MEMORY POLITICS AND RECONCILIATION IN THE WAKE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT
A NORTHERN IRISH EXAMPLE

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ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the politics of memory and their consequences – how memory in its tangible and intangible forms is understood, performed, and acted upon in the popular imagination, and how it influences contemporary situations and inter-community relationships. Specifically, the paper is concerned with exploring the roles that the politics of memory can play not just in promoting continued community division in the aftermath of ethnic or religious conflicts in regions with complex and layered histories, but also the inverse – in promoting reconciliation. The paper takes as its primary example the multiple co-existing yet divergent accumulating narratives about the past that contributed to the eruption and later to the sustenance of The Troubles in Northern Ireland. After a brief historical review, it examines the experiences of one contemporary case that has been held up locally and internationally as exemplary in redirecting memory politics in support of reconciliation between divided communities – that of Derry~Londonderry, Northern Ireland’s second city and the site of the first violent confrontations of the Troubles. Bearing in mind the concept of “archival reconciliation” proposed by Sue McKemmish et al. with regard to the construction of Australian Indigeneity, past, present and future, and Verne Harris’ recent discussion of “healing” with reference to the experiences of the Nelson Mandela Foundation with human rights archives and memory work in post-apartheid South Africa, the paper concludes with some reflections on the responsibilities of memory institutions, and especially of archives, to address the politics of memory, even when those politics can traverse centuries of events; and actively contribute to reconciliation and peacebuilding in the
wake of physical conflict, combatting, to use Harris' words, the weariness, stress and “stuckness” that can replace energy and hope during lengthy transition and recovery processes.

KEYWORDS
Archives, community, Derry-Londonderry, memory, Northern Ireland, politics of memory, reconciliation

Introduction
In his 2000 review article tracing the emergence of memory in historical discourse, historian Kerwin Lee Klein describes “the memory industry” as ranging “from the museum trade to the legal battles over repressed memory and on to the market for academic books and articles that invoke memory as key word.”¹ Several works published in the 1980s such as Pierre Nora’s Les Lieux de mémoire, Paul Connerton’s Bodily Practices: How Societies Remember, and Jan Assmann and Tonio Hölscher’s Kultur und Gedächtnis proved to be seminal in bringing memory to the attention of the scholarly community, and memory studies is now widely recognized as a distinct area of interdisciplinary scholarship.² For institutions such as archives and museums that are repositories of and portals to records and other historical documentation and artifacts, responding to the turn toward memory necessitates complicating comfortable and “accepted” notions of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Taken to its logical conclusions, it also demands that archives and museums work closely and participatively with communities of memory³ to develop management practices and curatorial

³ Archival scholar Eric Ketelaar provides the following definition: “Collective identity is based on the elective processes of memory, so that a given group recognises itself through its memory of a common past. A community is a “community of memory”. That common past is not merely genealogical or traditional, something which you can take or leave. It is more: a moral imperative for one’s belonging to a community. The common past, sustained through time into the present, is what gives continuity, cohesion and coherence to a community. To be a community, a family, a religious community, a profession involves an embeddedness in its past and, consequently, in the memory texts through which that past is mediated.” Ketelaar, Eric. Sharing: collected memories in communities of records. // Archives and manuscripts 33(2005), 44-61, 50.
interpretations capable of highlighting diverse, critical, contingent and dynamic understandings of the past. However, despite the complexification of memory evident in the growing body of scholarship in memory studies as well as in archival studies in recent decades, many memory institutions and professions have been slower or reluctant to make the necessary epistemological shift in their institutional and professional stances away from authoritative, grand narrative, “value-neutral,” fact and tangible artifact-based approaches to acknowledge overtly and, as necessary, redirect their role in the messy and contentious business of community heritage and memory politics.

At the same time, as much of the growing body of scholarship discusses, tangible and intangible memory, and its performance through acts of memorialization and commemoration, are not just the province of “memory institutions” such as museums and archives, of places and objects of memorialization such as historic sites, monuments and memorials, or of scholarly study and theorizing. Memory and its performance also occupy a prominent and agentive space in the popular imagination, especially as activated and acted upon by communities, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the process of furthering their own agendas and reinforcing their own identities. And when notions of nation and patrimony are in dispute and ethnic identities have been constructed around particular narratives, the focus of this popular imagination may be less on

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5 Peter Carrier observes that: The shift from historical to social consciousness, which displaces authority from the professional historian to society itself, has coincided with a radical modification of the supports sustaining collective memory. Positivist historians in the nineteenth century had recourse to documentary evidence stored in archives in order to legitimate a specific reconstruction of the facts of the past worthy of social consensus or collective memory. Public opinion, on the other hand, legitimates or renders its understanding of the ‘presence of the past in the present’ intelligible by means of ‘significant units’ or symbolic places representing particularist, non-consensual interests or memories of an atomized society.

patrimonial memory as articulated by Nora, and more on social memory that is closely tied to the construction of those identities and claims of a specific ethnic or religious community within a region. Precisely because of its fluidity, emotiveness and range of possible experiences and interpretations, memory can be a very powerful motivator for individual and collective behaviours. It also has a connective capacity that supports linkages being made between events that are widely disparate in time and character. Such connective capacity lends the resulting narratives a quality of substantiveness and authority as well as a reassuring teleology that in turn may result in individuals, groups or entire populations acting upon them as though they were intrinsically truthful or natural inevitabilities.

When memory is thus performed and acted upon, it inevitably has consequences. This paper is concerned with the politics of memory and those consequences—how memory is understood, performed, and acted upon in the popular imagination, and how it influences contemporary situations and inter-community relationships. Specifically, the paper is concerned with exploring the roles that such politics of memory can play not just in promoting continued community division in the aftermath of ethnic or religious conflicts in regions with complex and layered histories, but also the inverse—in promoting reconciliation. It introduces some strategies that have been attempted for achieving reconciliation in the face of difficult pasts in European countries and the challenges that these have surfaced. As its primary example, it reviews the multiple co-existing yet divergent accumulating narratives about the past that contributed to the eruption and the sustenance of The Troubles in Northern Ireland in the latter twentieth century. After providing some brief historical context, it examines the experiences of the historic and historically divided city of Derry~Londonderry, Northern Ireland’s second

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6 Crooke examines two community heritage projects in Northern Ireland and concludes that community heritage has become a means to mould and communicate histories, understandings of identity, and definitions of culture and cultural relevance within groups and to others. By means of display contributors are drawing others into their project, disseminating the message further. By nature of its involvement the museum space is implicated in this process. The result of this is a socially and politically engaged heritage embedded in contemporary concerns and shared with consequence.

city and the site of the first violent confrontations of the Troubles. It identifies some of the narratives that have been formative or instrumental within the city’s Protestant and Catholic communities and the forms in which they have been manifested and performed. It also discusses recent efforts, considered both nationally and internationally to be exemplary, to redirect memory politics in support of peace building and reconciliation between the communities. Bearing in mind the concept of “archival reconciliation” proposed by Sue McKemmish et al with regard to the construction of Australian Indigeneity, past, present and future, and Verne Harris’ recent discussion of “healing” with reference to the experiences of the Nelson Mandela Foundation with human rights archives and memory work in post-apartheid South Africa, the paper concludes with some reflections on the responsibilities of memory institutions, and especially of archives, to address the politics of memory, even when that memory can traverse centuries of events, and to contribute actively to reconciliation and peacebuilding in the wake of physical conflict.

**Memory, Politics and Reconciliation**

Discussing several possible reasons for memory’s rise to prominence since the 1980s, Klein alludes to how identity has become an integral component of memory discourse. One of the growing areas of work in this regard addresses ethnic identity and how it has been implicated in violence, often recurrent, between communities, in different regions around the world. For example, in his 2002 article, “On Memory, Identity and War,” historian Patrick Finney writes of the ubiquity of the past and of variant historical analogies in the ethnically-based conflicts of the 1990s in South Eastern Europe:

> Western policy-makers and pundits interpreted them as the product of ancient ethnic enmities unleashed by the collapse of communism, while indigenous

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7 Geographic place names carry with them their own memory politics, and, as explained later in the paper, this city has been known by several names, each with its own historical, cultural and political significance. In this paper the author has chosen to use Derry~Londonderry, in part because it is the name officially being used today by Derry City Council, and in part because it is considered locally to be an overt manifestation of the city’s advances in bringing about reconciliation between its Catholic and Protestant communities.


10 Klein, K. L. Ibid.
nationalists concocted extravagant narratives of historical victimization and destiny to ground new identities and mobilize populations for war.\textsuperscript{11}

Finney continues:

… drawing on wider bodies of scholarship exploring the work of memory under and after state socialism and in relation to the trauma of war, connections between memory, identity and war in the region began to be scrutinized. Of particular interest here were the role of historical narratives in grounding national and other senses of identity, the efforts by nationalists to co-opt or stimulate private memories of past traumas and wrongdoings as part of these projects (including the broader issue of the resistance to or negotiation of would be dominant memories at local levels) and the question of the agency of 'history'.\textsuperscript{12}

It is hardly surprising in the wake of a century of massive global and regional conflicts, widespread and persistent ethnic and religious strife, the rise and fall of fascist regimes and communist states, the end of apartheid, and the establishment of truth commissions and international tribunals pursuing justice regarding war crimes and crimes against humanity, that the politics of memory have become such a locus not only of political interest but also of peace, reconciliation and social justice processes and scholarship.\textsuperscript{13}

While a cessation of violence is most often brokered through peace negotiations, memories of the past can remain a divisive force between communities even while they and their nations are engaged in processes intended to build a forward-oriented peaceful


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.

coexistence and enhanced mutual understanding. Nations, international bodies and memory institutions have tried with varying degrees of success to deal with divisive pasts politically, legislatively and institutionally—through courts, tribunals and truth and reconciliation commissions or truth-seeking and memory initiatives; the enactment of laws and adoption of human rights-oriented declarations; official visits by representatives of historically opposing factions or combatants to sites of major or controversial historic significance or attendance at commemorative events; moving the dates of commemorative holidays and changing city and street names once associated with former regimes or conflicts; educational programs and curricula; and exhibits and other cultural and outreach programs.

One example that illustrates the difficulties facing national efforts can be found in Spain, a country still coming to terms today with the deep national divides and traumatic memories associated with the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939, and the ensuing repressive regime of General Francisco Franco. After Franco’s death in 1975, a Pact of Forgetting (el pacto del olvido) was made between both leftist and rightist parties. Legislatively codified in 1977 as the Spanish Amnesty Law, the Pact was designed to support the transition to democracy and promote looking to the future rather than to the past. However, the legality of the amnesties provided for under the Amnesty Law have been challenged by the United Nations on the basis of international principles such as universal justice and conventions supporting the prosecution of those accused of crimes against humanity. In 2007, Spain’s Socialist Party government enacted a controversial Law of Historical Memory (Ley 52/2007). It included provisions regarding mass graves and the removal of Francoist monuments and symbols from public spaces. Bodies of nationalist Civil War “martyrs” had been exhumed in the 1940s by the Franco regime and ceremoniously reburied and lauded. The bodies of their enemies were interred in common or mass graves or simply left where they fell or were thrown. The Law of Historical Memory initiated the location and exhumation of mass graves and the subsequent


identification and reburial of bodies. Although government subsidies for the exhumations have since been withdrawn, the initiative has continued. Helen Graham argues that:

The importance of the mass graves initiative in Spain goes far beyond righting a specific historical wrong, for it offers the constitutional state a means of identifying and naming all its citizens – past and present – as an act of democratic inclusion and a reminder that in democracy no section of a citizenry can be "expendable" in this way, nor should one segment be mobilised against another.\textsuperscript{16}

If the mass graves initiative sought to encourage national unity in the present, the provision for the removal of Francoist symbols and monuments essentially mandated the removal from public view of the physical traces of a key part of Spain’s twentieth century past. Acts of removal and obliteration of the images and iconography of a despised ruler or government have occurred spontaneously many times in recent decades in countries around the globe, notably in uprisings against, or at the end of Communist or Soviet domination in countries such as Hungary, Albania and Lithuania, and with the ousting of military and political leaders such as Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qaddafi or Hosni Mubarak.\textsuperscript{17} While these acts are understandable in the heat of the moment, there are dueling considerations when it comes to the systematic, officially mandated erasure, seen also in former colonial nations, of the traces of an entire period in the history of a country. Do such legally sanctioned acts of erasure or state-sanctioned amnesia best support the current population in moving beyond the traumas and injustices of civil war or a repressive regime? What might be the effects of this act on the needs and perspectives of future populations in terms of awareness and understanding of their country’s past and accessing their personal connections to it?

Of course, after regime change or civil war, the physical past can also be left to deteriorate and slip out of public consciousness, either deliberately or because it is no longer sustained or reinforced in the collective memory by sympathetic parties, commemorations, subsequent events, or dominant historical narratives. An example of this might be the once much-visited monuments and memorials erected in the Socialist

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{17} Hudson, John. Down goes the dictator!: a visual history of statue vandalism. // Foreign policy (5 March, 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/05/down-goes-the-dictator-a-visual-history-of-statue-vandalism/
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to commemorate sites of World War II battles and concentration camps. Designed by prominent Yugoslav sculptors and architects, they lost much of their symbolic meaning after the breakup of the country in the 1990s and the transition from communism. Maybe another life might be imagined for them, however. For example, as one commentator asked:

Can these former monuments continue to exist as pure sculptures? On the one hand their physical dilapidated condition and institutional neglect reflect a more general social historical fracturing. And on the other hand, they are still of stunning beauty without any symbolic significance.\(^{18}\)

Even where there is a concerted will and investment to preserve evidence and memorials of the past there remain concerns about their future purpose and how they might be understood and used over time. For example, efforts to preserve Nazi-era concentration camps are increasingly challenged by inevitable physical deterioration as well as by the passings of remaining camp survivors, most of whom are now in their eighties or nineties. January 27\(^{th}\) 2015 marked the 70\(^{th}\) anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camp at Auschwitz at the end of World War II. Commemorations this year were tinged with a strong awareness that this is likely the last “decade” anniversary of the liberation that will be attended by a substantial number of survivors. Media commentaries on the anniversary have noticeably focused on the experiences of survivors who had been children – the youngest prisoners – in the camp.\(^{19}\) Pawel Sawicki, chief spokesman for the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, observes that:

This year’s anniversary also coincides with a shift in the way the site’s administrators conceive of their mission. From now on … the site will be organized to explain to generations who were not alive during the war what happened rather than to act as a memorial to those who suffered through it.\(^{20}\)


\(^{19}\) See, for example, Connolly, Kate. Tales from Auschwitz: survivor stories. // The Guardian (26 January, 2015) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/26/tales-from-auschwitz-survivor-stories

\(^{20}\) Lyman, Rick. For Auschwitz museum, and survivors, a moment of passage. // New York times (January 23, 2015).
He further explains how the museum had not previously exhibited photographs or stories of the Nazi commanders and soldiers:

The people who lived through it knew their faces, and did not want to see them …
But new visitors, who grew up after the war, need to hear that side of the story, too, … and to see the faces of those responsible.21

Judaic studies scholar James E. Young also argues that the narratives associated with such sites change with time—that memorials are not impervious to the mutability of interpretation to which all cultural artifacts are subject, and may take on lives of their own that are not the same as the creators’ original intentions: “New generations visit memorials under new circumstances and invest them with new meanings.”22

This inevitable retrospective interpretation of monuments and memorials can raise another issue—what to do when the event(s) or individuals being commemorated are not the subject per se of the controversy, but rather when the controversy is centred on how the representations or design choices made in the memorial reflect other aspects of the era that today might be regarded as wrong, offensive or otherwise problematic. An example is the recent controversy in a small predominantly African American city in the southern United States where several mostly white military veterans raised money to alter a memorial to soldiers who had died in both World Wars and the Korea and Vietnam conflicts. The memorial had been erected on city property by veterans from the same veterans’ organization, the American Legion, after World War II. The sides of the memorial that list soldiers from World War I and World War II divide them into two categories, “white” and “colored,” while the lists placed on the other sides for the conflicts that occurred after racial segregation ended in the American South do not make such distinctions. Opponents of altering the memorial have argued that it reflects the social structures of the time and that changing the memorial to remove the segregationist aspects would damage its “historical integrity.” However, the local mayor was quoted as saying, “I think if history offends people it needs to be rewritten if possible.” When he was informed that it was against the state’s Confederate Flag Law to relocate, disturb or alter any historical monument without a two thirds majority vote of the legislature (a

21 Ibid.
political legacy from the U.S.’ own Civil War, in which the Confederate and pro-slavery American South were defeated), the mayor responded further, suggesting that a more sinister agenda might be at work, “I wonder if some of the opposition is racism hiding behind history.”

The creation of new monuments and memorials also generates controversy, whether they commemorate past or more recent events. In his book, Holocaust Monuments and National Memory: France and Germany Since 1989, historian Peter Carrier examines how political strategists use symbolism and rhetoric to invest monuments and memorials with the responsibility to “guarantee remembrance.” Exploring their semantic contingency, he examines the debates over the monument built in 1994 at Vélo d'Hiver (Vél’ d’Hiv’), a site in Paris where Jews during the Second World War were rounded up by the Nazis and deported to camps (a debate he labels “the Promise of National Reconciliation 1992–97”), and the Monument for the Murdered Jews of Europe inaugurated in 2005 in Berlin as a “central symbol of the genocide against Jews” (“the Promise of Consensus 1988–2000”). A different example can be found in the proliferation of memorials and monuments since the end of the wars of the 1990s between the republics of the former Yugoslavia, and amid continuing disputes involving Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia. Many of these are disputed as being biased or provocative ideological and nationalist symbols. Jukic et al. aver that, “The problem is at its most acute where the ethnic divisions are at their most troubled, and where more memorials have been built than anywhere else, in Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

Journalist Radhika Singh, reporting on commemoration services held in front of the former Keraterm death camp on the 22nd anniversary of the mass killings of Bosnian Muslims from Prijedor echoes this sentiment and asserts that:

Memorials in Bosnia and Herzegovina take on many forms and are erected by

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members of all ethnic groups. However, all types of memorials have one thing in common: their purpose is commemoration rather than reconciliation. Instead of setting in place a common historical record that helps to piece the country together, they are ethnically divisive. Instead of helping people deal with, and move on from, the past, it forces them to defend it.\textsuperscript{26}

Singh concludes that the narratives in Bosnia are:

created by political motives, held in place by ethnic hatred and distrust, and exacerbated by the contentious issue of memorialization.

Memorials in Bosnia can, and should, serve a different purpose. They should be participatory, for one thing, and create a dialogue between ethnicities rather than push them further apart from one another.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{Sources of Irish Memory Narratives}

In order to understand the long roots of the conflict in Northern Ireland and to contextualize the narratives and memory politics that have been at work in that region, it is necessary to digress briefly to review some salient parts of Irish history. From the time of the Norman invasion of England in the 12\textsuperscript{th} century, England claimed sovereignty over Ireland. The Normans imposed feudal law in Ireland but themselves intermarried with the local Gaelic nobility and over time became “Gaelicised.” English rule was only firmly established in certain eastern parts of the island (known as the Pale) until more systematic “civilizing” colonisation took place in the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries in the form of “plantations” first of English nobility, and then of Scottish private settlers and tenant farmers in the northern province of Ulster on lands that had been confiscated from rebellious Gaelic chieftains and granted to the settlers by the English Crown. Scotland already historically enjoyed close familial ties as well as settling and trading relationships with the northern and northeastern counties of Ireland because of its geographic proximity. While the Gaelic (and Gaelic or Irish-speaking) Irish and the descendants of the Normans were Roman Catholic, the predominantly English-speaking plantation


\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
settlers were Protestants, predominantly of two denominations. The so-called Anglo-Irish ruling class was mostly Anglican while the Scots settlers were mainly Presbyterians (dissenting Protestants). The Williamite War in Ireland between Catholic (Jacobites) and Protestant (Williamites) claimants for the English throne ultimately strengthened English and Protestant dominance in Ireland. The unsuccessful besieging by Jacobite forces of the city of Derry from 1689 to 1690--the longest siege in British military history--and the victory of King William of Orange over those forces at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, were to become iconic reference points for Ulster Protestants devoted to a Protestant Crown and the union with Great Britain. They were also the source of inspiration for the Orange Order, a Protestant fraternal order founded in 1795 in Armagh, a border country of the northern province of Ulster. However, religious oppression in the form of harsh penal laws imposed by the English Crown on both Catholics and dissenting Protestants as well as poverty, famine and unemployment encouraged successive waves of emigration to America, Australia and elsewhere; as well as the formation of several political and sometimes secret and armed organizations dedicated to promoting either nationalist or unionist causes, sometimes through nationalist uprisings or guerrilla campaigns.

For many peoples in Europe, the First World War marked the end of centuries of colonial rule and the establishment of new countries that responded to nationalist sentiments that had been rising and fomenting in the years leading up to and during the war. At the same time, these new countries often incorporated multiple ethnic or religious identities as well as deep-rooted historical and emerging political loyalties and aspirations that complicated and sometimes destabilized the establishment of the new nation and any sense of a unified national identity. Yugoslavia (in the form of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) was one such country, and Ireland was another. In Ireland, the First World War broke out just as a bill establishing Home Rule, long agitated for by Irish nationalists, was passed. Because of opposition from unionist Protestants, six of the nine counties of Ulster (the six that would later come to comprise Northern Ireland) were temporarily excluded. The Home Rule Act was suspended, however, due to the outbreak of the war.

Although the Irish successfully fought British conscription efforts toward the end of the war, some 210,000 Irishmen served in the British Army during the war, particularly
in its first years. They did so for a variety of reasons—to advance either the unionist or the nationalist causes,28 out of a sense of duty, because of poverty, or because they felt they might return better equipped to fight for an independent Ireland. The formation of separate Irish divisions of soldiers underscored the political and religious stratification in Ireland at the time, and the service as well as the massive casualties sustained by Irish soldiers were to become important foci in the formation of unionist community identity and memory as well as of nationalist amnesia. Many Ulster Protestants who had joined the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) formed in 1912 to oppose home rule and to keep Ulster within the union with Great Britain enlisted in the 36th (Ulster) Division. Two divisions of Kitchener’s “new Army” were also raised in Ireland—the 10th and the 16th (Irish) Divisions. The Ulster Division was overwhelmingly Protestant and unionist, while the Irish Divisions were predominantly Catholic and nationalist. The Ulster Division sustained huge casualties at the Somme. 5,500 were killed on the first two days of the battle, those days happening to coincide with the anniversary of the 1690 Battle of the Boyne—the most prominent anniversary annually observed by the Orange Order. Local newspapers relayed the story, conveyed in a letter from an English army officer to the Belfast Grand Master of Orange Lodges, of how the gallant Ulstermen went over the top at the Somme with the battle-cry of the defenders in the siege of Derry, “No Surrender!”29 Other stories tell of the soldiers singing and whistling Orange songs as battle commenced. Whether these stories convey actual or apocryphal events, Northern Irish historian Keith Jeffery notes that,

the losses came to be identified particularly with the Ulster Unionist cause. And the close-knit character of the formation meant that the casualties had a

28 Jeffery argues that, “Nationalists, for whom the establishment of an Irish ‘home rule’ parliament in Dublin had been the principal political aim for most of the 19th century, were committed to the war effort by their leader, John Redmond, in September 1914. This was on the grounds that the necessary legislation had been passed (though in fact it was suspended for the duration of the war), and that the ‘freedom of small nations’ (such as Belgium or Serbia) was that of Ireland as well. The plight of gallant, Catholic little Belgium, invaded by a militaristic aggressor, was disadvantageously compared with Ireland, achieving freedom (so Redmond argued) within the British Empire, rather like Canada or Australia.” Jeffery, Keith. Ireland and World War One (Last updated 2011-03-10) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/britain_wwone/ireland_wwone_01.shtml

disproportionate impact back home. The 12 July Orange parades were cancelled, and five minutes' silence was observed in Belfast that day.\textsuperscript{30}

According to sociologist David Officer, the annual Apprentice Boys parade around the walls of Derry and the Anglican Bishop of Derry’s sermon to the assembled Apprentice Boys a few weeks later, “offered another opportunity not only to highlight the display of Orange virility in battle but also to claim that spirit as alive and well back home.”\textsuperscript{31}

The Somme became for Ulster Protestants, therefore, an enduring symbol of their loyalty to the union with Britain and to the Crown and helped to shape their own conceptions of their distinct identity. Officer writes of how this was reinforced by the way in which local newspapers covered notifications of dead, missing or wounded:

Whilst the \textit{Newsletter} changed the title of its column from ‘Ulster and the War’ to a ‘Roll of Honour’, the \textit{Belfast Evening Telegraph} carried individual photographs of the dead … It was perhaps in this way that the full human tragedy of war was grasped in a concrete form for the first time. This evidence, both in the individualized image of a particular soldier, but also in the conglomerate portrait which it presented to the public, realized the Unionist and Protestant community in the North in a way which had never been achieved before. In a sense this was no longer an ‘imagined community’; its ideal representation was personified on the printed page for all to see.”\textsuperscript{32}

After the creation of the Irish Free State in 1921, however, veterans who lived there, primarily from the Irish Divisions, became victims of a national amnesia about their service in the war. That Irish people had fought for the British was an uncomfortable and unpopular piece of history in an independent Ireland. The official refusal to acknowledge their participation, to commemorate Armistice Day or to attend First World War memorial services persisted until 1998 when, on the 80\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Armistice, the President of Ireland and Queen Elizabeth II dedicated the Island of Ireland
Peace Tower or Irish Peace Park at the Messines Ypres Salient battlefield in Belgium to all Irish people who fell in the war. The hope was that this event and the monument, built by the All-Ireland Journey of Reconciliation Trust and the people of Messines in the style of an Irish round tower used by monks to defend themselves against Viking raiders, would support peace and reconciliation within Ireland today.33

Another event occurred earlier at the end of April 1916 that would come to be as significant to Irish nationalists as the Somme was to unionists. The Easter Rising—a republican (nationalist) rebellion that took place in Dublin over Easter week. Although the Rising was quickly subdued by British forces, the rapid execution by the British of most of the rebels following courts martial increased popular support for independence. The 1916 Rising and its leaders, viewed by many as martyrs, became potent symbols for the nationalist republican movement. In parliamentary elections in 1918, the pro-independence republican party, Sinn Féin, received an overwhelming endorsement and in 1919 declared the establishment of the Irish Republic. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), a group that grew out of an earlier political organisation, the Irish Volunteer Force, that had been one of several participating organisations in the Easter Rising, waged a war of independence in the form of a guerrilla campaign over the next three years. In December 1921, the Anglo-Irish Treaty established an independent Irish Republic, with the exception of the same previously excepted six Northern counties, which were given the option to choose to remain a part of the United Kingdom. Exercising that option, the counties remained British and became the region of the United Kingdom referred to officially today as Northern Ireland.

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33 Island of Ireland Peace Park [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.greatwar.co.uk/ypres-salient/memorial-island-of-ireland-peace-park.htm. In a website dedicated to Irish soldiers in the First World War, the Office of the Taoiseach [the Irish Prime Minister] acknowledges that: When the Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip fired the shots that killed the heir to the Austrian crown Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife during their state visit to Sarajevo in June 1914, he started a chain of events that would directly affect Irish people in every part of Ireland and some of those living in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. The course of Irish history was greatly altered, leading to the emergence of forces that still influence the politics of today. The increased awareness of the Irish aspects of the War have helped to put those forces to positive use by allowing people from the two major traditions to meet on common ground.

The partition of the island was unacceptable to many nationalists, however, and a year-long civil war broke out in the new Irish Republic (the Irish Free State) between those who supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty and those who rejected it. The Free State forces won the war, heavily supported by British arms, but the war left the new republic bitterly divided. Its two largest political parties today are directly descended from the two sides of the conflict. In his seminal book, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972*, leading revisionist historian R.F. Foster concludes that by the early 1970s, Ireland:

"still retained a powerful sense of national identity … But the cultural reinforcement of nationalist rhetoric had overridden many implicit contradictions, often finding its strongest affirmation in a negative and sectarian consensus.

This had provided a powerful impetus to political mobilization from the early nineteenth century on; it also meant that the independent state that emerged from the process had little option to be pluralist.”

He also points to a problem of identity present from 17th century onwards that remained evident among those in the Republic:

the concept of being ‘more’ or ‘less’ Irish than one’s neighbour; Irishness as a scale or spectrum rather than a simple national, or residential, qualification; at worst Irishness as a matter of aggressively displayed credentials … [a] sense of difference comes strongly through, though its expression was conditioned by altering circumstances, and adapted for different interest-groups, as the years passed.”

Memory Politics in Northern Ireland: War by Other Means

The violent political and sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland known as The Troubles was triggered by responses to a movement in the late 1960s for increased civil rights for the Catholic nationalist community. The conflict escalated in the 1970s and 1980s, and eventually subsided as a result of the peace processes of the mid-1990s. The Good Friday Agreement of 1998, brokered with assistance of U.S. President Bill Clinton and his Special Envoy George Mitchell, mandated among other things, the establishment of a power-sharing Legislative Assembly, police reform, and the decommissioning of

weapons held by the various paramilitary organizations. Although the physical violence largely ceased at that point, the conflict between the two major communities was transmuted into one of memory, further augmenting centuries of memory and identity politics that had fueled the most recent as well as many prior outbreaks of violence. Indeed, the very notion of community, used so freely in many nations and cultures, is, as museum studies scholar Elizabeth Crooke observed in 2010, highly politically charged in Northern Ireland’s divided society, “with questions concerning belonging, representation and agendas underpinning any engagement.”

As with the wider development of memory studies and research examining the politics of memory in specific settings, there has been an abundance of scholarship since the 1990s addressing issues of memory and narratives of the past in Northern Ireland.

Irish literature scholar Edna Longley provides us with a long list of the problems of memory in Northern Ireland:

35 Crooke, E. Op. cit., p. 16. Crooke further expands on the distinctive notion of community in the Northern Irish context: “In Northern Ireland, the concept of community has particular resonance—this is partly because the term is freely used but it is also because community is interwoven with issues of recognition, rights and representation. Dominic Bryan (2006, p. 605) observes that in Northern Ireland community is ‘central to the political discourse of all the political parties and local activists, it is common parlance in much government policy and legislation and is continually quoted by those demanding peace and reconciliation’. It is also what he describes as a ‘negotiated process’ that very often arises from ‘fear of “the other”’ (Bryan 2006, p. 608). He provides the example of paramilitary groups which legitimise their existence on the grounds of defending their community and their traditions. As a result, Bryan notes, in Northern Ireland, ‘the phrase “community worker” or “community representative” is, at times, read as a euphemism for paramilitary or ex-paramilitary’ (Bryan 2006, p. 614). This provides an entirely ‘other’ context for how community should be understood.” (19-20).

the religious basis of secular remembrance; the transition from older encodings to ‘modern memory’; how endemic division maintains sites of memory as sites of conflict. Also on the syllabus are: tension between metropolitan and local constructions of national memory; the reflexes that read history into current events, and vice versa; remembering the world wars; the problem of remembering civil war; the problem of forgetting it; the mnemonic role of literature and art; newer (sometimes contradictory) themes like identity politics, post-nationalist memory, commemoration as healing or ‘mourning work’; conflict between custodians of popular memory and those who would modify its practices or relativise its premises; the identical way in which competing ‘ethnic’ groups vaunt ‘precedence, antiquity, continuity, coherence, heroism, sacrifice’; the fact that lieux de mémoire can denote not only particular monuments of numinous places, but territories marked inwardly by communal mediations of history, outwardly by insignia and ritual.37

Performances of community memory most notably include commemorative marches or parades held primarily by loyalist “marching orders” during the annual “marching season” and drawing participating marchers from lodges established by emigrants and their descendants as far away as Canada, the United States and Australia.38 Several traditional routes of these marches traverse heavily Catholic nationalist areas. These routes, often viewed by Catholics as a deliberate act of provocation rather than a reperformance of an historical event, especially when coupled with the marchers’ intimidating demeanours, drumbeating, and sectarian banners and song lyrics, have been annual triggers for inter-community violence in many locations, even since the Good Friday Agreement. The Northern Ireland Parades Commission, established in 1998 and appointed by the Secretary of State, is supposed to intervene (its motto is Encouraging

38 Founded in the 18th and 19th centuries, the major Protestant orders are the Loyal Orange Institution (more commonly referred to as the Orange Order) and the Apprentice Boys of Derry. Marching season comprises dates that commemorate events significant to the history and identity of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland such as the Battle of the Boyne, the Battle of the Somme, the closing of the gates during the siege of Derry, and the relief of the siege of Derry). The Catholic fraternal order, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, marches less frequently and only in certain counties. These events have not been the subject of as much controversy and confrontation as the Protestant marches.
resolution through local dialogue) when parade routes, participants or events are deemed to be contentious or offensive.

These marches and other anniversary events, together with provocative flying of politically-chosen national and locally designed flags, the placement of controversial monuments, and the prominent display of murals that creatively depict and often elide recent and historical events by both loyalist and nationalist communities have become some of the primary battlegrounds for continuing sectarian conflict. While there are republican elements within the nationalist community that might be nervous about how some of the less-vaunted difficult recent past might be surfaced through too much emphasis on memory, especially in light of recent investigations regarding those “missing” from the Troubles as well as alleged cases of abuse by republican paramilitaries, loyalists have maintained that commemorative marches are a key exercise of their human rights in terms of traditional cultural expression and religious freedom. Similarly divergent attitudes about cultural expression and community heritage can be discerned with the murals, whose numbers have ballooned in recent years, and which frequently blur the lines between political intent, community memory and memorialization, and individual artistic expression. In 2012, as Northern Ireland faced a decade of culturally and politically significant anniversaries, sociologist Maire Braniff and her colleagues warned that, “Sparked in the embers of a year where culture, histories and memory in Northern Ireland have been subjected to political mobilisation and violence, a growing mass have begun to question what next for a society which continues

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39 For example, Longley describes attending the twenty-sixth anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Derry in 1998 as a “salutary encounter with the implacability of Irish memory” including a controversy over a Fair Employment Commission ruling against wearing commemorative Bloody Sunday black ribbons in Derry workplaces.” Longley, E. Op. cit., p. 231.

40 CAIN, the Conflict Archive on the Internet includes video footage and various mappings (downloadable as a mobile app) of the hundreds of memorials located in public spaces categorised by physical type (plaques, murals, memorial gardens, memorial stones, memorial enclosures, other memorials) and nature (civilian, British Security, paramilitary-Republican, paramilitary-Loyalist, other), http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/gis/googlemaps/images/CAIN_Google-Map_V5.jpg [cited: 2015-02-28].

41 In particular during this period, the centenaries of the centenary of the founding of the Apprentice Boys of Derry in 1814; the start of World War I in 1914, the Battles of the Somme in 1916, and the end of the war; of the 1916 Easter Rising, the partitioning of Ireland, the founding of the Irish Free State (and of Northern Ireland) and the end of the Irish Civil War. Other notable anniversaries include the 75th anniversary of the start and of the end of World War II; the 325th anniversaries of the closing of the gates in Derry in 1688, the relief of the siege of Derry in 1689, and the Battle of the Boyne in 1690; and the 225th anniversary of the establishment of the Orange Order in 1795. 2018 will mark the 20th anniversary of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.
to choke under the burden of its past.” Concerned, therefore, that the peace process was threatened by this “war by other means,” peace negotiations were reopened in late 2014 between relevant parties in Northern Ireland and the British and Irish governments.

At the same time, the richness of cultural traditions and events associated with community collective memory and the development of new venues and events for celebrating the region’s artistic and musical heritage have also been viewed by some as potential keys to achieving ongoing reconciliation between the region’s various communities and factions. Such a stance acknowledges that there is validity in claims made by both communities about their distinctive forms of cultural and religious expression and that more inter-community understanding and respect for such expressions might indeed support ongoing peace-building between the communities. But the key word here is ongoing. Shifts in behaviours and growth in respect happen in small, incremental ways, and they take time. They are also often met with scepticism. For example, in 2007, the lead article in the English newspaper *The Guardian* pondered that such shifts were truly possible and would not ultimately fuel another outbreak of inter-community violence:

Images from Northern Ireland’s conflict, though it is barely over, now claim to assert cultural identity; to be no more threatening than Morris dancing is in England. “Sharp uniforms, painted banners, flute, drum and bagpipe playing from award-winning bands ... create a colourful kaleidoscope for the senses,” Tourism Ireland promises on its website about an event described this summer as "Orangefest 2007" but until now better known as the marching season, with all its associated strife and disorder. The murals of Belfast and Derry have attracted tourists for at least a decade, but the shock seeing of bombs, balaclavas and Armalite rifles painted on the ends of ordinary terrace houses on the Falls Road and the Shankill [in Belfast] is giving way to a new surprise at more pacific artwork remembering [footballer] George Best or the sinking of the Belfast-built Titanic.

… Should the iconography of Northern Ireland be classified alongside Beatlemania? Not yet. There is a danger of a less palatable nostalgia for battles:

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nostalgia that should be put aside. The Orange Order's commemoration of 17th-century conflict fed 20th-century feuds. A small province consisting of two groups, if both remain intent on expressing their differences through imagery, will find peace harder to achieve. Murals and marches are evolving. But it is too soon to be certain that they celebrate the end of conflict rather than sustain the threat of its return.”

In 2009, after many years of negotiation, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, a two week-long international exposition of living cultural heritage held annually in July outdoors on the National Mall of the United States in Washington, D.C. by the Smithsonian Institution’s Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, brought together cultural exemplars from both Protestant and Catholic communities of Northern Ireland. These exemplars showcased both the artisans and the skills involved in traditional practices such as fence weaving and stonemasonry, including those distinctive to one or both communities such as mural painting, making traditional Protestant and Celtic musical instruments, and embroidering Irish step dancing costumes. They also highlighted aspects iconic to the Northern Irish story, including the Protestant fraternal orders and the Belfast shipbuilders Harland and Wolff, who built the ill-fated Titanic. Praising the success of the event, the Northern Irish Council wrote that:

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival is a prestigious and widely respected annual event that provides “a professionally curated, outdoor museum exhibit of contemporary, cultural traditions”. As such, it was much more than a tourism or trade showcase because it provided visitors with an insight into our culture through access to a wide range of local people acting as cultural ambassadors.

Quite simply, it showcased ordinary people, with extraordinary talents. Northern Ireland’s participation in 2007 sent out a powerful and persuasive message about the new spirit and transformation underway here. An unprecedented partnership of politicians from all parties, business and community leaders, public servants, cultural experts, academics, artists and performers, chefs, journalists, craft

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workers, poets, researchers and students combined to show the US that Northern Ireland is now moving forward.

They grasped the opportunity that the programme presented, pulling together to make it a success and to show their determination to build a more harmonious and prosperous future for all in Northern Ireland.\textsuperscript{45}

**Peacebuilding and Reconciliation in Derry~Londonderry**

Political scientist Charles Lerche reviews many different understandings of reconciliation in the context of peacebuilding. He concludes that, “reconciliation should include the search for a model of governance and social relations that enables all groups in society to deal equitably and creatively with conflict.”\textsuperscript{46} Derry~Londonderry, today a predominantly Catholic city in a predominantly Protestant county, has been the site of multiple efforts even before the 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement to attempt such reconciliation. The historic city of approximately 100,000 people within the city boundaries was, in the late 1960s, the site of civil rights marches and non-violent civil disobedience to protest unequal access to social housing, political gerrymandering and other discrimination against the city’s Catholic population by the city’s largely Protestant administration at a time when there was widespread unemployment and economic depression. The marchers met with a brutal response from the largely Protestant police force and then also from loyalists as they passed through Protestant areas. The situation quickly deteriorated into sectarian violence that over the next three decades destroyed much of the city. The Troubles also resulted in all but a tiny minority of Protestants relocating across the broad River Foyle from the west bank Cityside to the Waterside on the east bank. This effectively rendered Derry~Londonderry a divided city that has been compared to other cities whose ethnic communities have become physical divided in the wake of conflict such as Mostar in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Reconciliation efforts in Derry~Londonderry,


widely regarded to be successful, especially in comparison to the situation in Belfast and other parts of Northern Ireland, have attempted to address, on a local basis, the politics of memory and especially how religious freedoms and cultural diversity may be reconciled in ways that do not commercialize or degrade the history and culture, antagonize or intimidate the other community, or erase, downplay or glorify difficult aspects of that history. Reconciliation is a primary aim, but so too is attracting others to a part of the world that desperately needs outside investment to sustain its economy—another lynchpin of enduring peace—and promoting tourism that exploits the natural beauty and rich heritage of the region.

Situated along the sloping banks of the River Foyle near where its mouth opens out into the wide salt lough that in turns opens into the North Atlantic, it has been an area of settlement for at least 9,000 years and its Irish name, Doire Colmcille (the oak grove dedicated to Colmcille) refers to its importance as a monastic site said to have been founded by St. Columba in 545 C.E.. Its rich cultural and socio-political history ties it, among other events, to the reestablishment of Christianity in western Europe, the Ulster Plantation, the Williamite War in Ireland, emigration to North America of Presbyterian farmers during the 18th century and the Irish potato famine in the 19th, the Ulster Division and the First World War, and the Battle for the North Atlantic during the Second World War. As with any place, its past is encoded into its language, place names, events, and particularly the physical space, but here the past insists on being ubiquitously and conspicuous present.

Derry~Londonderry’s historic centre is enclosed by city walls. It is often referred to as “the Maiden City” because the walls, built between 1614 and 1618 by the London guilds that chartered the city during the Ulster Plantation, have never been breached, either during the 1689-1690 siege in which an estimated 10,000 defenders died, or in the more recent Troubles. The walls both in themselves and as a vantage point remain perhaps the most significant site of memory for the city. They stand a visible reminder of a city and inhabitants that have been in defensive mode for much the past 450 years, but that also take pride in having survived major periods of war and violence. It is said that

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someone who walks round the length of the walls will always return to the city. During
the Troubles, the walls were sealed off from the public by the British Army for strategic
reasons. Military towers with video cameras, barbed wire and soldiers were installed
amid the deteriorating siege cannon. Heavily fortified army checkpoints were placed
within each of the gates and cars were not permitted in much of the area inside the walls.
Today the walls have been reopened for locals and tourists to walk. As of 2014, the
Apprentice Boys of Derry, the Protestant marching order that honours the defensive
actions during the siege of the apprentices of the London guilds that chartered the city of
Derry (adding “London” to Derry), as a result of proactive and productive talks in
Derry~Londonderry about such parades, were once again permitted to march on the walls
as part of their parades. Although the Orange Order commemorations of the Twelfth of
July anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne is the most widely observed Northern Irish
event, the Apprentice Boys Relief Celebrations commemorating the lifting of the siege of
Derry on the Twelfth of August is the largest of all the Northern Irish parades. With a new
emphasis placed on the festive rather than the sectarian aspects of the Apprentice Boys
events, the hope is that this will bring the communities together and attract much-needed
tourism back to the city. It is a significant psychological and symbolic shift for the city.

It is not a long walk around the walls, but it is one that is punctuated with a wide
range of plaques and memorials, restored siege cannon, and other artifacts strategically
placed by the City and its different communities. For example, they remind the walker
that according to the 15th century Annals of Ulster, one of the Gaelic high kings of
Ireland, Domnaill, son of Ardag, son of Lochlainn lived and died in Derry. They also
mark the site of a former whiskey distillery. On the Royal Bastion, overlooking the
republican stronghold of the Bogside, is the plinth of the Walker Memorial Pillar (Figure
1). Erected by the Apprentice Boys in 1828, it was originally 24 feet high before its pillar
bearing the statue of siege governor George Walker was destroyed in 1973 by an IRA
From 1832 onwards it was used on the first Saturday of each December, after the Apprentice Boys’ march to commemorate the closing of the gates in 1688, to hang and then burn an effigy of Robert Lundy. Lundy, a military leader during the siege at one point made the decision to surrender the city. Several guild apprentices rushed out and shut the city gates in the face of the Catholic forces of the English King James. Lundy was considered by many thereafter to have been a traitor and during centenary commemorations of the siege in 1788, his effigy was first paraded through the city and then burned. After the 1973 bombing, Walker’s statue was restored and placed in the garden beside the Apprentice Boys Hall close by. Today its plinth remains, its inscription resonant with a narrative and reasoning that motivated Derry unionists then and centuries later:

… the garrison and brave inhabitants of this City [who] most gallantly defended it through a protracted siege from the 7th December, 1688 to the 12th of August following, against an arbitrary and bigoted Monarch leading an army of upwards of 20,000 men …

Figure 1. Plinth of Walker Memorial Pillar, 2014

From the walls one can see the entire layout of the city, set among the surrounding hills of Donegal in the Republic of Ireland and those of County Londonderry in the North, the river and lough dividing them. Strategically placed atop one of the Donegal hills and
clearly visible from almost anywhere in the city is Grianan of Aileach (Grianán Ailigh in Irish), the 6th century ring fort. One of the royal sites of Gaelic Ireland, and where the kings of Ulster were crowned, it is said that from Grianan one is able to see four counties of Ulster. The republican stronghold of the Bogside occupies what was originally marshland under the walls. It is instantly recognizable by the sole remaining gable end known as Free Derry Corner that still proudly proclaims the area that was barricaded off from British forces by Irish Republic Army (IRA) paramilitaries for over a year until the infamous Operation Motorman in summer 1972 when British Army tanks and bulldozers pushed their way in and government security forces took control (Figure 2). Usually painted as black lettering on a white wall, in a gesture of solidarity with the 2014 Palestinian Intifada, the white backdrop was replaced for a time with the Palestinian flag. Alongside the green, white and orange of the tricolour (the national flag of Ireland), in many places the Palestinian flag hangs out of the windows of flats and flies from lampposts. So too does the Scottish flag, in homage to the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence from Britain.

A few yards away, close to where the Bloody Sunday Monument will be installed, the Museum of Free Derry under development by the Bloody Sunday Trust, will house the National Civil Rights Archive:49

The Museum of Free Derry will tell this part of the city’s history from the point of view of the people who lived through, and were most affected by, these events: it will be the community’s story told from the community’s perspective, not the distorted version parroted by the government and most of the media over the years. We believe it is vital that all those involved in the events of the last almost 40 years take the opportunity to tell their own stories in a subjective but honest way as a first step towards a greater understanding of all the elements that led to the most recent phase of the conflict in Ireland. This is not something that can be achieved through attempting to give a single ‘official’ version of events.50

During the Troubles, many of the major confrontations, as well as the Bloody Sunday shootings that were the subject of the lengthy Saville Inquiry (established in 1998, but whose report wasn’t published until 2010), took place in or near the Bogside. Today murals created by different groups and artists reference these events and other iconic aspects of Irish nationalist history. The murals memorialise iconic aspects of The Troubles as well as invoking symbols and narratives from Irish history and associating these with struggles in other countries and the lineage of the Irish overseas. Murals became a powerful mechanism, especially from the 1960s onwards in the United States, for communities in struggle for recognition and civil rights to identify and express themselves. In Northern Ireland, murals of various provenances convey the history, loyalties, iconography, and hagiography of the different communities. They may be resistant or triumphalist, sentimental or surprising. To make sense of them they need to be considered not simply in terms of the statements they are making or for their artists and artistry, but also in terms of their spatial relation to each other and to other symbolic space such as the city walls or Free Derry Corner. They must also be contemplated in terms of their own temporality and transience. They have been painted at different moments, by different artists and with different aims. They have an air of permanence in

their solidity, their absence of graffiti, and often their frequent retouching, and yet some may later be painted over with a new mural, or even removed for exhibition. In a landscape of newer housing projects that were built on the sites of the area’s former row houses whose poor living conditions were a target of the civil rights movement, they serve in the stead of those former places.

After the Good Friday Agreement, Republican muralists seeking to reimage their narratives decided not to paint any more violent depictions of paramilitaries. In the Bogside, murals with a range of provenances are prominently on display. One that quickly draws the eye, in part because its content surprises many not familiar with Irish political hagiography, depicts Che Guevara as well as the Cuban and Irish flags against a red background and under the banner “Ernesto Che Guevara Lynch.” It quotes Guevara’s father (who was of Irish descent) as saying: “In my son’s veins flowed the blood of Irish rebels” (Figure 3).

![Figure 3. Bogside mural of Che Guevara, 2014](image)

Nearby is a large painted plaque with a background of the red, yellow and purple stripes of the Spanish Republican flag, replete with the three-pointed red star of the Popular Front, and the starry plough—the flag of the Irish socialists that is associated
today with militant socialism and that was first used in 1914 by the Irish Citizen Army and flown during the 1916 Easter Rising. The plaque reads: “In memory of those from this area who left Ireland to fight against Fascism during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1938” and lists their names.

Perhaps the most striking, especially from the vantage point of the walls, is a set of twelve murals, known as the People’s Gallery, painted between 1994 and 2008 “for the people” by three men, the now world-famous Bogside Artists. Although their murals have been criticized for being one-sided and sectarian, the Bogside Artists, who also make street art, maintain that their intent is not political but instead to create a “human document.” Working only on donations, they have conducted many art workshops for both Protestant and Catholic children to promote cross-community understanding.

Among their murals, to describe only a few, “The Death of Innocence—Annette McGavigan Mural” shows a young girl in the uniform of the Catholic girls grammar school, flanked by an Armalite semi-automatic rifle in two pieces and a butterfly. “Bernadette—Battle of the Bogside” depicts Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, one of the student leaders of the civil rights organization, People’s Democracy, who later survived a brutal murder attempt by loyalist paramilitaries. “Operation Motorman—The Summer Invasion” depicts a British soldier with a sledgehammer breaking down the door of a home, and close by “The Saturday Matinee—The Rioter” shows a youth with a broken stone in his hand looking at an oncoming British Army armored vehicle. Yet another, “Peace Mural,” shows the outline of a dove, simultaneously referencing peace and St. Columba, against an oak leaf symbolizing the city of Derry, and a background of a rainbow-coloured chequerboard (Figure 4).

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“A Tribute to John Hume” depicts four heads—those of Derry Nobel Peace Laureate John Hume, Martin Luther King, Mother Teresa, and Nelson Mandela. This mural clearly contrasts with the Che Guevara mural, which places the Irish republican cause in a broader Marxist context of armed revolutionary struggles elsewhere around the world. “A Tribute to John Hume” recognizes Hume’s support for European integration and his vision that the European Union would increasingly, and to positive effect, break down borders and notions of sovereign states. The contrast between the two murals illustrates also shifting perspectives on nationalist memory and stance. As Irish studies scholar William Hazleton has pointed out, the end of the Cold War and collapse of communism in Europe “made imperialist assumptions and armed struggle more difficult to justify, especially with leaders of other revolutionary movements, like Mandela and Arafat urging Sinn Féin and the IRA to follow the path of peace.”

As the land rises in elevation behind the Bogside to the republican enclave of the Creggan, so too the nearby Catholic cathedral, St. Eugene’s, rises up, its tall spire stretching to meet that of the Anglican St. Columb’s Cathedral on the walls. The City Cemetery stretches all the way up the hill. One of the only ecumenical burial places in the city, during the Troubles it became a “no-go” area for British security forces and Protestants, making burying and visiting the dead difficult. At the top of the cemetery is the Republican Plot where republican political prisoners who died while on hunger strike, IRA members killed in action or by British forces, and more recently deceased individuals who had been members of the IRA are buried together (Figure 5).

The graves are marked by Celtic crosses and engraved in both English and Irish, in both Latin and Celtic scripts. A central statue depicts a slumped and bound Irish warrior, reminiscent of an American Indian or a slave, a dagger in his right hand, a shield on his left arm, a dove at his head (Figure 6).
Signs on the road into the plot from the top of the Creggan as well as an Irish tricolour remind visitors of the politics and the past of this community. A black, white and emerald green sign of a masked paramilitary man carrying a rocket-propelled grenade aggressively declares “Welcome to the Creggan IRA Watch your back on the way out.” Another sign proclaims the Irish Republican Prisoners Association and protests the internment without trial that occurred for several years in Northern Ireland from 1971 (Figure 7).

Abutting the Bogside and running down towards the river is the tiny loyalist enclave of the Fountain, one of the few remaining Protestant areas on the west bank. Here the curbstones are painted red, white and blue—the colors of the British Union Jack.
Union flag). Other flags fly from the lampposts and feature a range of Protestant iconography – several creatively incorporate the Red Hand of Ulster that adorns the Ulster flag. For example, the flag of the largest loyalist paramilitary organization, the Ulster Defence Association, includes a crown-topped crest and the initials “UDA,” a Red Hand, and a motto in Latin, “Quis Separabit” (Figure 8).

![Ulster Defence Association flag, Brandywell, 2014](image)

As of late 2014, a large Israeli flag flies next to them signifying loyalist support for Israel’s right of existence and to self-defense, as well as countering the statements implied in the neighboring Bogside and Creggan by the display of the Palestinian flag. Recognizing the recent independence referendum in Scotland, the Scottish flag is also prominently displayed— in this case in recognition of the side supporting Scotland’s continued participation in the Union, as well as the traditional relationship of Ulster Protestants with Scotland. A prominent white on black mural, the inverse of Free Derry Corner, on the first street outside the city gate declares “Londonderry West Bank Loyalists Still Under Siege No Surrender” (see Figure 9).

Nearby on another wall a new mural has recently replaced a prior one that depicted the different flags of the United Kingdom and titled “British Ulster Alliance.” This one is a copy of the Iron Maiden Redcoat Eddie Maiden England poster on a black war horse, a sabre in one hand, a spear in the other and a tattered Union Jack flying out behind in the Charge of the Light Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava in 1854. An appropriation this time from contemporary popular culture, the heavy metal rock band Iron Maiden’s “Eddie the Head” has been adopted as a mascot of the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) paramilitary organization and is featured in many loyalists murals, sometimes with the Union Jack replaced by the UDA flag (Figure 10). As this mural might suggest, loyalists have not attempted to soften the images portrayed in the murals of the paramilitary role in the conflict as have the republicans. This stance has proven to be a particularly intractable problem in Belfast, where murals remain most violent and vitriolic, and where Protestant and Catholic communities remain divided by 30-foot “peace walls.” In 2007, the Arts Council of Northern Ireland initiated a program called “Re-imaging Communities” that was designed to address local sectarianism. One of its initiatives specifically targeted ways in which the communities themselves might mitigate such murals. A community may request grant money to install new community art, including money to replace paramilitary murals. Professor Bill Rolston, director of the
Transitional Justice Institute at the University of Ulster discusses the difficulties as well as the limitations in re-imaging:

Loyalist paramilitary groups will not give up their space," Rolston said. "They might give up some of it, but they will maintain elements of their space to say, "We're here. We're still defending the community. We defended the community for years. Don't forget what we did, and here are pictures to remind you … What's potentially lost is politics, because even the most offensive murals were undeniably political. People were stating a political position on the wall. But now there's a sort of fear of politics, a fear of mentioning the war," Rolston said. "The trick of Re-imaging is to persuade people in these areas to still make political statements about who they are, what they believe in, what they hope for and what they fear -- without being offensive."55
many aspects of local history and memory. This cathedral has perhaps played a more central role than many in this respect, however. Over its aisles hang the tattered flags of regiments and military campaigns in which local soldiers fought from the siege onwards, as well as of the police force and special police units that were disestablished during the Troubles or as part of the 1990s peace process. In its porch, among other memorials referencing its association with the guilds, a 270 pound mortar shell fired into the city during the siege in July 1689 is displayed. The hollow shell contained a document with terms of surrender that were never adopted by the defenders of the city. It was presented to the cathedral by the Apprentice Boys in 1844 (Figure 11). Each year marching Apprentice Boys assemble in the cathedral for a religious service before laying a wreath of Remembrance at the City’s Memorial “to remember all those who have died over the centuries, including the First and Second World Wars, defending our heritage of civil and religious liberty for all.”

Nearby is the Apprentice Boys Hall, which hosts the Apprentice Boys Museum. The oldest of the gates reflect the city’s different quarters and purposes – Bishop’s Gate, Butcher’s Gate, Shipquay Gate and Ferryquay Gate, but several of the narrow streets

56 http://www.apprenticeboys.co.uk/about-us
inside the walls that are in proximity to the bastions, such as Artillery and Magazine Streets, took their names from their purposes during the siege. Today the cannon on the walls have been restored, and augmented by others that have been found in the vicinity. A replica O’Doherty Tower, built in 1986, contains a museum with state-of-the art digital installations presenting local history. It is known locally and often affectionately as “Paddy’s Folly” because it was initiated and built through the vision and drive of one of the best known figures in the nationalist community during the Troubles, Paddy “Bogside” Doherty. Although initially derided by many in Derry, Doherty sought to generate employment and bring the communities together by creating a place where they could take pride in their shared heritage. A plaque on the walls reminds visitors of this early initiative to use the city’s heritage and community memory to promote reconciliation and also create direly needed jobs and provide training in traditional and digital skills for young people: “We called the Tower Paddy’s Folly because he went ahead and built it when everything around was being destroyed. It gave us hope at a very bad time.”

On the side facing the river, the walls overlook the now pedestrian precinct of Guildhall Square and the once infamous Guildhall, the seat of the Londonderry City Council (renamed Derry City Council in 1984, marking how control had been taken over by nationalist councilors) that was the target of the civil rights movement in Derry (Figure 12).
The eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings surrounding the Guildhall – the Customs House, the Post Office, banks, bars and cafes and lining the street along the river were destroyed or heavily damaged by repeated bombings. The once busy port from which emigrant ships and potato, cattle, coal and grain boats left has moved downstream to the mouth of the lough. The British naval base also left and the British Army took over its quarters when it was sent into Northern Ireland. Today the area has been opened up and a bypass built along the riverfront. Among the most recent additions is a pedestrian “Peace Bridge,” opened in 2011, that connects, physically and symbolically, Guildhall Square and a new adjoining Peace Park on the Catholic west bank of the River Foyle to a large former military barracks, built in the eighteenth century and used as the headquarters for the British Army during the Troubles, on the Protestant “Waterside.” Although again some were skeptical that a bridge, especially one which people had to walk across, could make a difference in bringing together communities who, with schools segregated by religion and with the physical separation of the communities, for almost all purposes in their lives never needed to interact, by all accounts it has been highly successful. The Peace Bridge was the central feature of the logo for the 2013 City of Culture Program (discussed below), perhaps indicating a symbolic shift away from the simultaneously defensive and triumphalist postures of the Gaelic Grianan and the plantation city walls to the open-ended linking intent behind the bridge. River walks now
extend for several miles along both banks of the river, further encouraging use of the Peace Bridge (Figure 13).

Figure 13. The Peace Bridge, 2014

Also encouraging crossing the bridge, the barracks has been repurposed and renamed as Ebrington Square, a concert venue, hosting events of all sorts from around the world, and also serving as the headquarters for the organizing of the City of Culture. Across the road, to the east of Ebrington Square on the Waterside, is another loyalist enclave renowned for its many iconic loyalist murals during and since the Troubles. Again, the murals are located close together. One of the more recent depicts some of the earlier murals that have been replaced with new ones (Figure 14). Others are more classic representations of loyalist narratives and heritage—the apprentice boys shutting the gates during the siege of Derry, King Billy (William of Orange), or the close relationship between Ulster Protestants and those who settled in the American colonies, the descendants of several of whom became U.S. presidents and prominent generals in the U.S. Civil War. For example, one includes a portrait of George Washington, leading his troops in the Revolutionary War (the American War of Independence) and quoting him as declaring, “If defeated everywhere else I will make my final stand for liberty with the Scotch-Irish (Ulster-Scots) of my native Virginia” (Figure 15).
Figure 14. Waterside murals
Back on the city end of the primary, and until the late 1970s, the only bridge joining both sides of the city another public monument references how the river divides the communities, stands a sculpture, “Reconciliation/Hands Across the Divide” by Northern Irish artist Maurice Harron. Symbolizing peace-building efforts, the bronze sculpture of two men look toward each other, one arm of each reaching out across the river, the tips of their fingers almost touching (Figure 16). In 2013, Syrian conceptual artist Khaled Barakeh made a cast of the gap between the hands to provide the illusion of a moment where the hands actually touched. The artwork was then displayed in Belfast in an exhibition titled “Imagined Communities.” Of the sculpture, Barakeh commented that:

They are about to shake hands - this sums up the general feeling I have being here in Northern Ireland: The two sides, are close to meeting, if not embracing, at least recognising the humanity of each other - but are not quite there yet, they are one city, divided, not only by a river, but by ideologies and pain …

From my own background, I am aware of the differences that can cause turmoil between and within peoples, but I have become so surprised by the culture of division that still exists in modern Northern Ireland.

The double naming of Derry~Londonderry, the separate housing, schools, taxi companies, are a mimesis of the other, replicas of the same, only in different colours.57

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57 Derry’s iconic ‘Hands’ are finally united. // The Derry journal (February 22, 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.derryjournal.com/what-s-on/arts-culture/derry-s-iconic-hands-are-finally-united-1-
In 2010 it was announced that Derry~Londonderry would serve through 2013 as the inaugural City of Culture in a new United Kingdom initiative sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. Its ambitious program proudly declared that:

We invite you to join us and bear witness to the transformation as our small city on the periphery of Europe presents a huge programme of art, music, dance, literature, sport and creative conversation. Join us for the art and the cultural experience, but also to witness the beauty of the place. It is physically and visually transformed. The iconic Peace Bridge has had over 1 million crossings. It has given the city new connection and placed the majestic River Foyle properly at centre stage. Derry now is a romantic city, defined by the quality of its air, the quality of its light and stunning skies and, in 2013, by the quality of its cultural life and the openness of its people.

Among the many events during the year the city hosted, for the first time in Northern Ireland, the Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann, the national festival and competition for Irish music. Award-winning film director and political activist Trisha Ziff, who in 1982 established Camerawork Derry in 1982, also screened her documentary, Mexican Suitcase. Mexican Suitcase is about three boxes of negatives containing iconic photographs taken by Robert Capa of the Spanish Civil War and its victims. The images
had disappeared from his studio in Paris at the end of the Second World War and mysteriously showed up again in 2007 in a suitcase from Mexico. The screening, which was followed by a discussion of the film’s relevance for the people of Derry, occurred in conjunction with an exhibition of the work of local and freelance photographers who recorded much of the violence in Derry during the Troubles.

Derry~Londonderry was widely judged not only to have brought the city to international attention through the City of Culture activities for all the reasons its program boasted, but perhaps even more importantly, to have been an exceptional cross-community success and an indicator of how far the city has come along its path to reconciliation. Nevertheless, Haris Pašović, the Bosnian director and producer famous for his productions while under fire during the siege of Sarajevo denounced what he called the “politics industry” and the “human rights industry” and called for artists, writers, filmmakers and historians to collaborate on the ground and become more involved in exposing the truth in post-conflict situations in Bosnia and Northern Ireland. He premiered a new theatrical production “The Conquest of Happiness” as part of the City of Culture events and was struck by similarities between Derry~Londonderry and the Bosnian city of Mostar:

It wasn't difficult to spot the parallels. Both cities have different communities, mainly on different sides of a river. Both cities are beautiful. Both cities have a complex history. And although there is peace in both cities, the process of integration and bringing communities together has been awfully slow.58

In September 1998, after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, Bill Clinton addressed an Irish-American event and stressed the importance of the ongoing peace-building and reconciliation work in Northern Ireland. He also emphasized, as he has done on many occasions around the world, what a positive example the Good Friday Agreement has been for other divided parts of the world and how he has said in those places, “Look, I know you have a lot of problems and I know you can’t stand your

58 McDonald, Henry. Bosnian Director Haris Pašović sees parallels between Derry and Mostar. // The Guardian (July 1, 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2013/jul/01/haris-pasovic-conquest-of-happiness
neighbor over there, but let me tell you about Northern Ireland.” On March 3, 2014, Clinton again visited the city as part of the City of Culture celebrations. Speaking in Guildhall Square, he told the audience, “I walked across that beautiful bridge unifying the city and I asked the leaders to finish the work that still had to be done … There are still issues that remain unresolved in the nineteen years since the ceasefire and sixteen years since the Good Friday Agreement … How that is resolved is not for me to say, it is for you.”

Conclusion

This paper on memory politics has presented a Northern Irish narrative that in important ways is also a European narrative, and thus has a relevance that takes it beyond the region’s location on the edge of Europe. It also underscores the centrality of memory politics not only to situations of ethnic conflict but also to the processes of reconciliation and peace-building. As such, several things are clear: that memory considerations cannot be ignored in these processes; that physical changes to space, especially space endowed with historical or community meaning, as well as connective architecture can indeed make a significant difference in community relations; and so too can individuals and cultural initiatives—with sufficient vision and drive, where political or legislated structures and processes often prove inadequate or antithetical to the task of reconciliation, less formal personal and professional actions and interactions may make headway. But that progress is both incremental and slow, in part because that we are not only dealing with the legacy of thirty years of the Troubles, we are dealing with the cumulative effects of and continual interplay between recent and hundreds of years of prior history.

The particular tenacity of that prior history and how it continues to be ritually and artistically represented and commemorated in community performances, murals and flags and other symbols that have significantly more power to move a community than have official documents or cultural treasures may or may not be distinctive to Northern

Ireland. Worthy of further study is what happens to those forms of tangible and intangible memory as they are re-imaged into a more shared community heritage and also become an increased locus of tourism. Peace-building, however, is also about anticipating potential triggers for conflict to ensure that it does not happen again, and this is a universal concern with which Europe and indeed the world has yet to grapple. In June 2014, Luxembourg scholar Erna Hennicot-Shoepges, former President of the EU Parliament and Minister for Culture blogged about the assassination in Sarajevo and the outbreak of the First World War:

Mastering opposites before they lead to open conflict--the EU does not yet have that in its program. This would require much more attention to the cultural history of peoples. As long as culture is considered as the sum of the fine arts, and not as the lifeblood of every people, it remains insignificant in their allotted role. Here some more knowledge would revolutionize cultural differences and also European politics.\(^1\)

Scholars of Northern Ireland history and politics have much to say about on what reconciliation depends. McGrattan suggests that in Northern Ireland the way forward might be a “combination of historical accuracy and ethical pluralism.”\(^2\) Echoing arguments earlier in the paper about the need for archives and museums to shift stances, he states that:

any response must surely be to resist its essentially de-politicising trajectory and, instead, to re-inscribe popular understandings of history with the voices and experiences of those who suffered from political violence and historic injustice. Writing these experiences and voices out of the historical narrative serves only to reward those who perpetrated violence and leads only to a recycling of division. Reconciliation must begin with the fact of marginalization and the fact of victimhood. And it is only by recognising these facts in alternative historical narratives that new loyalties might be formed and societies divided by their


contentious pasts may be able to move to democracies consolidated on justice and accountability, ethics and stability.”

European studies scholar Joep Leersen, referencing the Irish memory politics surrounding the First World War, points to meaningful gestures such as the building of the monument at Messines and posits that, “A possible way out of what looks like a debilitating division may be that loss and bereavement is nobody’s monopoly; and that at least a recognition of each other’s past sufferings will make some understanding between inimical parties possible.” Officer argues that reconciliation must involve an act of embrace and engagement:

the act of embrace seeks to acknowledge the interdependency between those who may nevertheless be different whilst engagement is characterised by honest and committed encounters with others, particularly among those with whom disagreement has occurred. In so doing, risk is entertained and a sense of vulnerability frequently entailed as each is exposed to the critical gaze of the other. In the process the virtues of magnanimity, forgiveness and reasonableness need to find an appropriate place … To interpret reconciliation and its objectives in this way does not imply a vision of a future society in which contradictions have been eradicated or tensions abated, but what it does anticipate are the grounds upon which a common space can be occupied and from within which fair interaction can proceed. It is a refusal to accept fatalistically the normalised space of division and distance, a common characteristic of societies which have experienced inter-ethnic conflict.

On a final note, what might any of this mean for how institutions such as archives and museums should engage with these tangible and intangible forms of community memory and associated memory politics, and also with reconciliation and peace-building

65 Officer, David. Northern Ireland: peace without reconciliation. // The Cyprus review 19, 1(Spring 2007), 118-119.
processes? Verne Harris, director of the Mandela Archives in South Africa draws our attention to the perhaps inevitable weariness, stress and “stuckness” that can replace energy and hope during lengthy transition and recovery processes and discusses both the role of healing after trauma and the responsibility of archives to work to combat such negative affect in the process of proactively engaging with memory continues to haunt:

The ghosts demand that we take responsibility before them. Not responsibility for them—responsibility before them, in front of them, seeing them, seeing them again, and re-specting them. They demand that we work to make our lives meaningful by working to make their lives meaningful. The work of memory, and the work of archive, in these framings, is about just such a taking of responsibility.  

While recent writings about the so-called community archives movement certainly addresses issues of proactive archives and museum engagement with ethnic, grass roots and oppositional communities, partnership research between Australian archival scholars and the Koorie community may offer some food for thought specifically with regard to promoting reconciliation and healing. This research has emphasized the historical complicity of official institutions such as archives in recordkeeping processes that implemented oppressive government programs. To provide redress for this complicity and to support more effectively Koorie community needs, the researchers propose “archival reconciliation” as a mechanism for re-conceptualising the archive and the power it wields over community lives, for recognizing alternate forms of archives and memory within the community, for recognizing and acknowledging mutual rights in official records that relate to oneself or one’s community, and for the development of frameworks for the respectful coexistence of Indigenous and non-Indigenous records. A related approach is suggested by the Protocols developed in Australia and the United States that underscore the importance of mutual understanding and respectful consultation between archives and Indigenous communities with regard to materials that are created by or about them.

These statements all point toward common elements: the recognition that formal memory institutions are but one player in a much broader field of memory, and that field has both affect and consequence; a pluralist approach in the sense of an openness to engaging multiple narratives and notions about their authoritativeness, and a readiness to engage participatively and respectfully with community members on all matters of community memory and heritage; and a willingness to take responsibility for the past, the present and the future. The disillusionment and weariness that can set in as a result of the slowness of the process of reconciliation in part can be combated in part by an increased awareness that actions, even when they occur at the level of the individual act or small local initiative, not only provide a sense of engagement and of “doing something,” but also, as this brief review indicates, can make a difference when viewed individually and cumulatively over the longer term.

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Biographical sketch

Anne Gilliland is Professor and Director of the Archival Studies specialization in the Department of Information Studies, as well as Director of the Center for Information as Evidence, Graduate School of Education & Information Studies at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). She is a faculty affiliate of UCLA’s Center for Digital Humanities. She is also the Director of the IMLS-funded Archival Education and Research Initiative (AERI), a consortium led by eight U.S. universities dedicated to the advancement of education and research in archival studies, broadly defined, and the
development of a global scholarly community in archival studies. Her interests relate broadly to the history, nature, human impact, and technologies associated with archives, recordkeeping and memory, particularly in translocal and international contexts. Her recent work has been addressing recordkeeping and archival systems and practices in support of human rights and daily life in post-conflict settings; the role of community memory in promoting reconciliation in the wake of ethnic and religious conflict; bureaucratic violence and the politics of metadata; digital recordkeeping and archival informatics; and research methods and design in archival studies.

POLITIKE PAMĆENJA I POMIRENJE NAKON ETNIČKOG KONFLIKTA

SJEVERNOIRSKI PRIMJER

Sažetak
Rad se bavi politikama pamćenja i njihovim posljedicama – kako je pamćenje u svojim opipljivim i neopipljivim oblicima shvaćeno, provedeno, kako se prema njemu postupa u pučkoj predodžbi, te kako pamćenje utječe na suvremena događanja i međudruštvene odnose. Rad se osobito bavi istraživanjem uloge koju politike pamćenja mogu imati, ne samo u poticanju daljne podjele društva kao posljedice etničkih i religijskih sukoba u područjima s kompleksnim i slojevitim povijesnim okolnostima, nego i obrnuto – u poticanju pomirenja. Kao prvi primjer, u radu su opisane višestruke, ali divergentne akumulirane priče o prošlosti koje su pridonijele eskalaciji i kasnijem podržavanju političkog i sektaškog sukoba poznatog pod nazivom The Troubles u Sjevernoj Irskoj. Nakon kratkog povijesnog prikaza, rad istražuje iskustva jednog svremenog slučaja koji je na lokalnoj i međunarodnoj razini uznemiravao kao primjer preusmjeravanja politika pamćenja s ciljem mirenja razdvojenih zajednica – slučaja Derry~Londonderry, drugog po veličini sjeveroirskog grada i mjesta prvih nasilnih konfrontacija sukoba The Troubles. Imajući u vidu koncept “arhivskog pomirenja” koji predlaže Sue McKemmish et al. u odnosu na stvaranje svijesti o australskim urođenicima, u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti, te nedavnu raspravu Verna Harrisa o “ozdravljenju” s obzirom na iskustva
Zaklade „Nelson Mandela“ u radu s arhivima o ljudskim pravima i pamćenju u Južnoafričkoj Republici nakon apartheida, rad završava razmišljanjima o odgovornosti institucija pamćenja, osobito arhiva, u suočavanju s politikama pamćenja, čak i nakon stoljeća zbivanja proteklih u takvim politikama, te u aktivnom prinosu pomirenju i stvaranju mira nakon fizičkih konflikata, suzbijajući, kao što kaže Harris, umor, stres i “zaglibljenost“ koje mogu zamijeniti energija i nada tijekom procesa duge tranzicije i oporavka.

**Ključne riječi:** arhivi, zajednica, Derry~Londonderry, pamćenje, Sjeverna Irska, politike pamćenja, pomirenje