Donegal. Poole's ranking order denotes Fermanagh as the 2nd overall highest, in terms of fatal incidents per 1,000 people, out of a categorisation of seven areas from within rural border regions. He documents proximity to the border or the Irish Republic as one significant factor to the nature of the process involved in political violence in Northern Ireland in rural regions.

Research Scope and Limitations

Limitations

The question as to how many republican terrorists incidents and/or acts of intimidation have been directed at those in the security forces or/and as members of the Protestant/unionist community along the Fermanagh border? and how many incidents which have directly resulted in the displacing of individuals and families is beyond the scope of this research. A number of records give some indication, for example,

To address the latter question, one of the main difficulty's likely to arise would be how distinction is made between the de-population of rural areas in general, to more urban environments and the movement of the better of rural families from poorer land to better land. Whilst Land Registers may provide some indication of the scale and possible religious/political hue of population shifts, there then is the question of where have these families and people moved to? Oral history may be the only source to such information. Oral history suggests that a number who felt forced to leave due to republican violence have left the Fermanagh area altogether and have gone further afield, to England and to Canada. However, the percentage or numbers involved and to what degree these destinations are a trend, is outside of the remits of this research.

Because of the enormity of such a task and due to other constraints of time, available finances, this research has been limited in scope to the following aims:

- i - to begin a qualitative documentary type process of the experiences of the victims the republican terrorist campaign and violence.
- ii - to identify the socio-economic losses and costs of forced abandonment
- iii - to identify the needs, types of support and possible projects.

The research has been limited to identify the losses and needs of individuals who have abandoned homes and land in border areas, and to identify the types of support of these individuals and begin to document the experiences and this groups perceptions and understandings behind those experiences.

The research raised questions regarding the meaning of peace and reconciliation for these individuals and raises questions regarding the wider social impact of displacement. One account is taken from an individual with roles and responsibilities in the wider community. Others were sought and for a number of reasons (time, one refusal) did not materialise.

The Sample

The research sample has also been limited, an ad hoc list of names and addresses were compiled by individuals involved with the F.E.A.R. group and were made up in the main personal contacts; and guided by knowledge of families known to have moved from as a

result of a real or perceived fear. Some of this list was compiled from information previously gathered by one or two unionist councilors and to which other names were added to. It amounts to a small sample of 19 individuals who have been directly affected by "the troubles" in Fermanagh.

Methodology

The research methods adopted were both qualitative and quantitative. The research hoped to begin to tell the human story as well as begin to identify specific needs and number of projects.

Questionnaires

(For an example questionnaire See Appendix 3)

19 self administering questionnaires which were sent out. 16 were returned.

Three questionnaires were returned incomplete, as the specifics of respective situations did not neatly fit the form of questioning and questionnaire design. In most cases, additional information was provided in note form, or was gathered in an informal interview. In all cases, all available answers have been included in the findings. The specific difficulties of the three cases with the questionnaire can be summarised as;

- 1) the respondent filling out the questionnaire was doing so, on behalf of the extended family network, and was taking into account a number of violent incidents. In this case the respondent's own immediate family did not leave but a relative in the extended family took the first opportunity to leave after the death of relatives and the blowing up of his family business.
- 2) the questionnaire asked specifically about individuals who had to move. In this case the respondent was forced to abandon his farm but not his home as their dwelling house was not on the farm site.
- 3) the respondent was unable to fill out all of the questionnaire was in this case he had been unable to take up his inheritance of a farm and home because of the perceived threat associated with employment within the security forces.

Interviews

Individuals, informed of the process and who consented to the process were interviewed. The interviews explored the actual experience of moving, the individuals understanding as to why they had to move, the social and financial personal costs and effects, the wider social/community impact, and the possibilities for the future. In all, seven interviews took place. Six of these were with "victims of violence", mostly individuals and in a number of cases, couples were interviewed. All left their homes due to direct attacks, threat or fear. Other interviews with individuals from different political backgrounds in the wider community were sought, one such interview took place as is used as background information, and as a gauge of the wider perceptions of violence.

The transcripts of all of those who moved have been included in Appendix 1. This report represents the beginning of a recording process of the experiences of "victims of violence".

Describing and Presentation of Qualitative Data

A technique has been used in the editing of the transcripts (in Appendix 1) to produce condensed text, following the example of Miles and Huberman (Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Source Book 1994). The technique allows the words of the interviewee, their phrases, the core and overall tone to be retained and presented to the reader. All transcripts have been finalised and agreed by participants.

Two other qualitative pieces are presented at the beginning of this report, using a similar techniques of condensing text, in order that important data can be presented. The prose piece was edited from notes written to accompany and explain an incomplete questionnaire. The "poem" piece was compiled from notes taken in an informal interview, which took place with a questionnaire respondent who was also unable to complete the questionnaire, by way of filling out the gaps.

Findings and Analysis

Degree of Displacement

16 questionnaires out of 19 were returned. 14 of these 16 indicated that they were displaced as a result of intimidation. From other qualitative data provided, one was displaced from the farm and not from family home and the other was unable to take up residency on inherited family farm due to fear.

For those who participated in the questionnaire, displacement or the forced abandoning of homes due to direct or indirect threats or intimidation has taken place from the years 1972 to 1996. The greater number of respondents (5) moved in 1972, with one moving in 1996.

The respondent who indicated they were forced to move in 1996, was the one respondent who indicated they were forced from a border village, the other respondents indicated that they moved from townlands with a close proximity to the border, with the exception of one who was forced to move from a rural and wider Enniskillen area. Therefore, this sample indicates that with the exception of two respondents, individuals who were forced to move, were forced to move from geographically isolated locations along the border area, the border being given significance in many of the interviews.

Three interviewees farmed and inhabited land which encroached on the border, a river coming between them in the North and the Republic of Ireland.

" The farm actually came down to the very border. Along the river, That's why it was so handy, that's why I was got."

" Our farm was on the border and there were stepping stones across the river - which was the border. --- also lived on the border and in his case, they had brought a car up to the border, walked across and waited... "

"..we were fired on from across in the south....because of the high ground in the south, over looking the farm, making us very vulnerable, the safest thing was to sell and to move."

Whilst this sample is small and has been drawn from personal contacts etc., proximity to the border does in most cases seem to be of relevance. This is borne out in the language and discourse used by interviewees, interviewees generally speaking of their location in relation to the border.

If proximity to the border is being called into question, can the whole border be treated as suspect? The responses indicate that the whole of Fermanagh's border regions have witnessed violence and intimidation - from the Lack and Kesh area (2), to the Derygonnelly and Garrison area (4), right round to the Derrylin area (1), and

Newtownbutler and Rosslea areas (7) of the border. Although a small sample, and the difference in numbers of displacements in the different areas of Fermanagh are small, there is a greater number within the Newtownbutler and Rosslea area of East Fermanagh. For this sample, it can be argued that some regions have witnessed more violence and intimidation than others.

Respondents who were forced to move, on the whole moved in land, to more built up areas, such as towns and villages in Fermanagh and Tyrone - Enniskillen town (3), Lisnaskea (6), Fivemiletown (2), Kesh (1), Derrygonnelly (1), Churchill (1) and on one occasion further afield to England. The majority when they moved sought out more built up areas, not only moving away from the border but also moving into towns like Enniskillen, Lisnaskea and Fivemiletown, rather than other geographically isolated areas or townlands of Fermanagh, for example, in the wider Enniskillen area or North Fermanagh areas.

Reasons for moving

The reasons for moving can be thought about in two ways, one what actually prompted the move and two who had to move and why? The latter is a question the interviewees ask of themselves and the report will explore the perceptions those who had move hold as to why under the section Victims of war or Ethnic Cleansing?

Respondents indicated that they moved for a variety of reasons, which included *actual* intimidation from murder, murder attempts, death threats other intimidation as well as on security advice to move and perceived threats and fear.

The actual acts of violence or intimidation which lead to an abandoning of home and/or farm stead include: the entry of armed IRA members into the houses and verbal threats being issued, the murder of a work colleague, gun attacks on home, murder of neighbour, murder of relatives, bombing of business, murder attempts on own life, other intimidatory attacks on house, the setting alight and burning of home, taking hostage of family members, family member forced to drive bomb to army checkpoint.

Victims of Violence

The respondents of this sample, indicated that the reasons why they were targeted split three ways between - being members of the Protestant/unionist community or as members of the security forces or as members of both the security forces and Protestant/unionist community.

6 indicated they understood the reasons why they were targeted to be because they were members of the security forces, 6 indicated that they thought it was because they were members of the Protestant/unionist community, 3 indicated it they were targeted was because they were members of the security forces and the Protestant/unionist community.

The six individuals who believed they were targetted as members of the Protestant community had no connection with the security forces. This provides clues as to why

other individuals with connection to the security forces also felt they were victims of an ethnic conflict.

One term which arose in the process of undertaking the research and theme which appears quite formidably in the qualitative data is that of "ethnic cleaning". This is a strong term to use, and used unwisely and in an ill-informed way could be counter productive to the validation of an individual and community's experience. For this reason, this report will attempt to explore what is behind the use of the term, looking further at the experiences of republican violence and of forced abandonment.

There are questions as to whether, it is the border per se, the proximity of individuals homes/farms/businesses to the border, or the vulnerability of the individuals because of membership of the security forces? To what degree is membership of the security forces related to their vulnerability, further exposed by their geographical isolation? Is the vulnerability of members of the security forces heightened by their proximity to the border? If so, why? What is the relationship of the border to the vulnerability of individuals of the Protestant/unionist community with no connections to the security forces? Although no other research sources are at hand to confirm, it is quite likely that membership of the security forces was the source of vulnerability for a number of the respondents in this research and that this vulnerability was intensified by geographical isolation leaving those who were members of the security forces easy targets, open for targeting, and fearing attack - the killing of one member of the security forces being enough to establish a sense of "fear" and "risk" for other security force members. Interviewees suggest reasons why the border itself is perceived as an interface and is a problem, their words suggesting a failure to prevent attacks or to secure the North from republican terrorists attacks:

"...follow up searches by the guards found no evidence. A few days afterwards, I and my father in law went off on our own and we found the firing position..."

"let's face it.. at that particular time, the IRA were walking around the far side of the border and the Guards were doing nothing".

Although this quote another interviewee reference to the Guards implies action rather than inaction.

"The second time they held the guards up and stole their car radio, but the Guards got then on down in the state".

In any case, vulnerability in relation to the location to the border appears to come second place to the membership of security forces versus membership of Protestant/unionist community as the underlying understanding as to why individuals had to move.

The report is not concerned with either justifying or excusing the targeting of security forces or arguing that serving or ex members of the security forces are not also victims of

violence or that they are in some way legitimate targets, nor is it concerned with proving that one community, the Protestant /unionist community only has borne the brunt of "the troubles". But rather it is interested in teasing out the perception that fear of intimidation resides in individuals as members of a community (rather than as a consequence of their occupation). It is concerned with the layering and merging of different factors which have led to the use of this perception and use of the term "ethnic cleansing" as it is perceptions which need to be engaged with, and understood, if peace and reconciliation processes are to be developed.

Chart 1 and 2 takes a look at actual respondents occupations and show the primary and secondary occupations of respondents before moving and in the ten years after they moved.

Chart 1 shows that the majority of this sample of respondents were primarily farmers (9). 3 were primarily in the full time security forces, 1 was primarily part time security forces and 3 were primarily employed within other sectors.

The secondary occupations of the respondents before moving were farmer (5) , full-time members of security forces (0), part time members of security forces (4) and other (2). *The majority of respondents and those forced to move from border areas were quite likely farmers and part members of the security forces.*

This is borne out by the decrease to 1, of farmers, as the primary occupation of respondents in the first ten years after moving. There is also a big increase in those employed in "other" sectors, for 3 to 9 and ironically, after moving, and presumably after real of perceived intimidation and fear the number of respondents categorising their primary occupation as full time security forces increases from 3 to 5.

The following quotes from two interviewees may explain the irony of being under threat and the perception that one is under threat as a result of being in the security forces.

" I had no choice but to work full time then on the security forces. but it wasn't me, it wasn't my kind of life. I had to give up my livelihood."

"Because of having to move I had to give up farming, although I always thought I'd start up again. I had to get a living somehow and so I worked full time in the UDR. It's all I could do".

Individuals, some of whom believed they were targeted because of their membership of security forces and forced to move or believed they were under threat because of their membership and were forced to move, in abandoning homes and farms often left behind a way of life becoming dependent on the security forces for employment and income.

Returning again to find reasons to explain the perception that it was as members of the Protestant /unionist community that respondents had to move - there is no doubt the

majority of those who indicated that it was because they were members of the Protestant/unionist community only, have had no connection with the security forces. And it is quite probably that the majority of those who have connections with the security forces indicated the reason why they had to move was because they were members of the security forces. There were a number who felt the reasons were because they were members of both i.e. it could be because they were in the security forces but they believed there was an overarching or wider reason.

The following are some quotes from the interviewees, where the interviewees themselves give indications as to why they think it was a question of communal rather than of membership of the security forces:

"I do not think it really mattered if you were in the security forces, although most were. people in the security forces were being murdered but other Protestants were having their property bombed."

"I often ask myself the question " why did they attack us?"The thing is, we had a neighbour on the UDR, a single man who lived a couple of yards from the border but they came for us. it was families they wanted out, they seemed to go for families.. farms, land what would be handed on. "

" ..they cleared the border of people like me. I don't think I was a threat..... they just wanted to clear the border. I suppose to appoint I was a threat on duty, if you want to look at it that way. I think though it wasn't just the security forces that moved. There was a man, who left the same area and he told me that he feared for his life and he wasn't serving with the security forces."

" they targeted us because we were a Protestant family and they were just on for putting you out of business. I suppose my son..would have taken over the business and the bit of land we had. I think the idea was to get Protestants to move. "

*" they said the reason we were taken was because "the family has connections with the security forces". My wife worked as the canteen manageress in a police station!"
"A few days after the murder of his cousins, the filling station was demolished by the IRA. He was held at gun point and robbed before the terrorist planted bombs. The terrorist told —, they were doing this because "he spoke to the BBC" following the death of his relations, a few days earlier."*

Unofficial documentation, , the very collection of which highlights the extent to which the perception of practised ethnic cleansing has entered into the mindsets and consciousness of individuals within the Protestant community was passed on as personal correspondence for background information for this research. This documentation is referred to briefly as as it provides further insight into the perceptions of republican violence within sections of the Protestant community within the county. The documentation records incidents in Newtownbutler/Rosslea area of Fermanagh in the twenty year period of 1971 - 1991. from

49 incidents of direct intimidatory actions, 41 families from perceived Protestant backgrounds were involved. One of the incidents was an attack on an army barracks, and was recorded as being perceived as having a threatening effect on the local Protestant community. Two other incidents which were recorded were the blowing up of an electricity transformer which supplied power to the local Church of Ireland, the War Memorial Hall and a small number of Protestant families living in the area close to the Monaghan border. The other threatening or intimidatory actions recorded included; gun attacks, land mines, creamery can bombs, explosions in farm buildings, petrol bombing of businesses and shops, bobby trap devices, arson attacks on houses and farm buildings. The records did not include attacks on regular serving members of the security forces but did include attacks on those who were from the local Protestant community and who served either full time or part time in the security forces. (Note this distinction made by the local source, between regular serving members and those from the local communities). *From the information available* (and it is accepted that the full information may not be available, the information may protect individuals who in the past or present serve/d as members of security forces), the majority had no connections with the security forces. The documentation point to 14 out of the 41 individuals/ families as having connections with the security forces. Out of that 14, 13 of the individuals caught up in the intimidatory action were employed at the time in the security forces.

Out of the 49 incidents recorded and the 41 individuals/families involved, 13 incidents resulted in fatalities. Out of the 13 fatalities recorded, 6 (just less than half) individuals were at the time serving members of the security forces. One individual was at the time an ex member of the security forces, another individual had relatives serving in the security forces and it is believed they were the intended targets. Five had no connections with the security forces and the other unintended victim was a neighbour, the only one from a perceived Roman Catholic background. The nature of the attacks on the five victims with no connections to the security forces suggest that they nothing other than the intended victim.

If this information is in any way accurate, it substantiates the ascertain that ethnic cleansing as a campaign has been taking place rather than a campaign against the British forces of law and order. Alternative view is that the assertion and perception is hysteria or is or is for political point scoring only. The danger of pursuing with perception and argument for political agenda's only, is that genuine grievances get lost and are not heard.

Another interview with an individual from the wider Protestant community, along with a number of "victims" who completed questionnaires identify that the primary reasons why Protestant moved out of an area was because they were in the security forces. One individual referred to the history of the Crown forces being the targets of republican and nationalist movements, pointing out that the security forces in Northern Ireland is a majority Protestant force and that this creates a difficulty in itself. The interviewee goes on to suggest that the war is indeed dirty and any rules get twisted. In the conflict here, there has quite possibly been a "mudding of the waters".

" The number of Protestants moving out depended on the number of Protestants in the security forces.... The thing is, living in a mixed area, defense is a difficult issue and there are lessons to be learnt. The republicans wars is indeed wicked...I am sure an attack on one policeman was meant to frighten a lot of people. It was not just that you were disposing of one, it was meant to have terror implications but I do not believe it was an attempt to move Protestants from the Border. If you have a sufficient number of Protestants who are armed they are seen as being open to attack... Crown Forces were always treated as targets for armed struggle against the British... Warfare isn't played by gentleman's rules. In the armed conflict here there us much mudding of the waters and in the mudding of the waters it is hard to be sure. "

Whatever the intention of republican violence, and attempts to understand the rationale and arguments, the experience could arguably be quite different. If indeed the experience of many Fermanagh people from Protestant/unionist community is that of "ethnic cleansing" or of a Protestant exodus from specific areas it will not have been the only experiences. Peter Hart's research into "The Protestant Experience of the Revolution in Southern Ireland" (In Unionism in Modern Ireland, 1996, Edited by English, R and Walker, G) during the upheaval of the 1921 - 1924 years speaks of evidence of the all the nightmares of twentieth century ethnic conflict which saw IRA arson attacks on private homes and property owned by Protestants, the ownership of the land and property being in part the issue.

If available information is accurate, it would point to the experience of the Protestant community in the East of Fermanagh and with the bombing of businesses and shops and attacks on farms and homes were no connection with security forces exists as being one of ethnic conflict. It is possible that the conflict is experienced differently and is characterized differently in different areas of Fermanagh, areas being much characterised by the "muddy waters" of war.

Nature of the Abandonment of Farm/home Steads

The abandonment of farms/home steads was mostly forced and under threat or fear and therefore there was a sense of urgency, risk and stress attached to the moving in itself.

"It was not that we decided to move six months previous and had time to get used to the idea. it all happened so quickly.— was buried and we all moved six days later."

"We had a public auction and sold everything that was moveable. The army gave us cover whilst all that took place - it was a stressful time for the family".

One respondent as a result of intimidation sold everything, house, land and farm machinery etc., but the greater number let the land out, left the house vacant and if possible sold what cattle and machinery they had at the time. 8 respondents out of the 16 (half) still own the property or land to-day. 6 indicated that they had since sold the property and land,(usually 1 -2 years after being forced to move, although one respondent sold three years and another sold up 10 years after moving - possibly an indication of an intention and interest in returning to the area).

Costs and Losses

The first indicator of the costs and losses carried by individuals and families are with the forced change in occupation due to with direct attempts on life or fear for life. returning to Charts 1 and 2, only one respondent indicated that their occupation was the same before and after they moved. The occupations of the rest of the respondent changing as a result of having to move. 11 respondents who either farmed for a living or farmed part time, gave up farming, only 2 continuing to farm. The number in the category other increased from before from 3 to 9. Out of this nine, 1 was registered medically unfit as a result on an attack, 2 had no job, 1 was unemployed, another was unemployed for a period of time. 1 was retired, one find a job within a Government statutory agency. It is clear that for a number of individuals, because of loss in occupation and in particular farming, they were worse off as a direct result of having to move. a number were dependent on benefits including invalidity/disability allowances. A change anxiously noted between waiting for farming subsidies and being dependent on benefits.

Chart 3 and 4 show the financial and social costs of having to move. The greatest financial cost being the perceived loss of farm and home grants individuals would have been eligible for had they remained on in their homes (35%), followed by financial loss in sale of cattle etc. (20%), the cost of the move itself (17%), the loss in the sale of he property (15%), and depreciation in value due to abandonment (13%). Because individuals were forced to leave the land and were unable to farm the land themselves, they were unable to access available assistance. Many let the land out, but feel that letting arrangements worked to the benefit of the farmer renting the land, the benefit being taken out of the land but rarely benefit returned to the land.

Other financial costs and losses included; the loss from sheep and cow subsidies, the loss of milk quota's, the waste of home improvements, the cost of rent and/or mortgages, the refurbishment of a new home, the cost of replacing personal belongings and clothes, cost of adaptation of new home for disabled access, the loss made in cut price of property.

The social dimension should not be forgotten, and it is particularly relevant to those who have no longer the option of returning, in that they have sold their homes or land. Chart 4 highlights the greatest social costs - the forced abandoning of roots and place (32%), the loss of a way of life (30%), the forced separation of family and friends (25%), the loss of farm/home inheritance (13%).

Other social costs and losses are substantial and are difficult to quantify; the death of a father two days after gun attack on self, being socially excluded from geographical areas, being socially unacceptable, the trauma and upheaval, the loss of personal belongings and the death of a new born child.

The interviews reveal more of the social costs and traumatic experience of having to move under threat and fear, trauma, and stress experienced by both men and women alike.

Whilst the men seem to have had to cope with the abandonment of what sometimes was a third or fourth generation farm, handed on to them and to be handed on to their sons; "people say they just want to move on and forget about it, but you don't leave your father's, father's land that easily", the women had their own experiences. -

"People, they do not realise the hurt of having to leave behind what you have worked for all your life".

"The other thing was when we had to leave Garrison, I was expecting. That child only lived for ten weeks. that was the stress of that time. In the time before we left, I used to have to go round the shed with a gun in my hand "

Whilst the research did not probe into the long term personal impacts, there is verbal testimony that scars remain and that individuals are still living with the social, psychology and medical impact of being forced to move. A number of individuals were hospitalised due to injury received at the time and a few remain medically unfit for work.

"My father, an aged man alright, died the next day after I was shot, he was an aged man but the shooting didn't help. It was one thing after another. That's why to this day I haven't got over it and probably never will".

" As a result I am very nervous. There are places I should go and I don't. I stopped going out. If I got my land back now, even though it was my home, a family home, I wouldn't be fit to go back ."

" I had to give up my livelihood. I went into bad health. I took ulcers and then they told me I was depressed and then I took gallstones after that and then I had a hernia. I got into really bad health. The doctor told me, it was rubbing of on me, all the trouble I had gone through. I think it was the way I felt, deep down. You feel bad the whole time"

The social, psychological costs and impact are reflected in the general needs, of such a group and this will be addressed in the section Types of Support. the question of compensation was addressed and a total of six respondents indicating that some form of compensation or personal injury moneys were received. the amounts of these varied from £450 to £19/20,000. Eight respondents indicated that nil or no compensation was received.

Re-turning to the area.

13 of the respondent s indicated that they had returned to the area since they first were forced to move, the greatest reason being to visit family and friends, to tend land, and for other reasons (such as, to tend land just prior to sale, to attend parish church, to view own land).

Out of the 8 who still own abandoned land/property, 7 indicated an interest and desire in moving back. ^ of these were forced to abandon land, 1 was unable to take up residence in inherited family home, due to fear and threat. On top of this 3 who no longer own land or

property indicated an interest in moving back. Chart 5 indicates the motivations and interests in moving back. In 3 cases, it is the respondent (all male) spouse and some members of the family are considering moving back, in 1 case it is the respondent and spouse only who are considering moving back and in the cases where it is children who are thinking of moving back in all 3 cases of these cases, it is a son who is considering moving back.

Types of Support

Chart 6 shows the main financial assistance required for the regeneration of the 7 families/ individual farm/homelands as being in the assistance with the farm. A replacement dwelling (5), structural work (3), farm re-stocking (6), farm re-seeding (6), the building of farm sheds/houses (6), drainage (6), fencing (6) and repairs to lanes (6). One respondent indicated the need for provision of mains water, electricity and telephone.

Charts 7 and 8 show the key areas of support, as indicated by those who have the option to move back and those who have not this option on that they have sold land or property since leaving the area. The needs differ for both groups, in that those considering moving back indicated their greatest need was the rejuvenation of home or farm lands. for those for whom moving back is not an option, the greatest need was other financial assistance followed closely by a symbolic recognition of their experiences. Indication as to what may be meant by other financial assistance are personal compensation, or assistance with current existence and work on second/new homes, and the restoring of inflation related business or which would have been parents inheritances to pass on to their children.

Suggestions as to how to meet the need for a symbolic recognition, included the researching of the experiences and the public telling of the experiences with more use of media resources and the possible publication of a book.

Other types of support, included social support, suggestions as to how these might be met, include the establishing of a support group, the establishment of a social centre to curb isolation experienced by the individuals as victims of violence, provision of a social activities with which respondents can identify.

Peace and Reconciliation

This research has been limited in its inquiry into the impact on the wider community, the wider community's perceptions and the wider peace and reconciliation considerations. Peace and reconciliation issues of the broader areas have come to the fore in this research and further research is needed.

Respondents were asked to consider and name any hesitations or conditions they might have for moving back. Other than finances, these fear included a renewed terrorist

campaign, for one, and a fear that children would be unacceptable in border area for another, the conditions of lasting peace for one, and cease fire holding for another. These responses juxtapositioned along with the reasons why the respondents are now considering moving back (re-establish roots (4), diminished fear (3), hope in the political situations (5), change in personal circumstances (3) and a return to livelihood/way of life (3) and other (1)) provide a balanced and realistic picture assessment of the political environment and amount to a hopeful possibility for peace and reconciliation on a community level.

A number of interviewees though spoke of the social exclusion an unacceptability they felt when an incident happened to them or when they had to move.

"it was like we were convicts or criminals, because we had to leave. It was like some of the people you were leaving were afraid to associate with you."

Another questioned or not as to whether or not they would be welcomed back after having been forced back, another felt that there was a "chill factor" associated with him, as he felt he was not labeled, that everyone knew what had happened and who he was, i.e. he had been attacked on his farm and he was a member of the security forces.

Although the research has not inquired into the nature of community relationships as a result of intimidatory events and people having to leave, it is highly likely that events and people leaving the area did at the very least threaten to strain local community relationships. From the interviewees accounts, it is imaginable that some left their area under a stressful and perhaps charged atmosphere. The spirit and atmosphere in which and to which people return being significant.

"I would imagine people who would be coming back would not be coming back in a triumphalist spirit"

A number of the areas to which individuals or family members are considering returning to now possibly quite different - many of the areas have a lesser Protestant population than previously and those remaining may have had different experiences.

"There would be a bit of a social problem for families moving back. Places we once socialised in wouldn't be there now... the church we went to is closed with the congregations numbers declining"

Conclusions

The returning of individuals to communities they felt forced to leave surely speaks of trust and hope. Presumably, the small number returning would also be returning to areas where they would belong to a religious or political minority. The return and rejuvenation of homes and farms once occupied and thriving, carried out in the right spirit would make a beneficial contribution to the building of peace and reconciliation for the wider community as well as to the healing processes of the individuals and families directly involved.