A Bounded Legacy:
family relations and the transmission of violent attitudes and behaviour in the Fountain enclave in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland

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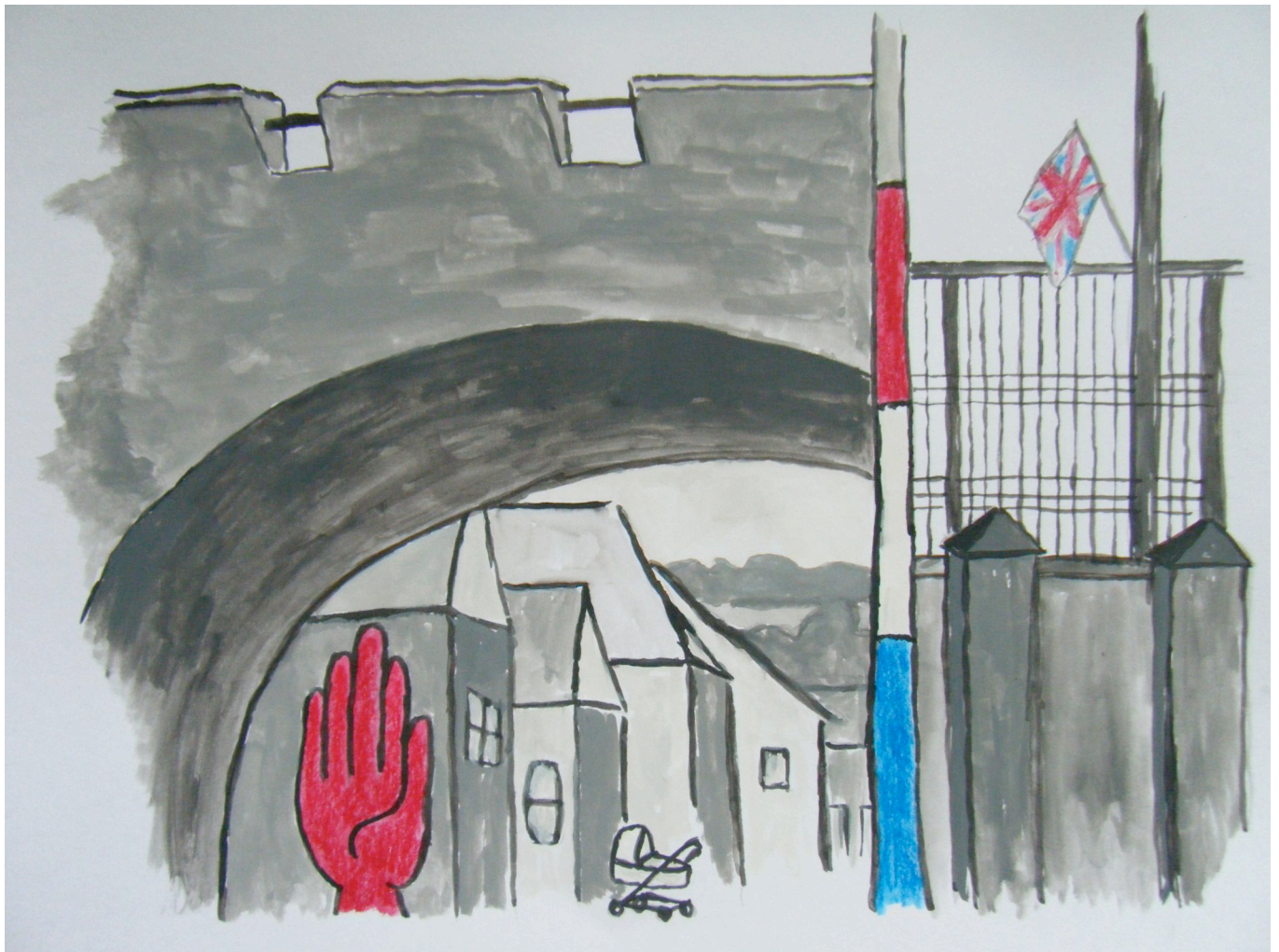Utrecht University
12 August 2011

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Date of Submission: 12 August 2011
Programme trajectory: Internship (15 ECTS) & Thesis Writing (22,5 ECTS)
Word Count: 19.908
Cover Illustration: Anna Stolk
Map of Area: Ben Stolk

Abstract

This study explores family relations in the Protestant/Loyalist Fountain enclave in Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland after the Belfast Agreements. The Fountain is an interface area characterized by physical boundaries, tied family and community life and a high rate of violent incidents. This study focuses on youngsters and looks at family ties, socialization and the transmission of boundaries and (violent) attitudes and behaviour towards the other community in a post-war enclave context. Transmission was analyzed from a discursive approach and the study looks at the reproduction and meaning of discourses and practices and the differences and similarities between family members. Interviews were conducted with family members of three generations from five families living in the Fountain. The results showed a wide variety of attitudes, opinions and behaviours with regard to inter-community relations within families and between generations. Families played an important role in the confirmation and conceptualization of boundaries but not in the way boundaries were dealt with. No evidence was found of transmission of sectarianism and radical attitudes and behaviours within families. Parents showed ambivalent cues with regard to the acceptability of violence. Motives for youth violence were not conflict related per se. Youth agency, personal experiences, social disadvantage and extra-family spheres of influence as peer groups, social networks and paramilitaries appeared to be important in the development of violent behaviour.

key words: *family, transmission, socialization, youth, discourse, enclave, Northern Ireland, Derry/Londonderry, Loyalism, youth violence, boundaries*

Acknowledgments

Completing this thesis would never have been possible without the support and the contribution of a number of people in the Netherlands and in Northern Ireland. My deepest gratitude goes to them who helped me, supported me, loved me, distracted me, confused me and kept me on the right track.

First I want to thank my supervisor Chris van der Borgh. His comments were always constructive and I really appreciated his enthusiasm, encouragements and the fruitful discussions we had.

I want to thank my family for all their love and support and their great capability to listen to me seriously and help me with useful and positive comments. My mother Mirjam, one of the brightest thinkers I know who has always been the best first reader I could wish for. My father Ben, who inspired me with his creative and thoughtful insights and drew the beautiful map of the area of my research. My sister Anna, who was always prepared to listen and asked just the right questions when I got stuck and who is the great illustrator of the beautiful cover.

I want to thank my great friends who supported me and made the process bearable because they brought me love, joy, entertainment and good food when I needed it.

I want to thank all the people in Northern Ireland who inspired me and made my time there unforgettable. My friends, my housemates, the people from the Fountain, the great musicians and all the other nice people I have met. I thank Graham and Jeanette Warke from the Cathedral Youth Club, who helped me set foot in the Fountain. I thank the people from INCORE who were like a family to me. Special gratitude goes to Kenneth Bush, who cared for me, taught me a lot and drove me mad with his important but mind twisting question 'why are we here?'

Last but not least, I want to thank Olivier. He was always there for me and believed in me during the whole process. His love, support, encouragements, patience and critical review of my work were invaluable.

Thank you so much.

Sofia Stolk, 2011

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1. Introduction

April 9, 2011; a bomb scare at Bishop Street in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland. Youngsters in the youth club in the Fountain, the Protestant estate bordering the Catholic Bishop Street, enthusiastically pull out their freshly painted banner saying 'stop bombing Londonderry'. Led by one of the younger community workers they want to put the banner up the wall separating the two communities. The banner shows commitment to the peace process, the name 'Londonderry' shows commitment to the own group and leaves no doubts about where these boys are coming from; only Protestants use the name *London*derry. Peaceful and provocative. The older people present loudly disapproved of that, warning 'they will shoot you down the wall' while imprecating Republicans. 'It's dangerous for them boys' one old lady tells me 'we are still living under siege here'. One scene catching different dynamics within the Fountain; community activity, a generational difference, ongoing violence, a peace process, a question of identity, living under siege.

Northern Ireland is marked by the legacy of the Troubles, a violent conflict that lasted for about 30 years. And with ongoing bombings, shootings and inter-group violence one cannot confidently claim, more than ten years after the signing of the peace agreement, that the Troubles are over. According to Hennessey (2001) we can identify a dispute on sovereignty and identity, or in other words conflict between states and nations. The political dispute over the status of Northern Ireland is intertwined with a conflict over identity and inequality and can be analysed from religious, political and economical perspectives (Whyte, 1991; McCafferty, 2001: 105). Despite all different possible characterizations of the conflict one feature appears to be salient; the conflict is protracted. Inter-group rivalry in Northern Ireland dates back to 1609 known as the year of The Plantation of Ulster, when the British settled in Northern Ireland (Darby, 2003). In 1969 the conflict escalated into a civil war known as 'The Troubles'. Main warring parties were the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its different splinter groups on the Nationalist side and the British Security Forces and Loyalist/Unionist paramilitary groups on the other side. Civilians were targets as well as facilitators or perpetrators of violence.

In 1998 the signing of the Belfast Agreement marked the beginning of a peace process including a power sharing agreement, decommissioning of armed groups and police reforms. The EU invested over two billion euros in peace programs, politicians frame their objectives in terms of cooperation and sharing and every town has its community centres with cross-community projects aiming at overcoming division (SEUPB; International Fund for Ireland). If boundaries can be constructed they can also be deconstructed, seems to be the rationale. Still segregation and sectarianism is part of the everyday life in Northern Ireland (the Consultative Group on the Past, 2009; Community Relations Council, 2009; Steenkamp 2008: 171). Schools, neighbourhoods and leisure opportunities are more than often segregated. The landscape is marked by sectarian symbols and groups have their separate holidays and commemoration events. A widely used definition by McVeigh describes sectarianism in Northern Ireland as 'that changing set of ideas and practices, including, crucially, acts of violence, which serves to construct and reproduce the difference between, and unequal status of, Irish Protestants and Catholics.' (McVeigh 1995:643). The degree of sectarian violence differs from area to area and from time to time, but it is still a serious problem (Jarman, 2005). According to Wimmer Northern Ireland has political salient boundaries (Wimmer, 2008: 976). The boundaries are relevant for different domains in everyday life (McCafferty, 2001) and group boundaries are collectively recognized; people know

the boundaries of their communities, the boundaries of their practices. Besides physical boundaries there is a psychological boundary. Aspects of fear, habituation and resentment all play a role in the maintenance of the boundaries. A closer look at the segregation in Northern Ireland however reveals a very complex and fluid conceptualisation of 'group boundary'. Communities and their inter-group narratives and practices vary from completely integrated to hostile and violent and separated by walls.

The city of Derry/Londonderry knows a master narrative of strict separation of Catholics on the City side and Protestants on the Waterside. Simultaneously it's known as one example of successful peacebuilding and the 'hearth of the Peace'[1] in Northern Ireland. Derry/Londonderry is living its history; intact city walls, numerous memorials, house high murals, and flags. British flags, Irish flags but also Israeli and Palestine flags. The colonizer and the colonized (Memmi, 1957), a history of battles, a ritualized conflict. A striking example of persistent boundaries is the Fountain estate, the only Protestant enclave left on the City side. It's an area of stories, surrounded by fences, manned by a tied community, afflicted by ongoing violence and loyal to the Queen of England, at least at first sight. The Fountain is a remarkable area in different ways. For tourists it's a vivid and highly visible example of ongoing sectarianism. For the inhabitants it's their safe zone, their pride and their jail. For some it's a provocative, dangerous area, for some it's a safe haven. Despite its unique and contested position in Derry/Londonderry and Northern Ireland no specific study on the area has been conducted so far. A detailed study of this area could shed light on the mechanisms in place that foster or change group boundaries after conflict. The generation growing up in the Fountain now was born after the Troubles, but is still living in an enclave context experiencing sectarian violence, constant safety monitoring and restricted movement through their city. Living in the Fountain is a family affair. Many families in the Fountain have their 4 generations living in the same area. The Fountain heritage seems to be passed on from generation to generation, conserving a 'Fountain identity'. National and religious affiliations appear to be strong, and complex, in youngsters already (Muldoon et al., 2007; ARK, 2010). Boundaries are kept intact for years now, likely due to a transmission of certain norms and values with respect to territory, identity and belonging. Through family ties, the wider segregated context and the ongoing violence young people living in Northern Ireland after the peace accords still directly experience the Troubles and its legacy. This research presents a portrait of an area often described as still 'under siege'. The small size of the estate allows for studying the dynamics and the differences between views on society and social space from different generations. Research in this small enclave provides an opportunity to study boundary making from the very micro perspective: the boundaries of a neighbourhood.

The family is a social entity that is very often associated with transmission of practices (Muldoon et al., 2007). Family relations and the intergenerational transmission of discourses and practices within families can provide interesting insights in how on micro level group boundaries change or are maintained. Which stories, attitudes and behaviours survive and are carried across generations? Despite a widespread notion that socialization and parent-child interaction is crucial to the reproduction of sectarian behaviour in Northern Ireland (for example Roche, 2009; Muldoon et al., 2007; Bell, 2010) little evidence of the actual transmission of sectarianism within families is available. Families are social entities where different generations that grew up in different phases of the conflict interact with each other. Empirical research to different generations within one family and intergenerational

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[1] Author's interview in Februari 2011 with a member of the Derry City Council.

relations could shed light on the change, or continuity, in views on segregation and divided practices. The leading question in the research is:

> How do family relations influence the personal conceptualization of community boundaries and attitudes and behaviour towards the other community in the Fountain enclave in Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland after the Belfast Agreements in 1998?

In practice this means looking at the differences and similarities in conceptualising a Fountain identity and the group and boundary strategies of different generations. This research explores family relations in an enclave context and the way these family bonds relate to group boundaries and ongoing violent behaviour. Coming from a conflict study perspective the focus will be on the boundaries and their connection to conflict (and peace) and violent community relations. Comparing the different boundary constructs within one family will clarify the role of the family in maintaining or changing violent community relations within the Fountain. Focus will be on the youngsters and the role of the family in shaping their inter-community attitudes and behaviours and the meaning they attach to the 'past' conflict. Because youth can play and important role in ongoing conflict as well as in successful peacebuilding (Kemper, 2005; Kurtenbach, 2008) research to youngsters in post-war contexts has a valuable contribution to research to post-war transitions and peacebuilding strategies. Moreover this is a portrait of an enclave neighbourhood and an account of its stories. First and foremost I want to do right to the stories of the people who live in the Fountain area. The nice stories and the dark stories, the old stories and the new stories, the stories that fade, and the stories that survive. It's about the stories, and what they mean to the people who live, tell, and pass them.

First I will outline the theoretical framework and I will position the research within the existing literature on Northern Ireland, identity and intergenerational aspects of violent conflict. The methodological section will clarify how the research was conducted systematically. The result section contains three core parts. The first part describes the Fountain area and sketches the context in which we can understand personal stories and interpretations. The second section will present the research findings extracted from interviews conducted within families. The third part discusses the actual (non)transmission of *violent* behaviour and the interaction between context and family life. The final chapter links the empirical findings to the theory and allows for some thoughts on the position of the findings within the field of conflict studies. Finally this section will formulate an answer to the research question and includes ideas for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

Research to family relations in (post)conflict zones contributes to the understanding of group making and socialization and the occurrence of (youth) violence after violent conflict. Breaking down the main question into researchable units requires a more detailed interpretation of the concepts of identity, intergenerational relations, boundary strategies, socialization and discourse. This chapter explores the body of existing research to family relations and conflict, pins down the main findings, questions and gaps and constructs the framework from which we can analyse the Fountain and its family relations in Derry/Londonderry.

Intergenerational attitudes towards segregation in Northern Ireland can be placed within the broader conceptual framework of the construction of social identity and boundary strategies. According to social identity theory people have a need to belong. The belonging to a group secures a sense of self and participation in a group fulfils the human need to categorize and simplify (Tjafel, 1981). Comparison with the 'other' is crucial to group making. Brewer (2001: 24) argues that group living is a survival strategy, related to a need of inclusion (belonging to 'our' group) and a need for differentiation (contrast with the 'them' group). This need to belong to a group involves a conceptualization of the boundary between 'us' and 'them'. According to Midgal (2004) boundaries are more than borders, they are socially meaningful constructs and 'signify the point at which something becomes something else, at which the way things are done changes, at which 'we' end and 'they' begin, at which certain rules for behaviour no longer obtain and others take hold' (Midgal, 2004: 5). Physical demarcations of borders, for example the Northern Irish flags, painted kerbstones and murals, also have their psychological counterpart. Separating the familiar own group from the unfamiliar other sets the boundaries of security and demarcates a safe zone. Boundaries entail attitudes towards other groups and rules of behaviour; how we act as members of our group and how we act towards the other. Group boundaries become more rigid and hostile in times of conflict.
In discussing why groups are formed and boundaries are drawn one must also pay attention to why boundaries often persist *after* conflict, as is the case in Northern Ireland. Wimmer argues that with regard to boundary stability it 'seems that the degree of stability is linked to various modes of transmitting ethnic membership.' (2008: 984) Transmission of group membership is according to Wimmer constrained by the institutional environment, the distribution of power and the network of political alliances. The political boundaries in Northern Ireland are considered to be salient and 'political loyalties rarely cross the ethno-religious divide' (Wimmer, 2008: 976). Dense social networks, high degrees of social closure and strong political alliances are aspects contributing to stable boundaries and the degree to which 'group members will be prepared to incur high costs to defend the culture and honor of their community and the authenticity of its culture, thus stabilizing a boundary even in situations of profound social change' (Wimmer, 2008: 1003). An area characterized by strong social cohesion would thus be more likely to preserve strong ethnic boundaries in the transitional period from conflict to peace.
But how do dense social networks come about? Dense communities should include all generations and for boundaries to be stable over time new generations have to adopt and internalize these boundaries. How is this ethnic membership or more specifically, how are group boundaries transmitted? An important notion in discussions on ethnicity and the defending of boundaries is the transmission of culture. The internalizing of certain values and cultural norms is referred to as a process of socialization. Children become acceptable members of their groups

through learning norms, behaviours, values and beliefs shared by the other members of the group (Moreland and Levine, 1982). This process of socialization is linked to the need to belong. Socialization ensures continuity of a social group. Parents and community are assumed to be crucial in the socialization process; does that mean that parents have a crucial role in the maintenance of boundaries? Is ethnic membership 'transmitted' through family ties? According to social learning theory discussed by Jennings, Stoker en Bowers (2001) political socialization or intergenerational transmission of political characteristics within families is increased in more politicized political environments and when political (or religious) clues are clear and consistent. Muldoon et al. argue that 'although it is widely assumed that family context is a crucial factor in the development of social identities and attitudes, there is only limited empirical evidence to support this belief' (Muldoon et al., 2007: 580). A closer look at the socialization processes in a post-conflict context were identities and group boundaries are pronounced and family relations are strong could shed light on this development of identity, attitudes and boundaries after violent conflict. If family is indeed crucial to the development of identity and social boundaries, empirical research could clarify when and how this process of transmission takes place. Furthermore, the question rises how a family context influences the ongoing violence in a post-war area, specifically the violence performed by post-war youth. Young people in a post-war setting are often portrayed either as victims or as a lost, out of control generation (Boyden and Mann, 2000; Kurtenbach, 2008). The occurring of violent out-group behaviour under youngsters born *after* the conflict puts into question the deconstruction of boundaries and the way youngsters ascribe meaning to the past conflict their family went through. Is there also a crucial role for the family in the transmission of violent behaviour to the out-group?

Parents are important in providing protection and development of coping skills that make children more resilient to trauma and adversary (Boyden and Mann, 2005). On the other hand family life is associated with the fostering of violent discourses and out-group hostility and different risk factors within the family (parental anti-social behaviour and psychopathology, pour family management etc.) are said to be important to youth violence (Herrenkohl et al., 2000; Wasserman et al., 2003). Families in post-conflict context have lived through violence, either as victim, perpetrator and/or bystander, which might affect individual well-being as well as parenting strategies. Previous research shows how the experience of violence influences group affiliations and proneness to violence. Lowe and Muldoon (2010) and Hewstone et al. (2006: 116) argue that experience of violence enforces national and religious identification. Hayes and McAllister (2002) propose that exposure to violence is one of the reasons for the intractability of the conflict in Northern Ireland. The cycle of violence or intergenerational transfer hypothesis (Widom, 1989; Fry, 1993) claims that 'violence breeds violence' and aggressive parental behaviour affects the behaviour of children. This counts for violence within the family as well as for conflict resolution strategies deployed outside the family (Fry, 1993). Conflict persisting over generations invites for a look at how violence experienced or performed by parents affects the boundary strategies and the use of violence by children. A question here is whether parents with extremist views towards the other community pass this attitude on to their children and whether we see a reproduction of violence in post-war situations. If so, moderate parents will be less likely to have children with extreme negative out-group attitudes and behaviour. Intergenerational research should compare family discourses and practices to verify this theory of transmission.

To analyse how parents do influence the attitudes and behaviour of their children towards the other communities I will take a discursive approach. A discursive approach to conflict and the maintenance of boundaries considers social practices to carry out and reproduce social structures (Jabri, 1996). Discourses are stories about reality and are produced and reproduced through social interaction. Through talk and practices social relations are created and reinforced. Schröder and Schmidt (2001) describe in their theory of violent imaginaries how a violent discourse is constructed and reproduced trough narratives, performances and inscriptions. These violent imaginaries are omnipresent in Northern Ireland and are often argued to be part of the culture. Stories and songs (narratives), marches and bonfires (performances), murals and painted kerbstones and lampposts (inscriptions) are important aspects of life in Northern Ireland. Parents' stories about the past, practices and symbols in the family home contribute to the construction of identity in children. Important in the production of a *dominant* discourse are power relations. Van Dijk (2006: 362) argues that because of their position of power parents are capable of manipulating their children. If we consider the persistence of group boundaries to be the constant reproduction of discourses and practices and if parents are in a powerful position with regard to the discourses and practices available to their children, family relation could be of major importance in maintaining violent community boundaries. If we look at reproduction as an important way of transmission, similarities in attitudes and behaviours of different generations within a family are expected. Previous research to the role of the family in the transfer of violent discourses has mainly used surveys and focus groups organized by age range as source of information. Little research to intergenerational dynamics however has been conducted that actually includes information about different generations within one family. In Northern Ireland up till now no research was conducted which takes the family as unit of analysis. Research from a discursive approach will analyse how structures are reproduced within families. A comparison between attitudes of different members within this social entity can give more insight in family dynamics and contributes to a more complete picture on how aspects of the conflict in Northern Ireland are transferred within families.

To qualify reproduction or transmission of discourses and practices it's important to look at what is actually transmitted, the meaning that is attached to it and the consequences of this transmission. Recent research of Bell et al. (2010) shows a major role of the family in children's understanding of the past. Stories of parents were the main source of knowledge about the recent violent past of Northern Ireland and although children were aware of the bias of their parents' stories they experienced them as being more full, real or personal than lessons taught in class. Some young people note how their parents 'avoid' speaking about the Troubles. In contrast others account of their parents 'just going on and on' when they start talking about the Troubles. These findings are in line with research of the Irish Peace Centres on intergenerational transmission of trauma. Silence and exposure are different ways to 'transfer' trauma (IPC, 2010). There is a constant tension between hope and fear and future and past. Parents avoid topics related to past conflict for various reasons. Silence was a common strategy to protect children from traumatizing stories or to avoid passing on sectarian attitudes. Another important element of silence is fear; for reprisal, exclusion, reprimands and fear for the truth to come out. Consequence of this silence is an incomplete story and gaps in knowledge that are filled in with imagination by next generations. Opposed to silence there can be overdisclosure, parents who don't stop talking about the conflict, including horrifying details. Both silence and overdisclosure can, according to the ICP, transfer trauma. Another way of transferring is the overhearing of parental conversation or the implicit addressing

of issues related to conflict. For example a normal parental concern of safety can be coloured by a mental map of boundaries. Bell et al. (2010) note related to this how parents address issues of safety and recommend the avoidance of certain places. Safe places might very well be the 'safe zones' of the own community and addressing safety issues can foster segregation with but also without an explicit reference to the 'other'. Conflict dynamics can inform parenting strategies in different ways with different consequences. The ICP report concludes with saying that:

> The effects of harm (broadly defined) and the experience of injustice carried by a particular generation can, if not addressed or resolved, be passed on to the next generation to produce a range of social and psychological pathologies, such as self-harm, suicide, anti-social behaviour, anomie and inter-personal violence. (ICP, 2010: 78)

Both Bell et al. and the ICP recognize the importance of the family in the construction of identity and attitudes and behaviour in relation to community relations. This is in line with a general trend of ascribing an important role to family life in the transfer of (violent) discourses and practices (Muldoon et al, 2007; Roche, 2009; Schubotz and McCartan, 2009). Growing up in a family that has gone through conflict impacts the development of youngsters in different ways. Besides a psychosocial (ICP, 2010) and an educational impact (Bell et al., 2010) family relation can influence the meaning ascribed to the past conflict by youngsters and the way this past is dealt with and means in times of transition or peace. Family life can be regarded as set of relations which can foster or dismiss, either consciously or unconsciously, hostilities towards the other. The family is an entity in between group and individual. Looking at family relations and influence involves looking at the interplay between family and other spheres of influence. Grotevant and Cooper (1985) emphasize the importance of individuality (separateness) as well as connectedness within family relationships. For conflicts are multi-causal I do not expect the family to be the only relevant factor in the transmission of boundaries. However because recent research ascribes a *crucial* role to the family its important to clarify this 'crucial role' by looking for empirical evidence of mechanisms of transmission and an analysis of the *limits* of transmission within the family where extra-family context comes into play. An interesting aspect of belonging to a family and parental influence on behaviour is the change of family relations through different life phases. As Jennings and Stoker note there is 'the difficulty of disentangling life-cycle and generational effects' (Jennings and Stoker, 2002). Teenagers often explicitly resist their parents way of living. In that sense influence can differ in different times. Loss of parental control and ineffective parenting and supervision is often associated with anti-social behaviour in youngsters (Herrenkohl et al., 2000; Rutter, Giller and Hagell, 1998; Leventhal and Brookes-Gunn, 2000). This observation of distancing and failure of family control invites for a look outside the family to other sources of information available to young people and the wider context they are exposed to.

This research will investigate how different members of one family perceive social space. Since different persons encounter different experiences and sources of influence I will hypothesize a *difference* in the conceptualization of social space and the construction of mental boundaries. This approach presupposes a form of agency and space for choice and own interpretation of discursive input of young people. While parental experiences, traumas and attitudes can be passed on to new generations this is not a copy-paste process; as Boyden and Mann argue 'children are not simply the products of adult beliefs, training, investment, and intervention but social agents in their own right.' (2005: 19). Boundaries and conflicts will have a different meaning to different generations in different times. Comparing cross-

generational and cross-family patterns of boundary drawing and conceptualization of identity will provide insight in the (in)coherence of a group and the relation between the individual, the family, and the community within the broader context of protracted conflict. I will use socialization theory and the assumed importance of parents in the shaping of social identity and attitudes and behaviour towards the out-group as a starting point for this research. This starting point is also informed by recent research from Bell. et al, Muldoon et al. and the IPC who noted an important role of the family in the transfer of national and religious affiliations and perceptions of history and ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland. I will use a discursive approach in analysing the processes of transmission within families by looking at the reproduction of discourses and practices and the differences and similarities between family members. I will look at how family relations play a role in the conceptualization of boundaries and belonging of youngsters and more specifically how family relations are involved in the ongoing *violence* and thus the family influence on boundary strategies and violent conflict. If parental power to transfer as well as a lack of parental power can induce violent behaviour of youngsters research to family relation cannot leave out the context. This study takes into account the notions of connectedness and separateness (Grotevant and Cooper), life-cycle effects (Jennings and Stoker) and social agency in youngsters (Boyden and Mann) and will therefore pay attention to the contexts in which families are situated and the interaction between family and other spheres of influence present in the life of young people.

This study provides an exploration of family relations and the process of socialization within a violent enclave setting and the influence of the family on the stability of boundaries, social identities and attitudes and behaviour towards the out-group. The specific area where the study is conducted is the Fountain in Derry/Londonderry. The Fountain area is an example of a small, clearly bordered area where the group identity is explicitly carried out, there is strong social cohesion, family relations are tied and violent rates are still high. This research attempts to test and contribute to social theories outlined above by exploring family relations in a highly polarized area were conflict dynamics interact with the process of family socialization. This research aims to test the assumption of a crucial role of the family in ongoing division after violent conflict by looking at empirical evidence of processes of transmission in an extreme case. The next chapter will elaborate on how the research was conducted.

3. Methodology

This study was conducted in the Fountain estate in Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland. The research includes literature research, field observations in the Fountain and surrounding areas, interviews with a selection of individuals from different generations living in the area, interviews with key informants in the Fountain and interviews with key informants outside the area. Key informants in the area and outside the area include community workers, police officers, teachers, board members of the Apprentice Boys of Derry society and City Council members. These interviews are of key importance in fleshing out the characteristics of the Fountain area, its demography, its position in Derry/Londonderry and Northern Ireland and in providing different perspectives from and on the area. Besides literature research and fieldwork an archive research was conducted which includes the news about Derry/Londonderry and specifically the Fountain and its residences from the past ten years published by The Londonderry Sentinel (Protestant), The Derry Journal (Catholic) and the BBC. Furthermore I used information gathered during workshops, meetings and lectures related to conflict, peace and community relations at different venues in Northern Ireland.

The results of this study are twofold. First they present a neighbourhood study describing a tied community in a post-conflict zone from an intergenerational perspective. The area is a violence prone physically bordered enclave of Protestant Loyalists surrounded by their (former) enemies. The Fountain is not representative for the whole of Northern Ireland but similar interface areas are still everywhere present and the dynamics between the Loyalist and Nationalist communities living in Derry/Londonderry are comparable to other areas in Northern Ireland (Graham, 2004). The second part of the results presents an intergenerational family study. Family ties are very important in the Fountain and different generations live together which allows for a comparison between generations living in the same environment. Interviewing different generations within one family with regard to boundary drawing and attitudes and behaviours towards the other community can shed light on processes of (non)transmission. Although the results are specific for this particular area, comparisons can be drawn with previous studies to Loyalist communities and studies to family relations in post-war areas and enclave contexts world wide, which allows for generalizations and makes it possible to place this particular case into a broader context. Besides the enclave character of the area and the access to different generations the spoken language in Northern Ireland was one of the benefits of this study. My proficiency in English made it possible to make a detailed analysis of what was said in the interviews and during the observations. This allowed for language analysis and gave an interesting look into the construction of discourse through language. Challenging was the accent of the region which is quite strong. Fortunately I had the opportunity to live in the city for almost 5 months which clearly improved my understanding of the accent.

Although I spoke to many Catholics/Nationalists in order to get a complete picture of the situation I deliberately made the decision to focus on the community in the Fountain, a Protestant Loyalist community. My aim was not to conduct a comparative study between *communities* but a study comparing *generations within one community*. The study presents an example of a small community in a violent prone post-war zone and furthermore builds on a body of research to the Loyalist culture (Graham, 2004). Within the time span of the research an expansion to other communities would limit the amount of data available for a cross-generational comparison. Expansion to family research in Catholic Nationalist communities could be one way to build out this area of research.

The starting location of the research was the Cathedral Youth Club, the community centre in the estate organising every day activities for all generations. Interviews were conducted in the community centre and in private homes and offices. Access to private homes was facilitated by the community workers from the Youth Club. Most respondents were recruited through the so-called 'snowball' method, thus via acquaintances and family members. In first instance a certain discomfort towards the term 'interview' was noted by all participants which was often related by the participants themselves to the times of the Troubles and the still existing fear of 'betrayal' or 'saying something wrong'. Also particularly elder participants noted that they were 'not so good' at doing interviews, and they had 'nothing interesting to tell'. Under elder participants there was a certain reluctance to get their children involved in the interview series considering youngsters' extreme view to give a 'wrong message'. During the interviews the participants seemed comfortable telling their stories. Suspicion was partly tempered by the company of one of the youth workers, who are well respected in the area. Still a sense of protection and fear of betrayal was a barrier to some of the residents to take part in the interviews. One of the difficulties was to go beyond the gatekeepers of the community, who were used to do interviews with the media and had a partly precooked story. It was not intended to avoid interviews with these gatekeepers but the challenge was getting beyond the standard replies. To get interviews with non-gatekeepers was more challenging but these interviews turned out to be very valuable especially because of the relatively 'inexperienced' interviewees. Difficulties lied in the parts of the interviews asking about the Troubles, which often evoked strong emotions; these subjects where treated with care. The size and tied character of the estate could in some occasions hamper the anonymity of the interviewees. Information that I considered to be a possible threat to the interviewee's anonymity or well-being is not presented in this study. Another challenge was getting beyond what the kids learn in the youth club and through cross-community work about desired attitudes and pre-cooked answers about cross community relations. This does not mean that what they say is not what they think but the interviews attempted to go beyond the standard phrases. Certain taboo subjects as the use of violence and current paramilitary presence were often avoided but in the course of the interviews the building of a trust relation between interviewees and researcher resulted in more open interviews. Three generations from families living in the Fountain were approached. The age of the interviewees ranges from 18 to 78. There are four generations living in the Fountain. Three generations were selected for the interviews. The first age group included the oldest generation, aged 55 -78, born before the Troubles, having children and (great)grandchildren. The second age group ranged from 25 to 55 years old, born during the Troubles, with children under 25. The third group included 18-25[2] year old adolescents, born during the end of the Troubles; one interviewee in this group had young children himself. The research was focused on the youngest generation in comparison to the older generations. The intergenerational interviews were analysed from a discursive perspective, meaning that besides an analysis of the content of the interviews the way value and meaning was attached to certain concepts and boundaries was considered. The discussion focuses on how meaning was constructed through stories and practices and how these constructs differ or coincide intergenerationally. The same questions were asked to individuals from

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[2] These cohorts were constructed according to the lines of generations within the Fountain. The youngest cohort falls into the category 'youth' (15-24 year olds) defined by the World Health Organization, for a discussion on defining youth see also Kemper (2000)

different generations of a family. The interviews addressed daily life patterns, in order to define the boundaries of practices, as well as more abstract topics which address the mental conceptualization of boundaries and identity (see Appendix II for a topic guide).

Most important access to mental boundaries and the conceptualization of group boundaries was the issue of safety and the limits to daily practices. This entry is informed by Midgal's (2004) theory on mental boundaries and the findings of Bell et al. (2009) that parents (conscious or unconsciously) use their mental map of boundaries and segregation when they address issues of safety and avoidance of certain places. As boundaries can be related to groupness and safety the identification of safe and unsafe areas can identify personal boundaries and their checkpoints of 'our' versus 'their' area. Addressing the parent-child relation in identification of (un)safe areas can shed light on an important 'daily life' conversation conveying 'transfer' or the influencing of mental maps. In order to map the boundaries of everyday practice interviewees were asked to locate their areas of practice on a map. Questions furthermore addressed widely used abstract concepts as 'segregation', 'sectarianism', 'the Troubles' and 'peace' and their meaning to individuals. The questions focused on the meaning these concepts have nowadays to the interviewees and the implications for the future. The violent past of Northern Ireland was discussed in the light of the meaning and influence it had on current everyday lives. An important aspect of the interviews was the meaning people attached to family life and the influence they ascribe to family ties. Another set of questions addressed attitudes towards the Fountain, the community and the 'other' community. Furthermore views on the future of the Fountain and Northern Ireland as well as the future of the interviewee were addressed.

The interviews were guided by a topic guide but had an open character. Interviews lasted from 20-90 minutes and included space for discussion of additional topics brought up by the interviewees. Interviewees were informed about the goal of the research before the interview and they were aware of the possibility to stop the interview at any time. For the sake of confidentiality and anonymity no names are used to refer to the respondents (see Appendix III for the Consent Forms). Interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder only if the interviewee gave permission to do so. All interviews were conducted and transcribed by the same researcher. The interviews contributed to the neighbourhood study and they provided the material for the exploration of family relations and intergenerational transmission of attitudes and behaviour. As a final note, in the analysis I often use the term 'story'. In this context 'story' refers to a told personal experience or history and not to something untrue or unreal. In my point of view the terms 'story' and 'narrative' describe what the research is based on, namely personal interpretations of life experiences. This is not to say anything about the truth-value of what was told.

4. The Fountain and its Families

This chapter is divided in three parts. The first part presents the neighbourhood study of the Fountain and addresses the make up of the area, the socio-economic characteristic, the community and the mechanisms of safety and social control present. Because this study is intergenerational attention will be paid to generational differences with regard to these topics. The second part of the results presents the cases of five families in the Fountain. This section discusses the processes within the family that contribute to the transmission or non-transmission of attitudes and behaviours towards the other community and the family influence on the conceptualization of boundaries. The last part will look at the actual transmission or non-transmission of *violent* inter-community attitudes and behaviours within the family and the interplay between family and other spheres of influence that might limit the role of the family.

4.1 Our wee Fountain

If one asks residents of the Fountain to the area's characteristics two features are unanimously mentioned: it's the only protestant enclave on the City side of Londonderry and there is a brilliant community spirit. The Fountain is a remarkable area within Derry/Londonderry and the highly contested space is still a centre of tension. This section presents the results of the neighbourhood study of the Fountain estate. Aim of the section is sketching the environment where the Fountain youngsters grow up in and thus setting out the context in which the researched families are situated.

4.1.1 Make-up of the Fountain
The Fountain is the only all-Protestant estate on the predominantly Catholic City Side of Derry/Londonderry. The estate houses approximately 370 inhabitants. The Fountain is what they call in Northern Ireland an 'interface area'; that is 'the intersection of segregated and polarized working class residential zones, in areas with a strong link between territory and ethno-political identity' (Jarman, 2004: 5). Interface areas are characterized by physical boundaries separating two communities, sometimes referred to as 'peace walls' or 'peace lines'. The Fountain estate is separated from the Catholic Bogside and Brandywell areas by an iron fence on the northwest side (see Appendix I for a map of the area). The houses close to the interface are equipped with wired mesh. Another part of the area is separated from the city centre by the old city walls. The Fountain is located outside the city walls while the important Protestant churches (St. Columb's Cathedral and the Carlisle Road Presbyterian Church) and other important historical Protestant buildings are located within the city walls. The central building in the Fountain itself is the Cathedral Youth Club, a community centre in the middle of the estate. There is a primary school with 72 children enrolled in 2010 coming from the Fountain area and the Waterside (The Education and Training Inspection, 2010). The area knows little facilities. There are no shops within the area and although a large shopping centre is located just outside the area most Fountain residents prefer to do their shopping at the Waterside out of safety considerations. The entrance to the Fountain from Abercorn Road to Wapping Lane is not walled. Due to violence and frequent damage done to the properties on Wapping Lane most houses in this part of the Fountain area are empty. A regeneration project is planned for 2012. The whole area is closely monitored by 6 CCTV security cameras and under constant review of the Police Service Northern Ireland (PSNI).

All the kerbstones in the area are painted red/white/blue, the colours of the British flag. Traditionally they are repainted in July/August during the marching season when the most important celebration days take place. There are historical murals telling the stories of the Siege and the Relief of Derry and British flags wave all around the estate. These are the most prominent physical boundary markers of the area. Directed towards the main gate in the old walls a mural says: 'LONDONDERRY West Bank Loyalists Still Under Siege NO SURRENDER'. De 'no surrender' message is painted on several other buildings and walls. This message characterizes the status of the Fountain community that is fostered by its members: the only still standing Protestant/Loyalist community at the city side. The no surrender message is linked to the feeling of being 'still under siege' often expressed by the residents when discussing the ongoing violence. The opinion among residents of the Fountain about the kerbstones and the flags differed. Youngsters in general thought of it as important, older people more often disagreed. Young people refer to the flags, painted kerbstones and murals as an important part of their identity, or even *as* their identity. Others called it a mark of territory, a sign of safety, or a mark of defiance. The repainting of the kerbs and lampposts is mainly done by youth during the marching season and is rooted in a loyalist tradition of emphasising territory and special consciousness (Graham, 2004: 489). The waving of flags and decorating of the streets with either British or Irish colours and murals depicting historical or conflict related events is a widespread phenomenon in Northern Ireland. It is often seen as hampering the peace process while interviewees also acknowledged they don't see it anymore because they are used to it. Different attitudes towards the explicit boundary markers in the area give a first sign of different attitudes towards the conflict and the current peace process that exist within the small Fountain community.

4.1.2 Socio-economic and Political Situation

Most inhabitants are employed outside the area. The unemployment rates are, as in the rest of Northern Ireland, pretty high. The last local census in 2010 (NINIS, 2010) noted an employment deprivation rate of 18% in Derry/Londonderry and ranked the area where the Fountain is part of as 4th most deprived with regard to employment in Northern Ireland. A large proportion of people living in the Fountain estate have been employed by the Welch Margetson Shirt Factory located at the corner of Horace Street and Carlisle road on the edge of the estate that closed in 1991. The Fountain community is a working class community. Bob Collins, chief commissioner of the Equality Commission for Northern Ireland, claims young working class males have the least opportunities with regard to education and employment[3]. The youth unemployment is a serious problem in Northern Ireland and is very visible in the Fountain where a lot of adolescents are unemployed. Although the Protestants form a majority in Northern Ireland, in Derry/Londonderry they have always been a numerically smaller community than the Catholic community. Since the Plantations in 1609 however the Protestant community formed the political dominant power in the city. The Troubles changed the power relations in Derry/Londonderry. After Bloody Sunday most Protestants from the City Side moved or were forced to move to the Waterside or to surrounding areas. Cohen (2007) describes it as a defeated power 'removed from the cornerstones of their identity' (Cohen, 2007: 952). The great migration to the west bank of the city is also referred to as the 'Protestant Exodus'. Many Protestants who come to visit the

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[3] June 15, 2011, public 'INCORE and TJI International Summer School Lecture', Magee campus, Derry/Londonderry

Protestant heritage in Derry/Londonderry see the Fountain as 'safe haven' on the City side (Cohen, 2007: 959). The area symbolizes the marginalized position of the Protestants but as mentioned also the 'no surrender' mentality. Currently no politician is particularly representing the Fountain area in the Derry City Council and the interviewees from the Fountain indicated not to feel represented by other Protestant politicians.

4.1.3 The Community

Inhabitants as well as outsiders often refer to the Fountain community as very tied. Four generations inhabit the estate. Family ties stretch out to the Waterside, surrounding areas, Belfast and across the border, mainly England, Schotland and the USA. Although the Fountain is relatively economically deprived and the violence rate is high the people I talked to are persistent in their judgement: 'I'd rather die than leave'. Elderly note how young people should look after the estate and they stress the importance of having young people in the estate. Young people have mixed feeling about this. They tend to say that they want to raise their kids in the Fountain because they love the community but they also have plans to move to Britain or the USA. Older people often referred to the Fountain as caretaker community. They foster the Protestant heritage and form a safe zone for all Protestants coming to the City Side. Inhabitants of the Fountain classify themselves as being British and Protestant. The Fountain community can be characterized as Protestant Loyalist taking into account that Loyalism is no coherent ideology (Graham, 2004:484) and Protestantism is not one religion. The Loyalist movement in Northern Ireland knows different factions and internal competition. Within the Fountain religious affiliations vary from the Church of Ireland to Presbyterian or New Presbyterian. All these different divisions in layers of loyalty complicate the picture of the composition of the Fountain community.

One important part of the community spirit is the celebration of important historical events and the big bonfires they make with the whole community. Many Catholics see the marches as offensive and sectarian while for a lot of Protestants this is the most important part of their culture (see also Cohen, 2007). The days of parading and bonfires connote times of happiness and togetherness, it's an annual family and community event and all remember it from their childhood up till now as the best days of the year. The celebrations however are there to commemorate victories in history, victories over the Catholic community, which conflicts with the discourse of peace and cooperation. Interviewees often referred to their *right* to celebrate their culture and their identity. They are aware of the reactions of the Catholic side but they do not consider their celebrations and marches as provocative for they have a right to express their culture. During July and August an increase of violent sectarian incidents is noted which indicates that this right is a contested one.

While Eccles et al. note that in poor dangerous neighbourhoods people often distrust their neighbours (Eccles et al., 1993), this is not the case in the Fountain according to the residents. Despite the presence of most of the characteristics of a dangerous, poor neighbourhood The Fountain is socially well organized and solidarity to the community is highly valued. However views on the community showed a generational difference. Young people praised the dense community and community spirit, older people noted a change and they considered it not so dense anymore. Older generations often referred to the newcomers in the Fountain as reason for that. A 68-year-old woman claimed that 'if the Fountain gets any lower, I'll blow it up myself'[4] and she explained how new people who are originally not from the

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[4] Author's interview held in May 2011 with a female Fountain resident (68)

Fountain have a big role in the ongoing violence, giving the neighbourhood a bad name. Fountain residents sometimes referred to newcomers as 'outsiders' indicating that they don't really belong there according to other residents. Suspicion towards the newcomers was often expressed. Vacant dwellings were omnipresent and many newcomers stay just for a short period of time. In the past, attempts to put in Nationalist families in the houses failed due to hostilities. Simultaneously people are in favour of attracting new families from the Waterside or other Protestant communities to the Fountain to keep the numbers up. Even within the Fountain itself there is division (old versus new residents) and 'dense community' does not mean that everybody feels connected and knows and likes each other.

There are different levels of socialization with the Catholic community. The workspace was often shared and people acknowledged that if you want a job, you cannot be picky about the community background of your co-workers. All interviewees said to have Catholic friends, mainly through work. The level of interaction however differed from sporadic to daily. Most of the children went to segregated schools. The Youth Club appeared to be the most important facilitator in cross-community interaction between young people. Cooperation on welfare issues and cross-community work was highly developed and interaction between different community workers was very common. During the elections and the marching season however tension grows and mainly issues on parades and dissident groups are still contested. People who were not actively involved in community work tended to interact little with the other community.

4.1.4 Violence and Security

The Fountain knows a high rate of violent and non-violent sectarian incidences. Jarman (2005) notes how it's difficult to distinguish sectarian from non-sectarian violence because motivation and impact cannot always be determined. Furthermore a sectarian motivated incident might have a non-sectarian impact or the other way around, a 'normal' incident might impact community relations in a sectarian way. There is little data available on sectarian incidents and a lack of reporting incidents to the police, partly due to this blurred boundary and different perceptions of the nature of violence. Several community workers and police officers note that the young boys involved in the violence have ambivalent motives and for the larger part it's more an exciting game for them then a serious sectarian attack, or as one community worker remarks 'I'd say it's half sectarian, half for the craic'.[5]

Official figures dating back from the April 2003- January 2004 period identify 60 sectarian incidents in the Fountain, including petrol bombs (17 incidents), disturbances like paint bombs, stone throwing (28 incidents), Hoax bombs (6) and criminal damage (9) (Jarman, 2005: 17). The board of the Cathedral Youth Club keeps track of the sectarian incidents in the neighbourhood reporting a substantial number of incidents in 2010, with an increase of violence during the parade season (April until August) and around Christmas. Among interviewees from the Fountain as well as among people from outside the Fountain disagreement on the level of violence exists. One says it has gone up, one says it has gone down the past year, or the past 5 years, or since Christmas this year. Interviewees however agreed on the fact that the Fountain is still a violence-prone area. In Northern Irish vocabulary the Fountain is a 'notorious sectarian flashpoint' (Derry Journal, 2009) where safety is a major issue. An important story told by youngsters is that they cannot leave the Fountain and go into the city centre because they will be beaten up. All generations confirm the

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[5] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male community worker in the Foutain (30); 'craic' is slang for 'fun'

danger for young people to go out. Being from the Fountain is according to Fountain residents a reason for Nationalists to beat you up. Also other generations have stories about destroyed cars or name-calling. Everyone I talked to had experienced some form of verbal or physical attack when going through the gate separating the Fountain from the City centre. Safety measures are everyday business and confirm the bounded nature of the Fountain community. Kids were aware of their restrictions. There was good communication among parents about bringing and picking up children from places outside the Fountain. Children played in the centre and not near the interface. Security cameras and fences for the windows constantly remind you of the 'danger'. People noted to feel safe in the Fountain, at the same time they said they needed security measures in order to live a normal life. Feeling safe and feelings of fear went together. Parents feared for their children to go out. A major problem was waiting for the school bus outside the area. Because of their school uniforms children are easily identified and often singled out and attacked. Youngsters were very aware of the existing mechanism of identification. They only go into the city centre in groups of ten to twelve, because they fear attacks. Youngsters note that because of the small size of the Fountain 'they all know us, we don't know all of them'[6]. Besides uniforms, Facebook and football tops were noted as important means in identifying and watching the 'other'. A girl (18) explained wearing Ranger tops into the City side was not provocative, they just don't agree that the other can wear Celtic tops and they cannot were Ranger tops without getting beaten up[7]. This combination of fear and conviction of the *right* to express their culture was something noted frequently among adolescents.

A woman (36) from the Fountain noted she is careful with bringing in Catholic friends. There is fear to go outside but also a danger for Catholics to come in and many people acknowledged the two-sided boundary. An older inhabitant of the Fountain explained how

> From an early age they learn that there is a problem and it's a them and us problem. And they'd become vicious, if they see a Catholic coming into their territory, it's territorial, and that young Catholic will get beaten.[8]

Striking was the fact that cross-community projects were often named as sources of information about your 'enemies'. Youngsters told how after the projects they knew who to beat up and the other way around. Although telling about the fear of getting beaten up also evoked some kind of excitement most youngsters felt really restricted in their movement. This was acknowledged by the older generations, while some of them saw it as a sacrifice they had to make for the community. People from the Fountain were more than once described (by themselves as well as outsiders) as having a 'siege mentality'. They feel like they are still under siege because they cannot easily leave their area. A young man explained that 'living in the Fountain you are just brought up to defend your home'.[9] Another noted that his parents told him 'if somebody does harm on you, you do harm on them'.[10] Family members were important in keeping the boundaries intact and shaping the mental boundaries in

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[6] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male Fountain resident (22)

[7] The Rangers and Celtic are rival football teams from Scotland, a rivalry stretched out to Northern Ireland

[8] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male Fountain resident (78)

[9] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male Fountain resident (23)

[10] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male Fountain resident (22)

youngsters through the passing of safety measures, defence strategies and the creation of awareness of restrictions of movement.

There are many bars and shops close by but Fountain residents prefer to go to the Waterside were they feel safer. A big critique on the Fountain facilities is not that the facilities in the city centre are inaccessible but that the transport to the Waterside is marginal. A remarkable observation is that people from Waterside often actually do go to City side. People from the Fountain see stronger boundaries to go to the City side, due to fear of recognition (they know who we are) and abuse.

Despite this master narrative of restricted movement everything between no movement and free movement occurred. Older people did go to the city centre; they didn't feel threatened. I met young boys from the Fountain in the City side, on their way to their jobs. There were Catholics from the city side employed in the Fountain day-care who felt comfortable working in the Fountain.

While the older people were fairly happy with security cameras for younger generations it felt like 'big brother' (Female, 18). At the same time they told that they grew up with the fences and the cameras and it didn't bother them. Young people all noted that they would wish more freedom of movement for their kids. Taking down the wall however was for none of the interviewees a serious option. 'If the wall comes down, there will be no Fountain anymore'[11] and 'we would never live in peace if they take that down'[12] were standard reactions. The Fountain estate exist by the virtue of segregation and interface walls. A community worker noted how 'you click your fingers and you have interface up but seeing it back down again, that's impossible.'[13] The same was noted by a PSNI police officer. Fences mark security but also a lack of trust. This distrust was not only expressed towards Catholics but to virtually all outsiders.

4.1.5 Social Control

A major problem in the area, noted by several interviewees is the lack of trust in the police. Interviewees indicated how they felt left alone by the police and they accused them of being one sided. Because they are smaller in numbers several Fountain residents felt more vulnerable to the police; a more 'easy target' in cases of arrest. One man explained how people from the Fountain often feel abused or targeted by the police instead of supported:

> Because the police service would like it nice and quiet. And as far as they're concerned they don't want any publicity over sectarianism. So as long as the Fountain estate is here, and it's the only protestant estate here, then it means it's a thorn in their sight. Because they have to sort of patrol this and been seen to do something. Rather than do nothing. Also because the numbers here are smaller. When there is a riot situation I would say they will be looking for you eight people out here where at the Nationalist side they will come up with 30.[14]

This feeling that the police and politicians do nothing for the Fountain residents was also expressed in the newspapers. On the one hand people from the Fountain felt that they are left alone to protect their own area. From the other side the feeling that the community did too little to prevent clashes was often expressed (Derry Journal, 2007- 2009; Londonderry Sentinel, 2010; BBC news, 2002-2011). Discussions about

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[11] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male Fountain resident (30)

[12] Author's interview held in May 2011 with a female Fountain resident (68)

[13] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male community worker in the Foutain (30)

[14] Author's interview held in June 2011 with a male Foutain resident (49)

initiatives of nightly patrols in and around the Fountain from both sides of the communities emerged frequently. The threat is acknowledged by both sides of the communities but there is debate about who is responsible.

Besides inter-group violence the area shows intra-group violence in the sense of paramilitary social control (Steenkamp, 2008; personal interviews). Most people from the Fountain emphasize how Loyalists in Derry/Londonderry haven't been involved in major violence over the past years. In several interviews however it became apparent that there is ongoing paramilitary presence in the Fountain. Older generations noted how paramilitaries still have high social control over the youth and that if violence rises up again they are big enough to mobilize also because of their links with Waterside paramilitaries. Older interviewees and community workers noted how in the Fountain there is high peer pressure to be part of a gang and being militant is the norm. The status of the paramilitary is contested. One interviewee explained 'they see themselves as essential to defend the area because the PSNI were not protecting the people here, so the paramilitaries stepped into that vacuum.'[15] Mainly old people however disagreed with this self-ascribed role of the paramilitaries and claimed to be in favour of a moderate, non-militant society. Important to note is the difference between 'light' teenager violence which occurs more out of boredom and puberty and the more serious paramilitary violence where motives of social control and sectarianism are involved. The throwing of bricks, stones and glass over the fences happens to both sides involving mainly 13-18 year olds. Destruction of property and beating at night however would involve people in their 20s and 30s according to the interviewees and news archives. Fear for groups in their late teens/early twenties from the other side but also from the own community was often expressed by older people. Anti-social behavior of what was referred to as 'the lost generation' or 'the lost youth' and the lack of parental control is an important issue for residents of the Fountain as well as for the City Council and the PSNI in the Fountain and in other areas of the city and the wider Northern Ireland.

In sum the Fountain is characterized by a high level of intra-community interaction, low economic status, high levels of violence and highly visible affiliation to Britain and the Loyalist/Protestant culture. Residents of the Fountain from all generations value the community spirit and the unique status of the only all-Protestant area at the City side. Important spheres of influence with regard to community issues and group boundaries are the community, peer groups, the social media, paramilitaries and the family. Although segregation and violence towards the other community survived over generations, views on the boundaries and attitudes differ. In the neighbourhood study several differences were noted in the perception of living in the enclave of residents from different generations. The Fountain for older generations is an important caretaker of the Protestant heritage and characterized by the strong community cohesion although they note a change in that community spirit. Older people often referred to the ongoing violence as a threat to the estate. For youngsters violence was more often seen as necessary defence mechanism and part of the Fountain identity. On the other hand youth was considered to be the main victim of the ongoing violence and the enclave dynamics for it seriously restricts their movement and opportunities. Love and pride for the estate go hand in hand with frustration and fear related to the living conditions. The family is an important entity in the Fountain and is related to protection, attachment to the estate and intergenerational 'teaching' and 'learning' linked to issues of community relations.

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[15] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male Fountain resident (73); PSNI is the Police Service Northern Ireland

The following chapter will sketch, based on personal interviews, an intergenerational portrait of the families of the Fountain and the influence of family life on boundary drawing and ongoing violence.

4.2 The Family Footsteps

Family life matters in the Fountain. Attitudes, behaviour and boundaries are influenced by what is learned from (grand)parents but also by the way family relations are valued and by feelings of loyalty and responsibility towards the family. In this section I will look at the vertical relations between (grand)parents and children as well as horizontal relations between siblings and between members of the same generation across different families. This chapter compares the answers to different sets of interview questions (see Appendix II) of different family members and contains an analysis of the differences and similarities of discourse and practice between members of the same families and members from the same generation. The main focus is on the differences and similarities between youth and older generations and their perceptions of cross-community relations and violence. This section attempts to clarify where we can find signs of family influence and *how* this 'transmission' of attitudes, behaviour and boundaries actually comes about. The interviews showed that family influence knows different routes and different outcomes.

4.2.1 Discourses

Stories
Stories appeared to be a powerful tool in the conceptualization of the other, group boundaries and the ongoing conflict. Stories are told by all family members. They are transferred and although individuals might interpret them differently all interviewed families showed to have certain powerful stories that prevailed through generations and are inhabited by all members. Stories can be grouped in stories about history in general, the stories of the wider Loyalist/Protestant community, and personal histories of family members. 'Old' history about the Siege of Derry, King Billy and the Plantation were mainly transferred in schools and through community traditions like celebration days. Recent history about the Troubles was told within families, where personal experiences and more general events were interwoven. Personal histories of family members were an important source of information about the Troubles for youngsters. The death of family members and suffering of the family during the Troubles was important in shaping an image of the other community. Claims as 'everybody lost a loved'[16] and 'there has been too much hurt here'[17] characterizes the pain that is still present in the Fountain. Direct bonds with victims of the Troubles were highly important to the connectedness to the conflict the post-Troubles generation still claimed to experience. The direct experience of loss of family members was often said to hamper forgiveness and trust of the other community. Besides the presence of war victims within the family the Fountain knows a high level of involvement in the armed forces and imprisonment of family members during the conflict. Loyalty and respect towards the actions of these past 'heroes' prevailed. However, different meanings ascribed to the past violence in relation to the present was expressed within and between families. While one ex-combatants regretted his actions, his children acknowledged being proud of it.

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[16] Author's interview held in May 2011 with a male Fountain resident (34)
[17] Author's interview held in May 2011 with a female Fountain resident (68)

Another case however showed a daughter who respected what her father had done for the community but firmly rejected the use of violence in general. Going to prison for some youngsters was 'like a badge of honour'[18]. On the other hand a boy whose father was imprisoned claimed how his old man 'taught' him to be sectarian while he thought it was stupid. Respect was an important notion but no clear-cut relation was found between parents who were actively involved in the conflict and radical behaviour of their children, who were exposed to these stories of past violence. A moderate family on the other hand was no guarantee for moderate children; a man noted how his grandson 'would see me as a wishy-washy, a moderate'[19] indicating their different views on community relations.

Fountain residents often felt strong loyalty towards their community and family members who defended their community in the past. Feelings of betrayal often played part in family relations. If a family included ex-combatants or victims of inter-community violence, engagement with the other community often led to family situations where betrayal, fear, incomprehension and sometimes exclusion or excommunication from the family played a role. Family ties entailed a complex relation between loyalty towards stories of past events and current engagement in good cross-community relations. Coming from a family with a history of taking sides in a conflict could complicate steps towards integration and peace because of respect, loyalty and fear of losing trust and belonging to the family. Family histories often formed a boundary for inter-community relations. The reluctance to socialize with the other community or taking part in cross-community projects was often linked to fear for the reactions of the family. These feelings of loyalty and belonging however were not directly linked to feelings of hate and resorting to violence. Youngsters did use stories about war heroes and incidents during the Troubles as justification for violent 'counter' acts but more often violence was related to recent incidents as the abuse of siblings and personal rivalries instead of revenge related to what happened to family members in the past. While stories about the past were shared and were related to family loyalty they were not often mentioned as motive for violence. Past violence meant different things to different generations. A grandmother indicated she could never trust the other community again. She generalized her feeling of distrust over the whole community which held her back from inter community interaction. Her grandson on the other hand said that the other community didn't really bother him as long as they did not fight him. He considered the violence in the past as over and although he was aware of the hostile relations and possibility of attack violence was only relevant to him if his own situation was under threat and he felt no barriers to be engaged in cross-community projects. Another case showed how the grandfather maintained good relations with people from the Bogside while his grandson indicated he hated all people from the Bog and they all hated him. Although awareness of a divide sensitive to conflict was found across generations there was a great intra-family and cross-generational variety in the meaning of stories of past violence for daily interaction and activity.

Parents often indicated that they tried to teach their children there is good and bad on both sides. Some children indeed acknowledged this education of tolerance while others indicated that their parents talked one sided about the conflict. The way the Troubles are discussed differed between families. (Grand)parents were aware of the transfer of stories and they indicated that they thought about what to tell and what not to tell with regard to the education of their children. Strategies of dealing with the Troubles within families differed from silence (for example because a lack of

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[18] Author's interview held in May 2011 with a male Fountain resident (23)

[19] Author's interview held in May 2011 with a male Fountain resident (73)

interest or because of fear) to exposure in order to 'prepare them for the real world'. Where one man claimed his mother 'basically blinded me from what was happening'[20] another young man (22) told how his mother could go on and on telling stories, while his mother declared not to talk about the Troubles at all. Strategies of dealing with the Troubles and experiencing the way the Troubles were addressed could differ within one family. A boy declaring that his mother never talked about the Troubles because it was too painful shows how silence about the conflict has a story value and an impact on the new generation too. The emotions that accompanied or were elicited by stories were important. Fear, anger, pride and resentment were often related to experiences of family members. Emotions of family members influenced other family members. A boy (23) noted how caring for his mother was the most important thing in life and her worries and pain about what happened in the past evoked frustration and anger in him and while his mother felt that it was important to overcome past hate he admitted his difficulties with forgiving the other community. The affective ties within families often evoked strong emotional reactions on emotional stories within the family.

Fountain residents tended to claim that the Troubles aren't over yet, or at least not in the Fountain; new stories of violence and fear are still added. All generations referred to this 'war is not over' discourse and state of being 'under siege'. The stories of older generations often contained a comparison with the times before the Troubles and the relative peace now compared to the times during the Troubles. The stories of the youngsters often referred to a certain habituation to violence and they often indicated how it didn't bother them anymore. Simultaneously youngsters indicated that they wanted to give their children a better, more peaceful life than their parents and they have had, acknowledging that they were bothered by the violence. Stories about the past as well as their own experiences influenced their view on the future. The conflict the Fountain has gone through and the way its residents fought to keep the enclave standing was an important element of the pride for the estate of all generations. The main concern of residents nowadays however was the 'new' story of the restricted young people who could not go into the city centre because of fear of beatings. Stories about recent beatings and throwing of stones and bottles into the Fountain appeared to be more real and meaningful to youngsters than the events in the Troubles with regard to their boundaries of movement and out-group attitudes. Stories were often referred to as heritage that was an important part of your identity. Shared history enforces the belonging to a family and the wider community. What is talked about and shared in the family influences views on the past and the presence. Tied family bonds showed a strong sense of connectedness to what happens to other family members. Stories are sources of knowledge and emotional belonging which is important in drawing the boundary between us and them. Stories strengthen family ties and the belonging to the community and affiliation with the past. Individuals however dealt differently with family histories in respect to cross-community relations, behaviour and boundary drawing and the meaning of stories for the present life differed intergenerationally.

Language
An important element in family relations is the transmission of language, not in the sense of learning English or the reproduction of stories but as the transmission of labels, terms and ways to talk about certain issues in everyday conversations. Attitudes expressed through language can be passed consciously as well as unconsciously. Observations and interview data show the reproduction of terms

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[20] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a female Fountain resident (30)

through generations including a common vocabulary and cross-generational and cross-community reproduction of terms and phrases.

The most obvious example is the name 'Londonderry' to refer to the city. The use of the name 'Derry' is disapproved of and observations showed how parents corrected their children in naming the city. Important is that although terms as 'our culture', 'sectarianism' and 'community spirit' are frequently used by all generations the meaning of these terms to individuals differed. Interviews showed a trend in the use of the term 'sectarian' by youngsters as something you are because you live in the Fountain, a cultural thing you are brought up with. People from the older generations on the other hand tended to identify the term with something negative, related to violence, and they would not class themselves as sectarian. An older woman noted how sectarianism doesn't really bother her:

> I wouldn't go out and raise a battle about it you know, but at the same time I wouldn't let anybody take me out of my religion. I am what I am, that's the way it is.[21]

She clearly attached a violent dimension to being sectarian; while she had strong feelings about her identity she would not resort to violence and she would therefore not consider herself sectarian. This tension between standing up for your beliefs and the rejection of violence was noted among many older people.

Another way language plays a role in the construction of boundaries was through messages hiding in cursing and jokes. Observations showed how parents who claimed to make an effort in teaching their children that not all Catholics are bad simultaneously used cursing words as 'fenians'[22]. These words were reproduced by children who where often very aware of the meaning and offensive character of it. Jokes often carried a derogative character towards the other community. A man who during the interview explained how he wanted to teach his children to be tolerant towards the Catholic culture later told the dog in the presence of his children to go pee on the Derry Walls, followed by great laughing. Caution must be paid here for it might be possible that making jokes about sectarianism might be a first step towards a more light view on community relations. Children taking over derogative jokes however does influence their conception about how you can or cannot talk about 'the other' and distinguishes between us and 'stupid' them.

Another boundary marker hidden in language was the actual use of us-them constructions. This us-them terminology was used in different contexts and sentences and comparisons between communities were frequently made in interviews and family conversations. Youngsters who took part in cross-community projects often used the same vocabulary in talking about the other community (they have their culture, we have ours). Within families a striking consistency in the use of the phrase 'respect for their culture' was found. Clearly this was taught as an important element of community relations. Respect and tolerance are words connoting positive attitudes. Expressing respect for 'their' culture however still is an acknowledgement of difference.

All families and generations showed signs of positive self-presentation and a more negative presentation of the other. More than once interviewees referred to the 'staunch Catholics' teaching their children violent attitudes towards Protestants while Protestant parents teach their children to respect the other culture. Republicans were often blamed for the ongoing violence while stressing that Loyalist violence has stopped for a while now. Although most interviewees admitted there is 'good and

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[21] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a female Fountain resident (72)
[22] Derogatory term for Irish Republicans in Northern Ireland

bad on both sides' examples of youth violence generally depicted violent youngsters from the other side. Violent behaviour from the Fountain youth was often somehow excused (for example 'few of us against many of them'). Using 'defence' vocabulary was a cross-generational language feature. Being a 'care-taker community', 'living under siege', 'standing up for your believes' are just some of the phrases often used. Defence was often linked to the protection of the family which was highly valued. Teaching respect, peace and moderation went hand in hand with language conveying boundaries and blame, although not always very explicit. Besides spoken language another language element fostered by the families were texts and symbols within the house. The outside make-up of the Fountain is marked by flags and paintings but also family homes were decorated with references to the British and Loyalist culture emphasizing what you are and where you are and who you are not.

If we look at the diversity in attitudes, expressions and conceptualization of boundaries and sectarianism we can identify diverse trajectories of transmission of discourses. Transmission of stories and language strengthen family ties and the feeling of belonging to the group. However no clear-cut relation within families was found between behavioural consequences of stories transmitted within the family. Parents who showed more extreme attitudes and a history of violence not 'automatically' had children that expressed extreme views and out-group hostilities. From analysing stories and language arises a transmission of an us-and-them conceptualization. Unclear however are the cues about how to act according this divide. Stories about the Troubles tell about times when divide was clearer and violence was accepted as necessary defence. Nowadays ongoing threats, feelings of mistrust, a legacy of war and fear, blame and derogation of the other still exists but alongside narratives of cooperation, being tolerant and a discourse of peacebuilding. While stories of the Troubles on the one hand mean 'past' conflict they also resonate in ongoing conflict because the enclave space is still contested and the conflict factors present during the Troubles are partly still meaningful in the Fountain. Important however is that *new* stories of youngsters growing up now are relevant to the meaning youngsters ascribe to the divide. Families clearly show how different generations experience the current situation in the Fountain differently and family stories have different places in the life stories of its members.

4.2.2 Practices
Day to day practices in the Fountain show a high level of segregation. Residents mainly interacted with people from the Protestant community. There generally was little interaction with the Catholic community. However, as said in the previous chapter there were different levels of cross-community interaction. Practices are important in setting the boundaries of the group. Because parents often decided which school to go to, where to recreate and where to do after-school activities they had a decisive role in integrated or segregated practices of their children.
All youngsters I interviewed went to Protestant schools. Leisure took place at the Waterside or the Apprentice Boys Memorial Hall. These were all Protestant environments and activities. Work was one of the most important places to meet people from the other community while unemployment often resulted in less movement out of the area and less cross-community interaction. Work relations however were seldom brought into the family home. Socialization with families from the other community was rare. Friends of members of all generations mainly came from the Fountain or the Waterside. Cross-community socialization is tightly connected to family and community pressure. Specific peace initiatives as community-relation projects as well as 'normal' practices as deciding which schools

your children attend can have a conflict related impact. While as a parent you might have a choice to put your child on a Catholic school this will possibly have consequences for your position in the community. Responses to the question why parents made certain decisions with regard to schools and leisure always referred to safety (the own community was regarded as safer) but also to community norms. Family practices and parental decisions in the Fountain are not independent from the wider community dynamics. If we look at the difference in boundaries of practice older people had more extended boundaries than youngsters. Psychological barriers informed by fear of beatings but also restrictions of movement imposed by parents (often too informed by fear of beatings) limited the movement of youngsters to the own estate and the Waterside. The oldest generation had the least psychological boundaries although they often referred to the days before the Troubles when they could go to more places compared to now. The middle generation tended to work outside the area which made them more mobile through the city. However this generation also noted problems with going to shops and bars at the City side because of an active role in the Troubles as security force member or otherwise. Fear of recognition was shared by the middle and the youngest generation. The psychological boundaries restricted movement out of the physical boundaries of the area.

Segregation and belonging is transmitted through day-to-day practices because segregated practices imposed by parents clarify the boundaries for youngsters. A ritualized confirmation of the group boundaries are the annual celebration days. The events show an interesting intersection between discourses and practices and the influence of family and community. As noted in the Chapter 4.1 the celebration days in July and August are often mentioned as the best days of the year in the Fountain. These celebrations of identity are a family affair where all generations come together to celebrate important historical events and all Fountain residents share good memories about those days. The days are associated with feelings of affection and family and community cohesion. Within this community event the family has an important place. For example preparations at home, the care for grandparents to escort them to the festivities and teaching your siblings how to make a bonfire are family memories that make the practice of the event worth remembering. These family events are specific celebrations of the own group and feelings of affection and belonging are connected with feelings of superiority and hostility towards the other, a rivalry which is not only historically relevant but still present. The honouring of war days is interrelated with family intimacy and good times, the overt celebration and pronunciation of group boundaries is what is fostered as the best part of living in the Fountain. Also other big celebrations as the wedding of Prince William and Queen's day show the interplay of family life and national identity for it includes a positive identification with the British identity. Although these celebrations have no violent connotations they still influence the development of belonging in youngsters. Besides the own celebration days the parades and events of the other community are important. Negative remarks with regard to the Bloody Sunday parades and the emphasis on 'their' events and 'our' events sharpen boundaries. Interviews and observations show how parades of the other community often elicit negative feelings across generations. One remark needs to be made here; in Derry/Londonderry there is a certain move towards collective cross-community events. Both communities massively attended the opening of the Peace Bridge, a new connection between the City side and the Waterside. Activities during this event focused on families (circus, fireworks, bands) from both sides. This might not directly evoke interaction between the communities but common festivities as the Peace Bridge opening and the upcoming City of Culture events and the *decision* of families to attend the events are

potentially positive for community relations. The focus on family activities is not accidental; good relation strategies and community workers note how the family is the new focus of cross-community work.

The decision to live in the Fountain and to raise your children there already is an important family influence on the development of identity and belonging in children. Through practices parents influence the degree of segregation in which children grow up and segregated family practices and involvement in group-specific events strengthen feelings of belonging. Although these practices are important in the process of categorization no direct links to *violent* practices and violent behaviour within the family were found. Indeed segregation is fostered and in a sense celebrated but efforts from the community to make the celebrations days more family friendly, accessible and less violent and sectarian showed a commitment to peace. Again different signals with regard to the divide are transmitted; on the one hand a wish to keep intact the community pride and boundaries, on the other hand a wish for more peaceful coexistence. If belonging is enforced by family socialization the next question is if violence is as well. If the family provides different cues with regard to attitudes and behaviour towards the other community, and youngsters react on these cues differently it is important to look at the restrictions on transmission.

4.3 From belonging to violent behaviour; limits of transmission

The family is an important entity within the Fountain but also an entity which is highly interconnected with the wider community. Within the enclave context of the Fountain, family relations are highly valued and important for the tied network and strong feelings of belonging. If we look at the ongoing violence however different views are expressed and the older generations hold other values than the younger ones. Parenting and the discourses and practices within the family are crucial to the socialization process but the development of *violent* attitudes and behaviours differed within and between families and showed a limit to the degree of family influence on the violent behaviour of youngsters. This section looks at the limits of transmission and the trends or diversity found in the families of the Fountain.

According to several community workers parents play a crucial role in the continuation of bad community relations. In doing cross-community work with the children they noticed how 'as soon as they get back and go into their own houses they are with the back against the wall again'.[23] Attitudes expressed by parents towards the other community however where not automatically copied. The older generations stated that the youngest generation is more extreme in their violent views towards the other community. A lot of parents disagreed with their children on attitudes towards 'the other'. Others however claimed to teach their children to defend the house and stand up for their beliefs and some children indicated they *learned* their views on the other community from their parents. Attitudes within one family could be similar as well as different or opposite but family influence was often limited by personal experiences. A 23-year-old boy shared his experience of getting heavily beaten up when he was a child and how that incited him to act violent towards the other community:

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[23] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male community worker (30) in the Fountain

> The way I thought, you know whenever I was hitting somebody, one of these here was probably the boys that jumped me, that's the way I thought. I was all, I know one of these people had me, and left me in hospital, so I had them earn.[24]

His attitude towards the other community hardened due to his experience, resulting in violent behaviour. The young boy went to court a couple of times and he told how his mother, grandparents and other older people from the community considered him to be 'a scumbag' while his friends thought he was 'the big man'. The disapproval of violence by elder people and support for violence by peers was often noted. Youngsters saw violence more as fun but defence and revenge where motives also noted. While defence and revenge could be related to family protection more often a personal experience with violence was mentioned as main reason for being violent. Youth violence was according to some youngsters their way of defending the community while it was condemned by older people who rather saw their youth out of trouble and felt not defended by the violence. Violence for older people was no longer as legitimate as during the Troubles. Family disapproval however often was no barrier to violence for youngsters. Imaging the other can be influenced by the family through the ways mentioned above but peer groups, community work and paramilitary presence also play an important role. Two interviewees explicitly stated that they overheard parents encouraging their kids to take part in violence against the other community but in general 'teaching' violence was not considered to be the case. Parents ascribed a bigger role to peer pressure and the paramilitaries. Where parents had less control, the context was more important. Older people argued that modern parents have lost control over their children, calling them the lost youth or the lost generation. Parents were not accused of transmitting violent attitudes and behaviours, they were accused of a lack of supervision and power to prevent it. A recurrent remark was the wish of parents to bring in moderation into the next generation and teach them to be tolerant and non-violent. Simultaneously parents often noted a *failure* of these attempts and an outside pressure for youngsters to act defensive and violent. The militant character of peer groups and paramilitaries in the Fountain as well as disputes with youngsters from the other community were said to *overrule* parental control and attempts to moderation. Violent behaviour and anti-social behaviour furthermore not exclusively targeted the out-group, which means that the violent behaviour is not only related to the inter-community relations. The older generations noted fear to stand up against violent and anti-social youth behaviour because of the risk that youngsters would turn at them. The rivalry between the youth from the Fountain and the youth from the Bogside resembles the lines of rivalry during and before the Troubles. The disputes however were based on recent experiences and personal rivalries were not directly related to the Troubles or family rivalries. As noted in 4.1 an important element of the 'light' violence was the amusement and rebellious adolescent character of it. This detachment of the violence from the Troubles indicates that involvement of parents in the conflict and conflict related stories and practices are of minor importance to this violence.

Family stories, practices, events and language influence youngsters' attitudes, behaviour and conceptions of boundaries. The family is not however detached from the wider context and different spheres of influence can interact or overrule family influence. The interconnectedness between community and family was high in the Fountain, which related to the shared history, physical community boundaries and small numbers. The way families want to present themselves towards their community was often noted as restriction on family agency. For example going out

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[24] Author's interview held in April 2011 with a male Fountain resident (23)

with Catholic girls was frowned upon within the family mostly framed in term of 'what would the other community members think of that'. Another example is the term 'fenian lovers' used for families with a lot of Catholic friends, sometimes causing exclusion from the community. Families are part of the wider community and community pressure on family behaviour can elicit family pressure on the behaviour of individuals. Again respect, loyalty, fear for betrayal and fear for the opinion or attitudes of other family and community members play a role. Accommodation conform what you think others think was often described in explaining behaviour. Family and community judgements about behaviour were important but not defining. The choice of youngsters to take the path of violence as well as the path of peace in the Fountain was more informed by personal experience and peers than by family attitudes and behaviour. Doing cross community work despite rejection of parents occurred as well as resort to inter-community violence despite rejection of parents. The current situation in the Fountain shows an ambivalent relation to violence. Defence of the community and preservation of the estate is still of paramount importance to the residents while youngsters feel misunderstood in their violence because they cannot count on community support for their acts. Frustration about restrictions and love and pride for the still standing enclave go hand in hand. Families exist of different generations that ascribe different meanings to the boundaries of the estate. The variety in the Fountain with regard to cross-community attitudes and behaviours was a variety which was also found within families. The encounter with peers, paramilitary but also with cross-community work in the youth club or elsewhere influenced the personal conceptualization of boundaries and boundary strategies. Although the Fountain is said to be still in a state of war, the complexities of a war to peace transition were omnipresent. Attitudes towards violence and the justification of it showed ambivalence within individuals. Perceptions of the role of violence in the current Fountain and the meaning of the conflict nowadays differed within families. This variety in a tied enclave and in tied families where one expects more mind-likeness invites for a discussion on transmission within the family and a reconsideration of the *crucial* role of parents in ongoing violence in the Fountain and elsewhere.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Aim of this research was to explore family relations in an enclave context. The Fountain in Derry/Londonderry is a physically bounded neighbourhood where family and community life is very important and where violence rates are still very high. I looked at family relations and the transmission of boundaries and (violent) attitudes and behaviour towards the other community and at the way this transmission worked and what actually was 'transmitted'. Important is that the family is only one sphere of influence and family influence interacts with for example influence from the community, peer groups, paramilitaries, school and work. The Fountain showed a high degree of variation within families and between generations with regard to patterns of violent behaviour and attitudes. The results enforce a rejection of the assumption that you are what you are because your parents are like that and the idea that parents 'teach' sectarianism, out-group hate and violent action. The neighbourhood is less coherent and mind-like as seems from the outside and the meaning of war and peace is different to different generations. Even the small Fountain with its tied bonds shows a wide variety of attitudes, opinions and behaviours with regard to cross-community relations, also within families. The family is relatively important for the socialization process in the sense that they transmit or reconfirm the boundary of the group and strengthen feelings of belonging to family and community through discourse and practices. No evidence however was found of transmission of sectarianism and radical attitudes and behaviours. Families play an important role in the confirmation and construction of boundaries but not in the way boundaries are dealt with. Cues from parents with regard to attitudes and behaviour towards the other community showed ambivalence and conveyed elements of hostility as well as respect. Different generations assigned different meanings to the living situation and perceived the enclave situation differently. While the current peace/war situation is the aftermath of the Troubles for the older generation this vague and violent time of transition is the first encounter with 'life' and the only situation youngsters know. The family has relatively little influence on the radicalization of the youngsters. Motives for youth violence are not conflict related per se. The attempts and failure of parents to control their kids and bring in moderation shows a 'failure' of transmission and points to other contextual factors than parenting in the radicalization and resorting to violence of youngsters. This last section builds up from the process of socialization and the importance of family relations to the development of violent behaviour of youngsters and the relative unimportance of the family in that process. Finally this chapter contains some critical remarks and ideas for future research.

As predicted by socialization theory parents play an important role in the transmission of group norms and values. Family life contributes through stories, language and practices to national and religious affiliation and the development of a sense of belonging. As noted by Seheni:

> Stories told in childhood may be connected with intense bonds of love that the child has for her or his caregiver(s) during the time of life when she or he is most helpless. Such storytelling is also a process of political socialization and teaches about identity, power, and inter-group relations. Family storytelling is also a means through which inter-communal conflicts and identity-based prejudice are transmitted through the generations. (Seheni, 2002, 50)

Besides stories and language segregated practices confirm group boundaries. Through everyday practice segregation is normalized and reproduced, through

events divide is 'celebrated', feelings of belonging are strengthened for 'images of the enemy and political information, encoded in cultural parades and festivals attended by families, may be fused with childhood affections that would make them hard to question or challenge' (Seheni, 2002: 50). Family ties are highly valued in the Fountain and since family life and community life are highly interconnected in this enclave the belonging to a family strengthens the belonging to the group. Social learning theory indicates that clear cues and politicized environments are important in the transmission of political and religious affiliations (Jennings, Stoker and Bowers, 2001). Ongoing violence, stories about the troubles and the physical boundaries are consistent and clear cues. Due to family involvement in the conflict and ongoing threats the Fountain is a highly politicized area and within families religious and political affiliation are clear. Fear for the consequences for your position within the family is a real factor influencing boundaries. Psychological factors as fear for exclusion and betrayal, respect for past experiences of family members, loyalty and need for affection increase the sense of belonging to a particular family within a particular community.

Although parents generally deny that they raise their children sectarian, observations show how a sense of sectarianism can be unconsciously brought in during everyday situations and interactions. Children are exposed to the language of their parents and terms, labels and phrases are reproduced through generations. Stories, symbols and language foster and reproduce boundaries and exposure to violent imaginaries (Schröder and Schmidt, 2001) was found in all families. The portraying of the other through language showed elements of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Van Dijk, 2006) carrying out a message of belonging and cues about out-group attitudes. While this reproduction of boundary drawing and the transmission of an us-them divide might justify segregation it is not the same as direct transmission of *violent* attitudes and *violent* behaviour. Argued from Jarmans point of view segregation in Northern Ireland means 'that many people can live comfortably with little interaction with the 'other' and with a reduced fear of violence in their daily routines. The high levels of segregation also reduce the possibilities and opportunities for random sectarian attacks or acts of intimidation' (Jarman, 2005: 10). Although Fountain boundaries and practices show strict segregation, it's not a boundary for sectarian attacks. Boundary drawing and reproduction of divide in the Fountain is associated with violence. If there is a crucial role for parents in the conceptualization of group boundaries in youngsters the next question is if parents play a role in the radicalization of boundary strategies and the resort to out-group violence as well.

Findings show that defending your home and family was highly valued and in some families defence was noted as part of the youngsters' education. This 'culture of defence' is in line with the 'spatial consciousness' of Loyalist communities noted by Graham (2004) and the importance of territorial concerns of youth in Northern Ireland noted by Reilly et al. (2004). The boundaries of the Fountain are hard-edged and the territorial consciousness is enforced and carried out by the physical marks as well as by the defence mentality and the ongoing threats and stories about violence. Fry (1993) argues how a defensive approach to conflict is one of the contributions of families to boundary drawing and hostile attitudes. The ongoing attention to safety and defence within families contributes to violent attitudes of youngsters or to a consideration of violence as *legitimate* or justifiable way of acting. However, findings clearly show how violence was explicitly disfavoured by the older generations, which is also noted by (previous) violent youngsters who felt supported by their peers but neglected and hated by the rest of the family and community. Sectarian violence to youngsters related to identity while for older people it was something

negative. Although community workers noted a problem with parents holding their children back from good cross-community relations the data show that there are lots of different parent-child relations. Moderate parents can have children with extreme views and vice versa. This conflicts with the idea that parents *teach* their children to be violent towards the other community and the crucial role that is ascribed to parents in the ongoing violence. Older generations often noted how youngsters were more violent; this violence however was often not directly related to the Troubles or to sectarianism.

The classification of the violence perpetrated by youngsters as 'sectarian' is problematic. The label 'sectarian' is used to classify all kinds of incidents including personal disputes between youngsters and violence more related to recreation than to serious inter-communal hate. Boundaries between sectarian and 'other' violence are vague, which is in line with the work of Kalyvas (2003) who claims that personal disputes and local rivalries in civil wars are pursued under a national 'master-cleavage', in this case sectarianism. Youngsters have their own disputes with youngsters from 'the Bog'. These disputes might be informed and 'facilitated' by experiences of their parents in the Troubles but the old rivalry contains new disputes. Jarman argues that:

> there is a very real sense in which the sectarian divisions of society, and the necessary hostilities, fear, mistrust and suspicions which sustain and underpin such divisions, have become so deeply embedded in daily routines and normative behaviours that they are not recognised as sectarian, but rather are accepted as 'the way things are' (Jarman, 2005: 52).

Can you get used to bombs, fences and violence? Although incidents of throwing of stones and bottles were frequent and youngsters often mentioned to be used to violence it was not considered as normal and being used to violence did not eliminate fear. Violence was not *normative* from a family or community perspective. Family and community denoted a 'failure' to bring in moderation and they admitted to be scared to stand up to 'their' violent youngsters. Adolescent violence and paramilitary violence should be separated here. Youngsters' 'monkey tricks' and the later step to join the paramilitary were in some cases related but more often youth violence had other than paramilitary motives. The hostility between Loyalists from the Fountain and Republicans from the Bogside is ritualized, the violence and fights are however 'new' and the impact of the violence nowadays is different from the violence during the conflict. Loss of parental control was often mentioned as reason for youth violence. This would mean a 'non-influence' of family members who want to stop violent behaviour but are unable to do so. Other factors as thrill seeking, aggressive role models and 'the excitement attached to inter-community conflict' (Cairns, 1996 in Reily et al, 2004: 470) played a role in youth violence. The enclave context played an important role in the life of the youngsters in the Fountain and one can identify problems that are comparable to other less-advantaged neighbourhoods worldwide where family relations and national contexts are different (Leventhal and Brooks-Guns, 2000; Rodgers, 2002; Boyden and Mann; 2005). Family and neighbourhood might have positive as well as negative influence on a child's development. The Fountain showed a complex interplay of different spheres of influence but also a less predictive family influence. Even in tied families where parenting and supervision were successful and the teaching of coping with adversary conditions (Boyden and Mann, 2000) was highly developed it was noted that due to the militant context the resort of violence of youngster was difficult to avoid. Violence for fun was part of the strategy deployed by youngsters to cope with the adversary conditions and restrictions they felt imposed on them. The militant

culture and the importance of masculinity and violence is noted in different studies in Northern Ireland and other (post)war contexts (Reilly et al., 2004). Violence in the Fountain is the norm and a form of self-protection. The ongoing 'accepted' violence in the wider Northern Ireland and peer appreciation is important in the legitimating of violence, as is the perception of a lack of social control. Negative attitudes towards the police are not exclusively deployed in the Fountain; Muldoon (2004) for example notes a nationwide alienation from social control among young people. While the ritualized conflict played a role in youth violence, in-group pressure, lack of social control, fun and the occurrence of in-group violence show how 'social disadvantage rather than religious affiliation or ethnicity (…) is fundamental to young men's experience of and attitudes towards violence.' (Reilly, 2004: 480). The role of transmission within the family with regard to this violence is minimal.

Besides a blurred line between sectarian and other violence there is a blurred line between war and peace. The violence during the Troubles was more accepted and in the context of war more legitimate, at least in the eyes of the local community. The disapproval of violence now and the condemnation of it by the older community members shows the non-acceptance of current violence. For youngsters the conflict during the peace process creates a confusing situation where they still feel under threat and where defending family and community is valued but resorting to violence is no longer accepted. While for older generations the current situation is the after math of the conflict the youngsters 'reinvent' the rivalry. A culture of honouring war heroes and the glorification of violence and jail might, as the IPC also notes, evoke a feeling of 'missed glory' in youngsters; they missed the days of community heroism and look for their own trouble. Feelings of missed glory and group rivalry are not explicitly taught or transmitted but they are informed and influenced by stories and experiences of (grand)parents, interpreted and 'used' by children in their conceptualization of the conflict and its heritage. Wimmer argues how:

> A boundary displays both a categorical and a social or behavioural dimension. The former refers to acts of social classification and collective representation; the latter to everyday networks of relationships that result form individual acts of connecting and distancing. On individual level, the categorical and the behavioural aspects appear as two cognitive schemes. One divides the world into social groups (us and them), the other offers scripts of action – how to relate to individuals classified as us and them (Wimmer, 2008: 975).

The role of the family in confirming boundaries contributes to the categorical dimension of the boundary. The way this social boundary is used, the behavioural aspect of the boundary, shows youth agency and an extra-family influence of peer groups and paramilitaries in the Fountain. The many different ways community relations and boundaries are discussed within families and the variety in reactions and ways of dealing with this social boundary by youngsters, even siblings, indicates the presence of other sources of influence than family relations. If we go back to the clear and consistent cues that according to Jennings, Stoker and Bower enforce socialization we could indeed see clear cues of national and religious affiliation but inconsistent cues with regard to scripts of action associated with these affiliations. Former heroes and wars are honoured and the defenders of the community are very important while on the other hand older generations disapprove of the sectarian attitudes and violence of youngsters nowadays. The way the violence is excused through sympathy for the youngsters' difficulties and understanding of their hard environment shows however an ambivalent disapproval. While tolerance and non-violence is said to be taught language sometimes reveals hostile attitudes and

blaming. The enclave youngsters grow up in a confusing situation where conflict is celebrated and condemned at the same time. The us-them is still clear from family cues but the way to act towards the other community is not. This could account for the different family relations found. Family relations transmit some values and cues but individuals use different sources to develop their own scripts of attitudes and behaviour. The belonging and on the other hand detaching from the family is in line with previous clinical and developmental research as described by Grotevant and Cooper (1985) who emphasize the importance of as well individuality (separateness) as connectedness within family relationships. Connectedness can be found in the cross-generational stories, which are not only shared by family members but also by community members. Individuality can be found in particular personal experiences, personal relations and extra-family or extra-community experiences.

This research started with hypothesizing a *difference* in the conceptualization of social space and the construction of mental boundaries among family members. Boundaries of the group are clear and consistent among family members; boundaries of practice and movement however differ. The youth is more bounded to area psychological as well as physical. The improved security measures restrict movement and contribute to physical but also mental boundaries of the community. Security measures taken by parents influence the conceptualization of the 'safe' areas and thus boundaries of their children's physical and mental movement. This micro security dilemma shows how providing security does not mean bringing peace, and in this case clearly enforces the lack of trust between communities; a lack of trust that is 'transmitted' through security measures taken by parents and community. The fences not only protect from the outside world, they protect the tight community feeling. The fear of the walls coming down can be a fear of attack of the Fountain as well as a fear of losing their unique position, a loss of differentiation. This is in line with Brewer (2001) stating that groups bind because of their need to be different. Segregation not only exist by the fear of violence but also by the fear of becoming the same, and thus a change or even disappearance of the Fountain as it exists today: a tight, bounded, solely Protestant estate. Youngsters felt comfortable with this situation and the secure environment of the community but they were also frustrated by the lack of opportunities and restriction of movement. Young males in the Fountain fall into the group with the least educational and employment opportunities and are also the group associated with the ongoing violence. Growing up in the enclave context entails growing up familiar with marginalization and fear, the living 'under siege'. This context of living in a state of siege and the presence of paramilitaries, militant peer pressure and ongoing conflict with other youngsters proved important to radicalization. Whether the youngsters are more extreme is a question which is complicated by the observation of Jennings and Stoker that life-cycle and generational effects cannot easily be disentangled. Parents who were involved in violence in the past are now more moderate and disapprove of their children's resort to violence. The same could happen with the aging of the youngsters who are now considered to be more extreme. Because this study is not longitudinal it is out of the scope of this discussion to say something about the change in attitudes, behaviour and boundaries over time of a generation. Feelings of being marginalized, neglected and under-funded persist across generations. At the same time pride for the estate prevails. A glorification of marginalization (still standing, no surrender no matter what) coexists alongside frustration about marginalization. This is in line with Graham arguing that Loyalists nowadays have a 'self-image of a beleaguered people, betrayed on all sides, reliant only on their own resources' (2004:492). Residents in the Fountain showed a feeling

of connectedness with the loyalist communities on the Waterside and elsewhere but at the same time they felt left on their own. The marginal opportunities and dangers for children growing up in the Fountain was acknowledged but also seen as a sacrifice people were willing to make. Wimmer (2008) argues that stable boundaries are characterized by a high degree of willingness of the group members to incur high costs to defend culture and honour. Raising children in the Fountain is part of a boundary strategy. Wanting your children to stay in the neighbourhood and to take care of the estate is indeed a transmission of the responsibility for the conservation of the boundaries. Youngsters want to stay in the Fountain and raise their children there but simultaneously they don't want their children to live a life as restricted as theirs. A trend of young families leaving the Fountain was noted related to the search for more opportunities and a safer environment. The costs for 'defending the culture' by living in an enclave under threat is thus not an uncontested offer. As Boyden and Mann note 'adversity is as much a matter of perception as of situational fact' (2000: 10). Love for the estate, social trust and security were present and despite its notorious image the Fountain was also associated with safety and protection. While analysed from Wimmer's perspective the social boundaries in the Fountain are stable and strong, these boundaries also show flexibility and variety. The boundary has multiple layers; a national boundary, a Loyalist community boundary, an enclave boundary, within enclave boundaries (old versus new residents), family boundaries but also multiple and flexible intra-personal boundaries. Personal experiences with the other community can stretch or shrink your boundaries of practice, sometimes regardless of family or community boundaries. The violent past was important to all interviewees but although violence is ongoing, conflict is not the only occupation of Fountain residents. One interviewee wondered 'when do we stop being post-conflict and start being pre-something?' It's assumed that the behaviour of the youth is linked to the Troubles but worries, behaviour and problems were not all about the Troubles. For example migration and unemployment are 'new' problems noted as important, if not more important to youngsters than the Troubles.

In answering the main question 'how do family relations influence the personal conceptualization of community boundaries and attitudes and behaviour towards the other community in the Fountain enclave in Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland after the Belfast Agreements in 1998?' I will argue that family relations are important to the conceptualization of community boundaries through the transmission of stories, language and family practices and events. No crucial role for the family however was found in the ongoing out-group violence, rather a failure of influence was noted. Violence experienced by parents, either as victims or perpetrators, made the Troubles more meaningful to youngsters but the way national affiliation and awareness of boundaries and us-and-them was used to inform behaviour differed between family members and families. Discourses and practices could be reproduced or used and reformed for personal interpretations and actions. Motives for youth violence related to personal experiences and perception of the environment rather than to family judgements about violence. Family life showed ambivalent cues with regard to the acceptability of violence. Justification and comprehension as well as disapproval of youth violence was expressed. This ambivalent attitude towards violence was noted through all generations. The tight coherent Fountain showed great diversity with regard to out-group attitudes and behaviour even within families. The finding of different family relations and trajectories of transmission and non-transmission in a tied, highly polarized area as the Fountain puts into question the process of transmission within the family in

general. The *crucial* role of parents in inter-community attitudes and behaviour should be nuanced and youth agency should not be underestimated.

This research explored intergenerational attitudes and behaviours by analysing the perception of the enclave life by Fountain residents. I acknowledge that we cannot know what is said between family members exactly as long as you are an outsider. We can see the stories that are consistent within the family and wider community but research to family interaction is always limited. An interesting addition to this research might be the use of family tasks performed and recorded in absence of the researcher (Grotevant and Cooper, 1985). Another restriction for this research was time. The observation that youth was more extreme in their views than the older generations would be an interesting starting point for a longitudinal study to families in post-war contexts or countries in transition. Another interesting focus would be a comparison with parental influence on the conceptualization of boundaries in non-violent contexts where the socio-economic conditions are similar. Although findings relate to research in the wider Northern Ireland context and fit into more general observations about boundary strategies, socialization, violence and family life, it would be valuable to extend this study to similar situations, for example the Serb enclaves in Kosovo. A comparison could clarify observations and might allow for a wider generalization of the findings.

As a final note I want to highlight one of my growing frustrations while doing this research. Northern Ireland is characterized by a rising peace industry, where researchers are also taking part in. This study however shows how one must be cautious to frame everything in peace/conflict terms. Not everything in Northern Ireland is related to the conflict and although the Troubles are still very important the framing of everything in 'Troubles' language hampers moving on and can disguise problems that are not conflict related. Fights for EU-funding and the touristification of conflict are national processes influencing and sometimes worsening inter-community relations. Scientific publications about Northern Ireland are numerous, the question is: what do we achieve? I found it striking that boys have their cross-community projects but cannot get work and that areas attempt to stay as marginalized as possible because of the fear that funding is cut if they manage to develop and de-marginalize. These are only two examples of peacebuilding pathologies. As said, the family is the new target group of community work and good relation policies. Besides good relation projects however it would be useful to focus on the economic, employment and educational problems. Furthermore trauma of family members was a real worry for youngsters; problems that cannot be solved by a new bridge, a new security camera or a game of football. There is a lot to be done between communities but also within communities and within families. As long as day-to-day problems are not addressed, the overwhelming attention and funding to big peace building initiatives focusing on huge issues as 'reconciliation' and 'trustbuilding' seem a bit out of reality. This study confirms how national peace building should not only look at macro initiatives but should also work on the ground where small spheres of influence as the family and community might make a contribution to peace. Working on good community relations is valuable but only as long as social disadvantage and adversary conditions are also addressed.

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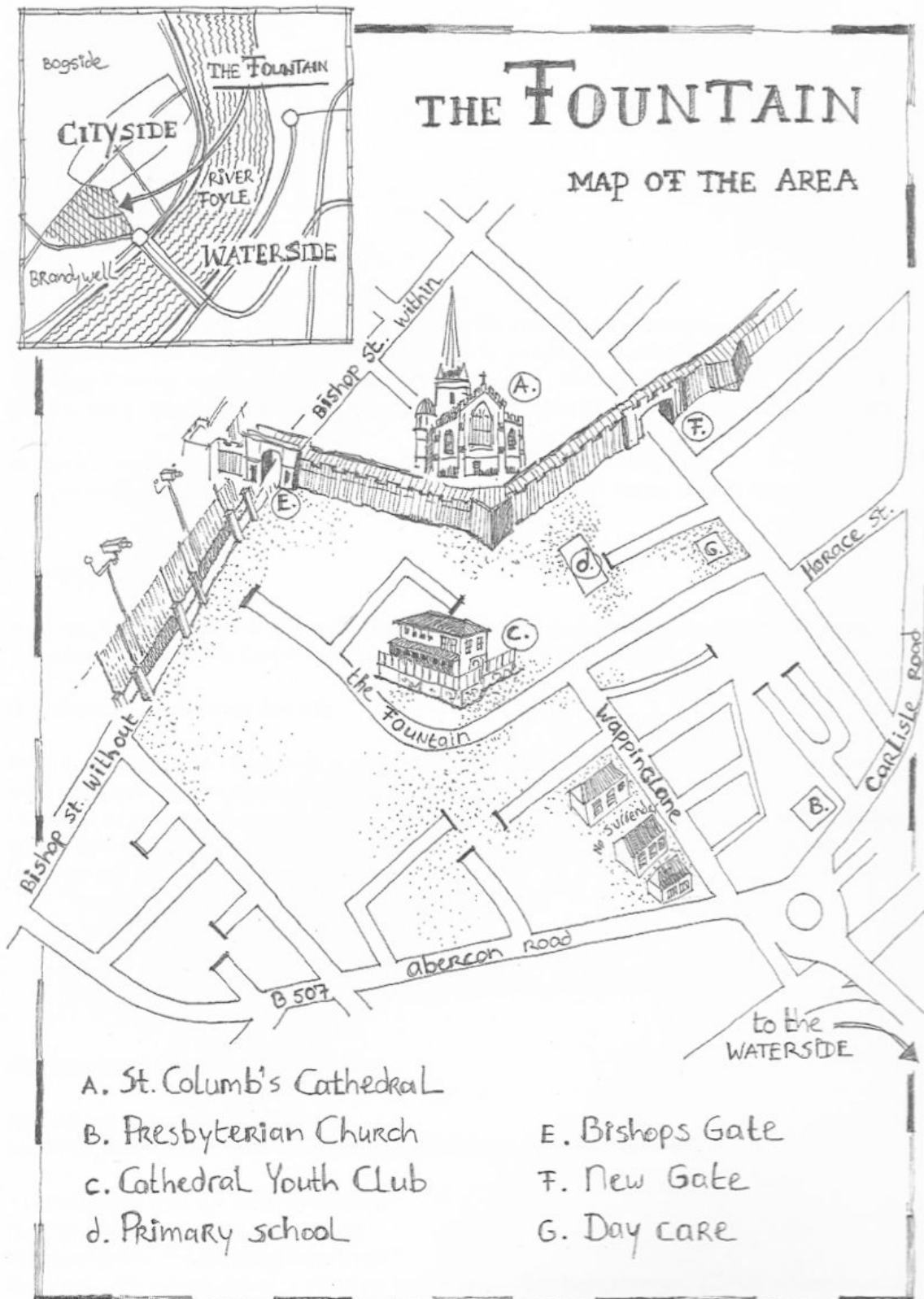Tjafel, Henri. 1981. Human Groups and Social Categories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

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Appendix I

A. St. Columb's Cathedral

B. Presbyterian Church   E. Bishops Gate

c. Cathedral Youth Club   F. New Gate

d. Primary school   G. Day care

Appendix II – Interview Guide

Date:
Time:
Name Respondent:
Pseudonym:
Age Respondent:
Sex Respondent:
Ethnicity:
Occupation Respondent:
Name Interviewer:
Place of Interview:
Residence of Respondent:

Introduction

My name is Sofia Stolk, I'm from the Netherlands and I'm interested in attitudes towards living in Derry/L'derry and the Fountain and the peace process in Northern Ireland.
Assuring Privacy and Anonymity and Confidentiality, no names will appear in the study.
Emphasizing voluntary character, the interview can always be stopped if the participant wants that.
Referring to possibility to be kept updated about the research findings.
Ask permission to record. Benefits of correct quotations and better able to listen.

I. General Information

Age, sex, occupation, living situation (with children, (grand)parents), identity (do you consider yourself to be Catholic/Protestant/Irish/British/Northern Irish)

II. Information on everyday life

School, leisure, work (where do you go, why, do you like it?)
Who decided (for you/your children) to go to that school/hobby/work?
Mapping of geographical locations (where is your school, shops, where do you hang out, where would you never come, where would you advice your children not to go etc.)
Can you tell me something about your family?
- employment/hobbies parents/grandparents
- school/hobbies children
- most important family moments (diner, holidays etc.)
- do you talk a lot with your family about school/work/hobbies

III. (London)Derry / neighbourhood

Attitudes towards (London)Derry
Facilities, living here, what is missing, you want to live here forever?

Attitudes towards the neighbourhood
Do you like living here? Why (not)?
What is typical for the neighbourhood?
Facilities, living here, what is missing, you want to live here forever? (if not, where would you like to live? why?)
Do you often go to other parts of the city? Where, what do you do there?

IV. Safety

Do you think that Derry/neighbourhood is a safe place to live (and to raise your children)?
Where do you feel safe/unsafe? Why?
Where do you parent feel you're safe/unsafe? Why?
Where do you think your children are safe/unsafe? Why?

V. Peace process

What does the 'peace process' mean to you?
What does 'segregation' mean to you?
What does 'sectarianism' mean to you?
This area has a lot of references to the Troubles (murals, flags), what do you think about that?
Do you think that the Troubles are still an important aspect of Northern Ireland?
Do you discuss these themes with your family? How and why (not)?
Do you/your parents talk about the Troubles?
Do you think your community is different? why?
Do you have contact with people from other communities?
Do your parents talk with you about the other community?
Do you think you and your children/parents/grandparents hold other views towards the other community than you do? What is the difference, why?

Community relation projects
Do you take part in any projects? Why (not)? What do you think about it? Who encouraged you to (not) take part?

VI. Future

How do you see the future of …(neighbourhood)…
What would you like to change about Derry/Neighbourhood?
Why?

You think there will be segregation in the future?
Why?
Is it necessary to change according to you?
Do you want to do something about the segregation yourself? Do you think you can do something about it?
Do you think your children/parents want/can do something about it?

VII. Closure

Are there things that you want to tell me still?
Did I miss any important issues?

VIII. Word of appreciation

any acquaintances willing to participate?
children/(grand)parents willing to participate?
interest in information about the research?

Appendix III – Consent Forms

Interview Conditions (Adults)

Participation is voluntary and participants are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

Any information given by the participants may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the researcher.

Names will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations. Any data or information used in any publications which arise from this study will be anonymous.

All data will be stored securely.

Participants who are interested in the results or have any questions about the research can contact Ms Sofia Stolk.

Ms Sofia Stolk is a writing her MA thesis at the University of Utrecht in The Netherlands. She is doing research to everyday life in Northern Ireland during the current peace process and therefore she is interviewing citizens in Derry/Londonderry from different generations.
Ms Sofia Stolk

Interview Conditions (Youth)

Participation is voluntary and you can ask for the interview to stop at any time.

The interview is private. What you say in the interview will be used for the research only and the information will not be passed to anyone else (teachers, family).

The information can be used in reports, articles or presentation but the interview is anonymous and your name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations.

All data will be stored securely.

If you are interested in the results or have any questions about the research you can contact Sofia Stolk.

Ms Sofia Stolk is a writing her MA thesis at the University of Utrecht in The Netherlands. She is doing research to everyday life in Northern Ireland during the current peace process and therefore she is interviewing citizens in Derry/Londonderry from different generations.
Ms Sofia Stolk