

From Fighting To Belonging:

The role of violence informed language in construction of
affinity to own group in the Bogside and the Fountain,
Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland

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From Fighting To Belonging: the role of violence informed language in construction of affinity to own group in the Bogside and the Fountain, Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to explore the signification processes of young people's inter-group hostile attitudes and violent behaviour related to and used for building their sense of belonging to a particular place and group. The research was focused on young people with a Catholic background from the Bogside quarter and young people with a Protestant background from the Fountain quarter, both situated in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland. Discursive approach was used for an in-depth analysis of the youngsters' language practices, which were placed into a broader context of the post-conflict environment they lived in. The research showed that the signification processes of the young people's violence and hostile attitudes indeed serve them to create a sense of belonging although it happens rather in not prepared and unanimous way. Young people signify their mutual violence and hostility in various ways, whilst often using name-calling and or derogative metaphorical comparisons to assure themselves they belong to the better group and by stressing the importance of protection or retaliation, the sense of belonging was built, since the violence would be signified for the sake of their own group. Both sides often drew on previous instances of violence and distinguished between different types of violence which they felt would or would not be supported by their community. A difference was found between the use of intertextual networks related to history. For Catholic interviewees it served as an excuse for their present violence and as a bond to their community, whilst the Protestant interviewees re-interpreted the history of the other side in order to derogate it and prove loyalty to their own community.

key words: discourse, critical discourse analysis, semiosis, youth, youth violence, legitimization strategies, hostile attitudes, Northern Ireland, post-conflict zone, intertextuality, metaphor, rationality, emotions

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Introduction

It could have been a calm Friday evening as any other, if only I was not sitting in a living room in the Protestant Fountain estate, Derry/Londonderry. A sudden shouting cut the chatter in the room and all three young men I was having a conversation with ran out. To find out what was happening, I ventured out as well, only to see a group of young Fountain children running towards our door for protection, claiming that they were, not for the first time, being chased by ‘dirty Fenians’ whom they had run into in the city centre. As they were returning, my host claimed they could not catch them - allegedly teenagers from the neighbouring, predominantly Catholic quarter of the Bogside.

However, what would elsewhere be an innocent skirmish between two groups of teenagers meant much more here, in Northern Ireland. Because one group of children was Catholic and the second one Protestant, the chase and abuse would be regarded as sectarian in nature and there would be no later, elsewhere so usual, changes in children’s alliances, negotiations of ceasefires, and restorations of friendships. In fact, the friendships have never been there because growing up in the Fountain means to many people ‘to know never to become friends with the ones from the Bogside.’¹ A statement that could be easily applicable in a reversed meaning to the Bogside as well. What was a rather unusual experience for me, was for the youth from both communities a minor event like so many before, displaying a reality of permanent inter-community skirmishes, sometimes even a serious body harm, but also strong bonds to one’s community.

Introduction to the Topic, Gaps, and Relevance

Although it has been nearly two decades since the conflict in Northern Ireland (so called Troubles) came to an end, a high level of population segregation still remains a reality to many places in the country, with Derry/Londonderry, having the two communities almost symbolically separated by the river Foyle, not being an

¹ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

exception (NISRA 2011). The city used to be, along with Belfast, at the heart of the Troubles. There is no exact academic consent when and where the three decades lasting conflict between unionists/loyalists wishing to remain within the UK and republicans/nationalists wishing to join the Republic of Ireland exactly started. Nevertheless, the violent events of late 1960s in the Bogside would be considered by some to be at the commencement of the bloody discord, which was ended with the Belfast Agreement in 1998. Many of the current older Bogside residents still keep very vivid memories of the conflict, which has affected them either directly or indirectly. And the same holds true for the inhabitants of the only Protestant estate on the West bank of the river Foyle, significantly smaller Fountain. The area between these two neighbouring communities (so called interface) still remains as illustrated above a contested place. Some of my young interviewees from both sides of the interface demonstrated an immediate readiness to give a punch when an opportunity emerged, and their mutually hostile attitudes were displayed not only during interviews, but also during casual chats I had with them, when sentences such as ‘I hate them’², ‘It’s just the Fountain, just the Fountain’³ meaning it is just the Fountain that he hates, or ‘Leprechauns don’t change their spots’⁴ were not unusual for me to hear, but also not unusual not to be frowned upon by the young people’s peers or in some cases even broader community.

Much has been already written about the protracted conflict in Northern Ireland and the impact it has had on lives of the local people. The young generation is often considered to be of high importance for the society emerging from over three decades of long lasting discord, because the young people can play a salient role in building peace but also in further perpetuation the violence (Kemper 2005, Kurtenbach 2008, Maggil and Hamber 2010). Indeed, in some cases the young people still suffer of prejudice, mistrust, and animosity towards the other community - the same attitudes that have burdened their parents for decades. The focus on young people of Northern Ireland and their anti-social and violent behaviour has been immense in academia, debating possible causes and contributing factors to the persisting low-level violence such as e.g. masculine culture and need to stand up for yourself (e.g. Harland and McCready 2012, Harland 2011, Reilly et. al. 2004, Lysaght

² Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

³ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁴ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

2002, Hansson 2005), role of socialisation (e.g. Connolly P. Smith A., Kelly B. 2002, Roche 2009, Muldoon et. al. 2007, Bell 2010, Connolly and Healy 2003), as well as boredom resulting in the particular conditions of the post-conflict zone into so-called recreational rioting (e.g. Jarman and O'Halloran 2001, Leonard 2010). As Jarman and O'Halloran note, such violence often begins as a minor skirmish amongst young children, but may easily escalate to more serious violence such as stone throwing and participation of older youth leading to full scale rioting. Consequently, this form of recreational rioting can feed into more inclusive forms of sectarian violence (2001:2-3).

It is surely important to understand what the causes of the young people's violence are. Nevertheless, I am convinced in accordance with discursive approaches to violent conflict that it is equally important to understand what the young people say about these kind of deeds and attitudes, and more importantly what their words really mean, imply, and are used for. Indeed, signification of one's own violent behaviour and hostility might not be revealing the real reasons for such behaviour and stances at all, but that does not mean that it does not carry important implications and reflect significant realities about the speakers themselves as well as the outer world (Brass 1996). It is this approach which would not only take the young people's words as given, but also critically analyse them and search for other layers of meaning in them, which seems to be largely missing in the current body of literature on this issue.

In the two quarters - the Bogside and the Fountain – where I decided to carry out my research because of the enduring contested nature of the interface between them and persisting low-level inter-community violence, the young people mostly engage in riotous behaviour or verbal offenses of the other community close to their homes, sometimes in the very streets they live in. At the same time, their own community and home seems to play an important role in their lives, which stands true for Northern Irish youth in general (Hayward et. al. 2013). According to social identity theory, people have a fundamental need to belong and a need to a secure sense of self through participation in groups (Tajfel 1981). Indeed, many of my young interviewees explained to me that although they would like to travel, they would not want to leave their community for good, because they would not feel comfortable elsewhere. They expressed this wish despite being aware of the fact that if living somewhere else, they would not probably be fighting and consequently getting into trouble: 'Because we love our community, we were brought up in it, you don't wanna

leave it just,'⁵ 'There is something about the Fountain, you just can't get away.'⁶ But can this belonging be also constructed and reinforced by the young people themselves through the use of language, in particular language used for signifying this trouble?

Under the circumstances, where community ties are very strong, and violence happens so close to the young people's homes and is often carried out not solitarily but in groups of friends, the signification of violence and sense of belonging seem to be closely intertwined. Hence, in order to better understand the phenomenon, my thesis will be guided by the following research question:

How do young people from the Fountain and the Bogside, Derry/Londonderry, use signification of their own mutually hostile attitudes and low-level violence to build themselves a sense of belonging?

By unravelling another, although a small part, of the complicated issue of certain young peoples' persisting hostile attitudes and low-level violence against the other community, I hope to add to the existing body of knowledge on this topic. In particular I will contribute to understanding what role can language used for signifying one's own violence play in creating the sense of belonging to one's own group and further socialization with the other group in post conflict settings. Moreover, deeper understanding of the legitimisation strategies and resources of meaning the young people draw on in order to justify their violence can facilitate current reconciliation efforts and activities.

Theoretical Approaches and the Course of Analysis

As mentioned above, I have decided to approach my research from a discursive perspective. More specifically, I depart from critical discourse analysis, mainly as understood and elaborated by Fairclough. In Fairclough's view, discourse is in broad understanding semiosis, meaning making, which deploys a wide range of semiotic resources including verbal but also visual language (2007:10). That is indeed important as my focus is primarily on the signification of violence and hostile

⁵ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁶ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

attitudes – how is meaning given to them, and further, what are the implications of it. Throughout the thesis, discourse will be also regarded in accordance with Fairclough’s work as a social practice, implying that it not only represents the world but also signifies it (1992:63-64).

In his monograph *Discourse and Social Change*, Fairclough stresses the importance of a three-dimensional framework of discourse analysis: analysis of discourse practices, texts, and social practices. Not disregarding it and in order to fully operationalize the meaning production, I have opted for working with several particular concepts Fairclough elaborates on – intertextuality and metaphor – to answer my research puzzle. Intertextuality, a crucial analytical concept in meaning production, can be viewed in its simplest version as an insertion of past texts into the present ones (1992:84) which is of high relevance here, since history and memories are integral part of people’s lives in Northern Ireland. Metaphor then is a powerful part of texts which allows us to construct and signify world in certain ways (1992:194) and which came into the fore throughout my research on numerous occasions.

Another two analytical concepts that will guide me through the analysis and contribute to answering the research question are appeal to rationality and appeal to emotions. These two strategies come particularly from the background on argumentation and justification/legitimation of action. Since I see legitimation as a part of signification processes, I have decided to devote these two strategies a particular attention. When young people talk about their violent behaviour and stances they are trying, often rather subconsciously and even when claiming the opposite, to persuade a listener about their truth and justify their action. Whilst working with these two concepts, I will mainly theoretically draw on work of van Leeuwen and Reyes, who is nevertheless focused on political discourse in his work, and henceforth it is not possible to advance his approach uncritically and literally. However, as the author himself notes:

It would be interesting for further studies to test these proposed strategies in other speech events, such as casual interaction. I believe there is a common ground with other speech events...to infer fear, and to obtain the attention or possibly a physical response from other interlocutor.

(Reyes 2011:804)

This also means, that by using this approach indeed in casual interaction I had with my interviewees, I will contribute to the theoretical knowledge in this area of research as well. Concerning the legitimization of violence and its interconnectedness with meaning making, the work of Schröder and Schmidt must be also brought in. According to these scholars, cultural factors play a crucial role in the stage of legitimisation of a conflict, determining what meaning specific situation is given and how it is justified. In this matter, the authors present the concept of violent imaginaries, where they point out the important role of historicity and explain the link between the past violence and the present one. And it is this legitimisation through historicity that evokes the feeling of social closure through the shared past. (2001:9)

As the meaning production is closely linked in my research question to a sense of belonging, a concept of socialisation must be introduced as well. It can be defined as a “totality of modifications produced in the individual’s relationships with their environment (material, social, mental) as a result of interaction with others” (Camilleri C. and Malewska-Peyre 1997:43). Hence socialisation is interconnected with the need to belong. In this line Verkuyten argues: “ethnicity is something we are socialised into” (2005:86). In this case the strong feelings of being British or Irish. There are many agents involved in the processes of socialisation, but the most salient ones in a life of a child would be family, joined later on by school, peers, and potentially religious institutions (Grusec and Hastings 2007). The constitutive parts of socialisation into violence within a family would thus be amongst others, narratives of past violence in the families of the interviewed young people, which brings us back to the importance of intertextuality. Although processes of socialisation in general, cannot help us to unravel the puzzle how young people signify their violent behaviour, they can provide an important insight into the influence of the youngsters’ environment and how they can impact the youth’s construction of meanings of their actions and building the sense of belonging.

Since I analyse discourse, I have decided to leave all citations of my interviewees unedited, although they often include expletives or very unscrupulous offenses directed at the other community. The way the young people speak has a testifying value of its own. It tells us about their actual attitudes towards each other as well as their current emotions such as anger, or positions amongst their peers like

pretended bravado. Moreover, particular expletives have become objects to detailed analysis themselves.

It must be also taken into account, that the qualitative research I have conducted is not in any way representative of neither of the two communities but is intended to provide a thick description and an in-depth analysis of certain groups of youth who keep rather unfriendly attitudes towards each other and engage in mutual violence. Certainly not all teenagers from the Bogside and neither from the Fountain would engage in violent behaviour and it is a reality that in one street lives a young leader of a boy's gang with his father 'turning a wee blind eye' on his behaviour but also children who would never even say 'hun' or 'fenian' and whose parents would not even let them go out when a riot is taking place. After certain consideration, I have decided to refer to the members of both communities as either Protestants or Catholics since that is how the people from Derry/Londonderry in my experience mostly classified each other. These names do not necessarily express religious views of my interviewees, since some of them did not consider themselves being religious, but rather believed themselves to belong to one of the communities.

Last but not least, it must be also taken into consideration that most young people I talked to were either under aged or had just reached adulthood which means they are still in their formative years. The signification processes of their own violence and hostile attitudes towards the other group were not always coherent, sometimes even contradicted as the interviews progressed and sometimes were not meant seriously all, especially when teenage boys interacted in a bigger group of their peers. I have tried to distinguish carefully between these situations and point them out throughout my analysis.

Methodological Challenges

Apart from the literature research on the given topic as well as media reports (including local newspapers available on-line, radio, and TV), the thesis has been informed by field notes, participants observation, and interviews conducted in the field. The interviews were held with 17 young people (8 Protestants and 9 Catholics) with the youngest one being only 14 and the oldest one 29, whilst the majority of them was in their late teens. The interviews were a mixture of semi-structured and

unstructured questions (see the Appendix 1) and in some cases were held in a couple or three, since some interviewees felt more comfortable this way and sometimes even conditioned the interviews by being able to sit with their friends. On one occasion I held an in-depth interview with two boys when the rest of their friends was watching but not participating, which created interesting dynamics I come back to later in the thesis.

All of the interviews were carried out during the time of fieldwork between March and June 2014. Concerning the interviews with the youth, it must be also noted, that although I generally refer to the Bogside interviewees, a very small number of these participants were not directly from the quarter, but from neighbouring areas very close to the interface. These participants spent the majority of their time with their peers from the estate and were considered as 'one of them'. I have further conducted interviews (12) with local residents from both quarters (some of them parents of my interviewees), youth and community workers from both sides, a police officer, a youth justice worker and other people from the city in some way engaged in the work with young people. Although their opinions and information they told me is in majority not cited in the thesis, they proved beneficial in gaining an important insight into the situation and sometimes even served for triangulating purposes.

I opted for an ethnographic type of research, since I was focusing on a specific groups of people, bounded by time, geographical location and cultural practices and wanted to gain deep understanding of their social and language practices (Curtis and Curtis 2011:80). That meant groups of young people who would take part in inter-group violence and/or keep hostile attitudes towards each other, which I had to recruit through purposive sampling (Curtis and Curtis 2011:36). Hence, I had to initially face the challenging task of socialising and gaining the trust of the local residents in the Fountain and the Bogside: that is, mainly the youth from both communities. The very location of my accommodation during my 14 weeks of long lasting stay in Derry/Londonderry proved to be of a great advantage as well as disadvantage, since I found my lodging in the Bogside. After certain hesitation, I decided for this option because of the expected benefit of getting a unique inside into the live of the community and higher chances of passing the local gatekeepers, since my live-in landlord was a local woman, immensely friendly and open. This strategy proved to be fruitful in a sense that I have indeed quickly got familiar in the neighbourhood and

thanks to my landlord managed to interview some of the local residents and get close to my first interviewee involved in anti-social behaviour. With his help via snowballing, I managed to obtain several other interviewees. I was able to spend free time with some of them, casually chat and ‘hang out’ since as O’Brian notes (2010 in Curtis and Curtis 2011:83) personal experience is of great value when researching a sensitive topic, such as in this case inter-group violence. This situation enabled participants observation and also facilitated the course of in-depth interviews I held with them. Thanks to their openness and obligingness, I was enabled to gain much deeper insight into their lives as well as opinions than in formal interview settings. Because of bureaucratic delays, when I had to wait for a Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) check, I was not able to access the Bogside youth club Youth First for regular volunteering, however I was still able to conduct several in-depth interviews there as well.

The expected disadvantage of living in the Bogside came to the fore in relation to my regular interaction with the Fountain residents. Because I did not have any acquaintance in the Protestant estate, I decided to approach the young people through the Cathedral Youth Club, where I regularly volunteered several days a week in late afternoons and evenings. Because the Fountain is often at the heart of the Derry/Londonderry unrests and a number of news and radio reporters along with academic researchers come in and want to talk to the young people, there was a noticeable research fatigue as well as initial wariness and inaccessibility. Nevertheless, through participation in various activities, as e.g. attending practices of the local marching band and trying to learn how to play the flute, I was slowly managing to earn the young people’s trust. The imaginary breakthrough was a moment, when I was invited to one of my interviewees’ home to ‘hang out with them’ and get to know them better, which was noticed by other members of the community and facilitated my further interaction. However, that was the time, when my close affiliation with the Bogside came to pose a challenge. Both sides knew I was doing research in the other community and in general did not seem to mind, but they did not know whom I was talking to in particular. Therefore, going to the city centre for a drink with one group meant turning around my shoulder to check whether my acquaintances from the other group were not around, since some of them were familiar to each other not in the positive sense of the word.

What was very challenging throughout the whole course of the research was facing the ethnographic seduction and possibly losing my critical stance towards the manifest discourse (Robben 1996:72), since I was listening to often very contradictory stories, where one side would be blaming the other and vice versa, but both sides would be nice to me, in some cases even very friendly. The challenge was, from my point of view, more significant in the Fountain, where it took me longer time to be accepted but on the other hand I was then offered friendship and help and heard more stories of victimization and fear. At one point, I decided to reduce the social contact as I felt it started to affect my research. Fortunately, this happened when my stay was coming to an end.

As Schröder and Schmidt point out, in most cases a researcher does not have a chance to observe violent events directly but rather interpret other people's interpretations. The researcher "does not extract the truth, he just adds another – although usually more detached – perspective" (2001:13) as is the case of this particular research as well. Indeed, I did not witness any riot personally and took as the main source of information narratives of my interviewees. What I was nevertheless able to witness directly were hostile attitudes towards the other community, through participants observation and my off the record interaction, which added another important dimension to my research. It has to be also noted that my research was generally carried from a social constructivist approach, when "the informant's stories are viewed as informed constructions rather than objective truths" (Curtis and Curtis 2011:91).

Another of the challenges, I had to face especially in the Bogside was so called Boston tapes affair⁷ that led to an arrest of the Gerry Adams, leader of the republican political party Sinn Féin. Some of my interviewees immediately lost trust when they learned about it and although they had agreed to meet again with me, after the affair swept over in the news, they never came back. This issue brings me to the fact that I had promised to keep my interviewees as anonymous as possible on their own request. Therefore, I do not mention their age whilst citing them. The interviews were not conducted in secrecy and a number of residents from both communities

⁷ The so-called Belfast project run by the Boston College was conducted in order to gather unique testimonies of former paramilitary members active during the Troubles and safely store them. However the project has gone awry when the Boston College lost a case at a court and had to hand in two of the interviews to PSNI to facilitate investigation of a murder conducted during the Troubles by the IRA (BBC 2014).

knew whom I was talking to. Hence, providing their age could mean in certain cases the same thing as naming them directly.

Last but not least challenge to the research was the local accent, which posed especially in the beginning of the research an obstacle. Because I spent majority of my time amongst the local population, I have managed from a great part to overcome this issue, so in the end it did not pose any major problem to my research.

Chapter Outline

The work has been divided into four main chapters dealing gradually with the particular analytical concepts mentioned above. The first chapter, informed by the concept of intertextuality, elaborates on the role of bygone as well as contemporary history, and the role of intertextual networks in the young peoples' speech informed by these historical events as well as by narratives from their social environment. The second chapter deals primarily with the importance of naming in speech and use of metaphor and its impact on the inter-community youth relations as well as establishment of one's own position amongst peers. In the third chapter, I explore how violence and hostile attitudes are legitimised by the youth via appeal to rationality and have a closer look into the need to stand up for one-self and masculine culture amongst the youth. The final chapter then likewise deals with justification strategies, but employed via the appeal to emotions. The chapter is then concluded by elaborating on the young people's willingness to interact shaped by this emotional appeal.

1. Insertion Of Past In The Bogside And The Fountain (And How Much It Matters)

When visiting certain places in Northern Ireland, a tourist might easily come under an impression, that history is not only remembered here but still very alive, intertwined into ordinary days of local people. One of such places is surely Derry/Londonderry. On one hand, I would often hear people from both communities wishing to ‘move on’ but on the other, different stories told by others, scraps from the past, feelings of injustice, would mingle into many discussions we had as well as into their personal lives, sometimes even evoking feelings of resignation over the whole situation: ‘...we are just standing in the past, nothing has changed to be honest’⁸ one of my young interviewees told me. And it is because of the importance of the history in the contemporary Derry/Londonderry, that I will start the following chapter with a brief introduction of important historical events, which serve as intertextual resources for the young people to turn to when talking about the other community, but also to help them constitute their sense of belonging. Hence, even an uninformed reader can get a full comprehension of the analysis from the following two sub-chapters, which elaborate on the intertextual networks used by the youth, their feeling of inevitability of violence because of the past and ties to their communities.

1.1 History Related General Intertextual Resources of the Young Generation from the Bogside and the Fountain

Although the conflict in Northern Ireland, commonly known as the Troubles started in the late 1960s, the history of the discord reaches further into the past, which is brought alive regularly by both communities on different occasions throughout every year. Although not ignoring the previous long history of interaction between the island of Ireland and the United Kingdom, the actual beginning of the conflict could be traced back already to the Plantation of Ulster in the early 17th century. A number of English and Scottish settlers from various backgrounds, mainly smallholders

⁸ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

though, started arriving to Ireland and established their living in close proximity with local Irish Catholic population. Thus, two groups of different religion and political allegiance as well as cultural values found themselves sharing the same place, whilst one of the groups – the Catholics – believed their land was stolen away from them by the other one – the Protestants (Darby 2003). A situation that activated a powerful discourse of injustice and grievance.

The narrative of the stolen land and injustice grew only stronger with another event which happened a century later but has been source of trouble, discord and hostilities ever since at many places in Northern Ireland. On the 12th July 1690, at the Battle of the Boyne, William III, Prince of Orange, or King Billy, as he is sometimes affectionately called by Protestants, sealed supremacy of Protestantism on the British Isles by his victory against the Catholic King James. This victory is annually celebrated by marches all over the country (Edwards and Knottnerus 2012:3-4). For one of the groups it is a celebration of victory, for the second one, a reminder of conquest and demonstration of power.

In relation to the King William's crusade, the city of Derry/Londonderry has also two more commemorative events of which one is burning an effigy of a treacherous mayor Robert Lundy on the 18th December. The Protestants from the town revive each year the narrative of Robert Lundy, who was in charge of the city, when troops of the King James were approaching, however he left the gates open and thus 'betrayed' the city (Walker 2001). Nevertheless, the legend tells the gate was closed by thirteen apprentice boys and thus the siege of Derry begun, only to be ended 105 days later in August, which is commemorated by a big annual parade every second Saturday in August (Apprentice Boys 2014).

As the history of Northern Ireland is dense and it is not the purpose of this work to deal with it primarily, I allow myself to skip several hundred years to briefly provide an insight into the source of most current past related grievances, the Troubles, which provide another set of deep intertextual resources, in the particular case of my research, mainly for the Catholic community. In 1921, the independent republic of Ireland was established but the North remained under the British rule. In late 1960s, very poor living conditions paralleled with discrimination of the working class within Northern Ireland led to a civil rights campaign, which mainly drew support from Catholic community and was opposed by the protestant British state that perceived it as a threat to its existence. Communities started to separate and sectarian

violence soon followed. This resulted with the deployment of the British troops in Northern Ireland, which only exacerbated the hatred of the Catholic community (Fitzduff and O'Hagan 2009).

The Troubles were marked by many atrocities caused by both republican and unionist paramilitaries which (re)emerged from the conflict as well as by the British Army. In particular relevance to Derry/Londonderry, the most salient event would be so-called Bloody Sunday of 1972. The march organised by Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association against internment without trial went awry after it was prevented to enter the city centre. As a response to this ban, angered young men started throwing stones on the British army, and thirteen of them, all Catholic, were shot dead near the Free Derry Corner marking the entrance to the Bogside. Following the event, there was a dramatic increase of republicanism, and support for the IRA amongst the local citizens. The following investigation turned out to be very prolonged and seen by many as anything but impartial. After an intensive campaign of the victims' relatives, the case was re-opened and re-investigated many years later. However what means to one community a major violation of human rights and a great injustice, the second community often criticises for overemphasised attention it receives and as a great waste of money (Melaugh 2010).

All these events as well as many others have not been forgotten over centuries. Some bring mostly pride, some anger and grievances. Some are used and misused to justify deeds and attitudes, which have a very different cause in reality. Nevertheless, all of them matter and on smaller or bigger scale play a role in the lives of the young people.

1.2 'My Father Said To Me....'

'Everybody in Derry will find out eventually, there is always someone who will know'⁹

The young generation from both communities keeps hearing stories, not only from their families. When I asked my interviewees from the Bogside, how they would learn about their history, they just waved their hand around, saying they were simply

⁹ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

surrounded by it, being convinced that ‘everybody in Derry will find out eventually, there is always someone who will know’¹⁰. Since their childhood, on their way to school or to the city centre, the young people from the Bogside and the Fountain keep passing murals and memorials displaying suffering and/or heroism of ‘their’ people. The Bogside murals, most of them painted according to original photographic material (Bogside Artists 2014), pass the message of the British government oppression and community resistance since the 1960s (Davies 2001), a gable wall with inscription “You are now entering free Derry” reminds passers-by of the Battle of the Bogside in 1969, the commencement of the Troubles. The inscription originally meant the Bogside residents’ self-declaration of independence from the United Kingdom (Jarman 1998). However, decades after the event, the message of John Casey (McCann 1993) still resonates and is reproduced by the youth somewhat differently. As one of my young interviewees explained to me: ‘It’s against the British, to tell them that we are free’¹¹: an account from the past, given a meaning in the present, displaying not only an unfriendly attitude towards ‘the other’ – the British but also a feeling of belonging to one’s own group.

As Bakhtin puts it, “our speech...is filled with others’ words...” (Bakhtin 1986:89 in Fairclough 1992:102). By referring to other peoples’ stories and to history related texts presented to them by the environment they live in, the young people transform these past events into new texts when talking about their violence towards the other community, they give them new meanings. But what exactly are these intertextual networks the young people from both communities draw upon when trying to explain and signify their feelings of hostility towards the other community, their acts of violence? And what role do these networks play in constituting the young peoples’ sense of belonging, feeling of togetherness when used to justify hostile attitudes?

Stressing the historicity of texts, intertextual perspective, plays a crucial role in meaning production, as it responds to prior texts whilst constituting new additions to them (Bakhtin 1986:94 in Fairclough 1992:102). Parents of some of my young interviewees used to be actively involved in the Troubles, during the time when the master narrative, a rather impervious paradigm (Pandey in Brass 1996:3), of struggle for freedom and civil rights was omnipresent amongst the Catholic community.

¹⁰ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

¹¹ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

Although the fight is over now, and cries for civil rights are no longer heard in the streets of the Bogside, the deeds and narratives of their fathers would often be used by my interviewees in order to better explain themselves.

It has to be noted though, that references to what my interviewees heard about the past were never really mentioned as the primary reason for fighting per se, but rather for hostile attitudes. However, the reproduction of the past stories, modified words of others, created a space for them not to feel guilty for what they have done, since someone older and presumably more respectful, like their fathers, used to do it too. As Apter writes, “discourse starts with events” (1997:11) and these events, e.g. riots, serve as basis for further interpretation. These interpretations employ a variety of ingredients, such as narrative and texts (1997:11). Thus, by employing narratives of their parents, my interviewees could also reassure themselves, that they were the same; that they were too, although just in a figurative way, part of it, that they belonged to the brave people who struggled for freedom and justice, to their people.

When asked about whether their parents would be angry with them for joining in riots, some of my interviewees immediately reproduced what they heard so many times at home:

My grandfather was a commander on the provisional IRA, my father was arrested numerous times and he was a part of the Irish national liberation army...and my parents just remember they were fighting for civil rights, social development and hopefully united Ireland...¹²

All our fathers too, they used to be rioters, our fathers were about our age back in the Troubles, so they run the mad, they were like in the thick of it.¹³

Kristeva departing from Bakhtin points out, that: “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another” (1986:37) and clearly in this case, the boys’ narratives are charged with their parents’ texts, related to the Troubles. It is the vertical dimension of intertextuality, one of the relationships

¹² Author’s interview held in May 2014 with a male Bogside resident

¹³ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident

in intertextual space (Kristeva 1986: 36 in Fairclough 1992:103), which comes into the fore here. The “‘vertical’ intertextual relations between a text and other texts constitute its more or less immediate or distant contexts....” (Fairclough 1992:103). The boys’ texts here are historically linked with their fathers’ texts, which provide a context for what they want to express at the present: the context of struggle against the British oppressor, and those who sympathise with him.

The young people from the Bogside would usually bring this matter up, although they would not be asked directly about their relatives’ past. At the present, the general discourse concerning the Troubles seems to be considerably shifted in favour of the Catholic community and provides a very powerful resource to be drawn from. In Derry/Londonderry, tourists come to the Bogside to look on the above-mentioned murals, frequented Museum of Free Derry informs about severe human rights violations during the Bloody Sunday. As Fairclough points out, it is important to realise that restructuring of other texts is socially limited and conditional upon relations of power (1992:103). And, as the case illustrates, the social limitations of the young people from the Bogside are not very constrained, with the discourse of past suffering of their community providing a backing and considerable numerical superiority in comparison to the Fountain the position of power, at least for the first sight.

When entering the Fountain, one might think that its character resembles the one of the Bogside, apart of being smaller and behind so called peace walls, the houses are just as small, there are murals on the walls, painted kerbs. However, very different narratives are told and reproduced by the young people here. Murals on the Fountain walls speak of the residents’ loyalty to the British crown: Union, Scottish and Welsh flags highly visible at the first sight, but also “they speak to the community about what they have experienced” (Rolston 2010:294) and their unwillingness to give up and leave, to surrender.

On the contrary to the Bogside, parents’ past was never really brought up by the Fountain’s youth, and even when I asked directly, the answers were rather of avoidant nature. None of my interviewees recalled stories of the Troubles told by parents or other people from the community and used it as a moral cause to create a space for justification of his or her deeds, for expression of belonging. Only once, there was an answer indicating a father being no better than his son when it came to fighting, but with no clear reference to the Troubles. What rather stood up was in the

Fountain so ubiquitous element of defence. Recalling what his father told him about his past, my interviewee said to me:

...he (father) can't contradict or give me a bad name, or if any of my brothers have been caught into a fight, defending themselves, he wouldn't judge us, because in the end of the day, he's done it, he's been there.¹⁴

The past of the parents was then not discussed any further. Even when a father of one of my interviewees told me that he would discuss his past with his children all the time, his son never really reproduced his father's narratives in the way my interviews did in the Bogside. Henceforth, the presented data suggest that the youngsters' intertextually construed web of meanings quite differs in both quarters, which shall be further elaborated in the second sub-chapter.

1.3 'It's Been Always This Way'

*'No matter what you bring to the Bogside, to the Fountain, you are always gonna have your fights'*¹⁵

When discussing riots and mutual animosity with my young interviewees, I would often hear, that they perceived all the violence and animosity as inevitable, although not necessarily right, but still normal. In spite of the fact that there is officially peace in Northern Ireland, for the young generation in Derry/Londonderry violence has not completely diminished from their lives, although it is now occurring on much lower scale than in the past. If violence lasts for a long time, then it becomes self-sustaining, people learn to live with it and accept it as a normal part of their lives (Apter 1997:1), which seems to be the case for my young interviewees from both quarters.

Whilst wishing for better future for their siblings and/or small children, I would nevertheless hear some of my interviewees being simply reconciled with the current situation and making their conclusions from what they heard about the history: 'Irish just don't like English and English don't like Irish, that's how Derry

¹⁴ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

¹⁵ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

people see it that way'¹⁶ or '...as long as there is Catholics and Protestants you are always gonna have a fight in the end.'¹⁷ But along with this fatality, recalling of grievances from the past soon followed: 'It's because of what they did to us in the past, that's why we have a feud with them.'¹⁸ The collective memory indeed plays a significant role in Northern Ireland (McBride 2001:3). The violence from the past was culturally mediated and stored only to become a resource for legitimising the future violence. (Schröder and Schmidt 2001:8). An intertextual iterability, "repeatability" of textual fragments (Porter 1986:35) from the time of the Troubles, emerged regularly in speech of the youth from the Bogside. Being in their teens, none of the boys remembered personally what 'they' - the other community - did in the past, they just reproduced the discourse of their community, what they were told: 'There is injustice everywhere, Bloody Sunday and the hunger strikers...there was a teenager down there, wearing a school uniform, they tried to justify it...they shot from the wall and killed her.'^{19,20} The hatred is directed here mainly to the British establishment and army, however it is easily transmissible to those who sympathise with it: 'I don't mind the Protestants, I just don't like the loyalists'²¹. Nevertheless, as the case illustrates, the signification of hostile attitudes towards the other came from a perceived injustice from the past, along with the inevitability of the continuous struggle. Standing by side of one's own group and being part of something, what has been here long time before them. They translated the violent events, although not those they would personally participate in, into social texts of the present struggle (Apter 1997:13) – it is now 'we have a feud with them'.

Community workers from both quarters I talked to liked to stress 'the work that's been done with the young people'²² since the general efforts in both communities are to tackle sectarianism and not to encourage the youth in searching

¹⁶ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

¹⁷ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

¹⁸ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

¹⁹ The interviewee is referring here to a 14 year old Annette McGavigan allegedly caught in a cross-fire between the British Army and the IRA in 1971, as she was gathering coloured stones for her school project. She is portrayed on one of the Bogside murals (CAIN 2014).

²⁰ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

²¹ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

²² Author's interview held in May 2014 with male and female community workers from the Gassyard community centre located in the Bogside. This view was expressed by other community workers I talked to as well.

for differences and dwelling on the past. Likewise, the local journals such as Londonderry Sentinel and Derry Journal, along with TV programmes would strictly condemn sectarianism in accord with the widespread official peacebuilding discourse of reconciliation, currently on a massive scale funded by the EU's PEACE III programme (NI Direct 2014). It is thus sometimes subtle, but often very explicit influence of their closest environment, where the young people would draw their views from, as they told me themselves. As Apter explains, "it is the anti-state which gives a social movement its rationale as a "discourse community"" (1997:5). Because Apter talks about political violence, the anti-state notion cannot be taken literally. However, the principle still stays the same: while rioting against 'the others' and displaying hostile attitudes, the young people would be, if not directly encouraged, than certainly not damned by their communities. A young girl from the Bogside told me in relation to riots and her attitude to Protestants: 'it's because of all the history...Bloody Sunday and stuff like that there, and what were brought up with...we'd just listen to it' adding that she did not perceive riots as anything bad and felt support in her community because '...they (families) understand where we are coming from,...,they understand that's just the way we are growing up, it's just the way what we do, what we have to do'²³ Again, the inevitability of the violence comes in, along with drawing on memories of her parents, reproducing them back in connection with violence, which she feels is legitimised in her community.

On the contrary, the interviewees from the Fountain again did not really use events from the past in the way the Bogside youth did. Only once, one of the interviewees mentioned of the community influence on his negative perception of the Bogside youth: 'If you are from the Fountain and you are brought up in the Fountain you...you know never to become friends with the ones from the Bogside...'²⁴ Although in an indirect way, he expressed that he must have heard negative stories of the other community, nevertheless, nothing that he would feel more bound to his community because of it.

Hence, if the young people from the Fountain reached for intertextual networks from the Troubles, they rather reaccentuated the conventions (Fairclough 1992:103) of these of the Catholic community, such as mockingly explaining what the

²³ Author's interview held in May 2014 with a female Bogside resident.

²⁴ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

Dirty protest in late 1970s²⁵ was about and how the hunger strikers ‘died for forecall’²⁶. Thus celebration of such people as they do in the Bogside does not say anything good about them. The matter of the Bloody Sunday was brought up alike, when the whole course of the event would be reinterpreted. Emphasising that it was the IRA, which sparked the violence and that the soldiers had to defend themselves because they would not just shoot for nothing, my interviewees seemed very annoyed by the fact that so much money has been put into the investigation of the case and that it is still not over yet: ‘Sure they got what they wanted, I don’t know why they keep going on about it, fucking the Prime Minister apologised, which he had no right to do...’²⁷. Adding to his friend’s speech, the second youth reaccentuated what he had learned about events prior to Bloody Sunday as well as the actual violence: how British troops were asked to come to Northern Ireland to keep order only to be shot at by the IRA. The boys could not deny the event as such, however, remaining loyal to their community, they interpreted the text from the past to be in favour of their people, British soldiers who were British citizens, like the boys themselves. The feeling of togetherness with the soldiers supposedly attacked by the IRA then also lead to a hostile attitude towards the other community, in their eyes still making themselves victimised and demanding what they had no right for. Moreover, the Catholics would be making the government spend a great amount of money on it, whilst there have been no other equal investigations of Protestant civilians death: ‘Now, it’s still on...fuck how many years ago?...and they are getting money, for what happened...but there has been tons of like...Protestant fucking mass occursion shait and nothing, there is not a penny put into trying who’ve done what..’²⁸ Some of these events and opinions, the boys would hear at home, however what has been going on in the case of Bloody Sunday is wildly known amongst the public and appears on the news as well which the youth claimed to watch.

What we can observe here is an interesting fact that the interviewees from the Fountain almost did not seek their own historical punctuation marks to position themselves in history – either to define themselves towards the Catholics in terms of

²⁵ The Dirty protest was held by accused republican paramilitary prisoners in 1978 in order to regain status of prisoners of war. During the protest, the prisoners refused to wash themselves and smeared their excrement on walls of their cells (Coogan 2002).

²⁶ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

²⁷ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

²⁸ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

historical victories or present their community as victimised in the past. They rather drew on the important turning points of the Catholic community. In other words, they used their intertextual references only to shift their meaning to be more favourable for themselves. There is no clear answer to why this has been happening. One of the problems surely is that the young people do not properly know the modern history and often get misinterpreted information altered by their communities, so they probably really believed to what they were saying. That however still does not explain why not to use intertextual networks the same way the interviewees from the Bogside do and would be surely worth of further investigation.

The more distant past such as the Battle of the Boyne was not really used to signify the meaning of their hostility towards the other community by neither side. For the Fountain youth, it was rather the present experience and the “under siege” feeling what often appeared in our conversations. In the Bogside, the Protestant marches were referred to as provocative by the Catholic youth quite often. However, the youngsters rather indicated gestures the other side would be making and offenses they would hear from them as upsetting then events, which happened hundreds of years ago.

2. Slums, Rats, and Siege: Construction of Dominance And

Subordination Via Metaphorisation And Name Calling

Northern Ireland is often said to have a ‘culture of violence,’ which implies, that violence has throughout the time become not only normalised but also legitimised within the society (Harland 2001:6 in Hansson 2005). I have experienced my interviewees making this metaphorical comparison of their violence to culture or everyday chores as well. For example, when asked about riots and whether the interviewees joined in along with their friends, they replied in a very casual voice, relaxed voice: ‘Aye...I took six petrol bombs with me, it’s like a culture’²⁹ and ‘Yeah...it feels like it’s everyday chore, the riots.’³⁰ These metaphorical comparisons, not only imply the normality of violence as an “everyday chore”, but also reveal the meaning the violence has for the young people in relation to their community. According to Goffman (not only) violent acts can be staged as theatrical performances by individuals who have multiple identities and switch them according to the environment they are in (1956). And as violence without an audience lacks social meaning (Schröder and Schmidt 2001: 6) it can also present an entrainment, not only to do, but also to watch; it becomes a theatre: ‘...it’s exciting, I like to watch...’³¹ I would hear from young girls I talked to and the young boys are very well aware of that.

In the Bogside, some of my interviewees gave the impression that they felt quite confident rioting and being seen by the older generation. As one boy would say in a boasting manner: ‘They (people from the community) are funny; half of our community comes down with a carry out or a beer. They are watching riots.’³² When I was reluctant to believe this, and asked around, it was indeed confirmed, although it would not be ‘a half of the community’ but a significantly smaller number. Moreover, as Schröder and Schmidt point out, legitimacy of violence is usually contested even within the same society (2001:8), or in as in this case, the Bogside quarter. In spite of

²⁹ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

³⁰ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

³¹ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with a female Bogside resident.

³² Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

the first immediate self-confident reactions, that there was no need to explain the violence, later on I learned that mostly mothers would be angry with them, the community would be split in the opinion and when caught by the police, parents would be ‘unimpressed’³³ and sometimes the young people would resort to denial of their involvement in riotous behaviour. But still, the feeling of doing something what is a part of the culture, their culture and their community was obvious in their statements. In the following two subchapters, I shall thus have a look what is the role of metaphor and name-calling in the language use of the young people from the both communities, with the first sub-chapter providing an insight into name-calling amongst the youth and the second sub-chapter analysing several significant metaphors occurring in the Fountain and their acceptance by the both sides.

2.1 Name Calling, Disparaging, And Implications

“It’s our word and it’s not for England to use.”³⁴

Taigs³⁵, fenians³⁶, huns³⁷: words probably meaningless to a uniformed tourist, who overheard them whilst passing a group of teenagers in the streets of Derry/Londonderry. Nonetheless, these words and many others do have a significant meaning in Northern Ireland since they are offensive to either the Catholic or Protestant community. Whilst usage of these words insults one or the other community, it also signifies one’s attitude towards it. During the time I was amongst the Derry/Londonderry youth, I would experience a frequent usage of these abuses, which initially, although long time ago, did not use to be insulting. The process by which they were originally selected disappeared and was replaced by a series of normative associations and characteristics (Bhatia 2005:8). And so have become some other metaphorical affronts such as comparing youngsters from the other community

³³ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

³⁴ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

³⁵ “Taig is a derogatory term for Catholics used (mainly) by Loyalists. The origin of the word Taig is unclear, it may derive from a common first name for Catholic boys or may be a derivation from the surname Teague. The letters 'KAT' are still painted on walls in Northern Ireland and are an acronym for 'Kill All Taigs'. Loyalist prisoners in the Maze prison had a mural in one of the 'H-blocks' which contained the wording: "Yabba-Dabba-Doo, Any Taig Will Do" implying that all Catholics were legitimate targets” (CAIN 2014)

³⁶ Fenian is a derogatory term for Catholics, originally meaning an Irish warrior (Free Dictionary 2014)

³⁷ Hun is a derogatory slang term for Protestants.

to e.g. animals. A question thus arises: What impact do these offenses and metaphorical degradations have on (re)constituting the social relations between the two groups and how, through these text production processes, the young people establish their own position towards the others as well as amongst themselves.

Fairclough argues, that ‘discursive practice’ – processes of text production, distribution and consumption – is a particular form of social practice, which might sometimes be even fully constituted by it (1992:71). The discursive practice of name-calling, and using insulting words, has become a particular form of a social practice of the young people’s segregation, of their animosity, and mistrust. These particular types of texts produced by the young people, drawing on the members’ resources of personal experience, social structures and conventions (Fairclough 1992:80) of their community, have then become constitutive of social practice of further enmity towards the other and attachment to their own group.

Whether they were young Protestants calling the Catholic side fenians and taigs, or young Catholics calling the Protestant side orange bastards and huns, it always meant the same thing: In their everyday speech, these youngsters were not only making a clear distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’: because words “constitute moral worlds and the humanity of participants and thus, ultimately, distribution of rights” (Peteet 2005:154) they were also expressing, in a casual and sometimes even subconscious way, that ‘they’ were worse, since they did not deserve a neutral name, but only a derogatory one. As one interviewee told me: “*I don’t hate Catholics,...*”, whilst later, when he felt more relaxed, the noun *Catholic* would melt away from his speech only to be replaced by *taig*. When we name, the subject becomes known in a certain manner and consequently permits certain forms of engagement and forbids others (Bhatia 2005:8). The young boy might not have really hated Catholics as he had said. However, being fully aware of what calling Catholics taigs meant, he also expressed that he was not exactly fond of ‘them’ either, that he did not belong ‘there’, and that ‘they’ were not just a neutral other but, at the very least, not a nice other and it was no good to mingle with them.

Names are powerful and so are those who have the ability to name and to have that name accepted (Bhatia 2005:9). Although the above-mentioned abuses were not created by the young people themselves, they have been widely accepted within their collective. Everybody in Derry/Londonderry knows what these words mean, and when they were used, people within the same community did not usually shudder or

frowned upon it, at least as far as I could observe. They were perceived as normal, legitimate. Also, as mentioned above, different kinds of derogatory metaphorical comparisons directed towards the other community appeared in the speech of the young people from the Bogside and the Fountain. In times of a conflict, demonization of the enemy, ascription of evil attributes to him makes the hatred easier (Bar and Ben-Ari 2005:139), dehumanisation and ridicule help one to distance himself (Steuter and Wills 2008:15). Thus, fighting animals legitimises a course of action more than fighting teenagers. Throwing a rock on a ‘wee rat’ is easier than throwing a rock on a ‘wee boy’.

According to Burke “Metaphor is a device for seeing something in terms of something else” (1945:503 in Cameron 1999:3). As a particular type of naming, metaphors have a significant impact on the way we think and act, since through the use of metaphor we construct our reality in a certain way. Or, in other words, we signify it according to our wish (Fairclough 1992:195). The youth from both quarters identically referred to the other community as being dirty, stressing that even though they would be allowed to go there, they would not want to go anyway. By saying e.g. ‘It’s like a slum (the Fountain). It’s like Derry slum.’³⁸ or ‘Shithole’ (the Bogside) adding that: ‘It just looks stupid!’³⁹ a new reality about each other’s place was constructed, along with assurance that their own place was better. In reality, neither of the places is in appalling conditions or could be characterised as a slum. Both estates are working class quarters, with small standardised housing, not dirtier than other parts of the town I have been to. By metaphorisation of the other’s home as a very unpleasant place to live in, the youngsters in a way also provided an explanation of their feelings towards each other: a place is made by people and only certain type of people can live in a dirty, unkempt place.

Alike, animal comparisons appeared in both communities. In the Fountain, Catholics would be e.g. referred to as rats, when they tried to get over the wall separating the estate from the rest of the city:

I 1: They are game⁴⁰, they can climb fences, and they can climb down the walls. That’s what they do...

³⁸ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

³⁹ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

⁴⁰ In this context, the interviewee means that they are willing to participate in the upcoming fight.

I 2: Aye

I 1: They are like wee rats

I 2: To get us...to get the whole estate, to take over...⁴¹

The dehumanisation of the members of other community is very clear here. When one imagines an attack of dirty rodents bringing disease, attacking his home, climbing over walls to take over, an immediate urge to join forces with fellow mates to stop them by any means follows and moreover, it seems legitimate (Steuter and Wills 2008: 17-19). However, comparison of Catholics to wee rats also implies fear in this particular contextual setting. The Fountain is very small, and seeing Catholic teenagers approaching in large numbers as rats indicates a feeling of powerlessness.

On the other hand, the derogatory and dehumanising metaphorical comparisons about the Fountain by the Bogside were often occurring from a position of power:

R: Does it happen often that they (PSNI) would be with them (the Fountain residents)?

I: Aye, that used to be a while bad thing, but now they have started locking them (the Fountain residents) in, the animals that they are...⁴²

Describing Protestants as animals indicates here that they are possibly posing a threat, so they must be 'locked in' in the speaker's view in order not to cause troubles, despite the fact that the function of the peace wall is exactly the opposite – to protect the Fountain resident from attacks coming from outside. Nevertheless, the threat posed by the Fountain, and the Protestant community in general was not really seen as significant by my interviewees. It was rather a general despise and annoyance that the Protestants would not go to where they belong – to England - and keep staying in Ireland. Their presence in Ireland in general was referred to as annoying, and in the particular Fountain case even as illegitimate. Exalting Ireland and its people, one of the interviewees used a metaphorical comparison of a party and Protestants as unwelcome guests: '...do you ever go to a party and you you're not wanted, then you leave...that's the Protestants, it's a party and they are not wanted, go on just fuck

⁴¹ Author's interview held in April 2014 with two male Fountain residents.

⁴² Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

off...they are not on a guest list.’⁴³ The speaker clearly presented himself not only as an invited guest here, but even as the organiser of the party, having the right to decide who is wanted and who is not, ignoring or not even being aware of the fact that it is surely not everybody, who wants the Protestants gone.

Especially when being in a bigger group, the young boys tried to show off in front of each other and although initially stating they did not really care about the Protestants, they would later on try to trump each other with strong statements such as: ‘...they (Protestants) probably had a treesome with a dog and their granny as well,’⁴⁴ which immediately made the rest of the group laugh, nodding their heads in consent. As Gini et al. argue “the need to be recognized by peers and to be a part of social group is significant when considering why some students bully others” (Burns et. al. 2008:1705). Thus, the dehumanising metaphorical comparison not only served to the speaker to distance himself from the other community, but also ridiculing the Protestants amongst his peers helped him to raise his own status within the group. In this particular case, the group dynamics instigated to certain extent negative comments about the Fountain, however the actual violent acts against the Protestant estate by these particular interviewees were rather carried out in order to make sure the police would arrive quickly so they could turn against them, rather than the Fountain itself.

2.2 Defiance And Sympathy Arousal In the Fountain

As was already outlined above, names and within metaphors them can play similar roles as narratives or images (Bhatia 2005:8). When walking around the Fountain, it is nearly impossible to miss a notoriously known mural, stating ‘Londonderry West Bank Loyalists Still Under Siege No Surrender.’ A white conspicuous inscription on a black background evoking an image of a war attack and blockade but also attitude of defiance towards the intruder along with a possible reaction towards him. There is no war going on at the moment in Derry/Londonderry and the Fountain is not besieged by any foreign forces. The term is a metaphor for the

⁴³ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁴⁴ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

local residents to express how it feels for them to live on the estate and also how they feel towards the outer world. The young people from the Fountain would indeed sometimes use this metaphor in a casual talk we had but they also incorporated it into a publicly available video shot by the local youth club: “Some people say we have a siege mentality but when you grew up here, it does actually feel you are under siege sometimes” (Pul Media Group 2013).

As Schröder and Schmidt argue, “violence needs to be imagined in order to be carried out” (2001:9). Emphasising the historicity of the present day confrontations, the violent imaginary represented by the mural clearly creates a polarised structure of ‘us’ and ‘them’ along with feeling of moral superiority of ‘our’ cause (2001: 10-11). Rooted in a military background (Oxford Dictionaries 2014), the word siege evokes an idea of combat. As Fairclough departing from Chilton notes “the militarization of discourse is also militarization of thought and practice” (Chilton 1988 in Fairclough 1992:195). Therefore, growing up ‘under siege’ might urge one to protect, to retaliate, to carry out violence. And consequently, signifying these violent acts as conducted under siege leads to their legitimisation and perception as a necessity: protection of the community.

However, by conveying the message to the outer world that they are under siege, the young people also express that they feel victimised. The same happens in the case of self-comparison to animals. When discussing safety in the Fountain in relation to attacks by young Catholics, this metaphor would appear several times. In a rather outraged way, one of my young female interviewees described to me an incident from the city centre where she was attacked during the day time: ‘...it was because I was coming out of the Fountain practically, just partially because we are caged animals...’⁴⁵. Nevertheless she quickly added she could protect herself and would not leave the attack without retaliation. Alike, the metaphorical self-comparison to animals occurred in relation to interaction with the PSNI. I was told by one of my interviewees that: ‘The fucking cops take their (Catholic) side not our side’⁴⁶ and her friend added: ‘They treat us like animals’.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

⁴⁶ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

⁴⁷ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

Whilst pointing out the hard situation of being jailed in one's own home, referring to the rest of the town as 'a shithole'⁴⁸, the course of talk of my interviewees implied that it was because of 'them' – the bad other, they were 'caged,' living this way of life. They were making their life harder, but the shared suffering made them binded more tightly together, not wanting to leave the Fountain, where they have most friends and feel safe. As Chilton argues, spatial metaphors can help to constitute the concept of group and identity (2004:204). Saying that they live in a cage, a fenced space, with fellow citizens constitute the clear division 'us' versus 'them', when 'we' are being restricted in movement and victimised and 'they' are causing it.

What is also worthwhile to note is the acceptance of the above-mentioned metaphors by the both sides. As Fairclough explains, a struggle about metaphorisation of a particular domain is one of the stakes in the contest within and over discursive practices (1992:195). However, there is no struggle as far as I could notice. The Bogside youngsters would shrug their shoulder mockingly remarking that the Fountain residents think they are living under siege, and whilst accepting it, they refer to them as locked in animals. Likewise, the Fountain youth seemed to accept the current state of things, signifying their attitudes in a similar way, although from a different point of view, but resulting all in the same: the persisting animosity towards the other and feeling of alignment with own group.

⁴⁸ Author's interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

3. Feuds and Legitimacy Amongst Youth: Appeal To Rationality

Every now and then, headlines of Derry/Londonderry local newspapers would inform their readers of an allegedly sectarian attack in the city and on many occasions, the location of such an attack would be the Fountain housing estate. Although older generations from both communities I spoke to tend to agree that the situation is getting better, every now and then things would still be thrown over the peace wall separating the Fountain from the rest of the city and minor skirmishes between the youth from both sides are nothing extraordinary. In the time of writing, the last larger attack on the Fountain happened in late April 2014, when a group of young men damaged a local resident's car (Derry Now 2014) and earlier that year, in January and February, when a group of youth engaged in a series of rock and petrol-bomb throwing (Derry Daily and Londonderry Sentinel 2014). Nevertheless, as one of my interviewees from the Fountain exceptionally admitted, the attacks would not be only one-sided; he would not only stay within the Fountain estate when it came to fighting, but venture down to the Bogside as well.

As Schröder and Schmidt explain, whether violence is resorted to or not is from a major part conditioned by cultural factors (2001:4). The contextual setting the youth in Northern Ireland live in is characteristic by stereotypical expectations of men and masculinity, which stems from decades of social upheaval and sectarianism, especially in working class areas (Harland and McCready 2012:14) such as the Fountain and the Bogside. One of such expectations referred to by my interviewees was to stand up for oneself and be seen like a man and not a coward. As a consequence, signifying violence and hostility towards the other side in this line of argumentation seemed to 'make sense', be rational and legitimate amongst the youth and sometimes even other members of their community. In a broader perspective, as Berger and Luckmann argued, all of language is legitimisation (1966:324 in van Leeuwen 2007:91) and thus I will treat this legitimisation of violence as an integral part of the young people's signification of their own outrage and unfriendly attitudes towards the other side. Henceforth, in the following chapter, I will elaborate on how the importance the youth places on the necessity do defend and retaliate is reflected in

their speech and creates the legitimacy of their action and stances, whether within their broader community or in a specific environment of their peer group.

3.1 To Defend And To Avenge

“They start it, so we end it.”⁴⁹

A moral idiom of violence plays an important role in its instigation and consequent legitimation. There are many forms such a moral idiom can take, but revenge obligations and ‘the good for nation’ (Schröder and Schmidt 2001:4), or as the case stands here ‘good for community’ is especially of a particular relevance here. Schröder and Schmidt argue that wars are made by individuals, groups, or classes that can base their decisions on some kind of a rational evaluation (2001:5). Although, the authors make their argumentation in connection with large-scale violence and political elite manipulating the public, the principle of necessity of rationality in violence is easily transmissible to the young people’s signification and legitimisation of their own violence.

Unlike in the significantly larger Bogside, the interviewees from the Fountain were predominantly in consent whilst justifying their violence against the other side. Often in an aggrieved, or occasionally a matter-of-course tone, they would claim that they had done it in defence, since they had to protect themselves and their homes. According to Reyes, who departs from the interdisciplinary framework of CDA, appeal on rationality is one of crucial legitimisation strategies of social actors. “Rationality is employed here as a social construct within a cultural group, that is, something that ‘makes sense’ for the community and ‘constitutes’ the right thing to do” (Reyes 2011:797). However, according to Reyes, legitimisation through rationality is enacted when decisions are presented as being done through a thoughtful procedure, because he speaks of legitimisation procedures in a political discourse (2011:787). I will not treat this concept so strictly - as prepared in advance for a future performance, since my research was concerned with youth and not politicians talking to large public. The core of the concept remains the same nevertheless: “the speaker presents his decision as rational” (2011:797).

⁴⁹ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

In circumstance of the police service not being trusted and especially seen as biased amongst the young people I talked to, the necessity to defend their home might truly seem rational. In a certain sense, it could be even argued that the Fountain itself forms a kind of cultural group as the only Protestant enclave on the West bank, solitary, loyal, and fearful of the future (Heatley 2004:105). As one of the interviewees put it, when he was guiding me and a visiting group of youngsters around the Fountain, (in almost mythical terms): They feel to be the last Protestant stronghold on the City side of Derry/Londonderry. Whilst often shying away from questions whether they would go and attack their Catholic peers from the Bogside as well, the Fountain participants rather more extensively elaborated on the naturalness and rightness of their defensive fights:

Justify it? (raising voice, annoyed)...If you are attacked? You are gonna defend yourself. If your home is attacked, you are gonna defend that, if your estate is attacked, that's just the way we live, you are gonna defend that...⁵⁰

You are protecting the estate, you are protecting the street that you are living in.⁵¹

These justifications and many others alike the young people from the Fountain told me rely on the moral assumption that the community needs the protection and are goal oriented. The speakers clearly state here why the social practice - fights - exists and why they take the form they do – defence. In more detail, it is the form of instrumental rationalisation with the aim of the action stated and agency of the actors expressed, they use while talking about their violence: to keep their homes and streets where they belong safe, to deflect the danger imposed of them by the assailants from the other community (van Leeuwen 2004:102). However, although the interviewees were not prevalently ashamed of their deeds and would put their cause on a moral level, they did not feel, unlike their peers in the Bogside, an urge to talk later about the violent events later, since they saw it as dangerous and were scared of possible consequences. This attitude was clearly reinforced by the presence of several CCTV

⁵⁰ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

⁵¹ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

cameras that are supposed to provide protection, but at the same time the residents sometimes feel like being a part of some obscure reality show. Violence directed against the other side is thus signified in a practical, needed, but also concealed way.

Where the consent was less obvious however was in relation to Fountain's interviewees opinion on whether their community actually really expected the defence from them, and whether staying at home and just waiting for the police would do harm to their reputation. Some interviewees would claim, that it was almost *sine qua non* to go out and fight, with one stating: '...it's the way it is, you have to be seen to defend...what's, what's rightfully yours and you believe your heritage is' and that he would be seen as a coward if he did not protect his home, resolutely adding that '...when we say we need everybody out, everybody gets out, that's the way it is'⁵². The rational appeal that one must surely protect what is his also displays the feeling towards his own community: by talking about himself defending it he also constitutes himself as a part of it, as a place, where he belongs. In this sense it is important to realise the moment of unmasking discourse, which creates a transcending goal, a higher moral purpose through the actual violent act, in this case the protection of not only home, but something much bigger relevant for the community - the heritage (Apter 1997:5). However some other interviewees were not really sure about the consequences in case they did not join in the defensive riots and claimed it was a hard question to answer. They were rather convinced that it had probably never happened, that the community would turn against someone who would be out rioting, when an attack came on the Fountain.

Interestingly enough, although the participants did stress their right to defend themselves and their homes, they did not deny the excitement of the fighting either. However, it was rather presented as a side benefit, something great which came along and in a sense for free, because nobody could judge them for that, since they were defending. Honest answers such 'it was a good craic'⁵³ or 'it was just a buzz'⁵⁴ would be nevertheless coupled again with explanations that the fighting was necessary: 'For our safety, for the Fountain like, say if they don't do it (the boys), then...the fenians would think it's ok, and start coming up every day and then start fucking throwing

⁵² Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

⁵³ Author's interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

⁵⁴ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

things over...’⁵⁵ with her friend adding that they would be ‘all dead’.⁵⁶ The conditioning here is very strong and the matter of life and death, although not meant quite literally, again strongly legitimises the course of violent action. However, the most explicit interconnection between the necessity to fight, fun and sense of belonging was expressed by one of my young male interviewees, who having previously stressed the necessity to defend his home added: ‘I had fun doing it! I think it was the best time ever because you got together and the estate was having...was actually coming together and doing something as a community...’.⁵⁷ The violence here is presented almost in terms of a unique opportunity for collective leisure activity, strengthening the bonds amongst the residents. As Fairclough explains: “Discourse contributes first of all to the construction of what are variously referred to as ‘social identities’ and ‘subject positions’ for social ‘subjects’ and types of ‘self.’ Secondly, discourse helps construct social relationships between people” (1992:64). Hence, by talking about it this way, the young man established himself an identity as a participant in this leisure activity but also a relationship with the other residents, since they were fellow participants.

In the Bogside, the matter of defence did not come in very often, and when articulated, it was done rather in a very uncertain way. However, unlike in the Fountain, it was rather revenge that was highlighted here, sometimes with apparent elements of intertextuality present as well. Most often, the boys referred to the events they were present themselves, however they would also mention events from the past they had heard from other people and thus legitimise their grievance and hostility. For example, one of my interviewees referred to an incident he had not seen but was had been told about, whilst immediately making conclusions about the other community, without going into the circumstances of the incident “They (Protestants) stabbed X’s uncle, like you know they are different.”⁵⁸ After a violent even happens it must be explained. As Brass argues, it is in this last stage of a riot when the struggle for transforming it into an event with a meaning comes. The meanings or so explanations are then usually embedded in a broader discourse “into which incidents involving persons from groups presumed to be hostile towards each other can easily fit”

⁵⁵ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

⁵⁶ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

⁵⁷ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

⁵⁸ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

(1996:15). Because Protestants, undistinguished generalised ‘other’, harmed somebody from the boy’s community, then ‘they’ in general, must be different in a negative sense of the word which is accepted, because they easily fit into the broader discourse of non-trustable Protestants. The revenge can come then, and it is easily done, unopposed.

It is the tit for tat culture within Northern Ireland, or the culture of revenge as McGrellis puts it (2004:8), which corresponds with the reactions of many young boys explaining the necessity to retaliate:

...and then you are walking and get abuse shouted at you, and you are scared to walk on your own, it just annoys me, so when I am with my friends, I am going to make them scared to walk on their own⁵⁹

You hit one of my friends I am going to hit you then.⁶⁰

They (Protestants from the Fountain) start it so we end it.⁶¹

In Reye’s words, all these answers thus implies a seemingly rational reasoning that “a party is allowed to respond to and maintain or perpetuate a violent act if that party did not start a fight” (2011:798). In most of the cases above, it was ‘them’ who started it, and for various moral and just reasons, it was only necessary to react back, although it could lead to severe consequences. Such kind of rationalisation is called by Van Leeuwen ‘theoretical rationalisation’ and is grounded in some kind of truth, a common social knowledge, which developed through naturalisation processes within a particular society (2007:103). And that might be for instance the above-mentioned right to respond, if the party did not attack as the first one; it is a justified self-defence (2011:798). Also, in the quotes it is clear that the speakers highlight they did not ask for the fight. Nevertheless, the fight came to them so a reaction is necessary. Moreover, revenge is important since it provides justice, which seems only rational to strive for. In all the above-mentioned cases, the speakers again demonstrated a strong sense of attachment to their group: by saying they will avenge their group that was

⁵⁹ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁶⁰ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁶¹ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

hurt, they build a feeling for themselves that they belonged to the group and did something for the common good of their group. Some of the boys I talked to admitted, that they became smarter since then and that it is not worth it. However, they would never shut the imaginary door fully, admitting that there might be a situation when they would not hesitate to engage in a fight.

3.2 Making One's 'Rep'

*'...and the boys who rioted were always ten times cooler than anybody else who didn't'*⁶²

Although it would stand even truer for the young people from the Fountain, in my experience my interviewees from both sides predominantly socialised within their quarters and had close group of friends they would 'hang out' with. Whilst some of these groups would be formed on equal basis, with their members claiming none of the friends would characterise themselves as being above anybody else, others would have a boss who could prove to be strongest of all of them and win fights. Some of the young boys I spoke to would certainly live within so-called 'laddish culture' characteristic of drinking and anti-social behaviour (Harland and McCready 2012:28). They were under-achieving during their school years and were struggling to find a job, whilst at the same time felt very closely tied to their gang and/or community. This fact seems to form a red thread throughout the years in Northern Ireland and little has changed since Harland's study from the inner Belfast city, where he described how marginalised adolescent young men felt fearful and suspicious towards people from other communities, afraid to talk about these feelings, since showing vulnerability means weakness (Harland 2000 in Harland and McCready 2012:36). In the case of my interviewees, it was often their group of friends, where they felt secure, with whom they would be through a lot of drinking incidents, and sometimes tried various types of drugs. It would be however unjust to generalise even amongst the limited number of my research participants, so it must be pointed out that whilst one group would talk about drugs and drinking, another would be strongly against it and organise themselves in a loose politically motivated organisation called the

⁶² Author's interview held in May 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

Bogside Republican Youth (BRY), claiming that it was mainly drug dealers they minded since they were destroying their community.

Nevertheless, such cases as mentioned above were not exceptional in Derry/Londonderry and certain young people, mainly boys, easily found themselves in a vicious circle. As one professional from the Youth Justice told me, the gangs are sometimes the only people who accept these boys, who are underperforming at school, have no prospects of going to a university and cannot excel in anything else amongst their peers, but fighting. Within such environment, from my own experience only in the Bogside, it seemed only natural to my interviewees to share the experience of fights and riots with other friends, either directly or using social media, such as Facebook. As my interviewees put it: 'You have to fill everybody in'⁶³ or 'You would slabber kind of... ehm, you'd be proud of it.'⁶⁴ Language use has the power to change relationships within society (Fairclough 1989:20) and it is this 'slabbering', not just the violence itself that helps the boys to establish their position amongst their peers. Although to the outer world this might seem completely incomprehensible, within this particular environment, making a so-called rep name makes sense to everyone concerned: 'You know that people won't fuck about you once you have a rep like.'⁶⁵ As Apter points out, interpretations and explanations of violent deeds do not need to be convincing primarily to outsiders but to insiders and followers (1997:16) and this is exactly the case where it hold true.

Although the boys acknowledged that it might be a bad thing to have one's name known in such connotations and their violence still remained morally ambiguous (Apter 1997:2), it still made sense in the eyes of the boys: there would be no discussion about the fact that one has to stand for himself. Therefore whilst departing from what seems to be rational to them, when they talk about their fights, signify the meaning of their own violence, they also appeal to rationality of their listeners, legitimising their deeds. What kind of a 'real man' would want to look weak seemed to be the reasoning and was very briefly explained by one of the boys: 'If you get a kicking like, and you just stood there and took the kicking you'd look like a faggot.'⁶⁶

⁶³ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁶⁴ Author's interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁶⁵ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁶⁶ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

As both communities are really vary of each other, another reasoning appealing to rationality emerged. It was deemed as wise and sensible to strike first in instinct of self-preservation: 'If we bumped into them it wouldn't take that long, we'd be fighting with them before talking to them...aye, better to swing first, aye.'⁶⁷ This argumentation would be then supported by previous experience, when they would recall incidents from recent past, how they were attacked and sometimes even feared for their lives and therefore they felt that taking precautions and starting an attack first made sense. By signifying the violence in this way, the boys again draw on theoretical rationalisation basing their justification on experiential expertise. That is as Berger and Luckmann explain various explanatory schemes, which are highly pragmatic and relate to sets of objective meanings (1966:112 in van Leeuwen 104:2007). It was the boys' own experience, which made them rationalise the objective of hitting the adversary first, and a pragmatic decision their surroundings would understand and accept. It is also the personal experience, which allowed boys certain kind of cultural generalisation and legitimising their action. I say certain kind because the generalisation meant to be rather for the Fountain, in this particular case, since the rest of the Protestants were on 'their side of the river'. Witnessing an even in the past, being there, is indeed a way of powerful legitimisation, especially under right discursive circumstances, like in the collective of adolescent boys in the Bogside (Tusting et. al. 2002:651).

Nevertheless, at the very end of one interview in the Bogside, after discussing the lingering hatreds in their country, the necessity to respond to one's attack, to protect oneself, as well as to spread the news and fill everybody in, one of my interviewees would suddenly say that it was anger which made them fight, resulting from a pressure he felt was imposed on them:

Like the pressure to get a job, the pressure to make friends, the pressure to get a girlfriend, the pressure to make a family. You're sitting there at seventeen, eighteen, you're sitting there and all this stuff is getting piled on top of you...you have to do your GCSEs or you won't get a job, you do your GCSEs you still can't get a job, your parents are saying get a job,

⁶⁷ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

your teacher is saying stay at school, you're sitting there and you're going what the fuck am I supposed to do?'⁶⁸

An honest answer of a young boy with which many others would surely identify. Once again, the expectations of the environment where stereotypical masculine roles still very much matter came into play along with hardships young people have with transiting into adulthood in a post-conflict nevertheless not completely peaceful environment.

⁶⁸ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

Chapter 4: Emotional Appeal And the Young People's Negative

Experiences

In the environment of permanent violent skirmishes and mistrust which is a daily reality to many young people I talked to, the emotional dimension of the whole situation came to the fore during many discussions I had with them. As Fairclough points out, "discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure" (1992:64), and thus the youth's feelings of insecurity and unfairness within their surroundings were often reflected in their speech when they were talking about their attitudes and behaviour towards the other community. However, social actors not only experience emotions but also "appeal to emotions to construct, impose, debate or legitimize certain perceptions of reality, contributing individually to form their community's vision of social behaviour" (Reyes 2011:788). At this part it is important to note that emotions are understood here as defined by White, referring to "attitudinal assessments, which are indicated through descriptions of the emotional reactions or states of human subjects" (2003:264 in Bondi 2007:412). Clearly, emotional appeal is opposed to an appeal to logical reasoning (Walton 1992:66) but it is likewise powerful in legitimising a course of action and belief (Reyes 2011:788). Thus, whilst signifying their mutual violence and hostilities, the young people both intentionally and unintentionally appealed to emotions of their listeners to not only legitimise their action but also to win compassion and understanding, which could also at certain moments lead to their interlocutors' skewed view of a particular situation (Reyes 2011:785). And it did not matter if the interlocutors were from their own community or an outsider like myself.

Fear is one of most effective emotions to trigger a response from an interlocutor (Reyes 2011:790) and it was fear and consequently even anger at the other community that could be easily awakened by certain significations of hostile attitudes and violence towards the other community by the youth. Previous instances of violence, where the adversary was portrayed as intimidating and immoral in his approach towards the narrators often proved to serve the cause, as well as already discussed analytical concepts of metaphor and intertextuality, which will not be

elaborated on further in the following chapter. When fearing as well as creating fear of the other community, emphasis on victimisation of own group and feeling of compassion with it could be often noted. Thus, two questions arise here: What role does legitimisation of the young people's violence by appeal to emotions and fear in particular play in their sense of alignment with their community? And moreover, how do the youths' negative experiences integrated in their emotional appeal shape their willingness to interact with their peers from the other side?

4.1 It's not safe here

*'...the Catholics would just come straight up here, wipe it all out, it would be all wiped out.'*⁶⁹

Questions of personal security and fear of living at and going to certain places and the consequential dislike of the other community proved to be often complicated in the beginning of the interviews, mainly because of the bravado many of my male interviewees acted with. At the start, the young people would usually boast they feared no one and did not see any reason why they should not go wherever they pleased. Nevertheless, after discussing the issue as well as their dislike of the other side for a longer time, many of the boys started elaborating on certain places they perceived as no-go areas and recalled stories of how they or someone they knew had been insidiously assaulted by the evil other community. However, to what extent these perceptions of being seriously harmed in these no-go areas were legitimate was not in my power to assess. Opinions on this topic varied greatly, even amongst youth workers and community workers from both sides, hence the reality of the threat rather differed from a case to case. Nevertheless, this negative representation of the other community as well as attributing its members with negative qualities such as 'slabbering shit'⁷⁰ or being 'ignorant bastards'⁷¹ allowed the speakers to create the positive 'us-group' including themselves and their audience and the 'them-group' which deserved nothing better than not to be trusted or even hated, because of the fear and assault they create (Reyes 2011:785).

⁶⁹ Author's interview held in May 2014 with a female Fountain resident.

⁷⁰ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Fountain resident.

⁷¹ Author's interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

Fear can be developed by various processes of demonization of the enemy including stories of past atrocities (Reyes 2011:790). Justifying his hatred towards the Fountain boys and stressing their malicious nature of not being ashamed to attack in significant numerical superiority, one of my interviewees pointed out: ‘...and you are walking past the Fountain on your own, they would shout at you, throw stuff, they would run after you and try to batter you.’⁷² Another Catholic boy then told me a story of him being surrounded by a number of them and fearing for his life, and not being harmed only because his then girlfriend was a Protestant known to them:

...and I was thinking ‘Jesus no, me on my own’. I stood against the fence because they were coming out that way and they were coming out there...and there was about thirty of them and I was standing there, I and put my head down and I went like ‘no, no’...⁷³

Later, he was assaulted by a group from the Fountain again but at that time suffered serious body harm, whilst visiting his former girlfriend in the Protestant estate. On a nationwide TV⁷⁴ the incident was immediately labelled as sectarian with no information on the possible reasons for this ‘vicious attack’ as it was described by his family, e.g. if it might have been a retaliation for incidents the young man was involved in the past with the Fountain residents. As Jarman notes, it is very difficult to determine which violence is sectarian and which is not, since the motivations remain often hidden (2005:2), which this case proves as well. However, what the article did not neglect to point out was the boy’s remark that after his experience, he might give up the cross-community work in the city.

Such information as presented in the news as well as on the local radio⁷⁵ can easily stir up emotions, and evoke fear of the other side, that ruthlessly assaulted him. The consequent message of the boy possibly giving up the cross-community work and disliking of the other community, which he had previously expressed, is thus easily legitimised, even to a larger audience since it even appeared on the nationwide TV,

⁷² Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁷³ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁷⁴ I do not provide the exact reference in order not to directly reveal the name of my interviewee.

⁷⁵ I do not provide the exact reference in order not to directly reveal the name of my interviewee.

unlike many other incidents of this nature from Derry/Londonderry. As Brass points out:

Group members who see themselves as victimized by prejudice and discrimination in a broader society tend, therefore, to place an incident in which another member of the group has been hurt or killed as part of the broader pattern of prejudice and discrimination in the society as a whole.

(1996:26)

As it is very common amongst the youth to be often in touch and talk about what happened in the neighbourhood, the incident can be misused for various purposes, not only by the young people. Moreover, although Catholic population is a majority in the city of Derry/Londonderry, it is still a minority in Northern Ireland (NISRA 2011) and many of my interviewees stressed being discriminated against not only in the broad terms of still being under the British rule: ‘We are still not a free county’⁷⁶, but also by the police, an armed force of the British oppressor, which would not treat them equally and would side with the other community: ‘...it’s only ever us who gets charged (for riots)’⁷⁷ or elaborating on impunity of the other side for serious body harm: ‘They (the Fountain residents) can get out with anything, they can get out with murder’⁷⁸. In this case the boy was referring to the city’s well-known incident from July 2006, when a group of Catholic friends were having a barbecue and were assaulted by a Protestant gang. The attack left one of them in a coma till present day. Only one member – a Fountain resident - of the gang that committed the attack was charged for 12 years. The investigations are still going on, whilst it is suspected that the Fountain residents might know much more about who the actual perpetrator is, but are probably afraid to talk (Derry Now 2014). Therefore, in reality there was no impunity, as the interviewee suggested. However, when listening to the story presented in this manner, one might easily get under an impression, that the Fountain community is full of people who side with murderers and keep them safe.

As Reyes explains, an enemy is partly constructed by providing the interlocutors with information what he thinks (2011:792) and creating self-

⁷⁶ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁷⁷ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

⁷⁸ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with a male Bogside resident.

victimisation (Potvin et. al. 2004 in Baider and Constantinou 2014). Whilst stressing how the Fountain youth was according to them feeling superior, my Catholic interviewees evoked another basic emotion apart of fear, the emotion of loyalty (Chilton 2004:117). In the following case, the interviewees blamed the other side for making them strangers in their homeland, which left them victimised and vulnerable (Apter 1997:12):

I:...they (the Fountain youth) feel like they are better than us and that they're more privileged to be here and that we shouldn't be in their country, that's the way they look at it.

R: Did they ever tell you?

I: Aye, 'get the fuck out of Britain' and all, 'scumbag Ireland',⁷⁹

Appeal to emotions helps to construct 'emotional identity' and reorients one self and another person to each other (Frye 1983 in Baider and Constantinou 2014). By pointing out that they are not fond of the other side because they derogate them, and make the feel inferior, the interviewees created an atmosphere, which easily tempted to hate the other and be loyal and fond of the Catholic community and Ireland, since it was them who were victimised and abused. The low morality of the other side was also demonstrated in a story when one of my interviewees and his friend were verbally abused by Protestants from the Fountain: 'We were walking to boxing and his (the narrator's friend's) dad is just after dying...They shout: 'Hi, where is your dad now? Where is your dad now?' Shouting in my face...and then X started crying',⁸⁰.

In the Fountain, evoking fear and anger towards the other community was very apparent as well. Some of my interviewees would recall things, which were thrown over the peace wall to threaten them: 'They go down, they buy something, so they bring back a golf ball with IRA on it.'⁸¹ These artefacts are then kept in a small Fountain museum tower called the Heritage Tower. In the upper part of the museum, volley-balls with threats and golf balls with offenses and hour of expected attack written on tem are displayed along with old petrol bombs, paint bombs or mockingly

⁷⁹ Author's interview held in March 2014 with male Bogside resident.

⁸⁰ Author's interview held in March 2014 with male Bogside resident.

⁸¹ Author's interview held in April 2014 with male Fountain resident.

depreciated British currency. As Schröder and Schmidt point out, the legitimacy of violence can be established on “feelings of social closure based on the experiences of either superiority or suffering” (2001: 8) as is the case of the Fountain. Keeping these things for further Fountain generations as well as showing them to the public not only legitimises the hostility my interviewees displayed but also raises compassion with the victims and fear of the anonymous other who comes masked and throws a volleyball with a threat of an upcoming attack.

Highlighting that they did not ask for the fights and that they would be under permanent threat was common in the Fountain, as already mentioned earlier. However, when the interviewees’ fear was well-founded and when just perceived, or not even real was again very hard to tell. For example the Riverside playground facing the Wapping Lane entrance to the Fountain was referred to by the residents themselves as well as the press (Londonderry Sentinel 2012) as dangerous for the children from the estate to play at because of possible sectarian motivated attacks. When once playing there with the children under a supervision of the youth leaders, I spontaneously asked some of my interviewees whether they would be scared to go there on their own. One girl immediately answered with a note of surprise in her tone ‘No, why?’ but after a while, she quickly re-activated the victim discourse many of my interviewees had displayed before and corrected herself saying that it would depend, and that ‘actually yes.’ Another girl was not even sure what to answer and had to go and ask her friend. It is necessary to realise here, that discourse contributes to reproducing society such as social identities, social relationships as well as knowledge and belief but also to transforming society (Fairclough 1989:65). By adhering to the discourse of being scared of the other community at the playground, although it might not have been true, the girl build her belonging with fellow Fountain residents - with her community, but also kept the boundary with the other community closed, and the possible transformation intact.

Pointing out the fact, that little innocent children were getting hurt by the other evil side would also appear, especially from young girls, who were nevertheless taking parts in riots as well: ‘...it’s just sometimes the wee ones too get attacked and it’s not fair because they are only weans⁸², they shouldn’t go through what they are

⁸²Weans is local expression for children.

going through, with all that sectarianism.’⁸³ This notion again demonised the enemy, who does not even shy away from hurting small children and his horrifying potential was even more stressed by evoking the emotion of destruction (Chilton 2004: 114) of the estate completely disappearing if the peace wall was taken down: ‘the Catholics would just come straight up here, wipe it all out, it would be all wiped out.’⁸⁴ Although the ‘wiped out’ notion cannot be taken quite literally, the fear of having their protection taken away was very apparent.

4.2 Willingness To Interact And Feeling of Remorse

*“You can’t trust them.”*⁸⁵

Nevertheless, in this midst of mutual accusations and fear, one could ask whether there is any hope for peaceful interaction amongst the young people I talked to, whether they feel any remorse for what they’ve done and how it is reflected in their speech. It is still an unsatisfactory reality that society in Derry/Londonderry remains to a large extent segregated which especially concerns children and young people (NISRA 2011). Various projects and peace-building activities aim to change young people’s perceptions of each other and make them cross the boundaries of the no-go areas to make friends on the other side, to intermingle. In the context, when most of my interviewees took part in at least one of these projects, they developed and signified their attitudes towards their peers from the other side partially in the connection with these cross-community activities as well.

As Schubotz and Robinson found out, young people who participated in cross-community projects or attended integrated schools tend to see the other community more favourably and also have friends from there (2006). However, the case of the cross-community between the Fountain and the Bogside was quite particular – my interviewees from both sides claimed, that the other side had ruined it. As a youth worker from the Fountain told me, the children came to her and asked for another cross-community project to engage in, but refused to do it with the Bogside. Recognising the faces and following verbal and physical assaults is not a rare

⁸³ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with female Fountain resident

⁸⁴ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with female Fountain resident.

⁸⁵ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with male Fountain resident.

shortcoming of Northern Ireland's cross-community projects (McGrellis 2004: 7-8), which was confirmed by my interviewees as well. The lack of trust and hostile attitudes on the Fountain side came from their negative experience with such projects:

They started like... we were... we were seeing them at the cross-community and the boys were: 'you, he is a Prod!' Down the town or whatever... 'kick the shait out of them' and 'he was there' and that kind of thing... Jesus, not the cross-community again... it's a fucking batter bottle.⁸⁶

The emotional appeal for justification of mistrust and hostile attitudes in this sense was prevalently used to evoke suspicion and anger at the other side, which was spoiling the good cause of the cross-community. This often-employed derogation of the other side, putting 'them' into the bad light, made my interviewees to make themselves look better (van Dijk 2006 in Baider and Constantinou 2014) and show, they belonged to the good community, that they wanted peace and interaction but were not given a chance because of the immoral other. Likewise, the interviewees from the Bogside claimed the other side was to blame: '...it's all shait (the cross-community project), they started calling us fenian bastards.'⁸⁷ Some young people from the Bogside even felt 'black-mailed'⁸⁸ into participation in cross-community projects.

Nevertheless, recalling on own negative experience and perceptions of possible threat, like going to a Catholic pub, did not seem to be a justification or signification of actual violent behaviour but rather of hostile attitude towards the other. In the Bogside, the interviewees seemed more willing to interact, despite the negative experience they would recall as well. This was also demonstrated from the position of power: 'If they were nice enough to us, we would try to be nice to them'⁸⁹, or just not being interested in the interaction at all.

Interestingly enough, interviewees on both sides also expressed regret for what they have done, but that was only under certain circumstances. In the Fountain, this

⁸⁶ Author's interview held in April 2014 with male Fountain resident.

⁸⁷ Author's interview held in April 2014 with male Bogside resident.

⁸⁸ Author's interview held in April 2014 with male Bogside resident.

⁸⁹ Author's interview held in March 2014 with male Bogside resident.

happened rather in compliance with the general discourse of protection and defence, and the attempt not to be blamed. So sentences such as: ‘Yeah, I’ve done it, I’ve gone to their areas to attack them...I am not proud of it’⁹⁰ or ‘I got a wrong one, I was stupid’⁹¹ whilst his friend immediately adding that he ‘regretted it’⁹². However, from such statements, it rather seemed they did feel regret, but not because they would suddenly realise that adversary was not as bad as they had thought, but just because it was not in accordance with the right to defend when attacked or just because they targeted wrong. Nevertheless, on these rare occasions when they would actually admit they did wrong and expressed remorse, they aroused emotion of compassion, since they could not be really bad if they regretted their deeds.

In the Bogside, this strategy never really emerged. Only once, one interviewee did not exactly express regret but rather a reassessment of the way how to deal with the other side: ‘Since I was arrested and charged...I don’t agree with it (riots)...there would be other ways (meaning ways of politics)’⁹³. In some other cases, some of the boys admitted they were ‘stupid’ but not because they would feel guilty, but rather because the riots would not be worth it for them, since they could get caught on CCTV cameras and get arrested: ‘If I get caught again, I’m going to court, you know what I mean, that’s why we are growing up now, we are wising up’⁹⁴.

There were surely many more moments, during the time of my research, when appeal to emotions would play an important role in the young people’s speech and signification of their mutual attitudes and violence, nevertheless it is not in the scope of the chapter to encompass them all. It is not intended by any means to say that all emotional appeals were only intentional and not honest. What have been said on purpose and what was spontaneous cannot be ever distinguished with absolute certainty. Nevertheless, in most of the situations outlined above the speakers from both sides felt closely aligned with their community which was presented as safe, whilst the other one was often portrayed as not trustworthy, immoral, and even scary. As a result then, friendly interaction between the two estates still remains challenging.

⁹⁰ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with male Fountain resident.

⁹¹ Author’s interview held in April 2014 with male Fountain resident.

⁹² Author’s interview held in April 2014 with male Fountain resident.

⁹³ Author’s interview held in May 2014 with male Bogside resident.

⁹⁴ Author’s interview held in March 2014 with male Bogside resident.

Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to explore the relationship between young people's signification of mutually hostile attitudes and low-level violence and their sense of belonging in the contextual setting of the post-conflict zone of Derry/Londonderry. Locations of my research, The Bogside and the Fountain housing estates, form one of notoriously known interfaces, where violence became in a way normalized to many residents and where intercommunity skirmishes with peers and occasional petrol and paint bomb throwing means to some youngsters an inseparable part of growing up and transition into adulthood.

As Brass points out, violence "can occur anywhere and can be organized or random, premeditated or spontaneous, directed at specific persons, groups, property, or not" (1996:2), so it is not only important to identify the multiple causes and contexts of violence but also to focus on interpretative processes in its aftermath (1996). Indeed, even within the relatively limited number of my young interviewees, contexts of violent clashes differed and were underlined by a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, certain patterns could be observed in the signification strategies of the youngsters' own violence and hostile attitudes towards each other in particular, and the other community in general.

The young people mostly made clear distinctions between religious affiliations Catholic/Protestant, which they did not care about and republican/loyalist, which seemed to matter much more. In some cases, distinctions would be even made between genders, as some Catholic boys claimed to have only grievances against the boys from the Fountain, but made clear they would have nothing at all against any Protestant girls. On both sides mutual hostility towards the other community seemed to fluctuate in terms of generalising: sometimes the grievances seemed to be directed against all Protestants/ all Catholics, but then it would be contradicted and particular groups were highlighted as enemies, which in particular happened in the mutual hostility between the Bogside and the Fountain some of the young people would keep; both estates constituted in a way iconic locations for the young people. They often made a particular distinction between their counterparts from the other quarter, which they either saw as a threat (in the Fountain) or illegitimately situated bother (in the

Bogside) and the rest of the Protestants/Catholics, where the suspicions or even animosity were demonstrated on much lower scale. This was mainly based on negative experiences the youngsters would have with each other, but in some cases, the boundaries and mistrust seemed to be also transmitted by the young peoples' families and closest living environment.

On the case of Belfast, Boal illustrates how high level of residential segregation lead to high degree of intra community solidarities (2002: 687 in Leonard 2006: 226), which could be surely said in the case of the Fountain and the Bogside as well. The youngsters were all in consent about their attachment to their place and would often mention how they could rely on the people from their community. However, it was also on the borderlines of their communities, where the inter-community violence they would be part in took place and it would be people whom they know or are even close to, who would be taking part in the violence along with them. Therefore, the young people's language related to these violent events and hostile attitudes often displayed and was used (rather unintentionally) for creation of the sense of belonging to their friends, and community. What the young people felt thus in a way became real for them as well as for their interlocutors; they were confirming to themselves that they indeed did not stand alone.

The thesis was structured around four analytical concepts from discourse analysis: intertextuality, metaphor, and appeal to rationality and to emotions in order to help unravel the link between the semiosis - meaning making of violence and hostility and building a sense of belonging. The key concept of intertextuality with its underlying assumption that texts are made of past texts of others helped to discover important realities about the role the recent history plays in the lives of the local young people and how it aids them to create a sense of affinity with their groups. As the first chapter showed, the young people from the Bogside often drew on intertextual resources from their community's recent past and mentioned their parents' involvement in these historical events. Although the feelings of injustice and grievances from the Troubles were rather directed against the abstract body of the British state, they were then still indirectly transferred to those who sympathise with it in the present days - loyalists. What was in the youngsters' eyes the heroic struggle of their community for human rights and independent island of Ireland in many cases carried out by their own parents, provided them with an excuse for their current violence, although their fights had rather different motives, and with the sense of

belonging to their community of brave freedom fighters. On the other hand the Fountain youth rather tapped into the Catholic historical turning points, only to reaccentuate them in a contemptuous way by which they expressed loyalty to their community and made sure that they were on the right side of the imaginary barrier.

The second chapter demonstrated that derogatory name-calling and metaphorisation of the other side served in the same way for both-sides, to confirm the 'good us' versus 'bad them' state of things, being part of the good community as well as building and strengthening the affiliation with own group by ridiculing the other, which was partly given and reinforced by the contextual conditions the youth live in. Metaphorisation of space from a position of power such as comparing Ireland to a party where the Protestants are not welcome also enabled the speakers to build themselves the feeling that they were amongst the guests, that they belonged to their community. The concept of metaphorisation also proved to serve as expression of victimisation, on the Fountain side and feeling of compassion with own community.

Feeling of belonging was also built and reinforced when the youth appealed to rationality of their listeners in order to explain how it is necessary to protect one's own community, which they were part of. Through explanations of the need to protect their community, predominantly in the Fountain, and to retaliate (often for the sake of a group of friends), predominantly in the Bogside, they youngsters build themselves a sense of belonging, since they signified their fights as violence for the sake of their groups. In the Bogside, the 'slabbering' about the fights in the collective of peers, seemed to help to build a status for the speaker and reinforce his position within the group.

The last chapter, using the analytical concept of appeal to emotion, demonstrated how appeal to fear through referring to previous instances of violence helped to create a bond with own community. The previous instances of violence were portrayed not just as an individual but as a collective harm and raised in the speakers but possibly in the interlocutors feelings of compassion with those whom the harm was done to and the negative attitude towards the other side. Appeal to previous instances of violence and fear also seems to be an obstacle for future interaction between the youth from both communities, but that certainly cannot be taken area-

wide, since on both sides can be found young people who are willing to cross the border and socialise, as I have hear from community workers.⁹⁵

As already stressed in the beginning, what people say about their violence does not necessarily indicate the reasons for the violence, but can reveal other important realities about the speakers as this thesis demonstrated. The fact that not only the violence and hostile feelings towards the other community but also their subsequent signification create a sense of belonging is an important finding, since this signification can have further implications, such as re-waking the past, or assuring oneself of the need to retaliate and avenge for the sake of the community. The thesis also showed, that analytical tools normally used for analysing political discourse can be useful as well for analysing speech in a day-to-day interaction when appropriately adjusted. Not only politicians use discourse to manipulate their listeners, but also young people, although usually subconsciously and without preparation want to convince their interlocutors about what they have to say to them and make them feel compassionate and understanding.

There are surely ways open for further research in this direction. Longitudinal ethnographic research and fully unrestricted access to the researched subjects could reveal much more about other ways the young people build sense of belonging in the way they practice their speech. It would be also interesting to conduct this type of research in an environment with no conflict history but recurrent violent clashes amongst two groups, e.g. North West of the Czech Republic where fights between Roma population and the Czechs from economically marginalised areas has recently been a worrying issue.

⁹⁵ Author's interview held in May 2014 with male and female community workers from the Gassyard community centre located in the Bogside.

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Appendix 1

Interview Guide

Name of the Interviewer:

Place of the Interview:

Date:

Time:

Name of the Respondent/Pseudonym:

Age of the Respondent:

Sex of the Respondent:

Residence of the Respondent:

About the researcher and the purpose of the research:

My name is Alena Márová and I am a student from the Czech Republic currently studying master's programme Conflict Studies and Human Rights at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. The purpose of the research is to gain deeper understanding of Derry/Londonderry youth, mainly their views on the cross-community violence.

All interviews are strictly confidential and no names will be made public.

The interviews are of voluntary nature and will be stopped at any time the interviewee wishes so.

A permission of the participant to be recorded by the interviewer is required.

Research findings will be available upon request.

General Information – background

- What comes first on your mind if you are asked about your identity?
- How was your childhood?
- What do you do now, what school did/do you go to?
- How do you like to spend your free time? Who do you hang out with most often – do you belong to a certain closed group? If so – is there any hierarchy? How long have you approximately known each other?
- How much have you heard about the local history and from whom? Are you interested in history?
- Are you interested in what is happening around e.g. reading newspapers, watching news?
- Do feel you have opportunities to do what you want (hobbies, job, life style in general)?

The neighbourhood

- How do you like living here, in the town, in your quarter in particular?

- Would you like to live somewhere else? What does it mean to you to be from your quarter/do you feel your quarter is specific in any way?
- Do you feel threatened here - in your quarter, in the city? Are there any places where you would not go to?

Identity and family views

- Would you care if Northern Ireland became a part of the Republic of Ireland?
- What does it mean to you to be a Protestant/ a Catholic/other?
- How do you think your parents see the other community – do they care? What about your siblings?
- Do you ever meet people from the other community? If so, when would you start meeting them (at what age approximately)?
- What is your experience with the other community?
- Would you know someone is from the other community without knowing him/her before?
- How do you see the other community? What is said about them here?
- Are you well known here, in the city? Would the guys/girls from the other community know you?
- How do you see girls/guys from the other community? Would you befriend them/date them?
- How do you usually talk about the other community?
- Do you personally feel injustice from the past (the Troubles)/recent past?
- How do you feel about the parades of the other community here?
- How do you feel about your own marches/parades? How do you think the other community sees them?

Riots, violence

- Do you feel the situation is worse nowadays than it was years ago?
- How do you see the role of drugs and alcohol in relation to violence occurrence?
- How old were you when you first engaged in riots/fights with the other community? Under what circumstances?
- How do the fights happen? Do you talk about it afterwards?
- How do you feel about the police?
- If you engage in a fight with the other community? How is it perceived here? Do you talk about it then? If so, what do you say?
- If you engage in fighting – who knows about it? Do you discuss it with your friends – what do you say? Would you tell your parents? What would they say?
- When engaging in fights/riots what do you feel? Does it give you something? What do you feel is mostly the reason for the fights?
- Would you have a need to justify your deeds in front of your parents/ friends/ foreigners?
- How does taking a part in riots/fights with the other community influence your name within your community?
- Would you mask during fights?

Opinions and events

- Last April riots – what was it about, how did you look at it? What did you do at that time? What would you say about it?
- What did you do when M. Thatcher died? How did you see the whole event of celebration of her death by certain people?
- What do you think of paramilitaries? Do you have any experience with them?
- Did you ever go to youth clubs/cross-community projects? What do you think about them?
- What did you think about Derry/Londonderry as the city of culture?
- Is there anything else you would like to discuss/point out?
- Do you think you know somebody who might wish to participate in the research as well?