

**Population Change and Social Inclusion Study
Derry/Londonderry**

2005

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Introduction

Cultural and Political Change and the Protestant Community of Derry/Londonderry

I.1 Aim of project

The overall aim of this project is to produce an envisioning document that seeks to establish the structures and policies needed to encourage new forms of co-operation and sharing in Derry/Londonderry. (As the name is itself contested, this circumlocution is used throughout the report.) This overall aim is framed by a study of the Protestant community's place within the Derry District Council Area (DDCA) as understood by that community and also members of the nationalist/republican communities and their political representatives.

The study highlights two realities of change in more recent years. First, and despite certain caveats, it seems that the demographic decline of the Protestant population of DDCA has halted. The reduction in violence has also led to a re-engagement with the shopping areas located within Derry/Londonderry's Cityside. The majority of Protestants surveyed also work, and are content to do so, in predominantly Catholic workplaces. Many Protestants, around half, also socialise with non-Protestants on a regular basis. Most of the questionnaire survey respondents had not been direct victims of intimidation or other forms of hostility. Although qualitative information suggests that violence has created a strong sense of fear and intimidation.

Secondly, previous violence, the legacy of long-term population decline, and political uncertainty, have all contributed to the reproduction of a strong sense of alienation and exclusion. Despite the halting of demographic decline, there remains a general mood of cultural and political uncertainty. The overall context, therefore, is one of a powerful but more complex and nuanced sense of alienation and political marginalisation shared by the Protestant population of Derry/Londonderry.

One fundamental problem with much of the previous work undertaken on the position of this community is that while issues of concern have been isolated, it has not provided structures or designed the networks that could offer radical challenges to the problems that exist. This present project provides a means of elaborating on the external/internal duality of alienation and recognising that responsibility for inclusion/exclusion lies both within the Protestant community and between it and other traditions. As shown here, nationalists/republicans do acknowledge many of the complexities that affect the Protestant community. This is a crucial starting point upon which to build a strategy that moves toward conflict transformation.

Thus the report provides insights into how conflict-related problems within Derry/Londonderry could be resolved through additional community, policy and political initiatives. The report acknowledges and explains feelings of alienation but also points to models of inclusion that challenge marginalisation and mistrust through a wider context of inter-community dialogue and the adaptation of existing policy and political structures. Such an objective requires the development of voices within the Protestant community that accept a duality between positive and negative circumstances. At present, however, few acknowledge that there have been more

positive outcomes in more recent years concerning enhanced mobility, a cessation of demographic decline and a recognition by many policymakers of the issues that affect the Protestant community. There is a distinct need to vocalise and promote these more positive changes.

Similarly, the needs of the Protestant community must also be accepted as a consequence of demographic change, previous violence and political vulnerability. Nationalist communities must decide whether they view these needs as real or imagined. If such communities decide that there is validity in Protestant senses of insecurity and cultural and political decline, then they must articulate this shared concern. Without a Protestant recognition of certain improvements and a nationalist acceptance of Protestant marginalisation, then the future of Derry/Londonderry may well remain dominated by sterile and unimaginative political discourses.

I.2 Derry/Londonderry

The research project is a collaborative effort between representatives of St. Colomb's Park House, University of Ulster and members of the Foyle Community Research Group (FCRG). The FCRG is cross-community in its composition and is drawn from several political and community sectors in the city.

In 2001, the total population of DCCA was 105,066, approximately 75% of whom came from a Catholic community background. The city itself had a population of just over 93,000, 59% of whom were resident in the Cityside on the western bank of the River Foyle, the remainder being located in the Waterside on the eastern bank (Figures 1a and 1b). The Cityside is predominantly Catholic whereas the Waterside's population is almost evenly divided between Protestants and Catholics.

At the outset, it is accepted that the term, 'Protestant', over simplifies the issue of interpreting the complex nature of political and cultural identity in Northern Ireland. While religious beliefs and values had their role to play in the causes of conflict, territorial belonging, community-based interpretations of Northern Ireland's political legitimacy and wider commitments to particular cultural heritages were all more important. Despite this, however, 'Protestant' is employed in this report on the basis that all the respondents surveyed within the research project self-identified themselves as such or as having come from a Protestant background.

I.3 Objectives of the research and the structure of the project

Within the overriding aim outlined above, the project has five specific objectives:

- to determine the quantitative extent of separation/sharing between Protestants and the 'other' community;
- to examine the meaning of this separation/sharing for Protestants;
- to establish if claims of Protestant alienation reflect the views of the community;
- to assess the impact of population decline and out-migration upon the Protestant population;

- to produce an envisioning document that seeks to establish the structures and policies needed to encourage new forms of co-operation and sharing in Derry/Londonderry.

In addressing these objectives, the project – as explained in Chapter 1 -employs a range of qualitative and quantitative methods designed to provide a robust interpretation of the complexities of segregation in Derry/Londonderry and also to distinguish between measurable manifestations and perceptions of these processes.

The principal methods used are:

- analysis of secondary census data;
- policy audit;
- a detailed questionnaire survey of 400 Protestant households;
- focus group discussions;
- semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 1 provides the context for the research, in particular grounding it in the theme of Protestant alienation in Derry/Londonderry, and explains the methodology in some detail. In Chapter 2, a comparative analysis of census data for 1991 and 2001 is used to establish patterns of segregation and population change. The results of the household survey are discussed in Chapter 3, followed by an examination of the qualitative responses gained from focus groups and semi-structured interviews in Chapter 4. The policy audit provides the core to Chapter 5, prior to a concluding discussion in Chapter 6 which assesses a potential policy context addressing Protestant alienation in Derry/Londonderry.

Figure 1a: DCUA

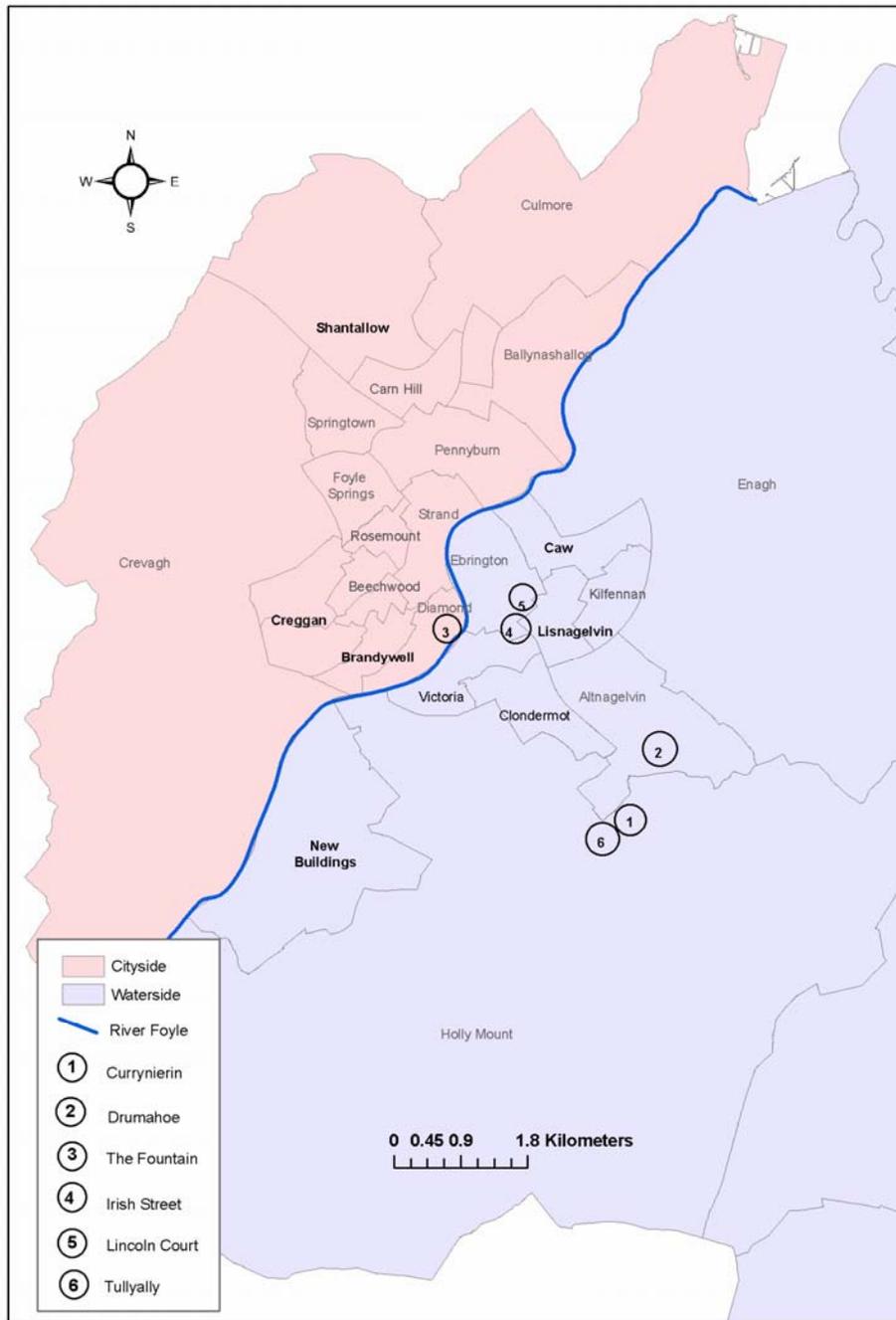
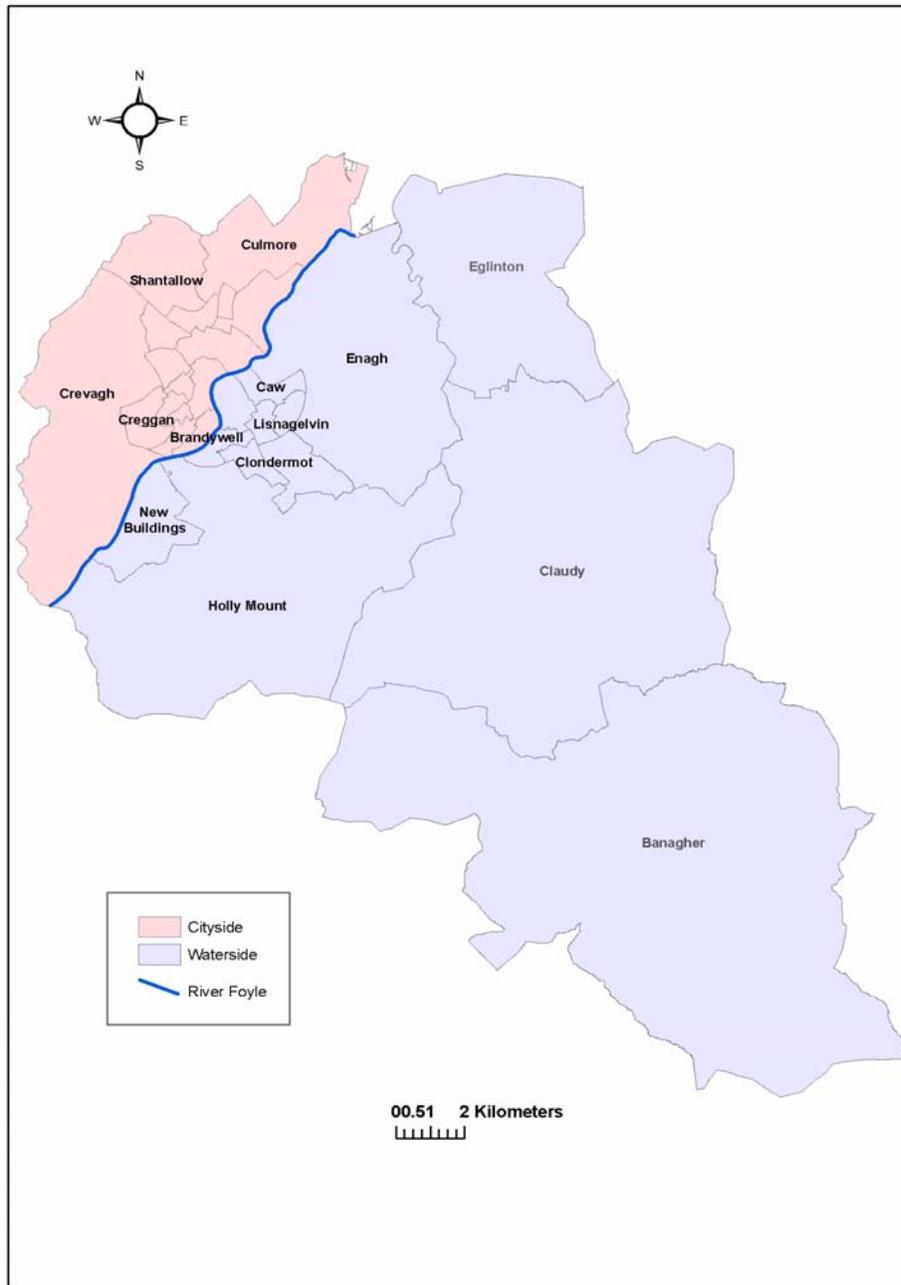


Figure 1b DCCA



Chapter One

Cultural and Political Change and the Protestant Community of Derry/Londonderry

This chapter provides a context for the research project. It is divided into three sections which deal with:

- alienation, marginalisation and the Protestant community;
- the dimensions to Protestant alienation within Derry/Londonderry;
- project methodology.

1.1 Alienation, marginalisation and the Protestant community

Under the heading ‘Protestants in Londonderry are “alienated” by Roman Catholics in the City’, Gregory Campbell of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) claims that ‘thousands of Protestants have abandoned the west bank of this city’ as a result of intimidation, apprehension and fear.¹ Campbell’s argument concerning the alienation felt by Derry/Londonderry Protestants would seem to be supported in terms of patterns of migration and segregation within the city. The empirical evidence confirming a significant movement of Protestants from the Cityside is more complex than it might seem but still creates the spatial context for the study of Protestant marginalisation in the city.

Campbell’s statement reflects the generally held belief that the minority Protestant population within the DDCA (which includes the contested city of Derry/Londonderry and its rural hinterland) is in continued demographic and political decline because of a combination of out-migration and social and cultural change. As shown here, however, overall demographic decline has halted. Nevertheless, there remain crucial points of contestation concerning cultural and political issues even though there is evidence that many Protestants are beginning to re-engage with the Cityside through both consumption and employment practices.

Most respondents interviewed for this study contend that the Protestant population in Derry/Londonderry has been ‘undermined’ by the political, economic and cultural growth of Irish nationalism/republicanism. Political powerlessness, expressed in a minority representation at council level, is combined with a strong sense that nationalists/republicans do not recognise Protestant needs. What also emerges is a perception, articulated by community leaders and unionist politicians, that the Protestant population is incapable of articulating the means by which it might encourage its own cultural and political renewal. The problem is thus seen as one of external indifference and or hostility, and deficient internal community and political leadership. Within such a negative context, the choice now faced by the Protestant population is whether to reproduce an established pattern of segregation or to encourage a process of spatial sharing in association with the ‘other’ community. This choice is complicated by the finding that most Protestants interviewed welcomed

¹ Campbell, G. www.iraatrocities.fsnet.co.uk/londonderryps.htm#15

territorial sharing while, simultaneously, perceiving a desire by the 'other' community to encourage them to leave.

It is in this context, that constant reference was made to concepts of either alienation or marginalisation. In particular, there was a dissonance between perceptions of positive and negative change in the lives of those who participated in the study. While more positive changes are recognised, they are rarely explored or examined in the same detail as that surrounding explanations of ongoing marginalisation and the perpetrators of such alienation. This seems to suggest that there is neither an arena nor a vocabulary around which positive changes can be both articulated and consumed.

It is readily apparent that terms such as alienation and marginalisation and other cognate terms are a reaction by many Protestants to external events, which they perceive as being antipathetic to or undermining the unionist cause. But such terms are also a form of self-representation, an internalised discourse linked to the vexed questions of identity within unionism and its resistance to republican/nationalist otherness. Yet the hostility generated by senses of alienation is not merely sectarian but is also directed towards certain political outcomes. Nevertheless, despite the obvious political difficulties created by such hostility, there are also signs of increased engagement, ecumenical activity and social interaction between Protestant and nationalist communities. This interaction within places that are predominantly Catholic is noted within the survey findings.

Surprisingly, given its importance in the everyday perceptions of Protestants in Derry/Londonderry and elsewhere in Northern Ireland, Protestant alienation has received only limited academic attention and the term often lacks adequate definition.² As Dunn and Morgan suggest, the word has a negative connotation because it is used to account for feelings of uncertainty and insecurity experienced by the Protestant community, and to describe a mood that reflects a sense of political isolation and relative powerlessness.³ This implies a single community with an homogenous identity but as Whyte observes:

If all the participant-observation studies are taken together, they provide quite a comprehensive coverage of the different types of community in Northern Ireland: urban and rural, peaceful and violent, Protestant, Catholic, and mixed.⁴

² Dunn, S and Morgan, V. *Protestant Alienation in Northern Ireland: A Preliminary Survey*. (Coleraine: Centre for the Study of Conflict, 1994), and Knox, C. *Alienation: An Emerging Protestant Phenomenon in Northern Ireland*. (University of Ulster, School of Public Policy, Economics and Law, 1995). Whilst both pieces of work are insightful they are limited in terms of their respective samples. For example, Dunn and Morgan surveyed 40 Protestants whilst Knox used a sample of 20.

³ Dunn, S. and Morgan, V. *Protestant Alienation in Northern Ireland: A Preliminary Survey*. (Coleraine: Centre for the Study of Conflict, 1994).

⁴ Whyte, J. *Interpreting Northern Ireland*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 12.

Thus, excepting only constitutional preference, the Protestant community is not an undifferentiated one: as Shirlow and McGovern stress, it is necessary to 'promote an understanding of the Protestant community and its diversity.'⁵

As demonstrated here, this implies that different groups within the Protestant community articulate alienation in varying ways. Inevitably, therefore, senses of marginalisation are relative and not absolute concepts, the nature of the discourse varying by class, gender, age and geography. Moreover, it is clear that the decline in violence has altered mobility patterns in Derry/Londonderry. This again shows that political change can be positive in terms of everyday living while remaining negative in terms of senses of control and political ownership.

This contradiction is recognised in the Local Community Fund which was established by the government as a means for ensuring some redress to the communities which had suffered most because of ethno-sectarian violence. Launching the scheme in 2003, the Secretary of State, Paul Murphy, confirmed that the Fund is intended to address the problems of weak community leadership and capacity, particularly in loyalist areas:

Many of those in this category are from the loyalist community, a community whose political leaders have been a beacon in the violent storms of recent times. These leaders ... have pressed on us the need to address their community's alienation urgently and vigorously.⁶

Murphy's comments emphasise the dimension of alienation associated with social class and its effects on a section of the Protestant community. But, more widely, both Murphy's comment and the existence of the Fund illustrate how the concept of alienation/marginalisation has become operationalised at the level of British government and other policy arenas. As is apparent here, there is evidence that the sensitivities of past and previous conflicts are now explicitly recognised in the policy arena. Indeed Derry City Council has produced reports identifying and accepting that Protestant alienation exists.

In addition to the imprecision surrounding its definition, Knox points out that there 'appears to be some confusion over what exactly constitutes alienation'.⁷ His research indicates that attitudes differ within the Protestant community in relation to the causal factors of alienation in terms of feelings of powerlessness, fear, economic deprivation and cultural estrangement. In broad terms, however, it would seem, as is indicated here, that Protestants do generally harbour feelings which could be defined as alienation from others but which are also to do with a self-imaging of a people abandoned and betrayed on every side. Based on an interpretation of attitudinal surveys, Hughes and Donnelly suggest that:

⁵ Shirlow, P. and McGovern, M. *Who Are 'The People'?* (London: Pluto Press, 1997), p. 3.

⁶ Announcement of the Local Community Fund by Paul Murphy Secretary of State, 12th February 2003.

⁷ Knox, C. *Alienation: An Emerging Protestant Phenomenon in Northern Ireland*. (University of Ulster, School of Public Policy, Economics and Law, 1995).

The increasing divergence of Catholic and Protestant responses may reflect increasing Catholic confidence in macro-developments on the one hand and an increasing sense of Protestant insecurity on the other.⁸

They argue that Protestant responses to questions about major political developments are negative because of the perception that the redress of nationalist concerns has been given priority while the Protestant community has had to concede ground: 'It is the perceived absence of a quid pro quo (especially with regard to Republican disarmament) that underlies the Unionist alienation from the process.'⁹

Evidence presented here demonstrates that many Protestants do feel a general sense of uneasiness which stems from the loss of a confident identity and ideology. The Protestant community in Derry/Londonderry has experienced a weakening in relation to its claim to territory and has difficulty in sustaining a strong sense of belonging to, and being a political and cultural part of a city undergoing major social and economic change. In sum, although it is a difficult concept to define, there appear to be at least three interlinked dimensions to Protestant alienation:

- political;
- cultural;
- geographical.

1.2 The dimensions to Protestant alienation within Derry/Londonderry

Political alienation

The majority of respondents interviewed for this research identified a long series of political developments, which they understood as having undermined unionism. Only **11.8%** believed that Protestants/unionists had benefited more or a lot more than nationalists and republicans from the Belfast Agreement. This compared to **53.4%** who believed that their community had benefited less. Such interpretations fit into a wider perception that loyalty to the British state seems to be secondary to the pragmatic efforts to assuage the grievances of those who were opposed to the very Britishness that defined unionism. These perceptions are tied to a wider belief that the British government appears to be lacking in its own commitment to the union. As shown here, however, while Protestants within Derry/Londonderry maintain a strong sense of Britishness, about **25%** also acknowledge an Irish dimension to their identity.

Nevertheless, for many Protestant respondents in this study, the 1998 Belfast Agreement represents the final chapter in the chronology of Protestant political

⁸ Hughes, J. and Donnelly, C. 'Community relations in Northern Ireland: shifting attitudes?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol 29, No. 4, pp. 643-661 July 2003.

⁹ Hughes and Donnelly, *ibid.*, p. 658.

alienation., by some respondents Unionists had to accept the Irish government as having a role in the affairs of Northern Ireland and Sinn Féin being involved in the government without any commensurate decommissioning of IRA weapons. Although the Agreement confirmed that no change could occur to Northern Ireland's constitutional status without the agreement of a majority of its people For some respondents this merely emphasised that the Britishness of Protestants hung by the thread of the 'consent principle' and the mathematics of the electoral system, rather than an historic relationship grounded in kinship and genealogy

Therefore, for many Protestants in Derry/Londonderry, the Belfast Agreement did not engender confidence but further heightened their anxiety and insecurity. Still, there are varying interpretations of political change within this community, over **40%** of respondents stating that they had mixed feelings concerning the Belfast Agreement. This ambiguity and the general lack of outright support for the Agreement appears to be based upon a general feeling that non-unionists are being 'rewarded' and 'encouraged' by funding arrangements and wider political largesse. Furthermore, two thirds of Protestants interviewed believed that their community is always making political concessions. In contrast, nationalists can view such attitudes as a failure to recognise the nature and reality of political change, and as a refusal by some Protestants to recognise their respective mandates. Although some nationalists also appreciate the extent of Protestant political alienation, there is a strong perception among Protestants that nationalist and republican political in Derry/Londonderry are not working for the Protestant community's interests.

Such feelings of political marginalisation support strong feelings that the 'other' community does not respect Protestant needs, less than **20%** of Protestant respondents believing that they had an equal political say in the development of Derry/Londonderry. Thus despite power sharing and a new and developing political landscape, there remain undeniable senses of political powerlessness and a perception of nationalist/republican disinterest. Non-Protestant discourses which acknowledge that marginalisation exists are subordinated to wider Protestant perceptions that such persons are actively seeking to exclude them. This probably reflects a clear lack of dialogue between opposed communities.

Cultural alienation

This sense of a political 'betrayal' and/or cultural dilution is interconnected with the issue of cultural identity. Unionists are faced with the quandary that because of political change, their traditional identity markers, which focused largely on a sense of Britishness, are no longer sufficient. For long, unionism could also define itself by what it was not – Catholic, Gaelic nationalism – but in these changed political circumstances, the lack of a coherent, internalised sense of identity has played a major role in heightening Protestant anxieties.¹⁰

It is this feeling of increasing cultural decline that has enhanced the importance of apparently minor markers of identity such as the symbols and rituals that help

¹⁰ Graham, B. 'Contested images of place amongst Protestants in Northern Ireland', *Political Geography* 17 (1998), 129 – 144. Also ,Graham, B. and Shirlow, P. 'The Battle of the Somme in Ulster memory and identity', *Political Geography* 21 (7) (2002), 881 - 904

define the political aspirations of the community. The perceived attacks on cultural traditions and practices, such as parades, helps underscore feelings of estrangement and isolation. They also confirm Protestant perceptions that the 'equality agenda' has been one-side, with the most commonly cited example being the religious imbalances introduced with regard to the Police Service of Northern Ireland. Such an interpretation is clearly identified by many participants in this study. It is also obvious that feelings of Protestant marginalisation in Derry/Londonderry have been heightened by a sense of concern regarding the increasing coherence, unity, strength and self-confidence of the nationalist/republican community. In sum, a general perception is a crudely based supposition, stated within several focus groups that 'Catholics are winning'. The strongest sense of loss and decline is attached to territorial change.

Thus the issue of changing the city's name from Londonderry to Derry is identified as a potential denial of Protestant cultural heritage. This and other factors lead to a depressing sense of cultural decline and loss. Over **two-thirds** of respondents believed that their culture is in decline and that 'my cultural tradition is always the underdog'. Such findings are also related to a strongly expressed belief that Protestant cultural traditions remain unprotected. A common perception being that Irish culture is funded and encouraged and British culture is denigrated and denied.

Alienation and geography

While perceptions of political and cultural forms of alienation may be found to varying degrees throughout much of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland, perhaps the most difficult form of this phenomenon is that experienced by groups who feel geographically isolated. Unlike political and cultural forms of marginalisation, which do not necessarily impinge upon a person's daily life practices or directly influence his or her everyday activities, in certain places in Northern Ireland alienation with regard to place is, for both sections of the community, all-pervasive and its emotional effects inescapable. This is the situation in which a group's territory is not only limited but is conceived of as being under threat whilst the territory beyond its ethnic borders is thought to be hostile. This sense of alienation is relevant to small Protestant communities living near the border, interface communities and enclave communities and seems to be a potent factor in Derry/Londonderry. Similarly, small Catholic communities in District Council areas such as Moyle, Carrickfergus and Larne also have to cope with a minority status as well as threat and intimidation.

In Derry/Londonderry, the apparent Protestant retreat to the Waterside and further afield has served to define further the city's absolute ethno-sectarian geography and increase the problems associated with ethnic difference. The only Protestant community remaining on the Cityside is confined to the Fountain enclave, a small working-class community 'protected' by a peaceline and security cameras. The Cityside is perceived as a 'cold place' where the Protestants from the Fountain believe they are unwelcome. It is also a place in which the geographically restricted nature of their ethnic territory acts as a constant psychological reminder of their precarious position. As Murtagh points out: 'Many of the area's [Fountain] problems result from

its isolation in sectarian territory and feeling of threat and vulnerability'.¹¹The focus group work undertaken here also shows a general perception that working-class Protestant communities are slowly disappearing as Catholics move into the cityside.

Survey evidence discussed below shows, however, that despite the sense of perpetual de-territorialisation there is an increasing interconnectedness between Protestant areas and consumer precincts located in the Cityside. **Two-thirds** of respondents agreed that 'Protestants are more likely to shop in Catholic places'¹². This also highlights the reality that around **90%** of respondents have never been victims of verbal abuse or emotional or physical violence over the past 25 years. Evidently, the perception of violence has been a far more pervasive motivational factor in terms of mobility, than actually having been a direct victim of such violence. As such, interpreting and understanding threat is of crucial importance in developing new forms of conflict amelioration. Moreover, experiences of violence are understood more as a community as opposed to an individual experience. Thus we are left with a sense of the positive being undermined by a stronger set of beliefs such as the perception that 'the "other" community wants my community to move out of the city'. As such and in relation to territory we have the reality of greater spatial engagement paralleled by enduring senses of a territorial threat to Protestant areas.

1.3 Project methodology

Understanding the position, vulnerabilities and future of the Protestant community in an 'alienated' or 'conflictual' context creates important research challenges and requires a diverse and interlinked empirical design. This section reviews the rationale for the methodology and in particular the need to use multiple means to understand:

- community dynamics;
- cultural change
- the effects of demographic restructuring;
- policy impacts;
- attitudes and behaviour.

A consideration of all these factors is necessary to build up a comprehensive understanding of the Protestant community in Derry/Londonderry. The ethical principles used to guide the fieldwork and data interpretation are also considered, together with a description of the actual fieldwork conducted under each method used.

Researching ethno-religious conflict in Northern Ireland

An extensive research tradition exists into the effects of conflict in Northern Ireland on spatially segregated communities. The body of geographical research has concentrated on the statistical descriptions of the levels of segregation, the sociological construction of territorialised places and the effects of segregation on

¹¹ Murtagh, B. 'Listening to communities: locality research and planning', *Urban Studies Vol. 36, No. 7, 1999, p.1185.*

¹² Pre-interview work was undertaken to determine what were Protestant, Catholic and neutral places.

enclave urban and rural communities.¹³ Hargie and Dickson describe the range of research conducted on community relations in Northern Ireland and identify the need for sensitivity, objectivity and rigor in researching the impact of ethno-social division. In particular, they emphasise the need for and importance of *mixing methods* to reveal the wider complexities of segregation and to determine how divisions are reproduced in the built environment. Thus, for example, Murtagh used quantitative survey approaches to map out attitudes and behaviour of people living in interface areas around Belfast¹⁴ while, conversely, Connolly and Healy contend that quantitative analysis alone cannot unpack the processes at work in divided communities and among specific groups who feel alienated.¹⁵ They argue that only qualitative approaches can fully capture the lived experiences of divided cultures and uncover the causal relationships that explain why identity groups act in the way in which they do.

This study combines both qualitative and quantitative methods in what Hoggart *et al.* describe as ‘triangulation’ which means:

the use of a series of complementary methods in order to gain a deeper insight on a research problem. The advantage of using complementary methods is that they enhance capacities for interpreting meaning and behaviour. This is because the insight gained can strengthen confidence in conclusions by providing multiple routes to the same result.¹⁶

Secondary data, quantitative research and qualitative methods have been employed to maximise the reliability and validity of the data on which conclusions are based. ‘Reliability’ refers to the use of research methods that allow replication of results. For instance, the survey of residents followed reliable sampling practice by using random systematic sampling procedures to draw respondents and assemble data around which specific error rates could be attached. ‘Validity’ concerns the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from the research. Here, it is important not just to rely on one instrument to discover the attitudes and behaviour of Protestants living in the DDCA. For example, the findings of the quantitative survey were subjected to a range of focus group discussions and also integrated into the policy audit. Connolly argues that researchers in Northern Ireland:

should be committed to the unbiased and objective pursuit of knowledge. They have a responsibility to report their research comprehensively and accurately, including the methods they have

¹³ Hargie, O. and Dickson, D. (2003) *Researching the Troubles*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing

¹⁴ Murtagh, B. (2002) ‘Territoriality, research and policy making in Northern Ireland’, in Hargie, O. and Dickson, D. (2003) *Researching the Troubles*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, pp.209-226

¹⁵ Connolly, P. and Healy, J. (2002) ‘The development of children’s attitudes toward “The Troubles” in Northern Ireland’, in Hargie, O. and Dickson, D. (2003) *Researching the Troubles*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, pp.37-58

¹⁶ Hoggart et al., *op cit.*, p.67

used and the data they have gathered. Researchers must avoid selectively reporting their findings or fabricating, falsifying or misrepresenting their findings in any other way.¹⁷

He has developed criteria for researchers dealing with vulnerable groups, which include the need to:

- Conduct their professional work with integrity and in such a way as to not jeopardise future research, the public standing of researchers or the ability of others to publish and promote the findings of their research;
- Respect the rights and dignity of all those who are involved in or affected by their research;
- Ensure as far as possible the physical, social and psychological well-being of all those who take part in their research or are subsequently affected by it.

In achieving such goals and also ensuring the robustness of the project's results, five different but integrated quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used in the study (Table 1).

- **Analysis of secondary census data:** Census data for 1991 and 2001 were used for the analysis of population decline and segregation.
- **Policy audit:** A number of policy documents relevant to DDCA were reviewed to isolate various themes which were then fed into the semi-structured interviews and focus group meetings.
- **Household survey:** The survey was based on Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) with 399 Protestant residents in private households (excluding nursing homes, sheltered housing, houses of multiple occupation, forces married quarters) within the city of Derry/Londonderry. There is no available list of Protestant households which could have served as a sample frame for the survey. Therefore, in order to increase the likelihood of the interviewer calling at a valid household (i.e. one which contained at least one member of the Protestant community), the sample was drawn from specific areas of Derry/Londonderry. Details of the selection process are given below.
- **Focus group discussions:** Twelve sessions were conducted between the 21st July and 1st September 2004 (Table 39). All focus group meetings were tape-recorded. Individuals were consulted about the use of a tape recorder and it was pointed out that the content of the recordings would be treated in the strictest confidence with the guarantee of anonymity and would only be listened to by the academic team involved in the study. This guarantee helped encourage confidence amongst the respondents. Nine focus groups included

¹⁷ Connolly, P. (2003) *Ethical Principles for Researching Vulnerable Groups*, Belfast, OFMDFM

representatives drawn from the Protestant community while three involved the Catholic/nationalist/republican community in Derry/Londonderry.

- **Semi-structured interviews** were conducted with members both of the Protestant and Catholic community in the city (Table 1). The interviews lasted between one and two-and-half hours. Some of the interviews were tape-recorded while the substance of others was recorded by note-taking. Because of the sensitive nature of the issues anonymity was guaranteed.

Method	Instrument	Content	Quantity
Secondary data	Secondary Statistics	Data analysis of small area census data on demographic characteristics of the Protestant population on the Waterside	Description of the data collected and presented.
	Policy audit	A systematic analysis of policy documents relevant to the development of the Waterside area.	<i>Derry/Londonderry Housing Strategy.</i> <i>Community Relations and Community Safety: A Housing Perspective.</i> <i>People and Place: Neighbourhood Renewal in Derry/Londonderry.</i> <i>People and Place: A Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal.</i> <i>Community Relations Strategic Plan for Derry City Council.</i> <i>Weak Community Infrastructure.</i> <i>Social Capital: A Discussion Paper.</i> <i>Development For Social Development Corporate Plan.</i> <i>Mapping Areas of Weak Community Infrastructure.</i> <i>Partners For Change.</i> <i>Weak Community Infrastructure: a support priority.</i>
Quantitative	Quantitative survey	A survey of attitudes of the Protestant community living in the Waterside	Achieved sample 399
Qualitative	Group discussions	Structured group-discussions with specific sub-groups to explore issues connected with alienation and the future of the Protestant population	<u>12 focus groups:</u> 9 Protestant 3 Catholic
	In-depth interviews	A series of semi-structured in-depth interviews with policy makers, politicians, church leaders and community representatives.	<u>10 policy makers:</u> Housing Executive Ilex NWDO: Heart of City NWDO: Neighbourhood Renewal Waterside Area Trust Waterside Area Partnership Local Strategy Partnership Derry City Council: Community Plan Derry City Council: Comm. Rel. Officer DSD: Local Community Fund <u>8 Community Representatives</u> 2 local politicians 6 community workers <u>Religious Sector:</u> 5 Presbyterian 2 Church of Ireland 1 Methodist <u>Education Sector:</u> 1 School Principal

Table 1: Summary of research design

Chapter Two

Population Trends in Derry/Londonderry, 1991-2001

This chapter uses data from the 1991 and 2001 censuses to analyse demographic trends within the Protestant community in DDCA and the nature and extent of segregation between communities. The chapter is divided into three sections which deal with:

- the demographic context;
- changing demographic trends in DDCA between 1991 and 2001;
- the spatial pattern of segregation in DDCA.

2.1 Context

A common perception exists that the minority unionist/Protestant population within the DDCA is in continuing decline due to a combination of out-migration and ageing. The three censuses of population in 1971, 1981 and 1991 all indicated a tendency towards greater segregation and, particularly in areas of the Cityside, clear signs of Protestant population decline. Work undertaken by Templegrove Action Research, for example, estimated that the Protestant population of the DDCA declined by **31%** between 1971 and 1991, compared to a **36%** growth in the Catholic population during the same period.¹⁸

The work undertaken by Templegrove Action Research was important in that it publicised the nature of minority and segregated living within the Gobnascale and Fountain areas. The work undertaken here both builds upon that research and brings forth additional research methodologies. Unlike previous work we utilise a survey across several parts of the DDCA as well as adding to previous qualitative work. This report is also based upon evaluating a policy landscape that has changed given the impact of the Belfast Agreement and other policy shifts. Our work also incorporates the 2001 Census and provides a robust mapping of evident demographic shifts. This project also includes a more stringent set of interviews with local policymakers.

Boal has conceptualised minority responses to conditions of ethnic-religious segregation and cultural decline in terms of a continuum of 'loyalty, voice and exit'.¹⁹ Members of communities who feel isolated or threatened may remain loyal to the area in which they live and try to exist in as secure a position as possible. They may *voice* their concerns in a number of ways such as campaigning, demonstrating or even through violence. Others choose to *exit* and simply leave the locality and seek sanctuary within their own ethnic group. Historically within the DDCA, both responses can be identified although exit predominates. Between 1971 and 1991 the Protestant population of the Cityside declined by **83.4%**, a process that was matched by a **27%** growth of the Protestant population in the Waterside. This latter trend has

¹⁸ Smyth, M. and Moore, R. (1996), *Two Policy Papers*, Templegrove Action Research Limited p 52.

¹⁹ Boal, F. (1976) 'Ethnic residential segregation', in Herbert, D. and Johnston, R. (eds) *Social Areas in Cities Vol. 1*, Chichester, John Wiley.

generally been explained as being due, in the main, to out-migration of Protestants from the Cityside. The catalyst for such out-migration was usually increased violence and a subsequent deterritorialisation of spatially vulnerable populations. Conversely, the maintenance of small Protestant enclaves in the Cityside, especially the Fountain, points to a form of spatial loyalty and perseverance.

A number of quantitative and qualitative studies on spatial minorities in Northern Ireland (and other societies in which segregation is a feature of ethnic conflict) have established the key importance of demography and demographic morphology. In the mid-1990s, for instance, Doherty and Poole argued that Protestant demographics in Belfast were characterised by lower birth rates, smaller than average family sizes, and an ageing population structure, when compared with their Catholic counterparts.²⁰

However, the 2001 census shows that there has been some degree of convergence in demographic patterns between Catholics and Protestants with Catholics now experiencing a reduction in average family size and a lower birth rate during the 1991-2001 inter-censal period. Nevertheless, in Derry/Londonderry, it is clear that uneven demographic profiles within the city between 1971-1991 had a negative impact upon the capacity of certain Protestant minorities to sustain a viable presence in territorial spaces to which they proclaimed allegiance.

Murtagh's work on mixed-religion Housing Management Districts also shows that both the processes of Catholic increase and Protestant decrease, within such places, has 'bottomed out' in the last ten years.²¹ His study, combined with the evidence considered here of the 2001 Census for DDCA, points to a degree of demographic stability and less potential for exit than was the case during the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, the notion that the Protestant community of DDCA remains trapped within a cycle of demographic decline is now open to an alternative interpretation.

As shown below, there is a growing stability in terms of aggregate population trends within the Protestant community located within the DDCA. Yet as discussed in Chapter Four, the opening up of new spaces for housing development as a result of market forces, demilitarisation and the history of previous Protestant population decline, still combine to sustain a sense of spatial anxiety among many within the Protestant community in DDCA. Moreover, residential segregation is linked to wider processes of territorial marking including wall murals, flags and kerb paintings. Indeed, while the contestation over space and territorial control is not necessarily linked to actual population decline and the loss of community dominance, perceptions of decline can stem from such attempts at cultural domination which can be read as the commemoration of identity in order to provide some certainty in the context of political change. In addition, Shirlow *et al.* have shown that minorities adjust their travel patterns and use of services and facilities in response to perceptions of fear and threat from the majority.²² The overall problem is one of how the Protestant

²⁰ Doherty, P. and Poole, M. (1995) *Ethnic Residential Segregation in Belfast*, Coleraine, Centre for the Study of Conflict.

²¹ Murtagh, B. (2003), *The Housing Executive Response to a Shared Future*, Belfast, Northern Ireland Housing Executive.

community ‘voices’ legitimate concerns in a manner that is not read as being aggressive or linked to crude prejudices.

‘Exit’ from the circumstances that cause insecurity in the first place has often been the principal response in both Catholic and Protestant areas of Northern Ireland. For example, exit of Catholic populations has been characteristic of parts of the Moyle, Carrickfergus and Larne District Council areas in recent years. Doherty and Poole argue that Protestants, in particular, would make slow micro-adjustments to ensure that they maintained their majority numbers in particular places.²³ Using intercensal data, they demonstrate that this has particularly affected the west region and border areas. However, what is particularly damaging about this pattern is its selective nature. Murtagh shows that it tends to be the younger, more mobile and the employed and employable who leave first.²⁴ Processes of exit can therefore begin a process of residualisation whereby the remaining minority community is more likely to comprise older, benefit-dependent and less socially or spatially mobile people, which further complicates the task of community development. Such processes of ‘hollowing out’ can dilute the capacity to develop social capital and the skills needed to create new participatory modes of engagement with the ‘other’ community. In terms of DDCA, the importance of analysing the recent census data lies in establishing aggregate demographic changes and in clarifying how these trends can be interpreted against a background of Protestant exit, residualisation and continuing perceptions of territorial loss.

2.2 Changing demographic trends in DDCA, 1991-2001

Three problems immediately complicate any comparison of the data from the 1991 and 2001 censuses:

- there was an increase in 2001 of those refusing to state religious affiliation;
- the 2001 census included a question on community background which can be used as an alternative to religious affiliation but makes direct comparison with the 1991 data more difficult;
- the data collection units in 1991 (enumeration districts or EDs) were altered to output areas (OAs) in 2001 with consequent boundary changes.

The population of the DDCA in 1991 was **95,371**. **69.4%** of whom designated themselves as Catholics compared to **20.9%** who stated their religion as being Protestant (Table 2). The total population of the DDCA rose by **10.2% (9,695 persons)** between the 1991 and 2001 (Table 3). Most of this growth resulted from a **12.4%** increase in the Catholic population (**8,231 persons**). The Protestant population increased only marginally by **0.4% (87 persons)**.

²² Shirlow, P., Murtagh, B., Mesev, V. & McMullan, A. (2002) *Measuring and Visualising Labour Market and Community Segregation*, Coleraine, University of Ulster.

²³ Doherty and Poole, *op cit*.

²⁴ Murtagh, B. (2002), *The Politics of Territory*, London, Palgrave.

The proportion of census respondents stating that they were Protestants decreased slightly from **20.9%** in 1991 to **19.0%** in 2001 (**-1.9%**). In contrast, the proportion of those stating that they were Catholics rose by **1.5%** from **69.4%** to **70.9%**.

It is important to note that the most recent census permits two readings of the two predominant communities. The religious variable accounted for **89.9%** of all persons within the DUA in 2001. However, the community background variable accounts for **98.6%** of the total population. When applying the community background variable both the Catholic and Protestant communities increased their share of the population by similar amounts. As such the community variable locates an additional **4,703** Catholics and **4,382** Protestants (Table 3). In sum, the community background variable permits identification of, in per capita terms, more persons from a Protestant community background. Either form of measurement indicates, however, that the rapid decline of the Protestant population between 1971 and 1991 has now been offset by a small population growth between 1991 and 2001.

1991	Religion	
Total Population 95,371		
Total Catholic	66,251 (69.4%)	
Total Protestant	19,900 (20.9%)	

Table 2: 1991 total and proportional population figures

2001	Religion	Community Background
Total Population 105,066		
Total Catholic	74,482 (70.9%)	79,185 (75.4%)
Total Protestant	19,987 (19.0%)	24,369 (23.2%)

Table 3: 2001 total and proportional population figures

2.3 The spatial pattern of segregation in DDCA

Broad trends

While boundary modifications complicate any analysis of the extent and changing nature of segregation between 1991 and 2001, it is apparent that the EDs/OAs in the Waterside area display greater levels of spatial variation than those located within the Cityside area which are largely Catholic (Figures 2 and 3). Moreover, the Cityside has

become more Catholic while the number of Cityside OAs with the highest level of Catholic segregation (**91-100%** Catholic) has increased since 1991.

In 1991 (Figure 2), a central band of EDs (in Claudy, Corrody, Enagh and Faughan Wards) had **60-80%** Protestant populations. By 2001, however, the corresponding OAs had changed to a mixed (**40-60%** Protestant/Catholic population) religious affiliation (Figure 3). At the same time, in the Hollymount and New Buildings Wards of the Waterside the level of Protestant segregation appears to have increased. Indeed, in 2001 one OA in the Victoria Ward reached the highest level of segregation (**91-100%** Protestant).

As might be expected, the inclusion of the community background variable in the 2001 data (Figure 4) increases the extent and level of segregation. For example, 13 OAs with a predominantly Protestant community background reach the highest level of segregation compared to only one when the religion variable is used.

Similarly, the **104** OAs with the highest level of Catholic segregation defined by the religion variable increases to **156** when the community background variable is applied. Further, the number of OAs with a mixed community background (between **41%** and **60%** Catholic/Protestant) falls from **50** under the religion variable to **44** as defined by the community background variable.

Spatial analysis of segregation

In terms of measuring changes in levels of segregation within the DDCA between 1991 and 2001, an analysis of the religion variable suggests that there has been a shift towards a more mixed living environment. As shown in Tables 4 and 6 the share of Protestants living in places that are over **80%** Catholic rose from **7.8%** to **10.5%**. Similarly, the share living within places that are at least **60%** Catholic rose from **22.3%** in 1991 to **25.3%** in 2001. During the same period, however, the share of those stating their religion as Protestant and who lived in places that were over **81%** Protestant grew by **3.8%** from **12.7%** to **16.5%**. Thus there was a similar rise among those who designated themselves as Protestant living in both mixed and segregated places.

Within the Catholic population a slightly dissimilar profile emerges during the same period. There was a small decline in Catholics living in census units that were over **60%** Protestant, a fall from **6.4%** to **5.0%** (Tables 5 and 7). The share of Catholics living in places that were at least **81%** Catholic stayed around **77%** although the proportion living in the highest segregation band fell from **60.0%** to **51.1%**.

The inclusion of the community background variable produces a sharply defined level of segregation. For example, the share of those with a Protestant community background, living in places with more than **81%** community background Protestants rises to **31.5%**. This compares to **16.5%** within this band of segregation when the religion variable is used alone. The inclusion of the community background variable also accentuates segregation within the Catholic population, from **77.2%** by religion to **83.1%** by Catholic community background.

Protestant Population Segregation Bands (%)	Religion: Total Protestant Population in Band (%)	Community Background: Total Protestant Population in Band (%)
0-20	10.5	11.5
21-40	14.8	8.7
41-60	21.5	17.2
61-80	36.7	31.1
81-90	15.0	16.1
91-100	1.5	15.4

Table 4: 2001 Protestant segregation

Catholic Population Segregation Bands (%)	Religion: Total Catholic Population in Band (%)	Community Background: Total Catholic Population in Band (%)
0-20	1.3	1.4
21-40	3.7	3.8
41-60	6.0	4.6
61-80	11.8	7.1
81-90	26.1	10.6
91-100	51.1	72.5

Table 5: 2001 Catholic segregation

Protestant Population Segregation Bands (%)	Religion: Total Protestant Population in Band (%)
0-20	7.8
21-40	14.5
41-60	19.4
61-80	45.6
81-90	12.7
91-100	-

Table 6: 1991 Protestant segregation

Catholic Population Segregation Bands (%)	Religion: Total Catholic Population in Band (%)
0-20	2.1
21-40	4.3
41-60	4.0
61-80	12.5
81-90	17.1
91-100	60.0

Table 7: 1991 Catholic segregation

Cityside and Waterside: a demographic comparison

Total populations in both the Waterside (+**12.4%**) and Cityside (+**8.6%**) areas of DDCA rose from 1991 to 2001. In 1991, Protestants constituted **3.6%** of the total Cityside population (Table 9), this small proportion dropping further to **2.5%** in 2001. Yet again, analysis of this decline is complicated by the community background variable, which showed that **4%** of the Cityside's population in 2001 was from a Protestant community background.

Conversely, during the same intercensal period, the number of Catholics in the Cityside increased by **7%** (**3,398** persons). However, the overall proportion of Catholics fell slightly from **89.2%** in 1991 to **87.9%** in 2001. This could be attributed to a fall in the number of Catholics declaring their religion in the census because analysis of the community background variable shows that **95.2%** of the Cityside's population were of Catholic community background (Table 8).

The Catholic population living in the Waterside rose by a similar amount (**3,543 persons** or +**21.5%**) between 1991 and 2001. The Protestant population of the Waterside also grew, but at a lower rate of **3.2%** (**578** persons). Therefore, of the **12.4%** increase in the total population in the Waterside, **72.4%** originated from the increase in the Catholic population compared with only **11.8%** contributed by the Protestant population.

In 1991 the population of the Waterside was **45.3%** Protestant compared to **41.5%** Catholic. By 2001, however, that trend had been reversed, **44.9%** of the Waterside's population being Catholic compared to **41.5%** Protestant. Crucially, while it appears that proportionately the Protestant population in the Waterside is in decline, it is actually the case that both Catholic and Protestant populations increased between 1991-2001 but that the rate of increase was much higher for the Catholic than the Protestant population.

When the figures for the community background variable are calculated, the trend is reversed, the number of people living in the Waterside with a Protestant community background (**49.5%**) exceeding the figure for the Catholic community (**48.3%**), a difference of **541** persons. Therefore, as with the segregation statistics for the entire DDCA, the analysis of the 2001 community background data reveals that levels of segregation between both communities in the Waterside are higher than suggested by

the statistics derived from the religion variable alone. The proportions of both Protestant and Catholic communities living in segregated areas (**61-100%** Protestant/Catholic) rises to **62.6%** and **90.2%** respectively when the data on community background is taken into account.

2.4 Conclusion

For several reasons, it has not been possible to establish if exit from the Cityside has led to a growth in the Protestant population in the Waterside. There is no census data which allows a comparison of place of residence while the impact of non-stating of religion cannot be measured in previous censuses. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether or not there has been a decline of those from a Protestant community background in the Cityside since 1991. Finally, it is impossible to ascertain if the decline among those living in the Cityside who declared their religion as being Protestant is due to mortality, out-migration or a non-stating of religion.

What can be stated is that the structure of the Protestant population in the Waterside was heavily influenced by the out-migration of Protestants from the Cityside between 1971 and 1991. It can also be assumed that the small growth in the Protestant population, measured by religion, in the Waterside between 1991-2001 is due to a range of factors such as birth rates, an increased life-expectancy and reduced levels of out-migration from the DDCA. It can also be argued that the Protestant population is attaining a degree of demographic stability not previously seen since 1971. The lessening of violence may have led to a decline in exit among Protestants within the DDCA although, anecdotal evidence as well as the information contained in **Figure 4** indicates that there may well be a process of internal migration within the Waterside to the New Buildings area.

In summary, therefore:

- for the first time since 1971 demographic decline among Protestants in the DDCA has halted;
- there was a small growth in the Protestant population within DDCA between 1991 and 2001;
- there is probably both greater segregation and mixing between communities;
- the Catholic share of the population is increasing but at a much slower rate than was the case between 1971 and 1991;
- despite the difficulties of standardised measurement, segregation may have increased.

1991	
Waterside Population	
Catholic Population	16,416 (41.5%)
Protestant Population	17,866 (45.3%)
Total	39,472
Cityside Population	
Catholic Population	49,844 (89.2%)
Protestant Population	2,029 (3.6%)
Total	58,899

Table 8: 1991 Waterside and Cityside populations

2001		
Total Waterside Population	Religion	Community background
Catholic Population	19,959 (44.9%)	21,420 (48.3%)
Protestant Population	18,444 (41.5%)	21,961 (49.5%)
Total	44,368	
Total Cityside Population 60,680		
Catholic Population	53,242 (87.7%)	57,795 (95.2%)
Protestant Population	1,543 (2.5%)	2,408 (4%)
Total	60,680	

Table 9: 2001 Waterside and Cityside populations

Derry District Council Area
 1991 Census Enumeration Districts
 % Population Religious Affiliation

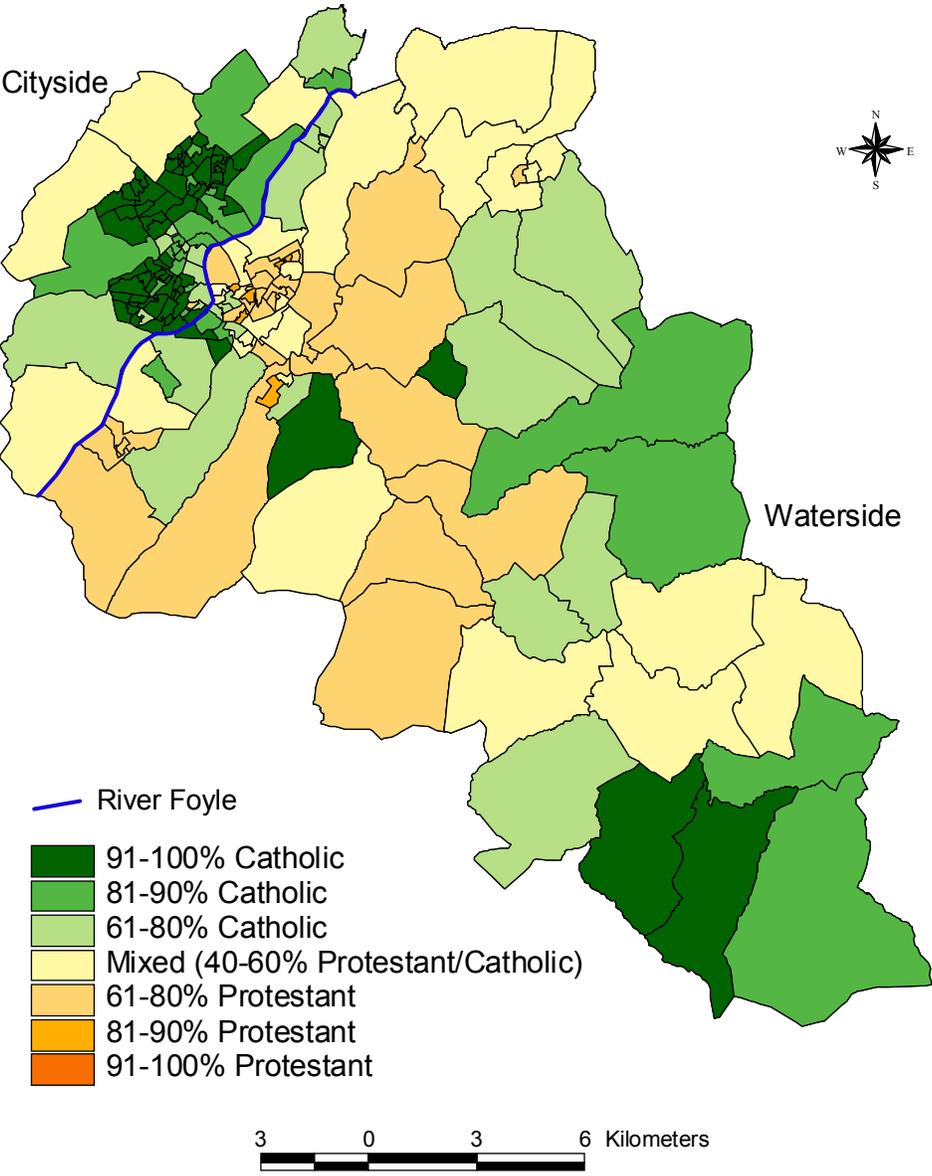


Figure 2: 1991 percentage population religious affiliation

Derry District Council
2001 Census Output Areas
% Population Religious Affiliation

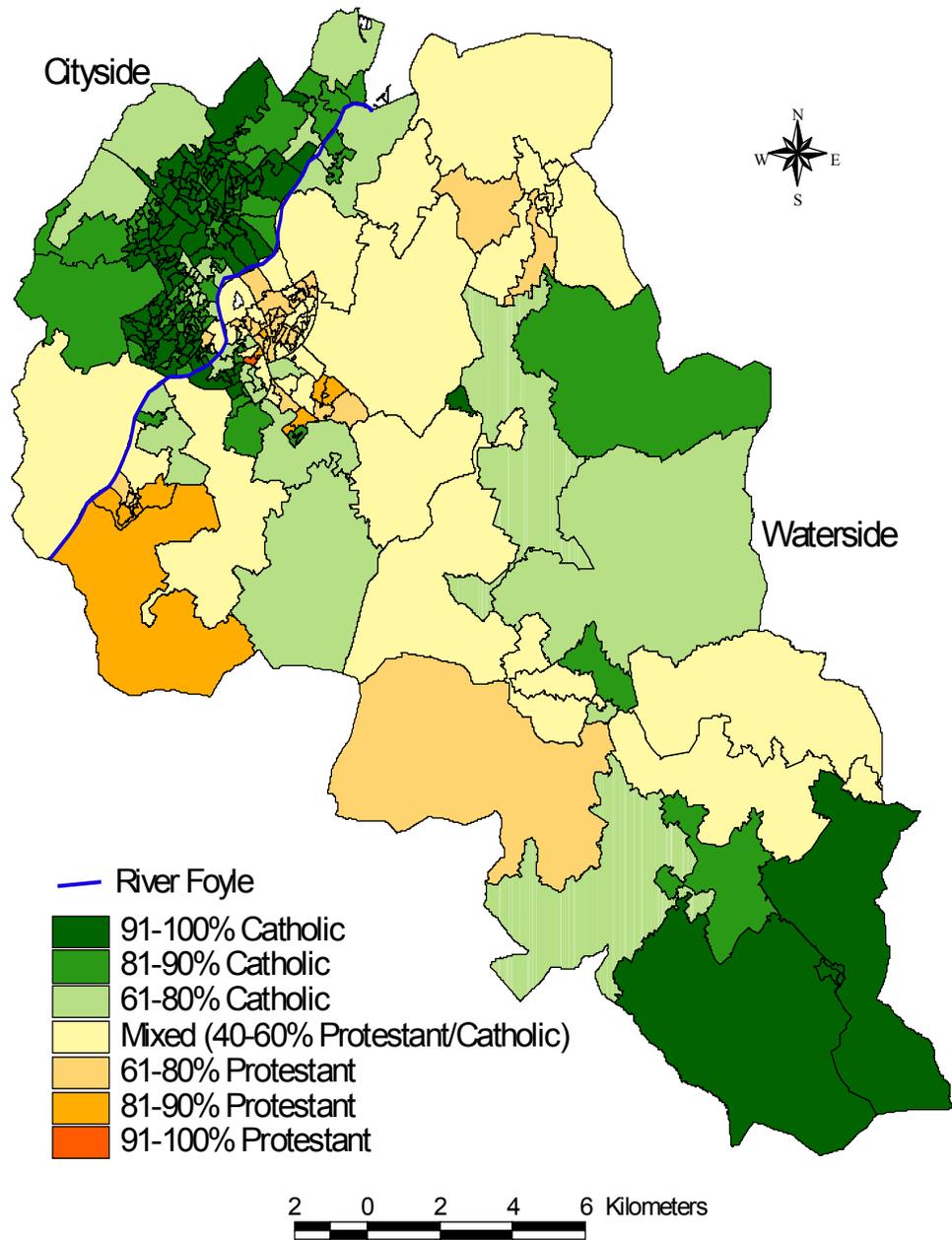


Figure 3: 2001 percentage population religious affiliation

Derry District Council Area
 2001 Census Output Areas
 % Population Community Background

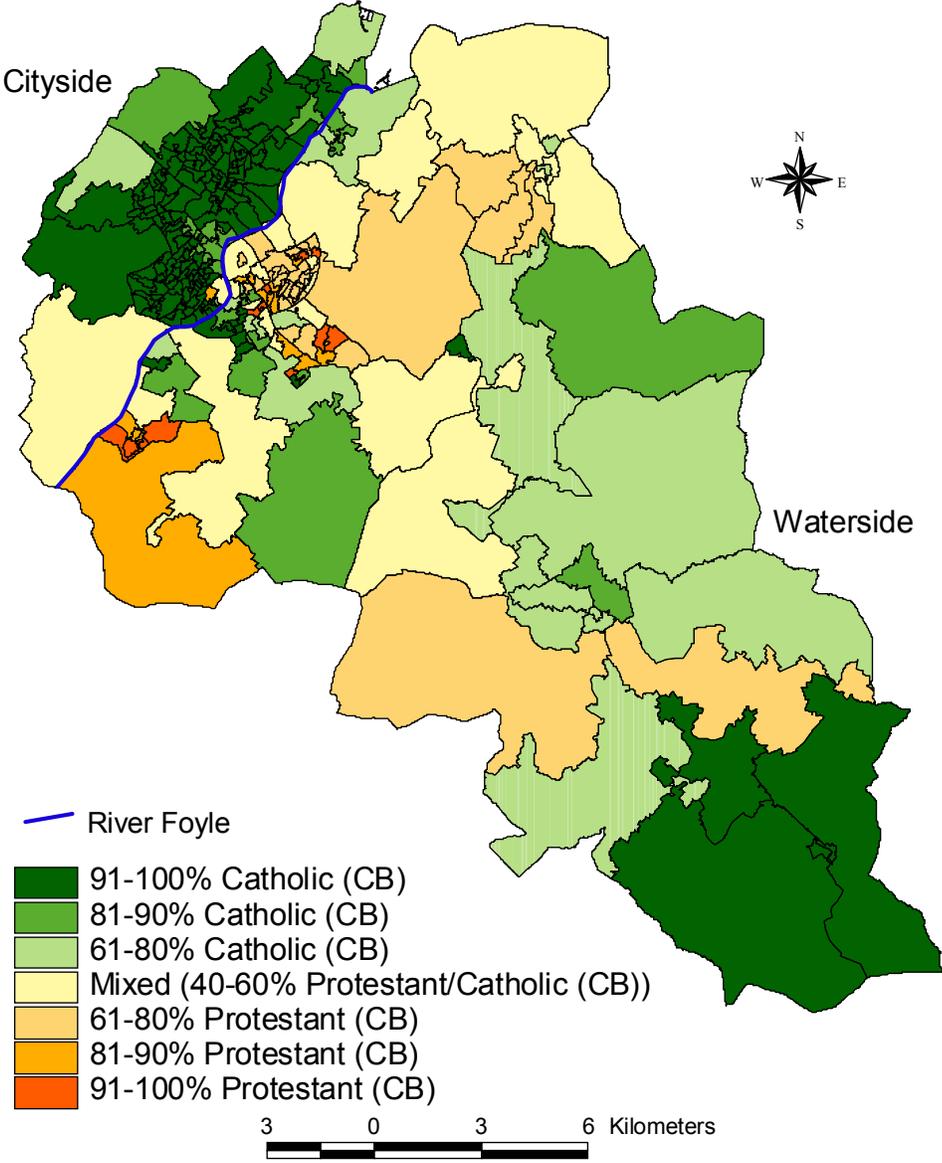


Figure 4: 2001 percentage population community background

Chapter Three

Questionnaire Survey Findings

A total of 399 respondents participated in the questionnaire survey which was dedicated to examining the issues of segregation and cultural and political alienation and conflict amelioration within Derry/Londonderry.

The survey results are discussed under six principal headings:

- characteristics of the respondents;
- housing and segregation;
- identity and politics;
- community relations, peace building and political change;
- living and working in Derry/Londonderry;
- summary and conclusion.

3.1 Characteristics of the respondents

Of the 399 respondents, **40.3%** were male and **59.7%** female.

In terms of tenure, **39.8%** of respondents owned their homes, compared to **29.4%** who were mortgage holders and **23.9%** who rented from the Northern Ireland Housing Executive.

One third of respondents were aged between 45-64, while a similar share fell into the 25-44 age range (Table 10). One in eight respondents were aged 16-24 with slightly more falling into the 65-74 age band. Roughly one in ten were aged 75+.

Age Group	Respondents (%)
16-24	12.4
25-44	28.1
45-64	33.8
65-74	16.0
75+	9.8

Table 10: Respondent age groupings

Just over half of all respondents (**52.6%**) held no formal qualifications, a situation strongly correlated with age in that it was those in the older age groups who lacked qualifications. One in five respondents (**21.9%**) held GCSE or equivalent level qualifications while a further **7.0%** had progressed to and gained A-Levels. Only **4.8%** held a degree level or higher qualification, most of whom were aged under 45. The vast majority of respondents (**81.8%**) had attended predominantly Protestant schools. Conversely, only **4.4%** had attended a formally integrated school.

A significant number of respondents (**30.3%**) were retired. One in five was working full-time and a further **11.0%** were engaged in part-time employment. Of the **13.8%** of respondents who classified themselves as ‘looking after the home’, almost all were female (**93.1%**).

Those in employment (about **35%**) were classified into the occupational groupings outlined in Table 11. For the purpose of analysis the top three occupational groups are identified as OC1, the next 3 as OC2 and the bottom three as OC3. This grouping provides a proxy for occupational class groupings. The largest group of all relevant respondents (**44.6%**) was in OC2. One in five fell into in the professional standard occupational band while **35.4%** were in the lowest occupational sector (OC3).

Employment Category	%	Occupational Categories
Managers & Administrators	4.9	OC1 20.0
Professional Occupations	11.9	
Associate Professional & Technical	3.2	
Clerical & Secretarial	9.2	} OC2 44.6
Craft & Skilled Manual	27.3	
Personal & Protective Services	8.1	
Sales Occupations	8.9	} OC3 35.4
Plant & Machine Operatives	8.4	
Other Occupations	18.1	

Table 11: Occupational groupings

3.2 Housing and segregation

Around half of all respondents (**210**) had moved to their present address. Two thirds of these had moved to their present address either during the 1990s or since 2000. One in five had moved to their present address in the 1980s, compared to **11.4%** who had moved in the 1970s. Among respondents who had moved to their present address, **47.1%** had done so for family reasons, **27.6%** for better housing and only **1.9%** in order to access better facilities.

Of those who had moved, **8.1%** had done so due to the previous area being unsafe. A small group (**3.3%**) had moved due to their previous place of residence being dominated by the ‘other’ community, while a similar share (**4.3%**) had moved due to intimidation. In sum, **11.4%** stated that their primary reason for moving was attached to a security issue or that they had lived in a community dominated by the ‘other’ community. Around **2%** moved for employment and **15.7%** stated other reasons such as marriage, divorce and house prices.

One in eight respondents stated that they would consider moving. A quarter stated that they would move for family reasons, while a similar share stated that they sought

better housing. Other factors included: being close to better facilities (7.8%); area being unsafe (11.8%); intimidation (3.9%); and employment reasons (9.8%). When questioned on which locations they would consider moving to, the largest proportion of respondents would prefer to move to a different part of the DDCA (35.3%), while slightly fewer people would prefer to stay within the city itself (29.4%).

The vast majority of respondents (97%) stated that the Troubles were to blame for high levels of segregation. Moreover, a distinct majority (87.2%) agreed or strongly agreed that segregation creates poor community relationships. Around half of respondents (52.6%) felt that housing policy aided the reproduction of segregation. Two-thirds of respondents (69.7%) believed that politicians should do more to create mixed housing areas. In relation to this point, 72% of Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) voters agreed, compared to 62% of Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) voters. In comparison, 89% of non-voters concurred with the proposition that politicians should do more to create mixed living environments.

Virtually all the respondents (93.2%) believed that ‘Protestants feel safer living within predominantly Protestant places’ (Table 12). Moreover, just over half of all respondents (51.0%) believed that their community does not want to share space with the ‘other’ community. Two thirds (65.2%) also believed that the ‘other’ community wanted their community ‘to move out of the city’. These findings point to a contradiction in that, as with the Life and Times Survey, there is a desire for politicians to do more to create neutral living spaces. However, this perspective is opposed by a recognition that the ‘other’ community does not desire to share space less, at best, and take control of it, at worst. form of security consciousness concerning a strong desire to live in single identity communities

One in five respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the ‘other’ community would welcome ‘greater mixing between my community and theirs’. Half disagreed or strongly disagreed with this proposition. A similar share agreed or disagreed with the proposition, ‘segregation will decline over the next 10 years’. Forty percent of UUP voters agreed that segregation would decline during this period compared to 24% of DUP voters.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
My community does not want to share territory with the ‘other’ side	1.8	50.9	16.0	23.8	0.5	7.0
The ‘other’ community wants my community to move out of the city	20.3	48.9	7.3	15.3	0.3	8.0
The ‘other’ community would welcome greater mixing between my community and them	0.5	19.8	14.8	45.1	3.5	16.3
Segregation will decline over the	1.8	29.8	14.5	33.3	0.8	19.8

next 10 years						
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Table 12: Opinions on residential segregation

In relation to occupational classification, it is evident that among those in the OC1 category, just over half agreed or strongly agreed that ‘the other community wants my community to move out of the city’. This compared to around three quarters in both the OC2 and OC3 groups. In relation, however, to the ‘other’ community welcoming ‘greater mixing’, it was the OC2 (**38.7%**) group that was more positive. Only one in eight respondents from the OC3 group concurred with the proposition on greater inter-community mixing (Table 13).

The youngest age band, those aged under 24, were least likely to state that the ‘other’ community ‘wants my community to move out of the city’. The 25-44 and over 65 age groups showed the highest level of agreement with this particular statement. Respondents aged 45-64 were most likely to sense that the other community would support greater mixing (Table 14).

Females were more likely than males to agree strongly with both questions. Nearly three-quarters of all females believed that ‘the other community wants my community to move out of the city’. Despite this, women were twice as likely as men to acknowledge that the other community would ‘welcome greater mixing between my community and theirs’ (Table 15).

	OC1	OC2	OC3
The other community wants my community to move out of the city (Strongly Agree/Agree)	52.7	73.0	74.6
The other community would welcome greater mixing between my community and theirs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	24.3	38.7	12.3

Table 13: Opinions on residential segregation according to occupational grouping

	<24	25-44	45-64	65+
The other community wants my community to move out of the city (Strongly Agree/Agree)	61.2	72.6	66.9	71.8
The other community would welcome greater mixing between my community and theirs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	22.4	31.0	31.6	24.3

Table 14: Opinions on residential segregation according to age

	Males	Females
The other community wants my community to move out of the city (Strongly Agree/Agree)	63.1	73.2
The other community would welcome greater mixing between my community and theirs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	18.8	34.7

Table 15: Opinions on residential segregation according to gender

3.3 Identity and politics

In terms of religious denomination, **44.4%** of respondents classified themselves as Presbyterians with a further **40.6%** being Church of Ireland, Anglican or Episcopalian. Methodists accounted for **6%** of all respondents. A mere **3.3%** stated that they did not hold a religious or denominational belief.

Voting practices were also investigated within the survey with the majority of respondents voting for the two main unionist parties. The DUP and UUP accounted for **46.0%** and **19.4%** of all respondents respectively. One respondent voted for the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). Around a fifth of all respondents (**18.9%**) stated they did not vote.

A large majority of all respondents (**82.2%**) considered themselves to be British with Northern Irish being the second-most common answer (**14.2%**). Only **4.0%** preferred to be thought of as Irish with Ulster, Scottish and English each receiving between **1%** and **2%**.

Table 16 indicates the level of pride in respective national identities. Around half of all respondents indicated that they are 'very proud' to be British compared to **3.5%** who stated the highest level of pride in 'being Irish'. However, a quarter stated that they were 'somewhat proud' of being Irish. A mere **4.5%** did not see themselves as being British, compared to **57.7%** who did not consider themselves as being Irish.

Similar proportions of males than females were 'very proud' to be British (**49%** and **52%** respectively). More women were 'somewhat proud' of being British than men (**38%** compared to **35%**) with the opposite being the case for being Irish (**28%** of men and **23%** women). Only **6%** of men compared to **4%** of women did not see themselves as British with **54%** of men and **60%** of women claiming not to be Irish.

Older people were more likely to be 'very proud to be British' compared to their younger counterparts (i.e. **67%** of those aged 75+ compared to **49%** aged under 24 and **42%** aged between 25-44). Conversely, a greater proportion of respondents aged under 24 'were very proud to be Irish' (**6.1%** of respondents aged under 24 years, compared to **3.1%** and **0%** of those aged 65-74 and 75+), although the percentage share within each group is low.

The strongest expressions of pride in being British came from those respondents within the OC2 group (**56%**, compared to **47%** OC3 and **42%** OC1). OC1 respondents held most pride in being Irish (**4.8%**), compared to those in OC3 and OC2 (**3%** and **1%** respectively). OC1 also accounted for the most people who did not feel at all British (**11%** compared to **4.2%** and **2.0%** respectively in the OC2 and OC3 groupings). In general there would appear to be some connection between occupational classification and the depth and passion of identity, with more

respondents with a high status employment being either more likely to be ‘proud’ to be Irish or less likely to be ‘very proud’ to be British. In general terms, however, all OC groups contained a majority who are either ‘very proud’ or ‘proud’ to be British.

	British (%)	Irish (%)
Very proud	49.9	3.5
Somewhat proud	36.6	25.1
Not very proud	5.8	4.3
Not at all proud	1.5	5.3
Don’t see self as British/Irish at all	4.5	57.6
(Other – write in)	0.3	1.5
(Don’t know)	1.5	2.8

Table 16: Opinions on being British/Irish

It is clear that significant numbers of respondents lacked confidence that their traditions are being protected. Respondents were twice as likely to disagree or strongly disagree than those who agreed or strongly agreed that ‘my own cultural tradition is protected in Londonderry these days’. Similarly, there was a seven-fold disparity between those who agreed or strongly agreed (**74.2%**) and those who disagreed/strongly disagreed (**10.5%**) with the proposition, ‘my cultural tradition is always the underdog’. There was little to choose between the political parties, **21%** of DUP and **26%** of UUP voters disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with the statement, ‘I am confident that my own cultural tradition is protected in Londonderry these days’ (Table 17).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don’t Know
I am confident that my own cultural tradition is protected these days	1.8	25.1	13.5	47.1	9.0	3.5
My cultural tradition is always the underdog	11.8	62.4	10.5	10.0	0.5	4.8

Table 17: Opinions on cultural tradition (%)

When analysing the relationship between cultural protection and social status, it emerged that OC3 (**19.2%**) respondents were those least likely to support the idea that

their cultural identity is protected. It could be argued that the lack of protection of cultural identity is more relevant to this grouping as they are most likely to participate actively in Orange culture and heritage. Nevertheless, despite the issue of cultural protection creating a significant level of diversity between OC groups, it was evident that all such groups shared a similar sense of being ‘cultural underdogs’ (Table 18).

Age also produced a relatively balanced response with the exception that those aged 25-44 and 45-64 were most likely to believe that their cultural tradition is always ‘the underdog’ (Table 19). There were also few differences when these issues were measured against gender (Table 20). Men tended, but only marginally, to provide negative responses to both questions.

	OC 1	OC 2	OC 3
I am confident that my own cultural identity is protected (Strongly Agree/Agree)	33.8	29.4	19.2
My cultural tradition is always the underdog (Strongly Agree/Agree)	68.9	76.7	73.8

Table 18: Opinions on cultural tradition according to occupational grouping (%)

	<24	25-44	45-64	65+
I am confident that my own cultural identity is protected (Strongly Agree/Agree)	30.6	35.4	25.7	30.1
My cultural tradition is always the underdog (Strongly Agree/Agree)	69.4	81.4	75.0	68.0

Table 19: Opinions on cultural tradition according to age (%)

	Males	Females
I am confident that my own cultural identity is protected (Strongly Agree/Agree)	29.4	25.1
My cultural tradition is always the underdog (Strongly Agree/Agree)	78.8	71.1

Table 20: Opinions on cultural tradition according to gender (%)

3.4 Community relations, peace building and political change

Several questions were asked concerning the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement, **53.4%** of all respondents believing that nationalists and republicans had benefited a lot more than Protestants/unionists from the Agreement (Table 21).

Conversely, only **7%** believed that Protestants/unionists had benefited a little more than nationalists and republicans. A small share believed (**4.8%**) believed unionists

gained more than nationalists/republicans. In addition, **14.5%** of all respondents claimed that each side benefited equally with **4.7%** thinking neither side profited.

Around three in ten (**29%**) believed that the Agreement is basically right but that the specifics should be re-negotiated. In comparison **22%** wanted the Agreement to be abandoned, while only **10.3%** contended that the Agreement should be implemented in full. One in eight UUP voters compared to a mere **3.8%** of DUP voters agreed with this latter point.

As shown in Table 21 OC1 respondents were more likely than their counterparts to believe that unionists benefited a lot more than nationalists although only **4.1%** of OC1s held this view. A slight majority of OC2 (**58.3%**) and OC3 (**56.2%**) respondents concluded that 'nationalists had benefited more'. Slightly fewer members of the OC1 group (**44.6%**) interpreted the Agreement in the same manner. Despite this, only a small majority of OC1 respondents provided positive interpretations of the Agreement. A similar pattern emerges in relation to the re-negotiation of the Agreement which was supported by nearly **30%** of OC2s, one in five OC3s and one in eight OC1s.

More OC2 respondents (**57.1%**) than their counterparts in the other two groups acknowledged that 'Unionists and Protestants ... respect the Catholic/nationalist community and its needs'. There was also a certain level of agreement within all three groups as to whether Derry/Londonderry 'is a good place to live if you are a unionist/Protestant'. OC1 respondents were slightly more positive in relation to this question (**55.4%**), compared to **50.9%** in OC2 and **47.7%** in OC3.

OC1 respondents (**23.0%**) were also those most likely to believe that 'political leaders on the other side are actively working for your community's interests' than those in OC2 (**15.3%**) and OC3 (**14.6%**). Despite a more positive recognition of the other community and its political representatives, the majority of respondents within each OC category held negative interpretations of nationalist and republican politicians. Such evidence suggests that many interviewees believed that their community respects the other community but that the 'other' community's political leaders do not provide a high level of reciprocation. This is a defining relationship within the unionist/Protestant community which holds a general sense of there being an active process within the 'other' community disregards their needs and aspirations.

A third of OC1 respondents, compared to one in ten OC3s, agreed or strongly agreed that their community 'has an equal say in the development of the city'. Despite some obvious differences in relation to questions concerning the other community, at least three quarters of the participants from all three categories believed that the 'unionist community is in cultural decline'.

The youngest age group (**36.7%**) were those least likely to believe that 'nationalists benefited a lot more than unionists' and that the Agreement is 'basically wrong and should be re-negotiated' (Table 22). Older people tended to think that their community was making 'concessions' and that it was in cultural decline.

	OC1	OC2	OC3
Unionists benefited a lot more than nationalists (Agree/Strongly Agree)	4.1	1.2	2.3
Nationalists benefited a lot more than unionists	44.6	58.3	56.2
The Agreement is basically wrong and should be renegotiated	13.5	28.2	20.0
Unionists and Protestants within Londonderry respect the Catholic/nationalist community and its needs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	48.6	57.1	40.8
Londonderry is a good place to live if you are a unionist/Protestant (Strongly Agree/Agree)	55.4	50.9	47.7
Your community is always making concessions to the other side (Strongly Agree/Agree)	51.4	71.8	63.8
Political leaders on the other side are actively working for your community's interests (Strongly Agree/Agree)	23.0	15.3	14.6
Changing the name of the City from Londonderry to Derry would not bother me (Strongly Agree/Agree)	32.4	25.2	26.2
The Unionist community is in cultural decline (Strongly Agree/Agree)	75.7	78.5	76.2
Nationalists and republicans respect your community's needs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	41.9	17.8	8.5
My community has an equal say in the development of the city (Strongly Agree/Agree)	33.3	16.0	9.2

Table 21: Opinions on the Belfast Agreement and other statements about Derry/Londonderry according to occupational grouping (%)

Despite this, those aged under 24 were less likely to believe that ‘Londonderry is a good place to live if you are a unionist/Protestant’ and that ‘political leaders on the other side are actively working for your community’s interests’. Only one in eight respondents aged under 24 agreed that ‘nationalists and republicans respected their community’s needs’(Table 22).

Around **60%** of females compared to **47.7%** of males believed that ‘nationalists benefited a lot more than unionists. They were also slightly less likely to believe that ‘Londonderry is a good place to live if you are a unionist/Protestant’ and that ‘political leaders on the other side are actively working for your community’s interests’ (Table 23).

One in eight women, compared to one in five men, believed that ‘nationalists and republicans respect your community’s needs’ (Table 23). More men (**34.4%**) than women (**22.6%**) stated that changing the name of the city would not bother them.

	<24	25-44	45-64	65+
Unionists benefited a lot more than nationalists (Agree/Strongly Agree)	2.0	0.9	2.2	2.9
Nationalists benefited a lot more than unionists (Agree/Strongly Agree)	36.7	53.1	52.9	62.1
The Agreement is basically wrong and should be renegotiated	16.3	27.4	21.3	21.4
Unionists and Protestants within Londonderry respect the Catholic/nationalist community and its needs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	42.9	46.9	52.9	50.5
Londonderry is a good place to live if you are a unionist/Protestant (Strongly Agree/Agree)	44.9	46.9	51.5	53.4
Your community is always making concessions to the other side (Strongly Agree/Agree)	46.9	58.4	65.4	76.7
Political leaders on the other side are actively working for your community's interests (Strongly Agree/Agree)	10.2	15.9	20.6	16.5
Changing the name of the City from Londonderry to Derry would not bother me (Strongly Agree/Agree)	26.5	29.2	25.7	28.2
The unionist community is in cultural decline (Strongly Agree/Agree)	63.3	74.3	81.6	75.7
Nationalists and republicans respect your communities needs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	12.2	31.0	15.4	17.5
My community has an equal say in the development of the city (Strongly Agree/Agree)	26.5	17.7	20.6	11.7

Table 22: Opinions on the Agreement and other statements about Derry/Londonderry according to age (%)

Around 20% of all participants felt happy that the Agreement had made progress while the largest single group (43.1%) had mixed feelings concerning the Agreement (Table 24).

	Males	Females
Unionists benefited a lot more than nationalists (Agree/Strongly Agree)	0.8	3.8
Nationalists benefited a lot more than unionists (Agree/Strongly Agree)	47.7	61.9
The Agreement is basically wrong and should be renegotiated	23.8	21.8
Unionists and Protestants within Londonderry respect the Catholic/nationalist community and its needs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	53.8	46.4
Londonderry is a good place to live if you are a unionist/Protestant (Strongly Agree/Agree)	53.8	47.7
Your community is always making concessions to the other side (Strongly Agree/Agree)	68.1	61.5
Political leaders on the other side are actively working for your community's interests (Strongly Agree/Agree)	19.4	15.5
Changing the name of the city from Londonderry to Derry would not bother me (Strongly Agree/Agree)	34.4	22.6
The unionist community is in cultural decline (Strongly Agree/Agree)	73.8	77.4
Nationalists and republicans respect your community's needs (Strongly Agree/Agree)	20.0	12.1
My community has an equal say in the development of the city (Strongly Agree/Agree)	16.9	15.9

Table 23: Opinions on the Agreement and other statements about Derry/Londonderry according to gender (%)

	Yes	No
I feel happy that we have made progress	19.3	80.7
I have mixed feelings	43.1	56.9
I feel unhappy	9.8	90.2
I feel disappointed	21.1	78.9
I feel angry	4.5	95.5
I feel betrayed	10.8	89.7
None of these	1.0	99.0
(Don't know)	1.0	

Table 24: Statements about the search for peace (%)

In relation to occupational groups, the OC2 group (**15.8%**) recorded the highest sense of 'betrayal' compared to **6.8%** and **8.5%** among the OC1s and OC3s respectively. Respondents under 45, and especially those aged under 24 (**2.0%**), expressed the

lowest levels of betrayal. One in eight respondents aged over 45 felt 'betrayed'. There was no significant gender difference in terms of this proposition (Table 24).

A similar share of all respondents (**39.3%** and **35.6%** respectively) believed that relationships between Catholics and Protestants had improved over the past 5 years and would continue to improve over the next 5 years. The Life and Times Survey found that the 53.2% of Protestants and 53% of Catholics concurred with the same proposition. This may suggest that in more conflictual arenas that there is less sense of positive change between communities.

Conversely, **16.4%** believed that relations between the two communities worsened between 1998 and 2004. A similar share (**15.2%**) stated that they believed that these relationships would continue to deteriorate.

A majority of OC1 respondents (**56.8%**) believed that relationships between Catholics and Protestants had improved since 1998. Twenty percent fewer OC2 and OC3 respondents held such a positive view, while **42%** of both OC2 and OC3 participants believed that no change had taken place within such relationships. One in five respondents aged under 24 or over 65 believed that the relationships between Catholics and Protestants had improved. This compared to **13.3%** of those aged 25-44 and **14.7%** among those aged 45-65 who saw a deterioration in Catholic-Protestant relationships. OC1 respondents were the only group within which the majority of interviewees viewed the relationship between Catholics and Protestants as having improved.

In terms of equality and access to resources, **86.4%** stated that Catholics are treated better in terms of provision. Nine in ten respondents in the OC2 and OC3 groups believed this to be the case compared to **71.1%** of OC1s. In relation to age, there was virtually no diversity in attitudes, a situation that was also reflected in terms of gender.

In terms of educational opportunities, **69.1%** of respondents believed that they were worse for Protestants, while **54%** also believed that employment opportunities favoured Catholics. Two thirds also believed that Catholics were favoured in housing provision. Nearly **70%** believed that their community was being treated worse than the Catholic community by the PSNI.

Respondents were also asked a series of questions about living within the DDCA. These questions covered topics ranging from unionist political leadership, the unionist/Protestant community in Derry/Londonderry, relationships with the nationalist/Catholic community and the role of Derry City Council (DCC) as well as the future development of the city.

The issue of political leadership provided mixed views on whether or not unionist politicians were doing a good job of representing their respective constituencies. Although 41% believed that they were doing a good job, **35%** disagreed. When questioned about politicians on the 'other' side, **61%** disagreed or disagreed strongly that 'other' politicians are promoting equality within Derry/Londonderry' (DUP **71%**/UUP **63%**). Furthermore, **46%** of DUP and **33%** of UUP voters stated that

unionist spokespersons ‘underestimate the extent of Protestant alienation within the city’.

Although the census evidence in Chapter 2 demonstrates that the actual situation is more complex, **72%** of all respondents believed that the Protestant population of DDCA is declining (Table 25). A mere **8.2%** of respondents strongly disagreed/disagreed with the statement that ‘the Protestant community feels that it is in political decline’, compared to **80.3%** who felt it was. Three quarters agreed/strongly agreed that ‘the unionist community in Londonderry has declined in cultural terms in recent years’. Furthermore, only **15.4%** believed that the Protestant community was not in cultural decline, compared to **67.9%** who believed that it is.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
The unionist community in Londonderry has declined in cultural terms in recent years	6.2	69.7	5.5	10.7	0.2	7.7
The Protestant community feels that it is in political decline	11.9	68.4	2.5	8.0	0.2	9.0
The Protestant community is not in cultural decline	1.2	14.2	8.0	61.4	6.5	8.7
Protestant migration from the Cityside has been a positive experience for that community	2.0	18.9	7.0	47.3	16.9	8.0
The Protestant community now feels confident enough to move back to the Cityside	0.2	3.5	3.5	43.3	43.5	6.0

Table 25: Opinions on Protestant standing in Derry/Londonderry (%)

Only **3.7%** of all respondents agreed that the Protestant community feels confident enough to move back to the Cityside. The highest level of optimism was recorded as **10%** among persons aged 75+.

Over half (**56%**) disagreed or strongly disagreed that DCC actively supports all cultural identities, compared to **29%** who did believe that DCC actively supports all cultural identities. The majority of respondents (**71%**) agreed that DCC has not done enough to quell unionist fears.

3.5 Living and working in Derry/Londonderry

A large majority of respondents (**82.6%**) stated that they have never been treated unfairly in a shop/business due to their religion. Further evidence of relatively stable inter-community relationships is that the majority of those who are in employment (**61.0%**) work within predominantly Catholic workplaces, compared to **34%** who do not.

56.5% of all respondents had worked in a predominantly Catholic workplace during some period in their careers **9.7%** stated that they would feel ‘uneasy’ working in such places again. A further **17.2%** would consider working again in a majority Catholic workplace. However, **59.9%** would be content to work in such places.

Nevertheless, around one-quarter of all respondents stated that they would not consider working ‘in a place where the majority of employees are Catholics’. Somewhat surprisingly, given their more positive attitude to many cultural and political issues raised within the survey, OC1 respondents (**26.1%**) were more likely to state that they would not work in such places compared to those in OC2 (Table 26). A third of OC3s were not prepared to take employment within majority Catholic sites of employment. The groups least likely to state that they would not work in such places were those aged under 24 (**9.1%**) (Table 27). Over twice as many respondents aged 45-65 (**24.1%**) would not work in such places. It would appear that those aged under 45 are those most likely to work within Catholic dominated sites of employment.

	OC1	OC2	OC3
I would not work in a place where the majority of employees are Catholics	26.1	23.4	32.7

Table 26: Opinions on working in Derry/Londonderry according to occupational grouping (%)

	<24	25-44	45-65	65+
I would not work in a place where the majority of employees are Catholics	9.1	13.8	24.1	32.1

Table 27: Opinions on working in Derry/Londonderry according to age (%)

Table 28 shows the data for workplace intimidation. The majority of respondents did not cite any form of intimidation. Although the levels of intimidation due to religion were nearly double those where the perpetrator was from the respondent’s own community, the figures were low, ranging from **7.3%** to **14.3%**.

	Due to Religion		By Own Community	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Physically	7.3	92.7	3.2	96.8
Verbally	14.3	85.7	6.5	93.5
Emotionally	10.5	89.5	4.3	95.7

Table 28: Intimidation at work (%)

All respondents were asked whether they felt members of their own community were discriminated against when seeking work with **47.8%**, **33.3%** and **18.9%** answering ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘maybe’ respectively. Forty percent of respondents also held that socio-economic conditions have improved in their area since the 1994 cease-fires with **40.5%** stating there has been no change; **14.7%** believed that conditions have worsened.

The majority of respondents (**83.1%**) strongly agreed/agreed that Protestants were reluctant to shop in Catholic areas prior to 1994 (Table 29). Two thirds agreed that Protestants are now more likely to shop in Catholic places. A quarter of all respondents stated that they had been told by other Protestants ‘to stay out of Catholic areas’.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know
During the Troubles Protestants were reluctant to shop in Catholic areas	9.5	73.6	3.5	5.7	0.0	7.7
Protestants are more likely to shop in Catholic places since the cease-fires of 1994	2.2	63.7	8.2	14.9	0.2	10.7
I have always been treated positively by people when I have shopped in Catholic areas	6.5	75.4	8.2	7.0	0.5	2.5
Some Protestants have told me that we should stay out of Catholic areas	1.2	22.9	2.2	61.9	8.5	3.2

Table 29: Socialising and shopping in Derry/Londonderry (%)

In relation to shopping in places where their community ‘is not welcome’, the OC1 group (**29.7%**) were those least likely to be in agreement (Table 30). Nearly half of OC2 respondents (**48.5%**) and **40.0%** of OC3 respondents stated that they did not shop in such places due to being unwelcome. There was a near equal share, by OC group, (**OC1, 47.3%; OC2, 41.1%** and **OC3, 48.5%**) who believed that the city centre is a shared area. OC2 and OC3 respondents were those most likely to prefer to shop in Protestant places, although it should be stressed that the majority of respondents did not agree with the question, ‘I prefer to shop in Protestant places’. While a minority of respondents, by OC group, believed that ‘Protestants...are

welcome throughout the city’, between **44.6%** and **55.8%** of Protestants, by OC group, ‘tend to socialise most with other Protestants’.

	OC1	OC2	OC3
There are places within the city within which I would not shop because my community is not welcome (Agree/Strongly Agree)	29.7	48.5	40.0
The city centre is a shared area (Agree/Strongly Agree)	47.3	41.1	48.5
Although Protestants are a minority community they are welcome throughout the city (Agree/Strongly Agree)	24.3	27.0	31.5
I prefer to shop in Protestant places (Strongly Agree/Agree)	20.3	39.3	31.5
I tend to socialise most with other Protestants (Strongly Agree/Agree)	44.6	55.8	50.0

Table 30: Attitudes to shopping and socialising in Derry/Londonderry according to occupational group (%)

	<24	25-44	45-65	65+
There are places within the city within which I would not shop because my community is not welcome (Agree/Strongly Agree)	46.7	40.7	41.2	42.7
The city centre is a shared area (Strongly Agree/Agree)	42.9	42.5	48.5	44.7
Although Protestants are a minority community they are welcome throughout the city (Strongly Agree/Agree)	18.4	34.5	32.4	36.9
I prefer to shop in Protestant places (Strongly Agree/Agree)	38.9	23.9	32.4	39.8
I tend to socialise most with other Protestants (Strongly Agree/Agree)	42.9	48.7	49.3	58.3

Table 31: Attitudes to shopping and socialising in Derry/Londonderry according to age (%)

Despite less hostility to working with Catholics and the Belfast Agreement, the youngest age group, those aged under 24, were those most likely to believe that ‘there are places within the city within which I would not shop because my community is not welcome’ or that their community is not welcome throughout the city. Less than **20%** of those aged under 24 believed that ‘although Protestants are a minority community they are welcome throughout the city’ (Table 31).

Table 32 lists whether respondents would enter public spaces or consumption arenas within the city. Sites located within the Waterside such as Lisnagelvin were the places which most respondents agreed that they would visit. Main shopping arenas in the Cityside such as Foyleside and the Richmond Centre were also places that a significant majority of respondents would visit. The share of respondents visiting sites in the Cityside declined away from the Shipquay Street, Diamond and Spencer Road areas. Significant numbers of respondents would not visit Foyle Street (**33.6%**), Waterloo Place (**39.1%**), Templemore Leisure Centre (**51.8%**) and the Brandywell Football Stadium (**79.4%**).

	Yes	No	Depends	Don't know
Lisnagelvin Shopping Centre	95.0	3.5	0.7	0.7
Lisnagelvin Leisure Centre	88.3	5.7	1.7	4.2
Foyleside	83.3	10.9	4.2	1.5
Richmond Centre	80.8	11.9	4.2	3.0
Diamond	78.9	13.4	6.0	1.7
Spencer Road	78.4	16.4	4.0	1.2
Council Offices	58.7	25.7	5.5	10.2
Derry's Walls	60.2	27.9	10.2	1.7
Guildhall Square	62.9	25.6	9.2	2.2
Foyle Street	56.0	33.6	7.5	3.0
Waterloo Place	50.7	39.1	9.0	1.2
Templemore Leisure Centre	35.8	51.8	3.7	8.7
Brandywell Football Stadium	11.7	79.4	2.5	6.5

Table 32: Neutral areas in Derry/Londonderry (%)

Table 33 provides information on perceptions of walking and travelling through their own community and that of the Catholic community. Among respondents, **19.1%** stated that they either felt 'a little unsafe', 'scared' or 'would not walk through their own community after dark'. This compared to **79.9%** who would not undertake the same activity within a Catholic area after dark. Fewer respondents stated a similar disposition when asked about travelling through a Catholic area after dark (**62.7%**).

Tables 34-26 provide information on those who would not walk through a Catholic area during either the day and after dark. OC2 and OC3 respondents were nearly twice and three times respectively more likely to state that they would not walk through Catholic places during the day. The share of OC1 and OC2 respondents who would not walk through a Catholic place after dark increases nearly threefold compared to those who would not do so during the day. A minority within all three groups (**16.7%**), as shown in Table 33, would feel either 'very safe' or 'quite safe' walking through a Catholic area after dark.

	Very Safe	Quite Safe	A little unsafe	Scared	Wouldn't Go	Don't Know
Walking through your local area during the day?	70.9	24.4	2.5	0.0	1.0	1.2
Walking through your local area after dark?	41.8	38.1	11.4	3.7	4.0	1.0
Walking through a Catholic area during the day?	13.2	40.0	20.4	4.2	20.1	2.0
Walking through a Catholic area after dark?	2.5	14.2	17.7	9.0	53.2	3.5
Travelling through a Catholic area during the day?	21.6	43.3	17.7	3.2	10.4	3.7
Travelling through a Catholic area after dark?	9.2	24.9	21.1	8.0	33.6	3.2

Table 33: Personal safety in Derry/Londonderry (%)

	OC 1	OC 2	OC 3
Walk through a Catholic area during the day	10.8	19.0	26.9
Walk through a Catholic area after dark	29.7	58.3	60.8

Table 34: Feeling unsafe in Derry/Londonderry according to occupational grouping (%)

	<24	25-44	45-64	65+
Walk through a Catholic area during the day	22.4	13.3	20.6	26.2
Walk through a Catholic area after dark	61.2	50.4	49.3	58.3

Table 35: Feeling unsafe in Derry/Londonderry according to age (%)

The under 24 and the over 65 groups were those most likely to state that they would not walk through a Catholic area during the day or after dark.

Fewer females than males noted that they would not walk through a Catholic area either during the day or after dark. The share of females who would not walk through

their local area after dark or through a Catholic area after dark increases tenfold, although it should be stressed from a low base.

	Males	Females
Walk through local area during the day	0.6	1.3
Walk through local area after dark	0.6	6.3
Walk through a Catholic area during the day	15.6	23.4
Walk through a Catholic area after dark	43.1	60.3

Table 36: Feeling Unsafe in Derry/Londonderry according to gender (%)

Violent crime was also addressed in the questionnaire (Table 37). A similar share of those who were physically or verbally attacked within their local area identified a local person or an assailant from the ‘other’ community as the perpetrator. However, around **60%** of ‘assailants’ in such attacks and threats outside of the respondent’s local area were identified as being members of the ‘other’ community. **Less than 10%** of respondents had suffered physical or verbal violence in the last 5 years.

	Yes	No	Local Person	Security Forces	‘Other’ community	Other (specify)	Unknown
Physical attack in your local area	7.2	92.8	41.4	3.4	48.3	3.4	6.9
Verbal threat of violence in your local area	7.7	92.3	41.1	3.4	48.3	3.4	6.9
Physical attack outside your local area	6.7	93.3	25.0	6.7	57.9	0.0	0.0
Verbal threat of violence outside your local area	9.7	90.3	22.9	3.3	56.3	3.4	12.1

Table 37: Violence in last 5 years (%)

Victims of attacks and threats were also measured over the previous 25 years. The level of attack and threat only rose slightly. Yet again, the majority of respondents had not been victims of either form of violence. The share of violence undertaken by members of the ‘other’ community rose in relation to attacks and threats within the local area. In relation to Table 38 it would appear that there has been a growth in assailants who could be described as members of the same community.

	Yes	No	Local Person	Security Forces	'Other' community	Other	Unknown
Physical attack in your local area	10.2	87.1	17.1	2.4	73.2	0.0	7.3
Verbal threat of violence in your local area	10.6	87.2	24.4	0.0	64.0	2.4	2.4
Physical attack outside your local area	10.3	86.9	10.9	0.0	55.0	2.4	4.7
Verbal threat of violence outside your local area	10.8	87.2	15.2	2.4	55.9	2.4	4.7

Table 38: Violence in previous 25 years (%)

3.6 Conclusion and summary

Evidently, the survey findings demand careful consideration. As a research tool, the survey has provided an insight into the views and opinions of a sizeable portion of the Protestant community in the city. While there are many positive aspects to the findings, there are accompanying negative points of political and cultural significance around which Protestant unease revolves. Clearly, Protestants are not of one mind on every question that the survey addressed. But the survey does emphasise that, all things considered, more Protestants than not are uncomfortable with aspects of life in Derry/Londonderry.

Some of the more positive findings include:

- a greater willingness to shop in ‘Catholic’ places;
- over 80% of respondents acknowledged that they had never been treated unfairly because of their religion within a shop or business premises located within a Catholic area;
- a majority of those of working age who are prepared to work in predominantly Catholic workplaces;
- only a handful of respondents claimed that they had been subjected either to verbal or physical abuse in the city whether measured in the last 5 years or previous 25 years.

Such evidence suggests that the paramilitary cease-fires of the 1990s have encouraged the mobility of Protestants within the city, especially with regard to consumption. There are also signs that many survey respondents socialise with non-Protestants as well as work in predominantly Catholic places. Furthermore, the majority of respondents who have moved home have done so due to family or other domestic reasons. Indeed the majority of respondents have not suffered directly from violence and intimidation with regard to their most recent or previous house movements.

Nevertheless, there is a need to define precisely what some Protestants actually mean when they confirm that they are willing to shop in the Cityside. When this subject was discussed with participants in the qualitative stage of the research, it became clear that for some shopping outside predominantly Protestant places is based upon certain rules of spatial engagement. As pointed out in Chapter 4, it is also important to differentiate between the city centre and the Cityside at the level of Protestant perception. At a spatial level, the survey findings hint at a reduction in levels of Protestant confidence the farther one moves out from the city centre and into residential districts. It would appear to be the case, as noted in focus groups, that Protestants differentiate between predominantly Catholic places with regard to such places being consumption arenas or residential districts.

More negative interpretations are located around those questions relating to issues of political and cultural identity. At one level, the negativity identified in the survey can be seen as a localised reflection of the general scepticism and pessimism within sections of the Protestant community following the Belfast Agreement.

The findings reveal a high percentage of Protestants who:

- feel that their community is in a state of decline;
- believe that segregation will continue;(but they want it to continue)
- uphold the notion that their cultural identity is both in decline and unprotected within the city;
- interpret equality agendas as favouring the majority community within the DDCA area.

Undoubtedly, perceptions of this kind hinder the development of better cross-community relationships and provide a strong sense of decline and separation. Evidently the more serious and negative emotions uncovered in the survey are based upon forms of resource competition and a sense of loss and a perception of a culture voice remaining unheard. Despite the most recent census results, a strong sense of

spatial decline remains. Furthermore, there is - as evident within Chapter 4 - a strong folk memory concerning the impact of violence in the 1970s and 1980s which is firmly attached to the population exodus from the Cityside.

These understandings of exclusion in one form or another are noticeable in the young and old alike. The Protestant young remain affected by high levels of segregation and, in a local context, there are low levels of contact between them and their counterparts within the nationalist community. Thus with little opportunity to gain knowledge of what members of the 'other' community are actually like, the separateness of life-worlds makes it very difficult to see through the veil of ethno-sectarian stereotypes.

Among older members of the Protestant community, the feeling of unease identified in the survey is perhaps a reflection of a sense of cultural and political loss. During the qualitative stage of the research, it became clear that the views of older Protestants were formed in a slightly different matrix. Their experience and first-hand knowledge of the impact of the Troubles played a part in fashioning their contemporary opinions.

Finally, the data emphasises the degree of increased disaffection felt by members of occupational groups OC2 and OC3. When compared to group OC1, it becomes clear that these groups have stronger views on some issues. The deepest sense of marginalisation appears to be among working-class Protestants. As discussed in Chapter 4, Protestant focus groups representing Caw and Clooney in the Waterside had a more acute feeling of spatial alienation – even with regard to territoriality in the Waterside – than Protestants who can be categorised as belonging to the professional occupational group. Many middle-class Protestants find themselves living alongside their Catholic neighbours in residential areas of the Waterside and this reality goes some way to tempering their attitudes, particularly to questions concerning the sectarian geography of the city and its psychological and social effects.

Chapter Four

Perspectives on Place, Politics and Culture

This chapter uses a qualitative methodology to expand on the quantitative results of the questionnaire survey. It reports on the discussions of a series of focus groups which addressed a broad range of issues surrounding territoriality in Derry/Londonderry.

Generally speaking, urban territoriality reflects the ethno-sectarian fault line in the city. With the exception of the Fountain and a sprinkling of Protestants who live beyond this enclave, the Cityside is Catholic and nationalist. Yet while most Protestants live in the Waterside, which for both communities is considered to be the Protestant side of the city, the demographics are near equal while new residential housing developments may create a Catholic majority. Social housing in the Waterside remains highly segregated.

The chapter is divided into five sections dealing with:

- the focus group methodology;
- participatory responses by Protestants;
- evidence of alienation among Protestants;
- nationalist and republican responses;
- conclusion - thinking about the future.

4.1 Focus group methodology

The research findings presented here are based on twelve focus group meetings, nine drawn from the Protestant community and three representing the Catholic/nationalist/republican community. Members of the focus group were invited through a poster campaign in local areas. Those who attended were then placed into each of the categories chosen. The cross-community composition of the focus groups allowed both traditions to express their opinions on a range of issues. In terms of the focus groups, representing the Protestant community, the methodology was informed by four key factors, namely age, location, gender and social background. Accordingly, of the nine Protestant focus groups (Table 39).

- two involved individuals from a non-professional (working class) background;
- two groups consisted of Protestant professionals (middle class);
- three groups involved young people whose ages ranged from 14 to 22;
- a single group consisted of women aged between 60 - 70 years;
- a final group comprising Protestants who had more positive feelings about living in Derry/Londonderry than some of their co-religionists.

The three focus groups drawn from the Catholic community comprised:

- one representing Sinn Féin;
- one consisting of Cityside residents;
- a final group representing the Catholic Waterside community of Currynierin.

Breakdown of Protestant focus groups
Professional group 1, interviewed 21 st July
Professional group 2, interviewed 28 th July
Non-professional group 1, interviewed 21 st July
Non-professional group 2, interviewed 4 th August
Women's group, interviewed 27 th July
Fountain young people, interviewed 26 th July
Caw young people, interviewed 4 th August
Lincoln Courts young people, interviewed 11 th August
Less-alienated Protestants, interviewed 12 th August
Breakdown of Catholic/nationalist/republican focus groups
Residents of the Cityside, interviewed 21 st July
Sinn Féin, interviewed 12 th August
Residents of Currynierin, interviewed 1 st September

Table 39: Focus groups

Each focus group meeting was recorded with the permission of all participants. Thus their comments included in this chapter are verbatim statements. The focus group meetings served to ground the quantitative research in the experienced reality of members from both sections of the Derry/Londonderry population. Particularly in the context of the non-professional Protestant groups, individuals were pleased that ‘the rank and file’ of the Protestant community was being consulted and given the opportunity to voice its feelings. On average, the meetings lasted between two-three hours and, with a guarantee of anonymity, individuals felt confident to discuss comprehensively their views on social, cultural and political issues in the city.

4.2 Participatory responses by Protestants

As the survey findings have identified, there are positive aspects to the experience of many Protestants in Derry/Londonderry and these have also been identified in the qualitative research. In the questionnaire survey, most Protestants of working age expressed their willingness to work in places in which they form a minority and many participants in the focus groups worked in such a situation. Again, the survey finding that only a minority of Protestants had ever been the actual subjects of verbal and physical abuse, either in the last five or 25 years, was confirmed by the majority of focus group respondents as was the finding that many Protestants are willing to shop in the Cityside.

The focus group results did provide, however, a much more nuanced account of such attitudes to territoriality. These can be divided into two themes:

- attitudes to the Cityside as a place of economic consumption and worship;

- cross-community relations.

Attitudes to the Cityside as a place of economic consumption and worship

The first point which emerged clearly from the focus group meetings is that in terms of Protestant use of the Cityside, the city centre has to be differentiated from the broader swathe of the city to the west of the Foyle including places such as the Bogside, Creggan or Shantallow. When the subject of shopping and socialising in the Cityside was raised in the focus groups, it became clear that some Protestants are inclined to qualify what they mean by, say, shopping in the city centre. Yet for other Protestants shopping in the city centre was not qualified in any way.

The following comment represents an unqualified positive view concerning shopping and socialising in the Cityside. This Protestant parent stressed that with regard to members of her family socialising in the Cityside:

My boys they don't mind. They've no problem going over. I mean my son's 19 and he has no problem going over to the town, it's no problem whatsoever...He has friends of both religion and...he's quite happy being in the town. He's quite happy going there at night...He's quite happy to go over the town to socialise and go into the Nerve Centre...and it doesn't cause him a problem.²⁵

The willingness to shop and socialise in the city centre was reflected in other comments made in different Protestant groups. While this person is confident to shop in the Cityside, that freedom does not apply to socialising:

I feel totally comfortable going to the Cityside to shop. I don't know whether it's my age or not being brought up in the height of the Troubles...I would go out and socialise in the Cityside; I'd go to the bars and socialise but obviously not all of them - there are some that are too nationalist.²⁶

Other Protestants confirmed that they would shop in the Cityside but stressed that there were particular areas in the city centre where they feel more at ease. The remarks of an older participant suggest that shopping in the city centre is confined to an area where she and her husband feel comfortable:

I come to this town every day in the week or every other day with my husband...but I will admit that...I feel a "cold house when I come over...it's not the same any more. So I find myself gravitating towards the Cathedral or St. Augustine's...and the Foyle side and home. And I'd seen the time when I would have

²⁵ Interview with less alienated Protestant focus group, 12th August, 2004.

²⁶ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

been down the Strand but you just don't do that now...It's theirs and we are not welcome.²⁷

This is an important comment because it conveys two points. First, there is the obvious message that despite a degree of discomfort with regard to specific parts of the city centre, this individual and her husband are quite prepared to go there on a very regular basis. Secondly, however, she prefers to confine her movements to a geographically distinct area wherein the respondent feels psychologically less exposed to the 'cold house'.

It was clear from the responses of other Protestants to the subject of shopping in the Cityside that a degree of qualification was required. Consequently, to define shopping as an enjoyable affair which might include a stroll gazing into shop windows, coffee breaks and the like, would not conform to the normal shopping habits of some Protestants when they go to the city centre. The following comment refers to shopping in the Cityside as being based purely on need:

Retail-therapy on the Cityside - no. If you have to buy something you go and you buy it and you come back out of the city centre again.²⁸

A respondent in another focus group painted a similar picture of his shopping practices:

When anyone has any business across in the Cityside...they park as near hand to the place where they want to go...do their business and it's back home again - there's no dilly dallying about the place.²⁹

Comments were made in one of the youth groups that if shopping has to be done on a Saturday, the preferred time is early in the morning when there are fewer young members of the nationalist community about:

We would go early in the morning so we don't catch up with anybody would know us.³⁰

A common feature of all three youth groups was a wariness of going into either the Foyleside or Richmond Centre shopping precincts. It was argued that groups of teenage nationalists congregate in these places and that if a person were to be identified as a Protestant, then he or she would consider themselves to be under threat.

²⁷ Interview with Protestant women's focus group, 28th July, 2004.

²⁸ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

²⁹ Interview with Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

³⁰ Interview with Protestant young people from Lincoln Courts, 11th August, 2004.

Protestants whose place of Sunday worship remains in the Cityside stated that they were quite happy to attend their churches. Although many former Cityside Protestants now reside in the Waterside, they have maintained the link with their religious institutions and expressed little concern about crossing the bridge on a Sunday. When interviewed, members of the Protestant clergy who work in the Cityside all agreed that the vast majority of their respective congregations were prepared to attend services. Ministers did, however, express concern about the future size of their congregations. While Protestants who had moved from the Cityside during the Troubles had often continued to attend their original place of worship, it was felt that their children would have a primary identification with the Waterside.

Cross-community relations

At the level of cross-community relations, there was some acknowledgement of the potential that exists for an improvement in relations between the two communities as a result of policies which encourage contact and demand mutual participation in specific schemes. In reference to the work of the Local Strategy Partnership and its role in each of the city's three interfaces (Fountain/Bogside in the Cityside and Tullyalley/Currynieran and Gobnascale/Irish Street in the Waterside), one Protestant described the cross-community contact which is built-in to particular projects thus:

It's not a natural progression...hopefully it could become a natural progression so I'm not going to discount it or disparage it in any way. There is hope there and it has certainly eased the tension around the interface area.³¹

Some Protestants expressed their concern about the increase in the Waterside's Catholic population as a consequence of residential housing developments. While there were negative views, other Protestants had a more positive opinion of the area's demographic change. Given that Protestants are not moving to the Cityside, one Protestant still was prepared to state that an increase in the Catholic population in the Waterside caused her no anxiety:

I don't mind it at all...I feel a bit sad that the Protestants can't move into the Derry side the same way. I feel it's grand that Catholic families can feel that they can move into certain areas of the Waterside...I mean that's good. But I feel a bit sad that Protestants can't really do the same - they feel they couldn't move into the Derry side.³²

The role that economics has to play in encouraging Catholics to move to the Waterside was also recognised:

³¹ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

³² Interview with less alienated Protestant focus group, 12th August, 2004.

Young Catholic couples and families are moving to the Waterside because the houses are cheaper and the houses are available.³³

Further, it was pointed out that:

The people ... moving in will not be hardliners. They are ordinary everyday families who are looking to buy houses at a cheaper rate.³⁴

These comments suggest that some Protestants do not necessarily territorialise the Waterside in terms of an ethnic defensiveness.

4.3 Evidence of alienation among Protestants

Conversely, the research findings suggest that for many Protestants, Derry/Londonderry is not a post-conflictual city where ethnic rivalries are petering out. Given the impact of conflict upon the city, it is not surprising that there is an enduring self-imaging through representations and memories of victimhood and exclusion and these play a part in conditioning contemporary attitudes.

The Cityside

Former Cityside Protestants often spoke warmly of the good neighbourliness that existed between them and Catholics before the Troubles. This was a time when such Protestants felt confident to live alongside their Catholic neighbours, albeit as a minority in the area. Indeed, it was with regret and a strong sense of emotional loss that they discussed their move to the Waterside:

It's [Cityside] home, that's where my church is, where my childhood was, that's where my old memories are. I wouldn't live in it now but I automatically think of home when I look over the bridge.³⁵

Similarly, another Protestant stated his regret and pointed to his lack of identification with the Waterside:

In many senses it's sad and I don't know what the long-term future is. I would have loved never to have left the Derry side...you weren't really a Waterside person you were just somebody who lived there...we were Cityside people and we just lived on the Waterside.³⁶

³³ Interview with Protestant women's focus group, 27th July, 2004.

³⁴ Interview with less alienated Protestant focus group, 12th August, 2004.

³⁵ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

³⁶ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

That former Cityside Protestants have not found it easy to put down their emotional roots in the Waterside is evident in the following comment:

It doesn't lie easily on me living in the Waterside because I was reared here [Cityside]. I started my married life here - Cityside - I reared my children here and was forced to the Waterside...but the feeling of loss that I had, the feeling of something tangible that was gone was dreadful.³⁷

For many Protestant participants, the conditions under which they had moved from the Cityside possessed a sectarian dimension in some way connected to the Troubles. Accounts ranged from direct to indirect intimidation. Outlining the psychological effects of living in an area heavily influenced by political violence, one Protestant respondent recalled the fear he had experienced:

The indirect intimidation was when you were coming up to a checkpoint - they [nationalists] had these barricades all through the city...you were meeting these people with balaclavas and you were identified as a Protestant and that was unsettling.³⁸

Other reasons more violent in nature caused Protestants to move. The comment of this former resident of the Fountain tells of how his memory suffers the indelible mark of sectarian violence:

I've seen my friends being murdered. I've seen them lying dead in the street and that has stayed with me.³⁹

Again, the death of a family member is referred to as the causal factor in the move of another Protestant family to the Waterside:

I had an uncle who was actually shot away back at the beginning of the Troubles and his family all lived in the Glen [Cityside] but of course...when that happened they had to go, they could no longer live where they were...He was killed...he was a UDR man.⁴⁰

Not all killings in the Cityside involved Protestants who were members of the security forces as this comment makes clear:

We moved out in '77...it was probably the daily disruption through rioting, the bombing and to add to it in 1975 my wife's father was

³⁷ Interview with Protestant women's focus group, 27th July, 2004.

³⁸ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

³⁹ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

⁴⁰ Interview with less alienated Protestant focus group, 12th August 2004.

shot dead for nothing by republicans - by the IRA. The only thing he was affiliated with was the Masonic Order.⁴¹

Some felt that the problems they had experienced were part of a plan to rid the Cityside of Protestants:

The nationalist side - the Roman Catholic side...they wanted basically to put any Protestants within an area...out of it...They wanted to make sure the Cityside was eventually going to belong to them hence that was the only way they could do it was to put Protestantism out.⁴²

When the exodus of Protestants from the Cityside was discussed with Sinn Féin, the response was:

I've no doubt that there have been Protestants intimidated from the West Bank but it wasn't organised.⁴³

Protestants who spoke of leaving the Cityside did so with an air of finality. It is considered to be an irreversible migration:

I can't see even in 20 years time the Protestant people being in any rush back to the Cityside, I can't see that in any shape or form.⁴⁴

The prohibitive factor is related to conflict. Protestants expressed doubt that the Cityside would be a safe place in which to live. It was not only Protestants who identified fear as the reason for discouraging them from returning to the Cityside. When members of the nationalist community of Currynierin were asked about the likelihood of Protestants moving to the Cityside one participant stated:

There would be...always will be...a degree of sectarianism and violence - always⁴⁵

and acknowledged that it would not be safe for Protestants to do so.

As well as physically separating both parts of the city, the River Foyle also serves as an ethnic boundary marker. While the physical peacelines of Belfast are not generally replicated in Derry/Londonderry, none the less, there are psychological barriers which cut across differences of age, gender, class and location within the Protestant community. Such barriers are, in part, symbolised in the political and cultural murals,

⁴¹ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

⁴² Interview with Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

⁴³ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁴⁴ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

⁴⁵ Interview with Catholic residents of Currynierin, 1st September, 2004.

painted kerbstones and flags which are displayed in different parts of the city. These are symbols, which carry with them the clear message that this territory is owned exclusively by one community. But they are also symbols of alienation because they reflect the insecurity of a people who feel that such symbols must be displayed to delineate ethnic places of belonging and defence.

When discussing the experience of such symbolism and its link to spatial alienation with respect to the city centre, one Protestant respondent expressed his sense of alienation and the politicising of space:

If you went into the city centre on a Saturday afternoon I'm sure...you'll not walk through Guildhall Square until there will be some stall or somebody trying to sell Tricolours or something affiliated with the nationalist community.⁴⁶

The problem with the Tricolour is less its Irishness than its wider import:

The Tricolour is a paramilitary flag to Protestants. If they [nationalists] talk about the UFF flags - the Tricolour would be the same to us as the UFF flags would be to Catholics.⁴⁷

But the Tricolour is not the only factor making Protestants feel uncomfortable in the Cityside. It was argued that Celtic shirts are worn to convey a political message and not simply to celebrate support for a football team:

I think there's still intimidation but it's more subtle forms of intimidation. If you go over the town now you'll see Tricolours will be flying, you'll see people walking about...with Glasgow Celtic shirts - they know absolutely nothing about Glasgow Celtic but they're wearing the shirt and that's to say "I'm a Catholic, you're not wanted here", it's a subtle form of intimidation.⁴⁸

The comment constitutes a neat package of causal factors for this particular person's alienation: religion, politics and sport converge in symbolism which, for this Protestant, is not thought to be in need of differentiation. Principally, the presence of the symbol - a Celtic shirt - is believed to signify that a territorial claim to the city centre is being made.

Hence some Protestants are alienated from the city centre as a place for shopping or social purposes:

As far as being a Protestant is concerned...I wouldn't shop here. If my job wasn't in the [Cityside] I wouldn't be across that side of the bridge except to go to church on Sunday...I go to Coleraine or

⁴⁶ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

⁴⁷ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

⁴⁸ Interview with Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

Limavady; or even small things like if there was a bakery and the one in the Waterside doesn't have it you go to the one in Eglinton. I have this thing now - that's theirs [Cityside] and let them keep it, I wouldn't support them.⁴⁹

Moreover, Protestant feelings of spatial alienation go beyond attitudes to shopping, socialising and worshipping in the Cityside. In two focus groups, Protestants spoke specifically of the City Cemetery as a place which they are reluctant to visit because they feel either ill at ease or intimidated. Of all the issues discussed in the focus groups, this one proved to be the most emotive and highlighted the human cost of ethnic division. The issue went far beyond the fact that the cemetery has both Protestant and Catholic plots. Some Protestants argued that the cemetery has been politicised by republicans and pointed out how they feel excluded as a result of the presence of a monument to republican volunteers and a plethora of flagpoles bearing republican flags at periods of commemoration. The degree to which it is felt that the cemetery has been, as it were, taken over by republicans is reflected in this comment:

My father is buried in the City cemetery and when my mother died we were told by the undertaker that it would be very dangerous to go up to the City cemetery because at that time - this was when they were setting up the republican plot up there about 18 years ago - we were advised not to bury our mother up there because we wouldn't be able to visit the graves. Subsequently, we buried her in the Waterside.⁵⁰

It was also suggested that the existence of republican symbolism in the cemetery was a deliberate attempt by republicans to make Protestants feel unwelcome:

It's a message, it's a subtle message to you - "you're not wanted here, this is Catholic, republican, nationalist...Sinn Féin/IRA territory".⁵¹

Clearly the presence of republican paraphernalia in the cemetery increases the nervousness and anxiety of some Protestants, leading one to say:

There are people buried up there whose wife or husband are still living and when their time comes will not be buried up in that City cemetery - they'll be buried in the Waterside where their relatives can visit them in a bit of peace.⁵²

When these concerns were raised with Sinn Féin, the response was:

⁴⁹ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

⁵⁰ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

⁵¹ Interview with the Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

⁵² Interview with the Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

You'll find that the majority of Protestant graves in the City cemetery, if they [Protestant] come in to visit their loved ones wouldn't see that monument...So sometimes you have to differentiate between...someone saying this because they're uncomfortable or...someone trying to make a political point.⁵³

But the following comment lacks any nuances of ideological intent nor can it be interpreted as being politically motivated:

My sister-in-law has her wee baby...buried in that cemetery and at the start she did feel a bit intimidated when she did go over there to visit his grave because this was near at hand [monument] but it got to be that she got used to it.⁵⁴

On the subject of the flying of flags in the cemetery as a factor which alienated Protestants, a Sinn Féin participant pointed out that republican flags are only flown at specific commemorative periods and then are taken down.

Another dimension to inter-community division concerns the wearing of school uniforms. In a context of ethnic conflict, it is easy to understand the problems associated with the displaying of symbols which are considered to represent exclusively one section of a divided community and function as a kind of deliberate marker of ethnic identity. Hence, in Northern Ireland, Glasgow Rangers and Celtic football shirts carry a symbolic meaning. It would also seem to be the case that Protestant parents and pupils in Derry/Londonderry have similar concerns over the wearing of school uniforms in the Cityside. When this topic was discussed in the focus groups a Protestant parent claimed:

My other boy he was born and bred on the Waterside and he just does not like going over there at all because he's identified because of the Clondermott school blazer and he knows that you're a target across the water...If we're parking the car and going to a shop or something in the city centre he'll take his Clondermott blazer off.⁵⁵

In another focus group, a young Protestant who attends Clondermott school stressed that before travelling to the city centre he takes certain steps to avert threat:

I would take my tie and blazer off and just go in my jumper and trousers because they would recognise the badge as a full Protestant school.⁵⁶

⁵³ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁵⁴ Interview with less alienated Protestants, 12th August, 2004.

⁵⁵ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

⁵⁶ Interview with Protestant young people from Lincoln Courts, 11th August, 2004.

The proposed move of Foyle and Londonderry College to a site in the Waterside has generated much discussion. For some, it is a regrettable proposal because it signifies a further retreat of institutional Protestantism from the Cityside and further divides the city according to the religious and political dimensions of the Waterside/Cityside dichotomy. As one former Protestant pupil of the school put it:

I think it's a bad move because I think it was great living in the Waterside and going to school in the Cityside it meant you had a connection with the whole city.⁵⁷

Sinn Féin participants claimed that to relocate the school to the Waterside would be to strip the Cityside of the sort of services that young married Protestant couples look for when choosing an area to live in:

I think it's very sad because...it means that if there is a young Protestant couple considering setting up home somewhere and raising a family that over here's the last place they're going to think of.⁵⁸

Other Protestants, however, adopted an alternative view of the proposed move:

I would love it to come to the Waterside because I know children in their Foyle uniforms have been going to Foyle and again got abuse...They used to get the bus to Foyle Street and then there was a bus took them to Foyle College...I used to work in a shop in Foyle Street near the bus depot and the abuse those kids got...was terrible.⁵⁹

This latter point has wider connotations. A number of participants expressed their concerns about being identified as a Protestant in the Cityside as a result of waiting at a particular bus stop in Foyle Street. As one Protestant man in his sixties put it:

If you're standing for an Altnagelvin bus, if you're standing for a Nelson Drive bus...you're automatically targeted because these are Protestant areas in the Waterside so therefore it's assumed, 'you're a Protestant, we don't want you here'.⁶⁰

The same type of worry led a Protestant teenager to point out:

Say you stand at Nelson Drive bus stop [Foyle Street] they'll realise you're a Prod then you're in for it if the bus doesn't come.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Interview with less alienated Protestants, 12th August, 2004.

⁵⁸ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁵⁹ Interview with the Protestant residents of Caw, 21st July, 2004.

⁶⁰ Interview with the Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

⁶¹ Interview with Protestant young people from Lincoln Courts, 11th August, 2004.

In a different focus group, another teenage Protestant discussed the measures which he feels he has to take in order to avoid being labelled a Protestant:

I would sort of stand back a bit so you're sitting at the wall waiting for somebody and then when the bus comes you would get on the bus.⁶²

The Waterside

When the focus on Protestant perceptions of territoriality in the city was shifted from the Cityside to the Waterside, it became clear that Protestants are concerned at the rate of demographic change occurring there. Some argued that a sustained rise in the Catholic population in the Waterside will have a detrimental effect on the Protestant community. Generally, this sense of threat is felt more strongly in working-class areas where segregation is the norm.

Territorial awareness was a characteristic of all three Protestant youth groups. Obviously the Fountain is a separate case, given its geographical location in the Cityside and therefore it is hardly surprising that one seventeen-year-old Protestant remarked:

It's like living in a cage, you can't go anywhere.⁶³

But in terms of the Waterside, one teenage Protestant described what he thought would be the territorial consequences of the movement of Catholics from the Cityside to the Waterside:

Shepards Glen - all those new houses got built and straight away they [Catholics] all moved into them and then Irish Street now's getting surrounded because Shepards Glen's there. And then there's Top of the Hill...and now the big fear is there's more houses getting built and there'll be ones from over the town and all moving into it.⁶⁴

Central to the concerns expressed by Protestants was a fear that Protestant areas especially in the central Waterside, would become more and more circumscribed:

I wouldn't like to think that we would eventually become like the way the Fountain is. I wouldn't like to think that we're becoming a

⁶² Interview with Protestant young people from Caw, 4th August, 2004.

⁶³ Interview with Protestant young people from the Fountain, 26th July, 2004.

⁶⁴ Interview with Protestant young people from Lincoln Courts, 11th August, 2004.

wee pocket here and we'll be surrounded and then we'll have to put up with what the Fountain has to put up with.⁶⁵

The migration of Protestants from the Cityside was used by some as a warning of what the near future could hold:

All these Catholics are moving from the Derry side over to the Waterside and they're bringing their children up in the Waterside...before you know it in another generation we'll be overrun again in the Waterside.⁶⁶

The idea of Catholics 'flooding' into the Waterside is linked in the mind of a young Protestant to a fear of territorial dispossession:

They're just trying to take over like they did over the town.⁶⁷

Such comments capitalise on the shift of the Protestant population out of the Cityside and treat it as an historical lesson which has crucial contemporary applicability to the Protestant community in the Waterside. It would appear that the fundamental problem underpinning these comments is that the territorial boundaries of the Waterside are not fixed and static but, instead, are in a state of flux. This seems to create a feeling of negative expectation, which militates against the shaping of the sort of single-identity confidence which is a prerequisite for meaningful cross-community interaction. In essence, the sensitivity that surrounds the issue of the unfixed nature of territoriality in the Waterside unsettles some working-class Protestants who interpret demographic and territorial changes as evidence that the Waterside is gradually being, as it were, colonised by Catholics.

When the facilities and economic development in the Waterside were discussed, sharp contrasts were drawn with the Cityside. Moreover, the reason for what is seen as being the underdevelopment of the Waterside is the deliberate favouring of the Cityside:

Sometimes I think that it's the council...I do feel that there is a republican agenda there and a bit of corruption. Obviously there are Protestant representatives there but I do think that there's a serious amount of corruption in there so it's not about people's needs it's about politics and power.⁶⁸

The prejudice, which this woman conceives of as being political in nature, leads to territorial favouritism with disproportionately positive consequences for the Cityside. Young Protestants pointed out that because of a reluctance to attend leisure facilities

⁶⁵ Interview with Protestant residents of Caw, 21st July, 2004.

⁶⁶ Interview with Protestant women's focus group, 27th July, 2004.

⁶⁷ Interview with Protestant young people from Caw, 4th August, 2004.

⁶⁸ Interview with less alienated Protestant focus group, 12th August, 2004.

in the Cityside, their range of options is quite limited. There is no cinema in the Waterside with regular film presentations or bowling alley to correspond with facilities in place on the Cityside. Protestant teenagers stressed that Lisnagelvin Leisure Centre is the only leisure amenity that they feel safe to frequent.

In a group of Protestant professionals, a participant claimed that many Protestants in their late teens and twenties prefer to leave the city and enjoy the nightlife that other towns have to offer:

There's nothing to do on the Waterside for young people. Young people do not go to the Waterside to socialise they go away to Portrush, they go away to Belfast. They go away because there's not a decent place on the Waterside to socialise.⁶⁹

That the Waterside does not have facilities capable of meeting the needs of its young adults (many of whom, it was suggested, would regard socialising in the Cityside as being unsafe) means that social networks are being established elsewhere. This contributes to a reduced level of identification with Derry/Londonderry, thus making it easier for the younger generation of Protestants to leave the city altogether.

Perceptions of economic underdevelopment and poorer levels of financial investment in the Waterside are not confined to the Protestant community alone. The Catholic participants in the Currynierin focus group shared in the feeling that both the central and greater Waterside areas were not in receipt of the same levels of financial assistance as the Cityside. As one person argued:

We are twenty years behind the Cityside when it comes to development. If you go to the likes of the Brandywell, Bogside and Creggan, them boys there can throw you out a funding application for £100,000 in the space of maybe a couple of hours...As soon as you mention Derry...the Brandywell and the Bogside they're falling into the high deprivation list so they're getting the big chunks of money. Derry City Council have been funding - over funding - the Cityside this last 15 years big time.⁷⁰

On the basis of this comment it would seem that the poorer state of development in the Waterside affects Protestant and Catholic working-class communities alike. A Protestant parent questioned why the Waterside could not be transformed by DCC into facilities for young people because, she felt, the need was obvious:

Is it because it's the Waterside that they [council] don't want to pour the money into it? Surely to goodness they can make facilities, leisure facilities, recreational facilities ... like a decent

⁶⁹ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

⁷⁰ Interview with Catholic residents of Currynierin, 1st September, 2004.

swimming pool, a cinema, a bowling alley and all the things we're lacking.⁷¹

Culture and alienation

Although a substantial minority of Protestants stated in the questionnaire survey that they would not be bothered by a change in the city's name, this factor emerged in the focus group meetings as a potent source of Protestant alienation. Indeed, almost without exception, Protestants emphasised that the name of the city is a key issue, vital to their sense of identity. They see it as a test of the claims made by members of the nationalist community who argue that the city embraces the principle of inclusivity and respects the cultural features of both identities. Many Protestants felt that the proposal to remove the 'London' from the city's name is an ideologically-driven attempt to rid the city of its Britishness. The name of the city functions as a channel of cultural identification providing Protestants with a sense of emotional and physical interconnection. When the subject of the proposed name change was raised with one group, it became clear that the relatively tenuous identification which many Protestants have with the city would be put under even greater stress:

Yes we do identify although we do sort of feel that we're sort of strangers in our own place...but it'll be very difficult to identify if the name is changed, I would find it extremely difficult. As far as I'm concerned that's it, that's the formal denial of our Britishness.⁷²

There was a general perception that the weakness of political unionism at the level of local government means that Protestant concerns with regard to equality issues remain problematic. Some Protestants felt that the template of equality embedded in the Belfast Agreement ought to apply to the issue of the city's name to the same extent as nationalists throughout Northern Ireland expect to have features of their cultural identity acknowledged as part of a politics of toleration and mutual respect. Protestant annoyance arises at the prospect of 'parity of esteem' being prejudicially interpreted by local nationalists to mean the sort of name change which makes no allowance for the term 'London'.

That the name of the city is one which is emotionally relevant to Protestants can be seen in the following statement where the vision of a shared city is linked to the city's name:

It's a denial of our British inheritance...dropping the 'London' - it's all about the denial of our British identity. We hear from the SDLP about shared identities and all this sort of stuff, well then, there is a shared identity in the name itself.⁷³

⁷¹ Interview with Protestant residents of Caw, 21st July, 2004.

⁷² Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

⁷³ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

The projection of the discussion to a wider political level where equality issues are, for example, a mainstay of the Belfast Agreement, is important because it is argued constantly that principles are being diluted at a local level. Some Protestants consider the Belfast Agreement to be of little value to their community whether in the city or elsewhere in Northern Ireland as this comment makes clear:

It has only just given the nationalists more power because everything in that Belfast Agreement was to give them things that they wanted.⁷⁴

4.4 Nationalist and republican responses

The issues discussed with members of the Protestant focus groups were also explored in the meetings of the three groups representing the nationalist community in Derry/Londonderry. These findings show that nationalism in the city does not have a single ideological voice concerning the Protestant community. Almost without exception, Protestant respondents were also willing to recognise that important ideological differences exist between the SDLP and Sinn Féin, the former being regarded as a political party more easily negotiated with than Sinn Féin.

Again, not all Cityside Catholics are of one mind with regard to cultural and political expressions of territoriality in this part of the city. Reference was made, for example, to the political art of the Bogside murals which, in their portrayal of aspects of the Troubles in the city, are intended to encapsulate the essence of the community's identity. The politicisation of space and the ethnically exclusive claim to territory represented by these murals was discussed in an atmosphere of some resentment. As one young Catholic put it:

I don't like somebody doing murals and saying, 'this is the nationalist community and if you don't agree with it then you're not one of us,' I just don't like that.⁷⁵

For another Catholic who believed that republicans had hijacked his identity the following was mentioned:

I was at the Battle of the Bogside. I was there on Bloody Sunday. I feel my identity's been stolen by certain people...A lot of us would feel uncomfortable on the West Bank because of another political identity. Effectively you could argue that Free Derry Corner has been hijacked.⁷⁶

Comments were made referring to concerns about personal safety. One Catholic said that he was unhappy living in the Cityside because of a feeling of insecurity and mentioned how he regarded the Waterside to be a safer place in which to live:

⁷⁴ Interview with Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

⁷⁵ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

⁷⁶ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

I know people - I'm one of them - in the Bogside and Creggan who are wondering how they can get over to the Waterside to feel safer...I believe that our side of the bridge is becoming unsafe.⁷⁷

The threat of theft and civil crime were cited as reasons for this person wanting to move to the Waterside.

The current high level of segregation in the city was discussed against the background of the population shift of Protestants from the Cityside. Members of all Catholic/nationalist and republican groups thought it highly unlikely that Protestants would return to the Cityside in the near future. In a group consisting of Cityside Catholics, it was stated that no efforts are being made to persuade Protestants to move back because of the perceived tribal nature of the city's politics:

I can't see it happening because you still play politics here...you still play the community card - the orange card the green card whatever and I can't see us not playing that card for 40 or 50 years...So I can't see the Protestant population being encouraged back into the city which I think is pathetic and sad and it's going to get worse.⁷⁸

The obstacles, which presently prevent Protestants from moving back to the Cityside are starkly stated in the comment of a Sinn Féin member:

A Protestant living down the Bog [Bogside] can live there quite happily, I think, as a Protestant and nobody will say boo to him...But if they start flying a Union Jack on the Twelfth of July then people will say something.⁷⁹

When the subject of the discomfort that some Protestants feel when in the Cityside was raised with members of Sinn Féin, it was pointed out that:

I think that we have to be honest here, the city centre in the 1970s was a battleground for green and red tartans - the green tartan won the battle and what we have now is a situation where if you were to wear a Ranger's top in Foyleside then you're inviting trouble.⁸⁰

This reply represents a straightforward acknowledgement of the current and previous state of ethnic rivalry in the city and, specifically, in the city centre. It was recognised among some members of the non-Protestant focus groups that the wearing of certain

⁷⁷ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

⁷⁸ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

⁷⁹ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁸⁰ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

school uniforms could be an unnerving experience for a young Protestant walking in the city centre. As one Cityside Catholic put it:

Quite honestly, if I was a Foyle and Londonderry pupil standing in the middle of Foyle Street I would feel a wee bit intimidated. But I think we as Catholics in this part have a responsibility to make sure that we go the extra mile to make sure that this is a place where Protestants can feel comfortable - we have to do that.⁸¹

When this issue of school uniforms was raised with Sinn Féin, the response again acknowledged that the city still has sectarian problems. In relation, for example, to pupils wearing a Clondermott uniform in the Cityside, it was explained:

Unfortunately in the society we're living in he's [Clondermott pupil] identifying himself and unfortunately in the society we're living in there are some people who will use that as an excuse to attack him.⁸²

Another member of Sinn Féin also recognised that there was a problem and said:

I don't know what the Clondermott uniform's like but I accept your point that if they wear that [uniform] then young nationalists will identify that young person as a Protestant and he would be subject to possibly verbal abuse or whatever.⁸³

It should not be thought, however, that young Protestants are the only ones affected by problems associated with the wearing of school uniforms. Catholics living in the Waterside community of Currynierin mentioned that their children are inclined to take similar measures. For example, if attending, for example, a health centre in the Waterside:

He'd take the tie off and the jumper off and the blazer. He'd just wear his shirt and trousers.⁸⁴

For some pupils in both communities, the removal of school clothing that would distinguish them as members of a particular community seems to be a necessary fact of life.

Investigating both perceptions of territoriality in the city and the relationship between perception and people's social practices casts light on how some Cityside Catholics view the Waterside. When asked of Sinn Féin members how they feel when they look across the Foyle at the Waterside one replied:

⁸¹ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

⁸² Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁸³ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁸⁴ Interview with Catholic residents of Currynierin, 1st September, 2004.

It's all right if you're sitting on this side looking across but if I had to go over there I would feel quite intimidated having to go over or drive through a loyalist area or whatever. I think once you cross the bridge...it nearly is like two different cities - you feel at home on your own side.⁸⁵

This reference to 'two different cities' is important because it represents a mental dichotomisation of safe/unsafe urban territory. Although not harbouring the same sense of sectarian threat, the following comments from two self-identified moderate Catholics reveal the way in which the Waterside is perceived as being *different* and relatively unimportant:

'If the truth be told I would nearly say that it's almost as if it [Waterside] is another world.'⁸⁶

Again:

Unless I had to go to Altnagelvin [hospital] or something you would just forget that it was there...everything that you need apart from the hospital is on the Cityside.⁸⁷

The common denominator here is a perception of the Waterside as being so different that Cityside Catholics would seldom frequent it.

Catholic responses to the proposed name change differed. When raised with Sinn Féin, it was pointed out that 'nationalists suffered because of the name Londonderry.'⁸⁸ Further:

Londonderry is shoved down our throats everyday of the week by the Housing Executive, by the DOE, by the banks, by the credit card companies, by any government department - all of them use the term Londonderry - it's part of our colonial past.⁸⁹

Some Catholics are sensitive to the feelings of the Protestant community regarding a name change:

⁸⁵ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁸⁶ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

⁸⁷ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

⁸⁸ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁸⁹ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

If they ever had any idea, suspicion, fear, perception that this was a cold hole for Protestants that will officially tell them so. That'll tell them...this is not your town any more.⁹⁰

Once again, there is a clear link between symbolism and place and of how the former is likely to impact negatively upon Protestants' sense of belonging.

Conversely, there were no traces of negativity in Sinn Féin's view as to what the city might look like 20 years from now. In contradistinction to the opinion of most unionists, a Sinn Féin participant said:

I think that there's two ways of putting it: I think it could be totally green, republican, Catholic, nationalist, or it could be a mixed area...You could have the Apprentice Boys parades either not happening or you could have them happening in a way that no-one bats an eyelid...So I think that there's two versions of what the city could look like in twenty years time and as far as republicans go we're prepared to work for one of these visions - you see the other vision of the entirely green city, that will come about if unionism makes the choice that it doesn't want to live here on equal terms with its republican/ nationalist neighbour.⁹¹

4.5 Conclusion - thinking about the future

From a comparative perspective, it would seem that the nationalist community has adapted better to the de-militarised environment in the city. It appears to have developed a community-based confidence, which is much less identifiable in the Protestant community. When concluding each focus group, participants were asked what they thought the city would look like in 20 years time. The responses are a further reflection of respondents' frame of mind and level of confidence.

For one participant, community-based structures which allow cross-community interaction may offer some potential for an improvement in community relations:

There's a fear to put that step forward; there's a fear of "what's behind this?" "What will I be letting myself in for if I go forward here?" I am exploring it at the moment through the Local Strategy Partnership with the Fountain where we have to co-exist as an interface area so we have to take chances. I'm prepared to take these chances. I may get a kick in the teeth because of it, on the other hand I may get a welcome. So you're going out into the darkness like trusting in providence.⁹²

For another mature working-class Protestant, the future was not hopeful:

⁹⁰ Interview with Catholics from the Cityside, 21st July, 2004.

⁹¹ Interview with Sinn Féin, 12th August, 2004.

⁹² Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

There literally is no culture for Protestants on the Cityside at the minute and in another twenty years down the road, goodness knows, they'll be absolutely nothing there. And the likes of the Memorial Hall, St. Colomb's and that, you might find that the spire will be cut and they'll be either made into bars or eating houses or restaurants or something because it has happened before - I mean Great James Street Presbyterian Church [Cityside] it's now just a library...and Claremount [former Presbyterian church in the Cityside].⁹³

Visions of the future were not noticeably different when the same question was put to a group of middle-class Protestants. A person with a professional job in the city observed:

I think the city will be more settled in twenty years time, but it will be more settled because the Protestant community will have dwindled very considerably so thereby posing no great threat. From the nationalist/republican end of things, they probably won't be quite so much in our face. They will by that stage feel that they more or less achieved what they're looking for and will probably be a little bit more amenable towards the remaining Protestant community.⁹⁴

The small unionist representation on Derry City Council impacts negatively with some Protestants who view their representatives as being somewhat marginal. One comment describes the understandings of a Protestant concerning unionists on DCC:

I think they're demoralised in many ways. We did have ten, we're now down to six...they recognise that they don't really count.⁹⁵

Undoubtedly, the way in which this respondent interprets the forum of local politics gives rise to feelings of political marginalisation. It is a comment that reflects Protestant concerns that their cultural tradition is not protected in the city despite power-sharing on DCC.

Unionist politicians did not escape criticism from some Protestant respondents. The political ineptitude of unionist representatives is believed to be responsible for the sense of marginalisation that many Protestants experience:

It's not a Catholic problem that we have here in Londonderry, it's a unionist Protestant problem because we're putting people in to represent us who are not capable...Our problem is that the people who could best represent Protestants are not going forward in

⁹³ Interview with Protestant residents of Clooney, 4th August, 2004.

⁹⁴ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

⁹⁵ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 2, 28th July, 2004.

politics. I think they [Protestants] have second-rate representatives.⁹⁶

Therefore, there are noticeably different levels of confidence between both communities. Overall, the focus groups conducted with members of the Protestant community reflected degrees of discontentment and frustration. Generally, Protestants are not confident about their cultural and political future in the city. Despite the sizeable funding for cross-community schemes and the efforts of community workers, most Protestants did not feel that community relations would improve in five or ten years time.

⁹⁶ Interview with Protestant middle-class focus group 1, 21st July, 2004.

Chapter Five

Section A

Protestant Alienation in Derry/Londonderry: A Policy Response

This section of the report looks in detail at the main spatial and community development policies affecting the Protestant communities of Derry/Londonderry. It draws attention to the assumptions and analysis underpinning specific programmes, their strategic content and the structures through which they attempt to engage the community in decision-making processes. It starts by looking at housing and urban policy as specific initiatives that confront some of the sharper territorial realities and how the ownership and control of land may underpin certain Protestant anxieties and vulnerabilities. It then looks at policies developed by the District Council and Local Strategy Partnership and at the range of initiatives designed to support community infrastructure and locally led regeneration. The final part of the section highlights a number of issues relevant to the implementation of these programmes that assumes much about the capacity, homogeneity and structure of the Protestant community to deliver indigenous change. The analysis concludes that the policy community has a clear understanding of the specific issues confronting the Protestant community on the Waterside and has responded via a number of strategies, governance responses and skills development programmes. The capacity of the community to absorb and make sense of these initiatives is a continuing issue that needs to be addressed by both policy makers and, crucially, by the local community.

The assessment is based upon document analysis and interview-based research. The specific purpose of the research is to gain insight into how respective agencies perceive the Protestant community and to examine how their policies impact (or are likely to impact) upon the Protestant community in Derry/Londonderry. Several key questions are of concern:

- Is there an adequate response by the policy community to the issues such as alienation, marginalisation and ethno-sectarianism?
- What are the major outcomes of policies to-date?
- How does the Protestant community view institutions in the city which are responsible for the implementation of policy?

5.1 Social housing, identity and place

It is recognised that segregation along religious lines is a diacritical feature of social housing in Northern Ireland and Derry/Londonderry serves as a case in point. Document analysis both of the NIHE's *Derry/Londonderry Housing Strategy* and its *Community Relations and Community Safety* documents shows that the NIHE is engaged in an analysis of ethno-sectarian issues. Their *Community Relations* document states that 'Intimidation, Sectional Symbols and Segregation'⁹⁷ are issues, which the Executive wishes to address through recognising that:

⁹⁷ *Community Relations and Community Safety*, Northern Ireland Housing Executive, pp 4-5.

Intimidation, violence or general uneasy relationships between communities at interface areas remains a problem.⁹⁸

Specifically, in its *Housing Strategy* for Derry/Londonderry, the Executive has included a diagram of the geographically related religious composition of the city, which allows for an immediate comprehension of the ethnic geography of the city.

The *Derry/Londonderry Housing Strategy* is set within a '10-year horizon', which means that present realities are relevant to the Executive's longer-term strategic planning. The document represents the Executive's contribution to a vision for the city and acknowledges that it has an important part to play (along with other agencies) in the city's regeneration. But whilst the document is up beat and confirms a desire on the part of NIHE to contribute positively through its strategy and planning to the regeneration of the city, it recognises that strategic planning has a duty to take into account current demographic and ethno-sectarian issues.

Within the context of residential segregation, the document highlights that:

Londonderry has become a highly segregated City with many wards having a minority grouping constituting less than 10% of households.⁹⁹

The reference to increased residential segregation is accompanied by an account of shifts that have taken place in relation to the ratio of Protestants to Catholics in the city. The NIHE states its awareness of the internal patterns of migration that have occurred in the urban area between 1971 and 1991, and draws upon evidence compiled by Templegrove Action Research LTD. Importantly, the document not only refers to the significant movement of Protestants from the Cityside but makes mention of the fact that former Cityside Protestants did not all relocate to the Waterside:

whilst the Protestant population in the Cityside declined over the 20-year period by 7052, the Waterside Protestant population only increased by 1903. The trend in Protestant population movement has been from the Cityside out of the city area completely.¹⁰⁰

This quotation represents the Executive's willingness to engage with the historical aspects of ethno-sectarianism in the city and, crucially, establishes a framework within which contemporary community division is to be understood. This results in the NIHE adopting what it refers to as a 'realistic approach to the challenges and implications of managing housing in a divided community'.¹⁰¹ Recognition is given in the document to the fact that housing demand in the Cityside vastly outstrips that of

⁹⁸ *Community Relations*, p.4.

⁹⁹ *The Derry/Londonderry Housing Strategy*, Northern Ireland Housing Executive, p.15. n.d.

¹⁰⁰ *Housing Strategy*, Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁰¹ *Housing Strategy*, Ibid., p. 45.

the Waterside. Figures for the year 2000 confirm that the waiting list for the West Bank stood at 1,059 compared to 354 for the East Bank.

Although demand is considerably greater on the Cityside, the allocation of homes in the Waterside for people from the Cityside would seem not to be significant. However, figures for the homing of people from the Cityside in the Waterside are given only for the period 1998/1999 and then stood at a mere twenty. The document also states that trends in population and households suggest that between 1996 and 2011 there will be an 'anticipated growth in the order of 8,100 households'.¹⁰² Therefore, there is a clear recognition that the city is developing structurally commensurate with its growing population.

The operation of the private housing market and demographic restructuring on the Waterside

Reference is also made to the expansion of private housing on the Cityside as a result of high demand. Research by the University of Ulster is mentioned which suggested that 'Derry/Londonderry was expanding into its "natural hinterland of Donegal.'¹⁰³ But the significance of the Border as an inhibitive factor in housing development is also referred to because of considerations by Donegal County Council to place 'restrictions on selected settlements.'¹⁰⁴ A possible consequence of such restrictions might be a possible 'push' of development eastwards – to the Waterside. As mentioned above, the rise of private housing developments on the Waterside is considered by some to contribute to Protestant alienation by posing a threat to clearly defined Protestant territory.

The Executive's strategy for new build projects in the city points out that due to the higher demand on the Cityside:

it is assumed that 85% of new provision should be directed towards the West Bank (Cityside).¹⁰⁵

When the subject of the increased number of Catholics moving to the Waterside was raised during interview, it was felt by the strategic planner for the area that it was inevitable that Catholics would move to the Waterside because of the sheer demand for housing on the Cityside.¹⁰⁶

The existence of a sizeable price differential between properties in the Waterside and the Cityside is important in the nature of population movement. Three different estate agents (two in the Cityside and one in the Waterside) confirmed that properties of comparable design would be noticeably more expensive in the Cityside. However,

¹⁰² *Housing Strategy*, Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁰³ *Housing Strategy*, Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ *Housing Strategy*, Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰⁵ *Housing Strategy*, Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Housing Executive 4th May 2004.

this price differential also extends to Housing Executive properties. The Executive has supplied information which confirms that in terms of comparable properties in both sides of the city, there exists a 40.3% difference: average house prices in popular estates in the Cityside are £66, 993 compared to only £47,750 in the Waterside.¹⁰⁷ The potential impact of this price differential is offset by the high levels of segregation on the Waterside that may preclude immigration.

5.2 Neighbourhood renewal and the Waterside community

The North West Development Office (NWDO of the Department for Social Development, DSD) is responsible for neighbourhood renewal in Derry/Londonderry. The *People and Place* document (2003), which outlines the government's intention to regenerate disadvantaged areas in Northern Ireland, is being carried forward by an *Implementation Plan* for the Derry/Londonderry area. The *Plan* confirms that four areas have been targeted for regeneration. From the perspective of this project two of these areas are important, namely, the inclusion of the Fountain in a Cityside plan which includes the Brandywell and Creggan. Equally, Protestant areas in the Waterside have been targeted which will result in renewal taking place in Protestant communities such as Caw, Irish Street and Tullyally. A strategic priority of neighbourhood renewal in the city is to promote the kind of community reproduction that will lead to:

improving community relations and reducing segregation, for example, by providing capacity building in areas of weak community infrastructure.¹⁰⁸

This represents a theoretical association between deprivation and sectarianism which then informs policy. And the *Plan* acknowledges the duty that the Department of Social Development has in tackling ethno-sectarian factors:

we must address community division and tension – in many neighbourhoods, deprivation is exacerbated by religious segregation and community conflict.¹⁰⁹

In pursuit of this goal, the *Implementation Plan* attempts to establish Neighbourhood Partnership Boards for each area including in the Waterside. Members of the community and voluntary sectors within each designated area will be involved in the planning and implementation stages that will encourage inter-community interaction. This creates a forum for discourse which, when set against a backdrop of suspicion and ethnic animosity, is surely not unwelcome. In the absence of a naturally occurring attitude, which is favourably disposed to inter-community contact, a strategy that encourages some degree of communication between oppositional communities may help to narrow the gulf between them.

¹⁰⁷ Information provided by the Housing Executive.

¹⁰⁸ *Neighbourhood Renewal in Derry/Londonderry: Implementation Plan*. Department for Social Development 2003, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ *Neighbourhood Renewal* Ibid., p. 6.

The *Plan* also refers to the emotional consequences of the enduring impact of ethno-sectarianism in Derry/Londonderry. It acknowledges that some communities in the city have felt hemmed in and physically restricted at the level of mobility because of issues associated with sectarianism:

For some communities in parts of the city, religious segregation deepened their sense of isolation and fear and often made it difficult for both traditions to use the services and opportunities physically nearest to them.¹¹⁰

This issue was also raised in the *City Vision 2025* Strategy that provides the overarching context for both Neighbourhood Renewal and the Heart of the City delivery Strategies. The *City Vision* clearly acknowledges the nature and effects of spatial segregation and holds out the hope for a cosmopolitan and multi-cultural city where difference is acknowledged and traditions celebrated. Addressing the legacy of deindustrialisation and ethno-segregation are part of this process but not the complete answer. Urban policy and regeneration strategies have clearly recognised that there are limits to area-based responses to conflict, poverty and alienation. Only, comprehensive and explicitly political processes are capable of transforming the city's ethnic and social schisms, within which specific resource-limited initiatives have a role to play. Engineering possibilities for mutual understanding of common problems of poverty, youth alienation and the hopelessness of disadvantaged communities is a positive dimension to contemporary urban policy, which now has a stronger and sharper focus on the equality and Targeting Social Need agendas.

The NWDO is also responsible for the implementation of Measure 2.11 of the EU PEACE II Programme 2000-2004, which promotes the regeneration of specific interface areas. In Derry/Londonderry these are the Fountain/Bogside and, in the Waterside, Tullyalley/Currynieran and Gobnascale/Irish Street. Around £1m is being allocated to each area for projects that promote the social, economic and environmental renewal of the areas within a cross-community framework. The interface project was seen as something of a pilot for the implementation of Neighbourhood Renewal and is being delivered by the Local Strategy Partnership. The Partnership has appointed technical consultants in each area to help groups develop action plans and specific projects for implementation. Again, this indicates an appreciation of the distinctive urban problems created by segregation and the possibilities for disadvantaged communities to define common development agendas outside the frame of ethno-sectarian politics.

5.3 Derry City Council and community interventions

Community relations

The geographical dimensions to ethnic segregation in Derry/Londonderry are also discussed in Derry City Council's *Community Relations Strategic Plan 2001-2004*. As part of the research conducted at various levels in the formulation of its community relations plan, it was concluded that a number of key issues must be

¹¹⁰ *Neighbourhood Renewal*, Ibid., p. 16.

addressed two of which are of particular importance to tackling Protestant alienation. They are: ‘Community engagement/overcoming segregation and suspicion’; and ‘The image of the Council in terms of community relations’.¹¹¹ Within the context of Protestant alienation, the operative words in these statements are ‘suspicion’ and ‘image’. A common theme running through interviews conducted with members of the Protestant community was that of Protestant suspicion with regard to the council and its intentions. The following comment by a Protestant community worker provides an explanation for the suspicion that some of Protestants feel vis-à-vis the council:

Elements within the Protestant community do believe that Derry City Council is a nationalist/republican organisation with an agenda that excludes the minority community.¹¹²

Some Protestants believe that their alienation is the outcome of a strategy on the part of the council to make them feel that they have no political or cultural ownership of the city. The same community worker went on to discuss their feelings about DCC. When discussing their sense of alienation, this community worker referred to the ‘rebirth of nationalism in the city’ which served to frame their perceptions as a unionist in a city which has a ‘nationalist council’. This suggested a perception of political helplessness on the part of this respondent, which is part of the wider structuring of feelings of alienation. This person pointed to the name change of the city council and the desire to change the name of the city from ‘Londonderry’ to ‘Derry’ as factors leading to her sense of cultural marginalisation.¹¹³

This is an issue that has been addressed in the *Community Relations Strategic Plan*:

There is still a strong sense of alienation felt by many of the Protestant community and whilst initiatives such as the Shared City Project have made various inroads into addressing that alienation, recent difficulties such as the name change of the Council and various negative perceptions of the Sinn Féin Mayor have been unhelpful in attempting to break down that alienation.¹¹⁴

The council’s *Community Relations Strategic Plan* contains a four-page section on ‘Protestant Alienation’. The opening paragraph provides an account of the ‘significant shift in population from the West Bank to the East Bank with an increase of **36%** in the Catholic community on the city side and a decrease of **31%** of the Protestant community.’¹¹⁵ Following the demographic contextualising of the issue, Protestant alienation is discussed in terms of such ethno-sectarian factors as ‘abuse directed at

¹¹¹ *A Community Relations Strategic Plan for Derry City Council 2001 – 2004*, Derry City Council, p. 3.

¹¹² Protestant community worker 3. Reply by e-mail to questions 7th June 2004.

¹¹³ Protestant community worker 3. Interviewed 31st March 2004.

¹¹⁴ *Community Relations Strategic Plan*, Ibid., p. 60.

¹¹⁵ *Community Relations Strategic Plan*, Ibid., p. 8.

Protestants in the city centre’, the opposition that surrounded the traditional marches of the Apprentice Boys and the belief that Protestant groups receive less funding.¹¹⁶ Clearly, the *Plan* does not fail to confront what, from a Protestant perspective, are relevant issues.

The *Plan* mentions the significance of the river as an ethnic boundary marker and that Protestants ‘share the common Waterside feeling of being overlooked’ and goes on to state that it can be ‘hard for the Catholic community to understand the sense of Protestant grievance’¹¹⁷. Interestingly, the council’s Community Relations Officer (CRO) pointed out that the fact that the meeting being held was in the council’s sub-office in the Waterside was because of Protestant alienation. The CRO stressed that the council was aware of Protestant perception of both it and the Cityside in general and therefore it was thought necessary that the office be located in the Waterside.

The subject of territoriality and safe space is given further attention in the *Plan*. Reference is made to the issue of the poor image that many Protestants have of the city council, which is perceived to concentrate its efforts in the Cityside:

For the Protestant community, given that...many of those who live on the Waterside rarely venture over the bridge to the city side, there is a perception that most events organised by the City Council usually take place in the Guildhall Square. As a result many are reticent in taking part and participating.¹¹⁸

As a policy directive of the city council, the strength of the *Community Relations Strategic Plan* lies in its engagement with issues that have been both written about and which arose with regularity in the interviews. The document recognises that members of the Protestant community do not have favourable perceptions of the city council. In the attempt to address Protestant suspicion and insecurity the document uses the word ‘alienation’ which in its conceptualisation is tied to abstract categories as the following comment reveals:

There is a widespread perception of a sense of alienation felt by much of the Protestant community in the city, most of whom live on the Waterside, are cut off from the city side by the river but who also feel a psychological and emotional barrier between themselves and the West Bank (Cityside) which is strongly perceived to be nationalist controlled.¹¹⁹

Community Support Programme

¹¹⁶ *Community Relations Strategic Plan*, Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹⁷ *Community Relations Strategic Plan*, Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹⁸ *Community Relations Strategic Plan*, Ibid., p. 46.

¹¹⁹ *Community Relations Strategic Plan*, Ibid., p. 43.

The council's *Community Support Programme* is designed to provide financial assistance to both communities in the city. In a monitoring report of last year the Department of Social Development states:

The Programme provides support for local community infrastructure throughout Northern Ireland. Funding is provided for local advice services, voluntary and community groups, resource centres, community centres...and community support staff within councils.¹²⁰

When interviewed, a representative of DCC argued that Protestant infrastructure was weak and that it needed addressing. Yet when a Protestant community worker was asked about the benefits of the *Community Support Programme* to the Protestant community, he replied:

Up until last year it was minimal. Last year 2003-2004 there was approximately 30% to the Waterside (not all to Protestant community).¹²¹

Evidently, opinions differ. But it was also pointed out by the council officer that working-class Protestant communities have a degree of responsibility for the 'state' they are in because of their unwillingness to get involved in schemes initiated by DCC. He acknowledged that some members of the Protestant community have difficulties at the level of confidence *vis-à-vis* the council and suggested that this was, in part, because the council had a clear nationalist majority. He pointed out, however, that there was an improvement in Protestant confidence and stressed that the 'doors are open from the statutory bodies'. The impression given was that - to some degree - Protestant alienation/marginalisation has been self-imposed because the Protestant community has not been willing to integrate. This raises an important issue concerning the sort of message a frequent claim of alienation sends to the nationalist community. During an interview with a prominent member of the nationalist community, it was made clear that nationalists have certain difficulties in comprehending what Protestant alienation means and grasping what it consists of.¹²²

5.4 The Local Strategy Partnership and the Shared City Initiative

The Shared City Initiative was delivered by the City Council, funded by the Local Strategy Partnership and represented a specific attempt to understand and respond to the obstacles to development within the Waterside community. The aim of the initiatives was to assist in the development of communities, which are predominantly Protestant in the expectation of increasing community confidence and competence in participating in the life of the Shared City. It had the following specific objectives:

¹²⁰ *Monitoring Report On The Community Support Programme*, Department of Social Development, December 2003.

¹²¹ Protestant community worker 2. Reply by e-mail to questionnaire 4th June 2004.

¹²² Prominent member of the nationalist community. Interviewed 16th March 2004.

- to establish a Community Development Support Programme targeted at marginalised and disadvantaged communities that are predominantly Protestant/Unionist;
- to work with estate based community groups and provide direct and accessible community development support;
- to assist those communities to identify and devise projects which will have a beneficial impact on areas of concern to local people;
- to increase the skills and knowledge necessary for community development with a specific focus on project development, accessing funding and project training;
- to encourage the participation of individuals and groups from those areas to participate in the City and District wide organisations and to increase awareness of other support agencies;
- to work with relevant agencies and workers which are complementary to the work of the project.

Two outreach workers concentrated on estate-based development and assistance to women's groups, respectively, under the management of the Community Services Department of Derry City Council. A small grants programme was also developed to invest in skills development and emerging community groups. When the initiative was evaluated in 2001, it had involved 418 people from Protestant areas taking part in training and related projects (against a target of 253) and invested £60,000 in local groups. The evaluation showed that it had been successful in engaging groups in the area, developing core skills in community development and enhancing the work of identity and cultural heritage projects in particular.¹²³

The Shared City Project has not escaped the criticism of members of the Protestant community who see it as being somewhat tokenistic in its practical attempts to address the subject of Protestant alienation. As the comment of a Protestant community worker suggests, it is perceived as being a limp policy directive:

The Shared City Project was set up and advertised to work with Protestant communities to help capacity build those areas. This has worked to a degree but the workers were encouraged by DCC [Derry City Council] officers to work in areas such as Galliagh, Currynierin etc. Are these Protestant areas? I don't think so.¹²⁴

However, the Partnership points out that the development of the project was an outcome from the evaluation and part of an attempt to transfer knowledge and best

¹²³ J. O'Neill Consultancy (2001) An Evaluation of the Shared City Initiative.

¹²⁴ Protestant Community worker 2. Reply by e-mail to questionnaire 4th June 2004.

practice from the Waterside to other areas. This, they argue, had always been the intention of the project, not least because the Waterside was only one of a number of areas where community infrastructure was weak or immature. The Baseline Study carried out in 1998 for the city as a whole showed that there were important areas of weak community infrastructure right across the outer city and that part of the development of the Shared City concept was to see a connection between these areas and the Waterside¹²⁵.

Moreover, the LSP observes that an independent evaluation had identified their work with alienated Protestant communities as innovative practice and one of the first 'official' strategy responses to the specific vulnerabilities of Protestant communities in the city¹²⁶. The latest data from the LSP shows that that the spatial distribution of their funding is:

- 50% on a District Council-wide basis;
- 17% to Bogside, Creggan and the Fountain (The Triax area);
- 12% to the Waterside;
- 8% to Shantallow;
- 4% to Ballymagroarty, Hazelbank and Rosemount; and
- 9% in rural areas¹²⁷.

The evaluation also highlighted the importance of new forms of urban governance to cross-community contact, debate and problem solving. In particular, the Partnership offered a model of local regeneration that brought together a range of stakeholders, including Protestant community workers and politicians, to debate the city's future and to allocate the £7.5m worth of EU resources under the Partnership's control. They also point out that this learning has been brought forward into their most recent *Integrated Local Strategy* for the City, which has, at its heart, a commitment:

to celebrate shared and common cultures and to recognise the needs of vulnerable groups and to work harder to develop a cross-community on the Cityside¹²⁸.

5.5 Local Community Fund

The Local Community Fund (LCF) was launched in February 2003. Announcing of the fund, the Secretary of State, Paul Murphy, made reference to people who had not benefited from the progress made in Northern Ireland following the peace process. Specific reference was made by Murphy to the fact that many of those in this category belong to the loyalist community' and as a result some measure needs to be put in place that will address this 'community's alienation urgently and vigorously.'¹²⁹

¹²⁵ University of Ulster (1998) *The City Baseline for the Londonderry Development Office*

¹²⁶ University of Ulster (2000) *The District Partnership for the Derry District Council: An Evaluation*.

¹²⁷ Interview with LSP staff on the 5th October 2004.

¹²⁸ Derry Local Strategy Partnership (2004) *Building a Sustainable Community, the Integrated Local Strategy for the Derry City Council Area*.

¹²⁹ Press Announcement of the Local Community Fund, 12th February 2003.

Indeed, during an interview it was pointed out by a representative of the Department for Social Development that leaders of the Protestant community had the implicit understanding that their community would benefit to a higher degree from the LCF than the Catholic community.¹³⁰ The Fund was to operate on a more flexible basis, which would allow for the different stages at which communities had hitherto developed (the assumption being that Protestant capacity had not developed to the level of their Catholic counterparts). Set against this background, then, it is not surprising that allocations of the Fund for the 2003-2004 period in Derry/Londonderry have attracted Protestant criticism. Of the nine areas targeted for financial support, six are Catholic, one is an interface area and one is of mixed religion. The remaining area is Protestant.

Interestingly, Derry/Londonderry is the only council area in which the intermediary funding body for the administration of the Local Community Fund was originally neither the city council nor Local Strategy Partnership (the latter is now involved in the administration of the LCF). It was mentioned during an interview with a representative of DSD that at the announcement of the Fund strong representations were made by the Protestant community in the city arguing that neither DCC nor the LSP should administer the Fund. It was agreed that DSD/NWDO would administer the LCF. The NWDO has been unable to administer the FUND due to limited staff resources and the LSP based upon an invitation from DSD Voluntary and Community Unit has agreed to administer the Fund for the next two years.

When inquiries were made in relation to the reasons for what appeared to be a lack of confidence in the Protestant community regarding both organisations it was pointed out by one community worker that the Protestant community had experienced difficulties when it came to gaining funding from both the DCC and LSP. The following comment by a Protestant community worker reveals the reasons:

There was a lack of confidence in the DCC and LSP. The comment coming from all these groups was that the applications from Protestant areas were so poor that they did not meet what was required. LSP during the last 6 months started to discuss applications with the Protestant groups and this I believe has been through representation made by the WAP [Waterside Area Partnership]. DCC are not giving the impression that they are dealing with issues in an equal fashion because of the attitude of Councillors to the Protestant community i.e. funding and name change.¹³¹

5.6 Conclusions

This review of policies has highlighted a number of important and connected issues about Protestant alienation and how it is understood by the policy community:

¹³⁰ Interview with representative of Department of Social Development, 14th May 2004.

¹³¹ Protestant community worker 2. Reply by e-mail to questionnaire, 4th June 2004.

- There are now a number of strategies and high-level policy responses to the needs of the Waterside and Fountain communities and their particular obstacles to locally led development. The Shared City Initiative was one of the first important local strategies to acknowledge the need to tackle distinctive *spatial* problems of the Protestant community and this was followed by strategies that reflected the unique housing and urban regeneration priorities of the area.
- There have also been important organisational responses to facilitate engagement of the Protestant community in the city. The City Vision Partnership Board and the Local Strategy Partnership illustrate new models in urban governance aimed at drawing a wider range of stakeholders into decision-making processes at the city-region level. The Waterside Area Partnership, the establishment of a Council Sub-office and PEACE II interface groups demonstrate, at least, an awareness of the need to establish structural responses that involve people in decision making arenas and processes about specific programmes.
- There has also been an investment in the skills and competencies within the community and voluntary sector in the area and a clear concern that civic, participative activity has real potential to put the Waterside on a different development trajectory. The Local Community Fund, Community Support Programme and Neighbourhood Renewal have all placed capacity building in the area at the forefront of policy delivery.

The state of community infrastructure and the weaker capacity of Protestants to respond to these policies is clearly an issue here and so the next section examines what capacity means for Protestant communities, especially in the context of policy change and development.

Section B

The Meaning of Community Capacity Within Protestant Communities in Derry/Londonderry

Much of the policy analysis presented in the previous section has centred on the weak capacity of the Waterside community to develop indigenous projects, deliver programmes and engage effectively with the range of policies tackling the area's needs. This section reflects on the nature of weak infrastructure within the area and how this impacts on the competence of the community to take advantage of the resources flowing from central and local government into alienated communities. The argument here is that there has been considerable investment in the *supply* of policies and associated resources that the *demand side*, the 'community', cannot exploit to their full advantage. The priority that emerges is to find ways of equipping the community, leaders, activists, structures and skills in a comprehensive strategy to ensure that local people enjoy greater control over the sorts of decisions that affect their quality of life, feelings of insecurity and presence in the wider urban community. This intimates that there are limits to the impact that formal development policies can have on people who feel that their ethno-political position in the city, and indeed more broadly, is inexorably threatened and always vulnerable. Constructing a response to these deeply held uncertainties needs to be a broader project than equipping the community to draw down grant aid.

5.7 Inter- and intra-community differences

A well-respected Protestant community worker claimed that it was very difficult to get Protestant community workers who were suitably qualified. Furthermore, the ethno-sectarian realities of the city are such that although there is no shortage of qualified nationalist/republican community workers, such individuals may not wish to work in nor be welcome by all within Protestant areas. If, therefore, there exists a difference in the general quality of the pool of potential community workers in both communities then this might go some way in helping to explain the differences that currently exist in Protestant and Catholic community capacities. But this suggestion only serves to ask the fundamental question: why should there be such a difference? Irrespective of the explanation, however, it was the view that, overall, Protestant capacity is weaker than that found in nationalist/republican areas.

Several community activists also pointed out the rivalry which exists between Protestant community groups in the city. Interviewees spoke, for example, of groups being envious of other Protestant communities.¹³² This implied fragmentation in Protestant working-class areas in the DDCA. Indeed, rivalry among the Protestant communities of the city was not a perception unique to this representative of the Protestant community. Two representatives of other agencies also made mention of the intra-community rivalry which exists in relation to the competition for funding. As one member of a statutory body put it, Protestant communities 'function in isolation', 'don't learn from each other's experiences' and, generally, seem to have a much poorer understanding of funding sources. When he asked why Protestant communities appeared to be less able to engage in development projects than their

¹³² Employee of a statutory body. Interviewed 30th April 2004.

nationalist/republican counterparts, it was suggested that the cultural properties of Protestantism were such that Protestants did 'not like handouts or begging'. The desire to keep funding once allocated was identified as another reason for maintaining rivalry.

Clearly, for some within the policy arena in the city, the Protestant community is schismatic in a way that hampers and impedes its overall infrastructural development. When an experienced Protestant community worker was asked for an explanation as to why the Catholic community appeared to be more capable of development and seemed to be more expert at accessing funding the answer was:

Nationalist communities are prepared to assist one another and share ideas.¹³³

This implies that Protestant communities do not follow suit. Although it was the perception of interviewees from the policy community that Protestant infrastructure is poor, there was little understanding of its causes.

It was pointed out by a representative of the LSP that, as part of the delivery of the Measure 2.11 Interface initiative, both Protestant and Catholic communities at each interface had received the same training in order to equip them with, among other things, knowledge of the application process for funding. The first year of allocation of funding for Measure 2.11 was allocated through an open call which was based on a competitive process. The allocations for years 2 and 3 were allocated on a joint, locally agreed neighbourhood action plan which aimed to ensure that both communities have equal access to the funding through agreeing on their local priorities. The LSP employed a professional agency to help in the design of neighbourhood action plans. This process involved consultants meeting particular communities and working with them. Members of both communities at each interface participated in four workshops and two residentials at which advice was offered concerning development and how to make funding applications. Despite these initiatives, however, it was contended that it was the Catholic community whose applications were more successful.¹³⁴ The need for more proactive investment in Protestant communities as a pre-requisite to demand-led funding applications was raised by a number of respondents in the community:

Current funding policies tend to be reactive to funding applications from local groups or agencies. These applications are not forthcoming from areas of weak community infrastructure. They, therefore, do not benefit in the way that other developed communities do and require special, pro-active support to enable them to do so.¹³⁵

5.8 Inter-community contact

¹³³ Protestant community worker 2. Reply by e-mail to questionnaire 4th June 2004.

¹³⁴ Interview with representative of the Local Strategy Partnership, 30th April 2004.

¹³⁵ *Weak Community Infrastructure: a support priority*, Report by The Community Foundation for Northern Ireland, 2001, p. 14.

Although £1 million is allocated to each of the three interfaces in the city, voluntary communication between interface communities is still developing. A conceptual distinction needs to be made when the subject of inter-community contact is being studied. We need to differentiate between association that is generated by a primary desire to 'reach out' to the 'other' community for purposes of genuine reconciliation, and, alternatively, action that is based upon a pragmatic inclination to participate in a programme that is likely to improve the quality of one's neighbourhood. Community workers in Derry/Londonderry are quick to point out that there are examples of inter-community interaction taking place within the context of Neighbourhood Partnerships and Action Plans. Such examples are, without doubt, to be applauded. Certainly a case can be made for the practicalities and moral purposes of engineered inter-community contact that these partnerships occasion. They create a forum within which communicative action can occur. Dialogue is encouraged rather than discouraged by virtue of the fact that antagonists are in close proximity to each other and share a space which is not contested. Indeed, knowledge – rather than ideological opinion – of the 'other' is more likely to develop as a consequence of the discourse which takes place within these structures. Indisputably, these points make the case for this type of contact especially when, heretofore, there was little, if any, evidence of contact and little hope of such arising in the near future. But, structured interaction of this kind is not the same thing as interaction, which is based upon an authenticity of a reconciliatory spirit.

Inter-community interaction, which follows participation in Neighbourhood Action Plans, for instance, may not be considered to be the most accurate gauge for measuring ethno-sectarian attitudes or plumbing the depth of division. Their example, then, should not be accepted as unqualified evidence of a softening of the ethno-sectarian consciousness. Thus, when interaction is considered from other than purely pragmatic angles, we have a better idea of where respective communities are on the road to reconciliation. Set in this context, it would seem that inter-community interaction in the three interfaces takes a significantly different shape and form. Based upon information obtained during an interview with a representative of the LSP, it appears that examples of voluntary (i.e. non-pragmatic) interaction between Protestant and Catholic interface communities are somewhat limited. When asked for concrete examples of inter-community contact of a non-pragmatic kind in the three interfaces a Healthy Eating Club was mentioned which takes place on a monthly basis between the women of Irish Street and Gobnascale. There is also a chess club and girls dance group that operates between the Fountain/Brandywell. Sports and festivals have also been organised between Irish Street/Gobnascale and Tullyally/Currynierin.

Efforts are being made on developing each community albeit separately. Mention was made of the LSP's involvement in a number of projects that are intended to contribute positively to the building of confidence within communities and enhancing their self-esteem. The aim of this intra-community work is to encourage the development of confident communities that do not feel intimidated by the religion and political aspirations of the 'other' community. Efforts are also being made in the sphere of single identity work to help construct identities that do not feel threatened by the symbols of the 'other' community. Admittedly, this is not an easy feat to achieve in a place like Derry/Londonderry.

A further example of inter-community contact being made but, again, not of a strictly voluntary kind is that which takes place at the Tullyally and Currynierin interface. The Tullyally Development Group LTD, which developed from a tenants' association, has been highly successful in building the infrastructure of the Tullyally community. An interview with a community worker who was central to this development confirmed that the Group had accessed £2 million and had created a business park comprised of 27 units. Of particular importance is the renting of nine units by the Northwest Institute to provide educational courses for the people of the area and beyond. Students come from both the Tullyally and Currynierin communities to study courses provided by the Institute. But, again, while there is no doubt that formal interaction of this sort is profitable when it comes to mollifying hard ethno-sectarian mentalities, it is, principally, a situation which arises out of a mutual need to receive educational qualifications. An opportunity has arisen, however, whereby contact between Protestant and Catholic can occur, albeit in a formal and structured context.

5.9 Providing single identity facilities

Interestingly, the presence of the Northwest Institute in Tullyally can be looked at through the lens of Protestant sensitivity with regard to aspects of the city and the way in which an organisation like the Institute has been prepared to address it. When the community presented its case to the Institute in pursuit of a campus being established in the Waterside, it was stated that many young Protestants feel uncomfortable about attending courses at the Institute because it is located in the Cityside.¹³⁶ Consequently, Protestant students are inclined to travel to Limavady Technical College because it is thought to be a safer environment in which to study. It was claimed, however, that due to the distance involved in travelling to Limavady, many Protestant students dropped out of courses, thus exacerbating the problem of, in particular, Protestant working-class educational underachievement. The uneasiness that it was claimed young Protestants experience when travelling to the Cityside was taken into account and was considered to have played a significant part in the Institute's decision to establish a campus in the Waterside.

From the perspective of the Group, its success in accessing funding has had a considerable positive impact on the community and has created a shared educational context for both Protestant and Catholic students. In an interface area like Tullyally and Currynierin there is little that is shared bar social discord and cultural friction. Indeed, the development of the Tullyally community is a good example of how policy can make a difference to the quality of life experienced by a Protestant community. Of course, the proviso is that the community must have the expertise – and willingness to learn – in order to access funding for developmental projects. Such willingness is epitomised in the approach to policy and funding sources, which was adopted by the Tullyally Development Group LTD. A community worker from the area discussed how the community decided to set about the task of improving itself by being active and bring open to learning. The impression was given that Tullyally is a case study in how a rejection of an apathetic community disposition can reap a considerable physical and emotional reward for a Protestant working-class area.

¹³⁶ Protestant community worker 4. Interviewed 27th April 2004.

Essentially, the lesson is one of self-help as a precondition for external assistance and serves as an example to other Protestant communities in the city of what can be achieved with an open and determined community attitude.

The findings of both document analysis and interview-based research suggest that a number of policies exist which impact on, or have the potential to so do, the Protestant community in the city both in the Waterside and Fountain. This confirms that the government has a model for tackling social and economic underdevelopment in the city which, of course, includes the Protestant community. Neighbourhood renewal strategies are designed to improve not only the physical infrastructure of areas but to uplift the people who live in them. An urban strategy of this type can (and has) made a positive difference to Protestant communities in Derry/Londonderry - and Tullyally is a case in point.

But, consistently, the policy community held the perception that the Protestant community was lacking in capacity and infrastructure, especially when compared to the Catholic community at large. A recurring theme was that of the poor quality of the funding applications submitted by the Protestant community. This issue is addressed in the council's *Community Relations Strategic Plan* and amounts to a locally-based institutional recognition of infrastructural differences:

There have been a number of seminars and reports that have addressed the whole issue of community development in Protestant areas and the difficulties that have been encountered in comparison to many of their counterparts in neighbouring Catholic estates in building community infrastructure and accessing funding.¹³⁷

This would suggest the existence of perceptions that the model for community development – within which each agency's policy has a particular role to play - works better in Catholic communities which, for whatever reason(s), seem more able to make use of the model. This subject has been explored by the Protestant community: cultural differences between Protestant and Catholic communities have been referred to as one means of explaining the phenomenon. It has been argued that:

- the Protestant community relies on the state to look after it;
- it has depended too much on its politicians;
- its denominationalism prevents a unified consciousness developing which in turn impacts negatively upon working-class communities;
- it suffers from apathy; that Protestantism has an individualistic ethos that militates against community development
- Protestant groups are too proud to declare themselves in need of assistance.

In sum, such factors render the Protestant community dysfunctional when it comes either to community-related ventures or ventures designed to establish community.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ *Community Relations Plan* *ibid.*, pp.9 - 10.

¹³⁸ *Community Development in Protestant Areas* *op cit.* pp. 10 – 13.

Community-based literature by Protestant groups on the subject of development reflects a self-critical turn which is a prerequisite for addressing effectively the needs of working-class Protestant areas. The willingness to explore the reasons for what appears to be a noticeable difference in Protestant/Catholic infrastructure signals that working-class Protestantism is both conscious of its plight, and also making advances toward changing its circumstances via community development.

5.10 Leadership and the paramilitaries

While the common theme running through the interviews was that the Protestant community lacks expertise and suffers a poorer level of community infrastructure because it has a problem accessing funding for improvement schemes, both the existence of the multi-million pound Ebrington Centre in the centre of the Waterside and the example of Tullyally implies that the government's model for grappling with Protestant alienation and social underdevelopment can work to good effect. Clearly, it would be wrong to overstate the issue of Protestant incapacity in the city. A combination of leadership and activism within a community seems, in part, to be the formula for success. But to offset Ebrington and Tullyally, there are examples of much less developed areas. For instance, one member of a statutory body was of the opinion that the Protestant community of Lincoln Courts had little idea of funding sources for purposes of development.

If the Protestant community is not - and has not been - as inclined towards community development schemes as the Catholic community, then it is likely that professional community work is not as instinctively attractive to Protestants in working-class areas as it may be to their Catholic counterparts. Consequentially, this is likely to reduce the number of people interested in full-time community work.

The image that arises from the research is that of a city containing quite disparate Protestant communities which, in the main, seem to be functioning somewhat independently of each other. Indeed, community fragmentation is at the core of this comment by a Waterside Protestant:

My perception, living on the Waterside, is that the Protestant community is very fragmented. I mean, I don't think there *is* a "Protestant community" as such on the Waterside, there's a *series* of small communities, and even within those communities there's still alienation there, that sense of conflict between even Protestant areas.¹³⁹

Given the claim of alienation by members of the Protestant community in Derry/Londonderry, it may have been assumed that strong social networks would be in place as a means of binding together a demographically precarious community. But there is no single community, even at the working-class level. Instead, intra-community fragmentation exists most notably along the UDA/UVF paramilitary fracture. This has led to a carving out off and redefinition of Protestant territory on the Waterside, which surely has played a part in draining some communities of their

¹³⁹ *Are we not part of this city too?*, (Belfast: Island Publications, 1999), p. 12.

energy. There is every likelihood that this has been a factor in hindering the development of effective linkages between certain communities in the city. Hence there is more than one dimension to segregation in Derry/Londonderry as the following comment illustrates:

the Protestant community on the Waterside is very fragmented, rather than one homogeneous community, it is perceived that there are a series of small communities which is further exacerbated by conflict both within and between some areas, often stemmed by loyalist paramilitary rivalry.¹⁴⁰

Obviously, fragmentation of this sort prevents loyalist communities from acting in unity and learning from each other in an unhampered fashion. Whilst the tensions between the UDA and UVF have reduced, it is worth considering the extent to which such disputes have had a knock-on effect with regard to dividing and isolating working-class areas in the city.

No impression was given by the policy community that high levels of co-operation existed between Protestant communities. Furthermore, a member of the Protestant clergy stressed the point that ‘Protestants aren’t unified in the city’.¹⁴¹

Thus there appears to be an absence of overarching and interlocking social networks which otherwise could function to help bind the Protestant communities of the Waterside (and the Fountain) together. Perhaps the lack of strong solidarity and unity reveals itself most notably in the lack of a co-ordinated response to the concept of Protestant exclusion and alienation.

5.11 Suspicion, conspiracy and planning realities

In addition to the side effects of loyalist rivalry on the development of Protestant communities, a degree of suspicion exists with regard both to Derry City Council and the Local Strategy Partnership. This adds to the problem of Protestant alienation if only at the level of perception. The effectiveness of policies is not unaffected by Protestant suspicion. At the very least, suspicion militates against a good and meaningful relationship developing between the policy agencies like DCC and the LSP and Protestant communities which may think that a hidden agenda – deleterious to their interests - is being followed. The problem with suspicion is that it hinders the development of that which is all-important between a community and an institution, namely, trust. Without trust an institution is unable to project an image of itself based on integrity; and without trust it would be difficult to encourage communities to participate enthusiastically in projects connected with an institution in which the community has no confidence.

5.12 Conclusions

But what of the philosophy of policy in a divided society like Northern Ireland? What assumptions underpin the kinds of policies which have been researched in

¹⁴⁰ *Community Relations Plan* Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁴¹ Protestant minister 3. Interviewed 19th May 2004.

Derry/Londonderry? What, ultimately, is hoped for when millions of pounds are poured into a city? In the broader context of Northern Ireland, how realistic are the expectations of policy creators given the depth of ethnic division and a continued willingness of the majority of both communities to vote for the more ideologically extreme of its political parties?

Clearly, a different type of community consciousness is required, one that would form the basis upon which policy could be created. It is assumed that a developed community is one that is well on its way to becoming a confident community which, by definition, is one not lacking in self-esteem. Conversely, a community that suffers high levels of social deprivation and environmental degeneration is thought to be fertile ground for the sustenance of oppositional discourses. This does presume that development will create a new and morally favourable community self-worth which would be significantly less inclined to ethno-sectarianism. Although it is likely that making individuals active participants in community-building programmes enhances their communicativeness and sociality, there is, however, no guarantee that 'developed' communities would 'reach out' across the ethno-sectarian divide.

Indeed, ethno-sectarianism may be a demon less easily exorcised. Here, it should be emphasised that government has responded in a policy manner to factors, which are considered to contribute to alienation and feelings of community decline and, as such, opportunities exist which can foster dialogue and interaction. It is also the case that the policy community is not unaware of the issues that concern the Protestant community in Derry/Londonderry and have been open and willing to talk about them and of how they feel that their policies can help. As other parts of this research have shown, this is only part of the problem and an inevitably incomplete part of the solution. Territorial-based policies in housing, urban regeneration and community development can help to put in place the infrastructure for material development and set a context for a positive expression of the community's economic and social role in the city. The attempt to cement their position in the city's changing religious-ethnic geography is a much wider political and community challenge.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Recent years have seen the development of new governance arrangements, which have allowed partners in the voluntary, statutory and private sectors to work together to achieve change. Such new engagements are important but are only truly meaningful if communities feel both respected and included within decision-making processes that affect people's lives.

Choice and participation are essential to the long-term development of inter-community relationships in Derry/Londonderry. As has been shown here, the post-cease-fire re-engagement of many Protestants with the Cityside, no matter how compromised, highlights a new form of civic participation. These new spatial practices appear to be tied to the reduction in political violence.

Nevertheless, despite positive changes and developments it is evident that a significant section of the Protestant community feels undermined and marginalised by wider political, demographic and cultural changes.

The dilemma for the Protestant community is not that it cannot identify positive changes but that such changes are accompanied by strong senses of alienation. As has been shown here, many of the negative structures and perceptions that affect the Protestant community are identified as being caused by the nationalist/republican community. But there are also voices challenging the nature of the leadership of the Protestant community

The emphasis here is on how to develop and reinforce intra- and inter-community based dialogue that can accommodate both negative and positive circumstances. It is also important that Derry City Council is fully involved in the debate that needs to take place with regard to the issue of Protestant alienation. The reform of public administration in Northern Ireland is likely to reposition the Council as a key policy development and implementation body and so we need to ensure that it continues to prioritise and tackle the issue of cultural marginalisation.

6.1 Skills and measurement

It is important to develop and share the skills needed to deliver change in interface areas. Here, there is a responsibility on the community relations sector to test and apply best practice on conflict resolution, dispute settlement and mediation in interface communities. It is also important that these competencies are acquired across communities, voluntary sector groups and the statutory sector. The efforts by planners and urban managers to engage with the problems of segregation need to be supported by people in the community sector with a track record of work in Derry/Londonderry and who can draw on experience and understanding of conflicts across the world. This will be especially important in helping the effective implementation of the equality agenda in interface communities.

More effective ways are required to measure and monitor the effects of cultural and political change on local people as well as on the environment and economy. It is

important that the effects of segregation on *behaviour* as well as on attitudes can be assessed and that changes in these areas over time be recorded to assist with policy implementation.

6.2 Demographic restructuring and territorial loss

It is clear that there is a connection between the various research strands in identifying the processes and effects of demographic change. A significant finding from the 2001 Census was that the Protestant population of the DDCA has stabilised and that the rate of Catholic population growth has slowed in the last ten years. There was, however, a prolonged period of Protestant decrease and territorial shrinking during the previous three decades. Moreover, this decline has had a residual character in that it has generally been the younger, more mobile, the employed and the employable that have been most likely to migrate from the city (or to have dependants that are encouraged to get educated, training, work and indeed live elsewhere).

The residual population is more likely to be older, welfare dependent and experience difficulty obtaining employment or decent educational qualifications, factors which exacerbate the prospects for self-renewal in the area. More importantly, this population restructuring has been read locally in politically significant ways. Notions of loss, exiting and spatial vulnerability were well expressed in the group discussions, matched by concerns at the way in which Catholic 'infrastructure' presented real and figurative signs of growth, expansion and confidence in contiguous neighbourhoods.

The 'closure' of Clondermott School was an especially potent sign of disinvestment in the Waterside community and the loss of institutions, especially a school, makes it difficult to retain and attract families or young people to the immediate area. This is part of, or acts as a catalyst for cyclical decline with people moving from the area due to a lack of appropriate and necessary facilities, running down demand, making other services vulnerable and feeding a process of uncertainty in community stability and crucially, *viability* in the future. As is evidenced in the quantitative and qualitative research gathered in this research, that uncertainty is expressed in negative attitudes to the city, the 'other' and to official institutions. This 'voicing' of concerns is a particular challenge to agencies responsible for the area's development but also crucially to community and political leaders within the Waterside itself.

It is important that Northern Ireland equality legislation is used appropriately in areas where demographic vulnerability could be easily disturbed by investment decisions made by public sector agencies. In particular, Equality Impact Assessments should be applied in the Waterside community to take specific account of population change, structure and stability in any decision affecting the wider area. More generally, the whole project of demographic stability and building an inclusive city in which people feel confident about their place is a shared responsibility for the political, statutory, community and civic interests across Derry/Londonderry.

6.3 Policy *turn* and opportunities for development

It is clear from the policy audit and the in-depth interviews with decision-makers and leading community groups that more attention is now being paid to the particular problems and opportunities facing the Protestant community in the Waterside. The

Housing Strategy for Derry/Londonderry, Neighbourhood Renewal, the Shared City Initiative and the Council's community development and relations strategies all acknowledge the development obstacles to the regeneration of the area. Moreover, they have identified the specific nature of local problems facing the Protestant community and the need to build community infrastructure and capacity as pre-requisites to sustainable development.

The Progressive Unionist Party, for example, set out alternative policies for Loyalist areas based on the particular needs of these communities.¹⁴² This included the need for confidence-building measures including: special task forces for schools; zero tolerance on drugs; and an attempt to tackle criminality and the effects that this has on young people in particular. It is important, however, to avoid the proliferation of initiatives and structures in Derry/Londonderry, given the wide range of programmes already being delivered. Several groups and policy makers express the concern that there are *absorption* problems in some Waterside areas to respond effectively to the programmes and the money that are being delivered. Some, such as the Local Community Fund and the Shared City Initiative are specifically targeted at the problems of Protestant alienation, but each initiative has added to the complexity of delivery mechanisms, financial streams and regulations designed to regenerate the area. Neighbourhood Renewal aims to offer a strategic framework to coordinate the various area based initiatives affecting Protestant communities. Here, it is important that there is strategic clarity in so far as is possible, a shared vision and some organisational coherence that could effectively respond to the fracturing of the area and policies designed to renew it.

There is a clear concern among people in Protestant communities that the policy community has ignored or marginalised their concerns and priorities for action. Some organisations have worked hard to show the equity of their investments and to improve their corporate image in the area. However, there raises the danger that policy will remain at the rhetorical level rather than at that of delivery where it affects peoples' lives. A potential *implementation deficit* could emerge with well-meaning and well-sounding policies addressing the needs of the Protestant community not being delivered into actionable strategies and programmes. For this to be avoided clear, professional, permanent and accountable governance structures need to be established to give local people a real and meaningful say about how initiatives should be coordinated and implemented in their area. The proposed Neighbourhood Renewal Partnership offers an opportunity to rework and renegotiate a sustainable governance structure capable of leading the development of the area.

6.4 Structures and the impact of governance

All of this relates to efficacy of structures to galvanise community interests and link them more clearly to development opportunities in the Waterside. Two aspects of governance are important in the context of this research.

- **Internal structures** are a clear priority in Protestant areas, not least to coordinate the various initiatives identified above. However, it is also clear that local partnerships and community-led development have not evolved with

¹⁴² *Belfast Telegraph* 1st November 2004 p.17.

the same vigour as in other communities in Derry/Londonderry or in Northern Ireland more broadly. There is a need to structure a democratically accountable, multi-sectoral and implementation-led partnership for the area. All the evidence of best practice in urban renewal shows that partnerships are crucial to sustainable development and Protestant communities are no different in that case. Intra- as well as inter-community politics have militated against effective locally based structures but there is little substitute for corporate and collaborative working to prioritise the interests of Protestants. Given the current drive to implement Neighbourhood Renewal, the opportunity exists to develop a new partnership for the area that will have resource and programme support to reinvigorate the process of regeneration.

- **External structures** are also vital in securing the future of the Waterside. It is important that the community can adopt an outward looking and progressive approach to the wider development of Derry/Londonderry. It should be emphasised that political and community leaders have always represented the area's interests and negotiated on behalf of the community on structures such as the Local Strategy Partnership, City Vision Board and the ILEX Urban Regeneration Company. It is important that this positive representational function is deepened and broadened. It was pointed out throughout the research that Protestant community infrastructure is *different* from that in Catholic areas and faces particular development obstacles. In particular, individual leaders need to work alongside partnership development, especially as a more short-term model of community development in the Waterside. There should be a dedicated programme to identify skill, and support leadership and volunteering by identifying particular agents of change to become involved in local development, political transformation and building capacity.

6.5 Skills and people

This implies a clearer analysis of the current skills of community leaders, the number, their distribution, gaps and priorities for development in the future. Some of the skills-deficit identified in the research seems to include:

- lack of a large number of active people involved in local development;
- leadership limited to a small number of experts;
- co-operative working and structures not traditional in the Waterside area;
- technical skills under-developed especially in finance, financial management, audit compliance and control;
- best practice not shared or used in a culture of collective learning.

In particular, there is an urgent priority to support the cadre of community leaders currently working in the area. The range of competencies required to take the development of Protestant communities forward also demands clearer analysis and this is an area where the City Council might have a role given its work, experience

and policies in this area. The need to develop skills in the social economy, the sustainability of project and brownfield development have all emerged recently as policy priorities from which the community can benefit and secure a greater sense of place in Derry/Londonderry.

Conflict resolution, dispute management and confidence building are more traditional community skills that are also vital in addressing the complex sense of exclusion that the Protestant community has experienced in the city. Clearly, there is a need to audit the competencies that Protestant community workers require, where and how they might be sourced and to develop programmes which can in particular grow local leadership as a short-term priority. There is also a need to develop a greater culture of sharing skills, experience and best practice models. Given the development of the Urban Regeneration Company around the Ebrington Barracks, a *Centre for Learning and Sharing Practice* could be supported by ILEX. Such a Centre could help to develop critical learning, connect with other issues and areas, and support the long-term development of the area. Some of its functions might include:

- technical support to groups;
- building community infrastructure including volunteering;
- research evidence for local strategies;
- sharing best practice and expertise inside and outside the area;
- supporting political leadership and developing a progressive vision and identity for the Waterside community.

6.6 Monitoring and evaluation

The research has provided an integrated approach to understanding the nature of community change within Protestant communities. That analysis needs to be continued via monitoring and evaluation systems, possibly linked to the delivery of Neighbourhood Renewal. In particular, it needs to take account of demographic change with indicators such as vacant dwellings, change of tenancies, benefit dependency, crime rates, employment and unemployment in order to build up a regular and comprehensive picture of life in Protestant communities. There is a requirement to assess the extent to which various policies and programmes are having an effect on the stability of the population and the confidence of people to live in Derry/Londonderry in the longer term. Small area statistics now available from the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) can help to build up a health check of the area in order to help shape policy delivery, target specific areas and engage excluded groups living in the area. This is a particular function that could be carried out by the proposed Centre identified earlier.

6.7 Conflict transformation

A consistent theme running through the various research strands is the extent to which wider political processes, improvements in demographic conditions and greater policy recognition has not registered on some people within the Protestant community. Here,

there is a danger that despite positive aspects to life in the city, many are simply disconnected from wider social, economic, policy and political progress. Exclusion is deepened as some are cut adrift from mainstream development opportunities and there is a responsibility among voluntary groups, politicians, the statutory sector and the wider civic community to target initiatives and programmes that attempt to include and involve those most alienated in processes of political and social change. Individuals and groups that are involved in engaging ex-prisoners, combatants, victims and economically excluded people need to be recognised, not demonised and valued in locally based regeneration strategies.

The agenda for the development of improved relationships will need to be long term and well resourced. It needs to build on the experiences and practices of groups on the ground and address, head-on, the conflict, which is at the root of many problems across the city. Government needs to value and support this work and place divisive issues at the heart of decision-making and resource planning.

This report aims to help create the conditions for investment, renewal and confidence in interface areas. We are acutely aware that the level and character of paramilitary activity will determine the extent to which a genuinely sustainable strategy in interface areas is even possible. But we feel that the efforts of groups working on the interface need to be supported to create the conditions to facilitate a long-term approach to growth and development. For this to happen, all sectors, including government, communities, the voluntary sector and, indeed, private investors need to work in a concerted fashion. This paper hopes to provide some positive focus to that task.

