

Dominic Bryan Notes (Dominic Bryan Tape 1)

0:00 Milofsky seeks permission to videotape, Bryan gives permission. Bryan is an anthropologist and is a research partner with Neil Jarmin.

2:10 Bryan starts talking. I will look at the nature of space in Northern Ireland and particularly in Belfast, the history of the reasons those space relations exist, and how spatial relations relate to power relations. As an anthropologist he did not start with an interest in Northern Ireland but rather had an interest in ritual. That led him to an interest in the Orange Order, which no one else was interested in in the early 1990s.

3:25 But then around 1995-1996, a number of issues arose about the rights Orange Order to parade and particularly through certain areas and also there was an issue near here because on the last Saturday of every June, there was struggle over the right to use space and that's because they use space as an expression of their identity. As you spend more time in Northern Ireland things should get more confusing because the political troubles are related to identities but the identities are complex and there is no single source of identity.

4:30 Catholics and Protestants are people with a whole range of identities, one of which is that they might be Protestant or Catholic. But if you ask people if they are Protestant and they tell you they are, what do they mean by that?

4:45 An audience member replies: "Not Catholic." Dominic says that "that's one definition, not Catholic. Do you mean that if they're Protestants that they're Loyalists? Then it has nothing to do with religion. (This part of the tape is a discussion with students so it's hard to hear; interacting with students he works out that they have come up with three definitions of Protestant and that all of them are correct.) So when you talk about Protestants it ranges from people who think religion is the most important thing to people who think it isn't important and they may or may not be related to Loyalism or Unionism. All of this is said in the way of introducing his talk.

5:55 To give you an overview, I'm interested in how the conflict has developed through the negotiation, the construction, and understandings related to physical space. You've been on tours, seen murals, and seen all of the memorials, and certain people have their particular reasons for building these memorials. It should be obvious to you by now that one of the ways that protests take place is through the negotiation of physical space. Who controls space? What does that space mean?

6:40 Let me give you three or four ways that you can think about space. Firstly, arrangements about space have to do with power. Who had the ability in this society to build first and second world war memorials? Basically Unionists and Protestants. Symbolic space in the center of cities and towns were marked by Unionism. Whereas Republicans would have been excluded from those. Civic space of this society is mostly defined by Unionism, Britishness, Protestantism, Loyalism, and a few more because they were in positions of power.

7:35 However, power is much more multifaceted than to say there is a state that is dominant and people lower down who are controlled. Even in the 1930s and 1940s and 1950s there were Republican memorials to 1916 in West Belfast or a Catholic village somewhere and you'd think the police would make this illegal because they shouldn't be allowing the Republicans to demonstrate because they are threats to the state. However, the police also thought that if we go disrupt that, if we go and break up that demonstration, there are going to be riots and you want to keep order. So at some point these demonstrations are going to take place. So the power, even when the state is very dominant in parts of Northern Ireland, is limited in various ways.

8:45 The point you get to in the early 1980s when the Republicans decide to paint their murals putting their story on walls, the Republican story on the walls, the Provisionals story on the walls, it tells you that they control this space around the city that they otherwise wouldn't have been able to control. So power is important. Memory is important. What people remember about places and spaces around them and how is it relocated? There are murals commemorating about half the murders that took places. People remember some of them and they don't remember others.

9:45 You see commemorations of people from paramilitaries who were killed but nobody remembers the 9 year old boy who was killed on Bloody Friday---does anybody know what Bloody Friday was? This is a good example of how memory is lost. You know what Bloody Sunday was but what was Bloody Friday? (Questions and guesses from the audience.) No it was in 1972 when the IRA set off 19 bombs in the city giving less than 22 minutes warning. 130 people were injured; 13 or 14 were killed.

10:50 Protestants remember Bloody Friday. They remember, or they believe, that Gerry Adams was in charge of it. Now you don't see any memorials around that nor inquiries based on that because there's no valuing of it. Among the Protestants there isn't any memory of a little boy who saw a parked car, steered people away from the car, and was killed by the blast inside of that vehicle. There's no memorial for that little boy. But there is a memorial for some of the people who planted a bomb.

11:30 Now, I'm not making a judgment on that but I'm laying out observations about who is remembered or what is remembered or where it's remembered. Now there are people around where I live who remember that. There may not be a memorial, but they remember that. The women who died in munitions factories in the first World War are often forgotten, but the men who fought at the front line are remembered. People who are remembered have to do with their relationships to power.

12:20 The same is true in this society. So that when you've been seeing all of these things and people talk about these memorials, watching people relate to them marching around notice that other groups recognize and honor memorials in their own way just as the soldiers have done.

12:40 I'm going to show how some of these processes change and I'm going to use the phrase policing. And when I use the phrase policing, I'm not necessarily talking about the people in uniform, although I include them. Policing takes place on a very broad level. When I wanted in years past to go to the city, I knew it was a broadly Protestant, Unionist part of the city. I would call a particular taxi firm to pick me up because I knew that other taxis would have trouble in that part of the city. By doing that, I was making my own decision about how I wanted to help police the city by where I was going in the city and whether I was going into a Catholic store or a Protestant store. So in people's heads they police the city all the time.

13:55 We have notions of community. People will tell you about the Shankill or the Falls area or that this community center belongs to this group or to that group, but all of these are bounded. People buy in and they'll say that this street and this street and this street are our community and that street over there is not our community. And sometimes there's a wall running right down clearly dividing the communities. But there's a strong definition that controls what is our community. And in all of these areas, people are excluded from those communities because of the way they sound, where they come from, and the way they behave. There may be young people who often stand at the interface boundaries.

15:05 So you've got that in the way that communities are divided. Then you've got police who are defining which area is a good area and which is not a good area. Then you've got the political groups and the paramilitary groups who also do that same sort of policing. Then you've got government policy. It's government policy to put walls up.

15:40 Let's say you go to a housing executive and say, "I need a house" and he says, "Well I have this opening or that and by the way are you Protestant or are you Catholic? I need to put you in the right area." That is a form of policing. That will have to do with where they give you housing. We've accepted the division, and we're deciding who gets public housing. So based on the taxi example and the housing example, we've policed this society. And we've policed the divisions within the society.

16:15 Now, there are also places and spaces where this breaks down: shopping centers, the center of town, certain pubs, going to a rock gig or anything like that. There are interesting spaces where those divisions break down and that's intriguing. What's intriguing is that if you went in to see an Oasis gig, you'd be banned. Why would you be banned? Because you were wearing a Celtic shirt and you can't have anything that has any indication on it. A lot of the pubs in the center town wouldn't be happy with your going in there wearing that shirt (indicating a student). A lot of the pubs around here would be OK with your coming in there.

17:00 The decision you have, when you make that decision, deciding about whether to wear a Celtic (soccer team in Glasgow supported by Belfast Catholics) shirt or a Ranger shirt (Glasgow team supported by Protestants). When people make that decision about putting on their shirt, they know they're making a decision that has more meaning than just that soccer club. When you walk into the center of town wearing that shirt, it says things to a whole bunch of people who are looking at them. So whatever you have in mind when you wear a shirt like that it has

meaning for all kinds of people who will be around you. What's interesting is that this means you have control. It doesn't matter why YOU want to put on. If you interact with the kids in town you won't be able to change what the ramifications are, no matter how right or wrong that is. What that action is telling you is what all of that management of space is about.

18:00 And the last thing, which I'll talk about at the end, is integration and division. In dealing with this conflict, there seems to be two ways you can manage it. You can either try and manage the division, and in a way that's what we've done in this peace process. We've stuck up walls and we've accepted that there are two communities. And there are only two communities because only two communities can vote among other things. So you accept that that division takes place and you manage it. We'll make sure that the Catholic education system gets as much money as the state education system. We share everything up, that's one of the ways we've managed this conflict.

19:00 Alternatively, of course, you can try to integrate. You can try and break things down. You can try to mix which is a difficult thing to do. It is a different kind of policy. That would mean that Catholics cannot go to any site they want with Protestants. The only way you can go in there is by accepting that it's mixed. You could think up policies that are different. And in going forward is one of the key debates. That's an overview of what I think the issues are around how space is managed in this society. So with that, we will go into some background about how this situation has come out.

19:55 The first thing is that we have a conflict that has been worked out through space. The Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. It was about the fact that Catholics felt that they had been discriminated against in terms of housing, votes, jobs and that they were discriminated against. Maybe now you could argue about the levels or what the background was, but they were discriminated against. What's interesting is that they were effectively discriminated against in terms of public space. In other words, very simply, if you had a nationalist background, your chances of holding a parade in the center of town or city in Northern Ireland was very low. In 1965 or 1966, there was a demonstration where US marines were invited to come and march. But CND and other left wing groups came down the road to protest against the Vietnam war. It's not as if alternative demonstration were allowed, but you would be arrested for very minor things that other people could be allowed to do.

21:20 The Civil Rights Movement questioned the right to control public space. They wanted to march into the center of Cookstown Armagh, they wanted to march into Central Derry, and they wanted to march into the center of Belfast, although the Civil Rights Movement hardly took place in Belfast but that's another story. That disrupted a status quo that existed over how space was understood. It brought into the flow a whole different set of questions of what rights various people had in the towns and cities they live in. The response from people of working class backgrounds was one where we fear where this is going to lead, therefore we exclude Catholics that may be living in our area. So you had what we now call ethnic cleansing. As the pace of that ethnic cleansing burst in 1969-1970-1971 and house burnings started---right down the road from here in places like Bombay Street---you also got the development of these

vigilante groups that were going to protect their areas. Here we already had one that was organized and that was called the IRA. You also had the Ulster Volunteer Force, which was a Protestant-based organization that has a history that goes back to 1912 that was taken when they were reorganized in 1966.

23:00 And then you have the U.D.A. in 1972 to protect their own area. The state had lost control of defining the space. The Northern Irish Unionist state had lost control to armed Republican first to civil rights marchers, then to the Republicans, then to the Loyalists who saw themselves as Unionists without the trust of the state to do their business. What is interesting is that the 1970s saw a violent conflict. And when we came to care about conflict in 1995, we turned back to conflicts over disputes over the rights to control space. But once the violence stopped, issues over civil space...who controlled the public space arise again in the mid-1990s. And the issues now are how you manage people with different identities within those public spaces.

24:30 So, we end up with a divided city.



You've probably seen this picture already where the dominant Protestant areas are red and the dominant Catholic areas are green. We live just on the edge here (he points to a line that divides a green area and a red area). Even the yellow areas which are supposedly neutral (he points to a yellow area in East Belfast) are very violent. Actually all of the Protestants live at that end and the Catholics live at the other end, so even that area is violent. So you might have this with that division of public space.

25:05 That's come about through legal and illegal control of space. The state of Northern Ireland was set up in 1921, almost immediately they passed emergency legislation to protect the state. We call it emergency legislation, you call it the Patriot Act or something like that (a few laughs are heard in the background). When the state passes legislation like that it allows you to

do things. The state knows its citizens don't like them doing it but it is seemingly for the citizens' good. The emergency legislation, therefore, would stop a Republican parade because it threatens the state, even though at that point the Republicans could hardly threaten the union. Government emergency legislation defined politically what could and couldn't take place in public space. It was supposed to be used when the state was on the verge of collapsing, but in effect it was used in day-to-day policing. And in fact the Terrorism Act in the rest of Britain has been used to arrest protesters, protesting arms escalation in London, and this sort of legislation set up this kind of control of protesters. And that's what the state organizers did a lot of the time.

26:30 In the '50s and '60s they set up specific legislation to control parades and flags so it could become illegal to display a flag if it was going to cause public disorder and needless to say the Union Jack was never going to cause public disorder but the tricolor was seen as a cause of public disorder. Meanwhile you had symbols of Unionism like Orange parades or Apprentice Boys parades. Their parades were legal because they were symbols of tradition. Usually people can celebrate their traditions because they had the power to do so. So the reason you have a parading tradition that is dominated by Union loyalism is that they had the power to parade anywhere, where the Nationalists didn't.

27:25 There used to be a St. Patrick's Day parade around the walls of Derry. Now there isn't a parade which is because the parade was stopped by the Apprentice Boys in the early part of the 20th Century (the Apprentice Boys are a powerful Protestant fraternal society that celebrates the Siege of Derry and holds the walls sacred as a Protestant sectarian symbol, not to be polluted by Catholics). They wanted to march themselves later.

27:45 So the way the space gets defined by those who have political power. And obviously you sometimes deal with drunkenness and working class Protestants who behave badly during the parades. The state does not particularly like that so sometimes the state would control some of the rougher elements of Protestantism and Loyalism, but basically those symbols, that identity dominates the space that you're in.

28:20 And actually, once the Civil Rights Movement starts to happen, effectively the ability for the state to control that space has declined, the police could no longer do it, so what do you do? You introduce the British Army to attempt to do it and that's when you know the state is in big trouble because they basically had to produce its own soldiers to control its territory. Then you know you are fundamentally losing control of what is taking place.

28:40 (The slide changes to a barricade and Dominic reacts to the picture)



That's the barrier set up on William Street in Derry in 1969. This appeared in many parts of Northern Ireland which eventually became walls. And then, of course, you have "no go areas" (showing a slide of the Free Derry wall) and you've visited all of these.

29:00 How does the state react when it attempts to reform the police? It disarmed the police, actually, in 1970 and got rid of the B-Specials who were a part time armed wing of the police. The British got rid of the B-Specials because they were too discriminating on how they worked. But, of course, when they got rid of that, Protestants got more and more scared. Coming out of local community organizations, the paramilitaries replaced the official state controlling of the B-Specials. You had the development of those paramilitaries and you had attempts at internment. The state goes around and tries to retake space. In 1972 the British state had 22,000 soldiers in Northern Ireland and that's three times as many as they had in the whole of the south of Iraq during the war.

30:10 That is a phenomenal amount of the British army trying to keep control of this space in the early 1970s. It's probably the equivalent of the "push"...what is it you've been doing in Iraq to try and control everything. And you discover that when the push is finished you probably haven't gotten very far....as the Brits found out here. I mentioned Bloody Sunday (looking at slides) and I mentioned Bloody Friday. Then you've got attempts by the paramilitaries to control the areas and Operation Motorman on the 31st of July 1972 that used 22,000 soldiers to attempt to go to areas, all these areas around us, arrest Republicans, arrest Loyalists, retake areas, and retake control of the state because where the civil rights marchers had demanded rights within the state, The IRA was effectively taking the state out of areas. It was controlling areas.

31:10 We were got into that sort of warfare that went over the next two decades. (Shows a picture) That's the wall that's just down the road from here (the talk is happening in Belfast). So how is the state then react? The state has lost control of some of the residential areas. What it

does try to retain control of is the central business area.



(he shows a slide of Belfast where the red business area is surrounded by yellow areas controlled by Catholics) We had security barriers all around here and when you went into the business area, if you went in on a bus they'd come and search your bags. They were trying to create a safe area like the Green Zone in Baghdad where car bombs were destroying the economic fabric in that area.

32:05 The economic fabric of Belfast, of course, pretty much collapsed when the shipyards collapsed in the 1950s and 1960s. Just a little segway to how conflict was taking place, if you get any urban area or anywhere in the world with a lot of unemployed and unskilled young men, you've got a policing problem. It doesn't matter if you're in L.A. or in the outskirts of Sydney in Australia or anywhere, you have got a problem. And in the 1950s and the 1960s we had that in Belfast between the Protestants and Catholics. And, of course, that fed into the status of being part paramilitary. Just as it appeared in almost gangland activities in the US, you found people joining paramilitaries.

33:05 You had a marching season and a predominantly Unionist control of public space in an attempt to police the conflict by the British states. There was a realization by the mid 1970s that sending loads of soldiers to police this was pretty hopeless. Most young British soldiers didn't really know what the conflict was about and they could barely tell who was who. For example, policing an Orange parade (a Protestant, Unionist parade involving British and Scottish soldiers) was as odd as any other Irish tradition. Most English people weren't really going to know what an Orange parade was all about. Soldiers would be told to police an Orange parade by going to a Catholic part of town and may be subject to gunfire from the IRA. English soldiers would

question why the parade through that part of the town, while the Orange parade members would go there because they wanted to. So it was to the advantage of the British state to create localized policing. They realize during the Iraq war that it was a mistake to dismantle the local army and the police force. Even though the local army and police were of the “wrong” ethnic group, taking away that policing was a bad idea.

35:35 So now they had a policing situation where they had to start thinking about how they're going to police what they're doing. (He then shows a map of a parade route)



It came to fruition around the mid 1980s when an Orange parade occurred (the yellow line signifying the parade route). This is a Catholic area (as he circles the orange area with his finger). The police decided not to police a street where the parade took place. Back in 1921, that area would have assuredly been policed but the police decided to end the Orange parades in Catholic areas. Power relationships have begun to change and how the space is being managed.

37:00 In 1993, a similar sort of thing happened. All of a sudden, Sinn Fein was allowed to hold demonstrations in the center of Belfast. This is the year before the IRA ceasefire. What you have to imagine is that in the 200 years of Belfast, there has never been a Nationalist or a Republican parade.

37:25 (Dominic then makes a joke about what a police officer must have said if he had received an application for a Republican parade.) Obviously there was behind the scenes work going on, and I suspect that Sinn Fein having been allowed a demonstration in 1993 was a sign of change taking place. So there's the statue of Queen Victoria out on center hall and the parade members put an Irish tricolor in her hair. Gerry Adams then makes a speech in front of city hall. It happens on a weekly basis now, but in 1993 it was a dramatic event because the Protestants and Unionists know that the Republicans have been trying to blow up the city for the past 20 years. And now they're marching straight into the center of the city.

38:55 So what you get is a dramatic change in the way that people begin to understand the space that they're living, working, and moving in. I'll give you another example. In 1996, the disputes over parades had started to pick up. Catholic residence groups said that they don't want Orange or Apprentice Boys parades coming through our Catholic areas. The residence group in Derry decided to hold a demonstration which started on the Protestant water side and ended in the center of the Catholic city (he compares this to a similar route taken in 1969 when civil rights marchers were beaten badly by the police).

40:05 So the residence group follows exactly the same group as the civil rights marchers. The police blocked off the whole route from Loyalist protesters and they went into the center city. A Republican then made a speech saying "nothing has changed in this city since the civil rights marchers in 1969." (Dominic laughs because in 1969 they were beaten by the police, but in 1996 they were allowed to hold a speech in the center of the city with help from the police) Significant changes have taken place.

41:10 That created in the 1990s severe public order difficulties. Unionists and Protestants felt like they were losing and in some way, they were. In 1995, the return part of a parade was blocked by the police. The protesters had always formed in the Catholic area and as the parade progressed to that point, the police would smack a few Catholic protesters so the parade could move on. But on one Sunday, the police commander decided to stop the Orangemen at the church so the protesters were wondering where the police were. Meanwhile the Orangemen said "we're not moving until we're allowed down the road." A crowd developed, and this siege took three days to resolve. In 1996 there was a five day siege which was violent. In both instances, the Orangemen were allowed down the road. But since 1998, they have been banned from that route and they haven't marched it since.

44:00 And what that was indicative of was the change in the way the state was managing the space people were living in. So the Orange Order do not control as much space. They still have 2000 parades to the Nationalists' 250, but in some places they don't control as much space as they used to. There has been a police reform process taking place, but the Republicans wanted a complete alteration of policing. (Dominic then warns the audience not to date reform from 1998 when the agreements occurred) A lot was taking place before then. If it wasn't taking place before then, how do you explain in 1985 and 1986 when the police started blocking Orange parades? How do you explain in 1995 and 1996 when the police were blocking other Orange parades? It's actually a process of change taking place.

45:15 Let me throw in another element to this which I think is important. You can read books about the peace process being John Humes talking to Gerry Adams in the late 1980s. The secret discussion between the British government and Sinn Fein in the 1990s. If you read some versions, it was Sinn Fein's peace process and they pushed for peace. If you read others, it was a heroic British government talking to the Irish government. You can read that in your political science books. What you don't read is the social and economic changes that create the background for that. Put very bluntly, Catholics were in a totally different position in the 1990s

than they had been in the 1960s. Not all of them, there's still poverty, but fundamentally most were not discriminated against. They were part of the state of Northern Ireland. It might not have been the state they wanted, but they were citizens within the state of Northern Ireland. By the 1990s, you had more Catholics in the civil service and you had more Catholics who were allowed into more universities.

47:10 Things were changing. The homes of wealthy Protestants just above Queens had a chapel nearby which was for the homeowners' Catholic servants who needed a place to pray. This is now a massive Catholic church because many of those houses are owned by Catholics. Unionists and Protestants were the land and factory owners, but now the businesses, factories, and shipyards are owned by international companies. And these companies are not interested in employing only Protestants, but Catholics as well. The collapse of the Ulster Unionist Party is due to the class of people who ran it who aren't there anymore.

48:55 So you can look at a peace process in terms of people negotiating. But don't forget that this society has gone through fundamental changes. The circumstances in which negotiations were taking place in 1996, 1997, and 1998 were fundamentally different to where we had been in the 1960s. So when you read the books, don't forget that there is much more going on than politics.

49:45 So the agreement was a combination of fundamental change. When we do surveys, Catholics tell us that they're happier in Northern Ireland than Protestants do. So you have some real changes that underpin what this agreement was all about.

50:10 Let me go back to the stuff that interests me, the symbolic use of space. (He then refers to a few pictures on his slideshow)



The top left hand picture is a village in (some town that was much too hard to hear). In the

middle of the green, you have a Union flag, a Northern Ireland flag, and a UDA flag. In the top right hand corner is another village. The bottom left is a Republican memorial in West Belfast and the bottom right is a memorial for Bobby Sands.

50:55 (He changes the slide to a montage of a few pictures of flags) You've got demarcation using flags during the summer months. I have a research job at the moment where I and five students go out and count every flag on every lamppost on every main road in the whole of Northern Ireland three times a year. This sounds crazy, and it is, but it's about how space is being demarcated over time. Let me give you a small example. There's a new housing estate in a Nationalist area. Most Republicans put flags up and take them down a week later. Just near this new housing estate, they left up a couple of Celtic flags. That probably means that no Protestants will move into the estate, which means that Sinn Fein will get another counselor in the area. Now Loyalists do it many more times than Catholics do in terms of flags, but those are the sort of things that go on.

52:25 (A new slide pops up displaying what is below)



That area, if you go to the lower Shankill now, you'll see that it's all walled off because they're rebuilding on it. There's a move to regenerate that area. If you look at graffiti on the side of the wall that has gone up, there's graffiti saying "we want our area back." But there's a battle in the lower Shankill in the nature of space taking place in that very spot.

53:20 So what's been the policy outworking of this? You've got a clear host conflict situation. How can you tell that? Well apart from the huge reduction in organized violence, things like the memorials going up, issues over truth commissions, and things like that have been the key issues that people are talking about. Beyond that, you've got issues of cultural identity. How are our conflicting identities expressed in a modern Northern Ireland? Now there are a couple of words that immediately have been used around the policy. One is 'imperative esteem' which is a phrase that Republicans have used. It means that our culture has the same esteem as your culture. Now Republicans and Nationalists were not even treated as second class citizens in the

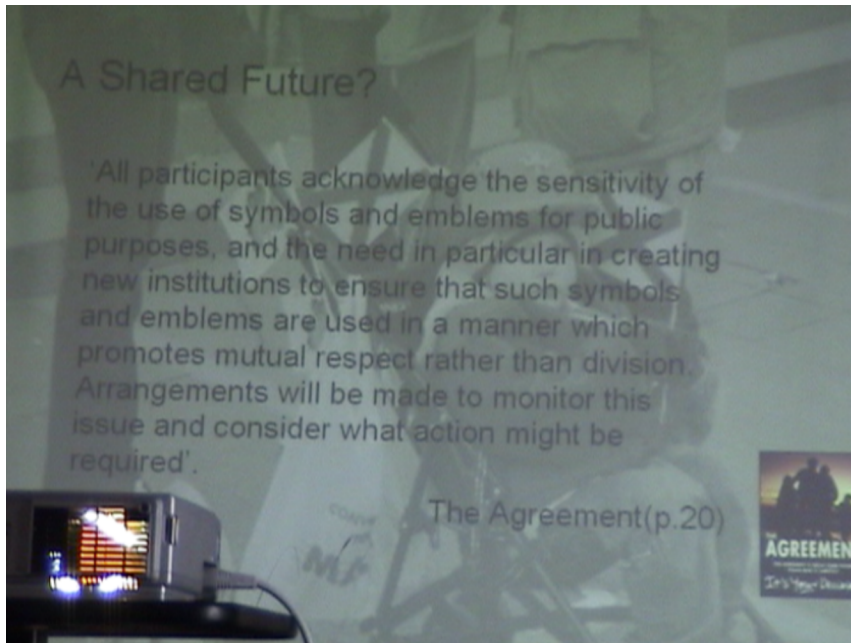
state of Northern Ireland where the Unionists and Protestants lived. Imperative esteem meant that the Republicans deserve that same esteem that the Unionists have.

55:00 What it produces when you put it into policy are some odd things. Such as the fact that the Ulster-Scots language groups demand that they should have the same amount of funding as the Irish language groups because of imperative esteem. Even though no one speaks Ulster-Scot and the use of the English language is enormous, the idea of imperative esteem is that everything is of equal worth. So if the St. Patrick's Day parade receives funding, then there should be funds towards the Eleventh Night bonfires. (But Dominic is blunt and describes that St. Patrick's Day is pretty meaningless, but it is an event that both Catholics and Protestants celebrate) But bonfires are highly sectarian, extremely aggressive, and very unpleasant for anyone who isn't a part of it. But people claim imperative esteem so both events get funded equally.

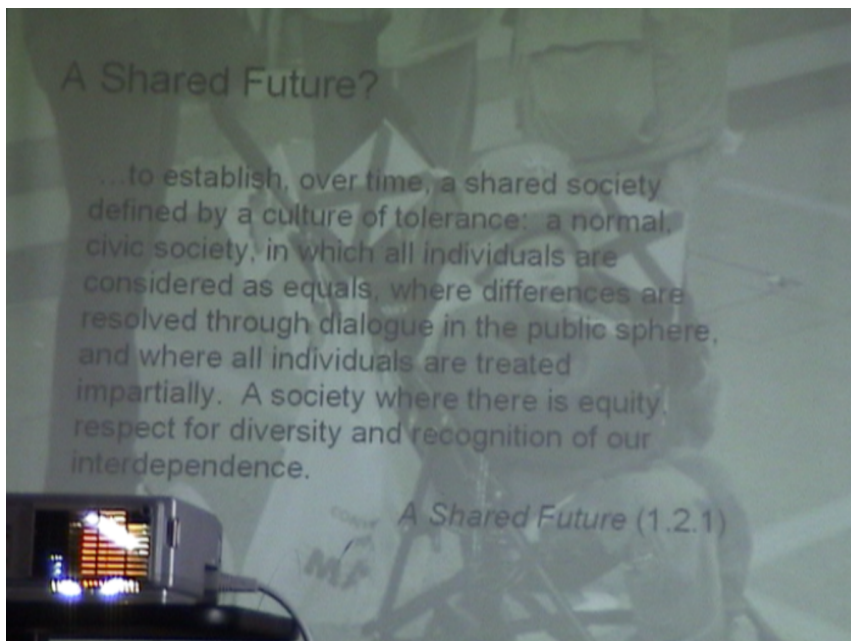
57:00 An alternative way of looking at relationships is the good relations argument. We need to break down some of the barriers that exist between people. Basically the people of Northern Ireland share the same culture. Most of what they have is exactly the same. Their beliefs are very similar which make them part of the same culture. But since they separate themselves by picking out differences from a wide belt of similarities, they have separated themselves. What good relations might do is it would say that the two groups have more in common than they do otherwise and both sides should work out their few differences. So they'll hold a St. Patrick's Day event where both groups do things together.

58:20 So that sense of sharing is slightly different than the imperative esteem. And what you will see most often is the imperative esteem argument winning. What the local governments do now is they make sure that both groups get the same amounts so that conflict is held at bay. Now you also have a tension between diversity and commonality. Do we play on the diversities between our peoples, or do we look at the commonalities? In doing that, how do you create shared space?

59:00 (He changes the slide to show an excerpt from the Belfast Agreement) Now the Belfast Agreement had these words in it.



(Dominic then reads the passage listed above) So there's an awareness that these things are problematic, so they came up with a shared future policy. (He changes the slide once more to reveal another excerpt from the Belfast Agreement)

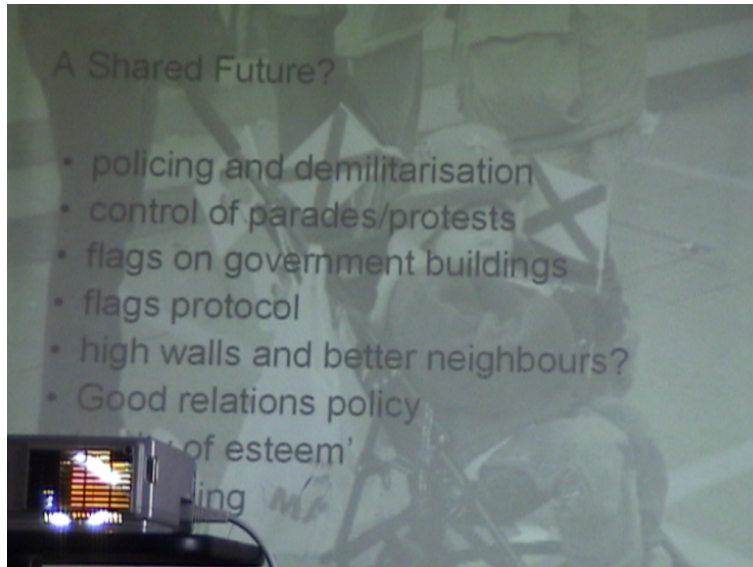


(Dominic then reads this)

1:00:05 Now read from this excerpt in 2005 and think back to the Civil Rights marches in 1968 and 1969. We're in a very different place in trying to organize our society in a very different way. In some senses, the problems are the same if not worse because the divisions in society

have been marked by 30 years of violence. But that is a definition of what civic space in contemporary Northern Ireland is going to be about. And that is different from the civic space of Northern Ireland in the 1960s.

1:00:55 So what are the elements of that sort of shared future? (He puts up a list of the problems that will need to be addressed if this conflict is to be managed)



Well we talked about policing. It's not only reform of the PSNI and a demilitarizing of paramilitaries. You still have a big problem.

1:01:25 You can't have proper democratic space when you have people who wield power through guns. Let me give you another example of how Protestants and Unionists dominated the public sphere. The IRA would have been government in this area. If you hold a public meeting to decide something about the area, everybody in that public meeting knows that the IRA in that area would have particular interests. So if somebody who is known to be a Republican gets up and makes a pronouncement, it immediately becomes very difficult for anyone else to come back and contradict that. And in the micropolitics of communities, that's happening all of the time.

The video then ends.