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Peacelines and Public Space in Belfast

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ABSTRACT

The thesis revolves around the Peacelines in Belfast, which were put up to separate Protestant from Catholic neighbourhoods. The walls were constructed due to the outbursts of violence. The main locations were the working class districts in North and West Belfast. The first wall was put up in 1969, but still to this day the city is divided. This is the context where the thesis starts out to look at borders in cities. Following two research questions are the centre of the research: How are the effects of Peacelines and borders in Belfast reflected in public space? How does the implementation of shared spaces help to address the issues of Peacelines? The first question looks at the three main aspects that are connected to the Peacelines and the way they impact the public space. These aspects are territory, connectivity and safety. The second question is focused on two projects of shared public spaces. It is about the importance of public space in overcoming borders.

The main research was conducted during a four month stay in Belfast. In addition to literature research, I spent the beginning of my stay getting to know the city through observatory walks, which indirectly influenced the thesis. The empirical part is mainly based on expert interviews with people from the academic world and narrative interviews with community workers and residents involved in shared space projects. Furthermore, participatory observations were used as an additional input for the thesis.

The research has shown that there is much more to consider than only the physical appearance of the Peacelines. They were built to protect the communities and still to this day they represent safety for a lot of residents. At the same time they enhance the territoriality of public space in Belfast and create a disconnected city. Public space can be used as a tool against Peacelines. Creating spaces that enhance interaction between the communities can create connections, while leaving the discussion about territory behind. Instead of a tool for representing power, public space can be used to move the city towards a shared future.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Arbeit befasst sich mit den so genannten Peacelines in Belfast Diese trennen protestantische von katholischen Gegenden. Der Grund für die Errichtung dieser Wände war der Ausbruch von Gewalt, vor allem in den Arbeitervierteln in Nord und West Belfast. Die erste Mauer wurde 1969 erbaut, allerdings ist die Stadt bis heute geteilt. Anhand dieses Kontextes werden Grenzen in Städten untersucht. Die folgenden Forschungsfragen werden bearbeitet: Wie spiegeln sich die Folgen der Peacelines und Grenzen im öffentlichen Raum in Belfast wieder? Wie kann die Umsetzung von Shared Spaces die Probleme von Peacelines in Angriff nehmen? Die erste Frage beschäftigt sich mit drei Punkten, welche in enger Verbindung mit den Peacelines stehen und deren Auswirkung auf den öffentlichen Raum: Territorium, Zusammenhang und Sicherheit. Die zweite Frage untersucht zwei Shared Space Projekte und die Rolle des öffentlichen Raums in einer geteilten Stadt. Es geht darum, den öffentlichen Raum zu nutzen um Grenzen zu überwinden.

Der Großteil der Forschung wurde während eines viermonatigen Aufenthalts in Belfast absolviert. Neben Literaturrecherche habe ich zu Beginn meines Aufenthalts die Stadt anhand von Beobachtungsspaziergänge kenne gelernt. Diese Spaziergänge haben die Arbeit vor allem indirekt beeinflusst. Der empirische Teil ist zum Großteil auf Interviews aufgebaut, Experteninterviews mit Personen, welche im akademischen Bereich tätig sind und Narrative Interviews mit SozialarbeiterInnen und BewohnerInnen die sich an Shared Space Projekten beteiligen. Weiters haben teilnehmende Beobachtungen als zusätzlichen Input fungiert.

Im Laufe der Forschung hat sich ergeben, dass es bei den Peacelines um mehr als die rein physische Präsenz geht. Die Mauern wurden zur Sicherheit der Gemeinschaften gebaut und repräsentieren dies bis heute. Zur selben Zeit wird die Einteilung des öffentlichen Raums in Territorien durch die Wände verstärkt. Wodurch es zur fehlenden Vernetzungen in der Stadt kommt. Der öffentliche Raum kann als Instrument gegen Peacelines verwendet werden. Dies gelingt durch die Schaffung von Räumen, welche den Austausch zwischen den Gemeinschaften fördern. Außerdem kann der öffentliche Raum Verbindungen schaffen und zur selben Zeit die Diskussion über Territorium zurück lassen. Anstatt den öffentlichen Raum als Instrument von Macht zu sehen kann er helfen eine Stadt der gemeinsamen Nutzung zu schaffen.

AKNOWLEDGEMENT - DANKSAGUNG

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

BCC	Belfast City Council
BIP	Belfast Interface Project
CNR	Catholic/ Nationalist/ Republican
DCP	Duncairn Community Partnership
DoI	Department of Infrastructure
DoJ	Department of Justice
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
IRA	Irish Republican Army
LDP	Local Development Plan
LGD	Local Government District
NI	Northern Ireland
NIA	Northern Ireland Assembly
NIHE	Northern Ireland Housing Executive
POP	Preferred Options Paper
PUL	Protestant/ Unionist/ Loyalist
SPPS	Strategic Planning Policy Statement
T:BUC	Together: Building a United Community
UDA	Ulster Defence Association

STRUCTURE

Fig. 1: Map of Belfast

Source: detaildata, 2018; Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

INTRODUCTION |1

1. INTRODUCTION

The thesis started out with the topic of public space and borders in divided cities. The research is focused specifically on Belfast, since walls divide the city. It is about the issues of borders in public spaces and how shared spaces can be a place of interaction and can create a future of desegregation. The walls in Belfast are called Peacelines and were built to bring peace to the communities, separating Nationalist from Unionist neighbourhoods. To this day Belfast is a city shaped by these barriers, which are not only physically visible but also mentally implemented in people's minds. In recent years, the development of public space is very much imprinted by the idea of shared spaces, where people of both communities can feel safe and can engage with each other. The research will firstly focus an the Peacelines and their impact on the surrounding area. Secondly the current developments of shared spaces will be brought into focus. The aim is to reach an understanding of the impact borders can have on a city and to learn from recent examples of shared spaces.

There was a time when Europe was separated by borders such as the Iron Curtain and for some time it seemed as if borders and barriers were part of the past. However over the last few years borders and separation are being implemented again, in people's mind as well as physically. People are talking about the "Fortress Europe", countries are closing borders for refugees and Trump is talking about building a wall between Mexico and the US.

In the midst of all this, it is important to remember the past, as the mayor of Berlin did, when he recommended that Trump should not build this wall. (cf. the guardian, 2017) These developments led me towards the topic of borders and division and how unity instead of separation can be reached. Furthermore, I had been to Belfast before and it is a city with a very interesting development and history which provides the space for my research.

The research develops from the following research questions: How are the effects of Peacelines and borders in Belfast reflected in public space? How does the implementation of shared spaces help to address the issues of Peacelines? The idea is to look at issues in interface areas in the divided city of Belfast and at recent changes aimed towards a more unified city and the positive changes coming from it.

In the first step a literature review will give an

insight into the state of the art research about public spaces in Belfast with a focus on shared spaces and the North of Belfast. This will provide a framework where this thesis will fit into, in turn adding to the existing spectrum of research on public spaces in Belfast. The next step will discuss the research questions and the expected output and therefore give a broad overview of what is to be expected of the thesis. Moreover the methods used and the reason behind the choice will be explained.

The third chapter is the theoretical part of the thesis. This includes an introduction of the Northern Irish history, the development of Peacelines and the spatial context. Further the topic of public space is discussed as well as contested and shared spaces, with a connection to the situation in Belfast. The chapters on borders and segregation give insights into the division of cities.

The fourth and fifth chapters is the empirical part that focuses on the two research questions. While in the first step issues in public spaces in interface areas will be explained, the next chapter will look at two examples of shared spaces and how they tackle problems in public spaces. The interpretation and output chapter answers the research questions and the impact on urban planning. The summary will sum up the thesis and point out the key issues.

In the end an understanding of Belfast and it's public space will be reached. It is about the impact of borders in cities. The examples of shared spaces will offer an insight and further give ideas on how to overcome borders.

RESEARCH PROCESS |2

2. RESEARCH PROCESS

2. 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Division within cities is nothing new, neither is the research about it. Literature about divided cities often includes Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, Nicosia and Belfast (e.g.: Calame, Charlesworth, 2009) with the literature either comparing them or individual research about one of the cities. Belfast as one of those cities will be the focus of this thesis and has been the focus of research projects for some time now. I will discuss different approaches to the topic of public space and the Peacelines to provide the research framework the thesis is in and how it aims to add to the already existing literature.

In 2008 a research report for the Belfast City Council by Gaffikin et al. was titled 'Public space for a shared Belfast'. The report examined public and shared spaces in Belfast and created recommendations including strategies and action plans. Those recommendations include for example the demand for more shared space, the enhancing of cross-community projects and the creation of a network of accessible public spaces. (cf. Gaffikin et al., 2008) The idea of providing recommendations was in my mind

at the beginning as well, but after starting my research I realised, that there are already various strategies on Peacelines and a shared future. (e.g.: OFMDFM, 2005; NI Executive, 2013) In addition, as an outsider, I did not feel that it is in my power to create policies. Rather I based my output on the knowledge I collected in Belfast to create ideas whereupon recommendations and policies can build on.

There is already very broad information on Peacelines, collected by the Belfast Interface Project and published in 2012 with an updated report in 2017. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2011; Belfast Interface Project, 2017) The number, different types, location and year of construction of security barriers have been documented. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017) What is still missing is a definition of Peacelines, which is one of the areas where I will try to add to the existing research by describing the phenomenon of Peacelines.

The topic of shared space has been discussed from different point of views. In an article about Nicosia and Belfast Gaffikin et al. (2010) follow the aspect of a contested city. Although the walls play a role, it is the aspect of contested space that leads through the article. Some interesting topics are discussed around urban

design in a contested city. (cf. Gaffikin et al., 2010) Research was conducted on the impact of the layout of Belfast on its residents. It focused on the development of the street patterns and the loss of urban fabric. The urge for shared spaces and streets as connection is discussed. (cf. Sterrett et al., 2012) In both cases the topic of shared spaces was debated, but examples were not discussed in detail. Research was conducted by Abdelmonem and McWhinney (2015) which adds to the topic, taking four parks under observation and their impact of either enhancing exchange or separation between the communities. The article strongly focuses on the design and layout of the parks. (cf. Abdelmonem, McWhinney, 2015) Taking the Peacelines as the core aspect throughout my thesis is one of the main reasons which distinguishes my research from the already existing ones. It is important to take into account already available research and keep adding to it, which is what I am trying to do. Through the approach I am taking I hope to get closer to an answer of what role public space takes on in a city divided by borders. Instead of only recommending the implementation of shared spaces, my thesis looks at concrete examples and how the Peacelines are affected by it.

2. 2. RESEARCH IDEA

The basic idea for the research started with the topic of borders in cities. Considering that Belfast is shaped by Peacelines made it a good location for this thesis. I am looking at the Peacelines and how the public space is affected by it and then circling back on how the public space can help overcome those borders. The aim of the thesis is to get an idea of how borders can influence a city and to explore possibilities of dealing with division in cities. The first part focuses on the

Peacewalls and their impact on public space. In the second part, examples of shared spaces in Belfast will show what roles public space can take on in a divided city.

Throughout the thesis it is important to remember the point of view I am taking, as an outsider in Belfast. I neither feel entitled to give recommendations for the city nor would I claim to fully understand the complexity of it. However it can often help to get the view of an outsider, who might put the focus on something else and who can show a different perspective on Belfast. The research will be led along the following research questions: How are the effects of Peacelines and borders in Belfast reflected in public space? In the first step of my research the focus will be on the issues that are connected to Peacelines and are manifested in public space. One is the fact that space is strongly territorialised in Belfast. This can be marked by flags, murals or painted kerbstones. For visitors it is difficult to make out the territories but for locals it is very clear. The existence of the Peacelines enforces this feeling of territory. Another issue is the factor of safety, especially the feeling of safety which is strongly connected to Peacelines. Residents are often afraid of the removal of the walls due to the past as they fear an increase in violence. The problem of a lack of connectivity and accessibility caused by Peacewalls forms a layout of a city that is strongly disconnected. These topics will create an approach to understanding Peacelines in their various layers.

The second part of the empirical research looks into two shared space projects in the North of Belfast. The research question is: How does the implementation of shared spaces help to address the issues of Peacelines? Through this question the problems underlined in the first part should be addressed and the role of public

space in a city with borders will be discussed. This part of the thesis is formed around two examples of shared space projects in Belfast. One is the Alexandra Park, which is a park located between a Nationalist and a Unionist neighbourhood in the North of Belfast. In 1994, a metal fence was built cutting the park halfway through with the bottom part leading into the Unionist neighbourhood and the top part facing towards the Nationalist community. In 2011, a gate was installed in the Peacewall creating an area for both communities. The other space is called Peas Park and is located close to the Alexandra Park. It is a temporary community gardening project at the interface. Protestants and Catholics can take part in the project. Both are shared spaces with different approaches, whereby an overall understanding of the function of public space as a tool against borders will be gained.

2. 3. Methods

A case study evolves around the fact that a certain phenomenon should not be researched detached from its surrounding. Rather the connection to the context it is set in is essential. This distinguishes it for example from an experiment, which takes the research case out of its context and solely looks at the case. When undertaking a case study the use of more than one source is essential and a diverse set of data is necessary. Furthermore, a case study is led by a theoretical framework along which the empirical part of the research is oriented. It can be either focused on one single case or multiple cases. (cf. Yin, 2009, p. 18f) A single case study does not necessarily mean that it is only researching an individual, but can also be a collection of individuals such as an organisation. Multiple cases can give a broader

picture of a phenomenon, but circumstances, such as the limited extent of the research, can be an argument for only choosing one single case. (cf. Stier, 1996, p. 233f) I decided on Belfast as my single case study to research borders in cities. The importance is to not to look at the Peacelines detached from the rest of the city but to consider the surroundings. Belfast as a divided city is not unique and often research compares different divided cities. Due to the limited extent of the Masters thesis and the wish to develop a qualitatively valid output, I chose to only focus on one city rather than a multiple case study.

Qualitative as well as quantitative methods can be used for a case study as long as it is empirically researchable. (cf. Yin, 2009, p.19) The aim of empirical research is to gain data and results through actual circumstances, meaning that it is based upon experience. To reach the hoped for output, a decision on the most suitable methods has to be made. (cf. Stier, 1996, p. 4, p. 163) Single case studies are often based on less standardized methods, such as narrative interviews or participatory observations, (cf. ibid., pp. 233f) which is what I included in my research. After a basic literature research review I decided on a qualitative approach due to the social aspect of the Peacewalls and the connection to the communities. To gain an insight into the current situation of Belfast, narrative as well as expert interviews seemed to be the best way. Through talking to people, emotions are included in addition to the basic information, in comparison to surveys for example. Due to the fact that the Peacelines are a part of the people's everyday life, feelings and memories cannot be detached from it. Furthermore, the focus on the public space makes the personal exchange with inhabitants necessary.

Przyborski and Wohlrab-Sahr (2010) describe

the snowball system as way of finding interview partners through the contacts of former interviewees. They might tell you of someone they know who would be important to interview as well. (cf. Przyborski, Wohlrab-Sahr, 2010, p.72) Before going to Belfast I got in touch with a contact person at the Queen's University of Belfast who helped me a lot, especially at the beginning. I knew that I wanted to interview a broad range of people with different backgrounds and knowledge. My contact person from the University helped me to get in touch with the first few interview partners. Furthermore, I visited the launch of a new research piece on Peacelines by the Belfast Interface Project where I came into contact with more people. After interviewing people, they gave me further information of possible relevant interviewees. This follows the snowball system described above. Due to the amount of contacts I received it was possible to follow my research by choosing interviewees who were most appropriate and helpful for my thesis. After conducting the majority of interviews I went over the accumulated material to figure out where there was still room for improvement. Through the contacts I already had I was able to connect with further interview partners.

When it comes to interviews, in theory the perfect situation would be if the person asking the questions would not have any influences on the answers of the interviewees. But the whole interview situation can influence the answer in different ways, depending if it is for example a man or a woman leading the interview. (cf. Stier, 1996, p.187) I tried to create an interview environment where the person I was interviewing felt as comfortable as possible. I therefore let the interviewee choose the location for the interview. This varied from a coffee shop,

the interviewee's office or a community centre. It was possible to record all interviews except one and transcribe them afterwards. In total I conducted five expert interviews and eight narrative interviews.

A narrative interview is based upon someone talking about an experience or telling a story the interviewee was part of. It is more about letting the interviewee talk, with the researcher taking the role of the listener. The first part offers the interviewee the opportunity to tell the story, and afterwards the researcher can ask further questions about topics left out during the first part. (cf. Przyborski, Wohlrab-Sahr, 2010, pp. 92-98) The narrative interviews were mostly directed at community workers and residents involved with cross community work. It was their experience of the area that was the main aspect of the interview. At the beginning I always tried to start with an open question about what they do and how they got involved. This usually led to more detailed questions afterwards about certain projects and developments in the area. One interview which also had aspects of an expert interview was with a local historian. On the one hand the interviewee had experienced the time of the conflict, while on the other hand he/she took an approach distancing him/herself from the experienced history to try and not take sides and present an objective view. Through the narrative approach, it was possible to gain information from a very personal point of view. The passion of the people working on cross-community projects was a constant during the interviews.

In comparison to a narrative interview, an expert interview puts the specific knowledge of a person in the centre of the interview. The interview can be conducted along a guideline, which is prepared in advance and helps to structure the interview. It is important to divide the interview

into topics and start with a more general question. The guideline has to be adapted during the interview and should only help to keep the process organised. (cf. Przyborski, Wohlrab-Sahr, 2010, pp. 131-144) The expert interviews I conducted included people from the academic field who were working on Peacelines. Through their knowledge of the Peacelines nestling in the city of Belfast I got an insight into current problems. Furthermore I interviewed people from the public sector who were involved with projects along the Peacelines. Hereby, it was possible to gain a different perspective.

In addition to the interviews I chose different forms of observations as a means to get a feeling for the city. As a newcomer and an outsider to the city it was very important for me to get as much insight into the public space and its life as possible. This was the reason for my observations.

There are different forms of observations to choose from: overt or covert observation, participatory or non-participatory, natural or artificial situation, systematic or unsystematic. Out of these categories different forms of observation can be defined. Usually observations need a systematic approach to differ it from an everyday observation. Nonetheless if it is focused on a situation of which the researcher has limited knowledge about, a more unsystematic observation can be used. (cf. Stier, 1996, p. 170) I spent observing Belfast over the period of four months, including everyday life observations, which indirectly influenced my thesis. It was through these observations that I learnt to read the public space and the geography of Belfast. Furthermore I undertook unsystematic participatory observations. These were more observatory walks. I spent time walking around the focus area, taking

in the changes over time in public space and comparing the different forms of Peacelines. I documented these walks in the form of a research diary and photos. This again indirectly influenced my thesis by helping me understand the topics connected to the Peacelines and gain as much insight as an outsider possibly can. The third form of observations were systematic participatory observations of the parks. I spent a certain amount of time sitting in the parks and taking notes of the activities going on and the layout of the parks.

To analyse the information obtained I first of all transcribed the interviews and sorted through the notes I have been taking during my observations. Before reading through the material I created around six broad categories for the analysis. I then went through the interviews and observations and put paragraphs into the correct category. I created categories which gave me the opportunity to take full advantage of all the information I gathered and let the material lead my analysis. Through this process of revising my own research I could include information that might not have seemed important at the beginning.

The process I went through was not a linear one planned out in the beginning, but rather was marked by revising my own research idea, changing directions and rejecting ideas. This was influenced by the time I spent in Belfast, the people I talked to and the time I needed to reach an idea I was passionate about. This circular process of my thesis helped me to revise my own ideas and critically think about my own work which helped to improve and narrow it down.

The perspective someone takes to look at a particular issue influences the outcome. During the thesis I looked at Belfast and the Peacelines

from an outsider's perspective, especially in the first part of the theory. Through literature research I gained knowledge which helped me reach a certain level of insight. The empirical part is based on interviews I conducted, with my own position therefore taking a step back and the community's perspectives and the residential expertise showing an additional view of Belfast. According to Crawford (2008) the residents of a city carry a lot of expertise, which is often overlooked by urban design, who look at the city without the people in it. (cf. Crawford, 2008, p.12) I therefore tried to embrace the knowledge that already existed and adopt it for a wider picture by taking on a planners perspective in the last step.

3. BELFAST – DIVIDED SPACE

3. 1. BELFAST

3. 1. 1. History of Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has a very complex history which has visibly affected the city structure of Belfast. Before taking a closer look at the development of Belfast, a summary of the history of Northern Ireland is necessary to reach an understanding of the background and how the division of the city came to be the way it is today.

The start of the Troubles is often set in the year of 1968, but the tension within the population can be traced back decades. During the sixteenth and seventeenth century English and Scots, who were mainly Protestant, settled in Ireland. The British government strongly supported this movement due to an uprising in Ireland, which the government hoped to control through the loyalty of Scots and English to Britain. Apart from some exceptions there were no mixed marriages and the two communities -Catholics and Protestants- coexisted rather than lived together. The main differences were their backgrounds and national identities, but

because of other issues, such as the fact that the Protestant settlers dominated in political and economic areas, the division stayed present. At the beginning of the twentieth century Ireland was still a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and was inhabited by around three and a quarter million Catholics and around one million Protestants. (cf. McKittrick, McVea, 2012, pp. 1f)

During the end of the nineteenth century the Irish nationalism grew and the demand for the so-called Home Rule for the whole Island of Ireland was getting stronger. The Home Rule Bill meant, that a parliament in Dublin would be responsible for the domestic issues of Ireland, while the Westminster parliament would still be in charge of foreign affairs, defence and big parts of the economic sector. (cf. Tonge, 2002, p. 6) In comparison to the strong support for Home Rule, the wish for total independence for Ireland was not supported enough at that time. (cf. McKittrick, McVea, 2012, p. 3) The Protestant communities -mainly located in the north-east region of the island- were against Home Rule, fearing that it might lead to the independence of Ireland. Furthermore the possible loss of political and economic dominance of the island by Protestants and the negative impacts on the

economic relationships built between Belfast and Glasgow as well as Liverpool were reasons for Protestants to oppose Home Rule. After a few unsuccessful attempts at introducing the Home Rule Bill the demand shifted towards full Irish independence. (cf. ibid., pp. 3f) To avoid this, the Government of Ireland Act was installed in 1920, with Ireland still being part of the UK but with two separate parliaments being introduced: One in Dublin to rule the twenty six counties in the south, the other in Belfast controlling the six counties in the north-east. This partition was not based on geographical factors, but according to the percentage of Protestants living in the six counties of Northern Ireland. The wish for complete independence in the southern counties was too strong and by 1921 the south became an Irish Free State. (cf. Tonge, 2002, p. 13) This division is based upon religious lines, but it has to be acknowledged that the religious background of people is for the majority of the population interwoven with their agreement or disagreement with the partition due to their identity and sense of belonging. McKittrick and McVea (2012) describe the Protestant population mostly identifying as Unionists. They see themselves as British and part of the United Kingdom while being strongly against a united Ireland. They fear that the Irish will interfere with their religious, political and economic interests. The Catholic in comparison identified mostly as Nationalists. They did not feel a sense of belonging with the British, but saw themselves as Irish. Some wished for a united Ireland and did not see Northern Ireland as a rightful state. (cf. McKittrick, McVea, 2012, pp. 1f) The map (Fig. 2) shows the course of the borders on the island of Ireland nowadays, with Dublin as the capital of the Republic. Belfast is the capital of Northern Ireland and Derry/Londonderry is the second biggest city.

The partition did not leave Northern Ireland as a stable region with both communities having to face unresolved issues. Even though the majority of Northern Ireland was Protestant they feared that the British might change their mind and support a united Ireland. The Catholic community still saw themselves as Irish and felt trapped in a state they did not approve of. Furthermore because of the majority being Protestant, they ruled Northern Ireland and there was discrimination against Catholics. (cf. ibid., pp. 4f)

In the 1960s the Protestant community made up around two thirds of the population, with the remaining third Catholic. (cf. ibid., pp. 1f) Being oppressed for decades, the attitude of the Nationalists began to shift and instead of pressing for a united Ireland, smaller but more urgent issues concerning the discrimination of Catholics became important. This discrimination affected the electoral system, the employment

Fig. 2: The Island of Ireland nowadays

Source: DATA.GOV.IE, 2018; OpenDataNI, 2018c; own compilation

sector and the distribution of housing. A civil rights movement started not demanding a United Ireland but equality. The movement was partially inspired by the civil rights campaign in the US and was strongly, but not solely, supported by middle-class Catholics. (cf. Tonge, 2002, pp. 20-37) In October 1968 the civil rights movement staged a march in Derry/ Londonderry, which ended in a clash with the police and is often described as the start of the Troubles. (cf. Farrell, 1980 quoted in: Tonge, 2002, p. 38) In August 1969 during a march the tension between Catholics and Loyalists[1] escalated and included the involvement of the police. The rioting went on for days resulting in many injured on both sides. The violence quickly spread out and Belfast turned into the centre of the struggle. The tension and sectarian conflict was always higher in Belfast than it was in Derry/ Londonderry, especially in the West and North of Belfast where working class Protestants and Catholics lived next to each other. (cf. McKittrick, McVea, 2012, pp. 61-64) "The main battlefields were the streets of working class Belfast." (Cosstick, 2014, p. 22) The reason for the centre of the conflict being based in working class areas can be traced back to the 1920s when the factory owners wanted to avoid a conflict between classes to protect their incomes and investments. They strategically supported Unionists' fraternal organisations to provoke sectarianism. Although the job conditions were much to the expense of the worker, Unionists/ Protestant workers did not stand up against the conditions. They supported a political party that did not work in their favour, but was a Unionist party. The energy that Protestants and Catholics could have used to achieve an enhancement in their working condition was directed instead

at each other. (cf. Henderson, Lebow, and Stoessinger, 1974, p. 209 quoted in: Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, p. 68) The rapid growth of Belfast during that time lead to a shortage in housing and jobs which further intensified the antipathy between working class Catholics and Protestants. (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, p. 68) The economic disadvantage of the working class residents in Belfast led to seeing the other community as a competitor and instead of working together with people enduring similar problems, the dislike of each other was only strengthened.

British troops were sent to Northern Ireland in 1969 from London which led to a temporary repression and less violence. But casualties and the injured on both sides left the communities more divided than before with the attitude of the Catholic community towards the police was at a new low. (cf. McKittrick, McVea, 2012, pp. 61-64) The conflict continued and by 1972, which was the worst year of the Troubles, the Northern Ireland Parliament was suspended, and it was once again ruled from London. (cf. ibid, pp. 94f)

During the years of the Troubles the number of deaths is estimated to be around 3.000 (cf. Gillespie, 2010, p.158) with another 40.000 were injured including innocent civilians as well as paramilitary members and soldiers from the British Army. (cf. McGrattan, 2010, p. 1) With Belfast being the centre of violence, 1.540 people died only in Belfast, which accounts for approximately 40 % of all deaths during the Troubles. (cf. Sanders, Wood, 2012, p. 42) It was again the working class areas in North and West Belfast that suffered the most. (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, p. 78) Belfast as

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1   Loyalist support the United Kingdom, but are more extreme and hardcore in comparison to Unionists. They are willing to use violence to make a stand. On the Nationalist side the equivalent would be the so-called Republicans.

the biggest city in Northern Ireland was fought hard for because "[...] to maintain control of Belfast was to maintain control of Northern Ireland [...]". (Sanders, Wood, 2012, p. 42) This shows that cities often form the places where conflicts are carried out. According to Calame and Charlesworth (2009) a city hardly gets divided from within. It is more likely that forces from outside and conflicts on a macro level inflict pressure on cities which leads to lines being drawn that turn into walls. (cf. Calame,

Fig. 3: Northern Irish History

16th and 17th century:
Scotish and English settlement in Ireland

~1890 — Demand for Home Rule in Ireland

~1900 — Wish for full Independence of Ireland grew

1920 — Home Rule Bill >> Partition, 2 Parliaments were installed in Belfast and Dublin
1921 — The south became the Irish Free State

1960s — Civil Rights Movement started

1968 — March in Derry/ Londonderry: Start of the Troubles
1972 — Suspention of Northern Ireland Parliament

Northern Ireland Conflict
3.000 Homocides
40.000 Injured

1994 — Ceasfire was decleared

1998 — Good Friday/ Belfast Agreement

2002 — Suspention of Northern Ireland Parliament

2007 — Parliament was reinstated

2016 — Brexit Referendum
2017 — Snap Elections in March without a Parliament since (status: January 2018)

Brexit

Source: Own compilation

Charlesworth, 2009, p. 8) In the case of Belfast and Derry/Londonderry the Peacelines, which were built between Protestant and Catholic communities for safety reasons, are a visible reminder of the Troubles. A detailed description of the development of the Peacelines will follow in the next chapter.

With assistance from the US, the British and Irish Government worked together to assemble peace and in 1994 a ceasefire between Republicans and Loyalists was declared. This ceasefire was followed by the Good Friday Agreement/ Belfast Agreement in April 1998 which is officially known as the end of the Troubles. (cf. Tonge, 2002, pp. 154-182) The Agreement included the establishment of a parliament -the Northern Ireland Assembly (NIA)- which is based on a power-sharing Executive. This should help to promote cultural and political equality. Each member of the NIA has to declare themselves as either Nationalists, Unionists or other. The voting system is based on an agreement between the two communities. Furthermore key issues have to reach a general majority as well as a majority from both Unionists and Nationalists. (cf. Shirlow, Murtagh, 2006, p. 36)

The peace process is still ongoing and disagreements led to a suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly in 2002 and direct ruled from London was introduced again. In 2007 the Assembly was reinstated under the rule of Sinn Féin and the DUP (Democratic Unionist Party). (cf. BBC, 2017a) Since January 2017 Northern Ireland is without a government due a renewable heat scandal resulting in a snap election in March 2017. Talks between the two main parties, DUP and Sinn Féin have not reached an agreement point and if no agreement is reached a step back to direct rule from London is a possibility. (cf. BBC,
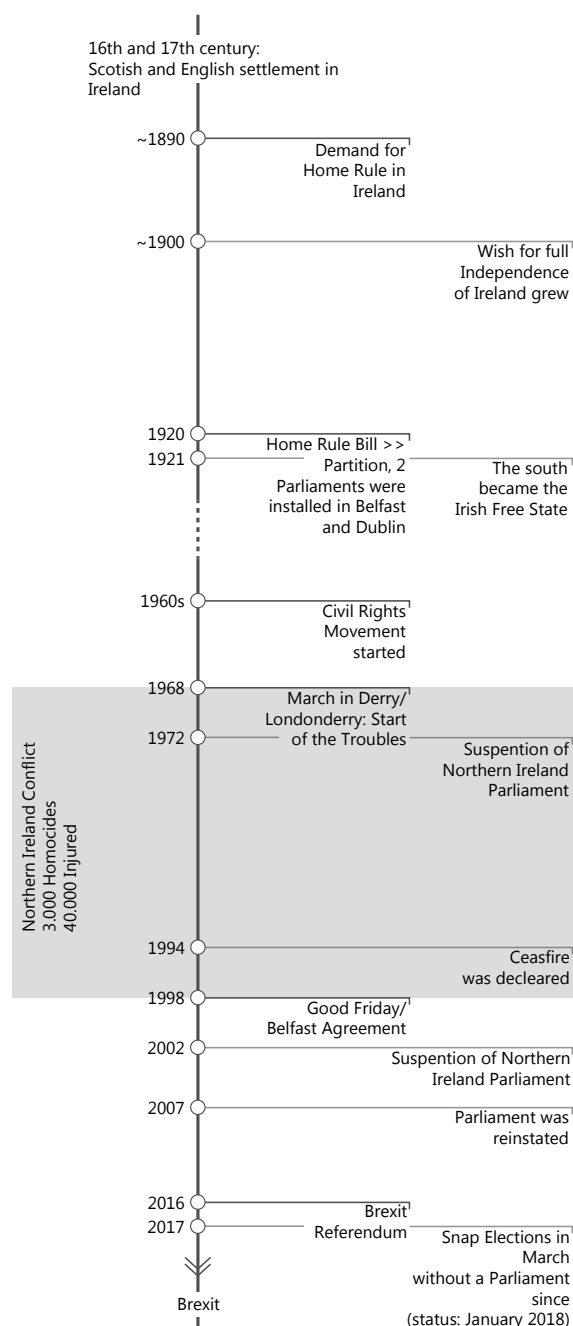
2017b) Furthermore during the current Brexit negotiations, the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland is a key topic. The Brexit process will not only influence Northern Ireland's border issue, but also the question of further funding for community projects. Due to the fact that there is no deal yet and the extent of the effect is still unknown, I will not go into more detail about the Brexit.

The graphic (Fig. 3) gives a short overview of the history of Northern Ireland to make it easier to grasp.

To understand the present a look into the past is always necessary. This overview of the history and development of Northern Ireland shows how far the division of Belfast can be led back to. This separation has its roots in a war over territory, where the identity and sense of belonging of the population played a big role, including national, geopolitical and religious aspects as well.

3. 1. 2. Interfaces in Belfast
3. 1. 2. 1. Definition - Explanation

In comparison to separations in other cities such as the Berlin Wall or the wall in Nicosa, there is not just one wall in Belfast dividing it but various different forms and shapes of defensive and security architecture. Here are some examples of different forms of walls. Figure 4 is a Peaceline located along Cupar Way , it consists of a concrete wall with metal fencing at the top. The second photo (Fig. 5) is separating the New Lodge area from Duncairn Gardens and is a metal fence. (For the location see Fig. 1, p. X, D6 -Cupar Way, E5 -New Lodge)

The most common words used are Peacelines or Peacewalls, but there is no exact number of how many there are. Furthermore what counts as a Peacewall is not officially defined. The

Fig. 4: Peaceline Cupar Way

Source: Own photo

Fig. 5: Peaceline New Lodge

Source: Own photo

following explanations are based on the Belfast Interface Project (BIP), which has a very detailed collection of data concerning the barriers in interface areas.

The term interface is used for the line that separates Catholics/ Nationalists/ Republican (CNR) neighbourhoods from Protestant/ Unionist/Loyalist (PUL) districts. While these interfaces can be marked by walls or fences, they can also be invisible to people from outside, with the locals knowing where the lines between the communities are. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 1998, pp. 4f) In other words, an interfaces is where one segregated residential neighbourhood meets another one, this can be found all over Northern Ireland. But not all interfaces are the same; according to the BIP (1998) three different types can be defined. The 'enclave' is an area, either PUL or CNR, surrounded by the other community. An example is Short Strand in East Belfast. (For the location see Fig. 1, p. X, F6) The 'split' describes interfaces where there is a wall or a barrier clearly separating the two communities, as it is in the area around Cupar way in West Belfast. The third kind is the 'buffer zone', were the transition is blurred and a mixed community serves as a buffer between PUL and CNR. (cf. ibid, pp. 4f) The construction of the walls as well as the buffer zones developed over time.

There is no official definition of what counts as a Peaceline which explains the different estimations of how many there actually are. In a report launched by the BIP in 2017 a total of 97 security barriers were counted. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017, p. 7) The terms interface and Peacelines/Peacewalls are well known and commonly used in Northern Ireland. The differentiation is, that while a Peaceline is always a physical barrier, an interface does not necessarily have to be marked by a barrier.

Therefore an interface is not always made visible by a Peaceline, but a Peaceline is always situated at an interface. When talking about 'interface barriers', some might say that all Peacelines are interface barriers. Others might differentiate between the appearance of a barrier and call it 'interface barrier' or 'defensive architecture'. For this thesis, the term Peaceline includes any form of barriers set up in an interface to secure both communities and to stop sectarian assaults, which describes the 97 barriers identified by the BIP. This is not a very differentiating way of looking at the barriers in Belfast because every Peaceline is different and can vary from a fence to a brick wall. For the focus area in North Belfast a detailed description of the Peacelines will therefore follow in the fourth chapter.

3. 1. 2. 2. History of Peaclines

When the Troubles started in 1996 informal barricades were built in Belfast by residents along conflict points between Protestants and Catholics. They were made out of cars, pavement stones and other material that could be used as a barricade. Those barriers were built as an answer to the outbursts of violence in certain areas (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, p. 71) Those informal barriers were seen as a problem by the British Army as well as the government of Northern Ireland. On the one hand it was difficult for the British Army to move around and have full access to the city in order to restore safety. On the other hand it was a sign that the government had no power or authority in specific neighbourhoods. (cf. Hamill, 1985 quoted in: Gormley-Heenan et al., 2013, p. 362) This led to the first construction of an official wall by the British Army in 1969, planned as a temporary implementation against the violence taking place at the time, but the walls remain

until today (nearly fifty years later). (cf. Byrne et al., 2012, p. 4) This first barricade was around three meters high and was made out of iron sheeting and located along the Cupar Way, dividing Falls and Shankill. (cf. Hamill, 1985 in: Gormley-Heenan et al., 2013, p. 362) This was the first officially constructed Peaceline but it was not the last. In 1972 the violence increased again leading to more informal barricades between Catholic and Protestant communities in Belfast which were turned into official walls once again. (cf. Gormley-Heenan et al., 2013, p. 362) There were no guidelines from which the walls were built, rather it happened as a response to the violence of the paramilitary organisations and the British Army. For the most part Peacelines were built and still can be found in the working class districts such as the North and West of Belfast. (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, p. 62) The location of the Peacewalls are directly connected to the main violent outbursts during the Troubles. Due to the fact that the conflict was centred in the working class areas of Belfast it is not surprising that the majority of the Peacelines are located there as well. To this day the long-term effects from the conflict are much higher in working class neighbourhoods. According to a Regional Development Strategy 2035 (2010) the North and West of Belfast are the most deprived areas. (cf. DRD, 2010, p. 55) This includes mental health issues, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, nightmares and involuntary recalls of violence. This is directly connected to the areas which experienced the most violence, hence North and West Belfast. Furthermore, the income tends to be low and the unemployment level high with a dependency on benefits. (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, pp. 8f) This shows that there is an ongoing disadvantage for working class areas.
Even though the Good Friday/ Belfast Agreement

in 1998 marked the end of the Troubles the construction of Peacelines did not end. At least 18 new barriers have been built since then. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017, p. 10) "The walls in the city, built to offer a short-term solution, had become part of a long-term problem." (Gaffikin et al., 2008, p. 33)

3. 1. 2. 3. Peacelines now

Nearly 50 years after the first wall was installed in Belfast the Peacelines still shape the city. Despite the original purpose of separating Nationalist and Unionist neighbourhoods the walls are not just barriers any more. On the one hand, the walls are a constant reminder of the Troubles and represent one of the darkest times in Northern Ireland's recent history. On the other hand they are perceived as a dark heritage site, visited by Taxi and Bus tours. Even in the tourism strategy by the Belfast City Council (2015) the Peacewalls and murals are described as hard assets, which is defined as an attraction with potential for further development. (cf. Belfast City Council, 2015, p. 13) This shows that even though Belfast is not the only divided city, it is however unique in creating tourism based on the sectarian conflict, especially in those areas which were hit the hardest during the Troubles. (cf. Brunn et al., 2010, p. 89) As a tourist visiting Belfast, the walls are often only considered as part of the past like the parts of the Berlin walls. But for the people living there they are as much a part of the present and the future as they are of the past.
In 2016 a research was conducted on the population's attitudes of the Peacelines. The survey was only directed towards people living in close range to the Peaceline in Belfast, Derry/ Londonderry and Lurgan/Portadown with 32% Protestants and 59% Catholic participating in

Fig. 6: Development of Peacelines

— newly constructed Peacelines
— already existing Peacelines

1969

1970-1979

1980-1989

1990-1999

since 2000

total amount, including unknown date of construction

Source: Belfast Interface Project, 2018; detaildata, 2018; Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

the survey. (cf. Byrne et al., 2015) To explain the higher presence of Catholics, Byrne et al. (2015) refers to a research by Murtagh and Shirlow (2006) stating that interface areas in Belfast have a growing Catholic population. (cf. Murtag and Shirlow, 2006 in: Byrne et al., 2015, p. 8) In general the safety issue around the Peaceline is still very strong with around 50 % stating that they would be worried that the police could maintain peace if the Peacewall they live closest to would be removed. While 40 % can imagine the Peacewalls coming down, the same percentage of people also stated that they could not. Nonetheless over 50% of the participants do think that the communities would gain through a removal. Cross-community interactions are mostly described as positive. (cf. Byrne et al., 2015) The survey shows that the wish to someday remove the walls is present among the community, but fear and safety issues are still a constant in people's mind. Even though sectarian crime is decreasing the fear has to be taken seriously and the communities consent is inevitable for the removal of the walls.

In a report on Peacelines by the Belfast Interface Project a total amount of 97 barriers in Belfast were acknowledged. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017, p. 7) The table (No. 1) shows the dates of construction as well as the location of the barriers in Belfast. The majority of the walls were constructed in the years between 1990 and 1999, which was towards the end of the Troubles. Even after the agreement in 1998 the construction of walls went on.

The maps (Fig. 6) show the development of the Peacelines over the years, with the last map also including the ones where the date of construction is unknown. The red lines mark the Peacelines that were newly build in the mentioned period.

Peacelines are usually constructed due to outbursts of violence, and even though an agreement was reached in 1998 and the violence decreased, there are still sectarian incidences happening. Two examples of Peacewalls built after 1998 show what reasons and incidences can lie behind the development. The guardian (2002) writes about outbursts of violence and riots in 2002 especially centred in East Belfast. Following the attack of the police by petrol and acid bombs the request for an extension of the Peacewalls got louder and adjustments were made. (cf. the guardian, 2002) Another example is from 2007, when a Peaceline was build surrounding the Hazelwood Integrated Primary School. The school is located between a Protestant and a Catholic neighbourhood and is a mixed school for both communities. The fence was constructed due to sectarian incidences

Table 1: Date of Construction of Peacelines in Belfast

Date	North	East	South/ Central	West	Total
Unknown	5	3	13	5	26
1969				2	2
1970-1979	7	2		4	13
1980-1989	5	1	2	9	17
1990-1999	13	2	1	8	24
2000-	10	3		2	15
Total	40	11	16	30	97

Source: Belfast Interface Project, 2017

between the communities on both sides of the school. (cf. the guardian, 2007) These are only two examples of Peacewalls being put up after the Good Friday/ Belfast Agreement. It shows that sectarian violence is a trigger to the construction of Peacelines.

The barriers are mostly made out of metal fencing, while another high percentage of barriers are concrete walls with and without fences on the top. Some divides are a combination of fences and vegetation. At some locations the walls have turned roads into dead ends for vehicles, where only pedestrians could cross and at some points gates were installed. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017, p. 7) Furthermore buffer zones can serve as a separation. This can be vacant land which remains under- or unused. In some cases, car parks or derelict buildings also create some kind of border land. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2011, p. 13)

The majority of the barriers are owned by the Department of Justice (DoJ). According to the classification of BIP the number of barriers is 70 (54 in Belfast). The DoJ uses a different way to categorise barriers which is why according to the Department they own 50 barriers (38 in Belfast). The Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) is responsible for 25 barriers. Smaller numbers are owned by the Department for Infrastructure, Invest NI, Belfast City Council and Belfast Health and Social Trust. The owners of eight barriers are unknown. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017, p. 9) The ownership underlines the difficulties of confronting Peacelines, as the fact that there are multiple institutions responsible for the walls makes it harder to tackle them. An example is a strategy which deals with the Peacelines and their removal. According to the strategy by the Northern Ireland Executive (2017) 59 Peacelines were the focus, which was reduced

to 50 (cf. NI Executive, 2017, p. 18). These are the numbers of walls owned by the Department of Justice, meaning the strategy therefore does not consider all the Peacelines. Also, barriers are dealt with differently depending on the owner.

In 2012 a report was published by the Belfast Interface Project on the number and locations of barriers in interface areas in Northern Ireland. The report from 2017 follows up on that and shows the changes since 2012. The total number in Belfast changed from 99 to 97 barriers, but that does not mean that two barriers were removed. Seven barriers were included which have not been mentioned before, but only one (St. Matthews Church) was newly constructed in 2012. The rest were just not identified in the previous report. A total number of six barriers were removed since 2012, while two were only partly removed. Furthermore barriers were reclassified or reimagined, such as the Gate at Duncairn Gardens - Edlingham Street, which is now open on a daily basis. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017, pp. 11-14)

The Belfast Interface Project has collected a lot of data on the barriers in interface areas, but as the difference in numbers show, there is no official definition what counts as a Peaceline. The fact that there is no common name, definition and agreed upon number of the phenomenon makes it difficult when trying to deal with it. The following chapter will take a closer look of how interfaces are considered within the context of planning and future developments.

3. 1. 3. Interfaces in the context of strategic and urban planning

Belfast is a city shaped by defensive architecture and separation which has to be considered in the field of urban planning.

In Northern Ireland the planning system is based on the decisions of the Department of Infrastructure (DoI) and the eleven Local Government Districts (LGD), shown on the map (Fig. 7). The DoI is responsible for planning decisions on a regional level, which includes the Regional Development Strategy, Regional Planning Policy and the involvement in planning applications which have a regional significance. The councils' functions are focused on the local level such as the drawing up of Local Development Plans (LDP) and deciding on the majority of planning applications. (cf. Planning Portal, 2017)
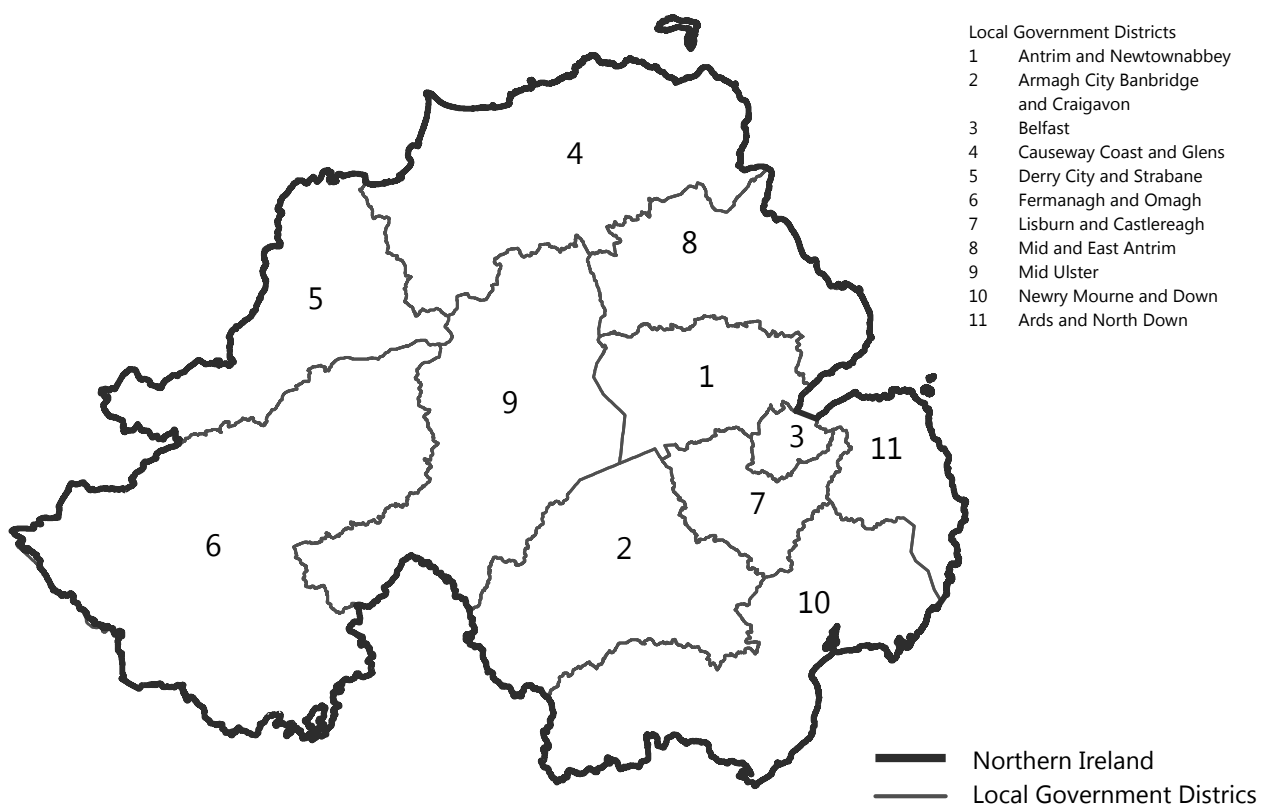
The Planning service of Belfast, as one of the eleven districts, has the responsibility over most of the planning applications in Belfast and has to produce the Local Development Plan. (cf. Belfast City Council, 2017b) At the moment the new Local Development Plan 2035 is in the making and will be implemented instead of the Belfast Metropolitan Area Plan 2015. One of the steps to create the LDP is the production of the Preferred Options Paper (POP), which was released in January 2017. The POP outlines the key issues which will be tackled in the LDP and opens the process up to the public and stakeholders. Within twelve weeks exhibitions and public meetings were held to include comments from people living and working in the city. These responses to the POP will be considered in the further steps when creating a LDP. This is the current state of the development of the plan. (cf. Belfast City Council, 2017c)

Preferred Options Paper: The following four objectives were expressed: liveability, vibrant economy, smart and connected, resilient and active place. (cf. Belfast City Council, 2017c, p. 12)

Looking at aspects concerning the segregation and division of Belfast efforts were made to

Fig. 7: Local Government Districts of Northern Ireland

Local Government Districts
1   Antrim and Newtownabbey
2   Armagh City Banbridge
    and Craigavon
3   Belfast
4   Causeway Coast and Glens
5   Derry City and Strabane
6   Fermanagh and Omagh
7   Lisburn and Castlereagh
8   Mid and East Antrim
9   Mid Ulster
10 Newry Mourne and Down
11 Ards and North Down

——— Northern Ireland
——— Local Government Districs

Source: OpenDataNI, 2018b; OpenDataNI, 2018c; own compilation

address these issues. The topic about the creation of a higher living quality also talks about communities working together (p. 39) and the connection within the city (p. 44). Furthermore it is mentioned that each barrier is different in its appearance, but also the surrounding of each location is not the same. Therefore an individual approach for each situation is necessary to remove the Peacelines (including the consideration of the neighbourhood). (cf. Belfast City Council, 2017c) The overall aims are very general and can be directed at other cities as well. But the details of the POPs are directly related to the situation of Belfast.

Regional Development Strategy 2035: This strategy provides a parameter as an orientation for the public and private sector in Northern Ireland. It is not a legally binding document but gives a strategic insight and an idea of where development should happen. (cf. DRD, 2010, p. 12) During the first chapter key issues are mentioned, with one being the "[...] spatial implications of division that still exist in our society [...]". (ibid., p. 12). In the chapter about the metropolitan areas of Belfast the Peacelines were not specifically mentioned, but the area of the West and North of Belfast -where the most amount of barriers are located- are described as the most deprived area. In the next section of the chapter, six key issues for a positive development are stated. One of the subtopics mentioned the living quality of people residing in deprived areas and how tackling this issue would also help to address the segregation and division of the city. (cf. ibid., pp. 54-60)

Strategic Planning Policy Statement for Northern Ireland (SPPS): The SPPS addresses planning concerning the whole of Northern Ireland. It is aligned with the Regional Development

Strategy, and the Local Development Plans have to correlate with it. (cf. SPPS, 2015, p. 6)
One of the core planning principles stated in the document is to create and enhance shared spaces. Shared space is described as being a place which does not discriminate against anyone and the difference in values are appreciated. (cf. ibid., p. 18) A more detailed input about shared space in Belfast will follow. The strategy 'Together: Building a United Community' (T:BUC) was mentioned and the aim of creating shared spaces for all individuals. Furthermore it was written that, to be able to remove all barriers by 2023 the affected communities have to be consulted from the beginning on due the fact that it is a very sensitive subject. The role of the planning system and planning authorities is to develop space which facilitates connections between people with different backgrounds to lead neighbourhoods towards mixed communities. (cf. ibid., p .6)

In one way or another the issues surrounding the Peacelines, such as division, deprivation and segregation of the communities were mentioned in all three planning documents. This shows a concern and active commitment of directing the city towards a shared and united place. Considering that two of the three planning documents cover the whole of Northern Ireland it is not surprising that no exact plan for the interface areas is presented. The POP on the other side is for Belfast only and does mention that it is important to look at each interface individually to figure out how to move forward. Due to the fact that it is not yet the final planning document it is going to be interesting what the public has to say about it and how the topic of division is going to be handled in the finished document. Especially because it provides a vision for Belfast until

2035.

Even though the planning documents include the Peacelines in some way, this does not assure that the areas in the shadow of the Peacewalls are actually experiencing improvement. Looking back at the development of the Peacelines shows that the main violence during the Troubles was taking place in the working class areas, leading to the most amount of security barriers being built there, which nowadays results in the Peacelines locations being mainly focused in working class districts. According to Calame and Charlesworth (2009) the people living closest to the walls suffered the most during the Troubles. The same areas nowadays show a higher level of unemployment, lower income and a higher percentage of mental health problems. (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, pp. 78f)

The development of Belfast is similar to other cities, such as the adaptation to the increased presence of cars. The difference is that in Belfast these planning decisions were made during the times of the Troubles. Therefore the problems of the Troubles had an influence on the development of the city layout. Separations were purposefully planned to decrease the conflict. The result was that the centre was created as a commercial centre with the Westlink, a motorway through the city, surrounding it. This led to a disconnection within the city, with the Westlink isolating the communities. Especially decreasing the mobility of working class neighbourhoods, due to the necessity of a car to get around. (cf. Sterrett et al., 2015, pp. 59-63) Furthermore over the last 30 years, urban planning in Belfast has focused on the neutral areas such as the harbour area in the North-East. This area experienced a lot of regeneration and represents a neutral space for the city. What has to be criticized though is that the focus on neutral areas has neglected the working class

areas. People living in deprived areas have no access to the newer areas of the city and do not feel welcome there. (cf. Gaffikin et al., 2016, p. 60) This all leads to the areas in the shadows of Peacelines being the most neglected areas in Belfast. This is a recurring social marginalization of the people most impacted by the Troubles. To move forward specific attention has to be paid to these areas.

3. 1. 4. Together Building a United Community

In 2013 the Northern Ireland Executive published the Strategy 'Together: Building a United Community' (T:BUC) with the following vision: *"A united community, based on equality of opportunity, the desirability of good relations and reconciliation -one which is strengthened by its diversity, where cultural expression is celebrated and embraced and where everyone can live, learn, work and socialise together, free from prejudice, hate and intolerance."* (NI Executive, 2013, p. 11) This vision is based on four key priorities, including children and young people, a shared community, a safe community and cultural expression. (cf. ibid., p. 11)

This strategy got some attention when it was released, because the priority of a shared community included the aim to remove all interface barriers by 2023. To achieve this aim a ten year programme was supposed to be created to reduce and remove the walls. (cf. ibid., p. 63) There are a few issues that have to be addressed regarding the strategy. First of all there was no specific plan or programme drawn up on how to reach that aim, leaving people wondering how and what will happen next. Another issue with the strategy is, that it is not clear which barriers are being targeted. Considering that there is no official number of Peacelines or definition of

what makes a Peaceline, it would be difficult to target them all. When a strategy is targeting the barriers, it should be made clear exactly what it is that they are targeting.

3. 2. Divided - Shared

3. 2. 1. Public Space

Cities are spaces of movement as well as settlements They are shaped by physical structures but at the same time the constant exchange between people is also crucial for a city. (cf. Allen et al., 1999, p. 3) These different aspects of cities are represented in public spaces which makes up an essential part of the city. Without it, private space would be next to private space without any place for the general public. This would lead to a loss of major city qualities, because according to Madanipour et al. (2014) "Public space is where public life unfolds [...]" (Madanipour et al., 2014, p. 8) or as Mensch (2007) puts it "'Public space' is the space where individuals see and are seen by others as they engage in public affairs." (Mensch, 2007, p. 31) Taking those two descriptions into account, it becomes clear that the focus is not actually being put on the physical space but more on the social aspect of it. Madanipour uses the wording 'public life' while Mensch refers to it as 'public affairs'. Both circle around activities and actions – life – taking place in public. It therefore does not only refer to more ore less 'typical' public spaces, such as a park or the streets, but also includes a public library for example. Madanipour then uses the term unfold, which according to a dictionary (2017) means "to spread out or lay open to view" (dictionary. com, 2017). While 'spread out' includes the aspect of extending and developing, 'lay open to view' goes in the direction of being seen. This

aspect of seeing is one that Mensch also takes up. Public space therefore evolves around life taking place visibly.

A clear distinction between private and public space is often difficult with no clear property line separating them. Furthermore there are also different shades of public space, such as semi-public space.
The private aspect of public space has become especially present in cities since the 1970s. After a high level of city developments by the public sector after the Second World War -such as motorways or public housing- the economic depression of the 1970s brought a decline in funds in the public sector resulting in a reduction in city development projects. This led to a transition of urban development from the public to the private sector. The change of public space is interwoven with the change of the city. When the private sector had a say in the city development the public space was very strongly changed and influenced by it. In comparison to the public sector, the interest of the private sector in public space was non-existent because there was no monetary profit to get out of it. This led to an abandonment of obtaining public spaces and the creation of a new sort of public space which was controlled by private developers. These new privatized public spaces were not open to all and therefore the full accessibility for everyone was not given anymore. Furthermore due to the economic decline, issues such as unemployment started to rise, making the focus on public space seem like something non-essential instead of an inevitable necessity for a city. But in recent years public space has gained some kind of revival, being a point of interest for the academic research as well as for the society. (cf. Madanipour, 2010a, pp. 3ff)

Seemingly public space can be found all over a city and from streets to parks, spaces are described as public. However can all those spaces actually be called public?

"Public spaces [...] should be accessible places, developed through inclusive process." (Madanipour, 2010a, p. 1) Public in the sense of public interest means to be inclusive to everybody, but often when dealing in the public interest, only the average citizens are considered. It is therefore important to pay particular attention to equal treatment of all citizens -including minorities- are treated equally. Accessibility to the city for all is the main issue that makes a space public. This goes hand in hand with the inclusiveness of a space, if it is associated with a certain identity the openness to all and therefore the complete accessibility is endangered. The degree of accessibility and consequently of how public a space is, can be seen at the boundaries surrounding public spaces; if it is limited by walls it might no longer seem public. Furthermore the activities taking place in a public space can -depending on what it is- be more or less inclusive and have an effect on the accessibility of a space. (cf. ibid., pp. 8f) The accessibility can also be limited through the claim of certain groups or individuals who dominate in a certain public space, making them feel safe while not paying attention to others. Furthermore the retreat from public space, resulting from fear or mistrust, can shape a space as much as claiming it. (cf. Madanipour, 2010b, p. 239)

Gehl (2011) states that the built environment is not as important as the existence of other people in public space. (cf. Gehl, 2011, p. 29) This leads back to the accessibility of a space; the more people have access to a public space the more it attracts other people, making it a lively place of exchange, even if is just about seeing others.

Being seen is an important factor of public space when it comes to protests. According to Hou and Knierbein (2017) similarities can be drawn between different protests which occurred recently, such as in Hong Kong or Istanbul. This includes the importance of the public space and how the use of public space as a place of demonstrated resistance and the development of the democracy -it's loss of credibility, transparency and supporting the ones who need it the most- are interwoven. People need a place to express their struggles and demand improvement. (cf. Hou, Knierbein, 2017, pp. 3-13)

Public space offers the space for "political expression". (Bodnar, 2015, p. 2095) This can on the one hand be a reflection of the current party in power. On the other hand it can also be temporarily use to make a political statement. (cf. ibid.) This can happen in the form of demonstrations, which can lead to the increase in awareness of issues. Additionally differences can clash in public spaces, turning public space into a key location for the display of democratic politics. (cf. Madanipour, 2014, p. 191) Taking the public space as "[...] the geography of the public sphere [...]" (Smith, Low, 2006, p. 3) draws a close connection between the space and the sphere. Especially when it comes to protesting and expressing one's opinion in public space. When talking about public space the differentiation between public space and public sphere is important. Habermas has very strongly influenced the discussion about public sphere. According to him it is "A domain of social life where such a thing as public opinion can be formed [...]". (Habermas, 1997 quoted in: McKee, 2005, p.4) The public sphere offers the space to have discussions, to state and

exchange our opinions. (cf. McKee, 2005, pp. 4f) This is different to public space, hereby the "public life" rather than the "public opinion" is of importance. (cf. Spiegel, 1987 quoted in: Knierbein, 2016, p. 35) The aspect of seeing and personal contact is important in public space, whereas in public sphere the focus is put on opinion and discussions. Public space and public sphere are strongly interlinked, as without the presence of people, public life does not happen and public opinion -except for the virtual spaces- can hardly be formed.

The connection between public space and public sphere can be shown by using a movement in Hungary. In this example a Facebook group that stands for affordability was created, leading to a demonstration in the city. The Facebook group which is established in the virtual public sphere had around 200.000 followers, 10.000 of those ended up participating in the demonstration in the public space. This shows that even in a time where a lot happens in the virtual public sphere, going out and standing up for what you believe in and showing it in public spaces has not lost its importance. (cf. Bodnar, 2015, pp. 2094f)

Public space and public sphere are therefore connected, especially when it comes to stating political or ideological opinions, where the conflict is often carried out and represented in public space.

3. 2. 2. Contested Space

"The term 'contested city' has been suggested to denote places whose diversity is not embraced as an asset but as a source of competing territorial claims, segregation, intimidation and even violence." (Brand, 2009, p. 2673) The issues of territory, segregation and violence can be found in the public space in Belfast. The question arises at what stage can a city be

described as contested or is every city contested and therefore division within a city is inevitable, considering that segregation and territorial demands are not something bound to Belfast and likewise cities. Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) state that all cities are actually divided and a distinction has to be made between two types (in a simplified matter). One type of division is based upon social inequality, power and status issues that are part of every city and space. This includes for example conflicts and segregation between different social classes. The core issue of the second form of diversity is the way a national conflict about a territory is reflected in the urban space. It is about the difference in the sense of belonging and sovereignty and the division which results out of it. This from of division is often part of a bigger picture and does not come from within the city but is connected to a conflict of the state. A clear separation between those different types of division cannot be drawn, because cities divided by sovereignty have class disputes and segregation along those lines as well. (cf. Gaffikin, Morrissey, 2011, p. 21) Taking the case of Belfast, it is a divided city in both definitions. Segregation along the line of income and class can be found, but this does not make Belfast any different than other cities. The second form of division on the other hand distinguishes Belfast. Northern Ireland was not accepted as belonging to the UK by part of the population while the others saw themselves as British rather than Irish. This lack of sovereignty to the state was part of the Northern Ireland conflict which manifests itself nowadays in the division of Belfast. To understand the division along the lines of sovereignty a closer look at the communities in Northern Ireland follows.

According to Smith (1986) the communities are often labelled as Protestant or Catholic underlining their religious beliefs, but they are

rather an ethnic group with their culture and symbols. (cf. Smith 1986 quoted in: Jarman, 1997, p. 6) Nowadays it is more common to use the term PUL which stands for Protestant/ Unionist/ Loyalist and CNR for Catholic/ Nationalist/ Republican. Both have their own identity, history, traditions and symbols which are reflected in one way or another in the public spaces in Belfast. It has to be understood though, that this is a simplification of the various identities present in Northern Ireland. People can chose to identify as neither or only partly belonging to one of those groups. But as a means to understand the division this distinction will be used in the research. Boal (2002) states that "[...] religious difference is bound into divided Belfast [...]" (Boal, 2002, p. 688), but it is the nationalism where the distinction really manifests itself. (cf. ibid., p. 688) This is reflected in the political parties as well, with the majority of parties in Northern Ireland being either Unionist or Nationalist and therefore attracting either British Protestants or Irish Catholics. (cf. Tonge, 2002, p .50) The identity of the population of Northern Ireland is not simply based on their religion but on their memory and sense of belonging. In other words it is their history and heritage that shapes their present beliefs and sense of belonging.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Protestant community was the majority, but over the years the Catholic community has grown, with Northern Ireland now not being a place of one majority anymore, but instead of minorities. In recent years there has been an ascent of migration, resulting in the percentage of people with migration background rising. (cf. Nolan, 2013, p.136) Acknowledging the presence of other identities and cultures -beside PUL and CNR- is important and they have to be addressed. Nonetheless this research centres

around the Peacelines which therefore puts the CNR and the PUL communities in focus. A detailed analysis of migrants and people with migration backgrounds in Belfast will not be conducted, due to the focus of the research.

3. 2. 2. 1. History and memory

Dealing with the history and memory of a place can play out in different ways and create some challenges.

The difficulty of dealing with the past in public space and the connection to the different memories of a place can be found in Warsaw. Different inputs can clash in public space, personal attitudes getting mixed with communities' perspective and memory can clash with the municipality (which might have a different approach). The author looked into projects trying to deal with the past of Chlodna Street in Warsaw which was a military route through the Jewish ghetto during the second World War and was therefore surrounded by walls with a footbridge to cross the road. To remember this past of the street two projects were installed. One of the projects, called Ellipsis, installed balloons at roughly the location of the footbridge in the shape of two crescents imbedding three balls. The second project was the Chlodna Street Revitalisation Plan. In the end he states that neither of the projects handled the connection of past and present correctly. Because they did not engage with the street but rather placed some memorials on it, the process of dealing with the past and the memories got lost. (cf. Elzanowski, 2014, pp. 88-102) It shows that even with the intention of recognising a terrible past and implementing memorials, this does not guarantee a proper reminder of the past. The memories, alongside the ideas and the input of local communities

have to be considered.

It has to be acknowledged that when it comes to the memories of a traumatic event, people and communities often transfer their memories onto the next generation. In this case this leaves the next generation not just with that memory but also with strong opinions about the other community and the past. This makes a process of reconciliation difficult, with each community holding on to their side of history. (cf. Ereshnee et al., 2007 quoted in: McGrattan, 2013, p. 8) "[...] memory is bonding and binding - it is also changeable and limiting." (McGrattan, 2013, p. 32) Considering the idea that memories provide insights into the recent history, this makes the history itself changeable as well. The past of a place has different sides to it, with the constant projection of someone's own experience and memory onto the next generation making moving forward more difficult. As Dixon (2008) points out, this difference is reflected in Northern Ireland in the way Nationalists and Unionists see their history differently. Nationalists see the partition of Ireland as a way for the UK to keep some power and territory over the island and the borders were not implemented out of a democratic decision. Furthermore the oppression of equal rights for Catholics led to the civil rights movement. Unionists on the other hand believe that the partition was the result of a democratic process and the discrimination against Catholics is either downplayed or justified because of the threat from the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to the new Northern Ireland. (cf. Dixon, 2008, pp. 6-21) Therefore those two narratives in Northern Ireland are very different from each other and are displayed publicly by both sides through parades, flags and murals. Especially on

certain anniversaries such as the twelfth of July for the Protestant community. The time around the anniversary of the Battle of Boyne[2] leads the Protestants to reinforce their power in Northern Ireland. (cf. Jarman, 1997, pp. 1-8, pp. 254-259)

Hirsch describes postmemory as someone's experience that has been passed on to someone else. Memory and postmemory are not the same thing, as you can never claim something as your memory if you have not actually experienced it. Postmemory on the other hand is exactly that, it is through the passing on of the memory that you gain it. (cf. Hirsch, 2012, p. 31) In Northern Ireland memory and postmemory are present. The end of the Troubles lies only around 20 years behind and people can still remember it. On the other hand young people growing up in Northern Ireland are confronted with Peacewalls without having lived through the conflict, with stories from that time leading to the creation of postmemory.

Mady (2018) writes about the public space in Beirut and the difficulty of the influence of postmemory on the public space rather than the collective memory, which would be based on actual experience. A project to open up a park to the public sets out to reach reconciliation by overcoming the postmemory attached to it. (cf. Mady, 2018) Dealing with the past of a space is important, especially in a city which has seen very violent conflicts.

According to Storey (2011) the history of a country is important because it explains the existence of a country and "[...] provide a rationale for territorial claims." (Storey, 2001, p. 77) A paper on right wing extremists in Austria shows that they see a strong differentiation between us (meaning Austrians) and them

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2   The Battle of Boyne is celebrated on the 12th of July and is an important holiday for the Protestant community of Northern Ireland. It is celebrated with bonfires and parades.

(migrants, often Muslims). This gets reproduced by right wing extremists in the claiming of space and how the 'original' Austrians get suppressed by migrants in the city. (cf. Ajanovic et al., 2015, pp. 75-85) Taking the argument that Storey makes under this aspect, underlines the statements of the right wing extremists and their claim to space. But it is not aligned with the fact that everyone living in a city has the right to it and the space it offers, without favouring one group over another. Taking the situation in Northern Ireland under account it is the different perceptions of the history of Nationalists and Unionists that gets projected on their territorial claims. The argument Storey makes has therefore be considered carefully. It should not be used against the presence of migrants but rather to understand a bit better how territory can play such a big part in the structure of Belfast. It leads to various views of the history being reflected in public spaces, substantiated by the postmemory that has been passed on to the next generation. The diverse layers of history have to be acknowledged when working with present public space in Belfast.

3. 2. 2. 2. Territory

Territory is often used to refer to the area of a country, but it can also be used on a more local level. A territory is defined through the claiming of space by a group of people -or an individual- and it is a somehow defined area. (cf. Storey, 2013, pp. 1-9) The act of claiming a territory is called 'territoriality' and is a "spatial expression of power". (ibid., p. 6) As mentioned the scale of a territory can strongly vary from a macro-scale, like a state, down to a micro-scale, which can be the division within a city. A territory does not always have to be officially recognized, it can also be more informal. An example is the

development of ethnically separated quarters in a city, which in some cases can be led back to the territorial claim of a group that is highly represented in the area. (cf. ibid., pp. 1-9) This can be seen in Belfast, where certain areas are considered to be either Unionist or Nationalist. Such formation of neighbourhoods can also have different reasons for their development and it can be involuntary or planned. An example on an even smaller scale than city quarters are individual public spaces. Madanipour (2010b) writes that, the claims of public space can range from people drinking in the streets in Germany to low-income households in Mexico. Their different level of influence and power is reflected in the way they shape the space. While stronger groups may have a bigger impact such as the change of physical structure of a space, less powerful communities can leave traces which have a more temporary character. Nonetheless each and every one shapes the city, leaving even the most public of spaces with some kind of character transferred on it by a group or community. So if almost every public space is somehow claimed and territorialised -knowingly or unknowingly- it is important for planners to open the process of design and planning up and make it as inclusive as possible. This includes making space accessible for all and therefore guaranteeing equality for all. (cf. Madanipour, 2010b, pp. 237 – 242) Private property is another form of territory on an even smaller scale and it is underlined by a legal system. Personal space is the smallest scale you can impose the idea of territory on, because by claiming your own personal space you territorialise it, with the wish for people to accept it. We therefore claim space every day. (cf. Storey, 2013, pp. 1-9)
Territoriality and the claiming or the hanging on to space plays a big role in Belfast. The borders

of the territory of each community is on the one hand well known by the residents. On the other hand flags, painted kerbstones and murals can make it clear if it is either a Nationalist or Unionist neighbourhood. According to Jarman (1997) murals can be found all over Northern Ireland, but the working class areas in Belfast and Derry/ Londonderry show a high number of murals. In comparison to painted kerbstones, which usually mark a territory, murals are more directed at their own community and are therefore more likely to be located in back streets. The statements are not planned to change other people's perspective. (cf. Jarman, 1997, p. 209) When it comes to the history of mural painting two parallel developments can be detected. (cf. ibid, pp. 209f) Unionists started painting murals in the early 1900s while the Nationalist community only started in 1981 to support the hunger striker[3]. (cf. Rolston, 2013)

Fig. 8: Mural in New Lodge

Source: Own photo

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3   In 1981 a hunger strike was organised by IRA (Irish Republican Army) prisoners, demanding the special status of prisoners of war, which lead to ten deaths before the strike ended. (Beresford, 1987)

Figure 8 is an example of this kind of mural in the Nationalist neighbourhood of New Lodge in North Belfast. It is dedicated to the hunger strike in 1981, where one of the people in the lower right-hand corner is holding an image of Bobby Sands, who was to first to die of the hunger striker. (For the location see Fig. 1, p. X, E5 -New Lodge)

Even though murals are generally not used to mark the entrance of a territory, their presence still strongly symbolises which community has control over the space. Furthermore parades and celebrations held in public spaces can lead to tensions and disputes. In the case of Northern Ireland the territory dispute started on a macro-level but has been projected on the micro-level of the city. The conflict revolved around the whole area of Northern Ireland but was centred on Belfast, which is now split into territories.

According to the strategy 'A Shared Future' it is important to address the "[...] visible manifestation of sectarianism and racism [...]" (OFMDFM, 2005, p. 18) and free the public areas from these displays to move towards a shared society future. (cf. ibid, p. 18) This implies that by getting rid of decisive and sectarian symbols in public space, it automatically makes it a safe and welcoming place for everyone. However the history and personal experience are not attached to the display of symbols but to the space itself and therefore plays a role in how welcome someone feels. (Rallings, 2014, pp. 433f)

In a city where the public space is territorialised and symbols of belonging are present, the pursuit of shared spaces is important. Furthermore the symbols and murals have to be addressed as well, but simply banning them from the public space will not turn it into a shared space. In order to reach a shared future a number of aspects have to be achieved including an understanding of the past, consideration the different collective memories of communities, and the development of public space. This includes dealing with the multiple pasts in public space without glorifying one side of history through putting down others.

3. 2. 3. Division

"The divided city is a physical crisis nestled within a political crisis carried forward by a raft of social ills." (Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, p. 171) Meaning that the issues around the Peacelines are only a piece of the puzzle. On the one hand, the political problems in the past led to the construction of the Peacelines, while on the other hand political bottlenecks are a constant in both, the recent history and the current situation of Northern Ireland. A strong government is necessary to sort out the issues connected to the division of Belfast, which is missing at the moment. The third aspect is the so called social ills, which includes social deprivation, unemployment and mental health issues which especially surrounds the Peacelines. This serves to only enhance the division.

3. 2. 3. 1. Borders

"Borders are not a given, natural fact. On the contrary: they are established- and established over and over again." (Doll, Gelberg, 2016, p. 16) Even though in a lot of cases it seems as if borders have always been there, they all have a history of implementation. Some have been implemented recently while other borders have not changed in a long time. The topic of borders is a broad and interdisciplinary one with various meanings and understandings on different scales. Borders can vary from national borders

Fig. 9: Peaceline Bryson Street

Source: Own compilation

down to a property line.

The differentiation between private and public space within human settlements including semi-public and semi-private spaces, can be found in cities throughout history until today. (cf. Madanipour, 2010a, p. 14) In the case of Belfast, borders between Nationalist and Unionist neighbourhoods can at the same time be property lines between public and private as the example of Bryson Street (Fig. 9) shows . Behind this wall the private backyards are clearly separated from the public street. (For the location see Fig. 1, p. X, D6 -Cupar Way, F6- Short Strand)

Borders symbolize some kind of difference and separation which influences both sides of it. This division can be obviously visible through some kind of marking but it is also possible that borders are not visible. (cf. Albrecht, Benevolo, 1995, p. 4) Borders and territory always go hand in hand. The course of a border can in some cases be very exact, such as the one of a country. In other cases, especially informal territories,

the edge is not as clear. (cf. Storey, 2001, p. 6) Nonetheless they underline differences, such as rules or customs. These differences always exist between both sides of a border, and therefore a comparison between city or national borders is possible. (cf. Albrecht, Benevolo, 1995, p. 4) This description of borders is based on the German word "Grenzen", which is the most common word used in German to describe borders. Looking into the English language there are other words apart from borders used in this context such as boundaries, edges and frontiers.

Richard Sennett (2016) used the term edges to describe the separation between two different ethnical neighbourhoods in a city. He then went on to differentiate edges into two further types: borders and boundaries. The difference is derived from the cellular level, comparing cell membrane with the border and cell wall with boundary. A boundary is characterised by low interactions, as a cell wall is trying to not let anything out. For example gated communities are surrounded by boundaries with no possibility

of interaction with the neighbourhoods outside of the compound. Other examples are isolated business campuses or shopping malls, as they only have one function and are not offering much interaction or diversity. Borders on the other hand show a higher rate of exchange and more activity in general. Looking at city walls during the medieval times offers an example for a border. Even though the walls seemed very resistant, they offered a space for the outcasts to engage and a place where the black-market could take place and the economy of the city could thrive. (cf. Sennett, 2016, pp. 261-264) Boundaries as well was borders can be found in a city. Borders offer a space for interaction where a city can thrive. Boundaries often have the reverse effect. They are dividing cities, leaving limited space for exchange and diversity. However boundaries are outnumbering borders in cities nowadays, which leads to less interaction and a higher impermeability within cities. Paying attention to strengthening borders -in the sense of Sennett- is therefore important. (cf. ibid., pp. 261-264)

The literature on borders offers a broad spectrum of definition and meanings, depending on the cultural context or the place. Haselsberger (2014) identifies border, boundary and frontier as the most frequently used terms. Boundaries can be separated into four categories: geopolitical, socio-cultural, economic and biophysical boundaries. Geopolitical boundaries are defined as a territorial and physical separation of land, which can be a city as well as a region or the European Union. A socio-cultural boundary is based on a societal development which led to some kind of division. Economic boundaries are changing continuously and are defined by economic factors. The last category is biophysical boundaries which are based on the

naturally given settings such as rivers. Borders and frontiers are created out of on overlapping of boundary categories. The difference is, that a border is a line in space that divides along the interface. Frontiers are also called border regions and are defined by a more fluid transition in the form of an area rather than a strict line. (cf. Haselsberger, 2014, pp. 1-7)

By looking at the impact borders have on the surrounding regions a differentiation between 'thick' and 'thin' borders can be detected. Thick borders are not easy to cross over and there are no interactions between the neighbours. One example is the Iron Curtain but present or past divided cites such as Nicosia are also examples of this type of border, as they limit interactions due to their thick borders. Thin borders are the opposite and offer a more open exchange while still having some limitations. Europe consists of more thick than thin borders, even within the European Union, which itself is restricted by a thick border. (cf. ibid., pp. 1-7)

Casey uses the US-Mexico border -La Frontera- to discuss borders and boundaries. Similar to Sennett he also starts with describing edges, which clearly separates one thing from another according to their differences. Edge is an overall term which can be split into different forms, with the main two being borders and boundaries. They are characterised by separating of places from each other and the presence of two sides, where you can only be on one side of it. Borders are produced throughout the human history, and are based on agreements and have an official status. Their location can usually be pinned down exactly and most importantly they lack permeability. Boundaries have some historical development but they are less precise as is their location. Boundaries are permeable, leaving room for exchange. However, it is not

always possible to clearly distinguish between borders and boundaries and there are different forms and variations. Furthermore borders can develop into boundaries and are always in the process of it. (cf. Casey, 2011, pp. 384-398)

By taking the definition of borders and boundaries according to Sennett and comparing it to the differentiation of thick and thin borders, that Haselsberger has proposed, shows that the core meaning is the same. Borders or thin borders are less resistant and leave room for contact and interactions. In comparison to thick borders or boundaries which are described as impervious. The main difference between the descriptions is the scale. While Sennett bases his explanation of borders and boundaries on the example of cities, Haselsberger uses a more regional approach to explain the difference. In the end both terms describe the same phenomenon, the different levels of permeability. Furthermore the presence of thick borders/ borders in cities as well as in the European Union poses an issue which leads to the aim of transforming them into thin borders/ boundaries. Taking Casey's explanation the factor of permeability comes into play again, but in comparison to Sennett, boundaries show a more permeable character while borders strongly separate places with no room for exchange. The core difference is similar but the terminology has changed. For this research I decided to use the term border to describe a very consistent, clearly located and

impervious edge. Boundaries on the other hand are characterised by their permeability, the space they offer for exchange and for activities. What I find very important is accepting the fact that there is not always a clear separation of the two different terms and that one edge might have characteristics of both. Taking the statement that borders turn into boundaries by Casey (2011), I can see that there are examples underlining that. At the same time I have to add, that it can also go the other way around or it can go back and forth as well. This can be detected in Europe at the moment, where countries are closing their borders, turning away from the transformation of borders into boundaries.

Tabel 2 shows an overview of the different distinctions between borders and boundaries, thin and thick borders.

A border can be characterised by different aspects, such as the physical visibility, the degree of permeability and interaction, how formal a border is or what scale you are looking at. According to Calame and Charlesworth (2009) lines which separate different communities and neighbourhoods, can be found in every city. (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, p. 2) However this does not necessarily lead to the building of walls.

The partition of a city results from one group, typically a minority, feeling unsafe and the security failing to reinstate their safety. The construction of walls within a city is presented

Table 2: Borders - Boundaries

Sennett (2016)	BORDER	BOUNDARY
	- zone of high interaction	- low interaction
Haselsberger (2014)	THIN BORDER	THICK BORDER
	- permeable	- prevent interaction
Casey (2011)	BOUNDARY	BORDER
	- porous	- designed to be impervious

Source: Casey, 2011; Haselsberger, 2014; Sennett, 2017

as a solution to violence, but it is only a cheap and temporary solution to a long term problem. Partition only lessens the chances of working through the issues that divided the community. Instead it keeps the fear of each other alive and works as a symbol against unity. (cf. Calame, Charlesworth, 2009, pp. 5-15)

This can be found in Belfast, with the Peacelines acting as a constant reminder of the past and fear.
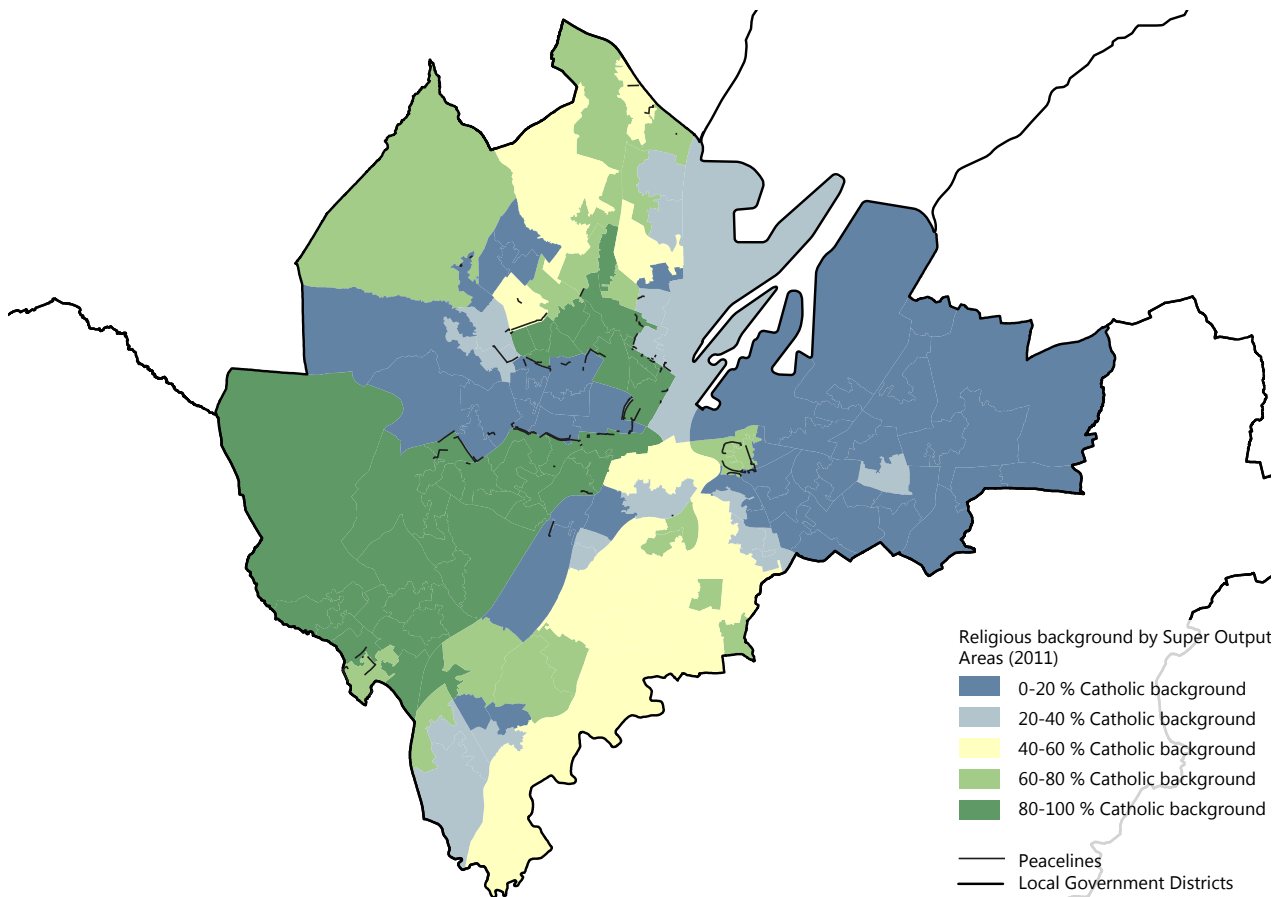
3. 2. 3. 2. Segregation

The dictionary describes segregation as the separation of groups with different traits such as the class or religion, with this separation serving to keep contact to a minimum. (cf. duden.de, 2017) It is the accumulation of groups, people with similar interests, values and characteristics in a certain area, separated from people who do not share the same characteristics. (cf. Bogue and Bogue, 1976, quoted in: Poole, Doherty, 1996, pp. 10f) Breaking it down to an urban level means the creation of quarters and areas within a city which are inhabited by people with similar backgrounds e.g. their ethnicity or level of education. This happens because of the diversity cities have to offer.

Diversity is not equally spread over a city and different social groups often living concentrated in a specific area. These groups can be connected through different common features such as the social class or ethnicity. (cf. Boal, 1995, pp. 26f) Diversity is seen as a standard for cities and represents a key for the success of planning. For urban designers it is understood as a mixture of building types while for planners it is about mixed-uses as well as ethnic diversity. Some may argue that all these various understandings of diversity are linked together, but does an area with different building types automatically attract social diversity? (cf. Fainstein, 2005, pp. 3-10) An example from New York shows, that even though Battery Park City offers different uses and types of buildings which makes it appear diverse, it does not represent the cultural differences existing in New York City. (cf. Sennett, 1992, quoted in Fainstein, 2005, p. 6) Another example from Amsterdam shows that social diversity exists in areas with less mixed buildings and uses. Social diversity does not reflect the physical diversity but is the result of the social program of the city. (cf. Musterd and Salet, 2003, quoted in Fainstein, 2005, p. 10) This shows that a range of different buildings does not automatically lead to ethnically mixed neighbourhoods and an area with no diversity in building types does not create segregation. The discussion regarding if it is positive if groups with similar backgrounds settle in the same area in a city has been ongoing. There is a differentiation between voluntary or involuntary segregation. The word segregation is associated with negativity and is often equalized with the involuntary segregation.

Positive aspects of groups with similar interests and backgrounds being spatially located next to each other is the social cohesion. It offers the possibility for aspects like religious institutions to be maintained within a community and networks to be strengthened. A negative aspect is, that it prevents underprivileged and under-represented groups from moving into areas that the dominant group calls their home and want for themselves. (cf. Peach, 2000, p. 10-23) Even though diversity does not automatically mean different social groups will accept each other, often getting to know other groups can raise the tolerance. (cf. Fainstein, 2005, pp. 9ff) That does not mean that cities have to be equally mixed but spaces who at least offer the possibility for exchange and interactions are necessary.

Fig. 10: Religious Segregation in Belfast

Religious background by Super Output Areas (2011)

■ 0-20 % Catholic background
■ 20-40 % Catholic background
■ 40-60 % Catholic background
■ 60-80 % Catholic background
■ 80-100 % Catholic background

— Peacelines
— Local Government Districts

Source: detaildata, 2018; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2018d; OpenDataNI, 2018a, OpenDataNI, 2018b; own compilation

Taking a look at segregation in Belfast Shirlow and Murtagh (2006) state that, *"Segregation is one of the many manifestations of disagreement and failure to create a version of Northern Ireland that is acceptable to the inhabitants of that place."* (Shirlow, Murtagh, 2006, p. 17) The high level of segregation in Northern Ireland reflects the disagreement between PUL and CNR communities and is not opposed by the inhabitants due to historical developments. There is a long history of segregation between Catholics and Protestants and even the map (Fig. 10) of Belfast itself shows that Belfast is a highly segregated city. The map uses the Super Output Area data of the census 2011 which represented people's background. It shows the percentage of people with a Catholic background in Belfast. This includes people who might not consider themselves Catholic but where brought up with that religion. It becomes very clear that the Peacelines separate Catholic from Protestant neighbourhoods. Furthermore the connection between the level of segregation and the number of Peacewalls is clearly visible on the map. There are no Peacelines in the mixed areas in the South.

The conflict had different effects on Northern Ireland, with segregation being one effect that has strongly manifested itself in space.

It was discussed in social studies research from 1973 by Cooper and O'Seah, under the topic of demography, that new movements had been detected. Protestants, as well as Catholics, living as a minority in their neighbourhood started to move into areas, where their religious beliefs were shared by their neighbours. This led to a greater religious segregation, especially in

Fig. 11: Segregation Dissimilarity Index of Belfast 1901-1991

1901-1971

1971-1991
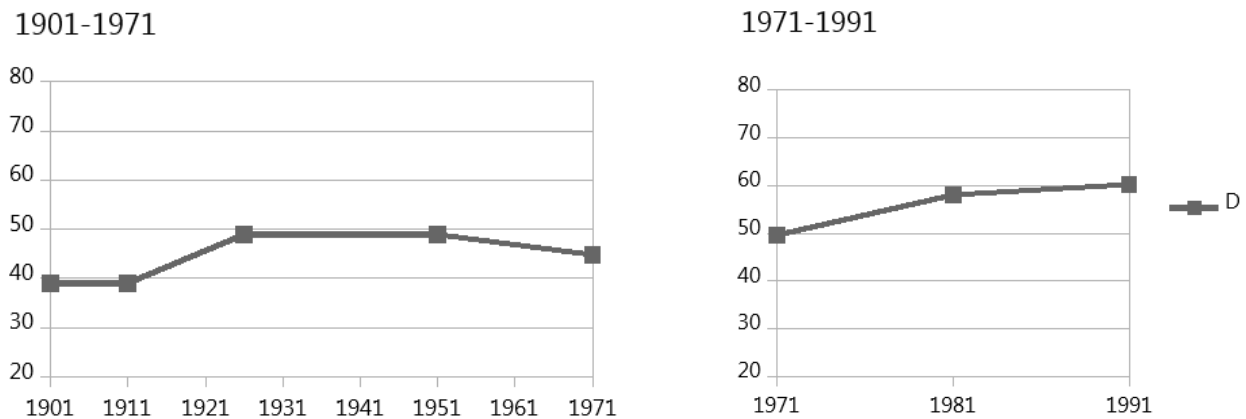
Source: Doherty, Poole, 2000

Belfast. This movement had one of its peaks in August 1971 when around 10.000 people moved within the time frame of three weeks, mostly in West and North Belfast. (cf. Cooper, O'Shea, 1973) The history of Belfast shows that the religious beliefs -differencing Protestants from Catholics- has been one of the main influences on the city for a long time and not only during the Troubles. Looking back at the history it can be found, that the foundation of Belfast was led by settlers from England and Scotland, who were Protestants. During the period of the industrialisation in the beginning of the 19th century Catholic migrants from the rural areas of Ireland moved into the city and changed Belfast from a Protestant to a mixed place. (cf. Boal, 1995, pp. 26f.) There was an immediate segregation of Catholics and Protestants for a number of reasons. On the one hand newcomers from the countryside were looking for other newcomers and settled down in neighbourhoods where they felt surrounded with similarity. On the other hand a lot of Protestants did not appreciate Catholics moving to Belfast and acted this way as well. Over time the Catholic and Protestant communities did not emerge into one, but stayed separate. This can be led back to the fact, that even though Protestants were the majority in the city, they were an enclave. The rest of the island was Catholic and the Protestants' status was not secure. (cf. Boal, 2002, pp. 687-694) The proportion of Catholics was rising and by 1991 42% of the core city was Catholic. Looking at the development of segregation in Belfast over the past 160 years shows that after a relatively quiet period with no increase of segregation a conflict breaks out. This is followed by an intense increase of segregation. This led to a general rise of segregation between 1840 and 2000, especially after 1969. (cf. Boal, 1995, pp. 26f.)

The dissimilarity index D (Fig. 11) is used to describe the level of religious segregation. Would the index D be zero, Protestants and Catholics would be evenly spread over the city, while 100 would mean total segregation. The y-axis starts from 20 and ends at 80 to make the changes of the dissimilarity index easier to grasp. The reason for two different graphics is due to the accessibility of the data. From 1901 until 1971 the information was available on the level of fifteen wards, while from 1971 until 1991 the level was in 157 squares. (cf. Doherty, Poole, 2002, pp. 179-185) Around the 1920s sectarian violence was taking place in Belfast leading to a rise in segregation. The same pattern can be found at the beginning of the 1970s which were the most violent years during the Troubles.

Segregation leads to the formation of areas and neighbourhoods which are clearly separated from other areas, with communities accepting the existence of one dimensional political and cultural ideas and values. This leads to a strong sense of territory. It creates a sense of belonging somewhere and the companionship and support within a community makes separation acceptable (cf. Shirlow et al., 2006, p. 17), "[...] segregation exists because it works [...]". (ibid., p. 17) The segregation and division of Belfast is not something that is only met with opponents, as some residents of segregated communities support it. Sometimes threats are made against members of their own community to not enter into an area of the other community. The wish for a development towards mixed neighbourhoods can also vary, depending on the degree of violent outbursts, such as the time during marching seasons[4]. There is usually a higher degree of tension between the communities, which might strengthen the wish to stay segregated. (cf. ibid., pp. 24f) I will further discuss the aspect of segregation in a following chapter and the opinion why it might be considered to be working.

It is important to acknowledge that within those homogeneous communities -connected through being either a Unionist or Nationalist- other differences are disguised. They are connected through their attachment to a place giving them a sense of identity which leads to Belfast being a city made up of a collection of disconnected neighbourhoods. (cf. ibid., p. 17)

Communities and neighbourhoods within a city can be portrayed as a positive aspect of a city, because it gives the people a sense of belonging and identity in an otherwise impersonal city. There are also negative aspects to it such as the possibility of the city being separated into poor and rich areas, which can even be divided by walls or gates. (cf. Madanipour, 2014, pp. 139f) "[...] the result is the fragmentation of urban space and society along cultural, social and economic lines." (ibid. p. 139f) Even though the communities have a strong connection within themselves, a city should not only be defined by its individual quarters but also through its existence as a whole.

This segregation was not properly considered within the Good Friday Agreement, and the NIA (Northern Ireland Assembly) did not address this issue. In some ways the Agreement strengthened the spatial division within Belfast, because it was based on tradition. This means that the identity of each community was strengthened, instead of the relationship between the communities. In other words, it was more about the individual community than it was about general interest and the wider picture. (cf. Shirlow et al., 2006, pp. 18-41) The formation of single identity communities might have started a long time ago with an increase as a result of the Troubles, but certain developments after the ceasefire did not help in limiting segregation.

Segregation is not only spatially manifested in the division of residential areas but can be found in the education system as well. According to a report on advancing shared education from 2013, only around seven percent of pupils are attending mixed/ integrated schools. (cf. Connolly et al., 2013, p. 91)

Also the social housing system enhances segregation, as there are more or less two systems -an official and an unofficial one-. Officially someone's background should not be a factor whether someone can move into a certain

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4   The marching season usually describes the time from Easter until September, this is when most of the parades are taking place with the majority expressing Unionist/Loyalist traditions. (cf. Nolan, 2013, p. 82)

Fig. 12: Development of Religions in Belfast
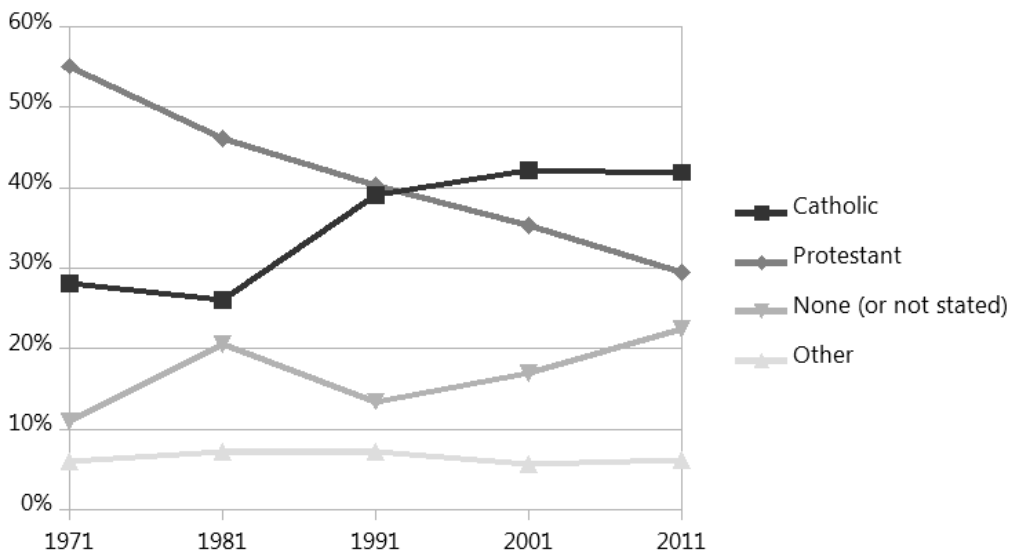
Source: Northern Ireland General Register Office, 1975, Northern Ireland General Register Office, 1984, Northern Ireland Statistic and Research Agency, 2018a-c; own compilation

area. However people would not voluntarily move into an area of 'the other' and therefore would not ask for housing in certain areas. (cf. Peach, 2000, pp. 10-23) Catholic communities are growing (Fig. 12) and putting pressure on the housing market. (cf. Shirlow et al., 2006, p. 19) There is still a difference in poverty levels between the two communities, with the Protestants experiencing less deprivation. (cf. Wilson, 2016, p. 87) Protestants are therefore more likely to move out of the city. (cf. Shirlow et al., 2006, p. 19) At the same time the birth rate in the Catholic communities is higher than in Protestant communities. (cf. Lowry, 2017)

The waiting list for housing is dominated by Catholics, which leads them to blame the state policies for keeping Unionist areas unavailable. (cf. Shirlow et al., 2006, p. 19) It is necessary to explicitly create mixed housing to move against the territorial claims of the communities.

This shows that segregation in Belfast has a long history and breaking that pattern will need different forces working together. One thing that is for sure is that Peacelines do not help in dismantling the segregation, but rather make it difficult to work towards a shared future.

The graphic (Fig. 12) shows the religious development in Belfast. The percentage of Protestants is decreasing, while the Catholic community is growing. People stating to 'not be part of any religion' or do not state one at all are also increasing. The religious data was part of the census conducted every then years. According to one interviewee (No. 6) the 1981 census is not accurate due to manipulation, which explains the high of people not stating their religion. (Interview 6, 2017)

3. 2. 4. Shared Space

To tackle the issue of separation many different issues come into play, such as mixed housing and mixed education, but the public space -which makes up an important part of a city- plays a role in a shared future as well. According to Madanipour (2014) the contact between people is important for integration and the acceptance of others. This contact as irregular and minimalistic as it might be, is much better than if people were not to meet at all due to living apart.(cf. Madanipour, 2014, p.144)

Shared space is often understood as a space which is used by motorised vehicles as well as bikes and pedestrians. When talking about shared space in Northern Ireland the focus is put on the inclusiveness towards people with different backgrounds and religious diversity. It is understood as a public space where people with different backgrounds come together and feel safe to access it. The idea of shared spaces is an attempt of policy makers to address the separation within Belfast. (cf. Rallings, 2014, p. 432) The fact that there is the need to specifically create spaces for ethnic diversity shows how the public space is perceived in Belfast. It is limited to certain areas in the city depending on your ethnic background.

For example commercial areas such as Falls or Shankill Road are very busy during the day, but the people present on the streets are limited to either people from the community or 'neutral' visitors, like tourists. Therefore such inclusive shared spaces -which are still missing in Belfast- are very important to lead the way towards a mixed use future. (cf. De Vita, 2014, p. 177) "Shared space cannot be declared. It has to be won." (Gaffikin et al., 2008, p. 83) This means that simply declaring a space to be shared does not work, but it will instead take time and the inclusion of the community to create shared spaces.

This can be seen in the example of the Waterworks Park (Fig. 13) in North Belfast. It was planned as an integrated park with Catholic and Protestant neighbourhoods surrounding it. In this example, although there is no wall, each community uses only certain parts of the park. The boundaries of their area of comfort are marked by physical elements such as a football field or a lake. (For the location see Fig. 1, p. X, D6 -Cupar Way, D/E4 -Waterworks Park) Such integrated parks have the aim to leave the

Fig. 13: Waterworks Parks

Water
Football field

0 m 50 m   200 m

Source: Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

division implemented in people's minds behind and neutralise space. They have been created by the state as a tool against the spatial division. Often the design of such parks without the presence of walls only enhanced the division by creating natural barriers such as lakes or woods. A deeper understanding of the spatial division and a multilayer planning approach is necessary to create integrated spaces. (cf. Abdelmonem, McWhinney, 2015, pp. 41-49) However simply offering a space to share is not enough, because it is easily divided by surrounding communities. According to Madanipour (2014) the creation of inclusive spaces is one of the main issues urban design has to tackle. This means that a city should be open to all no matter ones age, gender, ethnicity and so on. (cf. Madanipour, 2014, p. 148)

Creating shared, open and inclusive public spaces is not restricted to divided cities but is

crucial for every city. Belfast, as a city that is shaped by and developed around the physical walls of division and is actively working towards a shared future. The following chapters will focus on the North of Belfast and discuss the issues connected to the Peacelines. Furthermore two shared spaces serve as examples of ways public space can be used to deal with the Peacelines. The attempt to define Peacelines will make the concept more understandable. The following part of the research is mainly based on interviews conducted between May and August 2017 and observations that display my view as an outsider in Belfast.

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Fig. 14: Map of Focus Area
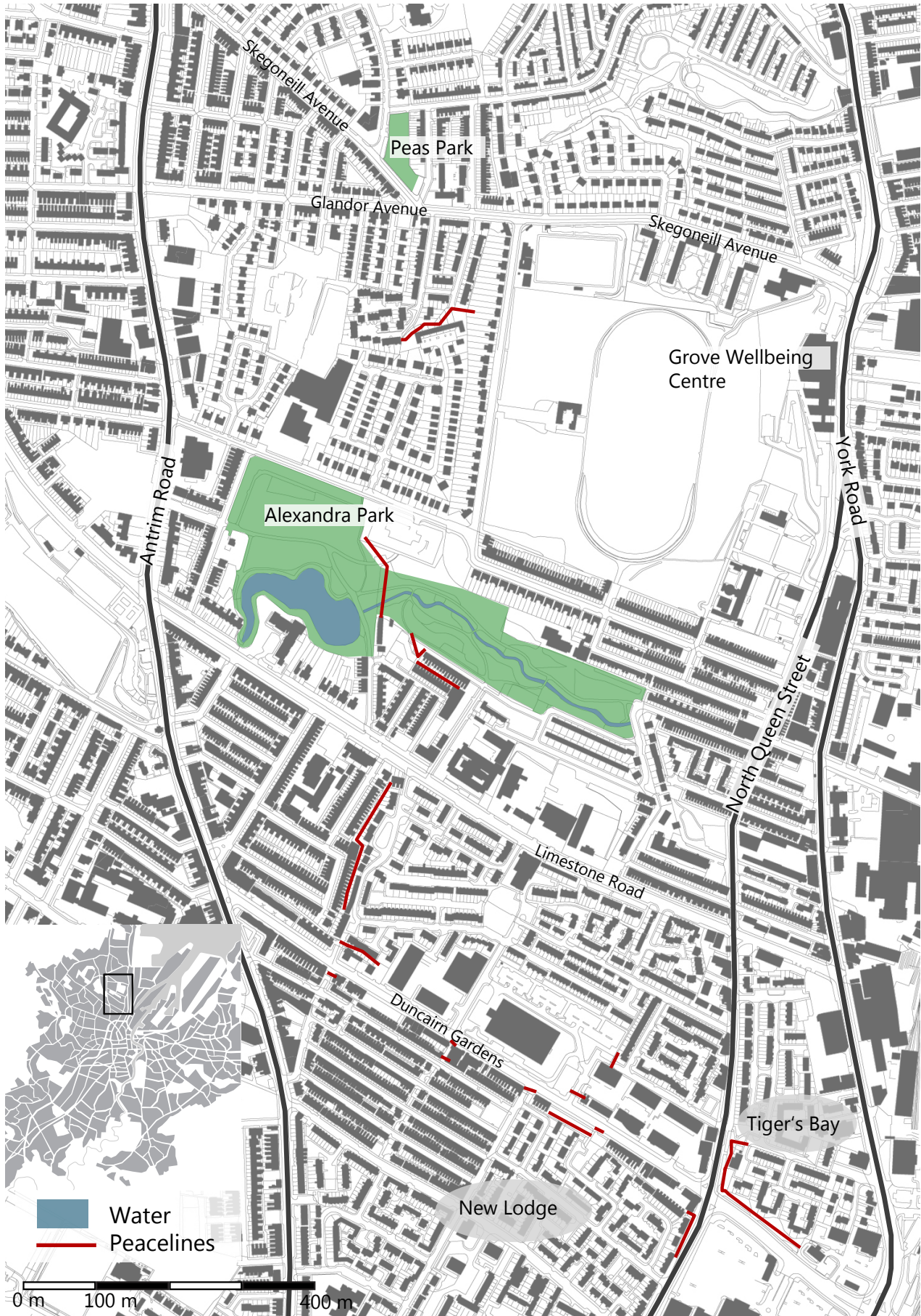
Source: detaildata, 2018; Queen's Univeristy of Belfast; own compilation

## PUBLIC SPACE ALONG INTERFACES|4

4. PUBLIC SPACE ALONG INTERFACES

When talking about the future development of Belfast and the Peacelines various different issues have to be considered and the focus cannot simply be put on the removal of the walls. According to a presentation in the Girdwood Community Hub in May 2017 the regeneration of an area and the removal of Peacelines go hand in hand, or as one interviewee (No. 2) put it, "[...] you can only really deal with the walls when you deal with them in the context of a wider regeneration for the whole area [...]" (Interview 2, 2017) It is therefore important to understand that, in order to reach a shared future -including less segregation and a decrease of Peacelines-, a wider picture is necessary. The research therefore examines the public space in interface areas instead of solely focusing on the physical presence of the Peacelines.

The focus area (Fig. 14) lies in North Belfast and can be characterised by different factors. I chose it as my research area because the two shared spaces Alexandra Park and Peas Park are located in the North. Furthermore, interfaces run through the focus area, with some marked by Peacelines, while others have no visible physical wall separating communities. This can

also be seen on the map (Fig. 15) that shows the segregation within the areas. While the west side is mainly Catholic, the east side is more Protestant. The community of Tiger's Bay (in the south-east) has a strong Unionist and Loyalist community in comparison to New Lodge (in the south) which is home to Republicans and

Fig. 15: Religious Segregation in the Focus Area
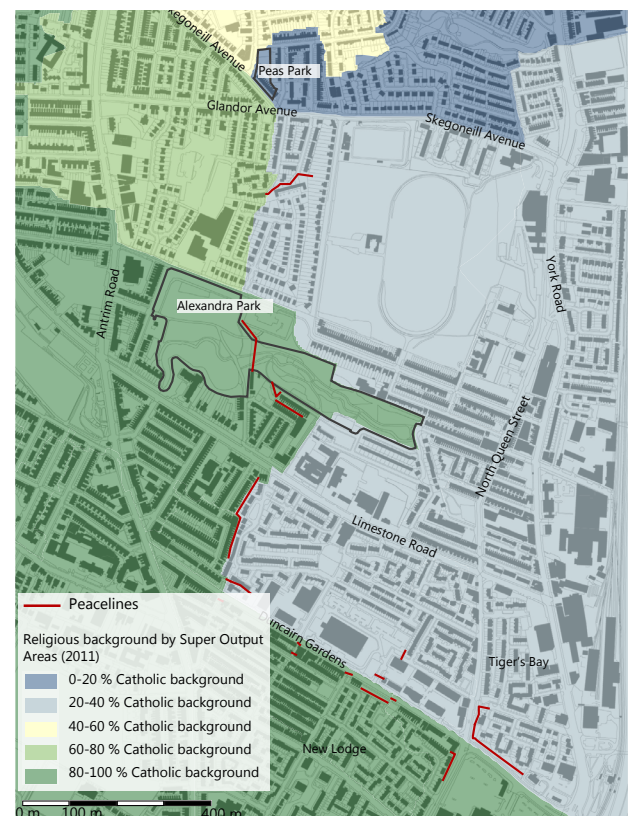
detaildata, 2018; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2018d; OpenDataNI, 2018a; Queen's University; own compilation

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Nationalists. The strong sense of identity of these two communities led to the construction of some of the Peacelines. The Antrim Road on the west offers a lot of shops while the Grove Wellbeing Centre in the east includes health facilities. The map shows the most important characteristics of the area for my research and I return to describe certain aspects in more detail.

4. 1. BORDERS

Borders can exist in different forms and don't necessarily have to be concrete walls. One interviewee (No. 2) said that "[...] we have used other devises to divide the community [...]" (Interview 2, 2017), meaning that not only Peacelines and walls are separating communities but roads and buffer-zones were also built as a form of division.

One example of a buffer-zone specifically built as a security measure to separate Nationalist and Unionist communities is the business park in Duncairn Gardens. In the early 1990s this buffer-zone was created to conquer the issue of safety in the interface area, which was threatened by nightly violence in form of shooting and stone throwing. (cf. ibid.)

Furthermore the street network (Fig. 16) shows that through the urban development of Belfast the connectivity was broken as well. From looking at the map from 1960 and projecting the street network from 2012 on it, one can see, that a lot of streets end in dead ends nowadays which were once connected. Furthermore the Peacelines in the map show where streets have been cut off.

This was a way to decrease the violence. Neighbourhoods often only have one way in, this limits the possibility of riots passing through. Snipers have less of a chance to due to a lack of straight streets. (cf. Interview 9, 2017)

Fig. 16: Street Network

Peacelines
Street network 2012

Source: detaildata, 2018; Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

Peacelines or Peacewalls are not something that only emerged during the years of the Troubles but were also installed whilst a conflict was taking place between 1920 and 1922. Back then the walls were only developed for a short amount of time. The Peacewalls we see today were also meant to be short-term. The British Army installed them as a temporary solution in 1969. They were a measurement to quieten down the conflict, not knowing at the time the extent to which the conflict would reach. (cf. Interview 9, 2017) "I don't think anybody really knew in 1969, that it's going to develop into where it went." (Ibid.) This should only be a short reminder of what was already explained in a previous chapter. The intention behind the development of walls to separate Unionist from Nationalist neighbourhoods was a temporary one, but they are now in existence for nearly 50 years.

It would be wrong to only point out the negativity of the developments in Belfast without also talking about examples where changes and progress are being made. A community worker from the North of Belfast talked about a gate

which is opened in the morning by a police officer and closed in the evening. Voices of the community are getting louder in an attempt to keep it open longer which would be much more convenient for them. The next step will be to talk to the residents especially the ones living in close range to the gate and if they approve, the gate will stay open longer. (cf. Interview 13, 2017) This is only one of many examples where aspects of the city are in the process of change or where progress is already achieved. It might seem irrelevant, but minor changes like this play an important part in the removal of walls, as it takes time and small steps.

There are 17 security barriers in the focus area. (cf. Belfast Interface Project, 2017) Starting in the North, the first one is privately owned and, in addition functioning as a security barrier, it also separates the private from the public. The next Peaceline is the wall running through the Alexandra Park, with the photo (Fig. 21) showing the Peacegate. The Peacewall just outside of Alexandra Park is a metal fence reaching the roofs of the houses it is covering. The Peaceline running between Limestone Road and Duncairn Gardens is a Peaceline as well as a property line, with the back of the houses on both sides leading right up to the fence. Several gates and barriers are located along Duncairn Gardens, with the gates mainly for pedestrian use such as the one present in the photo (Fig. 18). At the junction of Duncairn Gardens and North Queen Street the Nationalist New Lodge area and the Unionist Tiger's Bay area come together, with Peacelines on both sides. The photo (Fig. 19) shows the fence along North Queen Street. This short description and the photos should give an understanding of the variety of Peacelines and their appearances.

Fig. 17: Peacelines in Alexandra Park

Source: Own photo

Fig. 18: Gate at Duncairn Gardens

Source: Own photo

Fig. 19: Peaceline Tiger's Bay

Source: Own photo

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4. 2. Contested Public Space

Peacelines are not simply described by their physical appearance. It is the impact they have on the city that shows their different layers. Three aspects were detected: safety, connectivity and territory. Those topics show that effects Peacelines have on the public space and a detailed description will follow in this chapter. Afterwards the Peacewalls will be described through the impact they have on the city.

4. 2. 1. Safety

As the name of the walls already imply, the Peacelines were built for safety issues, to create peace, or as one interviewee (No. 9) tries to put the thinking process during the conflict into words " [...] if you don't separate them some way there's going to be trouble, so they started building these walls right through." (Interview 9, 2017) It is therefore necessary to discuss safety as part of the Peacelines.

The newspaper Belfast Telegraph from the third of July 1970 carried the headline "Army seal off a city's hate", with the first article describing the construction of the second Peaceline in Belfast. "Another part of Belfast became permanently divided this morning as troops moved in to seal off 13 streets in the Crumlin Road area." (Belfast Telegraph, 1970) A soldier states that the barricades should stop more killings happening in the area. Residents living in the immediate area, who were questioned about the new Peacelines stated that it makes them feel safer: (cf. ibid.) "It should be much safer when the barricades are in place." (ibid.) This newspaper article associates the feeling of safety with the construction of Peacelines right from the beginning.

To understand the feeling of safety attached to the Peacewalls a comparison with the Berlin wall was made. An interviewee (No. 9), said that in Berlin the wall was purposely built to split the city leaving the inhabitants without a choice. In Belfast the security issue played the main role and a lot of people nowadays, 20 years after the Good Friday/ Belfast Agreement, don't want the walls removed due to safety reasons. (cf. Interview 9, 2017) Some people are afraid that the violence would increase without the walls. (Interview 1, 2017) However "[...] they [Peacelines, author's note] don't actually work, never did [...]" (Interview 6, 2017) and do not guarantee safety or no violence. It is more about the feeling of protection rather than actual protection which made the barriers appear to be working during the Troubles. (cf. ibid.) It is therefore the fear of sectarian violence that is implemented in people's mind and which ultimately plays the bigger role, because statistics show that sectarian crime is decreasing. (cf. Interview 1, 2017) The feeling of safety might be irrational, but nonetheless it has to be taken into consideration without diminishing it as irrelevant. The walls have been protecting the residents for years, major changes are therefore not welcomed by the inhabitants. (cf. Interview 7, 2017)

When it comes to the removal of the walls the communities consent is necessary to move forward. The people living closest to the Peacelines are more likely to see the walls as protection (cf. Interview 2, 2017) because if "[...] it helps you to feel safe, why would you take it down [...]". (ibid.) It is not only the fear of violence that keeps residents acceptable towards the Peacelines, but also the uncertainty what the future would bring. They do not know how the

removal would change the future and therefore the dislike of change makes the current situation preferable. (cf. Interview 10, 2017)

The trust in community workers and what they are doing plays an important role. You have to give the residents a feeling of stability and safety. The initial changes will not always be the immediate removal of walls but they may start with and small steps such as gates. (cf. Interview 7, 2017) Another aspect is the influence that rumours have on the local people, especially rumours that play on the existing fear of sectarianism and riots. On the day the gate in Alexandra Park was opened, there were rumours that there was a huge riot in the park, while the police have no incidences reported from that day. (cf. Interview 5, 2017) The community group working on the Alexandra Park have to always provide evidence and statistics to undermine such rumours. They only play into the hands of those who do not want things to change. People against any sort of change can start upsetting people and as a result, can put a halt on the work that community groups are doing. (cf. Interview 13, 2017) Another example is a group of around 100 young people, who met up in the Park around Easter 2017, to hang out. The police had to come and disperse the groups, but there was no sectarian behaviour detected by the police. Nonetheless local residents started to talk about a riot and violence in the park. Even though the reports only described 'normal' antisocial behaviour, people immediately expect it to be sectarian behaviour, enforcing the fear of the removal of the walls. (cf. Interview 5, 2017) These examples show, that it is not only the past that keeps the perception of Peacelines as a necessary protection in people's minds, but rumours from current incidences, also contribute, which are enforced by people who are against any change

at all.

To move forward "[...] you have to allow people the opportunity to integrate, to feel safe in other areas [...]". (Interview 10, 2017) Considering that you cannot force integration, the possibility of socialising has to be given to people through activities such as shared sports or shared classes, with these activities leading the way by softening the borders. (cf. ibid.) Different community organisations are working on creating possibilities for integration through housing, education, social events which will help break down the barriers. (cf. Interview 7, 2017) However it dose not mean, that integration works immediately, as it takes time and small steps.

4. 2. 2. Connectivity

Belfast is a divided city with a lack of connection. The newspaper article written about the installation of the second Peacewall also quoted a women from the area saying that she has to take a longer walk to the grocery shop now. (cf. Belfast Telegraph, 1970) This already implies that the construction of barriers had a big influence on the public space in terms of accessibility and connectivity. An example from nowadays gives an insight about into the problems around a city divided by barriers and walls. According to an interviewee (No. 1) a youth club doing cross community work suffers from the six o'clock closing time of a gate. They do activities after the gate closes, and therefore a detour has to be taken, costing the youth club around 18 thousand pounds a year for the transportation cost alone. (cf. Interview 1, 2017) This example shows that time and money that could be spent differently has to go towards bypassing the barricades.

One interviewee (No. 2) said that " [...] it's not just about walls, it's about connectivity." (Interview 2, 2017) while talking about the Peacewalls. The connectivity is broken down, with streets ending in dead ends. Furthermore there is a lack of connection between North and West Belfast and the City Centre. (cf. ibid.) The redevelopment over the years has impacted the layout of the city, for an example houses along the Cupar Way have been redeveloped, specifically on the Catholic side. This also changed the street patterns, which leads to a disconnection even after the walls would be removed. It is therefore necessary for the whole area to be considered. Looking at possibilities of how to create streets that connect to other streets again. (cf. ibid.) The Business Park in Duncairn Gardens, located in the focus are, was created as a buffer zone, which also cuts off streets from the Loyalist Tiger's Bay area to the Republican New Lodge area. This creates a disconnected street pattern. (cf. ibid.) Planners were asked to "[...] use the environment to address the issue of violence [...]". (Interview 2, 2017) The decision to create a buffer zone and add to the separation of the city was actively made by the government. Responding to the violence through purposefully separating the communities was only justifying the violence. At the same time it led to a long lasting division. The layout and geography of Belfast is the legacy of those decisions. (cf. ibid.)

"When you open a gate then the people have instant access to a road, to a street." (Interview 13, 2017) The gate in the Alexandra Park gives some connection back. It offers the possibility for people to travel through the park instead of taking detours around it. The upper part of the Park leads into the Antrim Road which has a lot of shops, while health facilities are located at the lower end of the park. Residents from both sides have now equal access to shops and health facilities. The opening of the gate increased the mobility for both communities. (cf. ibid.)
There are processes working towards connecting the city, but it takes time.

4. 2. 3. Territory

There are districts in Belfast, which are considered to be either Unionist or Nationalist territory.
This is reflected in the housing situation. The Catholic community is growing and Protestants are more likely to move out of the city. Therefore the demand for housing is higher on the Catholic side. (cf. Interview 2, 2017) But "[...] the whole city is territorialised, it means that you can't give up land, you won't give up land for Catholic housing." (ibid.) This example shows that it is important for the communities to hold on to the territory they have.

The question one interviewee raised was around whose interest the continuing existence of the Peacelines serves, saying that "It serves the interest, I think, of the sectarian elite on both sides." (Interview 6, 2017) Paramilitary forces are trying to hold onto the territory and the resources that come with it. Furthermore it is the politicians on a local level in Northern Ireland that are also gaining from the division. On the one hand you have ministers from Stormont -the Northern Ireland Parliament- saying that they want a peaceful society. At the same time politicians on the local level show a different kind of behaviour. (cf. ibid.) An example of the importance of holding on to your territory for the political parties is Girdwood. Girdwood is now a community hub even though there is a high housing shortage in the area. In North Belfast

particularly, the two main political parties -Sinn Féin and DUP- are always going head to head at elections. (cf. ibid.) Therefore "[…] every street counts, every bit of territory counts […]". (ibid.) If Girdwood would have developed housing, around 1000 people would have been added to the electoral list. There are more Catholics than Protestants on the waiting list for social housing. The majority moving into the area would therefore have been Catholics, voting for Sinn Féin. This would lead to a win of Sinn Féin in this electoral ward which is now in the hands of DUP. Turning it into a community centre meant, that there was no change in votes. The existence of segregation and Peacewalls therefore benefits the two main political parties. (cf. ibid.) "[…] their [political parties, author's note] whole rational is based on single block votes […] it's all based on the single identity community they serve […]". (ibid.) It is about holding on to votes in their territory. Neither party has much interest in mixing and desegregation. The territorial issue is more focused on working class areas. Middle class districts show less segregation, with different communities living and working together. Within working class districts, the competition for resources is high due to poverty, which makes sectarianism possible. The lack of housing in general is an example, of how the shortage only further divides the working class communities. (cf. ibid.) *"No one is saying you are on the waiting list, you need a house, maybe we should respond to your needs to your rights to a house, it has all to do with ethnic manipulation of territory."* (ibid.) It therefore comes back to the question of who benefits from segregation and Peacelines.

When it comes to the display of territory in public spaces issues around the different meaning of symbols arise.

Flags are connected to culture, territory and identity. Especially in Unionist communities flags are strongly connected to their identity and territory because they constantly feel that their cultural identity is threatened. There are flags in Republican areas as well, but they usually come down again after a commemoration, which is when they tend to get put up. (cf. Interview 9, 2017) Flags can be seen differently by the communities, while it is connected to culture and history for one side, it might be perceived as sectarian by the other. (cf. Interview No.10, 2017) *"[…] it's [flags, author's note] about telling the other community, this is our community, so flags are divisive, parades are divisive, bonfires are divisive and language is divisive, these have always been divisive issues."* (ibid.) One example of the divisiveness of flags is, that no flags are put up on the city hall or the parliament building. The DUP would welcome the Union Jack flag being put up, but Sinn Féin would never agree to that. (cf. Interview No.9, 2017) The society of Northern Ireland has evolved out of a conflict and is struggling how to express itself without taking down the other community. It is difficult to not focus on the differences. The communities are separated by walls, and they express their differences through flags, bonfires and parades. (cf. Interview No.10, 2017)

An example of breaking the territorial issue down to the very local level would be a shared space project including a community garden. (The space is called Peas Park and a more detailed description will follow in the next chapter.) It is a space that is open to everyone, but a few years ago a fence had to be put up for insurance reasons. So nowadays a gate, which is open all the time, is the only way in. One of the residents who is strongly involved with the project says that it was easier before to get people to come

in, but now with the gate people get the feeling of entering someone's space. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) She adds that "[...] there is a big thing here [Northern Ireland, author's note] about who owns space". (ibid.) This underlines that the neutrality of a space is not simply gained by declaring it shared and that the openness of a space can be lost again. Furthermore the issue of who has territorial claims over which space is strongly implemented in people's mind.

4. 3. ANALYSIS

Differentiating between borders and boundaries according to their permeability, Peacelines would count as borders. They were built to separate and therefore to decrease the exchange between the communities. Not only can the Peacelines can be described as borders, but the motorway through Belfast for example also creates a separation. The definition of borders is therefore not solely directed at walls but at other forms of division as well. Even though categorising Peacelines as borders seems obvious, not all walls are the same. The Alexandra Park has a wall running through it with a gate that was later installed. The gate opens up the possibility of exchange and interaction between the two communities living on either side. Does that suffice to describe it as a boundary? Or is the possibility for exchange alone not enough? I would argue along the lines of Casey (2011) that there is not always a clear distinction. (cf. Casey, 2011, p. 389) If a cross community event is taking place purposefully placed along the Peaceline in the Park, the wall appears more as a boundary where exchange is taking place. Other Peacewalls such as the one in Hallidays Road separate private from private and are therefore a border that show no characteristics of a boundary. There will always be some kind of border there, maybe privately built but complete openness and full permeability will not be given even after the removal of the Peacelines.

Another point of Casey (2011) is that borders are always in the process of developing towards boundaries. (cf. Casey, 2011, p. 393) Taking the example of the Alexandra Park again, it was divided by a border but due to the gate it is more pervious. On the other hand if the gate is closed again because of sectarian violence, it would take a step back towards the characteristics of a border. Borders and boundaries and all nuances in between are constantly shifting. Sometimes this can happen overnight or it can be spread out over years. However, just because a border turned into a permeable boundary does not mean it will stay like this.

Even though there is no clear distinction between borders and boundaries I would still argue to describe Peacelines as borders. Just because a gate is installed does not mean that it actually enhances the exchange between the communities, as you can not force people to engage. Furthermore people still feel that the walls give them safety and therefore see them as a border that protects them.

Taking a look at the topic of safety shows that, since 1998 the crime rate in Northern Ireland has gone down. According to a survey, asking people if they had experienced crime, in 2014/15 8,8% responded with yes. In comparison, it was 23% in 1998. The number of homicides has also drastically declined from 75 in 1998 down to 24 in 2014. This is not surprising considering 1998 was the year of the Good Friday/ Belfast Agreement and the official end of the Troubles. (cf. Wilson, 2016, pp. 25 ff) Between the years of 2005 and 2012 recorded sectarian crimes in Northern Ireland declined from 1702 to 1344

incidences. (cf. Jarman, 2012, p. 6) The statistics show what was already implied by some of the interviews, which is that crime -especially sectarian incidences- are declining. Nonetheless people are still holding on to the idea that the Peacelines are necessary for protection. The reason for that is partially the uncertainty of what would happen afterwards. There is a preference for the current situation over an unknown future. Furthermore it is also the fact that the walls were built for security reasons. The association of the Peacewalls as a safety measure is still present. This gets maintained by the memories of the generation that lived through the Troubles. At the same time this generation passes their memories and associations along to the young people growing up in Northern Ireland nowadays. People therefore grow up with their postmemory -which was passed along by their parents- and which influences their point of view. It is therefore difficult to argue rationally with statistics that say the walls are not necessary anymore. Mady (2018) describes this issue in Beirut as well, stating that it should not be the postmemory that drives the development of a public space, but collective memory which comes from forming experiences together. (cf. Mady, 2018) In the case of Belfast it is important that those collective memories are not formed separately within the individual communities but, that cross-community collective memory is formed instead. Besides the fear of the known past and the unknown future there are also rumours in the present that influence people's opinions. If there are talks about rioting and sectarian violence the Peacelines are seen as a protection.

Public space at its core can be described through its accessibility. Different aspects such as walls enclosing a space, can lead to the appearance of a space being less inclusive. Belfast as a whole is shaped by walls, limiting the connectivity throughout the city. This also affects the accessibility of public space. Peacelines do not help to enhance the exchange between the communities, but rather keep people out. The public space does not hold Belfast together, due to the lack of full accessibility throughout the city. When gates are opened the full impact of the Peacelines can be seen, because suddenly people have direct access to streets, shops and parks.

One key constant throughout the debate around the Peacelines is the issue of territory and 'our' and 'their' space. According to Madanipour (2010b) public space can be shaped by the strong presence of a group as well as by the lack of one's presence. (cf. Madanipour, 2010b, p. 239) In Belfast it is usually within the territory of either PUL or CNR neighbourhoods where the presence of one community is greater, and where the other community might not feel safe. This all comes down to the territory each community claims for themselves and which goes hand in hand with the religious segregation. Peacelines are the physical manifestation of the territories and the clearly separate the two communities and enhance the division. This is also represented in the local politics, because DUP and Sinn Féin gain from the segregation. They know the areas where the majority of people is voting for them. This underlines the statement by Shirlow et al. (2006) "[...] segregation exists because it works [...]", (Shirlow et al., 2006, p. 17), because local politicians gain from the segregation.

One of the main comment one interviewee (No.2) made was, "[...] that you can't give up land, you won't give up land for Catholic housing.". (Interview 2, 2017) This is more

directed at working class neighbourhoods. The fact that the city is not collectively considered as everybody's space only underlines segregation.

The territorial issues plays into different parts of the city and is visibly carried out in public space. This is what the 'A Shared Future' strategy is directed towards when the strategy talks about sectarian signs and symbols in public space and the fact that this issue has to be addressed. (cf. OFMDFM, 2005, p. 18) Here are examples to show what signs and slogans are represented in public space. In New Lodge for example a stencil states 'Brits out of Ireland'. It is situated in a CNR community, directed at anyone who identifies as British, which usually applies for the PUL community. Such statements have to be considered with care, because it is not always the opinion of the whole community. Nonetheless they show the appropriation of public space. You can find painted kerbstones and streets full of union jack flags (Fig. 20) which puts the area clearly into the hands of the PUL community. The Peacelines are only the most

visible and internationally known marking of territory. These smaller statements of territory in public can be found all over Belfast and map out the geography of Belfast. (For the location see Fig. 1, p. X, E5 -New Lodge, Tiger's Bay)

Fig. 20: Street in the Unionist Tiger's Bay area

Source: Own photo

CONTESTED TO SHARED SPACE? |5

5. CONTESTED TO SHARED SPACE?

5. 1. ALEXANDRA PARK

5. 1. 1. Description

Alexandra Park (Fig. 21) is located in North Belfast and was opened in 1888. (Belfast City Council, 2017c) It is named after Princess Alexandra and is a Victorian Park. The wider west part of the park was the original one and over time more pieces were added to it. The Peaceline runs between the upper part of the park which leads into the Catholic, Nationalist area. The lower part of the park -the narrower area- is connected to the Protestant, Unionist communities. (Interview 5, 2017) Conducting participatory observation in the park multiple times during my stay in Belfast from May until August 2017 has shown, that the upper part has a different appearance than the lower part. The structure is more organised, it has a levelled surface with a pond and trees which follow along paths. The lower part, on the other hand, has a different structure. It has a steeper slope, a small stream running through it and trees that

Fig. 21: Alexandra Park

Water
Park Entrance
Trees, Vegetation
Peacelines
Peacegate

0 m 50 m   200 m

Source: detaildata, 2018; Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

Fig. 23: Upper part of Alexandra Park

Source: Own photo

Fig. 22: Lower part of Alexandra Park

Source: Own photo

are denser which generally makes it a bit wilder. This was my subjective observation, but through talking to people this perception was confirmed and emphasized.

The first photo (Fig. 23) shows the upper part of the Alexandra Park in the West, while the second photo (Fig. 22) shows the lower part.

5. 1. 2. Development

The Peaceline in Alexandra Park was put up on the first of September 1994 which was one day after the ceasefire was declared, which started the peace process. (cf. Interview 7, 2017) The park was often the centre for sectarian violence in the 80s and 90s, as groups would meet in the park for the sole purpose of fighting each other. Those riots where the reason for the installation of the wall. (cf. Interview 5, 2017)

The community organisation called Duncairn Community Partnership (DCP) is doing a lot of cross community work in the area of North Belfast and the Alexandra Park is one of their projects. The DCP is a collaboration developed out of community organisations in the North of Belfast. There are Protestant as well as Catholic

organisations represented. This partnership developed out of informal cooperation between the organisations and was formalized in 2012. It includes six organisations and one of them is Groundwork which kick-started the process of the Alexandra Park. (cf. Interview 7, 2017)

The start of the transformation of Alexandra Park was a funding the organisation Groundwork received from the European Union (Urban Region Development Fond, Peace III). Various locations were picked, one of them was the Park due to it's division, which is unique in western Europe. The idea was to work with the communities on both sides. A steering group was set up in 2009 with different community organisations -the ones that are now aggregated under DCP – included as well as the Belfast City Council, the Department of Justice and local residents, resulting in a group of 20 to 25 people. It was important that the local residents were able to voice their wishes for the park. One of the residents talked about the fence, asking for something to be done with it. This was immediately met with people saying that nothing can be changed around the fence. However after talking about it, the

idea of focusing on the fence became more precise. It was then decided that a gate should be installed. (cf. ibid.) This obviously did not work without the consent of the community. During the process of opening the gates a survey was conducted on the attitudes of the people. One of the community representatives involved in the project had links to the UDA[5]. He was the head of the area of Tiger's Bay, but was working together with people from the New Lodge area and supported the survey and the opening of the gate. (cf. Interview 5, 2017) This process led to the installation of the gate in 2011, initially open until half past two. There was a close supervision by the police with regular reports on incidences in the park, but no major incidences occurred and it was decided to keep it open longer. Nowadays it is open the whole day and closes when the park does. (cf. Interview 7, 2017) After the gate opened, DCP took over the steering group which became a sub-group of the organisation and who met approximately every six weeks. In 2014 the idea of a shared open classroom at a vacant space attached to the Alexandra Park was picked up by DCP. If this should be realised the residents needed to be consulted and a permission from the owner Belfast City Council was necessary. Through the community of Tiger's Bay did not consider themselves to be properly included in the process and a consultant form the Belfast City Council was commissioned. (cf. Interview 5, 2017)

The aforementioned issues with Tiger's Bay and DCP have a history. First of all the representative from Tiger's Bay who was linked to the UDA was overthrown and the spokesperson following him did not support cross community work at all. He even tried to undermine the work by stating that the surveys filled out before the opening of the gate were not accurately filled out by the community. The support of that community for DCP therefore strongly decreased. Furthermore DCP is now located in the office building of Intercom, and the family of the person who runs Intercom is strongly connected to Sinn Féin. For the community in Tiger's Bay, DCP and anything they do is driven by the agenda of Sinn Féin. (cf. ibid.) These are issues that may go on in the background, but they affect the development of Alexandra Park strongly.

The consultant who was brought in, in 2016 by the Belfast City Council tried to include as many people as possible in the process. Choosing to involve everyone he thought was somehow connected to the project of the open classroom. In the end there was a total of around 30 people, which was too big of a group to make decisions. A smaller working group out of volunteers was made, including one community worker from the Department of Justice (DoJ), one of the two park managers of Alexandra Park, two representatives from DCP, two representatives from Tiger's Bay, the police and New Lodge Arts. This group created a draft regeneration plan for the park. It included the outdoor classroom, and events and a cooperation with the recycling centre located next to the park, among other things. The idea was for this draft plan to be presented to the larger group of 30 people before consulting with the residents living next to the park. At the larger meeting in June 2017, where a decision was meant to be made, people from Tiger's Bay resisted and said that the process was still not inclusive enough. (Interview 5, 2017) Those individuals who were against moving forward with the process represent very few people. Unfortunately this was enough at the time to put a halt on the process. (cf.

5   Ulster Defence Association, a Loyalist paramilitary organisation

Fig. 24: Alexandra Park Development
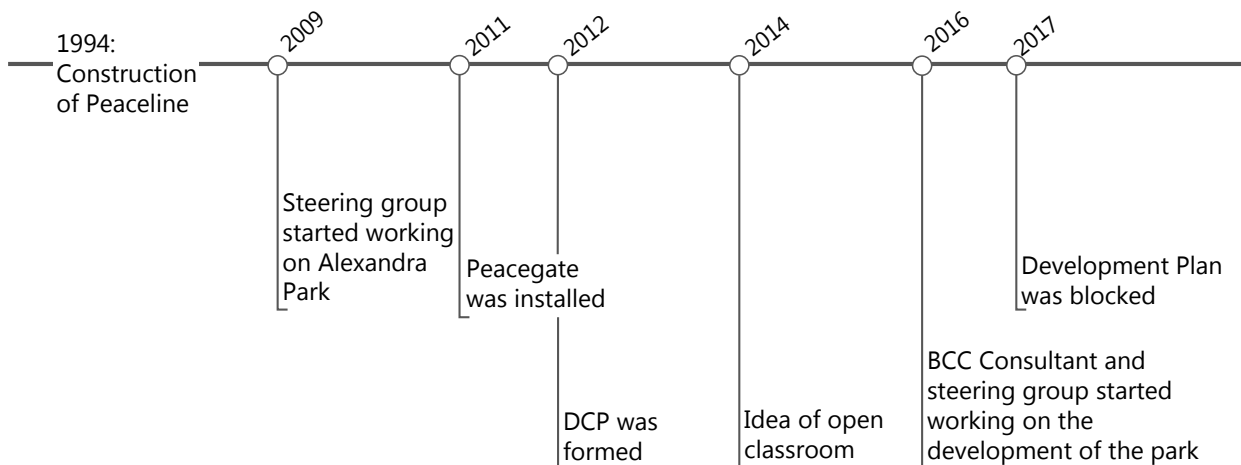
Source: Own compilation

Interview 13, 2017) This was the situation in August 2017, the community was still unsure of what would happen to the regeneration plan of Alexandra Park. The development shows that to create a shared space the residents have to be consulted. However the influence of few resisting change has a greater impact than the majority who wish to move forward. The issue of trusting the community organisation and feeling represented by it can make all the difference.

The graphic (Fig. 24) is a summary the development of the Alexandra Park.

5. 1. 3. Functioning and Impact

On the website of DCP Alexandra Park is addressed as 'Alexandra Park Shared Space'. This declaration of shared space was a result of the installation of the so-called Peacegate. (cf. DCP, 2017a) The process of improving the park is still ongoing and the partnership uses different ways to stay in constant exchange with the residents through events, surveys, magazines and a website. The website as well as the magazine informs people about what the organisation has been doing and events that will come up in the future. The magazines go

out to both communities. The important thing is to pay attention to the wording and the terms that are being used. In no way should there be any statements that would offend one of the communities. Therefore attention is paid to the issues of community safety as the way forward rather than the issues of culture and territory. Further events offer the possibility to get in touch with the residents as well. (cf. Interview 13, 2017) One example is a lantern parade which takes place at the end of October, around Halloween. Last year it led from Girdwood to the Alexandra Park and activities for the kids were offered in the Park. It was both communities coming together which sends out a positive message. (cf. Interview 5, 2017) "[...] our experience is that through the events we, they get plenty of opportunities to mix, socialise and engage [...]" (Interview 13, 2017) There are around five to six big events held by DCP every year, with not all of them are taking place in Alexandra Park but in the surrounding area. An example is Santa's Grotto around Christmas were both communities show up and support it with up to 12 hundred people in total. During such events the partnership tries to survey the people to see what is appreciated and what can be changed or done better. The result of the latest survey

was published in October and was funded through the International Fund for Ireland. It was focused on the Peacewalls and specifically focused on the people living in the shadows of the barriers. Volunteers from the area went out from door to door surveying people. (cf. ibid.) In total six areas in Belfast as well as Derry/ Londonderry have conducted the survey. (cf. Mulla, 2017, p. 17) DCP was responsible for the area of lower North Belfast. The area spreads out over the Alexandra Park, Tiger's Bay and New Lodge down to the Cityside Retail Park. The main result was, that the community's fear is the main reason preventing them from removing the walls. Nonetheless the majority wants changes now or at least in the future, with only twelve percent wanting things to stay the same indefinitely. The survey also shows that when people are in contact with the other communities, the experience is considered positive most of the time. The communities are therefore open to interactions. (cf. DCP, 2017b, pp. 11-18)

The constant contact between the community organisations and the residents is very important and assures that the people are informed about the process of the area. The importance of the population's consent when it comes to the Peacelines is specifically expressed in the strategy to remove the walls by 2023. One community worker (No. 13) said that nothing will happen without consulting the communities. (cf. Interview 13, 2017) "[…] we [the DCP, author's note] have no right and no powers to implement change […]" but "[…] if they want it we do it […]". (ibid.) Nonetheless there are voices of disapproval on both sides of the community, or as one interviewee (No. 13) puts it, "[…] we don't enjoy the total support of both communities.". (ibid.) It is not the majority, but there are individuals who are against

moving towards a shared future, because they personally gain from this separation. (cf. ibid.) This reflects the issue of territoriality and the problems that emerged from it.

As the development of the Alexandra Park shows, the spokespeople have a big influence on their community and as a result on the development of the area. This can be in a good as well as in a negative way. In the case of the Alexandra Park two men showed strong leadership and supported the cross community work of DCP. One was connected to the IRA and was the representative of New Lodge. The other was representing Tiger's Bay and was involved with the UDA. Both supported the work of DCP and as a result made the development of the area possible. (cf. ibid.) Issues emerged as soon as the leadership changed, which can happen very easily. The spokes person from Tiger's Bay was overthrown and someone took his place. This change of leadership also resulted in a change of attitude in the community. This has had a strong impact on the work that the partnership is trying to do. (Interview 15, 2017) The difficulties that result from the disapproval of some individuals within a community also takes its toll on the community workers engaged in cross community work. One interviewee (No. 7) said that people involved have gotten threats up to the point where the police came to their house to tell them that their lives were in danger. In one case, got to the point that one community worker had to move out of her neighbourhood because of the threats. These threats are implemented for the most part by paramilitary gangs. (cf. Interview 7, 2017) This should only underline the difficulties that are put in the way of creating shared spaces, of getting closer to a shared future and the removal of Peacelines.

"So what our job as in the Partnership is, is to

work with different sides of our community to try and get them to a point where they feel confident, they feel safe and secure and they feel ready to primarily remove these, but in some cases reorganise it [the Peacelines, author's note] [...]" (ibid.) This brings me to my next point, which is the issue of trust. As this statement of one community worker shows, the development of interface areas is based on the consent of the community. To reach this, trust has to be built between the community group and the residents. According to one interviewee (No. 13) to reach this trust it is important to not make it about territory and culture but about the safety of the community. (cf. Interview 13, 2017) "[...] we are selling them the package [...] of community safety." (ibid.) The topic of safety is one that everyone can agree on, as people want their community to be safe. It is easier for people to get in contact when the issues are not flags or parades but the improvement of their community regarding safety issues. After building trust and relationships you can start talking about interfaces and territorial difficulties.

The issues that arise when people immediately start talking about territory is the fear, especially of Protestant, that they are going to lose space. The work the partnership has done over the years is to prove, that they are not taking away land from either community. This also builds up the trust of residents. Furthermore working together with the police and getting constant feedback on criminal statistics makes it possible to present the improvement of the area by providing evidence. (cf. ibid.)

The DCP works on different projects such as a shared housing complex on the Limestone Road or the City Side Retail Park. These shared space projects, including the Alexandra Park, created less crime, less sectarian incidences and a general reduction of interface problems. Looking specifically at the Park, the opening of the gate had a positive input on the area. On the one hand it enhanced the connectivity from the Protestant to the Catholic community. This also makes it easier to reach the shops on the Antrim road for people from the Protestant neighbourhood. Furthermore the health

Fig. 25: Peas Park

Source: Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

services in Grove Wellbeing Centre which is located on the York Road is more accessible for the Catholic community now. There is a greater social mobility due to the gate, which is open most of the time now anyway. Despite the connectivity factor, the park is used by people from both communities without problems. Therefore it might be possible to remove the whole fence in a few years. (cf. ibid.)

The Alexandra Park is an example of a shared sapce, working against the division of Belfast.

5. 2. Peas Park

5. 2. 1. Description

The Peas Park (Fig. 25) is an open public space located in the North of Belfast at an interface. To explain the name, which comes from the vegetable peas, the different layers of the space need to be explained at the beginning. The first time I visited the park was at the start of May 2017 together with students and teachers from the Queen's University. It was explained to me that, even though there are no physical visible Peacelines here, the area is an interface, with Protestant communities in the east and Catholics in the west. The Peas Park seemed to me to be an informal urban gardening project for both communities. The first photo (Fig. 26) is a view from the outside, with the fence surrounding the Peas Park. Furthermore the Billboard is shown in the picture. The front part (Fig. 27), where the entrance was located had raised beds in it. The back part (Fig. 28) was less taken care of and untouched. Chicken were running around and it seemed slightly chaotic but nonetheless welcoming. (Observation, 02. May 2017)

After talking to the residents involved in the project, I realised that there is a reason that it is called a park and not a garden. One resident

Fig. 26: Entrance of the Peas Park

Source: Own photo

Fig. 27: Front part of the Peas Park

Source: Own photo

Fig. 28: Back part of the Peas Park

Source: Own photo

(No. 11) said, that for her it is not a garden and she does not see herself as a gardener but sees the project as a shared space and as a space of transformation. Some see it as an arts project, because there are things like a billboard that gets designed by different people or chicken sculptures and a patio. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) "[...] it [the Peas Park] could be anything [...]". (ibid.) It is also about using the opportunity that an empty space offers instead of leaving it vacant. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) The name therefore tries to include all of the different reasons people use the space and a park also touches upon architecture and playgrounds instead of keeping it only focused on the gardening aspect of it. (cf. Interview 8, 2017) The use of the vegetable peas is a play of words due to it sounding like the word 'peace'. Furthermore the first year of the park peas were harvested. (cf. Interview 11, 2017)

5. 2. 2. Development

The foundation for the possibility of a shared space at that interface was put down already 20 years ago. Back then local residents, mainly women, were working on a low key cross community basis. They organised summer schools, pension events and a women's group for years. They knew each other and also each others kids, relationships were created and through this trust and confidence emerged. Around 2008, 2009 Skegoneill Glandor Common Purpose, a cross community group, did a survey, asking the residents what it was they wanted and needed in their neighbourhood. The main issue that came up was the environmental circumstances. Back then the area was dominated by run down and abandoned houses and the space where

the park is now located was a bonfire[6] site. (Interview 11, 2017) In general people were leaving the area, because it is an interface and violent clashes used to happen around here. This only led to more houses being abandoned and collapsing. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) Taking the environmental issues into consideration, the first step towards the development of a garden was taken in August 2010. An abandoned house was situated at the corner (Fig. 29) which was removed in 2014. In front of that house was a space , which was used as a dumping-ground. During the bank holiday in August 2010 the area was cleaned up on the first day and then on the second day a guerrilla gardening event took place, with food and music. Furthermore the house was painted and hanging baskets were installed which turned out to be a great success. To build on that event raised beds were constructed with herbs planted in them, to keep on drawing residents into the space and to make it open for use. A few difficulties emerged with this. On the one hand it was vandalised and purposefully destroyed over and over again. On the other hand it belonged to everyone and no one at the same time, leaving it with no one feeling responsible for it. It was a process of learning how to create space. In 2013 a collaboration emerged with New Lodge

Fig. 29: 2010 Shared space at the corner

Source: Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

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6   The 12th of July is an important holiday for Protestants in Northern Ireland. On the night of the 11th bonfires are lit all over Northern Ireland.

Arts and PS² (both are art groups).(cf. Interview 11, 2017) This collaboration took place within the framework of the community and the art project 'temporary places'. The idea behind 'temporary places' was to get residents involved with art. Different spots were chosen for artists to spend some time offering different programs for the people for a total of six months. One of these spots was the space (Fig. 30) where the Peas Park is now located. A shipping container was put up in that area as a space for artists. As-there was some urban gardening happening on the corner spot it was included in the arts project. (cf. Interview 8, 2017) The raised beds were moved over to the new site, which was covered in bricks and waste that was dumped there during the demolishing and rebuilding of houses in the area. Still to this day the topography of the space is shaped by the huge amount of waste that was unloaded there. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) During the first year, which was 2013, the gardening worked really well but was very unorganized. It was never really part of the 'temporary places' project and therefore the funding had to be put in from the PS². The second year did not work out that great due to a lot of vandalism. (cf. Interview 8, 2017) For example a Greenhouse was built and it was burnt down and rebuilt over and over again. Despite the vandalism people kept

Fig. 30: 2013 Change of location

Source: Queen's University of Belfast; own compilation

on gardening in that space while keeping the more creative and artistic aspects of it as well. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) For example, there is a billboard which changes from time to time and where people can propose things to put on it. (cf. Interview 3, 2017)

The land is privately owned and one of the organisers knew the landlord, who agreed on the space being temporary used. (cf. Interview 8, 2017) The land was up for sale from the beginning of the project, which is why it was always seen as a temporary thing. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) Nonetheless, the longer it is not sold the more permanent it seems for the residents involved. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) The future of the Peas Park is not certain and never really was.

5. 2. 3. Functioning and Impact

The community group Skegoneill Glandor Common Purpose is technically responsible for the Peas Park project. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) But it is residents and artists from the 'temporary places' project that carry it forward. The community group is mainly used for applying for funding, which wont be possible anymore due to a lack of funding for the community groups resulting into it's cancellation. The people involved with the park are therefore at the moment looking at other possibilities to receive funding. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) There is no committee and only a few rules for the park, including that the gate is always open and everyone is welcome. Some of the beds are appointed to people with numbers, while the rest is for everyone to use. There is a small container with stuff for gardening, which was either donated or financed through funding. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) At the beginning of the project everything -seeds, tools, soil- was provided to lower the threshold and make it easier for

people to engage. At the moment it's in a process of transformation, trying to get people to bring their own supplies and minimizing the necessary funding. Apart from being this creative open space for both communities, events are also an important part of the park. The either take place inside the park, or along the fence on the outside. This makes it easier for people to come along, or stop when they are walking by. Examples of events are a fun day on St. Patrick's day, a Halloween lantern parade, a Santa's Grotto around Christmas or an Autumn Fair in September or October. It usually includes things like face paintings, food, craft tables and activities for kids. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) Usually there are around three or four successful events a year, inviting the whole neighbourhood to join in. (cf. Interview 3, 2017)

Although nowadays the park is accepted by most of the neighbourhood at the beginning not everyone approved of the changes for the empty space. Some neighbours did not see it as an improvement, that an empty space filled with waste was turned into an open and green space. Especially in the second year when it was vandalised a lot, creating a negative atmosphere that surrounded the place. Nonetheless the people actively involved kept going. (cf. Interview 8, 2017) The park is a creative space where people can bring their own ideas. This created challenges, especially for the neighbours. For some it was not clear who the people taking up this space were and what it was supposed to be. They preferred the dumping ground, because they knew what it was. However, because the people involved were neighbours the acceptance grew. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) The interface now is not overly contested, but it was very violent during the Troubles and that still has an effect on the people. Hidden poverty and mental health issues as well as post-traumatic

stress disorder affects the area. Therefore the peoples' need to know what is really going on in their neighbourhood is very important. If some of the very talkative and well connected people know what is going on, it spreads very quickly around both communities. The neighbours, especially those who lived in the area during the last 20 or 30 years, do appreciate the work that is happening and see the change of the space as a positive thing. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) It is also about the appearance, "[...] it doesn't really matter what it is, but we do have to be a bit wise to what it looks like." (ibid.)

Up until two years ago, only the front part was surrounded by a fence, while the rest was open. Some beds were aligned along the road with small benches attached to it. It was very open, so people walking by could easily use the space and utilise what it offered. About two years ago in 2015, the landlord installed a fence around the wild area, officially because of insurance reasons. But there was talk in the neighbourhood that the bonfire might be moved back to the space in the Peas Park and this might have driven the landlord to put up the fence. It was very devastating for the residents involved in the project, because it took away the openness the park was trying to achieve. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) "[...] we lost an element of absolute permeability [...]". (ibid.) Now you can only enter through one gate, which is open all the time. Nonetheless people might not feel the level of openness the space tries to provide and it seems as if you are entering someone's space. Particularly in Northern Ireland the issue about who has the ownership over a space plays a big role. This is connected to the issue of territory, which is also present in the area of the Peas Park. One resident said, that one women who is very 'pro Protestant', accused the Peas Park of being Catholic and expanding their territory.

(cf. Interview 3, 2017) The space where the park is located would be seen as being Protestant land, according to the geography of the city. It is an interface are, which are usually seen as belonging to none of the communities, but the site was used for the bonfire by the Protestant community. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) However "[...] the garden should not be a sectarian football." (ibid.) This territorial division is reflected in the flags that are put up around the 12th of July by the Protestant community. (cf. ibid.) During one of my visits of the park at the beginning of July, 2017 I saw the flags that had been but up a few days before (according to one resident). It was clearly visible that this was the street, where PUL and CNR communities meet, because the flags ended at the corner of the Peas Park. (Observation, 08. July 2017)

Over the years things have settled down in the area and negative voices that were present at the beginning of the project have become quieter. The park has helped the neighbourhood. On the one hand the space is not an abandoned waste ground anymore, giving the area a better atmosphere. Furthermore it has softened the border between the communities, because people use the interface and are present there. (cf. Interview 11, 2017) Over the second and the third year the vandalism was at it's peak, plants getting pulled out and the park having to be cleaned up more or less every Sunday morning. The location at the interface and the aim to create a shared space kept the residents from giving up and they kept going. If it area hadn't been a contentious interface, the will to move forward with this project might not have been enough. (cf. Interview 3, 2017) The strong belief in a shared future has helped keep the Peas Park open.

5. 3. Analysis

The Alexandra Park and the Peas Park were chosen as examples for shared spaces. Things like the organisational structure and the layout are different, while the location and the importance of the dweller's influence are similarities. It shows that different paths can lead to the establishment of shared spaces, with some similar key issues.

One big difference is, that the Alexandra Park was already a public park. The Peas Park is located on private land and was a vacant space before it was turned into a usable public space. Furthermore the Alexandra Park is divided by a Peaceline while the Peas Park is located at an interface without a physical wall separating the area. Nonetheless the mental barriers and the knowledge of where the PUL community ends and the CNR area begins is well known by the local residents.

The size and layout of the parks vary; while the Alexandra Park has green spaces, paths, playgrounds, benches, etc. to offer, the Peas Park has a more wilder and less organised layout. The raised beds can be used for gardening and the artistic aspect of the park can be detected immediately through the chicken sculptures and the billboard.

The organisational structure behind the development of the parks is composed differently. The Peas Park can be described as more of an informal structure, although there was the Skegoneill Glandor Common Purpose Organisation which was the background organisation. The main activities in the park are taken on by volunteers. The Alexandra Park in comparison has a collection of organisations working on it with regular steering group meetings and the Belfast City Council also

playing a role -due to the ownership of the park-. Because of the size of the parks it does make sense that the Alexandra Park needs a more formal approach, as it is much bigger and therefore a higher amount of residents have to be reached. The size and openness of the Peas Parks makes an interaction very easy and just stopping by on a Saturday afternoon you have the opportunity to meet people. The DCP on the other hand has to invest into publicly communicating what is going on through social media and magazines. Even though it is organised differently, the importance of the residents and their input is reflected in both approaches. For example at the beginning of the Peas Park the residents were asked what they wished for the neighbourhood, in a similar manner to how people were surveyed before the gate was installed in Alexandra Park.

One thing that both parks have in common is the duration of their development. As Gaffikin et al. (2008) says "Shared space cannot be declared." (Gaffikin et al., 2008, p. 83) It is therefore not enough to plan a shared space, but rather you need to let it slowly over time develop. Looking at the development, it shows that commitment and a strong power of endurance is necessary. The processes the two parks went through shows that it takes time to get to a point of a shared space. The Alexandra Park was cut in half in 1994 by a wall without a process of participation. To install a gate it took two years of intense interaction with the residents, and afterwards it took some time for the opening hours to get extended. Even though the Peacegate had a positive influence, further development of the park is being put on hold due to the opposition of some resident. Therefore the project needs a certain persistence and passion behind it to keep going and slowly move towards a shared

future. The same thing can be said about the Peas Park, as over the years it keeps getting vandalised, especially over the summer period. The consistency of the people involved with the park helps to maintain the shared space. The future of the park is uncertain with the land being up for sale, but there is still a very positive energy around the park that does not get undermined by the temporariness of it.

The location of both spaces between PUL and CNR communities turns the parks into places for cross community exchanges. The location offers the space for events purposefully organised to welcome people from both communities. During those events people get the chance to meet people from the other community who they might not meet otherwise. The events organised by the DCP are not necessarily taking place in Alexandra Park but other locations in the area involving the same residents who are interested or concerned with the park. The events in the Peas Park, such as the Autumn Fair, are situated right in the park or alongside the fence which is also the interface where CNR and PUL communities meet. These events play an important role in moving forward and in the development of progress, due to interactions that are happening there.

One important aspect of creating a shared space is how the development of the space is approached. Both projects started by changing the area for the better without using sectarian or cultural issues as the main point of interest. The DCP promoted shared spaces by talking about the safety of the community. Both communities can agree on the topic of creating a safer neighbourhood. Similarly it was the collective wish to change the environment around the Peas Park -which was marked by run down houses- which was the starting point of the shared space project. Both examples show that

finding common ground is the key to starting the process of shared spaces creation. Usually there is more which unites neighbourhoods, nonetheless it is often the differences people focus on.

To build trust was and is important for both projects. It is through the communities' consent that Peacelines can be taken down. For the community to give their consent they need to trust the community organisation to make sure the neighbourhood is not negatively affected. As a result of the amount of time DCP has spent working in the area a certain amount of trust has been built. The people involved in the Peas Park also gained the trust of the residents, on the one hand through being open about what it is they are doing. Additionally, it was the women's group formed 20 years ago, which paved the way. Trust is what makes change possible, and without it community workers would not be able to implement change in the way they did. The residents are the centre where the development starts.

Shared public space can be understood as a way of using public space to connect a disconnected city like Belfast. The examples show that it is important to make use of the role public space can play. Nonetheless it can not be overlooked, that the use of a public space can easily become the tool of a territory issue and the struggle for power on a local level. In the case of Alexandra Park it was the influence of the spokesperson of the community of Tiger's Bay that pushed along the installation of the Peacegate. After he was overthrown and a new person took over the communities point of view changed as well. This resulted in a halt on the development plans for Alexandra Park. This shows the influence paramilitary groups have on the community. Shared space projects rely on the approval of both communities, and if this is not given a shared space can easily turn into a means to express ones power or mark a territory. This leads to a negative impact on the surrounding neighbourhoods, such as a slowing down of development, loss of trust and the breaking down of relationships built between communities as well as between the residents and the community groups. Furthermore, it is rumours of riots and sectarian crimes that enhances the fear again. This all leads to a stabilization of the Peacelines and mental walls rather than a destabilization and ultimate removal. Shared space is therefore a constant work in progress and the people working on it need to be in exchange with the residents.

Shared spaces have a positive impact on the surrounding neighbourhood. In the case of Peas Park it helped improve the area which was influenced by the interface and the history of the Troubles. Through the presence of the shared space, the interface was turned into a place to meet. It took time, but the use of the space -by people just being present at the interface- helped to change the image and atmosphere of the space. By looking at the Alexandra Park one big impact that is evident is the improved connectivity through the opening of the gate. Furthermore it produced the initiation of the open class room project. This project helps begin the talk of a shared future from a young age.

The general organisation and approach of the two parks shows both, similarities and differences. There is not just one way to reach shared spaces and even if there are good intentions for the creation of a shared park there is no guarantee. Nonetheless some aspects are key factors. This includes approaching the project by finding common ground, the

choice of location as a connection between communities, the establishment of trust and the persistence to keep going. There is no clear and direct way, but to move forward public space needs to become a connection rather than a separation.

INTERPRETATION AND RESULT |6

6. INTERPRETATION AND RESULT

6. 1. Peacelines and Public Space

Peacelines are a widely discussed topic without the existence of a clear definition. During this process I tried to characterise the Peacelines through exploration of their core aspects and have come up with a working definition. Peacelines are borders that affect the space surrounding them. They carry the message that walls are the answer to violence and that they create a safe environment. There are several aspects that make it difficult to remove the Peacewalls, but the fear of what might happen plays a big role. The uncertainty of the future and the fear of past conflicts make people prefer the status quo. This fear maintains the barriers that are still present in people's minds. To move forward the mental as well as the physical walls have to be addressed, through the topic of creating a secure space. Safety is therefore a core aspect the Peacelines are defined by.

The walls are a legacy of the conflict and keep the city from physically developing towards a shared future. Roads are cut off and gates make it possible to close even more connections. Peacelines are working against a connected city, as it is the physical manifested as well as a mental disconnection that keeps communities apart. Peacelines are a tool of disconnecting the city.

The aspect of territory concerns the whole city, but it is enhanced and underlined by the presence of the Peacelines. It separates the communities and shows where the lines of territory run, even though the local community usually knows where their neighbourhood ends without the Peacelines. However the presence of the borders makes the division acceptable. The Peacelines would not exist in the way they do today without the territorial claims. At the same time the division into territories is enhanced by the Peacelines.

Peacelines are therefore borders -located in Northern Ireland- that were built fore safety reasons to separate PUL and CNR communities. They are kept up due to fear while disconnecting the city and underlining territories and enhancing the claiming of space.

Safety, connectivity and territory are the three aspect that I detected that describe the different layers of the Peacelines. The way the walls are impacting the public space can be described along those features. Shared spaces show a way of working against borders.

Peacelines are a physical manifestation of the fear the communities feel towards one another.

Overcoming the physical structures needs to be tackled through the mental aspect. Addressing the safety issues and the fear of an increase in violence has to be the first step, before the physical structure can be taken down. Still to this day Peacelines carry the message of providing safety, which is why residents are often against the removal of the walls. This feeling is connected to the memory of people, who can remember the times of the Troubles. It is also the element of postmemory in the younger generations that keeps the fear alive. Every space has a history and different pasts that cannot be detached from it and they therefore play a role in the present and the future as well. Safety has to be established through the creation of collective memories. A constant exchange between the two communities is necessary and can set up a basis for the creation of positive memories. It is only through the removal of mental barriers that the physical walls can be addressed and decreased.

The way shared space projects are approached should not include issues of culture or identity, because these are the topics which can bring the differences to the surface and provoke conflict. Engaging in the topic of community safety or environmental improvement helps to unite the communities. Through this approach the issue of safety gets addressed and the exchange can help decrease prejudices and the mental barriers. For Example, through the occurrence of events both communities can create positive collective memories together to replace negative postmemories attached to a space. This includes the building of trust over time as part of the development. Shared space projects can then pave the way for further cross community projects which then can influence the breaking up of borders and moving towards a shared future.

The factor of connectivity has a lot to do with the accessibility a city has to offer, with everyone living in a city having the right to its space. If a city is disconnected -which is enhanced by walls- this aspect of a city gets lost. The full accessibility is not given anymore limiting the possibilities of interaction for its dwellers.

The examples of the shared public space project show, the role that public space can take on in overcoming borders within a city. It might not always have a direct impact on the Peacelines, like in the case of Peas Park. Nonetheless the location plays a role in the sense that both communities need to have access to it. Shared space creates a place for interaction where the possibility exists for the mental barriers between the two communities to be addressed and for the acceptance of the others to grow. A collection of shared spaces can create a network all over Belfast, to ultimately create a connected city.

Territory is strongly connected to the aspect of scale, due to the fact that a national conflict was carried out on an urban level. This led to the question of sovereignty being manifested in the layout and geography of Belfast. Space is often claimed by either the PUL or CNR community and creates a strongly divided city that is only enhanced by the Peacelines. This territorial issue is represented in public space through certain symbols and flags. This turns the public space into a tool of confrontation and representation of territory rather than interaction and exchange. There is a certain sense of ownership over space and the fear of losing it. This makes communities hold on to their territory even stronger. It is further enhanced by the fact that segregation, division and territory does benefit people, mainly local politicians and paramilitary groups.

The territory aspect that is supported by Peacelines is also tackled by shared spaces. It addresses the strong connection between space and territory that is present in Belfast. Purposely creating space that does not belong solely to either community breaks up the stigma that differentiates between 'their' and 'our' space. Shared Space helps to promote the message of full accessibility of public spaces and the right of everyone to the space offered. Public space holds a city together, but it can also break it apart because of the way it is shaped by territories in Belfast. In order to move forward the full potential of public space as a space for interaction has to be used.

6. 2. Urban Planning in Belfast

After spending time in Belfast and deeply exploring the phenomenon of Peacelines in Belfast I have gained a certain expertise. Nonetheless I am still an outsider and do not feel equipped to create policies due to the complexity of the situation in Belfast. However I will use my position to point out ideas for the urban planning process in Belfast. This should help support developments towards a shared future. Hopefully others can build upon my ideas and include them in further development of planning policies, strategies and recommendations.

Every space has it's own history, and in Belfast that means the different pasts have to be taken into consideration. Peacelines are a very emotional topic, filled with memory, fear and uncertainty. It is important for urban planning to not only be led by rational decisions but to also include the different narratives around Peacelines. To promote space for creating collective memories in order to overcome the past is necessary.

Belfast has used the environment to separate the city through active planning decisions. During the conflict urban planning was not directed at creating an open and integrated city for it's dwellers. The development of Belfast was driven by violence and fear, roads built to connect the city but to create borders. Business Parks were used as buffer zones to decrease violence. These were all planning decisions made to separate the city. According to an Interviewee (No. 2) the Department of Environment -which was responsible for planning decisions- took no interest in the Peacelines except when a permission for their construction was necessary. (cf. Interview 2, 2017) At the same time the military pushed along the construction of walls, further shaping the landscape of Belfast. All of this was an immediate answer to the violence. Seeing that the different aspects of the city were used to separate Belfast, it is time to turn around and use the same aspects to connect. Streets should be used to create links within the city. Similarly buffer zones can become shared spaces of exchange. It is about using the public space of the city as a way to restitch Belfast back together.

The development of Belfast is nowadays driven by the aftermath of the Northern Ireland conflict. The fact that most of the Peacelines are located in segregated working class areas and new urban developments are placed in neutral areas shows that urban planning has focused on creating prestige projects rather than improving deprived areas. Working class districts suffered the most during the Troubles and are the most deprived and segregated nowadays. Examination of the city's history shows that there were always people gaining

from division, segregation and sectarianism. In the 1920s it was the factory owner who wanted to avoid a class conflict. Nowadays it is the local politicians and paramilitary groups. Due to limited resources, such as the shortage of housing, the sectarianism in working class districts still exists. It is important to break through this cycle of betting people against each other. Urban planning can help to create a city that includes all dwellers. Instead of making the city presentable for the outside world, the focus should be the people living in the city.

Furthermore, in planning it is important to take on an active role in the development of Peacelines. Walls are separating a city and shape the urban layout and the further development and therefore are part of the area of competence of planners. When the Peacewalls were installed it happened as an immediate answer to violence without including any sort of long term urban planning. Nowadays the majority of the walls are owned by the Department of Justice and even though there are strategies including the phenomenon of the Peacelines, the individual treatment each Peaceline needs is hardly addressed by planners. This work is taken on by community and social workers, which is extremely necessary because there are so many aspects to the Peacelines. Nonetheless it is important for urban planners to take on an active role in the further development of the walls.

This brings me to my next point, which is the way of approaching the topic. This is something that was discussed intensively during one of the interviews with a community worker at DCP. It is about finding a common topic to start the conversation between different neighbourhoods rather than immediately

talking about the Peacelines and territory. This requires close contact between the residents and planners and requires finding a similar ground at the beginning. Further along in the process topics such as the territorial aspect of space can be discussed.

Lastly it is important to be able to approach the topic from different scales. On the one hand each and every wall is different and a detailed look at each wall is necessary to establish it's individual circumstance of each wall is necessary. At the same time the walls can not be looked at detached from the surrounding area. It is therefore necessary to constantly have the wider scale as well as the zoomed in view in mind and possessing the ability to switch between both is necessary to figure out how to individually approach each wall while including the surroundings.

6. 3. Urban planning in general

The focus of the thesis was Belfast, nonetheless certain issues play an important role in the urban structure in other cities. This will not be a recommendation for other divided cities but rather a more general insight into issues connected to urban planning that developed during this thesis.

Belfast is an example where the national conflict was mainly carried out on an urban level, which led to a strong imprint on the city in form of the division into territories. The fact that a national -or even international- conflict can be broken down to an urban scale is a key aspect to understand the relevance of urban space. We are living in a time of globalisation and conflicts all over the world can impact the city we live in. An example is the refugee movement in 2015, the conflict in Syria had increased

the refugees arriving in Vienna and created difficulties of housing for example. It is not only the immediate surroundings that play into the area of competence of planners but conflicts on different scales can be carried forward into cities. Conflicts often require spontaneous and temporary solutions. The importance would be to avoid the change from temporary solution to permanent implementations. This can lead to long term effects in a city, in Belfast it is the Peacelines and the division into territories. Creating segregated areas for refugees can have a similar effect of creating borders, not physical walls but mental barriers, diminishing the right to the city every dwellers should have. Including national and global issues and having a long term perception in mind is essential for planners.

When talking about the fact that people in Belfast still associate safety with Peacelines it is important to pay attention to it. It is the aspect of memory and postmemory that can not be detached from the space itself. Rationality is strongly implemented in planning, but the aspect of fear for example is never rational. Nonetheless it has to be taken seriously in the planning process. The fact that each space in a city is connected to various different memories and postmemories has to be acknowledged in a planning process. This is especially important when the conflict of the past gets carried into the present. The way that postmemory is being imprinted on the next generation has to be stoped by the creation of positive collective memories and opportunity spaces for collective encounter and exchange.

The disconnection of Belfast showed me the importance of a connected and accessible city. This is not something completely new, but it is

still important to mention. Belfast is a city that has streets cut off by Peacelines or ending in dead ends or roads are used as borders. The purposefully planned disconnection of the city is something planners need to learn from. A city that lacks connection limits the accessibility for the residents. To create space that is open to everyone is what planning should do rather than creating borders and obstacles. This especially is important for pedestrians. People who depend on a pedestrian friendly city suffer the most under a disconnected city. The radius of movement is limited due to lack of accessibility.

6. 4. Further steps

The extend of a master thesis has its limit and the more I researched the more subtopics came up. At some point it is important to draw a line and determine the direction the thesis should take. This leaves certain topics out, due to the focus of the thesis. Following areas were not or only briefly discussed in the thesis and are points where further research can take off.

On aspect that will play a big role in the upcoming years is the Brexit. At the moment the details about the deal are uncertain and the effects it will have on Northern Ireland, Belfast and the divided working class districts are only assumptions and guesses. It will definitely have its impact on Belfast, with the possibility of old conflicts resurfacing. Furthermore there is a lot of funding from the European Union invested in cross-community projects and it is unsure what will happen once the funding stops. Then there is of course the debate around the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. These are only some of the concerned aspects that might play into the further development of Belfast.

Another topic came up during the interviews which is the influence of paramilitary groups in Belfast. Even though I did know about the existence of certain groups, the actual power they still have was something new to me. The influence of paramilitary groups on the urban development is a topic I only briefly discussed but would need further investigation to create a valid output. From what I have gathered there is still a strong influence of paramilitaries in certain neighbourhoods directly or indirectly impacting the urban development.

A topic I came across is the role of women in the peace building process. Often cross-community projects have their roots in women from both communities coming together and forming groups. I do not touch upon that topic in my thesis because it opens up a whole new research I could not include in my master thesis.

One aspect I purposefully left out from the beginning were other divided cities. A similar approach that I used on Belfast can be applied in other cities with walls shaping the city structure. As mentioned already I decided to only focus on one city to really be able to immerse into the topic rather than only scratching the surface

6. 5. SUMMARY

The thesis started at borders in cities, throughout the process the different facets showed the complexity of the topic. Belfast is a city that is characterised and shaped by walls, division and segregation, but it is not enough to simply look at the physical aspect of the walls. It is important to take the whole picture into account, which is why the approach of defining Peacelines started at the impact the walls have.

Peacewalls were constructed as an immediate answer to the violent outbursts, this sent the message that walls are there to keep people safe. This function of the Peacelines is still present in people's mind and it is difficult to look at the walls without their role of keeping the communities safe. This is further influenced by memory and postmemory rather than collective memory making it hard to move on towards a city without walls. It is therefore the feeling of safety that is one of the facets that lies behind the physicality of the Peacelines.

Belfast is a disconnected city, streets are cut in half by Peacelines or they end in cul-de-sac. Roads created borders rather than connections and neighbourhoods are detached from each other separating the city into individual parts rather than a collective whole. The Peacelines that can be found all over the city, especially in the North and West, enhance and contribute to the lack of connection. It decreases the accessibility of public space and limits the full mobility of people.

Territorial claims of space is the way the public space gets marked and becomes a tool of who has the power. The Peacelines not only enhance the feeling that some areas of the city belong to either PUL or CNR, but they make it acceptable. Peacelines clearly separate communities and make an exchange difficult.

These three aspects is what makes a Peaceline, it is about the fact that walls are seen as a protection, clearly marking the territory while disconnecting the city.

Shared public space can help to address the difficulties around Peacelines. It is a space where exchange is possible. The approach of cross community work from a common point of view, which does not include cultural differences, helps to create a neutral basis underlining the similarities rather than the differences. Shared spaces create a connection between communities, working against the general

disconnection of Belfast. At the same time it is about creating a space where the territorial aspect moves into the background. Furthermore the exchange helps to decrease prejudices and fear of the other community. Shared spaces are not projects that can be implemented over night but need time and people who strongly believe in a shared future and are willing to invest a lot of energy into the project. It is through cross community events that people can start actively engaging with each other. To create a shared space different aspects have to play together and there is no guarantee that it will work out the way it is planned. But to use public space as a tool of exchange and sharing rather than power and territory helps to move towards a city without walls. The more the city merges together the less walls are seen as a positive asset.

REFERENCES |7

7. REFERENCES

7. 1. LIST OF FIGURES

7. 2. TABLES

7. 3. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

All Observations were conducted between May and August 2017 in Belfast. Everything was written down in a protocol. Here is a list of all the dates and locations of my observations.

02. May 2017:   Tour of interfaces with the Queen's University of Belfast

04. May 2017:   Systematic participatory observation of Alexandra Park

13. May 2017:   Observatory walk in Shankill and Falls area

02. June 2017: Observatory walk in focus area

03. June 2017: Systematic participatory observation of Peas Park

22. June 2017: Observation of steering group meeting Alexandra Park

                        Systematic participatory observation of Alexandra Park and Peas Park

01. July 2017:   Observatory walk in focus area

08. July 2017:   Systematic participatory observation of Alexandra Park and Peas Park

22. July 2017:   Systematic participatory observation of Peas Park

28. July 2017:   Observatory walk in focus area

01. August 2017: Walk around Short Strand with local historian

11. August 2017: Observatory walk in focus area

15. August 2017: Systematic participatory observation of Alexandra Park and Peas Park

26. August 2017: Observatory walk in focus area

All interviews were conducted personally between May and August 2017 in Belfast. Except for Number 12, all interviews were recorded and transcribed. For the full transcript please contact the author (lena.junger@aon.at).

Interview 1: conducted on 25. May 2017, Expert Interview, public sector

Interview 2: conducted on 1. June 2017, Expert Interview, urban planner

Interview 3: conducted on 3. June 2017, Narrative Interview, dweller in North Belfast

Interview 4: conducted on 3. June 2017, Narrative Interview, dweller in North Belfast

Interview 5: conducted on 6. June 2017, Narrative Interview, community worker

Interview 6: conducted on 12. June 2017, Expert Interview, works in the academic sector

Interview 7: conducted on 22. June 2017, Narrative Interview, community worker

Interview 8: conducted on 28. June 2017, Narrative Interview, dweller in North Belfast

Interview 9: conducted on 27. June 2017, Narrative Interview, local historian

Interview 10: conducted on 4. July 2017, Expert Interview, works in academic sector

Interview 11: conducted on 5. July 2017, Narrative Interview, dweller in North Belfast

Interview 12: conducted on 02.August 2017, Expert Interview, urban planner

Interview 13: conducted on 11. August 2017, Narrative Interview, community worker

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