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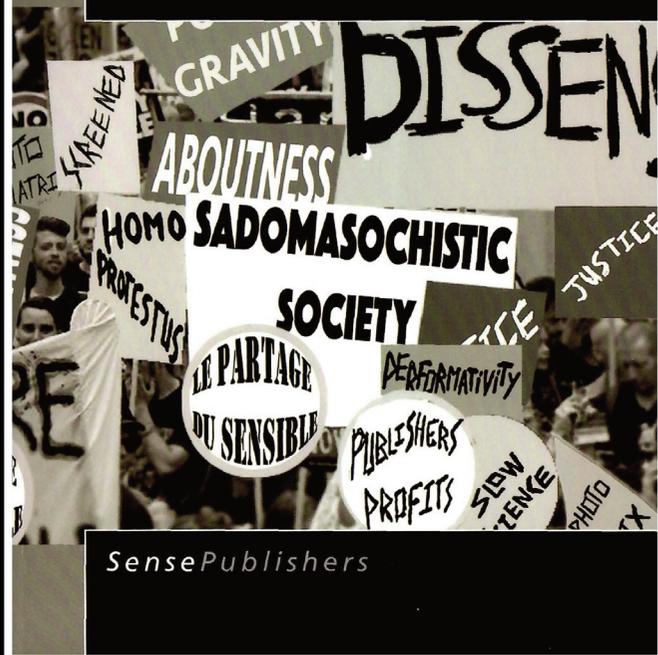
The Rhythm of the Martyrs   S. Linstead and G. Maréchal

THE RHYTHM OF THE MARTYRS

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BARRICADES, BOUNDARIES, AND ARTS–BASED INTERVENTIONS IN COMMUNITIES WITH A HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

Stephen Linstead and Garance Maréchal

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In this chapter we will explore the idea that identity is *screened* – displayed, filtered, and concealed at the same moment – by various objects that are capable both of receiving and blocking projection, and that are capable of becoming screens in both senses of the word. We will look at the ways in which barriers, barricades and placards mutate into walls and murals, separating communities and signalling aspects of identity and difference, under conditions of sustained actual or threatened violence, using Northern Ireland as our example. In the process, we will consider how the membrane of the drum has become symbolic in two different communities, forming a musical screen, whilst the membrane of the wall has simultaneously become a pictorial screen. Drawing on work by Jacques Derrida on community, autoimmunity and corporeality, we will then consider attempts at intervention (ABIs or arts-based interventions) for community reconciliation and change, based around each of these artefacts. We will finally assess the possibilities and obstacles to be faced by this political aesthetics in bridging the barriers, redirecting the projection, and returning from the aggression of violent demo(nstrations) to the agora of *demos*.

DEMOS AND WALLS

Reality itself, in its stupid existence, is never intolerable: it is language, its symbolization, which makes it such …. when we are dealing with the scene of a furious crowd, attacking and burning buildings and cars, lynching people, etc., *we should never forget the placards they are carrying and the words which sustain and justify their acts.* (Žižek, 2008: 57)

Žižek's furious crowd are, in Heidegger's terms, 'essencing'. That is to say, they are not acting out of some propulsive pre-existing inner essence that defines them and determines their actions and options, but are *demonstrating* the qualities they wish to be ascribed to that imagined essence, and setting out the criteria that such an 'essence' would seek to impose on the conditions of existence. They thereby further demonstrate that which they construct and lay claim to as their origin as the justification for their actions. As he asserts, placards and banners are an important element of this process of symbolization and we can extend this to whatever other means of signification might be additionally employed – such as graffiti – in serving the same purpose. What all of these means of signification provide are, in effect, screens that serve a double purpose: first, to screen off and mask the body behind the screen, forming a boundary between this demonstrating community and that which is on the other side; and second, to provide a surface on which to project identity (which can be in more than one direction, both inward and outward). As Steven Connor observes:

Screens have two functions: they *show* and they *conceal* … A screen filters; it is a permeable membrane, not a locked door. Screens cover and conceal: but in presenting a secondary or fictitious surface, they also partially disclose. (Connor, 2005: 184)

Connor goes on to argue, however, that during the twentieth and particularly the late twentieth century the concealing dimension has received less emphasis than the showing one, as in the hyperrreal world of simulacra:

The world of neutral surfaces, brick walls and the blank back sides of things is progressively being screened off, as the older meaning of the screen as something *behind* which something invisible may be going on is replaced by the newer conception of the screen as something *on top of which* things are being made available to sight. (Connor, 2005: 185)

And from a specifically political rather than an ontological perspective, Goldberg (2014 online n.p.n.) offers pragmatic support:

The logics of social subjection and social subjectification come together in social subjects taking on these convictions as their own. Internalized walls become structures of being, of thinking and lived condition themselves. This point applies to all political walls, all walls the raison d'etre for which are insertions into the landscapes of political relation and refusal. The materiality of political walls are reflections of the ideological walls borne by social subjects, at once projections and reinforcements, if not reifications, of them.

TYMPAN ALLER: RHYTHMS AND RESISTANCE

Walking through the streets of certain parts of Belfast is to experience a space somewhere between that of the undecorated walls and the placards and banners of a demonstration. It is almost like being in a gallery, but a gallery with a highly active and performative purpose. The murals commemorate and agitate, questioning identity as they represent it, screening histories and counter-histories, leaving a mark on the viewer – a responsibility for whether and how they act on these signs and images – or what Derrida calls a 'signature'.

> … the signature is not only a word or a proper name at the end of a text, but the operation as a whole, the text as a whole, the whole of the active interpretation which has left a trace or remainder. It is in this respect that we have a political responsibility.
> (Derrida, 1985:52)

It is then the experience, and the stop-start rhythm, pattern and direction of movement through the spaces between the walls as well as the representations on the walls that constitutes the 'operation as a whole'. It reflects something back to those who view it whilst also adding and asserting - depending on what the viewer brings to the wall. Some of the experience seeks to write us into inclusion or exclusion; some of it challenges us to rethink inclusion and exclusion as categories; some of it provokes radical feelings of inclusion or exclusion. Travelling around the mural and wall sites of the city the impact of texts and images leaves a powerful trace, as it is meant to do, but it becomes possible to discern recurring motifs, rhythms and riffs at work within the contending perspectives and narratives. Although we experience the wall/screen as membrane, with regard to its opacity or its semi-reflective surface, this rhythmic capacity evokes another take on the idea of a 'membrane'. This emphasises its tensile and potentially resonant properties, like those of a drum – and this opens up further possibilities for artistic intervention into the scene of engagement.

Derrida uses a highly physical metaphor, that of the eardrum, to convey the idea of the materiality of language: the impact that air vibrations have upon a drum skin, which is a screen, is transmitted to and translated via the auricular structures into sound patterns that the brain can decode. The event of hearing, and of listening, is a complex chain of elements that result in meaning, but whose very contingency upon impact, rhythm and touch renders the sense that there is an 'event' whose 'meaning' is transmitted, indeterminate, and undeterminable. These processes make possible the *idea* of such an event, and indeed, because they are the tools we have biologically evolved make it necessary that we should seek and respond to a particular type of information from the environment (sound and smell take on a very different significance for a dog, for example). Note then that these structures are of ex-propriation: the 'proper' meaning of the event is given by the propriety of the mechanics of the process of reaction and response that are simultaneously marginal to the stimulus, and that fragment its unity by registering it as a composition of elements. This dividing process – the 'labour of division' – displaces or obliterates any possibility of 'proper' or correct and indivisible meaning, which can no longer be 'found', and are knowable only through those processes that construct its 'foundations'. As Derrida (1972: 158) summarizes:

The logic of the event is examined from the vantage of the structures of expropriation called *timbre* (tympanum), *style* and *signature*. Timbre, style and signature are the same obliterating division of the proper. They make every event possible, necessary, and unfindable.

Hearing is such an important sense for Derrida because it is not frontally framed as is the ocularcentric vision deployed in our viewing of the walls, but is spherical, more capable of surprise, and acts through a physical impact or affect on the body, before the involvement of the brain. It makes us vibrate. It may produce effects that run counter to the content of communication. *Tympanum* or *timbre* as Derrida establishes, translates roughly into a sense of tone and amplitude; *style* is more a matter of technique, timing, selection, spacing and rhythm; *signature* is perhaps more elusive, but it can be thought of as the ligature, or the traces of ligatures, that bin the elements of signifiers and signifieds into the sign, even interlacing them into narratives of history.

> The ear of the other says to me and constitutes the auto of my autobiography. When, much later, the other will have perceived with a keen-enough ear what I will have addressed or destined to him, or her, then my signature will have taken place. Here one may derive the political import of the structure (Derrida, 1985:51).

The political or power question as raised by Derrida, then is that the 'sign'ature is not the unifying expression or the symbolic statement, of the author, of the 'event', of text or sound, but the binding accomplished by the audience, the reader, the hearer, the 'ear of the other', that completes it as text, that gives it signification after it has literally *made an impression* on the ear. Authors know this and try to anticipate and influence their conditions of reception – 'auto'biography is not so much self sufficient as dependent on how it will be and tries to be heard, an 'oto' biography as Macdonald (1985: ix) clarifies:

> In this way, the *autos*, the self as the subject of biography is displaced into the *otos*, the structure of the ear as perceiving organ, so that 'it is the ear of the other that signs'.

The identity of the self, the self to be known as, is *drummed* into being, which is not so much a political act as a political relation. This opens up a new dimension for artistic intervention given the symbolic importance of drums to the communities of Northern Ireland. In the rest of this chapter, we will look at how identity is screened on the walls and murals and also how it is drummed, literally through music built around percussive instruments. But as we have suggested, even here there is permeability as the visual rhythms of the walls leave their patterns. These patterns, for both communities and more recently for those who attempt to extend beyond traditional divisions, involve the deployment of historical events themes, myths and motifs, connecting events of the present to those of an often distant past. Identity is screened and demonstrated on the walls, as almost an archive of the street demonstrations of the past. This is not in any sense accidental, as the non-violent public political *demonstration* we have mentioned (as distinct from the riot) is ironically, both a linguistic term and a social event of Irish origination from the first half of the 19th century.

DEMONSTRATING IDENTITY: A BRIEF HISTORY OF VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

In the summer of 1968, civil rights protest resurfaced – a familiar demonstrative form in opposition to discrimination towards Catholics by the pro-British Protestant ruling minority (Joseph, 2006). Understanding what followed and what is depicted in the murals we will discuss, draws on the very long and complex history of Anglo-Irish relations involving enthusiastic cooperation, mistrustful collaboration, naked coercion and bitter conflict, since the Celtic clans exerted regional territorial control in Ireland (O'Cróinín, 2008). Walls and placards have come to recollect or assume parts of this history alongside their attempts to represent the present as history unfolding, drawing on everything from ancient mythology to contemporary social and political activism. We offer a short timeline of some political landmarks in Irish history and a more recent sketch of the events of the Troubles, as appendices to this chapter. In what follows, now, we discuss the context that gave rise to the nonviolent political demonstration in the 1820s; observe how this tradition subsided into violent conflict over the course of the subsequent century; look at its return in the 1960s; and its more recent metamorphoses via artistic interventions, urban tableaux and musical performances.

Whilst in pre- and early Christian times, Irish raids on Wales and Western England were common, with the Vikings the raids reversed direction and led to the development of settlements in port cities, most notably Dublin. After their successful conquest of England and Wales, the Normans recognized the potential for threats to the mainland from an unstable Ireland. After brutal campaigns of subjugation extended Viking attempts at settlement and integration, ties of fealty to the Norman establishment ensued. The political situation nevertheless remained an unstable hybrid of Norman and Celtic systems, and tensions further became religious from the time of Henry VIII's separation of the Anglican Church from the Roman Catholic Church in 1534. Catholics and particularly Irish Catholics subsequently experienced restrictions on their participation in public life and for the next 250 years, policies of displacement and resettlement of Catholic lands with Scots and English Protestants, established further social, political and economic divisions. Rebellions and Irish wars occurred after the Spanish Armada, resulting in the 'Flight of the Earls' to Europe in 1607; during the English Civil War, brutally suppressed by Cromwell in 1649–52: and in the attempted counter-revolution to reinstall deposed monarch James II to the English throne, repulsed by defenders in the Siege of Derry (1688–9), and in battle by William III's army at the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691). In 1695 the first *Penal Laws* were enacted against Catholics, allowing them to practice their religion but little else – they could not own property, buy land, vote or educate their own children, and were excluded from the army, the law and public office, and written out of the workings of social power which were screened off from them. In the late 18th century, settlement and discriminatory policies created new boundaries of possession and exclusion, angering both established Catholic and settled English and Scots non-conformists.

For a time, the vision of the United Irishmen of universal suffrage brought both Catholics and dissenting (eg non-Anglican Presbyterian) Protestants together. Lack of progress led by 1794 to the weakening of the alliance as both loyalist and republican groups became more radicalized. On the one hand, the *Orange Order,* formed in 1795, began the first of the quasi-military 12th July Parades, commemorating the Battle of the Boyne in 1796; whilst on the other, Wolfe Tone secured French backing for an unsuccessful 1798 rebellion (Jarman, 1997). Against the backdrop of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain wanted greater control over the threat that Ireland had posed to mainland security since the time of the Normans. As the terms of settlement of the *Act of Union* in 1801, the Irish Parliament had to agree to its own abolition (opposition was bought off by bribes and peerages) and accept direct rule from Westminster, which was to be offset by the promise of greater Catholic emancipation (Lydon, 1998: 242-4).

Aware of the threat of radicalization and in the context of tensions in Europe, King George III, and later George IV, both refused to honour the promises made to relax restrictions on Catholics. But the domestic situation changed in the wake of the final defeat of Napoleon, against whom around 200,000 Irishmen fought. A large number of trained, disciplined and experienced troops who understood organized military action returned to Ireland to take domestic roles in the militia. These were no longer the 'wild Irishmen' of the late eighteenth century, and would not be easily nor cheaply subdued should conflict arise (Lydon, 1998: 285). Given mounting social unrest in English society during the 1820s, gifted lawyer, orator and politician Daniel O'Connell capitalized on the very real threat of violence by advocating non-violent democratic moves, first for Catholic emancipation, and subsequently for Irish Home Rule. O'Connell became internationally respected as he articulated a broad and embracing catholic vision to be enacted by non-sectarian policies (although he often used sectarian rhetoric when targeting inequality in his specific campaigns). He remained publicly committed to principled non-violent agitation on behalf of nonconformists whether Protestant or Catholic, and this made him a figure of inspiration far beyond Ireland's borders (Lydon, 1998: 283-4).

In 1828 O'Connell managed to organize and unify sufficient support to win a British parliamentary election in Clare. As he had previously declared that he would not take the necessary *Oath of Supremacy* (which required effectively renouncing his Catholic faith) in order to take office in Westminster, the gauntlet was clearly thrown down to Anglo-Irish Prime Minister the Duke of Wellington, and Home Secretary Robert Peel, to use their influence on George IV to ensure that the *Test Act* was repealed (Lydon, 1998: 287). The *Catholic Relief Act* achieving this was signed into law in 1829. Nevertheless, despite this success, many of the Irish lower-classes remained excluded from the franchise by the CRA, and over the next 15 years O'Connell became the first modern politician to engage the public directly and en masse through the public political *demonstration* as he campaigned for the reinstatement of the Irish Parliament. These *monster meetings* as they were termed by *The Times* and became popularly known, showed the strength of public feeling on these issues in attracting 300,000 or more attendees (Lydon, 1998: 294).

People travelled for miles and stayed for days, signalling their support, not just to the authorities, but to the world at large.

> … the activity combining bodily experience and intense emotion to the highest degree is the participation in a mass demonstration at a time of great public exaltation… it is by its nature collective, and it can be prolonged for hours. It implies some physical action – marching, chanting slogans, singing – through which the merger of the individual in the mass, which is the essence of the collective experience, finds expression.
> (Hobsbawm 2003:73)

Up to this point in history, Ireland had been exploited by the British Empire to provide food, produce, and labour for the colonies, leaving the country itself undernourished and susceptible to famine, and Ireland had been used by other European powers such as France and Spain as a means of furthering their own political agendas against Britain. But from now onward, the public support demonstrated for Irish campaigners began to receive corresponding and increasing support of all kinds – political, financial, material and even ordnance – from the colonies, from former colonies, such as the United States, and from global groups that even included Native American tribes (Lydon, 1998: 306ff; Vronsky, 2012). At the same time, the Orange Order was so active – even including in 1836 in a plot against the succession of Queen Victoria – that it was periodically suppressed, although it merely went underground. The struggles for identity of the different components of Irish society and the Irish state were being differently enacted, differently performed and differently represented, with fresh consequences for Britain.

Although O'Connell's non-violent campaign for Home Rule was not successful in his lifetime, the issue did not disappear. Progress was bedevilled by the increasing antagonism between radical elements on both sides, and the question of whether and how the mainly Protestant areas of the North would be treated, or partitioned, in any Home Rule agreement. Although in 1914 Parliament at last passed a *Home Rule Act*, this was shelved because of the First World War (Lydon, 1998: 325ff). For some, this was the last straw and O'Connell's non-violent strategy of demonstrative pressure backed by tactical political negotiation was finally

abandoned. In 1916 an attempted violent rebellion, the *Easter Rising*, was quickly put down by the British, but initial popular sympathy was equally swiftly reversed by a badly managed aftermath of persecution and executions, and the event became iconic. Protestant representatives then blocked the enactment of the existing legislation over the terms of partition. In early 1918 when the British Government attempted to impose conscription on the Irish, the *War of Independence* or *Anglo-Irish War* began. This was eventually terminated in 1921 by the *Anglo-Irish Treaty*, which established home rule in the *Irish Free State*, with Northern Ireland (the six counties of Antrim, Armagh, Derry/Londonderry, Down, Fermanagh and Tyrone) able to opt out. This still was not enough for a group led by Eamonn de Valera and the *Irish Republican Army* (IRA), who opposed the idea of partition and a further civil war began, ending in 1923. The IRA was eventually outlawed in 1934, and in 1937 the independent Free State was recognized as Ireland (Eire). In 1949, it became a republic and left the Commonwealth (Lydon, 1998: 385-6). The history of atrocity and reprisals on both sides had however left a profound legacy of mistrust: there remained a strong desire in the mostly Catholic South for a united Ireland, and the politically and economically dominant minority Protestant community in the North, experienced typical, and mounting, post-colonial anxieties.

In 1966, informal discussions purportedly took place between representatives of the British and Irish governments on the possibilities of reunion. Seizing the moment, of the anniversary of the Easter Rising, the *Irish Rebel Army* (IRA) – which still claimed some descent from the rebels of 1916 – declared itself once more active and committed to the cause of violent terrorist action in support of a united Ireland (Lydon, 1998: 393).[1] Faced with this renewed pressure, Protestant terrorist groups such as the *Ulster Defence Association* (UDA) began a series of strategic bombings against Catholic targets, allegedly including strikes against British military and other loyalist and infrastructure related targets that were, or could be, blamed on the IRA. However, such violence remained relatively exceptional at this point.

Political demonstrations in the tradition of O'Connell began in support of 'civil disobedience' by campaigners focussing on specific abuses of civil rights – for example, the dispossession of two large Catholic squatter families from empty Council properties that were re-allocated to single
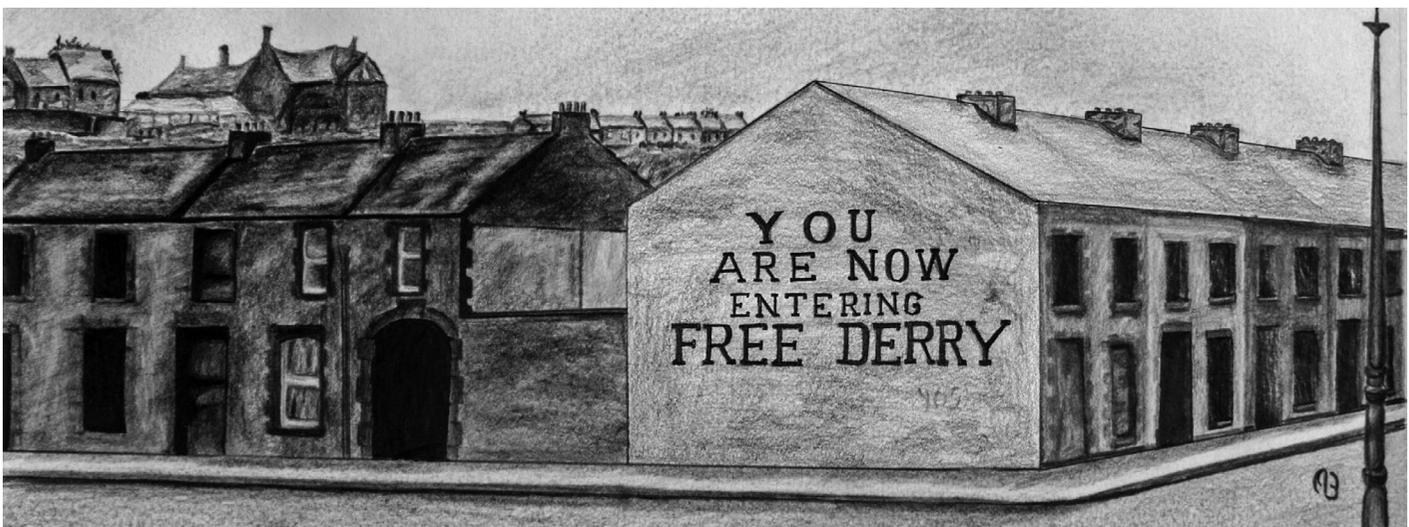
Photograph 1. Free Derry Corner in 1969 as painted by John Casey

Protestants. Many Catholics did not have the vote, although they formed a numerical majority, and in any case had been gerrymandered into ghettos. 'Protest marches' were in ironic continuity with the tradition of Protestant loyalist 'parades' with flute bands and drums, as they also resonated with and took as a role model contemporary black civil rights protests in the US (Johnson, 2006: 47,74-6; Lydon, 1998: 393-4). Police responses were swift and harshly repressive; peaceful unarmed marchers were attacked and beaten by loyalist/ unionist/protestant mobs. By January 1969, barricades began to be erected by what were becoming warring, though in many cases neighbouring, communities; keeping the 'enemy' out and affirming the identity of those within.

One of the most famous barricades, marking the beginning of a 'no-go' area protected by anti-armoured vehicle traps, and which was not penetrated by the British Army until July 1972, was marked by the painted end-wall of a house. '*Free Derry Corner*' between Lecky Road and Fahan Street in the Bogside area of the City of Derry/Londonderry proclaimed 'You are now entering Free Derry' (see Photograph 1). The wall, much repainted and restored, still stands today although the house does not. This location, near the also now-demolished Rossville Flats, was the site of the *Battle of the Bogside* in August 1969 and *Bloody Sunday* 1972, when British Army paratroopers opened fire on civilian demonstrators and effect ruthlessly executed 13 of them, injuring a further 17 (Johnson, 2006: 35). A timeline of the most significant violent events during what became known The Troubles from 1969-

2001 is given in Appendix 2, although this could not be comprehensive as there were a number of attacks that had no fatalities or injury (such as overnight bombings of shops), and many individual 'kneecapping executions' or 'tar-and-featherings' that received little press and media coverage.

All across Belfast and Derry in particular, permanent barricades and walls we erected both during this period and after. A tradition already existed of localities signalling their boundaries and loyalties by painting the kerbsides either red, white and blue, or green, white and orange, with specific gable-ends and some other walls being painted with partisan murals particularly in Protestant districts (Photographs 2 and 3). Catholic communities began to develop their own parallel tradition, initially driven by reactions to contemporary events, and they came to draw on literary traditions extending as far back as the Celtic legends, perhaps peaking with Wilde, Joyce and Yeats, and could incorporate mention of any of the key historical events across this 2000-year span. This often makes them difficult to decipher for the uninitiated. Today, some murals draw upon global connections; some are resolutely aimed at local issues. This mural tradition was gradually extended to include the 'peace walls' own political and culturally symbolic function. Northern Ireland now has an estimated 2000 of these decorous but frequently ominous murals. Recently some of the murals have changed their partisan themes to sound softer notes of memorial and reconciliation, and we will return to this point later.

The murals, simple, elaborate, lettrist, realist, fantasist, commemorative or experimental, developed over the subsequent years with an abiding common property of fascination. Tourists from all over the world take organized taxi and bus tours of this street art. At least two main broadcast documentary films have been made on the peace walls alone. But this should not be surprising. Whatever we gaze upon has the potential to fascinate us even with horror, and thus to *consume* us, to absorb our attention until we ourselves as subjects merge in identification with that which we observe and its objects. Such a screen is therefore not blank or neutral: it organises the imaginary lexicon of the other, whilst provoking our own desire, love or hate and becoming thus 'sticky with our longings' (Connor, 2005: 185). This symbolic viscosity in a liquid modernity is potentially *dangerous* especially where the screens are also boundaries between communities.

Photograph 2. Protestant mural – King Billy, Sandy Row (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 3. Protestant mural – Welcome to Shankill (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

BOUNDARIES AND INTERFACES

A *boundary* or *limit* is a curious thing. It is a line, infinitesimally narrow, but never so narrow that it does not have a this-side and a that-side. When you are on this side, you are within a safe and pure enclosure, enveloped by the boundary line. Everything on the other side is the other side, over there, beyond the pale, in another territory, foreign, strange, uncanny, radically other. *When you cross that infinitesimally narrow line, suddenly the valences reverse.* You are now within another domain. The land you have just left is now other, strange, distant, even if it is your own homeland. (Miller, 2007: 24)

As Miller implies here, naming the neighbour as neighbour, even in the injunction to love them as thyself, inaugurates the separation embodied in the boundary line. It also paradoxically separates them from the idea of a universal community and connects their otherness to a communal *alterity*, which may be radical (eg *homo sacer* – that one of us who is outside the law, an out-law, who may be killed but is not sufficiently *worthy* to be sacrificed – Agamben, 1998). This otherness may be worse still, as it may represent a radical *evil* (Linstead, 2003), and this may be both Universal, and Inhuman (Žižek, 2008; Lyotard, 1993). *They* are not *us*, and they may be much worse than we fear. This fearful liminal space is most anxious where boundaries constitute interfaces, which are:

> … the conjunction or intersection of two or more territories or social spaces, which are *dominated*, *contested* or *claimed* by some or all members of the differing ethno-national groups … and it is *violence or the threat of violence* that transforms otherwise peaceful locations and *boundary areas* into interfaces (Jarman, 2004: 7).

The so-called Peace Walls constitute precisely such interfaces. Although Barack Obama spoke in Berlin on 24 July 2008 suggesting that, 'Not only have walls come down in Berlin, but they have come down in Belfast, where Protestant and Catholic found a way to live together', he was misinformed (McNeilly, 2009). There are now more interface barriers than there were in the pre-ceasefire period (up until 1994). Neil Jarman (2006) noted that the Northern Ireland Office had authorised the building of at least nine new peace walls and the strengthening or extension of a further eleven, and a report by the Community Relations Council (2008) recorded eighty-eight interface barriers and structures across Belfast alone. Others have been built since this report was published (Bell *et al.*, 2010). Commenting on the plan by Derry City Council to build a new wall at Lisnagelvin in 2011, CRC Chief executive Duncan Morrow observed:

> Our experience over the last forty years is that it is easier to put barriers up than to take them down again … a solution needs to be explored that goes beyond the short term remedy of putting up a barrier to ensure that it does not become a permanent fixture, effectively separating communities on sectarian lines once more (CRC, 2011).

When, in 2013, fifteen years after the Good Friday Agreement, the government announced its objective to remove peace walls by 2023 (BBC, 2013; Henderson & McHugh, 2013; McDonald, 2013), it seemed to be challenging research by the Institute for Research in Social Sciences and the International Conflict Research Institute at the University of Ulster (McDonald, 2012), which found that of the communities living beside the walls, 69% were in favour of them remaining, whilst across the province, 78% favoured their removal. As often, political and community resolutions are at variance. But the evidence tends to support Connor's metaphor of 'stickiness' -images of who we think that we are and whom we fear that they are that anchor the identities that wrestle with imposed or compromised subjectivities, adhere to those barriers and keep them symbolically in place beyond their physical presence. Their existence may even encourage the violent behaviour that they are intended to contain. As CRC Chair Peter Osborne commented (CRC, 2014) 'The removal of interface barriers will take hard and courageous work over a very long period.' But is there something beyond simple fear of the other and an inability to put the past away that is at work here?

AUTO-IMMUNITY/COMMUNITY

Jacques Derrida has attempted to explore the connections between the concepts of community and immunity in pursuit of this issue. Whilst on the surface there would appear to be little or no connection between the two, Derrida, in typical fashion, finds that one appears as the spectre of the other:

> … the auto-immunitary haunts the community and its system of immunitary survival like the hyperbole of its own possibility. Nothing in common, nothing immune, safe and sound, *heilig* and holy, nothing unscathed in the most autonomous living present without a risk of auto-immunity. (Derrida, 2002: 82)

What Derrida addresses here is precisely the ontological function of organization – to live beyond its members, to outlast its own living but perishable body, to live above and literally beyond its present means. But he also explicitly considers the religious dimension of this transcendence as a space of death, because it represents an:

> … excess above and beyond the living, *whose life has absolute value by being worth more than life*, more than itself – this, in short, is what opens the space of death that is linked to the automaton (exemplarily 'phallic'), to technics, the machine, the prosthesis: in a word, to the dimensions of the auto-immune and *self-sacrificial supplementarity*, to this death drive *that is silently at work in every community*, every autoco-immunity, constituting it as such in its iterability, its heritage, its spectral tradition. (Derrida, 2002:86 *emphases added*)

Communities such as those we are considering in Northern Ireland, which historically have been formed by the intersectionality of ethnic, national, local, familial, class, economic and religious interests, have their identities rendered particularly intransigent by the religious or spiritual

element (which may not necessarily or always be formally religious – some organizations can display similar features). This element binds the community together, but in terms of that which is beyond, outside and after the community – the condition of death – the attainment of which may require the extinction or sacrifice of life, the present, the individual. That which does not (yet) exist, the object of the messianic impulse, demands at least the possibility and frequently the actuality of martyrdom. Sanctity, vengeance, hierarchy, terror and the hope of redemption require more than text to hold them in place, a place within which the individual can submit or supplicate to a force that they recognise as both historical and greater than them, and under threat from the other. As Žižek (2008: 62) recognizes:

> The 'wall of language' which forever separates me from the abyss of another subject is simultaneously that which opens up and sustains this abyss – the very obstacle that separates me from the Beyond is what creates its mirage.

Murals and wall art thus screen identity in a double sense. On one hand, they show it, connect elements and people synchronically and diachronically in a visible and immediate way, and give new order and resonance to events. On the other, they present values and valued actions against which individuals can 'screen' or check their own identity in self-examination, protecting the community against its own internal impurities and inevitable elements of decay:

> Community as com-mon auto-immunity: no community that would not cultivate its own auto-immunity, a principle of *sacrificial self-destruction* ruining the principle of self-protection (that of maintaining its self-integrity intact), and this in view of some sort of invisible and spectral sur-vival. This *self-contesting attestation* keeps the auto-immune community alive, which is to say, open to something other and more than itself: the other, the future, death, coming or love of the other, the space and time of a spectralizing *messianicity beyond all messianism*. It is there that the possibility of religion persists: the religious bond (scrupulous, respectful, modest, reticent, value of life, its absolute 'dignity' and the theological machine, the 'machine for making gods'. (Derrida, 2002: 87 *emphasis added*)

We may be reminded here of Belfast and Londonderry in the 1970s and '80s, when members of Republican or Loyalist communities might be violently beaten by members of their own community for communicating, fraternizing or doing business with proscribed individuals or bodies representative of the other side. Sometimes this might be unwitting – teenage girls might be tarred and feathered for drinking with off-duty soldiers or members of the security forces, who themselves might be under cover. Offences perceived to be more serious might attract penalties to property, vehicles, homes or businesses; intimidation and torture, including maiming or 'knee-capping' or even death. Being present in venues where enemy targets were known to consort could result in innocent civilians being caught up in action such as bombing or arson – which mirrored the outrages perpetrated

by the army against unnamed civilians for example on 'Bloody Sunday'. Much of this sort of action received little news coverage yet formed the constant background weft of the 'Troubles':

> Walls have served also as solidifications against the inside turned out, against pollution of the body politic from within, against the paranoia of 'selfdebasement, and the intrusion of the everyday, its bothers, conflicts and hazards … the other side of the wall conveys opacity, illegibility, and menace, physical or ideological, to those properly within the wall's boundaries. The relative opacity of the outside reinforces insecurity and anxiety on the inside … from refusing neighbourliness to absolutizing distinction, from segregation to at least imagined erasure. (Goldberg, 2014)

The Peace Walls materialized and marked major lines of separation between broadly defined groups, but behind those barriers the striations persisted within those communities – different factions often acting against each other, different levels of rank within secret resistance units, sub-areas of acceptability or unacceptability, nogo and neutral spaces. As Tony Macaulay puts it, even where there were no barriers evident, or in districts where they are not deemed necessary,

> … ask any 14 year-old boy and he will tell you where the sectarian interface is, the line he doesn't feel safe to cross in his own town whether it's Lurgan or Limavady, Cookstown or Kilkeel. (Macaulay 2008:4)

Of his own experience, Macaulay (2008: 1-2) reveals:

> I grew up at the top of the Shankill Rd in Belfast in the 1970s. The so called 'peace walls' went up all around me. The nearest one was at Springmartin. For every inch I grew, it grew six feet. It made me feel safe but it obviously didn't work. People from either side crossed the interface to kill people on the other side.
>
> In the 1980s, while working across the sectarian divide in North Belfast, I lived right on the peace line. I will never forget feeling so vulnerable to attack every single night, the insecurity and the lack of sleep …   (p. 1)
>
> … the erection of peace walls has been sustained through the ceasefires, the ten years since the signing of the Agreement and the establishment of a devolved government. However in recent years, community initiatives have resulted in a decrease in the number of serious violent interface incidents. In some places the walls provide a venue for 'recreational rioting' organised by cross-community texting and in other places there are now more tourist visits than violent incidents. (p. 2)[3]

Walls and murals thus appear to perform different functions. But where the walls are very high mesh fences there is little scope for them to be anything but dividing lines. Perhaps the most striking of these is on Springmartin Road (Photograph 4), separating Protestant and Catholic areas of West Belfast

Photograph 4. Springmartin Road (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

along the thousand yards between its origin at New Barnsley police compound, on the corner with Springfield Road, and its far junction with Ballygomartin Road at the foot of Black Mountain.

The wall here appears as a scar slashed across this part of the city. Elsewhere, functionality also predominates, as on Springfield Road (see Photograph 5) or Clandeboyne Gardens in Short Strand in East Belfast (see Photograph 6),

Photograph 5. Springfield Road
(© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 6. Clandeboyne Gardens, Short Strand
(© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 7. Northumberland Street Gate – Divis Street side (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Here there is no sense of communities trying to express themselves; they're merely trying to protect themselves. Gates, where they appear across the access roads through the walls, may be closed on curfew or at particular periods – see our examples from Northumberland Street (Photograph 7) and Forthspring (Photographs 8 and 9). But in other places street art has proved irrepressible, whether coordinated and organized as a community project or more

Photograph 8. Forthspring Gate – Springfield Road (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

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Photograph 9. Forthspring Gate – Workman Road (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 10. North Howard Street fence with tags (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

spontaneous, as along North Howard Street, where the lower part of the wall in 2014 offers a continuous and extensive display of graffiti tags (Photograph 10).

Jacques Rancière (2004) argues forcefully that politics is not about power. For him, the political moment is that moment when an individual or group that has had no voice, asserts that voice in an attempt to redraw the striations that have confined it and to participate in the *polis*. It is an aesthetic act that commits itself not only to redesigning its own identity, but to redesigning the system that made that identity impossible and repressive significations inevitable. Persuasive as he makes this thesis, it does not entirely work in Northern Ireland. Clearly, not all power relations are visible: in a society where clandestine operations and secret organizations have been the norm for centuries, this is simply stating the obvious. But symbolic struggles have been foregrounded for three centuries both musically and visually as the Protestant majority has sought to justify and defend its predominant and privileged political and economic positions; and as the Catholic majority has reasserted its indignation at its subaltern status and signalled its resurgence as a culture and a nation. Whilst philosophically, Rancière's Aristotelian distinction between power and polity is important, in the everyday practice of life in Northern Ireland the separation is difficult to sustain. Yet it is within the ambiguity of such tensions that art can often intervene to some effect to realign or release dominant assumptions, to raise questions and open up spaces in which they can be explored.

Danny Devenny, a Catholic Mural artist once interned in the infamous Maze Prison for his part in the Troubles, and Mark Ervine, artist son of a former terrorist Unionist leader, have collaborated on several mural works throughout Belfast in the hope of changing the level of visual discourse from narrow sectarianism. Devenny has been involved with political art since the '70s and became interested in mural art when he found his own magazine images being plagiarized on walls. As he puts it, until 1981 and the hunger strikes most murals were Protestant, either historical or paramilitary, and the Catholic communities had no means of expressing their anger and frustration (see Photograph 11). For their part, as Erskine observes, the Protestant groups tended to use murals to mark territory, and became quite internally focused – they 'missed an opportunity where murals were concerned,' he says. Political work such as Devenny's was aimed 'to ask the question why'; why had particular individuals died, and to draw people towards finding out who they were and to what they stood for.[4]

The commemorative and memorial style now leaves a distinctive trace across Belfast (Photographs 12 and 13), and initially was developed from silenced voices of individual activists to focus, in protest, on specific acts or events and their wider significance (Photographs 14-16).

However, the style has since broadened even further to commemorating innocent victims, to drawing attention to suppressed issues (such as the continued use of plastic bullets – Photograph 17) and making connections to trade unionism, international political prisoners, and ultimately global peace. There are now murals commemorating Belfast

Photograph 11. Hunger Strikers Memorial mural Clowney Street (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 12. County Antrim Memorial Beechmont Avenue (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 13. Falls Road Garden of Remembrance (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 14. Kieran Nugent – Blanket Man mural Northumberland Street-Divis Street
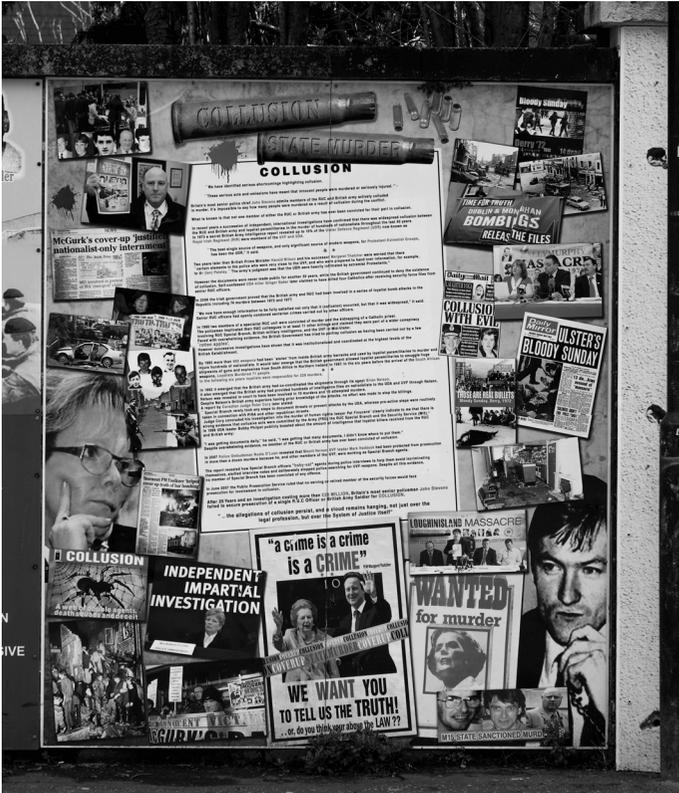*(© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)*

Photograph 15. Long Kesh Gas mural Divis Street (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 16. Falls Curfew Oppression mural Divis Street. (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

industry, the Titanic (Photograph 18), the peace process and the Northern Ireland soccer team. Devenny and Erskine are modest in their ambitions, hoping to be 'a small part' of 'changing people's mindsets', 'cos that's where the barriers exist in the main' (quotes from interviews in Curran and Matier 2008; *Walls of Shame* 4 – Belfast 2007).

And some murals (Photographs 19 and 20) are quite simply, art …

Photograph 17. Plastic Bullets campaign (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

On the Northwest Coast, the challenges of expressing the significance of experience of the Troubles for those who lived through them, as a means to articulate and surface issues that need to be taken into account to deliver truth, justice and reconciliation, have also been addressed by artists. As they engaged with it, they found that the story of the people was, so far, not being told.

> The walls … had witnessed many crimes and saw much suffering . … Those brick expanses could speak eloquently and grandly … If they were given a chance. For now (1994) they were an eyesore, with graffiti and paramilitary slogans sprayed all over them giving the Bogside an air of squalor and desolation worse than anyone could recall … The people of the Bogside had suffered much in a relentless campaign for justice over a very, very long time. And they and their story had been badly misrepresented by the tabloid press in general. Not everyone in the Bogside was a thug or a killer. Not everyone was a Republican and not everyone was actively engaged in a war against England. The ordinary people, who started out for simple justice, deserved to be honoured with a visual narrative that would reflect back to them what they had all lived through. (Joseph, 2006: 8)

Two brothers, William and Tom Kelly, and their friend Kevin Hasson – *The Bogside Artists* – were given permission to tell their story on the gable-ends of Rossville Street, opposite the site of the Bloody Sunday massacre (the Rossville Flats), and entirely funded by small donations from local people. Between 1994 and 2004 they created 'The People's Gallery' – 12 full house-end murals telling the ordinary Bogsider's story from the first civil rights demonstrations, to a final aspirational peace abstract.

Photograph 18. Titanic/No More – Short Strand (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 19. Cupar Way – 'Only a Fool' mural (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Photograph 20. Cupar Way – 'Banquet' by Rita Duffy (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)

Along the way they painted *The Petrol Bomber* (Photograph 21), which has become one of the most iconic and photographed murals in the world. Their objective was not, they are adamant, partisan, but to open up a piece of history, through art, for reflection. What they achieve, though figurative, literal and often monochrome styles, offers a dramatic deconstruction of the mythology around the Troubles, and is a powerful demonstration of what public art can achieve when it engages with history as a living entity. As playwright Brian Friel argues:

This is a work of conscious ostentation, of deliberate defiance. It is work that Diego Rivera would have approved of. But it has delicacy too. Every mural explains – but it also embraces. Every mural instructs – but at the same time each has the intimacy and the consolations of a family photograph. (in Joseph, 2006: 19)

The artists, individually and collectively, run art workshops engaging with the murals and with wider issues, both working in their community and internationally, particularly in the United States.

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Their community work is inspired by the life and work of Bauhaus artist and teacher, and student of Paul Klee, Friedl Dicker-Brandeis, especially in the Prague ghetto from 1942-4.[5] As they put it, 'while she encouraged her students to express their fears, she also urged them to portray personal stories of hope, courage, defiance and outrage' (Joseph, 2006: 124). Following these principles the gallery has become the major tourist attraction in Derry, and one of the biggest in Northern Ireland, although as they are at pains to point out, that was never the objective. What the Gallery does, however, is demonstrate the potential of screens to engage with each other, in a narrative trajectory (and they do display some development over time) and to return something to the viewer that is more than the 'longings' with which they are 'sticky'. They engage, challenge, embrace, and move … and leave the story unfinished because it is not the artists' story alone, but that of their community. By extension, through our connection to it and the guilt that implicates us all, though not our experience nor our events, it becomes our story. As such, it is an act, not of obsessive or exclusive love of a cause, or a partisan passion shared with a single community, but of the diffused relational impulse that Derrida considers the only possibility for being ethical, a non-relational relation:

> As soon as I enter into a relation with the other, with the gaze, look, request, love, command, or call of the other, I know that I can respond only by sacrificing ethics, that is, by sacrificing whatever obliges me to also respond, in the same way, in the same instant, to all the others. I offer a gift of death, I betray 'what I love', those to whom I owe absolute fidelity, incommensurably. (Derrida, 1995: 68-69)

Photograph 21. The Petrol Bomber – Rossville Street, Derry (© The Bogside Artists, reprinted here with permission)

BEATING DIVISION?

> Indefatigably at issue is the ear, the distinct, differentiated, articulated organ that produces the effect of proximity, of absolute properness, the idealizing erasure of organic difference. (Derrida, 1972: 156)

On the 5th May 1981, one of us spent a restless night struggling to sleep in the City of Derry/Londonderry. For all of a long night, primitive rhythms tortured the eardrums, battering out anger and sorrow, as Catholic activists on the West of the city battered the lids of galvanised dustbin lids with hammers, metal pipes, tyre levers, golf clubs and even bricks. The first of the Maze Prison hunger strikers, Bobby Sands, had died at 1.17 am after 66 days of self-imposed starvation. The news had travelled fast, and across the province of Northern Ireland an orchestra of anything domestic, hollow and metal rattled out a requiem under a descant of stuttering car horns. Travelling far and fast on the night air and echoing across the Foyle river they sent a chilling and unnerving message to the Protestant Waterside. The pulsation of ancient myth powered these percussive arms on their makeshift instruments: in two months' time an alternate narrative would throb in the muscles of tonight's anxious and restless Protestant listeners, as they beat their own defiant tattoo in the summer parades of their Orange heritage. Whilst Derrida notes the capacity of words of abstraction to erase organic difference, there was something profoundly primitive at work here – there was difference, the ear heard it, and trembled.

Drums beat difference in both improvised and highly organised settings. Whether in marching bands, competitions or public sessions, two drums in particular have come to symbolise, with a distinctiveness recognised internationally, the division between the Northern Irish Catholic and Protestant communities: the *lambeg* and the *bodhran* (Schiller, 2001). So important were these drums in the presentation of identity that Mackenna (n.d.) notes that as long ago as November 1830 a group of Catholics ('Ribbonmen') 'attacked an Orange band, puncturing some of their drums. The Orangemen retaliated by burning the Catholic village of Maghera to the ground.'

The *Lambeg* drum, named after the town of Lambeg in County Armagh, is a large bass drum which descended from the European military snare drum (Photograph 22). It has a presence in Ireland in the late 17th Century possibly introduced by the troops of William III (there is a similar if smaller drum in Rembrandt's painting 'The Night Watch' from 1649), but the term 'lambeg' appears to date from the early 19th century (Hastings, 2003; Scullion, 1982). The use of long, curved malacca or bamboo canes rather than heavier solid sticks with soft cloth dampers appears to have been initiated by Lambeg manufacturers. With dimensions of 93 centimetres in diameter, 61 centimetres depth and a weight of 20 kilograms it is larger than a normal marching band bass drum, and more technical to play. At up to 120dB it is also reputed to be the loudest drum in the world and can be heard up to six miles away when played outdoors, as it is in parades and some competitions. The ways in which the drum is constructed (with very high quality imported female goat skins), tensioned (with ropes, which takes two

Photograph 22. Lambeg player at Newtownhamilton parade (© Paul Eliasberg, reprinted here with permission)

people), tuned (with hammers), and played (with canes) are unique to Ulster. Although according to Atkinson (n.d.) the drum was at one time used by Nationalist organization the Ancient Order of Hibernians this was discontinued as the drum came to function as a powerful and unmistakable symbol of the Protestant and Unionist communities who regard it as 'the heartbeat of Ulster.'

> The Lambeg drum is the symbol of Loyalism, if you wanna call it that, or Unionism, and the symbol of the other side, I suppose, using the drums as analogy, would have to be the bodhran. I know that we have done things where Protestant people felt uncomfortable because there was bodhrans there, and it was dangerous, y'know, there were people; people were shot for carryin' a bodhran in the wrong area. (musician interviewed in *Thirty Years of Conflict*, BBC, 2006; see also Schiller, 2001)[6]

The smaller *Bodhrán* (pronounced bow-ran), varying between around 12" to around 20", gets its name from the Irish for deaf 'bodhr' and means 'the deafener' (Photograph 23). It is usually made from goatskin but may be made from a variety of other skins including dogskin. Frame drums broadly, like this, are very ancient and found all over the world, but Ireland has a range of characteristic styles of playing. This is most commonly with one hand using a double-ended stick which again can be made from a variety of woods according the player's preference, the other hand being used to dampen and tension the skin to obtain tonal variations. This drum is a symbol of Nationalism and Catholicism in Northern Ireland, but the popularity of Irish bands such as the Chieftains has made it a global phenomenon.

Photograph 23. Two bodhrans and some tippers (© Garance Maréchal and Stephen Linstead)[7]

The powerful symbolism associated with these drums made them a high-risk, but potentially hugely effective, possibility for another arts-based intervention again aimed at engaging the two communities on a different level. *Different Drums* is a musical performance group that started in 1991 as a deliberate exercise in community relations and has gained an international audience since then: the group retired from public performance after a US tour in 2014. The project began when Roy Arbuckle, a musician from Derry/Londonderry, was asked to do something in the community using the arts as a vehicle and he adapted the concept of people marching to 'different drums' from American Romantic Henry David Thoreau who said in *Walden*:

> If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away.

At the same time, Arbuckle was reading M. Scott Peck's *The Different Drum* (1987) about the essential human need to be in community with other living things. He felt that there was a clear philosophical underpinning for a project that addressed both the rights and respect due to the individual, and the rights and respect due to the community, and that the drum metaphor had a literal resonance in Northern Irish experience. Metaphorically, the point was to reconcile by learning to hear and respect different drums: this could be initiated by encountering them. If they could be played harmoniously, other differences may, just may, fall into perspective.

Roy Arbuckle Back in 1992 we got the idea of doing something with both drums together, something that would give respect to both traditions.

Stephen Matier We were very aware at the start of the sensitivities around bringing these two symbols together. One of the workshops we did was at an Orange Hall [where people could come and look at them, talk about them and try to play them] and they expressed the opinion that to see the bodhran *in that setting* and to be so close to it made them feel uncomfortable and we also would have experienced the same thing from Nationalist or Catholic people being so close to the lambeg.

Roy Arbuckle The people who were wary about the lambeg and the bodhran, representing something that wasn't them, usually when they heard what we did with it, it became alright so if the music was good and people were enjoying it that seemed to dissipate all the anxieties that people might have had.

Stephen Matier Myself coming from the Protestant tradition, I hadn't heard Irish traditional music really until I became part of this band.

Paul Marshall The band represents the different communities of Northern Ireland … playing together.

Stephen Matier … we don't. we represent TWO of the different communities …

(from a segment of a French TV programme no longer available – see *Different Drums* in references. Emphasis added)

It seemed so a simple concept, although the music was not simple and the psychological barriers were not at all trivial. Eventually, other drums such as the African djembe were brought into the mix, to add a more universal context, again on the basis that the more differences that are visible, the less significant each seems and the more there appears to be in common. But the points that Derrida make about the ear that signs – that registers in this case the music as an assault – are underlined below by the first interviewee:

Interviewee 1 I was in a lovely middle class area with gardens that looked onto the Lagan but was reminded, brutally, that this presence lurked just over the treetops in one of the neighbouring estates. It was the sound of a lambeg drum, practicing in the street somewhere half a mile away perhaps, and the sound of this drum was there to remind us, the Catholic community, that Unionism was still in ascendancy and we, the Catholic community, were still its subjects.

Interviewee 2 I was lucky, my parents were so unbiased. The weren't of the opinion that if you didn't believe what they believed they would kill ya, and that really is what is the crux of the problem here … if ya don't believe what I believe, I'm gonna shoot ye.

Interviewee 3 True music or true rhythm, is not sectarian, it belongs to everybody, doesn't it? Or am I just stupid? (*Thirty Years of Conflict* 2006)

There is here the viscerality of the physical dynamics of hearing that moves a body, that takes over once the music starts – but this is dependent on the setting and how the artist overcomes, works, or relates to that setting; or, especially if this is a band, how it transports the audience from the setting so that the conditions for signature become more favourable. Interviewee 1 would 'sign off' the lambeg performance on the basis of his experience and the association it had for him of oppression, by an aggressive, arrogant and noisy minority. But in a context where there was something accessible to be shared, where the performance was responsive to what was to be respected in the traditions, an ethics could be established that opened out beyond insularities and antagonisms. Once there is a basis to begin, let affect do its work: the impact of vibrations on the membrane-screens then are amplified and pass through them, moving air in a way that causes both player and listener to resonate at the same frequency. A common touch – a touch shared. Perhaps a rhythm for a new relationality.

TYMPANUM – BOTH SIDES OF THE SCREEN

We began our reflections on the political aesthetics of the streets of Northern Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom that has seen more demonstrations and riots than any other in the past forty-five years, by considering the nature of screens, and their dual function – to display and to mask. We then took a detour into the complex history of Ireland because that demonstrative history, or particular versions of it, are so important, and are indeed central to the identity of the communities involved in ways that are not shared by the rest of the British Isles. It seemed clear from our considerations that there is no 'reading' of history that will clarify the present situation, that conflicting logics abound, and layer upon each other over time. There is no analytic to which these dimensions can be reduced. It is precisely these ambiguities against which 'community' attempts to assert immunity, haunted always by its inability to assure its own auto-immunity, ever insecure, ever infected, trembling and feverish.

Identities past and future are an area of struggle for communities in Northern Ireland, and internal divisions, as much as the need to project unity to the outside world, are at play in the verbal and visual narrative processes that operate around the screens upon which identity plays. First, the Peace Walls that separate warring communities for the protection of each, mask the nature of the other, which becomes fantasised and generalized, but always beyond reach. Second, the ancient but recently much developed practice of mural painting has moved from being a means of marking territory or motivating fear to being more complex. It now encompasses personal and collective memorials, commemoration, simple sloganeering to more subtle lettrism, questioning of events and practices, campaigns, community projects, industrial history, peace and reconciliation appeals, public galleries, art for education and community healing, and even art for art's sake with a global audience. These screens display and mask but they also reflect and deconstruct longing, fantasies, resentments, truths, injustices, hatred, all themselves curving back to their audiences with more questions, origins and destinations. The interface barriers form a membrane between what is and what is beyond, but may creatively enable movement through the state of simple division by drawing out expression, by redistributing the sensible, by engaging those separated in reconfiguring the political aesthetics of the act of separation (Rancière, 2004).

But the eyes are not the only sense involved by the use of screens. Screens insert tension between two spaces; and that tensile surface, even when solid and apparently impermeable, conducts vibration and impact. We hear the other, and the other hears us, usually before we see. We also hear of the other, and the essential intimacy and physicality of the act of hearing is pre-conditioned by the receptiveness of the ear. But touch and sound are haptic; they produce an intimacy of affect that interrupts the discursive. Whilst this may still induce fear, it also promotes resonance. And as we are brought into relation with the other in an unaccustomed way, we drum up new frequencies for identity. Public art in this way performs the politically aesthetic function that Rancière argues is not in itself about power, although in being politically demonstrative it connects to a demos that is inescapably embedded in power relations. It is creative, it resubjectifies, it redraws and redesigns rather than simply resisting. Although, as we see most emphatically in Northern Ireland, this demos can be a murderous space, it can also be a scene of engagement and sharing, even in challenging circumstances. What moves us between demo and demos, and what relates them, is not ethics but aesthetics.

NOTES

1   Eventually in 1971 the group split into the *Official IRA* (aimed at military targets only) and the *Provisional IRA* (prepared to target civilians where they felt it was justified).

2   The Troubles (Irish: *Na Trioblóidí*) was a period of conflict in Northern Ireland involving various republican (OIRA, PIRA, INLA, RIRA, etc.) and loyalist paramilitary (UVF, UPV, UDA, UFF, RDH), the British Army, security forces (inc UDR and RUC), and political civil rights groups (Sinn Féin. SDLP, UUP). The duration of the Troubles is conventionally dated from the riots of 1968 to the Belfast 'Good Friday' Agreement of 1998 but sporadic violence continued after this point, including the Omagh bombing in 1998, until 2001. Between 14 July 1969 and 31 December 2001, 3523 people are estimated to have been killed in the conflict.

3   The idea of recreational rioting is also contained in one of the murals of Derry's Bogside Artists, 'The Saturday Matinee' (Joseph, 2006 n.p.n.).

4   Abaz (2013) demonstrates in the example of Mohammed Muharah Street off Tahrir Square in Cairo, the tension between the memorial function of graffiti art and its function of dynamic commentary. The authorities employ professional whitewash painters to erase the murals around the square, such the artists need to repaint every two days or so. However, the walls of the American University are not public and the University has taken steps to preserve the murals (Abaz. 2013: 134-6). One artist, Ammar Abu Bakr, partially painted over a mural by another artist with whom he had an established dialogue, Alaa Awad, because he believed that 'graffiti ought to remain ephemeral and changing … As the barometer of the unfolding events of the revolution they should be constantly changing.' (Abaz. 2013: 136–7)

5   Dicker-Brandeis volunteered to join her husband when he was deported to Auschwitz in September 1944, although she could have remained in her teaching role in the ghetto. She was sent to the gas chamber within 3 days of her arrival. Her husband, Pavel, ironically survived until 1971.

6   One of the authors had a similar awkward experience when playing with a band as part of the 1980 Foyle Festival in Londonderry. The band played several venues around the city over a two week period, and featured a bodhran played by the author on certain tunes. However, when unwittingly playing these tunes in a venue in the Loyalist area of Waterside the audience became demonstrably and vocally uncomfortable.

7   These drums are a 2006 model made by Seamus O'Kane of Drum, near Dungiven, Co. Londonderry, with a lambeg skin, and a 1996 model by Brendan White (originally of Youghal, Cork and now the Netherlands), with a skin by Charlie Byrne. Both supply drums to bands including *Flook*, *The Dubliners*, *Capercaillie* and *The Corrs*, and Brendan's appear in Hollywood films *Master and Commander*, *The Road to Perdition*, and *Rob Roy*. The lambeg skin is almost translucent in parts and can be tuned tight to give a very crisp tone, accentuated with a light tipper; the other suits a heavier stick and gives a creamier note, and soft bass runs.

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APPENDIX 1:
TIMELINE – IRELAND FROM TRIBES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

c.500 BC   Celtic art, language and culture (O'Cróinin, 1996)

c. 220 AD   Cormac mac Airt High King of Ireland

c. 400   Niall Noigiallach Goidelic High King of Ireland

431   Palladius is sent as the first bishop to the Irish by Pope Celestine I Saint Patrick returns to Ireland.

563   Irish monastic influence during the Golden Age extends to Europe.

795   First Viking raids.

852   Vikings land in Dublin Bay and establish a fortress.

1014   Defeat of Viking forces by Brian Boru. Decline of Viking power in Ireland.

1155   Papal Bull issued by (the only) English Pope Adrian IV gives England Lordship of Ireland on his behalf.

1166   Dermot MacMurrough seeks support from Earl of Pembroke, Richard FitzGilbert (Strongbow) to reclaim the High Kingship from usurper Ruaidri Ua Conchobair (Rory O'Connor): (Byrne, 2001; Lydon, 1998:24).

1170   Henry II of England's forces supporting MacMourrough invaded Ireland and began the process of establishing the feudal Lordship of Ireland (Byrne(Byrne, 2001; Lydon, 1998:59).

1171   Henry II of England lands at Waterford.

1175   The Treaty of Windsor consolidates Norman influence in Ireland. Great Charter of Ireland issued by Henry III of England.

1297   The first representative Irish Parliament (of the Lordship of Ireland) meets in Dublin.

1315   Edward Bruce of Scotland arrives in Ireland and rallies many Irish lords against Anglo- Norman control but is defeated and killed.

1494   *Poynings' Law* – Irish parliament was to pass no law without the prior consent of the English parliament.

1534   Thomas FitzGerald, the 10th Earl of Kildare, publicly renounced his allegiance to Henry VIII of England.

1537   FitzGerald was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn.

1542   The Irish Parliament passed the *Crown of Ireland Act*, which established a Kingdom of Ireland to be ruled by Henry VIII and his successors.

1570   Pope Pius V issued a papal bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, declaring Elizabeth I of England a heretic and releasing her subjects from any allegiance to her.

1594   The *Nine Years' War* commences in Ulster, as Hugh O'Neill and Red Hugh O'Donnell rebel against Elizabeth I's authority in Ulster.

1607   *The Flight of the Earls*: The departure from Ireland of Hugh O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell.

1609   Large scale *Plantation of Ulster* by Scottish Presbyterians and City of London Companies begins.

1641   *Irish Rebellion*.

1642   *Irish Confederate Wars*: The Irish Catholic Confederation was established supporting King Charles I of England (English Civil War).

1646–7   Irish Catholic Confederation signed agreements with a representative of Charles I, which in return for their military support of the royalists in England promised toleration of Catholicism and recognition of lands taken by Irish Catholics during the war.

1649-53   Oliver Cromwell exacted savage reprisals militarily and politically, his 'scorched earth' policy against guerillas provoking famine even after battles and deportations: around a third of the Irish population died (up to 600,000) (Lydon, 1998: 191–6).

1652   *Act of Settlement* extended the punishment of Catholics by preventing them from holding seats in Parliament, living in towns or marrying Protestants (Lydon, 1998:191-6).

1689-91   *Williamite War*: Siege of Derry (1688), Battles of the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691)

1740   Successive extreme winters (The Great Frost) result in poor harvests, causing famine: between 310,000 and 480,000 die.

1760   Battle of Carrickfergus: Attempted French invasion.

1782   Irish Volunteers succeed in getting Parliament of Great Britain to pass reforms – the *Constitution of 1782*.

1792-5   *United Irishmen* –1792 *Orange Order* – 1795 founded

1798   *Irish Rebellion of 1798* led by Wolfe Tone supported by France – unsuccessful.

1801   *Act of Union* 1800 passed creating United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

1803   Second United Irishmen rebellion unsuccessful.

1829   T*he Catholic Relief Act* 1829 Catholics (e.g. Daniel O'Connell) could sit in Parliament.

1831–6   Disputes over compulsory tithes to the Anglican Church settled by *Tithe Commutation Act*.

1845-49   *Great Irish Famine* (potato blight). Estimated 1 million deaths and emigration of a further 1 million.

1867   *Fenian Rising* (also in US and Canada).

1914   *Government of Ireland Act* offers Irish Home Rule, but postponed for the duration of World War 1.

1916   *Easter Rising*.

1918   Britain attempts to impose conscription.

            Sinn Féin wins majority in general election but refuses to sit in Westminster.

1919   The First Dáil of the Irish Republic issues a Declaration of Independence from the UK. *Irish War of Independence* initiated by Irish Republican Army.

1921   *Irish War of Independence* ends with *Anglo-Irish Treaty* and the creation of the *Irish Free State* and *Northern Ireland*.

1922-3   *Irish Civil War*

1937   *The Constitution of Ireland* establishes new state of *Éire*.

1949   *Republic of Ireland Act* abolishes role of British monarchy in its government.

1955   Ireland joins the United Nations.

APPENDIX 2:
TIMELINE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY IN 'THE TROUBLES' 1969-2001

1969   **30 March** The Ulster Protestant Volunteers (UPV) bombed an electricity station at Castlereagh. Five other bombs were exploded at electricity stations and water pipelines in April. Rumoured to be a loyalist conspiracy to frame the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and provoke a backlash to equality reforms.

1971   **4 December** McGurk's Bar bombing – fifteen civilians were killed and seventeen injured by an Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) bomb in Belfast.

1972   **30 January** *Bloody Sunday* (Irish: *Domhnach na Fola*) or the Bogside Massacre was an incident in the Bogside area of Derry, Northern Ireland, in which 26 unarmed civil-rights protesters and bystanders were shot (5 in the back) by soldiers of the British Army. Fourteen males died immediately or soon after, and two others were run down by army vehicles. Whilst the Widgery Tribunal held at the time was critical of the Army it absolved them of blame, but in 2010 the 12-year Saville Inquiry finally reported, finding that all those shot were unarmed and the killings were unjustified and unjustifiable. Prime Minister David Cameron formally apologized on behalf of the British Government.

22 February Aldershot bombing – Official IRA bomb at Aldershot Barracks in England, a retaliation for Bloody Sunday, killed six female civilian ancillary workers and a Catholic priest.

4 March A bomb exploded without warning in the Abercorn restaurant on Castle Lane in Belfast. Two were killed and 130 injured.

14 April The Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provisional IRA) exploded twenty-four bombs in towns and cities across Northern Ireland and engaged in fourteen shootouts with security forces.

21 July Bloody Friday – within the space of seventy-five minutes, the Provisional IRA exploded twenty-two bombs in Belfast. Nine people were killed (including two British soldiers and a UDA member) while 130 were injured.

31 July Claudy bombing – nine civilians were killed by a car bomb in Claudy, County Londonderry. No group has since claimed responsibility.

1 December Two civilians were killed and 127 injured by two Loyalist car bombs in Dublin, Republic of Ireland.

1973   **17 May** Five British soldiers were killed by a Provisional IRA (PIRA) bomb in Omagh, County Tyrone.

12 June Six Protestant civilians were killed by a Provisional IRA (PIRA) bomb in Coleraine, County Antrim. The warning given prior to the explosion had been inadequate.

1974   **4 February** M62 coach bombing – twelve people were killed by an IRA bomb planted on a coach carrying British soldiers and their families.

2 May Six Catholic civilians were killed and eighteen injured by a UVF bomb at a bar in Belfast.

17 May Dublin and Monaghan bombings – the Ulster Volunteer Force exploded four bombs (three in Dublin, one in Monaghan) in the Republic of Ireland. They killed thirty-three civilians including a pregnant woman.

17 June The Provisional IRA bombed the Houses of Parliament in London, injuring 11 people and causing extensive damage.

5 October Guildford pub bombings – Four soldiers and one civilian were killed by PIRA bombs at two pubs in Guildford, England.

21 November Birmingham pub bombings – twenty-one civilians were killed by PIRA bombs at pubs in Birmingham, England.

22 December The Provisional IRA announced a Christmas ceasefire. Prior to the ceasefire, they carried out a bomb attack on the home of former Prime Minister Edward Heath. Mr. Heath was not in the building at the time and no one was injured.

1975   **17 July** Four British soldiers were killed by a Provisional IRA bomb near Forkhill, County Armagh.

31 July 3 members of Miami Showband from Dublin and 2 UVF members killed in ambush in Co. Down

5 September Two killed and 63 injured when a bomb was detonated in the lobby of London's Hilton Hotel.

1976   **15 May** Five Catholic civilians were killed and many injured by two Ulster Volunteer Force bomb attacks in Belfast and Charlemont, County Armagh.

21 July Christopher Ewart Biggs, the British Ambassador to Ireland, and his secretary Judith Cook, were assassinated by a bomb planted in Mr. Biggs' car in Dublin.

1978   **17 February** La Mon restaurant bombing – twelve civilians were killed and thirty injured by a Provisional IRA incendiary bomb at the La Mon Restaurant near Belfast.

21 December The Provisional IRA exploded bombs at the RAF airfield near Eglinton, County Londonderry. The terminal building, two aircraft hangars and four planes were destroyed.

14-19 November The PIRA exploded over fifty bombs in towns across Northern Ireland, injuring thirty-seven people. Belfast, Derry, Armagh, Castlederg, Cookstown and Enniskillen were hardest hit.

1979   **22 March** The group also exploded twenty-four bombs in various locations across Northern Ireland.

30 March Airey Neave, Conservative MP was assassinated. A bomb exploded in his car as he left the Palace of Westminster in London. The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) later claimed responsibility for the assassination.

17 April Four RUC officers were killed by a PIRA van bomb in Bessbrook, County Armagh. The bomb was estimated at 1000 lb, the largest Provisional IRA bomb used up to that point.

27 August Warrenpoint ambush – eighteen British soldiers were killed by a PIRA bomb in Warrenpoint. A gun battle ensued between the Provisional IRA and the British Army, in which one civilian was killed. On the same day, four people (including the Queen's cousin Lord Louis Mountbatten) were killed by an IRA bomb on board a boat near the coast of County Sligo.

16 December Four British soldiers were killed by a Provisional IRA landmine near Dungannon, County Tyrone. Another British soldier was killed by a Provisional IRA landmine near Forkhill, County Armagh.

1980   **17 January** Dunmurry train explosion -a Provisional IRA bomb prematurely detonated on a passenger train near Belfast, killing three and injuring five.

5 June Car bomb detonated in Londonderry damages city centre buildings including the famous Guildhall Clock,

which remained unfunctioning for several years.

1982　*20 April* The Provisional IRA exploded bombs in Belfast, Derry, Armagh, Ballymena, Bessbrook and Magherafelt. Two civilians were killed and twelve were injured.

20 July Hyde Park and Regents Park bombings – eleven British soldiers and seven military horses died in Provisional IRA bomb attacks on Regents Park and Hyde Park, London. Many spectators were badly injured.

6 December Droppin' Well bombing – Eleven British soldiers and six civilians were killed by an Irish National Liberation Army (NLA) bomb at the Droppin' Well Bar, County Londonderry.

1983　*13 July* Four Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) soldiers were killed by a PIRA landmine in County Tyrone.

17 December Harrods bombing – a Provisional IRA car bomb killed six and injured ninety outside a department store in London.

1984　*18 May* Three British soldiers were killed by a Provisional IRA landmine in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh. Two RUC officers were killed by a PIRA landmine near Carnlough, County Armagh.

12 October Provisional IRA bombed the Grand Hotel, Brighton, during the Conservative Party Conference. Five people, including MP Sir Anthony Berry, were killed and several were seriously injured, including (Lord) Norman Tebbit.

1985　*28 February* Newry mortar attack – a Provisional IRA mortar attack on the Newry RUC station killed nine officers and injured thirty-seven

20 May Four Royal Ulster Constabulary officers were killed by a Provisional IRA bomb near Killean, County Down.

7 December Attack on Ballygawley barracks – the Provisional IRA launched an assault on the RUC barracks in Ballygawley, County Tyrone. Two RUC officers were killed and the barracks was completely destroyed by the subsequent bomb explosion.

1987　*8 November* Remembrance Day bombing – eleven civilians were killed and sixty-three injured by a Provisional IRA bomb during a Remembrance Day service in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh. One of those killed was Marie Wilson. In an emotional BBC interview, her father Gordon Wilson (who was injured in the attack) expressed forgiveness towards his daughter's killer, and asked Loyalists not to seek revenge. He became a leading peace campaigner and was later elected to the Irish Senate. He died in 1995.

1988　*15 June* Six off-duty British soldiers were killed by a Provisional IRA bomb on their minibus in Lisburn.

20 August Ballygawley bus bombing- eight British soldiers were killed and twenty-eight wounded by a Provisional IRA roadside bomb near Ballygawley, County Tyrone.

1989　*22 September* Deal barracks bombing – eleven military bandsmen were killed by the Provisional IRA at Deal Barracks in Kent, England.

1990　*20 July* The Provisional IRA bombed the London Stock Exchange.

24 October Proxy bomb attacks – the Provisional IRA launched three 'proxy bombs' or 'human bombs' at British Army checkpoints. Three Catholic men (whom had worked with the British Army) were tied into cars loaded with explosives and ordered to drive to each checkpoint. Each bomb was detonated by remote control. The first exploded at a checkpoint in Coshquin, killing the driver

and five soldiers. The second exploded at a checkpoint in Killean; the driver narrowly escaped but one soldier was killed. The third failed to detonate.

1991　*3 February* The Provisional IRA launched a 'proxy bomb' attack on a Ulster Defence Regiment base in Magherafelt, County Londonderry. The bomb caused major damage to the base and nearby houses, but the driver escaped before it exploded.

7 February The Provisional IRA launched three mortar shells at 10 Downing Street while the British Cabinet were holding a meeting.

18 February A Provisional IRA bomb exploded in a litter bin at Victoria Station, London. killing David Comer [5], and injuring 38. Since that time, there have been no litter bins anywhere on the station platform.

31 May Glenanne barracks bombing – the Provisional IRA launched a large truck bomb attack on a UDR barracks in County Armagh. Three soldiers were killed, whilst ten soldiers and four civilians were wounded.

1992　*1 May* Attack on Cloghogue checkpoint – the Provisional IRA, using a van modified to run on railway tracks, launched an elaborate bomb attack on a British Army checkpoint in South Armagh. The checkpoint was obliterated and one soldier was killed.

17 May After a small Provisional IRA bomb attack in Coalisland, British soldiers raided two public houses and caused considerable damage. This led to a fist-fight between the soldiers and local inhabitants. Shortly thereafter, another group of British soldiers arrived and fired on a crowd of civilians, injuring seven.

23 September The Provisional IRA exploded a 2000lb bomb at the Northern Ireland forensic science laboratory in south Belfast. The laboratory was obliterated, seven hundred houses were damaged, and twenty people were injured.

1993　*4 February* Two IRA bombs exploded in the London area, one at a London Underground station and another on a Network Southeast train in Kent

20 March Warrington bomb attacks -after a telephoned warning, the Provisional IRA exploded two bombs in Cheshire, England. Two children were killed and fifty-six people were wounded. There were widespread protests in Britain and the Republic of Ireland following the deaths.

24-25 March The UFF killed six people in three separate attacks. Four were Catholic civilians, one was a civilian Sinn Féin member, and one was a Provisional IRA member. Two others were wounded.

24 April Bishopsgate bombing – after a telephoned warning, the PIRA exploded a large bomb at Bishopsgate, London. It killed one civilian, wounded thirty others, and caused an estimated £350 million in damage.

October Shankill Road bombing – ten civilians and one Provisional IRA member were killed when a PIRA bomb prematurely exploded at a fish shop on Shankill Road, Belfast.

1996　*9 February* London Docklands bombing by the Provisional IRA killed two civilians, and brought to an end the initial ceasefire after less than 18 months

15 June Manchester bombing – the Provisional IRA exploded the largest bomb detonated on the British mainland since the second world war destroying much of the city centre and injuring over 200 people.

7 October The Provisional IRA exploded two bombs at the

British Army HQ in Thiepval Barracks, Lisburn with 1 casualty and 32 injured.

1998   *15 August* Omagh bombing – extreme dissident republicans group the Real IRA exploded a bomb in Omagh, County Tyrone killing twenty-nine civilians, the highest number of civilian casualties in a single incident in the Troubles.

1999   *15 March* Solicitor Rosemary Nelson, who had represented the Catholic and Nationalist residents in the Drumcree dispute, was assassinated by the loyalist extremists the Red Hand Defenders in a car bomb in Lurgan, County Armagh.

2001   *4 March* BBC bombing – a Real IRA bomb exploded outside BBC Television Centre, causing some damage to the building.

3 August Ealing bombing – a Real IRA car bomb injured seven civilians in Ealing, West London.

APPENDIX 3:
DIFFERENT DRUMS BY JULIE MATTHEWS

It's not what you feel it's the way that you say it
It's not the sound of the skin but the way that you play it

Unite or divide us when the time comes
We all dance to different drums.

It's not how it sounds but the way that you hear it
It's a beautiful thing but some learn to fear it

A joy to the one man, a terror to some
We all dance to a different drum.

The sound of the stick on the skin in the street
Two different messages in the same beat

One man will answer another will run
We all dance to a different drum.

How sweeter the melody sounds with a harmony
Raise up your voices and sing it as one

The Bodhran and Lambeg beating together
We all dance to a different drum
Together we'll dance to a different drum.

Publishing: Circuit Music ltd

APPENDIX 4:
NO MORE

ANONYMOUS POEM INCORPORATED IN MURAL ON GABLE END WALL OF NO. 1 KENILWORTH PLACE, SHORT STRAND, BELFAST

No more bombing, no more murder
No more killing of our sons
No more standing at the graveside
Having to bury our loved ones
No more waiting up every hour
Hoping our children, they come home
No more maimed and wounded people
Who have suffered all alone.

No more minutes to leave a building
No more fear of just parked cars
No more looking over our shoulders
No more killing in our bars

No more hatred from our children
No more, no more, no more.

Féin

Féin