"WHERE HAVE ALL THE PRODS GONE?"

CONFLICT AND DISPLACEMENT:

THE PUL EXODUS AND ITS IMPACT IN LONDONDERRY

AUGUST 2026

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THE SIEGE museum

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"I knew there had been some movement of Protestants, but I had no understanding of the scale of it and no understanding of the real palpable frustration of the Protestant community in Derry that this isn't being acknowledged and, in some incidences, it is being denied.

"What happened in Derry, however, is pretty typical of what happened in other places and that there was a collective sense of vulnerability, so there might have been one incident of intimidation but that ripples out into the wider community," the academic added.

"There was no Bombay Street moment in Derry, it was a slow incremental movement of people, particularly in the aftermath of Bloody Sunday when the IRA campaign really took hold.

"What happened to the Protestant community in Derry should be considered trauma and it should certainly be on the spectrum of victimhood, but the lack of acknowledgement compounds the sense of victimhood and trauma."

People Before Profit councillor Eamonn McCann, who was also on the discussion panel, said acknowledgement of the Exodus was important because it was a key element in shaping the city as it is presently. He added: "I was taken aback by some of the numbers of people who left the city, but the research suggesting there were thousands of Protestants who left their homes and fled across the river is a very important factor in the history of Derry. I don't think it has been given proper acknowledgement and in fact there are people in Derry who flatly refuse to believe it happened, but when you talk to people who were part of the exodus it is clear they felt intimidated. What happened in Derry happened over four or more years and because it was slow it wasn't noticed as a dramatic event but it needs to be acknowledged by the people who write the story of Derry.

Belfast Telegraph, 2 August 2019[1]

Why we leave Cook Terrace
January 1972

We’re moving
to the Waterside. We’re
thrilled to see our new house,
clatter up and down its stairs,
lie on the new carpet, smell the fresh
paint, enjoy the airy rooms
without furniture, eat our lunch like a picnic
off the floor, but something’s not right.
mammy is crying. She doesn’t want
to move. She has lived all her life
in the same streets, no matter
she is moving to a better
house and safer.

[1] New Gate Fringe Festival Panel Discussion on The Exodus.

On moving day, we use a green van
not meant for removals. Mammy
holds a hankie to her face,
then sobs aloud: *we are flittin'*
she's ashamed.
she has let the side down
after all these years, but daddy
has been threatened in late-night
phone-calls – he has been told to get out
or face the consequences – he has been dragged
into the alley of Maureen avenue
and told at gunpoint to get out
or be shot.
In A Wide River Divides Us – Gill Barr[2].

[2] ***Used by kind permission of the writer who was born in the city and lived on the West bank of the river Foyle until her family moved to the Waterside***

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FOREWORD

Growing up in this City, I couldn't wait to leave it. From a working class Protestant farming family who attended Primary School in Tullyally it wasn't the norm to make it to Grammar school – but I felt fortunate that education could potentially offer a way out. From as far back as I can remember, my experience and that of my friends, was largely one of realisation that we lived in an overtly nationalist city, hostile to those of the wrong uniform or to those with differing cultural or political beliefs. This regularly manifested itself in verbal and physical violence simply, for example, by going to the 'wrong' school and naturally curtailed our movements growing up - not to mention our attitude and political thinking since. I wasn't a direct product of the Exodus, in the sense that I, or any of my family were forced from anywhere – but it I was acutely aware of its impact and how it was engrained in the psyche of the PUL community – one of a sense of marginalisation and perpherality that wasn't only geographic.

I did go to University in England for a while – but returned and am glad I did. Ironically what I missed from these 'Exodus' communities was the strong sense of social cohesion that effectively being 'under Siege' created.

As a community worker here for the past 30 years my opinions have changed. I certainly don't hate the city anymore. I have benefitted much from the genuine generosity that is often prevalent in this part of the country, particularly within the community and voluntary sector. However, it is of great personal frustration that the story of the Exodus has largely been ignored or even denied. A sadly departed good friend and former Chairperson of our organisation Kenny McFarland, was very much a direct product of the Exodus. Moving as he had to, from Northland Road to Newbuildings, he was a persistent advocate for the displaced PUL community. Thankfully he was aware that we were finally taking this project forward and I would like to dedicate this piece of work to him. He was also, in many ways symptomatic of the Exodus generation. It may have been out of necessity, but he showed that out of adversity can emerge a core generation of strong leaders displaying a self -help ethos that has created an effective social capital and impressive community infrastructure right across the areas that grew from the population movement. It may have taken two decades, but the areas that expanded such as Newbuildings, Tullyally, Irish St, Caw and Lincoln Courts can be proud of both the community facilities and skilled workers and volunteers they have created and steps they have taken towards re-integration – as can the areas that were left behind - such as the Fountain estate.

I would like to thank all my colleagues at Newgate and partners on the project, those from the Siege Museum, Cathedral Youth Club, Blue Eagle Productions and Ulster University. Terry Wright in his acknowledgments describes the contributors in detail. However, it would be remiss of me not mention Terry, specifically, for the immense amount of work he has carried out in bringing this research to this stage. And of course, to the honesty and generosity of the 116 contributors who gave us over 200 hours of personal testimonies.

It is essential that these reflections are disseminated, and it is essential that the Exodus is recognised by political and civic society, by policy and decision-makers, by our schools, Universities and museums as integral to the historical narrative of the City. Hopefully this report will contribute to this.

Brian Dougherty MBE

CEO NWCP.

Acknowledgements

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Within the DCSDC local council area, PEACE PLUS is administered on behalf of SEUPB by Council Officers of Derry City and District Council.

Following a successful application for funding, the North- West Cultural Partnership partnered with the Siege Museum Ltd, Cathedral Youth Club and Blue Eagle Productions launched the Exodus Project in June 2025 with peace and reconciliation, through acknowledgement as a key focus.

After procurement the production of a research document was completed by Wright Thinking NI, working with the partnership Steering Group and Dr Niall Gilmartin, (Ulster University), author, with Brendan Ciarán, (Trinity College, Dublin) of '*Refugees and Force Displacement in Northern Ireland's Troubles; Untold Journeys'*[3].

The report as presented below is the outcome of field research including previous topic-related publications, newspaper archives and recorded interviews with individuals and focus groups drawn from PUL and CNR communities as defined by SEUPB within the Londonderry/Derry area during the period September 2025 to May 2026.

The thematic content, understanding and perspectives which reflect shared and diverse views and experiences within the PUL and CNR communities inform the core of the findings. In addition, to providing insight into particular historical experiences and time-frames, these also serve to table important issues in regard to the legacy of the past within the DCSDC area. Not least of these is how it continues to impact, to a greater or lesser extent on the present - inter-generationally, inter-and intra-community - and how acknowledgement of the PUL population displacement, relocation or Exodus[4] can contribute to reconciliation and parity of esteem.

It is my pleasant task to place on record my gratitude for a wealth of willing and supportive assistance without which the task of completing the report could have proven more onerous and challenging.

For facilitating desk research, I would like to thank the staff of the Public Record Office, Northern Ireland (PRONI), Central Library, Londonderry, Central Library, Belfast and Union

[3] Liverpool University Press, 2024

[4] When conducting the interviews, it was noted that a minority of CNR participants were less likely to deploy the terms 'displacement or Exodus' and were particularly critical of the use of the term 'ethnic cleansing' as voiced by some PUL political representatives.

Theological College, Belfast. In addition, thanks are due to individuals based at St Columb's Cathedral and the Diocesan Office, Londonderry and the school archivist, Foyle College, Londonderry.

In facilitating a visit to the former Strand Road Presbyterian church and for making available for consultation his Doctoral thesis on the topic of the 'port' of the congregation of Great James Presbyterian Church to Kilfennan in the Waterside, I am indebted to the Reverend Paul Linkens and the Reverend Doctor Robert Craig, respectively.

For their co-operation in facilitating the practical and technical arrangement for interviews, their recording and digital transcription, I am indebted to the staff of the North West Cultural Partnership in particular Paddy Danagher, Darren Milligan, Derek Moore, MBE and Mark Roxborough. The availability of assistance from Paul McGinn (2025) and Owen Lafferty (2026) Macalester College, St Pauls, Minnesota, interns in residence at New Gate during the period when work on the project was ongoing has been invaluable. Their research into newspaper archives and provision of historical electoral statistics for the DCSDC area have been a rich vein of relevant information.

For generous support, advice and ongoing encouragement I wish to thank the members of the Exodus Steering Board under the chairmanship of NWCP, CEO, Brian Dougherty MBE. Billy Moore BEM, Jeanette Warke MBE, Jim Browlee and Jonathan Burgess.

In allowing access to his earlier work and rich archive of source materials relating to my research, I am indebted to local historian, Trevor Temple of the Bob Harte Memorial Trust.

For his patient research guidance and academic counsel, I wish to record my sincere gratitude to Dr Niall Gilmartin of the University of Ulster. Always accommodating and supportive with timely and knowledgeable feedback, Dr Martin's contribution to the report has been invaluable.

In regard to the generosity and contribution of the individuals who consented to participate in recorded interviews it is difficult to find words adequate enough to express my gratitude. At the preparation stage for the project, prior to the application for funding, central to the rationale was recognition of a need to involve interviewees from the CNR as well as the PUL community; to capture different experiences, perspectives, knowledge and understanding. That this has been achieved is due to the many who participated willingly. In total, there were 53 PUL individual interviews, 21 CNR individual interviews and 8 focus groups; one CNR and 7 PUL. In spite of various contacts, it proved problematic to access CNR female focus groups for comment. The age range of the 116 interviewees ranged from 25 to 65+.

The interviews took place at New Gate where NWCP is based or, where a person was incapacitated, the author and Mr Derek Moore travelled to a suitable venue. One focus group of younger PUL identity, facilitated by Chelsea Cooke, was hosted at Tullyally Community Centre.

A small amount of those contacted did not wish to be recorded mainly, but not only, in the case of PUL individuals, due to past membership of the security forces. Their contributions

are not referenced in the report but they did serve to inform questions, research and discourse. To all, especially those who gave of their time to travel to New Gate, shared memories, on occasions, poignant, traumatic and emotional I want to place on record my thanks and that of NWCP. Without the participation of the interviewees, there would be no report.

In view of some interviewees wishing to remain anonymous the decision, following in-house discussion was taken to treat all of the responses as anonymous. No participant refused to allow their comments to be referenced.

Finally, it would be remiss not to record the support of Kirstie Wright for her proficient and insightful assistance in proof-reading, editing, statistical analysis and graphic presentation.

Mr Terry Wright
Wright Thinking

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report examines the displacement and relocation of Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist (PUL) families from the West bank of the River Foyle during the period of conflict from 1968 to 1998 and its impact in PUL community development on PUL psychology, community development and good relations since.

Commonly described within the PUL community as “the Exodus”, this movement significantly changed the demographic, social, religious, educational and political character of Derry/Londonderry.

The research was undertaken through an ethnographic qualitative approach combining personal testimony, focus-group discussions, archival research, newspaper reports, demographic information and relevant academic and historical publications. In total, the study involved 116 participants, including 53 individual PUL interviews, 21 individual Catholic, Nationalist and Republican (CNR) interviews and eight focus groups—seven PUL and one CNR. Participants ranged in age from 25 to over 65 and included displaced residents, people who remained on the west bank, former neighbours, clergy, educators, community workers and political representatives. Interviews were conducted in accordance with agreed ethical and trauma-informed principles, including informed consent, confidentiality and participant welfare. All testimonies have been anonymised.

The evidence demonstrates that there was no single event or cause behind the Exodus. Rather, it was a prolonged and incremental movement shaped by interconnected “push and pull” factors. These included, during the periods when violence was at its most intense, direct threats and intimidation, sectarian physical and verbal abuse, attacks on homes, churches, schools and mainly Protestant businesses, the targeting and killing of members of the security forces and local businesspeople, the impact of bombings and shootings, deteriorating community security and a growing fear of what might happen next. Housing redevelopment, poor housing conditions, employment, education and the availability of new homes on the Waterside and in outlying areas also influenced movement. However, the Report concludes that these factors cannot be wholly separated from the conflict

Photographic studio destroyed
By IRA bomb. Carlisle Road.

environment, which deepened feelings of vulnerability and made many families believe that leaving was their safest or only realistic option.

The scale of the demographic change was substantial. Census figures cited in the Report show that the PUL population on the West bank declined from 8,459 in 1971 to 2,874 in 1981. Other research referenced records an 83 per cent reduction of Protestants between 1971 and 1991. This population movement contributed to increased residential segregation and was reflected in falling church attendance, declining school enrolment, the closure or relocation of churches and schools, changing shopping and employment patterns and the weakening of long-established neighbourhood relationships.

The testimonies describe the emotional consequences of communities wherein families had deep generational connections and roots. A strong identity pertained. For some, displacement followed an explicit threat or traumatic incident. For others, the decision arose from the cumulative effects of fear, uncertainty, abandonment to self-protection of homes as killings of security and non-security individuals mounted; all of which forced the gradual disappearance of neighbours and community institutions. Even among those who established successful lives elsewhere, memories of loss, dislocation and feeling “strangely homeless” remained.

The Report also records important CNR perspectives. Many CNR participants remembered good local relationships with Protestant neighbours and did not welcome the intimidation or violence that contributed to their departure. Some felt powerless to intervene, while others had little awareness at the time of the scale or long-term impact of the movement because their communities were also experiencing violence, discrimination, internment, Bloody Sunday and other forms of trauma. As is the case in other research into displacement these accounts demonstrate that the Exodus is best understood within the origins and patterns of wider conflict which began in 1968 without diminishing the particular experience of PUL displacement or attributing collective responsibility to the CNR community, per se.

The Report finds that the Exodus has not received sufficient civic or public acknowledgement. For many PUL participants, denial or minimisation of the experience has compounded feelings of trauma, marginalisation and unequal recognition when compared with other legacy experiences of the Troubles. At the same time, the research identifies a willingness within both PUL and CNR communities to acknowledge that the displacement occurred, that it was regrettable and that it resulted from complex but identifiable circumstances and factors.

Nationalists dismiss Protestant 'exodus' claim

CLAIMS THAT 8,000 Protestants have fled Derry in the last 10 years because of an "atmosphere of nationalist intimidation" were disputed last night.

Sinn Fein and the SDLP in Derry both challenged Ulster Democratic Party spokesman, David Nicholl, to prove his allegations with concrete evidence.

The nationalist parties dismissed Mr. Nicholl's claim that the alleged Protestant exodus is borne out by examination of local government election registers.

Spokesmen for the parties pointed out that a person's religion is not recorded on electoral registers. Waterside SDLP Councillor Annie Courtney claimed an independent survey into the religious breakdown of Strathfoyle clearly contradicted Mr. Nicholl's claim.

The Coopers and Lybrand poll, commissioned by Strathfoyle Community Association, showed Protestants accounted for 30% of residents with Catholics representing 70%, Colr. Courtney said.

Just five per cent of those who moved had cited community tension as their reason in the survey, she went on.

Mr. Nicholl claimed that Strathfoyle's 50:50 Catholic/Protestant ratio in 1995 had dramatically moved to 95% Catholic/ 5% Protestant.

He claimed political developments had created a nationalist ethos in Derry which resulted in Protestant migration to towns like Coleraine and Limavady.

The UDP spokesman claimed the Curryneirin area, once 75 per cent Protestant, had lost 135 Protestants since the 1992 elections.

He said the Clooney area had also suffered with 25 Protestant families moving from the area while in Kilfennan, which was 90 per cent Protestant 10 years ago, the figure had dropped to 75 per cent.

When the various estates in the Waterside were put together, it became clear that up to 8,000 Protestants had left Derry in the last 10 years.

Over a 20-year period, 20,000 Protestants had moved from Derry's cityside, he claimed.

"Protestants no longer feel safe in Derry. They do not believe they have a future; they do not believe there is a future for their youth."

Accept diversity

Mr. Nicholl urged nationalist leaders to accept the diversity of cultures in the city and to work towards creating the space for the Protestant culture.

Examples of the nationalist ethos were: the decision to change the name of the city's council to Derry City Council; the naming of the city's airport as Derry City Airport and the use of Gaelic street names.

Colr. Courtney, however, said Mr. Nicholl had not put forward any proof to back up his allegations. Independent evidence clearly showed that Mr. Nicholl's claims were inaccurate or untrue, she said.

A Sinn Fein spokesman said Mr. Nicholl's had failed to provide any evidence to corroborate his claims.

Resettlement on the Waterside and in areas such as Newbuildings and Tullyally created new challenges. Many relocated families arrived in places with limited community infrastructure and had to rebuild social networks, services and a sense of belonging. Over time and on occasions with the assistance of CNR community organisations, sustained voluntary and professional community development which was impeded by PUL population movement, produced creative leadership, stronger organizations, and greater confidence within PUL communities and settings, still facing major challenges of succession planning and uncertain as reflected in a number of important reports referenced in the text and bibliography; and indeed through the interviews of those still working in the community sector. This report therefore records not only loss and displacement but also resilience, adaptation and a renewed determination to participate in the civic, cultural and economic life of the wider city; not always appreciated as Good Relations policy and others designed to promote inclusion and consensual decision making are not adhered to.

Addressing these deficits at political level has the potential to encourage and increase greater social cohesion; less focused on identity labelling and more on issues which impact on individuals and families regardless of their allegiances. It is noted also in the Report that continuing attacks on the residents of the Fountain reminds us, as one CNR former political activist states in an interview, sectarianism is alive and well.

The Report concludes that acknowledgement of the Exodus should not be used to construct a competing or exclusive narrative of victimhood. Instead, it should form part of a fuller and more inclusive understanding of the city's shared past. Recognising and ensuring publicly

informed knowledge of the experiences of displaced PUL families, to sit alongside experienced within CNR communities, would help address perceptions of a selective hierarchy of remembrance and support parity of esteem, mutual respect and reconciliation.

It is recommended that civic leaders, community organisations and other relevant bodies endorse the need for formal and meaningful acknowledgement. This should be advanced through carefully facilitated inter- and intra-community dialogue; safe opportunities to record and share previously unheard experiences; trauma-informed support where required; and consideration of good-practice approaches used by other post-conflict communities. Drama, poetry, music, exhibitions, oral history and digital storytelling should also be explored as accessible ways of communicating the human experience of displacement.

Above all political acknowledgement is paramount.

Acknowledgement cannot change the past, but it can challenge denial, validate lived experience and help create a more inclusive account of the last 60 years of Derry/Londonderry's history. The report presents this as an important and necessary contribution to the unfinished work of reconciliation and healing.

Wasn't it Bill Clinton who visited this city as US President and urged us to finish the job?"

ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMS
As used in the report

ABOD (Apprentice Boys of Derry) : An organisation in Londonderry which was established in the early 19th century to commemorate the 1689 Siege of Derry. Its activities are largely ceremonial and cultural. The ABOD played a key role in de-fusing the issue of 'contentious parades' in the city.

B Specials (Ulster Special Constabulary): A reserve police force in Northern Ireland, largely drawn from loyalist/Protestant communities; disbanded following the Hunt Report in 1970.

Battle of the Bogside: The Battle of the Bogside was a three-day confrontation in Derry in August 1969 between members of the CNR community and the RUC. It followed protests and attacks targeted on the Annual Parade of the ABOD. When similar civil conflict in Belfast and elsewhere occurred, the British Army was deployed to restore order.

Bloody Sunday: On 30 January 1972 in Derry, soldiers of the 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment shot 13 civilians during an anti-internment march in the city. The actions inflamed nationalist anger and boosted recruitment for paramilitary groups. On the release of the Saville Inquiry in 2010, British PM David Cameron MP said that 'what happened should never, ever have happened' and 'he was deeply sorry.'

Burntollet: The Burntollet Bridge incident (4th January 1969) refers to an attack by loyalists on a pro-civil rights march. It is viewed as an action that escalated sectarian and political tensions.

Church of Ireland (COI): The Anglican church in Ireland and part of the Anglican Communion. In Northern Ireland, it has traditionally been one of the major Protestant denominations and has played an important role in religious, educational, and civic life. The COI had several congregations and schools on the West bank of the river Foyle.

CNR : Refers to an interviewee from a Catholic, Nationalist, Republican background in keeping with PEACE plus guidelines

DERRY CITY and STRABANE DISTRICT COUNCIL (DCSDC): Following the review for re-organisation of local government in Northern Ireland which began in 2002, Derry City and Strabane District Council was formed from the merger of the former councils in Londonderry and Strabane. First election under the new arrangements were held in 2014.

Displacement of people: Refers to the forced or involuntary movement of individuals or communities from their homes and place wherein they reside. It is usually the result of life-threatening events such as direct attacks, armed conflict and targeted intimidation. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is the term for those who have been forced to flee their homes but remain within the borders of their own country.

Ethnic cleansing is a political term used to delineate the systematic, forceful removal of an ethnic, racial, or religious group from a given geographic area by a dominant group; to create an ethnically homogeneous territory using methods such as forced migration,

murder, rape, and destruction of property. It is defined in international tribunals as a violation of international law.

Exodus (The): The 'Exodus' in Londonderry during the Troubles refers to the large-scale movement of families and individuals, particularly PUL residents, from mixed or contested neighbourhoods, as violence and sectarian tensions intensified from the late 1960s onward. Events such as the 1969 disturbances and later periods of conflict, 1971 to the 1990s were a major 'push factor' leading residents to leave their homes for safer areas thereby contributing to increased residential segregation.

Good Friday Agreement: The 1998 Agreement established a power-sharing government, reform of policing, decommissioning of weapons and a framework for political violence cessation. Viewed as the key milestone in ending the Troubles and initiating devolved governance at Stormont.

Internment: The policy of detaining people without trial introduced by the Northern Ireland government in 1971 to curb republican violence. The policy was widely criticized for infringing civil rights and for primarily targeting individuals identified as CNR.

LOL (Loyal Orange Lodge, Orange Order): A Protestant organisation with a long-standing political role in Northern Ireland. During the Troubles it was associated with loyalist communities and sometimes accused of supporting 'hard line political positions', though it officially pursued fraternal, religious and cultural aims.

Londonderry Corporation: The Londonderry Corporation was the city's historical, mainly Unionist controlled, municipal local authority. It was responsible for local governance, civic administration, public services and public works until 1969 when it was suspended due to allegations of systemic gerrymandering and sectarian discrimination.

Londonderry Development Commission: The Londonderry Development Commission was created in 1969 to respond to the crisis developing in the city and to support economic and social improvement. It was part of a broader attempt to address deep unrest and long-standing problems in the area. The body was replaced in 1973 by Londonderry City Council following local government reorganisation.

No-go areas: These were CNR districts in Northern Ireland where British security forces exercised restricted access. During the Troubles loyalists also established no -go areas to restrict access during periods of sectarian conflict. They tended to be more short-lived than those in CNR areas.

Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA): The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was formed in 1967 to campaign against perceived discrimination in voting, housing, and employment. It deployed tactics such as marches, lobbying, and publicity to press for reforms and became one of the key groups of the late 1960s civil rights movement.

North West Cultural Partnership (NWCP): North West Cultural Partnership is a consortium of six arts and cultural organisations which work collaboratively to celebrate Ulster-

Scots/Ulster-British and other forms of cultural expression on an inter and intra community basis. NWCP operates from their New Gate Arts and Culture Centre on the west bank of Londonderry, in the precincts of the Fountain where it also focuses on physical and social regeneration with other like-minded groups.

Official IRA: The political-military faction of the IRA. Initially pursuing the use of force, following a 1969–70 split, the Officials gradually ended armed activity to focus on political activity.

Operation Motorman: A 1972 British Army operation to reclaim and dismantle 'no-go' zones with large troop deployments, marking a turning point in reasserting control.

People's Democracy (PD): A short-lived radical left-wing nationalist group active in 1968–69 linked to civil rights activism in Northern Ireland. It organised the 4-day march from Belfast to Derry which was attacked at Burntollet.

Presbyterian Church in Ireland: This is the main Presbyterian denomination on the island of Ireland, especially associated with the Protestant community in Northern Ireland. It has historically been influential in religious life, education, and social affairs, The Presbyterian church had several congregations and schools on the West bank of the river Foyle prior.

Provisional IRA: A more militant wing of the IRA which emerged in 1969. It carried out armed campaigns (including bombings and shootings) through much of the Troubles with the aim of achieving an independent and united Ireland. Its military strategy against British rule de-escalated after the peace process was formalised in 1998.

PSNI (Police Service of Northern Ireland): The successor to the RUC, formed in 2001 as part of the peace process; established to operate a more overtly neutral, community-focused policing service with an emphasis on human rights and reform following the Good Friday Agreement era.

PUL Refers to an interviewee from a Protestant, Unionist, Loyalist background in keeping with PEACE plus guidelines

RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary): Northern Ireland's police force during the Troubles; criticized by CNR community and politicians for perceived sectarian bias and heavy-handed policing in nationalist areas, while also playing a central counter-insurgency and public-order role. The RUC also had a part-time Police Reserve. Several members of the RUC and the RUC Reserve were killed or injured in the city, many on the West bank; at home or on their workplace.

UDR (Ulster Defence Regiment): A locally recruited mostly Protestant part-time infantry regiment of the British Army (1970–1992) deployed in Northern Ireland during the conflict. Local families living on both sides of the river had relatives who were members of the UDR, killed or injured in the city; at home or in their workplace.

When referring to the name of the city, Derry-Londonderry is used interchangeably unless specific reference is being made to the official name of an organisation.

When quoting from an interview, text remains true to the words used by the interviewee.

Footnotes:

- Where F or M is used alongside CNR or PUL e.g. CNRM/18 this identifies the gender of the interviewee;
- CNR or PUL fcs with a number e.g. PUL/fcs 6 identifies that the comments were made in a focus group setting

Numbers are for the use of the author to determine the source of the comment.

SECTION ONE
BACKGROUND and CONTEXT
THE EXODUS: DENIAL CANNOT BE AN OPTION.

Within the history of Northern Ireland, prior to and since the signing of the Belfast Good Friday Agreement, there are stories still to be told; events and their often life-changing consequences to be acknowledged.

Particular subjects, as lingering *contested narratives,* have the potential to risk being re-integrated into civic life; to bring old battles back to the surface. Failure to take the risk can present as a missed opportunity to reduce contestation and end a battle; to at least minimize concentration on particular events that creates a hierarchy of experiences which, however unintentional, indicate a narrow favouring of focus and analysis.

It is suggested that this does not serve a community yet to develop fully shared and consensual governance, well. Peace and reconciliation cannot be built by avoiding challenging dialogue. Exposed problems are more likely to be solved.

The history of the displacement (the Exodus), relocation and subsequent major reduction in numbers of the PUL community which resided on the West bank of the river Foyle after the emergence of the 'Troubles' which began on October 5th 1968, to intensify from 1969 onwards, has attracted a variety of commentary and interpretation[5] presenting different emphases, foci [6]and commentary.

At times, reports, not always well-received or afforded full critique have brought polemical discourse to the fore particularly where heated and divisive issues have delivered zero-sum politics wherein a collision narrative '*weaponised*' is harnessed to underpin an argument or defend a position. Whilst not denying that when conflict prevails realities can be radically different, the risk is one of excluding more of the past than is included where fragments are selected or embellished to construct a narrative.

This Report has no such agenda and did not commence from a position of pre-set hypothesis or theory-testing. To allow either, it is contended, invites narrowing a study too early and limits unexpected explanations. Rather has it emerged through a process of qualitative research framed around research questions; to provide analysis that is interpretive, reflexive and historically grounded. Bringing individuals and groups together in a positive encounter, to tell, record, listen and understand in a safe environment [7] has allowed themes to emerge from interviews; to inform explanation and interpretation supported by transparent coding and comparison.

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[5] See for example Protestant Migration from the West Bank of Derry/ Londonderry 1969-1980, Dr Ulf Hansson and Dr Helen Mc Laughlin for the Pat Finucane Centre, 2018. **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**
Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.
[6] See Life in two enclave areas in Northern Ireland: a field survey in Derry Londonderry after the ceasefires, Templegrove Action Research Limited, 1996.
[7] This is discussed more fully below in the chapter on purpose and methodology.

Conscious of personal proximity to events, the writer, mindful of a necessity for distancing and allowing data to drive analysis, has aimed to embed balanced diligence in avoiding interpretive overreach and overclaiming about causation. [8]

Until now, engagement has been on a single identity basis – PUL or CNR – however indications have been encouraging that inter and intra-community conversations around the experiences voiced in the interviews, that have been central to the project, will be possible and productive; an opportunity to re-humanise an important chapter in our common history and eliminate the fragility of accepting difficult truths.

Such has been the wish of one CNR interviewee:

"I do think there was denial. I think there still is a level, particularly because of the personalities that have led the charge on this whole issue, and people feel that that's been completely over the top and hasn't taken account of other factors that played a role.

I'd like to think that we could reach a consensus right across the different communities. That, A, it happened, that, B, it was regrettable and that, C, there's all kinds of complex reasons as to why it happened. There is no doubt that the targeting of police in particular and later of businesses, businessmen …… created fear and things of that sort." **CNR/M 19**

The issues of denial, complexity and intertwined factors referred to above sit amongst others which present when delving into the public rhetoric and not so public accounts of impact in a personal context that inform the layered and nuanced history of the Exodus:

- the numbers involved and motivation for re-locating;
- the pace and sites of 'push and pull 'determinants;
- the response of local and central government and others with societal leadership roles;
- a perceived failure to acknowledge the experience of and effect on the lives of the residents who moved as a result of what has become known as 'the Exodus';
- feelings of historical resentment and marginalisation when attitudes to PUL displacement are believed to compare unfavourably to the acknowledgement of other events resulting from 'the Troubles' in the city;
- the Exodus as an example of the post '98 '*unfinished business of reconciliation*';
- generational indirect knowledge, memory and narratives;
- contemporary and current CNR perspectives to the immediate impact and legacy of PUL movement from neighbourhoods;
- lack of creative inclusive and inter-community understanding of all of the above as expressed in public discourse and
- shaping a future through meaningful acknowledgement.

Comments from interviewees in the semi-structured interviews which took place either individually or in a group setting, whilst grounded in lived experiences and time frames specific to residential spaces, address these directly or indirectly when responding.

[8] www.sfu.co/~edupalys/Gray-DoingResearch in the Real World-Ethnography.

It is these which along with previous research inform this work.

The backdrop to the experiences voiced also runs through conversations to bring meaning to the contextual relationship between the history of those who moved from settled communities on the West bank and the 'Troubles' which followed the events of October 5, 1968 in the wider city region; prior to boundary and local government reform and major re-development in the Fountain, lower Bishop Street and Barrack Street districts.

In regard to the 'Troubles', there is not always a direct link as one thing follows another. Dates and actions are not sufficient in themselves to show what happened; to substantiate sustained explanation.

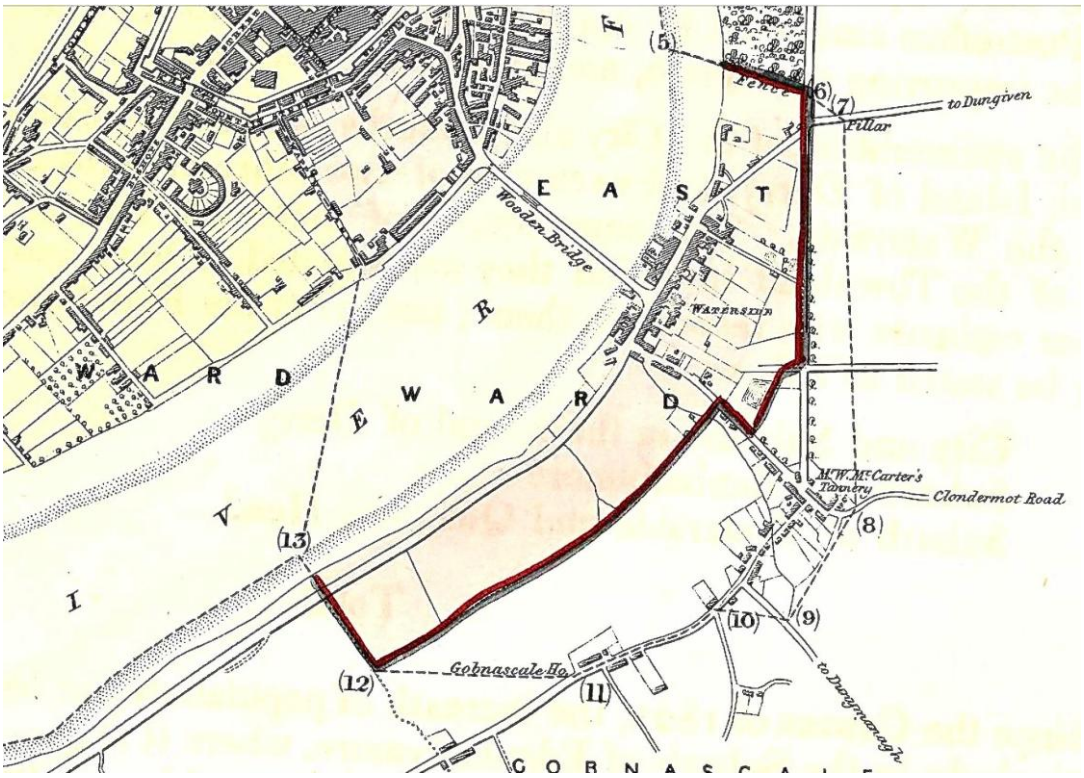
Related to does not in itself explain motivation for change fully.

To explore the evidence available through human stories, experiences and available accounts of these from the period of the Exodus alongside the legacy of physical change in for example the state or change of use in buildings is to understand more of the nuanced complexity previously cited.

The post Exodus built environment is an important aspect of the period being considered. Churches and schools do not fall out of use for no reason. Usually there is a number of factors but one may be dominant.

As indicated through the interviews and field research, large numbers of Protestants of different denominational persuasion, political preferences and socio-economic background left the West bank of the city in the post 1968 years to move to the Waterside and what were then rural areas like Newbuildings and Tullyally. Many departed the city to move within Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom or other countries. Between 1971[9] and 1981, census figures show the number of PUL who lived on the West bank declined from 8459 to 2874. A significant reduction that was to increase further[10] a consequence of which could be observed in the increasing segregation within the city.[11]

[9] In the 1960s a member of the Young Socialists in the city left for England. On returning for a visit in the mid-70s they enquired from a friend who had been a member of the same group: "Where have all the Prods gone?" CNRM/9.
[10] By 2019 the estimated figure of Protestants preciously residing on the West bank was estimated as 18,000.
[11] Protestant Migration from the West Bank of Derry/Londonderry 1969 – 1980, Dr Ulf Hansson and Dr Helen McLaughlin, 2018, page 11.



Map of the Waterside, 1830.

The extent of movement has been cited in a number of reliable sources:

- State files dated July 29,1993 show that the PUL community between 1971-1991 declined from 18,000 to 3,000;
- GRP research shows that between1971 and 1991 the Protestant population of the cityside declined by 83%, with many moving to the Waterside;
- Dr Niall Gilmartin, commenting on a once vibrant Fountain area records that the population has declined to 350.

These both reflected and fed into PUL concerns and sense of place in the city, its political and cultural settings.

SECTION TWO
PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

PEACE PLUS

A NWCP Research Policy - Ethical Principles, Purpose and Practices for the Exodus Project was agreed in-house in September 2025 and informed the research together with aims, purpose and good practice specific to the subject matter and methodology. The policy is aligned with Indicative Aims drawn from the challenges and co-design criteria addressed in the DCSDC Local Co-Design PEACE PLUS Action PLAN can be noted.

PURPOSE

Whilst the Report is not written for academic purpose, the writer has endeavoured to exercise the appropriate methodological rigour when applying an ethnographically qualitative research model;[12] deemed best suited to the project.

Using this model has facilitated combining narrative interviews with clear archival or documentary corroboration, a transparent coding approach, thematic or recurring themes gathering and analysis supported by broader historical explanation. Any possibility of guiding conversations towards a particular interpretation has been carefully avoided. Whilst not a rigid process the following is an indication of the approach followed:

- Design a broad research question wherein a definition is PUL displacement carries specific meaning;
- Add 2-4 provisional propositions or sensitising prompts;
- Allow themes to emerge from interviews;
- Develop stronger explanatory and interpretive analysis after coding, comparison and confirmation whilst optimising unique and individual lived experiences and their communal ripple effect, where evidenced.

The purpose and timing of the study

The Exodus Project methodology informed by the core purposes of the study was designed to examine:

- DISPLACEMENT - the Exodus of Protestants, Unionist, and Loyalist communities in Londonderry, Northern Ireland during the years 1968-1998 and the personal, political and social factors which former residents identify as contributing to their departure;

[12] See for example: Taylor & Francis Online
https://www.tandfonline.com › ... › Volume 35, Issue
https://hrpp.research.virginia.edu/teams/irb-sbs/researcher-guide-irb-sbs/ethnographic-research

- the PUL experience of re-settlement or departure from the city – surviving displacement, an historical gap of misrecognition, perceived cultural and social marginalisation;[13]
- the reaction of the mainly Nationalist, Republican and Catholic communities to the displacement of neighbours and how they understood the changing demographic profile of neighbourhoods;
- the short and long-term intergenerational social, economic, political, cultural and educational impact of displacement on the Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist communities in the period after 1998;
- the legacy of the PUL exodus within the city of Londonderry/ Derry; and
- 50 years after events a perceived need to present the history of PUL displacement in the interests of achieving inclusive acknowledgement and promoting Good Relations and reconciliation.

METHODOLOGY

To deliver the above, the primary focus was on those displaced during the period of armed conflict known as the 'Troubles' (1968-1998) ongoing into today. Aware that it is contended strongly within the PUL communities, in particular, that any narratives addressing the lived experiences of those displaced have been largely overlooked thus far, the project aimed to explore the impact on and perspectives of those directly and indirectly affected by these events; to inform public memory and address any internalised denialism; recognising that exclusionary discourses cannot achieve healing or revitalise positive engagement. Sleepwalking into the past [14]does not serve a community of communities well.
The project in terms of its purpose and methodology is viewed, at the least, as offering possibilities to move beyond 'getting along' at the expense of inclusive knowledge; of playing a role in reconciliation for those who want it to work.
It was judged that a starting point for investigation through the semi-structured interviews which took place with no single causal hypothesis or pre-conceived outcomes present would explore initially:

- Factors identified by members of the PUL and CNR communities as shaping the departure of a large number of PUL individuals and families from the West bank of the city, post 1968; and
- How did fear, neighbourhood change, security, identity and politics interact in prompting or forcing movement and flight?

Explanatory claims and testimonies emerging from interviews, were coded for thematic analysis and comparison.

<u>PUL residential spaces as representative sites of displacement</u>.

As explained more fully in the Chapter below a rationale for studying the Exodus phenomenon in defined geographically areas was developed and agreed with the Steering Board. This was to allow space to explore demographic change or what one CNR

[13] See Population Change and Social Inclusion Study: Derry/Londonderry – September 2005: UU/QUB/SCPH
[14] 'Sleepwalking into the past' is a phrase used by retired Presbyterian Reverend Dr. R Craig BA.BD, former Minister of Kilfennan Presbyterian Church in his unpublished thesis: 'Exile on Main Street; From majestic Heritage to Missional Congregation"

participant[15] has suggested '*geo-sectarianism* 'in the different areas populated, not always exclusively, by members of the PUL communities, if and how different 'push or pull' factors were present and why these resulted in specific and contextualised decision-making and responses. It also allowed, where possible, to site CNR perspectives in the same locations and had the added bonus of being able to include areas which prior to boundary changes were not located within the city.[16]

Of necessity this approach required extension of the number of interviewees originally planned however it was envisaged that this would enhance rather than limit representational voices.

Criteria in regard to gender, age and denominational designations were applied within the global rationale. The value of this arguably more holistic approach across the period 1968-1998 was also borne out where '*historical tipping points',* resulting from civil disturbances and protest which later developed into sectarianism and armed conflict committed to delivering an independent and republican island of Ireland, served as reference points for analysing trending levels of fear -inducing direct or indirect intimidation as a factor in areas close to places of persistent conflict; where homes and community facilities were attacked, burned or bombed, residents physically or verbally abused, killed or injured. It also facilitated a degree of differentiated understanding alongside conflict-related factors where poor-quality housing, residential re-development and economic factors like seeking employment were also present.

Re-housing was a 'push' factor in the early 1970s in particular when the Londonderry Development Commission was put in place to replace the Londonderry Corporation, mainly in the Fountain and Bishop Street areas where improving the condition of homes was prioritised.

Orthodox political and clerical leadership, community activism, the emergence of communal defence strategies and street-based radical politics also feed into the dynamic; at times fast moving.

As evidenced in the interview data, analysing within geographically defined areas did not preclude consideration of the impactful consequences of re-development, employment, civil turbulence and conflict on security, businesses, churches, schools, communal and socio-cultural relationships resulting in change, rapid and incremental, of historic demographic, religious, educational and commercial patterns and spaces.

<u>Strengthening the design.</u>
To strengthen the design the writer, as desk research, combined the narrative interviews with archival and documentary corroboration. These included government publications, films, video archive footage, newspapers and various primary and secondary materials, all of which are cited within the text, footnotes or bibliography.

[15] CNRM/1
[16] Belmont was one such area and holds an important place in the history of the Exodus.

A number of these are housed in PRONI, Belfast, Central Library, Belfast and Central Library, Derry with digital access sometimes available.

Previously published work resulting from research into the displacement of the PUL population and repercussions of the same were re-visited regularly in the course of interviewing and completion of the Report. Many are referenced within the text.

Whilst mainly qualitative in method, the Report references and analyses statistical evidence relating to election results, school attendance and enrolment figures as being indicative measures of demographic change; albeit limited without further linked explanation of causal factors.

Personal narratives

Using personal narratives to identify recurring factors behind the Exodus has proven to be a valid qualitative method especially in respect of conflict-related study; in allowing 'oral testimony' to serve as an illuminating and task-specific research component within the analysis. It can be a 'powerful corrective' where official narratives are partial or contested; where narratives are treated as a mode of conflict.

When gathering the evidence from the participants, the decision to adopt a diverse geographical location model has proven to be a useful antidote to the risk of 'saturation' and repetitive narratives. Rather have they been contextualised in terms of time and space; similar yet different.

Memory

Memory is by its nature selective, introspective and may be shaped by later politics and processes especially where issues of justice and acknowledgement are not viewed as equal or inclusive. A desire to sustain political messaging, keep the waters muddy and lock recall into communal constructs can be present.

It can be an analytic challenge requiring the application of content and thematic analysis to identify patterns and trends in the echoes of the past; power structures that emerged.
In this study, the data emerging from the interviews is treated not as simple fact retrieval but rather as revealing the situational factors participants understand as being influential; how they were experienced and are remembered as difference and identity became a focus for division and displacement.

Short distances became much greater in terms of emotional, cultural and political significance; and threat.

There has been little evidence of a collective memory influencing personal recall. Individuals have been generous in sharing their individual recollections, some of which have been emotional and revealing of traumatic and painful incidents in the lives of families. The integrity, validity and authenticity of the lived experiences as recounted have never presented as problematic.

When exploring wider issues and how these impacted on mindsets, interviewees have been truthful and measured in voicing limits to their knowledge and been content to emphasise the details of personal experience and any perceptions shaped by what was happening in the immediate environs or areas where they worked or socialised.
There were occasions where, through discussion, memory has been filtered and prompted. A small number of interviewees brought notes to the interview to ensure accurate recall. Some consulted with other family members prior to the interview to confirm details and limit any potential deficit in recall or segregated thinking.

Stories of lived experience were personal; not political in the broader sense. Of course, there is pain and hurt but this has not impacted on the presence of moral commitment to truth-telling. Emphasis was placed on the project not just as a process for recording honest and accurate personal information but as an initiative which could promote social healing and move forward by recognising the past

Reference to the names of individuals believed to have been involved in incidents was discouraged and avoided.

In the light of this, it is contended that the Report is able to reflect the social reality of individual PUL displacement from a firm foundation of personalised openness and transparency and trust, free from limitations possible where 'gate-keeping' might wish to invite a particular analysis. Recall bias and retrospective reconstruction did not present as problematic as names and unsubstantiated allegations were strictly avoided.
Interviewees in relating their personal narrative have acknowledged that in conflict, suffering and disruption is not exclusive to any one community.

Interestingly whilst now having lived most of their lives on the Waterside, when talking of an earlier life in their communities on the cityside or East bank or having had to change a place of worship long associated with family history, there is a measure of feeling' *strangely homeless'* evident in some instances.

Memory within the CNR interviewees in regard to the Exodus was more limited in that the experience of conflict has different reference points; also, geographically, historically and politically situated. One CNR interviewee has suggested that *'they'* had different problems to deal with[17] whilst another recalls that growing up in Bogside, he had no contact with the PUL community and little concern at the time with what they might be experiencing.[18]

Coming through strongly from the interviews is the political and relational impact of events like Burntollet in 1969, Internment in 1971 and Bloody Sunday in 1972 on the CNR communities and how they served to promote protest and violence which sometimes acquired sectarian dimensions and acted to put distance and breakdown trust between PUL and CNR communities.

[17] CNRM/18
[18] CNRM/11

The subsequent history of 1972 and the immediate years which followed and the level of conflict-related incidents is well-documented to provide a backdrop to the personal narratives of the PUL communities and also CNR communities. Events increased feelings of crisis, uncertainty and insecurity a point made strongly by one CNR individual who whilst understanding how an IRA funeral could be intimidating to PUL residents, expressed the view that the PUL communities do not understand fully the levels of intimidation experienced within CNR areas.[19]

As with some PUL interviewees who had not themselves experienced displacement, interpretation was more prevalent than memory. Where CNR individuals were present in neighbourhoods where PUL families lived and then left, input is from the position of being a participant observer yet valuable in regard to the guiding criteria for the Report. In terms of understanding the activities of particular militant political groups engaged in the conflict and their constitutional nationalist colleagues, insight into ideological positioning and actions throughout the period 1968-1998 and indeed, some years before, have proved to be informative and highly relevant to the Report. Of particular value is how displacement was viewed and interpreted, at the time and since. Marked differences in interpretation are in evidence.

Ethical sensitivity and trauma

It was recognised in planning that the subject matter carried the risk of trauma, for some; of being politically charged for others. Consent, confidentiality, emotional welfare and careful handling of attribution were therefore central to research processes, principles and practices; as reflected in the NWCP Research Policy - Ethical Principles, Purpose and Practices for the Exodus Project.

In line with policy and helpfully directed by Dr Niall Gilmartin, a copy of Ethical Guidelines was prepared, printed and presented to each interviewee prior to the beginning of the interview. Adequate time was allowed for reading and clarification. This included information relating to the purpose of and rationale for the project, criteria for invitation to participate, any risks of participation and how these would be addressed.

A consent form was presented for signature. Interviews did not proceed until the form was signed and filed for the record. A copy of the documentation was made available if requested. All interviews were recorded for later transcription and permission was required where extracts might be used in the report.

Within the Guidelines document, participants:

- were guaranteed confidentiality and privacy with interviews conducted on a one to one basis, apart from focus groups or where an interviewee was accompanied by a family member;
- could opt to remain anonymous[20] where extracts from interviews might be used;
- could request a break in or cessation of the interview or recording at any time;

[19] CNRM/20

[20] When deploying extracts from interviews as illuminative data, interviewees remain unnamed and the names of family members referred to are not used to protect anonymity.

- were provided with liquid refreshment if desired;
- assured that content would be transcribed and analysed in full; and
- the possibility was addressed prior to interviews with documentation relating to victim organisations equipped to deal with trauma if required, post interview.

Interviews were underpinned by the Ten Principles of Trauma-Informed Research (Campbell, Goodman-Williams and Javorka 2019) provided by Dr Niall Gilmartin.

Following completion of the Report there is provision for the presentation of findings to participants.

Sampling and Recruitment

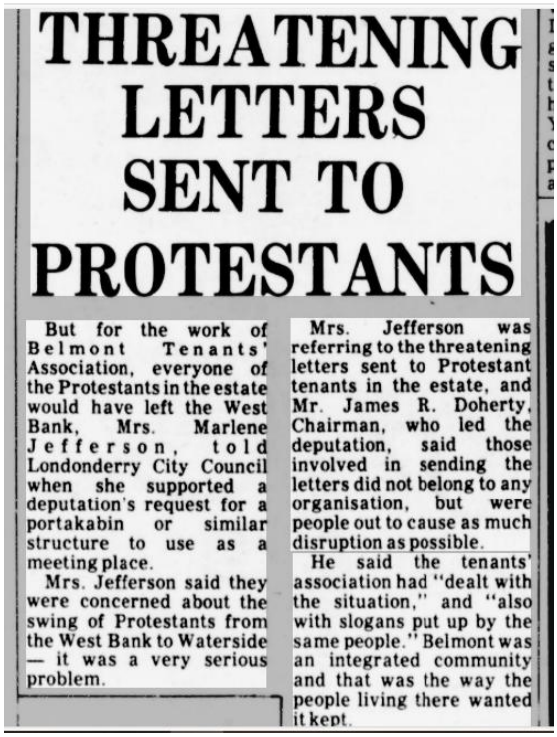
As noted under the heading PUL residential spaces as representative sites of displacement location was viewed as an important feature of the research design relating to the Report. The situational diversity apparent in the experience of PUL residents in different locations for example, the Glen where there was a number of conflict-related deaths and Belmont where there were occasions of direct intimidation through the mailing of letters to homes, serves the project well in displaying the avoidance of choosing participants because they reflect a singular narrative or perspective.

These areas are but separate elements in a larger narrative of those impacted by displacement.

Four cohorts of interviewees were identified:

- PUL population displaced;
- PUL population who remained;
- CNR community where PUL displacement occurred; and
- PUL and CNR current and former community and political representatives.

These also met the requirements of PEACE PLUS participation criteria.



THREATENING LETTERS SENT TO PROTESTANTS

But for the work of Belmont Tenants' Association, everyone of the Protestants in the estate would have left the West Bank, Mrs. Marlene Jefferson, told Londonderry City Council when she supported a deputation's request for a portakabin or similar structure to use as a meeting place.

Mrs. Jefferson said they were concerned about the swing of Protestants from the West Bank to Waterside — it was a very serious problem.

Mrs. Jefferson was referring to the threatening letters sent to Protestant tenants in the estate, and Mr. James R. Doherty, Chairman, who led the deputation, said those involved in sending the letters did not belong to any organisation, but were people out to cause as much disruption as possible.

He said the tenants' association had "dealt with the situation," and "also with slogans put up by the same people." Belmont was an integrated community and that was the way the people living there wanted it kept.

Purposive sampling and Quota sampling were utilised across the different cohorts. In the case of the former, participants were recruited because of their experience of displacement or re-location. The latter facilitated the participation of voices drawn from religious, educational, community and political backgrounds;

- Religious leaders based in churches which had closed or re-located were viewed as sources of pertinent insight into the experiences and perceptions of parishioners and the reasons for closure;
- Educational leaders who had taught in schools perceived as Protestant and on the West bank which closed or re-located, were viewed as valuable sources providing information on reactions to and experiences of conflict amongst management, parents and pupils and how displacement impacted on educational provision and change;
- Community leaders and activists, past and present, provided informed, as anticipated, commentary on resettlement and the problematic issues faced by 'new communities' following population movement as PUL community development expanded on occasions with the assistance of CNR community activists;
- Political representatives, past and present, provided views across the years as to the nature of the Exodus, the reasons which explain population movement, past and present perceptions of the 'phenomenon', its legacy in shaping current social and political life. In so doing, they satisfied the criteria for the engagement initiated by the project.

Focus groups were drawn from religious, educational and family or community backgrounds. Some PUL and CNR individuals who were invited to participate declined whilst others who had agreed, withdrew for health reasons.

Several attempts were initiated through community networks to engage CNR women in the project but this proved challenging. No explanations were offered and only two CNR women participated at the latter stages of the research. NWCP is grateful for their input and remains desirous of hearing more from CNR female voices.

It has become apparent from PUL interviewees that CNR and PUL women lived and worked alongside each other in various retail and manufacturing employment situations and socialised together. It remains a matter of regret that more data could not be obtained on this aspect of life on the West bank prior to the movement of the PUL population.

<u>Recruitment</u>

Participants were drawn from an existing database of individuals who had at earlier times made themselves available for interview. These included:

- Contacts known to the writer from a previous initiative supported by Maureen Hetherington of the Junction, Derry/Londonderry and the late Dr. Eamonn Baker of Towards Understanding and Healing; and
- A register of individuals who had experienced displacement gathered by Derek Moore MBE at NWCP whilst working on the Peace Impact Programme.
- Through community and church networks and an approach by the writer and the Steering Board to individuals within the PUL and CNR communities, names were

added to a list of participants across the various areas and sectors wishing to be accessed.

- Further participants were drawn from the project launch held at Newgate Arts and Culture Centre on 30/6/25.
- Due to the breadth of the participant profile and minority identity with cultural and political organisations, gate-keeping did not present as an issue. Snowball sampling was also a method deployed through individual interviewees

Definitions

For the purpose of the Report:

- Displacement is understood as individuals or large groups of people forced or choosing to leave their homes because of civil unrest, ongoing conflict, direct and indirect intimidation, fear or the perception of threat.
- Direct Intimidation is interpreted as targeted acts of aggressive and violent behaviour that uses direct threats, physical and/or verbal abuse or attacks on persons or their property or psychological pressure such as 'shunning 'and written letters to force movement. It can be related to perceived identity and political allegiances. Instances from interviews have included damage to cars, broken windows, graffiti on doors, late evening phone calls and threatening presence outside homes.
- Indirect Intimidation finds expression within the interviews as instances where fear and anticipatory threat results from a continuum of politically motivated or communal[21] violence leading to loss of life in a neighbourhood, within a workplace or church congregation with the attack viewed as on a community and not just an individual. Persistent bombing of symbolic buildings and businesses perceived as Protestant solidifies mistrust, feelings of threat and of being no longer welcome leading to 'flight'. Living behind barricades, being subject to search and having little sense of control in limiting disruption to normal life had the same impact. Such is evidenced in the narratives.
- Mutual arbitration is helpfully addressed by Dr Niall Gilmartin in several writings cited in the bibliography. It is referenced here because of instances of population movement resulting from 'house swaps' where residents opted to move to neighbourhoods seen as friendly and safer territory. Mutual agreement was in play and sometimes pre-empted official rent book approval through 'squatting.' Any notion of being an easy choice is not implied. Social networks were disrupted or ended, work travel more challenging and education and church affiliation altered.

Collectively the varying 'push and pull' factors were producing a more segregated city and polarised community

Analysis

To fulfil the requirement for ethical analysis;

[21] See John Brewer,2010: Peace Processes-A Sociological Approach referenced in Gilmartin and Browne, op cit.

- All collected data was transcribed electronically;
- All data was analysed using coding and thematic analysis grounded in the response of interviewees with some points clarified through further communication where necessary to ensure accuracy. This afforded the mapping of factors patterned across the period under study.

Interviews were semi-structured and allowed to follow the train of memory of participants within the terms of reference for the project. Wishing to diligently avoid manoeuvring data output towards a specific interpretation, the emergence of radically different realities, tipping points and understanding within the same area was welcoming and encouraging.

Limitations

It is the nature of qualitative research as with all research, that there are limitations. It is therefore a requirement that the methodology is designed in terms of purpose, principles and practices that within the limits in terms of resources, time and sampling, validity and reliability are established and sustained. Review and critique of other works addressing the area of study also serve as a measure and model of good practice.
The methodology model followed in this report is a credible and academically recognised research instrument for analysing the valuable and illuminating perspectives and insights into conflict-related displacement.

It has been the purpose in this Report to explore holistically, the issues and experiences relating to PUL displacement in Derry-Londonderry from a range of perspectives and geographical locations the aim being to encourage a shared understanding of the causal factors, dynamics which were in play, consequences and the legacy of the same. Questions and addressing the issues further may remain.

If so, this too is an element of the process undertaken.

SECTION THREE
"YOU CAN'T JUST MOVE PEOPLE AROUND."[22]

In 2009, Church of Ireland Dean Morton of St Columb's Cathedral, Londonderry was quoted in the Londonderry Sentinel of August 2009 as drawing attention to the:

' …. lack of consideration and imbalance in terms of parity of esteem afforded to that heritage and culture most associated with the Protestant community in the city. "

In so doing, he was re-echoing the earlier words of Church of Ireland Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, Rt Rev. Kenneth Good [23]who in 2001 referred to:

" …. alienation and insecurity in Londonderry being experienced by that proportion of the population drawn mainly from the Unionist community in the city. "

Earlier, but also in 2001, Labour MP John Reid, in his capacity as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, cautioned that Ulster should not become a *'chilly place for Unionists'*.[24] A publication distributed by the Foyle Constituency Association of the Ulster Unionist Party suggested the analysis of John Reid MP was justified:

" …. demographic patterns established over the last thirty years of conflict - with which many in the city could identify" [25]

This was reference to what many PUL residents in the city referred to as the Exodus of Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist families and individuals from the West bank of the river Foyle to the Waterside or East bank; in some cases, further afield.

A number of Church leaders and political representatives had been raising concerns and alluding to influencing circumstances from the early 1970s:

<u>Derry Journal – 30.06.1972: Intimidation and threats charge by Unionist MP</u>

"Commander A.W. Anderson, Stormont Unionist M.P. for the City of Derry division, said in a statement that during the past ten months he had dealt with at least 300 applications from people who had been intimidated or threatened, or who felt isolated in areas where violence had been prevalent in Derry and wanted to leave the west bank of the Foyle.
...said he was referring not only to Protestants. Catholics had also come to him to ask his help because they had been intimidated and wanted to live outside Creggan and Bogside."[26]

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[22] CNRM/1 See below for further comments.
[23] Synod Address, 2002.
[24] Speech at University of Liverpool, 2001, quoted in Prospect magazine, November 2002.
[25] Foyle UUP News, December 2001. The Association had already called for an enquiry into the reasons why the missing 7,000 Protestant citizens had left their homes on the city side. See Londonderry Sentinel, 01.02.1984.
[26] By 1990, Catholic Bishop Edward Daly was quoted in the local press as warning that young people were leaving the city "to get away from the conflict" Belfast Telegraph, North West News, 24.02.1990.

Londonderry Sentinel – 28.04.76: United city or divided towns?

"Rev. Brian Hannon, rector of Christ Church, told his parishioners that it would be tragic to see the city split by the river into what he describes as 'two comparatively ineffective units."

"Dealing with different aspects of community life, Mr. Hannon said that many ghettos had already been established through the troubled years; sometimes this had been intentional, sometimes it has resulted from a coincidence of factors, religious, educational, housing demand, population trends, etc."

"...he said he believed that it was in the interest of the city and population as a whole that the 'Protestant presence,' small as it is now, be maintained or enlarged… …The only estate area where this is now practicable are the Glen, Woodlands, Belmont, Northland and the Fountain. But if this is to remain so we will need the active co-operation of Roman Catholics on the city side to give information about terrorists intent on forcing Protestant families out.'"

"We also need a housing allocation policy and points system which makes it possible to retain the present integrated balance and community confidence,' said Mr. Hannon."

Londonderry Sentinel – 28.06.1978: Mayor wants Peace Talks

Mayor Thomas Craig (UUP): "The tragedy of this movement has been there for all to see - falling attendance at churches and enrolments at schools, and even in social organizations. Now we are faced with the possible closure of one of the oldest city churches - Great James Street Presbyterian"
"The Mayor said they had to face the fact that Protestant families were moving to the Waterside because of fear - 'fear of both intimidation and being shot'"
Mayor emphasized the need to 'restore confidence' in the Protestant community.

Derry Journal – 30.06.1978: City Councillor spelt out Protestant fears about West Bank.

"Councillor [Bertie] Faulkner said he had been brought up in a mixed area where despite the absence of community centres or community groups there was a great community spirit and neighbours helped each other out in times of difficulty."
"Now, he said, as a result of the past ten years of violence in N. Ireland and in the city, there had seen a 'slow attrition' of Protestants from the west bank. Areas like Belmont, Northland *Road, the Glen, Marlborough and Beechwood which prior to the troubles had been mixed areas, had over a period of ten years seen a movement of Protestants from them and a drift from the west bank to the Waterside."*

Derry Journal 24.04.79 - Presbyterian churches may amalgamate

"Because of the drift by Protestants from the city-side of the river Foyle to the Waterside, the Presbyterian churches on the city side may have to amalgamate according to Reverend Maurice Bolton, Minister of Strand Presbyterian Church."

In addition to the early demographic changes there followed decisions shaping fundamental alterations in the local governance of the Council area which had proven to be deeply divisive and in the eyes of large sections of the PUL population, marginalising in terms of political and cultural identity[27].

The feelings of at least one PUL letter writer were clear from a submission to the local press in which the content addresses the stance of Reverend Brian Hannon and his continuing advice to protestants to remain on the West bank:

Londonderry Sentinel 12.05.1982 – Life on the West Bank

Letter to the Editor from "C. of I. Realist," Londonderry, April 24, 1982
"I have always been an admirer of Rev. Brian Hannon, the rector of Christ Church in Derry, but, after reading his advice to Protestants on the West Bank of the River Foyle to remain there and not move to the Waterside, I am beginning to wonder about his logic. Is he aware that in very many cases Protestant families are being subjected to all sorts of indignities and intimidation?"

When a Nationalist Councillor[28] in 1982, commenting on sectarian attacks on the Fountain identified the cause as the '*almost totally Protestant identity of the population'* and remarked that '*they have to realise they are living in a Nationalist city'* the binary '*them and us'* language and lack of empathy with '*neighbours*' having their homes attacked on a regular basis, delivered a chilling but 'unlikely to calm' message of PUL isolation. [29]

That this had been preceded by the murder of RUC Inspector, Norman Duddy in March 1982 when sitting in his car outside Strand Road Presbyterian Church[30] and a few weeks later by two Protestant families who were among the first to live there being intimidated from their homes in Ballymagroarty, served only to reinforce the claims of PUL political representatives, in this case former Unionist Mayor, Jack Allen, OBE who during his mayoralty instigated Civic Weeks, that "*there was nothing to suggest that the Nationalist community wishes to have Protestant living on the West bank."*[31]

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[27] See Population Change and Social Inclusion Study: Derry/Londonderry September, 2005 available at www.cain.ulstr.ac.uk
[28] Derry Journal, 15.09.1982
[29] PULM/3 in his comments this participant speaks of a feeling of 'being hosted by a Nationalist majority and living a negotiated existence.' They point to a sense of disrupted communal and cultural living.
[30] Londonderry Sentinel, 31.03.82. Whilst it may make no difference to the fate of the victim, the killing of an individual going to Church is seen as especially worthy of condemnation within Protestantism.
[31] Londonderry Sentinel, 18.04.1984

The late Martin McGuinness, an elected Sinn Féin representative was reported in the Derry Journal of 21/10/1983 as calling on the local community to rally around the remaining Protestant families to prevent any reoccurrence. However, with the local press having previously reported allegations of intimidation of Protestants in training centres, Strathfoyle and Gobnascale in addition to communal reports of similar experiences in Carnhill,[32] mindsets and perceptions were not conducive to bridging divides.

When the name of the Council in the city was changed in 1984 by deleting London, PUL representatives withdrew from the Chamber and there was talk of a Council for the Waterside. They and their support base found it easy to identify with the words of an Alliance member of the Assembly established at Stormont [33] to scrutinise Northern Ireland affairs under Direct Rule when he described the action of the Council as: *"one of triumphalism and trampling over the views of Unionists."*[34]

This sat alongside the loss and significant decline in the city of valued social, commercial and educational landmarks over a short period of time. Loyalist expression in the form of parades remained a source of contention.

Meanwhile politically, the introduction of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985 and the Framework Document in 1996 did little to assuage a feeling that in addition to the displacement of large numbers in the city which did not seem to arouse concern with Government, PUL political thinking, however slow-learning[35] was collateral damage in a greater scheme of things.

Protestant paranoia[36] if real was being well fortified.

The population divide in the city which had begun in the later 1960s[37] gathered pace in the years following. It was damaging in the long term to the reputation and life of the city and area with the river seen as a physical marker of deep division that would be hard to reduce:

"you don't fully realise at the time exactly what's happening and you only see the scale and shape of it later on……It was a real concern that there was just this sense that the character of the city had changed while at one level J….. would have been trying to say it's important that the Council is shared and promotes an image and a concept of civic sharing and that was shown in rotating the Mayoralty and Deputy Mayoralty always having a unionist or nationalist, or whatever. This was all well and good…. Masking that there's a deeper divide going on in the city in a very real geographic and communal sense…. There was a sense of this

[32] PULM/18
[33] The Assembly ended in 1986 following political friction over the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985
[34] See Londonderry Sentinel, 28.03.1984
[35] In 1998, Seamus Mallon of the SDLP described the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 as slow-learning by Unionism which had rejected the power-sharing Sunningdale Agreement of 1973.
[36] John Darnton writing in the NY Times on 15 January, 1995 was one of several commentators to refer to Protestant paranoia. As identified it is also referred to as a 'siege mentality.'
[37] There is evidence of PUL movement to newly development private housing in the Waterside prior to the outbreak of the 'Troubles'. Social mobility was a contributing factor however the scale or pace of movement was not on a level with the post 1969 period. This is mentioned in Hemmed In and Hacking It, A View from Fountain residents, Ruth Moore and Marie Smyth, 1996

is a problem and we're not quite sure what can be done about it. Can it be reversed? Not easily or readily. You can't just move people around."[38]

The recognition of this by constitutional nationalism shaped support for the building of the Foyle bridge which was not fully endorsed by all shades of unionism,[39] and the provision of a school in the Fountain which the Department of Education did not view as sustainable. All of this was being done to attempt to mitigate the impact of growing segregation and sense of detachment; open up connections and improve the fabric of the city.

There was also a concern regarding the absence of a meaningful PUL voice for the West bank with the Fountain as the only area with any significant PUL population, albeit much reduced.

The value of compositing District Electoral Areas in such a way as to bring together as much of the remaining identifiable Unionist voters into one electoral area as feasible was seen as desirable but was eventually overtaken by electoral trends and demographic numbers.

The issue of demographic shift and the loss of the last Unionist seat on the West bank had been raised with the Secretary of State, Sir Patrick Mayhew MP but as the release of government papers some 25 years later indicated, as reported in the local media:[40]

"Ministers and mandarins decided in 1993 and 1994 that although it was desirable to halt the Protestant exodus from Londonderry's West bank, radical and expensive measures to do so were not justified….. the trend was irreversible.

Sir Patrick Mayhew was reported in the same article as having *"made the decision in the presence of senior officials after a team of civil servants had met a number of people in Londonderry to discuss the issue……. The age structure would ensure that there was an increasingly elderly population and it was very much open to question if large amounts of public money invested in the area would reverse the trend."*

The newspaper commentary goes on to say that 25 years prior to the meeting in 1993 there had been 18,000 Protestants living on the West bank whilst now, at the time of publication, there were about 250 Protestant residents in the Fountain with others living in Culmore and scattered rural areas.

Interestingly the report goes to note different emphases within unionism as to the reasons for the Exodus. Councillor, David Davis, who had left the West bank some 10 years earlier and had now lost his seat on the West bank was recorded as saying that attacks on the PUL community had virtually stopped and that new housing had been a factor in explaining the

[38] CNRM/1.
[39] One Unionist MP described the proposal as a vanity project and there was a view that power-sharing on the Council was an attempt to embarrass those unionists opposed to sharing power in any devolved parliament or assembly at regional level.
[40] Belfast Telegraph and Newsletter, January, 2019.

population shift whilst DUP Councillor, Gregory Campbell is quoted as saying that the major factor had been the IRA campaign and the perception of the Council as being '*anti-unionist.*'

A former CNR Councillor and a concerned observer at what was happening in the city offers the following analysis:

"When you have a bombing campaign in the city for example and the vast majority of business people in the city would have been of a Protestant background…. They were bombed on a daily basis……You can understand the fear….. it's just a target of Protestant people in their families, a son in the police, in the prison officer or in the services. There was a *sense, not only are they going to damage my son or daughter, they're going to take me out as well."*[41]

It is a view not dissimilar to a political colleague:

"When you saw the more intensive bombing campaign around the city centre particularly in my senses more marked from '72 on and a lot of that tended to be Protestant businesses and some of the families who owned the businesses happened to live in the Pennyburn area …. People began to read a sectarian undertone into a lot of the bombing campaign….. and there would have been police families particularly in the Belmont estate and as police families move out people got the sense that it was signal that safety and comfort wasn't the same and that added to other people making the decision to move as well…… one of my neighbours was murdered by the IRA…. When somebody is targeted and murdered along with internalising is there a pattern to the bombing campaign is there a sectarian pitch to this…. conditions minds about where it is safe and right for them to be living and have their family."[42]

What this different emphasis of view serves to suggest is the importance of matching the understanding of factors from the political arena with a focus on experiences of those who moved; the timing and location of the reducing PUL population of the West bank in the context of wider actions and decisions.

By 1993, Protestant churches had closed and controlled schools on the West bank which housed mainly, but not only, children from PUL families, had either closed or were facing sustainability issues. In the case of the main Grammar school – Foyle and Londonderry College- attended by children from PUL backgrounds, the majority was being bussed from the Waterside and outlying areas in the vicinity. Private and social housing in Newbuildings, Tullyally, Caw/Nelson Drive and Drumahoe had grown as a result of the population movement.

[41] CNRM/7.
[42] CNRM/1.

The eventual closure of Templemore Secondary school[43] and the re-location of a Catholic Girls College to the site, whilst an obvious and economic use of the resource, was yet another indication of the growing single-identity character of the West bank.[44]

Londonderry was a very segregated place as people grew up content with living in areas where they felt safe. This increased with the building of new housing on the West bank and the changing character of areas which had previously contained a large PUL population.[45]

The Exodus was having far-reaching consequences beyond population re-location; politically, socially, culturally and economically.

It is a conversation for another time and place but growing disenchantment with a perceived' *lack of dividend'* for the PUL population from the Good Friday Agreement within some communities also fed into this communal mood which one essayist has deemed it appropriate to term '*demoralising.'*[46]

This has come through in some interviews indicating the continuing impact of population shifts and resulting PUL disengagement with the city side which some still looked upon as home.[47] This was an element in a larger and often turbulent dynamic enacted in different decision-making political theatres

That same essayist describes the attitude as akin to that of a *'self-pitying majority-like tearful bully when finally collared by someone of its own size'.*

The remarks may in the end reveal more about the essayist than the totality of what was happening at the time of writing and what the experience of different PUL communities had been in recent history. There is certainly an element of misrepresenting those so-labelled '*a majority'* within Northern Ireland as one homogenous group when it is in fact individualistic, disparate, diverse and at times solitary with different religious, political, educational and social allegiances; interested and prepared to pursue different strategies and choices and not as self-obsessed as the essayist implies but rather, inclined towards solutions to the problems which presented.

Indicative of such is the seminal 2011 report: *'Building Confidence: Ways to Support Protestant Participation and Inclusion in the North West'* which was a component along with Gateway to Protestant Participation (GPP) within an initiative to '*promote a shared sense of belonging and addressing issues of marginalisation and tackling sectarianism and racism.'*[48]

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[43] Templemore Secondary School served pupils from a range of areas - Belmont, Creggan Street, Culmore Road, the Fountain, the Glen, Northland, Park Avenue and streets adjoining, Rosemount. The Fountain and Rosemount were the two areas where re-development had taken place.
[44] There was sensitivity that the PUL community might see it as' akin to a land grab.' CNRM/1.
[45] Belmont and the Glen were two obvious examples.
[46] Demoralised Prods, Richard Kelly, Prospect magazine, November20, 2002.
[47] "My father lived on the Waterside but when he went to visit my grandmother on the city side he talked about going home." PUL/fcs3.
[48] The report was funded under Peace III and led by a steering group of community organisations in Londonderry, Tyrone and Donegal.

The report was addressing issues which bore the hallmark of various contributing factors, arguably the quality of leadership within the PUL constituency. However, in saying this is to focus on a response to and not the situation as it had developed and been shaped by the levels of PUL displacement and forced relocation within the city from the late 1960s to the 1990s with varying degrees of intensity.

As the years passed there were not many of the PUL population left to move and as mentioned above, churches and schools had closed with the Grammar school attended by pupils with PUL identity, giving consideration after 1998 to a site on the East bank.

SECTION FOUR
"NO BOTHER WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS."

The opening remarks of several interviewees who left their homes due to direct or indirect and defensive intimidation in the years after 1968 echo those referenced in the title of this chapter:

"We had no bother with our neighbours. It was the ones from the Creggan coming down. They started vigilantes and then there would be rioting and bin lids and…..tear gas. I remember my father and mother giving us wet towels. Our windows weren't sealed or anything like that and the gas was coming in through the windows. But, what broke the camel's back was….. I came home from school one day and my mother and father were looking out the window.

I went up to see. They were looking at the Marlborough Hall. These people, my father didn't know who they were, brought out the piano, the Bibles and handbooks and tried to set them alight. It took them ages. Every time it went out; every time.

Whenever they started burning the Bibles and the handbooks and the piano and all, my father said: "I think it's time for us to leave"

The Marlborough Hall itself was burned."[49]

All of those, self-identifying or otherwise as PUL, state how much they '*loved'* [50]living in their communities, new homes, in many cases, with enhanced amenities resulting from housing development and familiar surroundings; the former delayed in number by post-war shortages of materials and skilled employees.

Comments recalling a sense of shock when street violence was at its most intense or following an attack on a family member, focus on the suddenness of events and how it was a wrench to leave neighbours who had become friends, well attended gardens[51] and play spaces where, as young people, they used a variety of means to create a football or cricket pitch or simply explore the safe rural spaces close to homes in locations like Belmont, Creggan and the Glen.[52]

Sometimes local farmers provided seasonal opportunities to boost pocket-money and family income with potatoes from the farm.[53]

Such sentiments have led one PUL interviewee who was young when her family left the city to query if *'things were so wonderful; how did the community descend into 30 years and more of conflict*?'[54]

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[49] Extract from PULF/18 who lived in the Rosemount area.
[50] PUL/fcs4 lived in the Glen.
[51] PULF/14 lived in Messines Park and recalls how her father took pride in his garden.
[52] PULF/15 lived in Belmont, PULM/19 lived in Creggan.
[53] Extract from CNR/18 who lived in Creggan.
[54] PULF/6.

It is a question that cannot be set aside easily.

Former residents of the Fountain, Rosemount, Bishop Street, Culmore Road and Garden city, Northland, Ewing Street and adjacent streets, the Barrack street community, which one interviewee,[55] involved in assisting people from their homes in 1969, described as a '*mini Fountain*,' also retain a strong sense of generational, mostly fond, memories; far from being idealistic or rose-spectacled. Life within families could be subject to sibling rivalry, the pace of cultural and social change in the 1960s, unemployment or tight budgets and marital breakdowns but, not always idyllic, home provided anchorage and a sense of belonging within communities.

Accounts are tinged with the sadness and trauma of being forced or compelled to leave their home by conflict- related circumstances beyond their control; requiring life to be re-organised around civil and political unrest.

It is also a matter of record that numerous individuals from the PUL community left the city at different times as did CNR residents to seek employment[56] or as educational opportunities increased for further study.

Interviewees do note the departure of family members and acquaintances, for example church members, to places like Antrim and Ballymena in pursuit of employment in firms like British Enkalon or Michelin and for a home. However, it is also the case that as new employment opportunities became available in the city with the building of advance factories some returned 'home'.

This tends not to be the complete pattern, as one former local political Councillor who served on the newly elected power-sharing Council after the Development Commission notes,[57] where individuals travelled further afield to England, Canada and other places; particularly following the onset of the 'Troubles'.

In regard to education whilst the issue requires deeper research there is a trend during the 1970s for PUL grammar school post A-level students to go outside Northern Ireland to further their education. Queen's University and the New University of Ulster as it was termed at the time continue to attract but a growing number opt to study in England, Scotland and Wales. [58]

This could be due to a number of factors including an increasing number across the period attending grammar school, widening choice, variety of courses, the UCAS system which required a number of selections with Northern Ireland only able to offer two and improving career education. Though not quantifiable or able to be validated, anecdotal evidence within church and other organisations does point to parents during the height of the conflict

[55] PULM/3 resided in the Fountain where he remained after re-development.
[56] With shortage of housing and employment these acted as push factors across the city and wider region.
[57] PULM/23.
[58] *"In 1969, Catholics made up 30% of the student body at Queen's University, Belfast; 30 years later they accounted for 52%."* PUP politician quoted in Demoralised Prods, Prospect magazine, November 20, 2002.

encouraging their children to leave Northern Ireland; to '*leave the troubles behind and seek broader horizons.'*

Social mobility and the availability of scholarships were almost certainly also enablers. [59]

During the 1970s and 1980s travelling to school wearing a distinctive uniform viewed as indicating religious and political identity attracted verbal and physical assault and intimidation [60] and led to altercations in shared spaces like the Bus station and attacks on buses transporting children. Some pupils still remaining on the city side prior to moving eventually, chose diversionary routes to their homes or removed parts of their uniform. [61]This became a factor in some families re-locating to the Waterside and may also have influenced university choice. For a number of years students at 16-19 opted to attend FE College in Limavady rather than cross the bridge to attend classes in the city whilst others felt so intimidated that they left the institution[62] on the Strand Road.

Interestingly, in the case of one school the increasing number going to Great Britain sits alongside a significant fall in applicants choosing universities in the Republic of Ireland. This increased, only in a few cases, as the profile of the school intake becomes less denominationally singular.

Having left the West bank as internal migrants, few have returned or would consider returning to the homes they left behind; many now housing other residents in less integrated but still habitable neighbourhoods.[63]

This was noted in *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the Conflict in Ireland (1995)* by former Moderator of the Presbyterian in Ireland, Doctor John Dunlop:[64]

"..Once people in the Protestant communities on the city side [West Bank of Londonderry] became uncertain, it only took one case of intimidation or murder to destabilise a wide circle of people. Many who were bombed or burned out of businesses fought back into business time and again, only to be intimidated, targeted and bombed again. Many became discouraged and frustrated. They watched the security forces unable to protect their lives and property. The heart was knocked out of many people when the bombing and burnings were accompanied with assassinations of their friends.

'I was told quite firmly that the Protestants who had left would never return to live on the city side in any numbers..."

As violence escalated with a corresponding rise in varying levels of direct and indirect intimidation, return was not realistic. Families whose relatives served in the British Army, UDR, RUC and RUC reserve or were killed or suffered life-changing injuries, sometimes

[59] This is a view shared by a retired teacher who taught in a local grammar school attended by PUL pupils. The interview as not recorded.
[60] PULM/23.
[61] PULF/15; PULM/16; PULF/1; PULM/7
[62] PULF/ 8 At the time, 1969, the individual was also experiencing intimidation in her home on the West bank.
[63] This would apply to the Glen, Belmont and Northland areas.
[64] Published in 1995.

suspected that informants[65] provided information which contributed to the death or injury of a daughter, son, brother or father. Where these instances occurred trust became a casualty, not just in the short-term.[66]

Life hitherto, had centred on friendships,[67] family life, schools and church.

One interviewee[68] who lived in Belmont speaks of life revolving around Ballyarnett Church where she attended several times during the week for various church-related and recreational activities.

As young people matured, they went to the cinema and youth clubs with friends who attended different schools and places of worship. Dance venues, on both sides of the border were, until 'the troubles' worsened, places for entertainment and romantic relationships, mostly of short duration.[69]

From 1969 onward and especially after 1971 change happened against a background of increasingly sectarian violence, indiscriminate and targeted bombings, door-step killings, restricted and disrupted travel, no-go areas, shop entrance and vehicle searches, communal street clashes, Army personnel on the streets and the emerging 'normality' of an insecure and disrupted existence.

All of this added to those who may have left the city for employment or to start life afresh.

Growing political entrenchment culminating in much delayed resolution to rising numbers of dead or injured and agreement on an inclusive pathway out of the political impasse, shape the context of the unfolding events.

Communal division widened in the city and its surrounding areas, within and without the existing boundaries, as the conflict intensified. Sectarianism surfaced leading to Catholics leaving areas where they were a minority and did not feel safe: mainly on the Waterside or East bank of the river.

As time went on a number of house swaps occurred.[70]

Protestant West bank familiarity and identity gave way to major East bank re-location and the challenges of leaving behind, involuntarily, retail, educational, church, logistical and cultural networks.

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[65] PUL/fcs 2 who lived in a rural area close to the border with Co. Donegal.
[66] PULF/12 who lived in Rosemount.
[67] Whilst friendships were difficult to sustain following re-location, interviewees do comment on meeting individuals and former neighbours 'in town'.
[68] PULF/15 who lived in Belmont.
[69] PULM/20.
[70] PUL/fcs4 in an interview referred to her family moving from ….. to Clooney as a result of a house swap as a result of conflict-related experiences. PULF/15 moved from Belmont to Newbuildings.

The pace of this movement of Protestants was neither linear or even. Often, the rapid movement is spurred by political decision-making, civic disturbances and a continuous campaign of politically-motivated conflict from 1969 onwards around street battles between various combatants, no-go areas, internment, the events at Burntollet and the events of the evening before and after Operation Motorman.

The period after Bloody Sunday and the aftermath of the Hunger Strikes by republican prisoners in the early 1980s can be identified as times when individuals were likely to seek refuge in areas where they felt safest.

One CNR interviewee[71] whilst stating that there was no organised campaign to '*drive PUL neighbours from the West bank'* also confirmed by former and current colleagues,[72] has with candour also said that: "*Protestants would have found it very difficult to remain in the Creggan after 1972."*

Such was the case and it proved true of other areas on the West bank. In regard to the question of an 'organised campaign' this was the PUL perception during the years of movement from the West bank and has hardened into a contested narrative[73] particularly but not only, within the political sphere.

The reaction to events like Bloody Sunday and the Hunger strike was often widespread and whilst directed against state law enforcement and security personnel, took on sectarian dimensions. Certainly, they were and continue to be seen as such within PUL communities and families where a relative was a member of the RUC, UDR, another British regiment or a prison officer.

Whilst Protestants were in the minority in the city the majority of businesses were Protestant owned with in many cases a mixed workforce. When a continuous bombing campaign was targeted on businesses it was inevitable that Protestant workplaces and commercial interests would be curtailed or as became the case put out of business[74]. Whilst Catholic businesses in locations like Butcher Street and William Street also suffered commercial damage, with the majority of bombings taking place in the city centre, the campaign was seen as a key strategy in an economic war but with a sectarian edge. That this was so, has been confirmed in an interview with a former CNR political representative.[75] Emphasising the determination for the strategy to succeed the interviewee advised that when a bomb was carried out of one business premises, the bomber simply returned the next day with another bomb.

[71] CNRM/6.
[72] CNRM/3; CNRM/4.
[73] PULM/25; PUL/26.
[74] PULF/16 a community activist in the Waterside refers to her grandfather closing his business after several bombings in the area and incendiary attacks on premises.
[75] CNRM/4.

In a separate interview exploring the feeling within the CNR community in regard to the bombing of Protestant businesses, one participant[76] suggested that whilst not indicative of everyone in that community, there were those who were indifferent to the impact on the PUL community which had run the city and dominated commercial life for a long time. Whilst commendable for its honesty, the remark does suggest a mix of politics and sectarian distancing from neighbours as labelling served to mark out territoriality and compliant terrain.

As stated by the interviewee and confirmed in other CNR interviews[77] with former political representatives, this was not a universal view within the CNR community but sufficiently well endorsed to prevent its elimination.

There is a similar difference of opinion in regard to the killing of businessmen in cafes, at their workplace or homes. One former PUL businessman[78] has suggested that the violent deaths between 1975 and 1983 of Charles Mc Naul, Alexander (Lexie) Mitchell, Joseph Glover, Jeffrey Agate, Peter Hill and William Young encouraged the steady movement of Protestant business individuals from the West bank.

The sense of being under attack, of insecurity and vulnerability and of living in '*a war zone'* became, with other factors, alluded to and discussed more fully below, a significant driver for population movement by the PUL population; leading to continuing displacement and re-location that in some areas had begun earlier.

"We lived on Creggan Road opposite the police barracks. Marlborough Hall and the Creggan Estate were directly behind us. My husband was born and bred in the area. It was convenient to the shops, churches and schools. Everything was in walking distance of the town.

In 1969, we were on holidays and came home for the 12th parade. We went back to Portrush. The next morning, we heard on the news that Rosemount barracks had been besieged. We came home up Park Avenue to check the lay of the land. There was a barricade across North Street. I said: "I'm going in." It was like a war zone. A petrol bomb had hit the back of the house. Some people left their homes. When they went back squatters had moved in. Some never got their stuff.

After the army came, things settled for a while but the violence got worse. You never knew where it would flare up. We had to accompany family to school and Sunday school.

In 1971, interment was brought in and Marlborough Mission Hall was burned during street violence. Bibles and hymn books were set alight by rioters who came into the area. The violence turned sectarian. People began to leave the area.

One night when I was going up to the shops I was called an 'Orange B' by a man.

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[76] CNRM/19. The interviewee also records that when buildings like the Guildhall were bombed many within the more republican CNR community would have viewed it as a site of political injustice deserving of its fate.
[77] CNRM/1; CNRM/7.
[78] PULM/20.

My husband, a radio and television engineer, had helped him by repairing his television.

I was stunned.

By 1971, when the violence and bombing had got worse we decided to leave and find a house somewhere else; because of the youngsters. You had to go where you could get a house. I was looking every week and eventually I said that we wanted a house in Newbuildings. There were that many coming; some familiar faces.

I was quite content so long as I got to go to bed at night.

My husband still went to church in the city but eventually he had to change churches. He lost his job when his place of employment was bombed out of business. They could no longer get insurance.

He lost his home, his church and his job.

He never complained about it but he never got over it." [79]

Factors like direct and indirect intimidation, fear and life ruptured by conflict served to persuade large sections of the PUL population that the West Bank was not a place to remain.

The resulting displacement has for a particular generation shaped identity, cultural and communal life; *'a moment that has lasted a lifetime.'*[80]

The recent words of Hamnet author Maggie O'Farrell offer a certain resonance:[81]:

"Being displaced means "you walk alongside, all your life, a kind of ghost self. There's always a sense of 'who would I have been if we'd stayed?"

In the experience of the author an attitude of getting up and getting on was and remains present.

However, displacement is internalised, not forgotten or in some instances not forgiven; yet for a variety of reasons, not least a desire to avoid repetition of the past, later generations are often unaware of the circumstances in which older relatives lived and grew up.[82]

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[79] PULF/12 Female resident who lived in the Rosemount area prior to the outbreak of civil disturbances in the autumn of 1968.

[80] Memory can be problematic and details embellished or erased however the clarity with which interviewees recall the emotional trauma and circumstances of 'forced displacement' evidences the immediate and long-term impact of the experience particularly but not only where injury or loss of life was a factor, PULM/30, PULF/4, PULF/1, PULfcs/2.

[81] BBC, 23.05.26.

[82] PULM/13; PUL/fcs 6.

This lack of awareness for various reasons also applies to large sections of the CNR communities. This is problematic for and compounds a sense of PUL marginalisation and injustice when not all the consequences of the events of the period 1968 to 1998 are acknowledged.

Some have been denied or fall short of an understanding of the human story.

Encouraging then is the remark of one CNR interviewee:

"I think…… the lack of acknowledgement is probably down to lack of knowledge. …… share that knowledge…… share those experiences.[83]

Londonderry Sentinel, 1971.

The missile littered street beside Rosemount Police Station after rioting on Monday. On the left is the entrance to Marlborough Hall which was destroyed by fire during rioting and troops stand behind their 6ft perspex shields as a crowd of rioters attack with stones, petrol bombs and bullets. 32TLS33.

[83] CNRM/15.

SECTION FIVE: VOICES OF THE EXODUS – PUL, CHURCHES, SCHOOLS and CNR

"No history is mute. No matter how much they own it, break it and lie about it, human history refuses to shut its mouth. Despite deafness and ignorance, the time that was continues to tick inside the time that is."

EDUARDO GALEANO, Uruguayan journalist and writer

To borrow from the words of Eduardo Galeano, the experiences of the PUL community during the years post 1968, "continues to tick inside the time that is."

To give a voice to individuals and families who chose to move from the West bank, the author has found it helpful to focus on different areas of the city during the post 1969 years.

There are several benefits to this:

- In the period being analysed, political parties kept marked electoral registers in which for tallying purposes at election time they identified voters likely to vote for their candidate. Prior to local government re-organisation the Unionist party registers for the years 1970 and 1972 indicate a number of PUL voters in the North and South wards reflected in the number of Unionist councillors elected and Unionist control of the Londonderry Corporation until its replacement by the Londonderry Development Commission. The registers also provide information with names regarding the death or movement of voters and where they have moved to. Whilst not providing explanations for the movement they portray a picture of changes in the political character of the areas soon to be reflected in a diminishing number of unionist representatives on the West bank;[84]

- Interviewees who moved from the different areas had earlier put their names forward through open invitation at the Project launch and previously for participation in the project. Through a process of 'chain referral,'[85] based on their knowledge, experiences of displacement and settlement, they provided contact details of other possible participants. This created the opportunity to target a greater number of individuals and widen the research;

- Analysing events in the different locations and matching these to interview content afforded opportunity to assess common or otherwise patterns of response and seek to understand factors which influenced decision-making and their possible weighting;

- Whilst there is not a direct match, CNR interviewees lived in or close to the neighbourhoods and this provides insight into non-PUL reactions to and understanding of displacement and population movement at the time and since.

[84] At the time of writing there are no unionist representatives elected to DCSDC on the West bank

[85] Refugees and Forced Displacement in Northern Ireland's Troubles Untold Journeys, N Gilmartin and B C Brown, Liverpool University Press, 2024, p19

The tables and graphics below show where the research was sited in terms of interviews along with the % of individuals who lived there and made themselves available for interview. They also indicate the background of CNR and PUL individuals who participated either in interviews or focus groups.

Fig: 1

The Exodus Project	
Neighbourhoods where PUL interviewees lived prior to moving to the East bank	
Area A	Abercorn Road, Bennett Street, Mountjoy Street
Area B	Barrack Street, Charlotte Street, Cooke Street, Corporation Street, Gordon Place, Windmill Terrace
Area C	Belmont, Coshquin, Messines Park, the Collon
Area D	Belmont Crescent, Culmore Road, Garden City, Kingsfort, Troy Park and Meadowbank
Area E	Cook Terrace, Ewing Street, Foyle Road, Ivy Terrace
Area F	The Glen
Area G	Argyle Street, Cedar Street, Northland. Park Avenue
Area H	Creggan, Rosemount
Area I	The Fountain

1. *Northland refers to the area between Academy Road and Argyle Street.*
2. *Rosemount is referred in some local history publications as Rosemount Village. This is recalled in interviews.*
3. *It was also noted that former PUL residents of particular areas such as Belmont, Creggan, the Glen, Park Avenue and Rosemount identified strongly and with a degree of pride with the area and its character when living and growing up there.*
4. *It is not possible to use the narrative details of every participant however the writer has sought to provide as many representative recollections as possible to provide, through the words of the interviewees, informed and evidenced insight into the factors which motivated PUL residents to vacate areas where they had lived to move to the Waterside or leave the city*

Fig 2

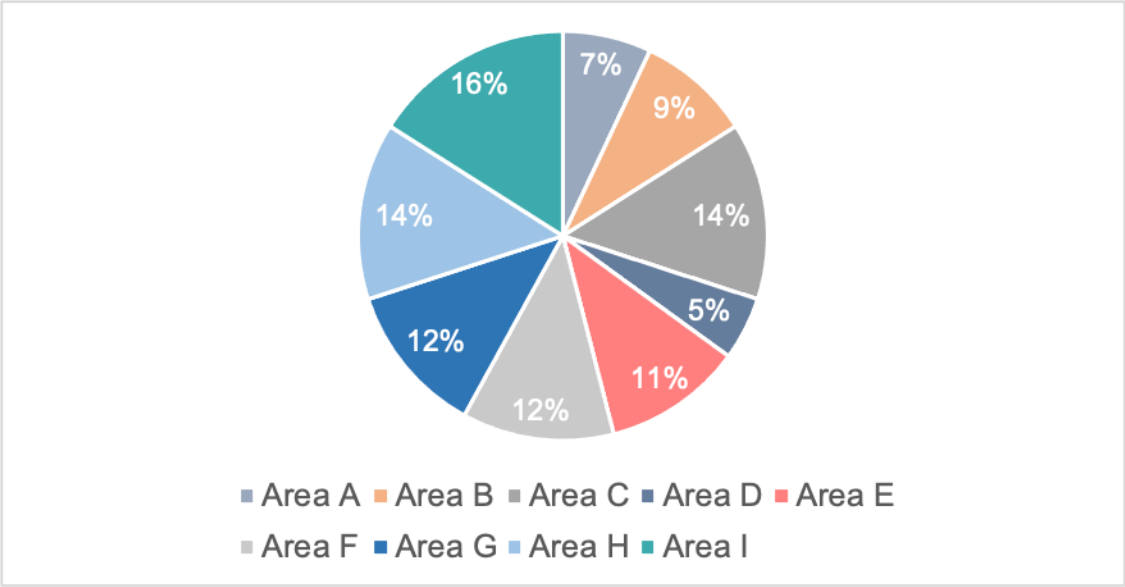
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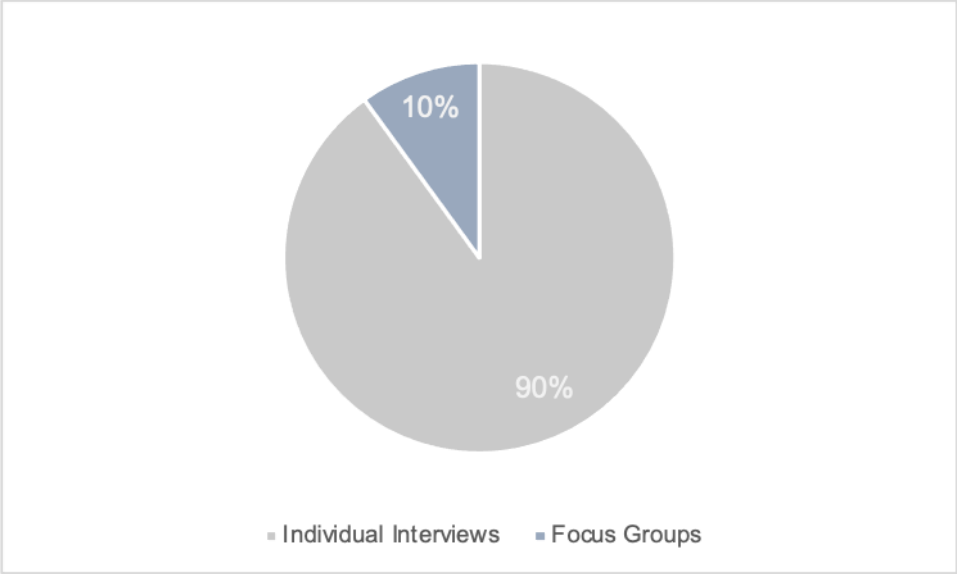
Fig 3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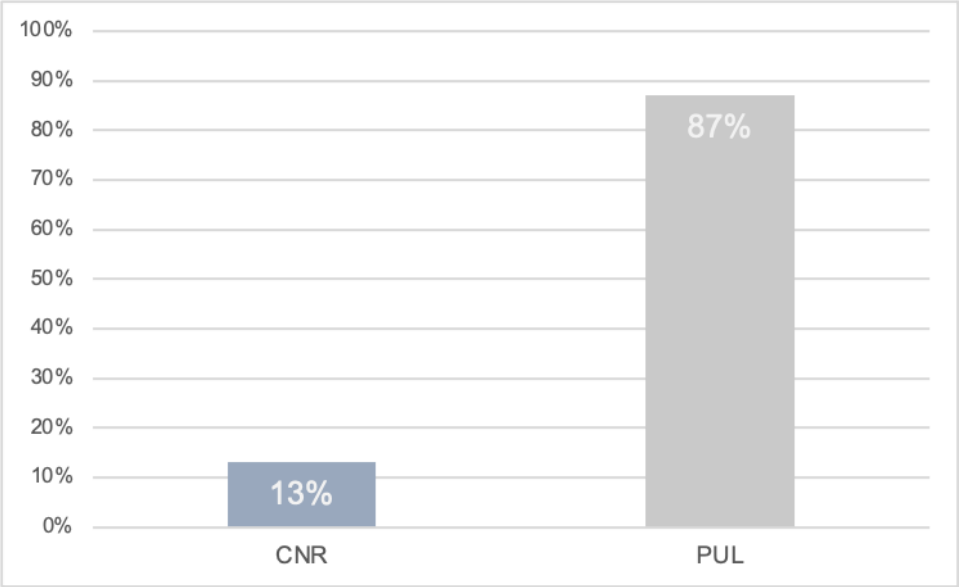
Individual Interviews
Focus Groups

Fig 4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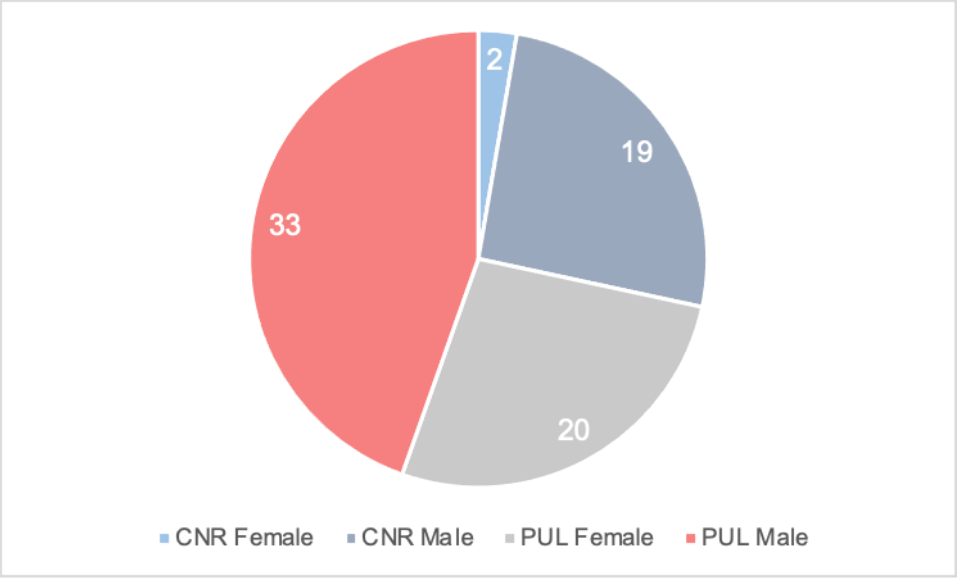
CNR
PUL

Fig 5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CNR Female
CNR Male
PUL Female
PUL Male

Fig 6. CNR Interviews

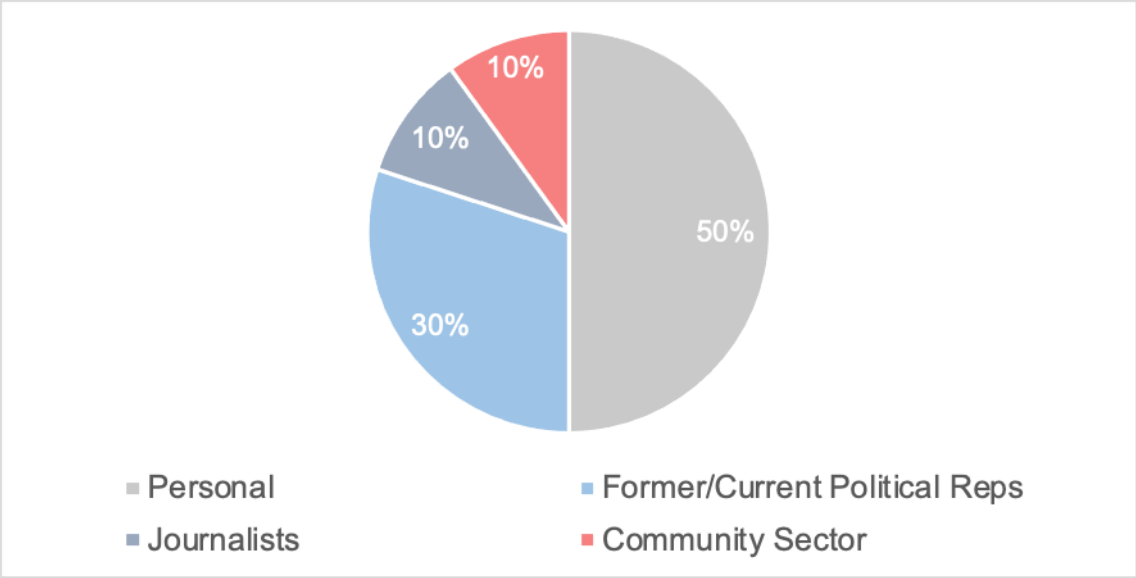
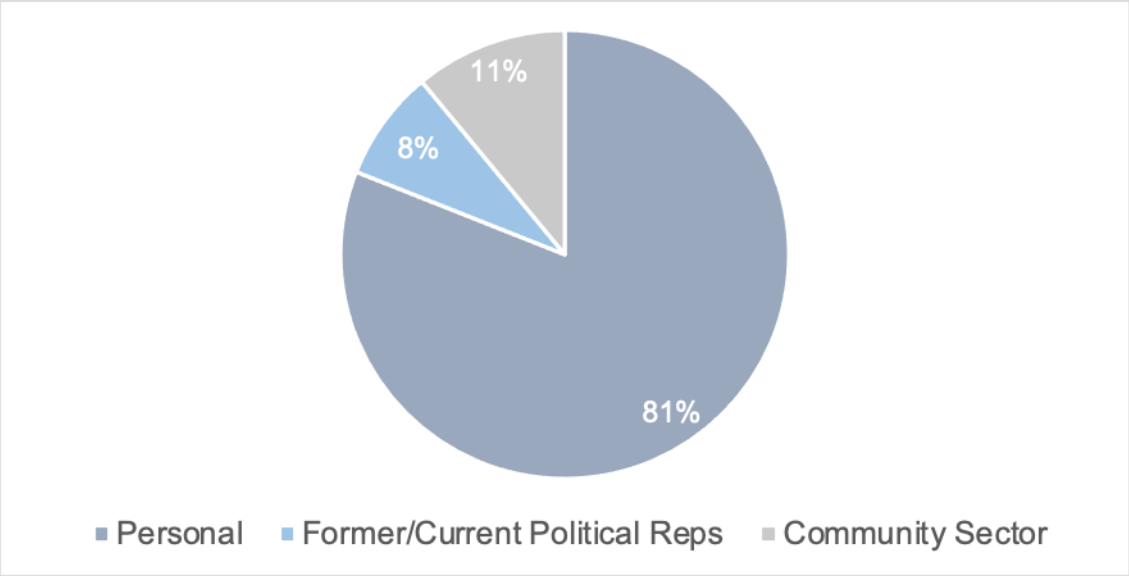


Fig 7 PUL interviews



Abercorn Road, Bennett Street and Mountjoy Street

Prior to the relocation of former residents these areas housed mixed communities. Schools, shops and nearby chapels and churches of different denominations served the population. St Columb's Cathedral had a 'lower' school in lower Bishop Street attended by local children. The former school building is now a Community facility. Cultural events are recorded as taking place without disturbance.[86] Houses were a mix of owner-occupier and rented accommodation. Prior to 1969, Abercorn Road was part of the route of the Annual Apprentice Boys of Derry parade; an event recalled by both PUL and CNR interviewees.[87] Neighbours may have been conscious of their differing backgrounds and aspirations but they shopped in the same local shops and children shared the streets and local parks for their amusement. Riverview Park held a magnetic attraction. They also frequented the same shops to buy and sell comics or buy a glass of lemonade.[88] Neighbours sometimes worked in the local factories where one particular religious denomination might predominate but were generally mixed with life-long friendships formed and social activities shared even as the troubles emerged.[89] Protestant homes tended to be quiet on Sundays as the day revolved around church attendance with children often attending several Sunday schools; a trait in many other areas. Policing in the shape of the RUC was not universally popular but its authority went unchallenged.

On the surface at least, community relations were stable.[90]

The changes that began to occur and the experiences that resulted are reflected in the words of the interviewees:

Abercorn Road to Waterside

"Everybody integrated well. I was called after my Catholic neighbour…….
Whenever the rioting started relationships became strained and there was a lot of violence on the streets……. Every weekend was absolute hell. The Horse Market Post Office at the top of the street was a target. They came further and further down where Harkin's factory used to be.
I had J…….. and he was a few months old. He was born in February and we moved in April. It wasn't a place to try to and bring up a youngster. We left.
My mother still lived there. She stayed on with the house because we tried to sell it. It was on the market, I don't know, for quite a number of years before it went. But then, of course it went for a song because it was in the middle of a battlefield.
The Catholic neighbours who lived there just didn't get themselves involved. It just didn't seem to be spoken about.
My mother was in a terrible state when she had to leave her home. My uncle and aunt were moved from Windmill Terrace as well."
PULF/9

[86] PULM/1; PULM/8.
[87] CNRM/17; PULM/21.
[88] CNRM/9; PULM/11.
[89] PULF/17.
[90] PULF/1; PULF/1.

Mountjoy Street to Newbuildings

"leading up to Bloody Sunday the Protestants were starting to get singled out where we lived. We moved to Mountjoy Street. Things started to get that you couldn't let the kids out of the street. You seen the change coming.
D …… worked in Dupont at the time, and a fella here was shot. He was caught up in that shooting because he'd come up Abercorn Road, and then they wouldn't let him turn into Mountjoy Street and sent him up on Bishop Street. He was turning on to Upper Bennet Street and they started to shoot from Gilmartin's Corner. D…. was caught up in that. He could have been very easily shot dead that night.
After Bloody Sunday it got really bad for us. We were scared to go outside. The street was lined with Land Rovers. Then, they were coming down and banging the doors. I remember them banging on our door. I remember sitting one night with the kids. I remember sitting on the stairs all night with a poker and the child in my arms …..couldn't even get out to my next door neighbour because we were all in our own home.
We had to go out literally overnight.
….they'd come in and they were shipping Protestants out as hard as they could. And I remember standing at the door of Mountjoy Street and looking down the street at this milk float going, what we could throw on it, literally what we could get on it. We just had to walk away and leave our house…… to Newbuildings.
They said to us, now when you go out, there could be somebody in it, but officially you have the house. We just went into this square block of a house and that was what little we had. Our first neighbours were Catholics and they were over to help get the house sorted; scrubbing floors and everything.
I remember one night sitting and listening to the burning, and looking at the TV and all the factories that were going. I used to think, dear God, our town's going to be burnt around us.
We're going to have nothing left for our kids and you know that was the only time ever I thought, wondering, should we go? Should we go? And we didn't. Thank God we didn't. because I love this city."
PULF/1

Abercorn Road to Waterside

"I was initially reared in the Glen Estate and then we moved to Abercorn Road. One of my first memories is of the factory horn at 10 to 8 each morning indicating to the mainly female workers from all parts of the city they had 10 minutes to get to work before the door closed.
I had friends from Harding Street, Abercorn Road, Foyle Road and Bishop Street. We met in the park to play football. At that stage no one seemed to question your religion or politics. In 1968 things began to change. Friendships began to falter and people became suspicious. I think that fear rose and neighbours began to move. A trickle at first. The trouble at the top of Abercorn Road and around Mountjoy Street was a different story from where I lived. I was told to keep as far away from it as possible. Church members who lived in Maureen Avenue and streets nearby told others what it was like living there.

We moved to the Waterside in 1970. I am sure that my father had been thinking about it for a year as the neighbourhood changed; that maybe we should join the Exodus.
I attended Carlisle Road church and it was inconvenient to now have to travel two and a half miles to the youth activities.
I left the city in 1976. When I came back in 1982, there had been a massive movement from the church to the Waterside. Only those living in the Fountain and a few from the Glen and Belmont remained. The school attached to the church had very few pupils and eventually amalgamated with First Derry and the Cathedral School to become Fountain Primary. There were less than 100 pupils. The Boy's Brigade and other youth activities stopped."
PUL/fcs1

Bennett Street to Waterside
"Bennett Street was a fairly mixed street with Ivy Terrace, also mixed, close by. In 1971 a soldier had been shot at the top of Bennett Street. They went into a house and climbed on to the roof of ……..'s house from where they shot at the soldier. The solders ran down and searched the house. ……..was in the house on her own so it was very alarming. It was frightening for the whole family. With bombings and shootings, it all became a reason to move to the Waterside."
PUL/fcs1

Barrack Street, Charlotte Street, Cooke Street, Corporation Street, Gordon Place, Windmill Terrace

Barrack Street was part of a network of close – knit streets which linked Bishop Street to the Lecky Road and the Brandywell area. The shared community which was a mix of home owners and tenants living in homes of variable quality in terms of facilities[91] was well served with local shops.[92] There was a pork store, Abercorn Bakery, and a laundry, all of which provided employment. A Labour Exchange was located at the corner where Barrack Street joined with Bishop Street. There was a shirt factory close by. Bishop street offered butchers, a grocer, barbers, newsagent, a small drapery, bar, fish and chip shop and other retail outlets. Interviewees who lived there could get what they needed daily close to home.

The People's Hall, owned by the Methodist City Mission with a men's hostel as a section of the building was a landmark building hosting concerts and Gospel services on a Sunday evening. The hall was attacked and damaged during rioting forcing its closure. The men staying there had to find accommodation.[93] The hall was burnt out during further rioting and was eventually demolished in 1972 as the area was re-developed.

By that time many residents like the interviewees below had left or were preparing to leave the area.

Pitt Street to Lincoln Courts

[91] The area was earmarked for re-development as part of a plan which eventually included sections of Bishop Street and the Lecky Road, Rossville Street areas– Londonderry Sentinel, 28.01.1972.
[92] PULF/17.
[93] The men were from PUL and CNR backgrounds. The majority were CNR.

"Where I lived there were 8 houses; 4 Protestant and 4 Catholic. Corporation Street was mixed. My grandparents lived there. My grandfather's brother lived in Cooke Street. There wasn't any trouble in the area and we used to have a bonfire at the top of the Dark Lane. Things began to change around 1968/1969. Petrol bombs were thrown. Some at our backyard which faced the Long Tower chapel. There was a lot of bother there as rioters fought with the police. Your sleep was constantly interrupted.
I remember there was a crowd gathered at the bottom of our street. They weren't kids. Two Catholic neighbours went to the bottom of the street. They were asked to show a picture of the Pope for everybody that lived in the street. One of our neighbours took one from his own house and said it was ours. They were obviously concerned about our welfare. It seemed they wanted the Protestants out. My father carried something in his pocket at night in case he was attacked.
Bishop Street and the corner of Barrack Street became a flashpoint. There was a Protestant shop at the crossroads. He sold up and moved to Australia or New Zealand. There were a couple of nights when things were really bad and my father took us to stay with a friend in the Waterside. My sister and I spent a couple of nights there. My father owned the house so he stayed at home. In 1969 things got so bad I couldn't go to church or Sunday school. My older brother was chased in the street and just made it into our front door.
My mother and father had had enough. They looked for a house from the Development Commission. They were offered a house in Creggan and then Shantallow. We eventually were allocated the last of 24 houses in Lincoln Courts. There were people there who had moved from Creggan. They couldn't stay there. As Lincoln Courts began to grow there were people from Barrack Street and other parts of the cityside, maybe Rosemount.
Life was as different as night and day."
PULM/13

Gordon Place to Tullyally

"I used to live in Gordon Place. My Grandad's owned the house. I was about three. I remember as my Grandad used to do removals, the removal van came down, everything was put into it and we were all moved to my Grandad's home in the Waterside.
There were four of us at that time, my brother was just born. We were there for about two and a half, three years, until we got a house in Tullyalley which my mum didn't like. But that's where we got the house.
I remember we were living in one room, just one of his bedrooms. There were no houses to be got anywhere.
I remember finding out why later and then they were talking about why it was. Others were moved out as well.
My Dad worked in a pork store. But he was also in the B Specials. He got stopped as he came home one night. They put a gun to his head and says, "Get out." This was after the 5th of October, 68, when the troubles kind of started.
He'd got the threat and Granddad was down with my two uncles and they were out within the day. We were never back in the house. It was my granddad's house. He owned the house down there, and they rented it off him.

He just sold the house after that. I remember him saying he couldn't get it sold unless he let it go for the price that he was offered. A lot of them houses that were privately owned by people from the PUL community had to be sold off really cheaply.
When we went out to Tullyally, it was really strange because the man that owned the shop at the end of Gordon Place, just across the street, actually had been put out as well and he'd opened the one shop in Tullyally."
PULF/16

Corporation Street to Nelson Drive

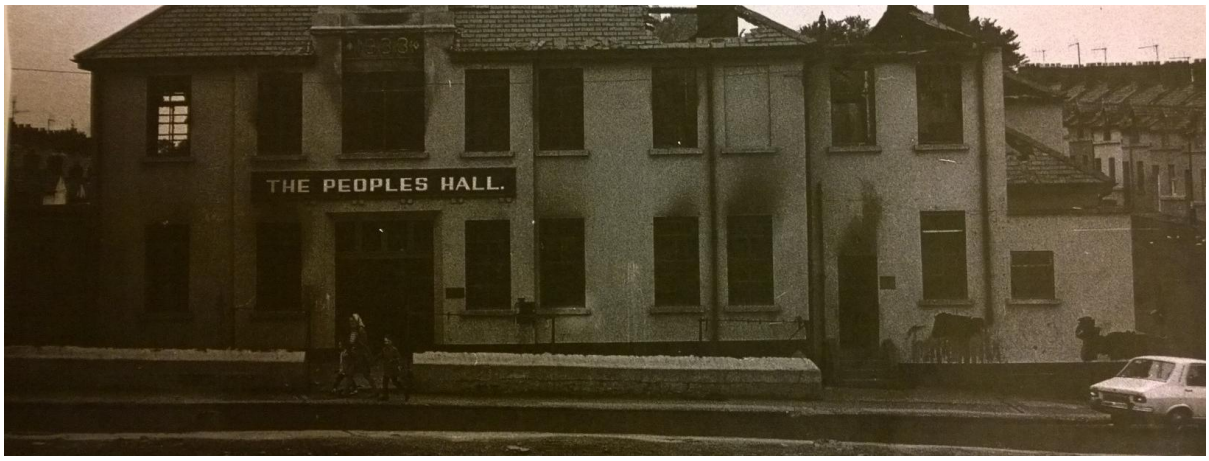
"The family home was in Corporation Street[94]; convenient to Gilmartin's, a butcher and a bakery. It was a mixed community of Catholics and Protestants. My mother who became a widow at a very young age got great support from the neighbours and she loved the house and the area.
When the troubles started there was a lot of violence on the streets. Young people used to attack the soldiers at Barrack Street and gun men went along a lane behind the house to shoot at them. You could hear them and sometimes see them. Rubber bullets hit our door. Two vans were burned during attacks on the army. A policeman and a prisoner officer who lived in the street had to move. When bombs went off the whole house shook.
We kept ourselves as safe as we could inside our home.
I worked in Tillie's and Henderson's and Welch Margetson's shirt factories. Tillies had mostly Catholic employees. I was told by the other workers to keep my mouth shut. I was young and used to go for a night out with them. I remember one girl was 'tarred and feathered' because she was going out with a soldier. She had long hair and it was hacked short. She was a 'soldier doll.'
In Welch Margetson's, some men who were in the UDR got a warning that they were going to be shot. They ran from their work and were shot at by gun men who had come along Ivy Terrace.
My mother didn't want to leave the house. My father had done a lot of work to it. We couldn't get it sold for what it was worth but we would probably have moved sooner if we could have got the house sold. We were the only ones left in the street. Others had moved away because of what was going on. They were scared.
We moved to Nelson Drive after the re-development got under way when they began to knock down the houses. It was more peaceful."
PULF/17

Barricades in the Dark Lane.

"They were moving from the Dark Lane particularly from 1971. The People's Hall was smashed up and barricades were put across the Dark Lane at Gordon Place. A lot of fear and panic set in. One man went out to tell them to remove the barricade and he and his wife were told to get out. They left with the clothes they had on them. A priest got the barricade removed to let residents out. Those who owned their homes had to stay but tenants left with what they could bring.

[94] On April 14, 1971, the Londonderry Sentinel reported that about 20 houses in Corporation Street were damaged by a bomb placed at an Electricity Sub-station at the end of the street.

The people of the Fountain and elsewhere decided to go down and relieve the residents of Gordon Place and get them out. People in other streets like Windmill Terrace left too. Between 8.00pm and 4.00am, 13 families were taken out from the Dark Lane with whatever furniture they could bring. Most of them ended up in pre-fabricated homes in the Northland Estate which were due for demolition. They were eventually moved to the Waterside.
The army eventually took down the barricades. By that stage most of the Unionist population had left."
PULM/3 and PULM/4 (both individuals were community activists who assisted the families)



The People's Hall, Barrack street. Closed in 1972 due to civil unrest.

Belmont, Coshquin, Messines Park, the Collon

Belmont Housing Estate is a mid 20th Century social housing development to the east of the city side. It took its name from the nearby Belmont House which became a Special School. Belmont as it became known, prior to the 'Troubles', housed RUC personnel. The majority of the residents were seen as PUL.
Coshquin is close to Bridgend in Co. Donegal. A rural area it contained an estate of social housing with a mix of PUL and CNR residents. There are now a number of businesses in the area.
Messines Park is located off the Buncrana Road in the Pennyburn area. The park takes its name from the First World War battle of Messines. Homes built there were primarily for ex-soldiers.
The Collon is a housing area on the Buncrana Road at Pennyburn. In has mixed residential and commercial properties close to Pennyburn Chapel. In the late 1960s it contained a majority of CNR residents.
As evidenced in the interview, the area as a whole was not exclusive to any single identity in terms of social interaction. Several different churches and schools operated there. From 1969 onwards there were several bombings and attacks on security forces during the period of prolonged conflict.

Belmont to Newbuildings"

I lived in Belmont until we moved in 1972. It was a mixed community? I remember some of my neighbours in Holy Communion dresses and thinking it was just beautiful.
The Race Course was still there. It was country. I remember going down to the burn, playing with the newts; taking your socks and shoes off and getting into the water., We actually went to a Sunday School in a 'B' hut[95] on a Sunday afternoon down the side of where Pennyburn School is now.
A school bus came into Belmont. Model and Christ Church went together. It was a full bus. When the trouble started there was a lot of disruption on the streets.
You definitely would have noticed a split. I remember being in Littlewoods and I was trying on a pair of jeans. My mum was with me and there was a bomb scare. I was going to run out with the jeans on, and my mum took the jeans off me and I ran out in my bare legs..
You would have been starting to notice the tension, especially at my brother's age. With him being 5 years older than me. He experienced trouble when he went to the Tech. They wrote IRA on his coat and spat on him.
He was at the Government Training Centre a couple of days a week. They had cutlery with Government Training Centre on it so they didn't steal it. They would have put it into his bag when he wasn't aware that they were doing it.
I was Primary 7 in Christ Church when I had to move, I would have woken up in the morning. Christ Church emptied. Just got less and less and less children. A lot of them squatted to Newbuildings.
Mummy put an ad in the Belfast Telegraph because we'd had a brick put in through our window. The side panel at the front door was glass. We'd been out on a Sunday night at my aunt's. When we'd come back, the brick was still in.
After that, my mum put an ad in the Belfast Telegraph. To exchange the house for the same in New Buildings, Tullyalley or Lincoln Courts. We went out to Tullyalley and Lincoln Courts. My father didn't feel comfortable. He's a country man from Eglinton.
We came out to New Buildings. He'd seen the Foyle and the lovely drive out to it and he said we'll just settle for New Buildings.
A couple had just got married and they'd got a new house in Newbuildings. They wanted to be in the town so they agreed to swap. There was no furniture or anything in the house and they'd give Mummy and Daddy the keys before everything was legal. He didn't want to squat. He wanted this all to be legal. Just about three days before our official move, Mum and Dad decided to move. It was over St Patrick's Day. They had a day off work and they said, you know what, we're going to move at the weekend anyway and then we were classed as squatters.
I did Irish dancing on Orchard Street and played the piano up Abercorn Road. I had to give up both because I couldn't travel.
Daddy worked in DuPont. Every day he was four to twelve or eight to four. When he was in the four to twelve shift there was only the Craigavon Bridge then. He'd come home from work and maybe not get into the house until one or two in the morning. The army were checking the bridge. When they stopped a car full of men from DuPont that weren't happy soldiers were in their country and stopping them coming home from work they got them out and searched them and you're queued up behind it.

[95] 'B Specials' were known colloquially within the PUL community as the 'Bs".

My father really had enough of that. Mum and Dad always said their happiest days were spent in Belmont but Daddy just didn't want to live in that situation."
PULF/15

How quickly it all changed

"Collon Terrace isn't far from the Racecourse Road, Messines Park and Belmont area. Belmont was a big housing development. A lot of police were housed there.
I got married and didn't move very far; up to Balmoral Avenue. I was aware once we hit the early 70s that the police moved out; followed by lots of other Protestants to the Waterside. I followed them eventually.
Christ Church in the 60s was a really thriving church. There were youth clubs and a Scout movement. The Sunday school had 26 teachers. Christ Church school had a great name for the 11 plus exam.
Pupils from Creggan attended the school….. the Buncrana Road area, Garden City, the Racecourse Road, the Fountain, Bishop Street and the Waterside. Quite a few people from Donegal.
We had a choir over 40 people. The congregation was drawn from the Northland Road area and all the estates and housing developments off that. I don't think there's maybe two or three left. The Racecourse Road area in the mid-60s was expanding to such an extent that Christ Church built a new church there.
As soon as we hit the 70s and the police started moving out and other families left it started to decline. I suppose some individuals would have some experience of intimidation but I have to say personally, I didn't experience that at all.
My father and mother had a shop at the Collon and most of our trade was from nationalist families. There was never any bother at all, and everyone got on really well. It's surprising how quickly it all changed.
I was working in DuPont at the time of Bloody Sunday. It was a terrible atmosphere on the Monday. There was a quietness about it. No open anger or anything like that amongst the workforce but there was a change. People were more guarded what they said within the plant. There was quite a young workforce. We used to go out and socialise together; actually, singing groups used to meet in the pub and have sing songs. All that eventually ground to a halt. People went their own way and to their own communities; over to the Waterside.
I went on to teach in Foyle, 1977. The population movement was having an impact. Before the late 60s Foyle was on a high socially. They'd just finished the big run of what they call the Foyle operas. The sports scene was really good. They had purchased grounds out at Springtown and there was a natural feed for rugby from school to City of Derry. The same for cricket. That fell away.
During the Troubles parents didn't want their children staying after school. The music scene was badly hit. Most of the pupil population were bussed over. When the Troubles started we lost a lot to other schools in Limavady and Strabane. The High School suffered the same thing. The powers that be decided to merge the grammar schools. The amalgamation was basically forced upon them. Christ Church primary school closed."
PULM/17

Belmont to Rossdowney

"The house had three large bedrooms, a big living room at the back, a kitchen and a front, a thing we called the front house. That room would have been where you put your best furniture. We weren't allowed in it. My Dad loved gardens. We had a front garden, a strip down the side of the house and then we had a large back garden. There were about 300 homes which housed mainly Protestant families. There were also Catholic families with police dotted around the estate. The houses at the front were semi-detached. These were the police houses with mainly high-ranking officers.
I had a great childhood. The wider area was mainly Catholic but there weren't any big issues. There were no troubles at that stage. We played football together and I could have gone anywhere. The 12th July parade used to pass the end of the Greenhaw Road where it met with the Culmore Road. There was a bonfire on the night of August 11th.
When Carnhill was being built there was talk of it being a 50-50 estate. When the first phase was complete there were one of two Protestant families but they quickly moved out. The troubles were underway.
The police were attacked and were moved out. Catholic families moved in. A republican element began to take over. We had to run the gauntlet coming back from school. I went to Templemore and was chased with bottles and stones.
Groups of teens began to come into the estate. As the police left, more and more families decided it wasn't safe for them. All I had left was the centre of the estate. We felt hemmed in.
I think it was about 73/74 when we moved. Most had gone. My older brothers and sisters had got married and moved to the Waterside, Belfast and England.
There were about 20-30 families left. The fear and intimidation were definitely there. We talked about moving to Nelson Drive but it fell through. We got a house in Rossdowney. It was not of the same quality and smaller.
Our Catholic neighbours who were the best of neighbours were horrified. They thought it wasn't fair. We had been there since the beginning. One morning a number of families got letters signed by the IRSP which told us we had 14 days to leave or we would be put out. We didn't want to go but had already decided to leave because of what was going on around us.
If there had been no troubles we would have never have thought of leaving. We were pushed out.
PULM/18

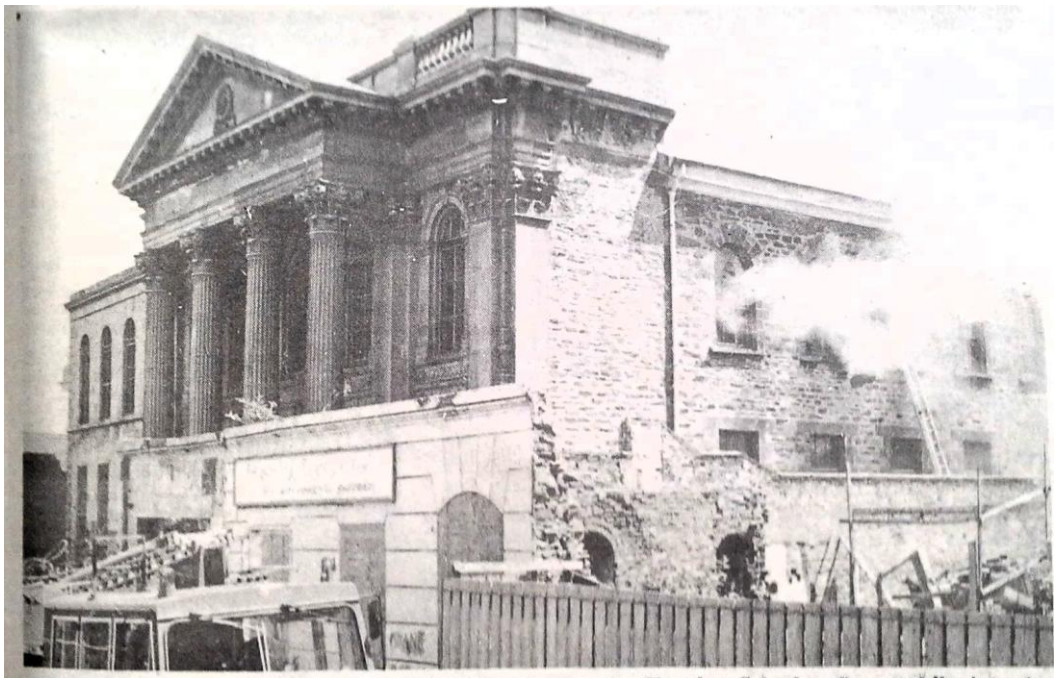
Coshquin to Newbuildings

"I came from Galliagh. We were country and lived in Coshquin for as far back as I can remember……..no reason to move. We just got on with each other. On Sundays we shared a bus. We went to St Peter's and Catholic neighbours went to Pennyburn Chapel.
Things changed once the 'Troubles 'started. My husband was shot on the Border. He was set up by neighbours. If he hadn't wrestled with the boy who had a gun he might not have survived. They tried to wrestle him into a car.
I was pregnant at the time. We had to leave and move to Newbuildings. You didn't have the same trust. It was 1973. The policeman who was dealing with his case was killed at Desmond's.

It was a terrible time. I couldn't sleep. I went through a terrible time because of nightmares.
Newbuildings was close to Gobnascale. You were on alert all the time.
There was never any contact from our neighbours.
When my husband took ill he got flashbacks and got very agitated in hospital.
There was no counselling or victim support. People were left to their own devices. You're in the news for a couple of days and then something else happens"
"It was my 13th birthday when my Daddy was shot. We were waiting for him to come home for dinner. We all had to start over again. I had to change schools but obviously you didn't talk. We just mixed with our own kind of people."
PUL/fcs2

<u>Messines Park to Kilfennan</u>

"It would have been probably a lot of Protestants because it was ex-army houses. You know, you had to be a military person to be able to buy them. My grandad was, so that's how my granny and my father bought it. The Collon, I would say, would have been Catholic. As I grew up, I had ended up playing with them. I didn't know what a Catholic was until I went to Secondary school. It was a lovely street to grow up in because we all had big gardens and, you know, you run the streets morning to night and you run with whoever was there.
The troubles didn't really impact us until we sort of got to teenage years. Everybody played with everybody and the neighbours were in and out. You were in your own wee community……. you didn't really go outside of it.
Attending First Derry Church became more difficult. It was getting harder for us to get there, because of the riots. My father was a big church goer. There were Sundays we



Smoke billows from the roof and windows of First Derry Presbyterian Church on Saturday afternoon following yet another arson attack. 28TLSNC103

didn't go because there had been a riot the night before and I don't know if there was a mess or what so we didn't just get and then they stopped the night service. They thought it was too dangerous.
The children around the Collon where I played …….. their attitude sort of changed too.
I still played with the ones in the street so it didn't matter to me. But then the ones in the street, they were only living with their grandparents and then they moved. They got their own house on the Waterside. I was sort of left on my own. So, I was running to Belmont and playing with friends.
When you went up the Racecourse Road, there was sort of detached houses in Belmont. They were the policemen's houses. Then I noticed they were moving out. Not just the police families. Windows were getting broken and children getting hassle.
I was at Templemore and used to go to the Glen to meet friends. People in the Glen were murdered. It was scary. Some nights, my friends would have walked me down through Pennyburn Industrial Estate. It was either there or Springtown.
There were no lights or anything at that time so friends would have walked me down and then I would have run the rest of the way.
My sister and me were going to the Waterside because the people that I knew in Belmont had all moved. Most of them went to Lincoln Courts.
Then she went to England at eighteen so I was left on my own.
It was alright at the beginning and I was getting the two buses but when I was getting the second bus and getting off at the Collon where the bus stopped there were ones that I would have run about with would have come over and started calling me all an Orange 'B' and started pushing me about. I always landed in a hedge. There were hedges at the Bus stop. That happened a couple of times so my father had to come down to the bus and wait for me getting off the bus.
There were army patrols at the time.
Messines Park had massive back gardens. You didn't have linens in your curtains so you could see the army on their bellies crawling through the ground to go out to the other side to get out onto the Racecourse Road. That happened loads of times. I was fascinated at watching people crawl through your garden. I think at the time you didn't realise the danger. The army would have come around and knocked on the doors and told us to open out windows because of bombs at McLaughlin's garage.
We moved in 1977. My brother was at Foyle and was being hassled. My father did not want to move. He loved his garden. My mother had had enough. We moved to Kilfennan. I don't ever think I'll ever lose the sense of division."
PULF/14

Belmont Crescent, Garden City, Kingsfort.

Homes in these areas were mainly owner-occupied by a community of PUL and CNR residents who experienced little communal tension. Interviewees from both backgrounds recall young people socialising and playing together. Differences were mostly apparent in schools and churches attended. Children from a PUL background would have attended Christ Church or the Model schools although the registers of St Columb's School have addresses in the district. On Sundays, many of the population would have attended Great James Street and Claremont Presbyterian churches. Both like Christ Church and St Columb's Cathedral schools are now closed. Members of the Church of Ireland attended Christ

Church or St Peter's church which was built to serve an increasing population. Both are now less healthy in size of congregation. After business men became victims of the conflict, others began to move to the Waterside in significant numbers.

Belmont Crescent to Waterside

"Pre the troubles, relationships were fairly good. Things started to change 68/69…. Unrest on the streets, elections and changes of political leadership. My business was one of the first looted when rioting took place.
Interestingly some of the old nationalists seemed to back away as younger one took over and trouble escalated.
People associated with security forces in Belmont, the Glen and Northland began to move out. When they began to kill the business people like Jeffrey Agate, Joey Glover and Peter Hill the middle and professional people started to move. People beside me began to move. They moved to the East bank; some farther afield to Limavady and Castlerock. People were beginning to go to Limavady and Coleraine to shop.
That was in the 70s.
Before that movement was in places like the Dark Lane. I remember Marlene Jefferson[96] saying she had been approached to help people and they organised vans and so on.
I would have had a number of Catholic friends and they never held anything against us because of the 'Troubles'. They may have sympathised with the aims but not the methods.
For a time following the movement of people, Protestants began to distance themselves from the city.
After the Development Commission things on the new power-sharing Council began to settle but the Hunger strikes, hard-line politics and lack of agreed institutions at Stormont meant people were looking survive. They didn't know where they were going or who was leading them.
PULM/20

Garden City to Kilfennan

"We grew up in Garden City. I would say it was a mixed area. There was no Keys or Bay Road. We played football in the field below the shop. Boys who lived in Troy Park would cross the road. Two bags of jumpers for goals.
It all stopped. Up comes a car. Men got out and shot down at Fort George. It was traumatic in the 70s. Coming home from school, it was just a gauntlet with boys shouting and throwing things. The school was aware of it but I don't think they did an awful lot.
The Bus Station was a battleground. You just lived by your wits.
I can remember being in the house when gunmen were outside shooting down at Fort George. We lay on the ground in case bullets would come through the window.
Protestants were moving out.
My brother-in-law was shot at the top of Duncreggan Road. He was a traffic warden.
The family moved. My father died, then I got married. My mother was on her own in Garden city. She just said: "Right move closer to you."

[96] Unionist community activist who became a Councillor and Mayor.

BT 8-5-73

HUME HITS OUT AT 'COWARDLY' BOMBING

SDLP MP Mr. John Hume has condemned the throwing of a petrol bomb into a Protestant-occupied house in Ivy Terrace, Londonderry, on Sunday night.

I had gone off to England to college. The vast majority of my friends went to England. Very few of them have actually come back.
I was one of the few."
PUL/fcs4

<u>Kingsfort to Waterside</u>

"I had a happy childhood in Belmont. My grandmother had a flat at the Collon and I used to stay with her at weekends. There was never nothing. Lots of policemen lived in Belmont at that time.
They lived along the front.
My father had his own business and bought a house in Kingsfort. It was mostly Catholic. I had great friends from both sides.
I woke up one morning and nearly every house had a black flag. It was after Bloody Sunday. I thought 'why are we different?'
Sometimes we heard gunfire. They were shooting at Police Land Rovers on the Culmore Road. My father would have shouted at us to stay away from the windows.
My father was in gun club. One night the doorbell rang and two gunmen burst into the hallway to look for guns. The dog bared its teeth and my father held it by the collar. My mother was sick in bed and began to scream. I remember a gunman's hands shaking. They searched the whole house then ran out. We heard the screech of the car. It was burnt out later on that night.
We moved to the Waterside. I think that the family realised it was too dangerous.
My Mum and Dad were never sectarian. They later moved to live in Donegal."
PULM/16

Cook Terrace, Ewing Street, Foyle Road.

These streets contained a mix of owner-occupied and rental accommodation with a small number of neighbourhood retail outlets. There were three shirt factories in the area. A former stable was converted into a garage. It was bombed on several occasions. Until the outbreak of conflict community relations are recalled as being respectful and convivial. With children playing together in the local park. The Foyle Road was re-developed leading to PUL and CNR movement however the homes in the other areas are still of a good standard but now mainly occupied by residents of CNR identity following a significant reduction in the local PUL population.

Cook Terrace to Waterside

"We were married in 1960. We were pretty much the only Protestants in the street. We were all the best of neighbours and then October 1968 blew up and from then on it was bad. I was threatened. Protestant families around our area, they all disappeared. They were scared something was going to happen, just like ourselves.
I remember one night about 12 o'clock the phone rang. Very few people had phones in those days.
The first thing I heard was: "We're coming to shoot you Protestants ……."
I rang the police. "If it happens again, we'll put a tab on your phone, good night,"
I was a traveller. They were looking for cars. I lost three company cars. They'd come to the door, stick a gun in your stomach and say: "Hand over the keys." It got to the stage, I couldn't bring a car home
There was one night I was walking home and two boys were standing on Maureen Avenue. I just walked on and one of the boys called me back. I had company money in my pocket.
He asked for notification. I had my driving licence in my pocket and I remember holding it into his face. They started beating me up. The street was completely empty. Then a man came down the street. As he came down, I stepped alongside him.
The penny dropped. I says:" What in under patience am I doing here?"
We tried to sell the house. Things weren't working. We used to keep a bag under the bed every night before we went to sleep with our insurance policies and all that sort of stuff. You didn't know what was going to happen next.
We tried to sell but the price being offered wasn't nearly the value of the house.
Our next-door Catholic neighbours pleaded with us to stay but we couldn't stay any longer. It was too chancy. You see they were after business people and Protestants in our area.
I spoke to a fella and he said: "If there is any trouble, head for the Fountain."
We moved here and that was it.
PULM/28

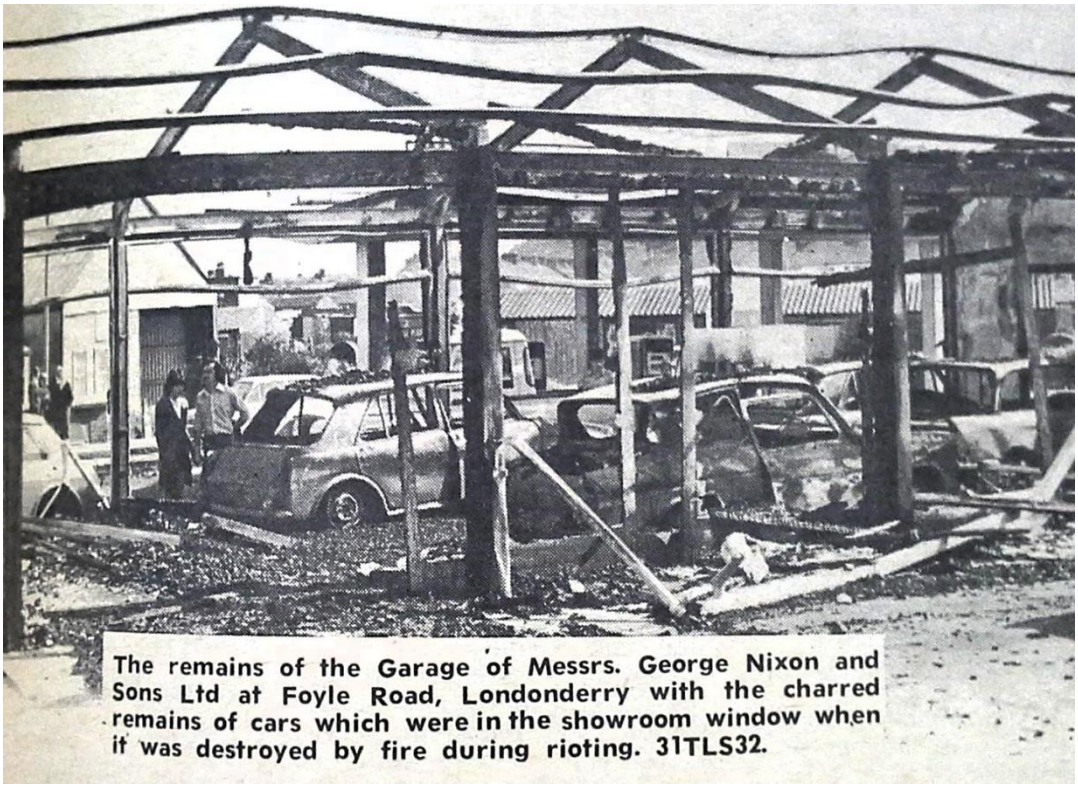
From Ewing Street to Strathfoyle

"My friends were all Catholics. Until we had gone to intermediate schools. We went our separate ways. They took me away to things in Buncrana and they came away on the Sunday school excursions with us. I have to say now, we went our separate ways but if I

were to meet them, which is very seldom, we would stop and we would talk. There would be no animosity between us in any way.
I was at the Tech. There were two Protestants in the class. Myself and another girl. Everyone stopped speaking to us. It got so bad that I left. I remember one of the teachers really being nice. She knew I taught in Sunday School and she said: "is there something wrong with you?" I just said that nobody was speaking and the other girl, nobody was speaking to her. The Tech was an old, old building and we were all queued up outside. The minute I came around the corner that morning everybody just stopped talking.
But I can probably see it from their point of view. They were all Catholics. So maybe it was a traumatic time for them.
We actually lived in Ewing Street. It was mixed. I reckon we must have moved between 1972 or 73. I can remember coming home one day over Maureen Avenue and then down that part of Ferguson Street. There was a car at the top of Ewing Street and there were four men in it. They crossed the road to where the house I was going into. I went in. In those days your front room was your best room. But, I went into the front room just to look, to think. They were smiling at me. I looked out through the window and the car was just sitting parallel with our front room.
I went and I said to my father. He was the only one at home.
He was going to collect my mother from work and he just said, you're coming with me. On reflection, I feel he knew more than what I knew. it was very, very unnerving. That happened on several occasions that I'd be more or less followed in a car and then go in the door.
But my Dad never told me anything about it. After that, we would have had his windscreen smashed on several occasions, late at night.
When it came to us going to move, there was a neighbour across the street. Her attitude was that we were leaving a sinking ship. We shouldn't go. But my father said, well, I had my family to think of.
We had a Catholic neighbour two doors up. He was English, but I remember him saying to my Dad; "Don't be moving, please don't move, I'll sit up with you at night."
You know, they kept cricket bats behind the door. You didn't know what was going to happen.
And then it got to the stage that it was becoming just not good living there.
I slept in my mother and father's bedroom because I was just so frightened. During that time too, Eakin's garage was on the Foyle Road. One of the nights that I was sleeping in their bedroom, very close to us going to leave, there was a bomb and the garage was blown up.
I thought it was us. You lived there and you heard the guns shooting and all at the bottom of the street. No, they were not good times.
We moved to Strathfoyle which I thought was the end of my life. I didn't want to go there. I thought it was terrible."
PULF/8

<u>Orchard Row to Waterside</u>

"A close relative of my family had lived in Orchard Row in the Foyle Road area most of her life. When the troubles started she began to get sectarian abuse. Life became stressful for someone who was no longer young. Then it got worse and she had excrement put through



The remains of the Garage of Messrs. George Nixon and Sons Ltd at Foyle Road, Londonderry with the charred remains of cars which were in the showroom window when it was destroyed by fire during rioting. 31TLS32.

***her letter-box, her Minister advised her that she needed to move for her own safety. She left her home and moved to the Waterside*.**"
PUL/1fcs

Foyle Road to Nelson Drive

"My mother died in childbirth. I was brought up during the 1960s by my Granny and Grandad in the Foyle Road. My Granny died on 1 January 1970.
I went to First Derry Presbyterian Church school which was not directly attached to the church then.
I played with neighbours, both Roman Catholic and Protestant around the local area of the Foyle Road. My Grandfather had moved there from Ewing Street to be near his work. We played in Riverview Park; football, on the swings, marbles in the street and ran about I became aware of Civil Rights marches taking place. I didn't understand what it meant There was one day in particular we were told in the playground at school we were not to go to the top of Stable Lane at Bishop Street because there was a march on that day.
There were happy times when I was wee but then, all of a sudden, things did begin to change.
The Protestant/Catholic thing was talked about when we were in the park but it was all fun. At school there was more of a 'them and us' conversation. We learned about the Siege. My primary school was on the city walls.
There developed a gradual feeling of 'you don't go here or you don't go there'. We were only young and a lot of my peers from Primary school lived on the West bank of Londonderry. Some lived on the Waterside but First Derry was local and on the West bank. It was normal to walk to school. You were always aware of difference, between walking

home at dinner time and then walking home in the evening when we would meet young Catholics coming the opposite direction from St Columb's College. We were aware of that difference, no doubt.
Eakin's garage was bombed 7 times. Eakin's garage was a Protestant business on the Foyle Road. The excuse that the Provos used for bombing Eakin's garage was that it repaired the cars of policemen.
I got a bike in 1972. All my friends had moved to the Waterside, and further afield. One had gone to New Zealand. The reason why I got the bike was because I started to fear walking across the Foyle Road, I didn't go out and if I did I went to the Waterside.
We were definitely intimidated because if you read Jonathon Burgess' book 'The Exodus', there's a reference to IRA being carved into the door of a house of Foyle Road. That was my door. This was the house of my Grandad. People were coming and actually standing in our doorway at night just talking, knowing that they could be heard in the house; an intimidatory factor in itself. I believe it was the republican movement's desire to get Protestants to control the West bank of the Foyle.
I remember cycling along Foyle Road, I remember seeing this guy who had always been shouting and roaring at me, nipping in behind a railway wall and the next thing I knew a half brick had just missed my head.
There was a youth club on the Foyle Road that was set up and many young Catholics would have gone there. I had to run the gauntlet every night.
Families around were beginning to move.
We moved to Nelson drive and within an hour people had squatted in our house. People had been squatting two doors away and they moved into our house. I remember my Grandad who would be an emotive man and he was almost in tears. It was our next-door Catholic neighbours that came out to our new house in Nelson Drive to tell us people had broken a window and moved in. We still owned the house but were forced to move because of the attacks.
There was a fear factor there. I was afraid to go over to the Cityside."
PULM/8

The Glen

The Glen was and remains a West bank residential neighbourhood of privately owned and rented mid-terrace and semi-detached homes in Derry/Londonderry between Ballymagroarty/Springtown and the Northland areas. Prior to the movement of PUL families it was a community of CNR and PUL residents. Most of the houses, some of which have been modernised are now mainly occupied by a non-PUL population.
Re-development was not a cause of movement according to former residents. Many of those who left the Glen did so because of it being the location of several killings of security force personnel. Living under threat with personal routines and family activities having to be carefully managed became a factor in movement. Whilst some PUL did remain, the move of population was a factor in the closure of or relocation of churches and schools.

The Glen to Nelson Drive

"I lived in Glenbank Road; a great place to live. I started working just after my Daddy had been shot for the first time. He was in hospital for 8 weeks and then he got home.
They were obviously watching him.
Luckily for us, if you can call it luck, he survived for 3 years.
We were allocated a house in Sperrin Park. We were given a key; to go over and clean the cupboards. There was no water or sanitary ware. They said it would be eight weeks for it to be finished.
I went to work, came home for lunch and then went back. When I came home on the 5 o'clock bus my mother's friend was sitting on her steps. I said to her: 'What's wrong?" She said that my Daddy went to the Post Office in Park Avenue and the police got a call to say that if he wasn't out of the house in 2 hours, they were coming back to 'finish him off.'
To this day, I don't know who packed up our furniture, who moved us, where they took my Daddy. He wouldn't have been able to lift anything because he had no ribs on his right-hand side, a bad injury on his leg and a flesh wound from his hip to his knee. My mother's friend said you have to get the 7 o'clock bus to Sperrin Park.
She said: "you have no choice."
I was 16.
They were starting the Crescent Link Road. The house was the last in Sperrin Park, in Nelson Drive. A couple of houses at the bottom were almost finished. There were no footpaths, no road; I had to walk through rubble.
My Mummy was unpacking. She said: "You need to go upstairs and make your bed."
There was no electricity. The police brought us a gas stove type of thing, oil-filled lamps and a chemical toilet.
To be fair the Housing Executive got the house sorted out quickly. It was a dry summer so the house could dry out. We lived there for 11 months and then moved.
Then the inevitable happened as we went to church.
He was dead before he hit the ground.
My daddy was just lying there in a puddle of blood; the rain bouncing off him."
PULF/4

RESIDENTS PLEA FOR ARMY PROTECTION

In a plea for protection for Protestant families residing in Glen Estate, in Londonderry, a "Resident" has sent the following letter to the Editor of "The Sentinel"—

Yet another resident of the Glen Estate in Londonderry has been murdered. Gerald Cloete, of the UDR, was gunned down in broad daylight by thugs who had an easy escape route to the nearby Creggan estate.

Already one policeman in the Glen Estate had his home bombed, another shot and seriously wounded, and a UDR man lost a leg in a booby trap explosion. The estate has also lost Winston Cross, who was found at nearby Sheriff's Mountain with his friend Bert Slater, and in the early '70s, the tortured and bullet-ridden body of Sergeant Dave Deacon, of the UDR, was found on the Border.

The grim catalogue of violence directed at people from this small community will go on until something positive is done. We demand a permanent Army presence in or around the Glen estate. At the moment the area is almost saturated with security forces but, inevitably, this activity will decline in a few weeks, allowing the murderers to strike with an easy escape route to Creggan and Shantallow.

We say to the Provisional IRA that their attempts to oust Protestants from this part of the west bank of the Foyle, under the guise of attacking members of the Security Forces, will not succeed.

<u>The Glen to the Fountain and Waterside</u>

"It was the aftermath of a Civil Rights march in Duke Street. I wasn't really aware then of any sectarianism but as the marches went along there was unionist opposition from what was called Paisleyites. That's when there became a sectarian divide and you started to realise who your neighbours were and what they were. In the Glen, we had nearly 270 houses and three dozen occupied by Catholics.

I lived at the top end of the estate. Out of a group of nearly eight, there were two or three Protestants and five Catholics. We stayed as a friendship group right through, even after Bloody Sunday.

Eventually, when the Troubles really kicked in, shooting and bombing, you went to your own community for safety reasons. We didn't mention religion or the Troubles because they had their views. With very few arguments, we just ignored it.

It was in the background.

It became worse whenever murders started happening. Friends of ours were abducted in November 1974. They were murdered and left lying on the Sheriff's Mountain. Catholic neighbours were disgusted. They came to me privately and they didn't agree with that at all.

I think the final straw was when Gerry Cloete was murdered in April 1977. Police reservists living in the Glen all left. Every time there was a new phase of houses in Nelson Drive, people jumped ship. You're talking about a dozen families a month.

The Housing Executive was well organised and everything was allocated according to the points system. So that's where I began to feel more isolated. As friends of mine left, as I said, and got more out of it, there was no chance of me going back to the Glen.
There was never really a direct attack on any houses. The main reason for people leaving the Glen was that their teenage children, girls and boys were targeted with physical and verbal abuse on their way to youth clubs or on their way to school. In those days, cars were few and far between. Everybody went by bus or they walked.
You had youth clubs in the Strand Presbyterian Church, the Boys' Brigade in Claremont. To get to and from those places you had to go through what was considered territory that wasn't your own.
The first families to leave the Glen in the mid-70s, starting from about 71, were those with teenage sons and daughters. I myself left in 1977. A large group of us got married the year before and only one out of maybe 25 took a house in the Glen.
The rest all left; mostly to the Waterside. Some, like myself, went to the Fountain.
I stayed in the Fountain for 11 years from the mid-70s. As soon as my children started to get abused when they were old enough to go a bit further down their own street, my wife realised that this wasn't going to be the place to bring up children, so we moved to the Waterside.[97]
My wife and I worked along the Strand Road, where there was a lot of bombs. The bombs weren't targeted just generally. Protestant businesses were targeted specifically.
I remember Lexie Mitchell, Charlie McNaul.
It was talked about in the community because many Protestants worked along the Strand Road.
Those two men were not involved in any police, army or UDR. They were just shot because they were Protestants and because they were businessmen.
When police reservists and UDR moved from the Glen they were replaced by Catholic families. That tipped the balance.
By 1977, there was still a bonfire in the Glen. In 79, it wasn't. It was as quick as that?
Within 10 years, it had flipped from being a Protestant majority. I have to say now that as the Catholic families moved in it never caused any trouble.
There were still Protestants who remained there up until this day. And they never saw as much as a scratch on the window, or no sectarian abuse. There was no direct targeting of Protestant families that I'm aware of. My own parents lived there well into the 90s and my wife's parents well into the 90s.
They had good Catholic neighbours who lived there too."
PULM/14

<u>The Glen to Waterside</u>

"The Glen was a great place to live in. It was a mixed area. It was countryside in them days and you used to go up round the fields.

[97] Several interviewees PULM/14. PULM/16 and PUL/fcs7 who remained in the Fountain for a number of years after re-development eventually left due to concerns for their children and the possibility of their being drawn into confrontation. An unpublished dissertation by a local community activist, whilst studying as an undergraduate at UU in 2006, notes that young Loyalists joined paramilitary organisation in response to experiences of conflict in their neighbourhoods and a sense of lack of protection from security forces.

Bonfires in the Glen were for both sides, Protestant and Catholic. We all went up into the fields or up to the farm yards, brought down branches of trees and gathered them in the middle of the Glen, where the play park was.
If the Glen was the way the Glen was then, I would move back to it tomorrow. It was just one of them places but we moved around 81.
I was young then and I remember hearing that such and such up the street, got a bullet in through the letterbox and was told to get out. He was a part-time UDR man. That's the reason why he moved out of there. People moved to the likes of Nelson Drive, Tullyalley, New Buildings.
Whenever we went to Church, we were up on the upper deck. There was like a name on it, each row of pews.
When I was visiting the old building the other pews had been all ripped away, but my Granny and Grandad's were still there. My Granny and Grandad's name was on it. I remember that.
In them days you were suited and fitted, and you were in there from morning till nearly after dinnertime. The Boy's Brigade and Girl's Brigade had big sections. There was a house that was part of the Church grounds.
I remember coming out on a Sunday and we heard shooting and screams.
We went over to the Waterside, and we heard a man had been shot. I think it was Inspector Norman Duddy. He had some connection to the Model Primary School too. He used to come in and do readings in our assemblies. They had a memorial in remembrance of him.
We moved to Kilfennan and then my granny moved. A friend of hers from the Glen lived a few doors from her.
I never went back to the city side much apart from church and then Great James Street Church moved away.
I'd take my wife over, take my daughter over, you know, drive round where I lived."
PULM/32

<u>The Glen to Waterside.</u>

"We moved to the Glen when I was about two or three years old. We lived in a two-bedroom house. And then we eventually moved up to a three-bedroom, which is at the top of the Glen. We lived in a cul-de-sac. I think there was 12 houses. And 10 of them were Protestant. And two was Catholic. One of the families we grew up with and we played with him in the street and we're still friendly with him to this day, you know.
We loved living in the Glen. We played in the street. We played all the games……the best years of our life. We loved it up there. There was the Glen Vale Social Club. We all went down there to... There was a wee hop, like a wee disco.
There was no sectarianism until …….69.
Our family circumstances changed so we actually moved shortly after that. We moved to live in the middle of Shipquay Street.
When we lived in Shipquay Street, then you were sort of more aware of things. You couldn't go places and then because of Bloody Sunday we were rehoused down to Belmont Because the place was blown asunder. The place was just wrecked. There was nobody left in the town.

Most times there was a bomb going off somewhere and you always had to keep away from the windows.
Sometimes you were told not to leave the premises and other times we were kept out of our house. We eventually then moved down to Belmont. It was emergency rehousing
We still went to Great James Street church. I used to get the bus. You were terrified because there were always gangs hanging about.
I was still at Templemore when murders were taking place in the Glen. It was terrifying and scary ….. just fear, really. I think a lot of people would have moved out of fear because they didn't feel safe. It was an open area."
PUL/fcs4/1

"There were 200-pound car bombs going off everywhere. We were getting out of bed at night as children in our pyjamas, and I remember standing on Bishop Street waiting for the bombs to go off to come back into the flat.
All the windows were in. I remember all the soot being down the chimney, all over the beds, and we had a sleep in that, and we were constantly getting the windows replaced, and then we lived with plastic on the windows because there was no point because every time they were put in they were blown out again. It was horrendous.
I remember Bloody Sunday very clearly.
We always went to my Granny's on a Sunday for lunch. My mother had a lot of brothers living in the house, so I was like the messenger. Go down and get a bar of chocolate or ten cigarettes.
It was on Irish street. I used to go up and down the shop, and in those days, you remember, people had no communication, but I used to come back up from the shop and go, the man down there is listening to the police radio. There's two shots….. there's four shots.
Nobody would listen to me, and then the news would come on, but we had to go. We were supposed to go back home that night, but we couldn't. My older sister was still in the flat, so my mother took me, and we walked down the top of the hill and over to collect her to bring her back to the Waterside because it wasn't safe for us to sleep there that night. I remember coming back up Fountain Hill, and up through the top of the hill, and at that stage all the old houses were still there and I saw gunmen. It was obviously the Army but I saw the guns. It was absolutely terrifying, really terrifying.
After Bloody Sunday the place was wrecked."
We went back eventually to the flat but that's when they started the 200 - pound car bombs. We couldn't live in the house, and we were farmed out for a while. Then we were rehoused in Belmont. We did like living in Belmont, but you would have been harassed going to school.
I went to school in Carlisle Road. We were taught how to climb up and climb out and get out of the windows, get out of the class really quickly. I was always very athletic. I always had to show everybody else how to do it. I remember climbing up the big windows and sliding down and jumping into the ground across the place.
I begged my mother to let me go to Templemore but she wouldn't because of the harassing that my sister was getting. In a Templemore uniform you stood out. The Protestant community were all starting to move over, Nelson Drive particularly, after the murders in the Glen. We knew a lot of the families and played with them.

My mother sent me to Clondermot and the first day I went to that school there wasn't one child in that whole school I knew; absolutely terrified because I had no friends. I did make great friends and still have them today and I left Clondermot. I lost all my best friends from the Glen and to this day I've never seen them.
From Belmont we did a swap with a Catholic family in Clooney. My mother put an ad in the paper. We moved into Heron Way which was mostly Catholic. We had our windows broken. It was terrible. Eventually we made friends with Catholic families.
The younger members of the family have no idea what we went through. Sometimes they'll see a programme on the tv and ask: "Is that what it was like?"
PUL/fcs

The Northland.
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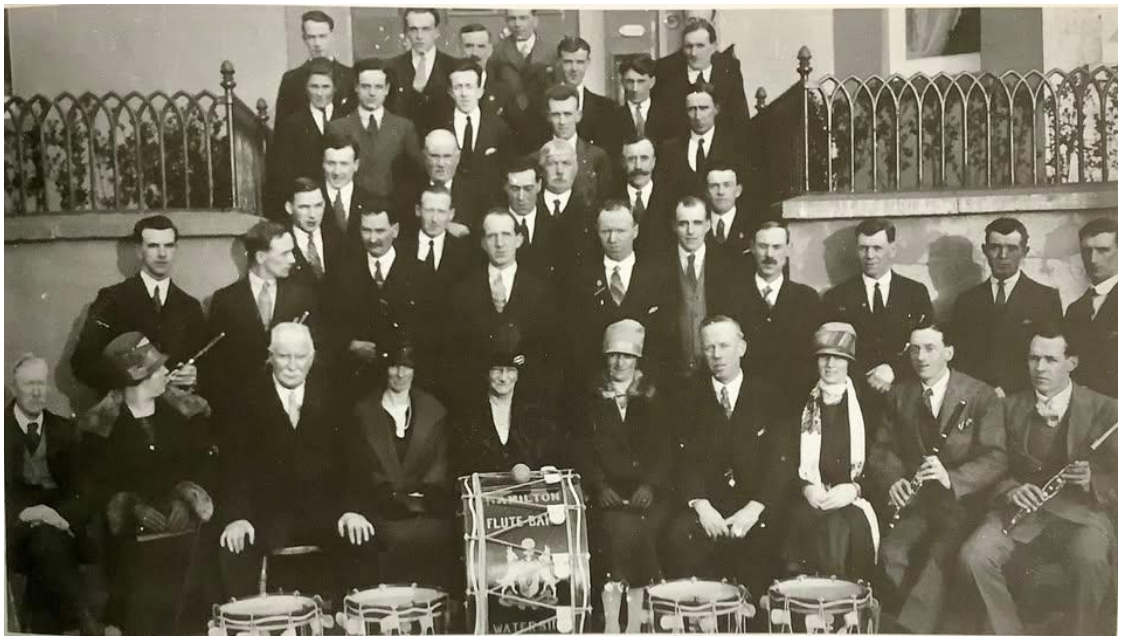
The Northland Road is an arterial road running from the Francis Street and Clarendon Street junction. A number of streets with a variety of homes linked to it. Prior to change, the city boundary ended on the Northland Road close to the Glen. Historically, there were several educational institutions located in the area – including Magee University College, Grammar Schools and a High School with Primary schools and churches in the vicinity. Whilst what became the Northland Estate was mainly PUL and tenant occupied there was a number of substantial terraced houses and detached homes. The City Infirmary and an Eye and Ear hospital were based there until Altnagelvin Hospital was opened. Based on the accounts of interviewees it was an area of little tension or conflict until after 1968-69 when civil disturbances occurred along Francis Street and sectarian incidents began to happen in the Northland Estate and on routes along which individuals travelled to socialize or do business. It is contended by several individuals that this was factor explaining why families with young or teenage members left the area to move to the Waterside.

<u>From Argyle Street to the Waterside</u>

"I was born opposite the Argyle Arms. The neighbourhood was more integrated than now.
Our family had a very close relationship with our next door neighbours. My mother was particularly close with them. She lived in Argyle Terrace for fifty-eight years. She was born in that house. I can remember my granny and her close friend sniffing snuff in the front room.
My mother was one of a big family of eight sisters and two brothers. She herself had six children.
Most of us grew up to live in and around Rosemount, Park Avenue, Eden Terrace, the Village, Lewis Street though some moved across town to Ferguson Street and Ivy Terrace, still on the city side.
I used to attend Great James Street Presbyterian Church. I walked down in that direction along the Northland Road with some of our neighbours who were heading for St Eugene's Cathedral. I went to school in the Model PS and started in Templemore Secondary School in 1958.
I used to attend the Marlborough Hall in Creggan Hill. That's where we went for the Rosemount Sunday School and also where the Rosemount Flute Band rehearsed. The hall

at the back of the former Claremont Presbyterian Church served as an Orange Hall.
I remember when the Territorial Army was based at Duncreggan Camp, people would walk down there in their uniforms. I remember people walking from Creggan in their uniforms down to the Duncreggan camp. My father was in the Hamilton Band and after a band practice or an outing he might head into Doherty's Argyle Arms in his bandsman's uniform, have a few drinks without anyone blinking an eye.



Hamilton Flute Band.

I was a regular supporter of Derry City at the Brandywell. At that time everybody in town supported Derry City. I would have thought nothing of going to the Stardust or to the Embassy. The city was a much safer place.
Things began to change in the 1960s with young activists disrupting meetings. There were protests over housing and jobs.
As the troubles worsened, Protestants, including me, working alongside Catholic colleagues began to feel unwelcome on the west bank with businesses being set on fire, attacks on RUC stations and barricades going up. In the years that followed Protestants travelled to Limavady or Coleraine where they felt more welcome.
Many moved away, some to England, Australia and Canada. Christ Church which had 900 families was down to less than 100 within 10 years. The only people who stayed were older. Anyone in the security forces had to leave or get shot. Shootings outside churches and in cafes sent out a message. Families, friends and relatives left. People in Rosemount like Lewis Street and North Street moved. There was a lot of violence in those areas from 1968 onwards to the 1970s and people had to go through barricades to get to work.
My father who was no longer in the police was stepping off the bus and was told 'to get out.'
My father was a police officer and served for thirty years. Our house was shot into four times and my parents felt they too had no alternative but to move. In 1976 they moved into the Fountain. To my mind, this move troubled my mother. She was uprooted from all her old neighbours. She died in 1985 aged sixty-three. My father died only a couple of months later. Catholic neighbours from Argyle Street made their way to the Fountain when they heard of my mother's passing.

Neighbours in Argyle Street, where my mother had lived for 58 years, did not say anything when my family moved. Relations in the area were not the same after Bloody Sunday. Was it a deliberate policy by the 'Provisionals; no Protestant feet on the west bank? There is a view that the Protestants got all the houses but this was not the case. I had a brother who got married and had to rent a flat. We rented a flat in Bishop Street but as the Troubles grew, it became a whole battle living there. In 1969, we used to have to find our way out the back of our flat to avoid the rioting where Bishop Street met Little Albert Street.

We had to get out because it just wasn't safe. We moved to De Burgh Terrace then Kennedy Street and finally, we bought a house in Woodburn Park.
I do not regard myself as a Waterside person but I do not see Protestants buying houses on the west bank.
We weren't the only ones to move. As the Troubles got worse, more and more people moved. Many from the Northland Estate moved out to Nelson Drive and Newbuildings."
PULM/2

<u>Rosemount Terrace to Waterside</u>

"I was born in Ernest Street but then we moved to Rosemount Avenue next to the chemist's shop; below Brooke Park. The avenue was a mix of Catholic and Protestant.
My brother used to have a shotgun and he would go out with it every Saturday. I suppose this was what drew attention.
In 1972, my father whose only interests were his family and church opened the door and there were three masked men. One of then demanded the gun. My father says: "What are you talking about and the fellow hit him with a revolver. He fell to the ground bleeding from his eye. He crawled to the back room. The masked men followed. They made my mother stand at the door with my sister, brother and me behind he. The dog was going mad.
They put the gun to my mother's head and says: 'Where's the effing gun?"
My mother said there was no guns in the house. The gunman's hand was shaking. He fired two shots up through the ceiling. It was pandemonium.
My other brother was coming home and noticed a Ford Cortina with a man with a sub-machine gun. He pushed his way into the house and the masked men ran out.
The blood was running down my father's face. My mother was traumatized. The phone boxes in the area had been vandalized but we managed to use a neighbour's phone to ring the police. They asked where we lived and said they couldn't come because we were in the no-go area.
There was no counselling. We decided to leave for the Waterside.
Catholic neighbours came and asked us not to leave. They said they would help to protect us.
I remember my mother crying in the Housing Executive because they said they could give us a Council house in the Waterside but would not buy ours.
The house was put up for sale. No Protestants showed any interest and the best offer my father got was for half of what he paid for it. He refused to sell.
We strengthened the front door and only answered if the doorbell rang a certain number

of times.
I wanted out. My brother and sisters wanted out. We had to stay against out will
Other things happened again and again. After Bloody Sunday I was abused and spat at in the street by young people. Two women I knew blanked me when I spoke to them.
We kept our head down. I moved in 1980 when I got married.
My mother stayed until she couldn't manage the stairs and needed a bungalow. The area around had all changed. Most of the Protestants had left.
One family I knew in Lewis Street were put out of their house. One night when the trouble was bad, they left the house and when they came back the next day people had moved in. They left. That was the reality of the situation."
PULM/12

<u>From Northland Estate to the Fountain</u>

"In 1969 my family lived in the Northland Estate (West Bank), just up behind the fire station; 99% Protestant with Catholics living on the perimeter. I remember building barricades in preparation for having to defend the area because at that stage, Protestants were getting burnt out of their homes in Rosemount. We reckoned we would be next. I remember going up into the Rosemount area to assist in feeding the police and having to clear the wall at Brooke Park to get away from the crowd that came after us. Pupils started school late and left early because we had to be back in the estate before the other schools got out.
Northland Estate was not too bad of a place to live however our house was vulnerable with it being the corner house. It was the easiest one to attack…and get away. These attacks usually occurred at three or four places in the estate.
A petrol bomb was thrown at the family home. A couple of nights later my mother was sitting near a window at home along with my two-year-old niece when a brick came through the window.
Shortly afterwards, during the first week of June 1976, my father who was a part-time member of the UDR was in a bedroom at the back of the house when he noticed that two or three guys outside the house were acting suspiciously. He noticed them throw a device towards the back of the house and opened fire with his legally held weapon. That particular night when I returned home the house was surrounded by police and military personnel. I remember a plain clothes policeman firing question after question after question at my father. My father was a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment and should not have been questioned without an officer present.
The Bomb Disposal Squad arrived on the scene and it turned out that the object that was thrown was a viable device and the family was evacuated out of the house. Through the grapevine I found out that this attack on the house wasn't sanctioned by the IRA).
The day after the attack my father came in and said: "We're moving." The official reason for moving house was because my father worked for the Northern Ireland Housing Executive and not because he was a member of the security forces. The house move was very hard. My brother got a lorry from his place of employment to transport the contents of the house.
The original plan was for the family to be moved to Nelson Drive however the house that was being offered to the family had six steps leading up to the front door and due to my mother suffering from arthritis was not suitable. The family was then moved to The

Fountain as a temporary measure. Another house in the Nelson Drive Estate was offered to the family but this also proved to be unsuitable. The house in The Fountain was a four-bedroom house with a downstairs toilet which was ideal for the needs of my mother. My mother was reared in The Fountain so 'my mother was home'.
The night that the family moved to their new house in the Fountain a neighbour came over with a tray of tea and sandwiches".
On 10th February 1981 my brother David was working in Keys' Yard on the Strand Road and I went down there to get the car to pick my father up. My brother was a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment and the Apprentice Boys. I could not find him anywhere so I told a fellow worker to tell him that I was taking the car. He saw me and we chatted. It was about four o'clock.
He was shot dead later that afternoon in his workplace.
My mother and father stayed in the Fountain until their death.
I do not believe that everyone who moved was intimidated into doing so. I've never agreed with that. There was a lot of us who had to move because of the security situation in the early seventies, The Fountain was being redeveloped and people were being housed in temporary accommodation in places such as Lincoln Courts which at that time was a new-build area in the Waterside. Because of the increasing civil unrest, Protestants who had moved from the West Bank then became reluctant to move back. These people were rearing their families in the Waterside and as this next generation grew up, they did not want to move to the Derry-side.
I knew a number of Protestants who had lived in the Northland Estate who were intimidated and consequently moved out. I knew lots of these families who had vowed not to move out but eventually did because of the intimidation even though they did not live on the periphery of the Northland Estate where most of the trouble and intimidation occurred.
They moved simply because of fear."
PULM/30

<u>Fairman Place to Waterside</u>

I grew up in Bishop Street, at the top of Abercorn Road and Barracks Street. We had great neighbours and it was a mixed community.
Then my parents moved to Fairman Place. They bought a house at the top of Academy Road
My Dad was ex-army. When that was found out, there was a bit of verbal harassment; especially me. I was older than my brothers and I would have been out and about down, the Glen. Certain people would have given me a hard time. They were from Rosemount near the factory.
People came down from the Creggan in gangs. I remember a girl getting tarred and feathered which was quite frightening because you heard about these things but you never actually saw it. it was horrific to actually witness it. I ran away. They tied her to a lamppost outside Rosemount factory. It really does put you in the mindset that you don't go to that area.
There was a bomb in Brooke Park and my younger brother was out on the street playing. Part of a torso landed beside him.
He was traumatised so Mum and Dad decided that they would leave. They went to the new Fountain.

One of my brothers who was at Foyle was later physically attacked when wearing school uniform.
Mum always wanted to live in St. Columb's Court in the big houses so when one of the houses came up they lived there for a while. Then there was a bomb outside the Courthouse and the house was ruined. When they fixed up number xxx they moved into it. Then there was another bomb outside the Courthouse.
This was really serious because my Mum was injured and my Aunt, who was here from England, had a heart attack with the shock.
The Sexton's house at St Augustine's was available so they stayed there until they got a house in Nelson Drive. That's where they settled.
Whilst they may not have been directly intimidated, it was troubles related. They would have stayed on the city side in that house in Fairman Place if that bomb hadn't gone off as it did."
PULF/19

From Northland to Newbuildings

"We moved from Cullion to the top of Clarendon Street. At first it was good and I had friends from the area. We played football in Brooke Park but then the 'troubles' started. Sometimes when you were playing shots were fired at the army. Soldiers would give you money to go to the shop. One day a person from Windsor Terrace came to my home and said to my mother that the IRA did not want Catholics with Protestant children but some of my friends still came to my home. We did not play outside. Milk bottles were taken from outside our door and in 1971 there was a lot of shooting. I went to Templemore and some of my friends who lived in Rosemount and Creggan had to leave their homes. Squatters moved in. My friends had lived there all their lives. My mother found it too stressful. When we got the chance to move to Newbuildings in 1971 we left the cityside. It wasn't really a choice. I remember people talking about the number of Protestants moving. I don't remember anyone trying to stop it."
PULM/22

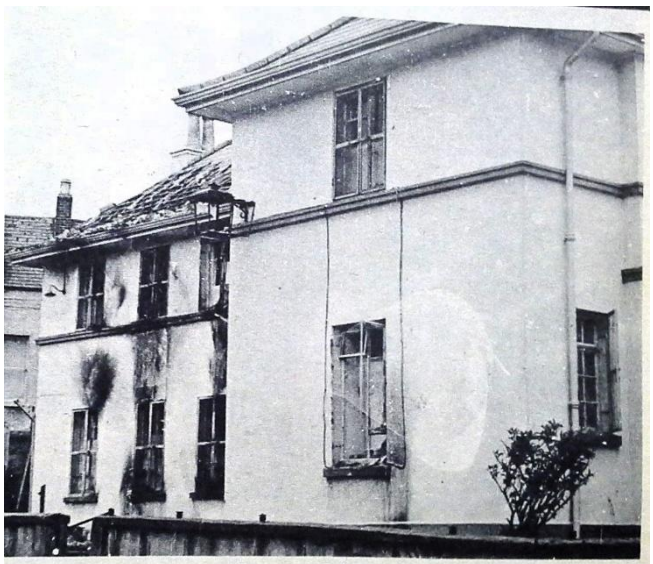
Creggan and Rosemount

Creggan

At the of World War Two the housing situation in Londonderry was bad enough for people to move into seven former military camps including at Springtown, Creevagh and Belmont. Sanitary conditions were such as to lead to short stays in some instances**.** It was a situation the Londonderry Corporation needed to address urgently. People were moved into pre-fabricated homes and plans were drawn up to build houses in both sides of the river. In 1946 local newspapers carried a report that tenders were being invited by the Northern Ireland Housing Trust for the completion of 226 houses of various types.[98] Work began on the first houses in 1947.

[98] Londonderry Sentinel, 01.06.1946.

By the 1970s, the population of Creggan had grown considerably and had become, in the words of local writers familiar with the area well, known for *"political upheaval and acts of resistance."*[99]
There had been PUL families living there from the early days but the population was predominantly CNR with several Maintained Primary and Secondary Schools populated by CNR pupils.[100] Before the development of the upheaval and resistance ,former residents report that community relations were stable with young people and their families getting along as neighbours. Once the conflict began and escalated with barricades, shootings and bombings and intimidation experienced by individual families, the number of PUL residents shrank.



ıight the house was fired ıgain and the turf accoun- ant's office was destroyed.

Rosemount Police station on Monday after it had been severely damaged by bricks and petrol bombs during rioting in Londonderry. 32TLS34.

Rosemount

Rosemount was known by some who lived there as 'Rosemount Village' which according to locals referenced in 'Rosemount: the village and the school 1891-1991'[101] ran from *'the barracks down to Osborne Street… from Osborne Street to the Rosemount Factory.'* The area had Primrose Flute band which held its practices in the Marlborough Hall. Sarsfield's band practiced nearby.
By the late 1960s and the violence following the Civil Rights campaign, street clashes and the eventual arrival of the Army, the RUC station which had already been targeted by

[99] Creggan – More than a history: Michael McGunness and Garbhan Downey, 2000.
[100] One interviewee – PULM/fcs3 – who moved to the Waterside comments that his Protestant wife taught in the Creggan through the years of the conflict without any major incident. He comments further that the staff would have been aware of her background but is unsure if this is true of the pupils.
[101] Authors – John Bradley, Hugh Gallagher and Cara B Cannon,

protesters was subjected to further attacks. [102]When the Army moved into the area and established a base violence escalated further. The area which housed a minority PUL population became a place of intense violence, sectarian actions and major disruption to previous routines. Many of the PUL population began to move. Some moved to the Glen initially and then Newbuildings. Within a few years, there were few of the former PUL residents left as re-development began. New homes occupied by a largely single identity population added to the changing character of the area.

From Creggan to the Glen and Waterside

"I was born in the Waterside but the family moved to Creggan. I lived there until I was 22 years old. It was still being built when we moved in.
My father travelled a lot to get work. Sometimes he went to England. As far as I can remember the workers were of mixed religion. No one asked. No one cared.
We were a family that always voted but never discussed politics at home.
My grandfather played in Bready Pipe Band but other than that we had little involvement. Sometimes when the family voted they had little idea who the person was who was getting their vote.
When I was growing up I spent most of my time at school or playing football on the green spaces in Creggan. There were several at the time where we lived in Cromore Gardens. We were the only Protestant family in the street. I think there was one more but they were Mormon. Other Protestant families lived in Broadway and Creggan Heights.
Many of my friends were Roman Catholic and we played and grew up together. As I got older we went to the cinema and dances. We went to the Embassy, the Memorial Hall and Borderland.

Due to my father being away so much he was not a regular churchgoer. My mother attended Great James Street Presbyterian Church and sent us to Sunday School regularly. The Sunday bus service was not very good so it was a long walk.
Until the troubles started I don't remember any problem with marches. My friends and I went to watch the bands. We did not really understand why they were parading. It was just a day to enjoy and the shops made lots of money.
When the troubles started many people did not want to be associated with the marches. They seemed to annoy people. Until then we had small bonfires in the street. Some had on the 11th and some the 15th August. We used to joke that we would set fire to each other's bonfire.
When I left Templemore School I began work as an apprentice bricklayer. The work force was mixed. I eventually travelled all over for work. I worked 6 months on Shannon Airport. Derry in the 1960s was a lot different to now. Life seemed simpler but there must have been something bubbling under the surface.
When the protests and troubles started in 1968 the feeling was that it would blow over. My friends and I avoided trouble but as violence increased I found myself living behind street barricades.

[102] CNRM/10 and CNRM/18 who attended school in Creggan both speak of 'harassment' and body searches by Army personnel in the area and how pupils reacted. CNRM/18 refers to senior pupils leaving school at lunchtime to engage with 'the Army' based in Rosemount.

No one ever bothered me but then bombings and shootings started. As shootings increased the family became uneasy. I had a brother who had Downs Syndrome and my mother was concerned about the effects of living in the midst of trouble might have on him. With buses not running communication was becoming more difficult. It became more difficult to get to church but the Minister came through the barricades to visit and see if we were safe.
I remember one man walking along the street with a rifle. I am not sure if he was sending out a message that it was not safe or letting us know who was in charge.
In 1971, the family moved to Glen Estate. There was a lot of squatting. Letters were put into houses telling Protestants to get out. Hooded men who said they were from the IRA visited homes to say that the letters were not from the IRA. Some people said that individuals were taking advantage of the situation to get houses. I do not know to this day what was true.
As the van containing our belongings left our street there was a van around the corner with a family waiting to move in.
I now live in the Waterside in an integrated area."
PULM/19

Leaving Creggan for Irish Street

"The trouble really started after October 1968. After Burntollet, there were boys with broom handles with nails in them. There were boys wearing balaclavas. You were getting called an Orange 'B' more after that.
My brother who was older than me stayed away from home.
The street we lived on had about 15 Protestant families. My father had been in the navy for 12 years and people thought he was English. He was born in Chapel Road.
We moved in March 1971. We were threatened to get out. The night before we got out the priest had to stand outside our door.
I don't really know what the threat was. My parents did not talk about it.
There were at least 5 families that I went to school with and they all moved to the Waterside within the space of a year."
PUL/fcs2

North Street to Clooney

"It wasn't until the trouble started that we found that people would surround you, spit at you and call you 'b……' When the rioting started we were stuck in between rubber bullets and petrol bombs.

PUL family leaving their home in Rosemount as the result of street violence.

When we left the house, we had to leave in what we stood in.
Relations had been good. My best friend was Catholic and her family used to take me on bus runs. I never had any bother going to school.
Our neighbours told us not to go but there were people not from the area coming to attack the Police Station and we were living behind a barricade. If our neighbours had said anything they would have been abused too.
We had to leave and stay with an aunt in Rossdowney in 1971. You couldn't stay in those conditions; you couldn't.
Someone was going to get hurt. My Mum was afraid a petrol bomb would come into the house. After internment hatred seemed to grow. Soldiers were shot.
My father never wanted to leave. We owned the house.
Protestants were leaving the area. Trouble had been going on from about 1968. One quiet lady who lived on her own was burned out of her home. She was my Sunday school teacher in Marlborough Hall. My sister went to help her get cups and saucers from the burnt-out house. She had made tea and sandwiches for the police and soldiers.
The houses in Clooney weren't completely done. We didn't have a stick of furniture. The Welfare gave us collapsible beds. My uncle took up a van to collect the furniture but they wouldn't let him in. We lost everything.
I had to change schools. I remember one day a teacher told me off for not bringing anything to class. I burst into tears and said we didn't have anything.
There was nobody to talk to.
I never went back. The area has been re-developed. I don't think I would know where the old house was.
People may say it never happened. I know it happened. I witnessed it."
PULF/7

The Fountain
"Took a walk up Wapping Lane just to see what I could see. Nothing seemed the same; nothing like it used to be"

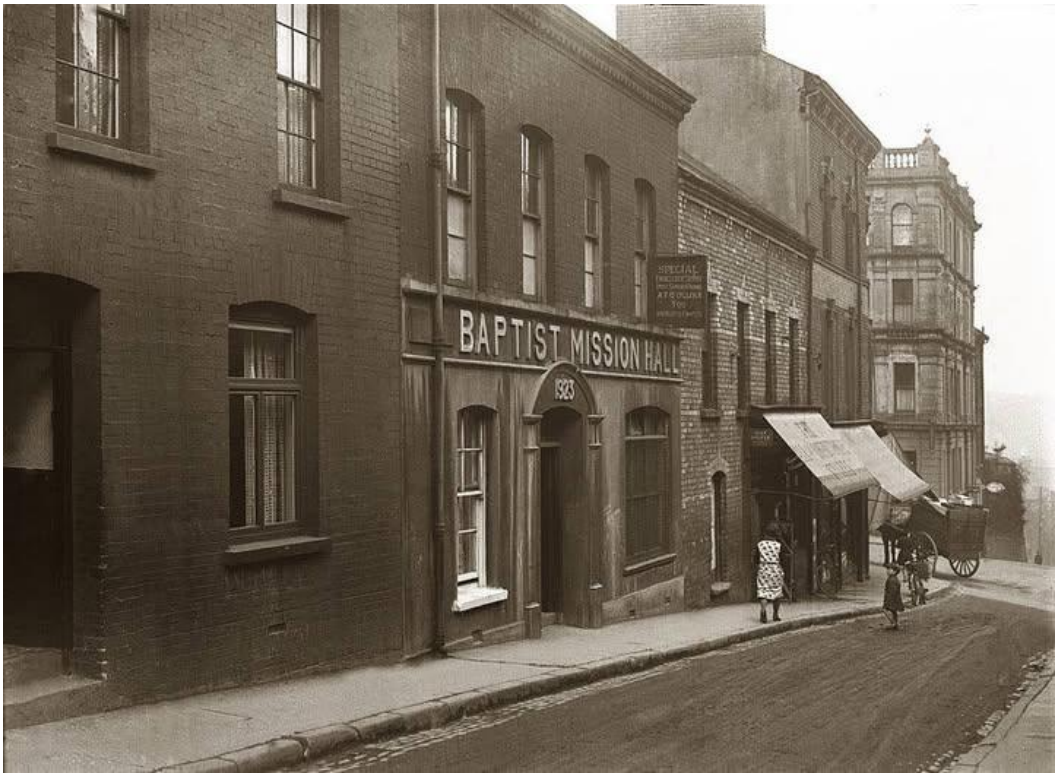
Wapping Lane.

Roy Arbuckle[103]

Towards the end of the 1800s and into the early 1900s, the Greater Fountain area was made up of the former lands of Wapping lying behind Bishop Street Without and the Gaol and included Wapping Lane, Carlisle Road, Ferryquay Street, Diamond, Upper Magazine Street, Palace Lane and Bishop Street Within.

Sited on these principal thoroughfares were churches of different denominations, schools, institutions, factories and commercial enterprises. This bustling and densely populated area was criss-crossed by the lesser thoroughfares of Fountain Street, Albert Street, Wapping Lane and Hawkin Street. Ten cul-de-sacs ran off them and the Census records in 1901 indicated that the population totalled 3,200. By this time, as a result of development relating to ensuring a water supply for the city and the use of a reservoir at Wapping, the area began to be referred to as 'Fountain Street.'

[103] From 'The Fountain – Heartbeat of the city,' Trevor Temple.

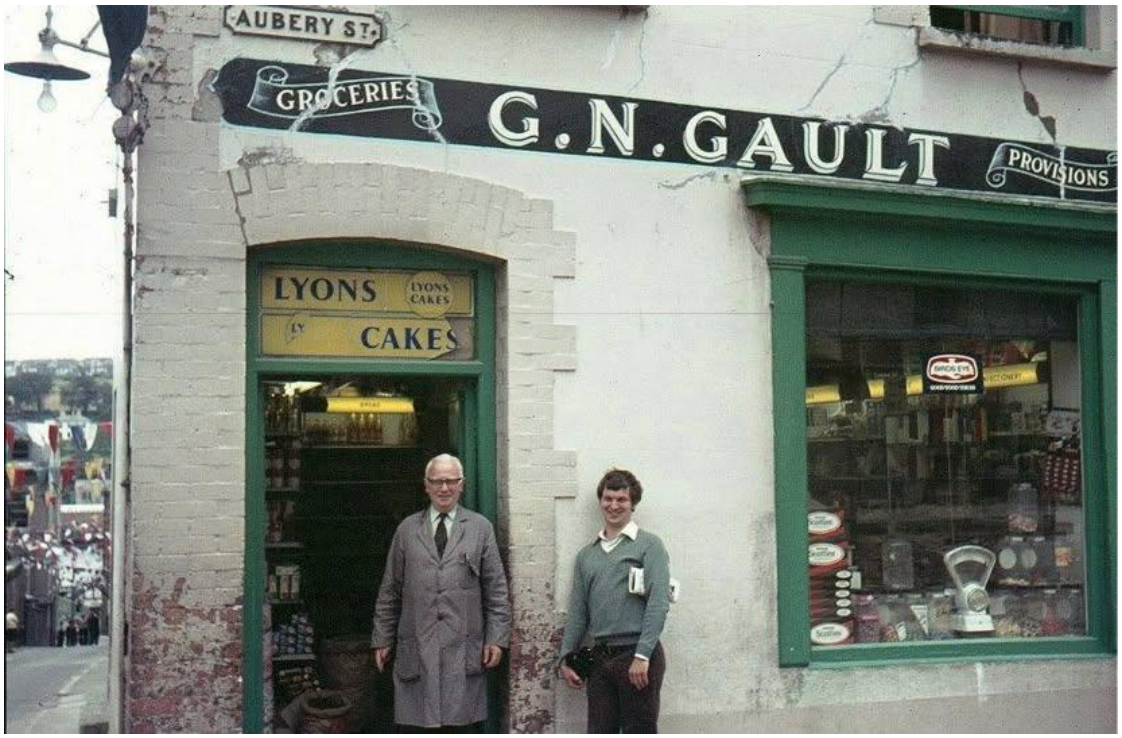


Baptist church, Fountain.

Henry Street.

Typical of similar close-knit communities, the Fountain housed a variety of families and personalities who got on with their daily lives, maintained their homes and celebrated culture in diverse ways – musical, parades, bands, sport, dances and church attendance. In July and August, the Fountain was a 'magnet' for many who came from other areas to enjoy the music and camaraderie associated with 'bonfires' held to mark the 12th July and 12th August.

The area housed a variety of bars, take-aways and shops.



The Fountain shop.

By the early 1970s, houses which had been the site of family life were deemed to lack modern amenities and the area was marked for re-development with James Watson of the Londonderry Development Commission speaking of *"creating an attractive housing lay-out close to the city centre….. to retain the neighbourliness and informality which exists in the area."* [104]It is unlikely that residents would agree that this was delivered on the scale anticipated.

Around this same time civil disturbances which took on a sectarian dimension led to attacks on the area and as the 'troubles' developed into a war, bombing, shootings and persistent attacks on homes and businesses, people left the area to live elsewhere.[105] Attacks on army bases often spilled over into sectarian clashes.

[104] Derry Journal, 28.05.1971 – under the heading: "Present conditions are appalling."
[105] Londonderry Sentinel, 16.08.1972, see also interview with Fountain resident, Pam Mitchell in Hemmed In and Hacking It, The Fountain Interviews, Ruth Moore and Marie Smyth, 1996.

Walker's Pillar after its destruction by an IRA bomb.

There was some inward migration as families who had connections with or family living there moved into accommodation from other areas like the Glen and Northland on the West Bank, where they no longer felt secure.[106] Also, families moved homes within the Fountain, whilst re-development was taking place, such was their desire and determination to remain there.[107]

Phased re-development announced in October 1970 affecting about 1,000 people from 285 families, street violence and intimidation was to change the character of the Fountain in terms of appearance, demography, social and economic life.

Businesses in the Fountain in 1971 were alarmed that 16 business premises were to be replaced by one shop.[108] Two years later they were voicing concern at the level of redevelopment compensation which was based over 18 months rather than the anticipated 3 years.[109] Due to re-housing they spoke of losing custom rapidly. These businesses were not sustained in the long-term. One shop was provided but closed and the premises became a temporary base for the Cathedral Youth Club.

Re-development seemed slow with the first nine houses allocated in October 1973 by which time the local press was reporting that development had been called for in 1965 and the delay had led people to find '*their own solutions to their problems'* [110]leading to young people leaving with a detrimental impact on school rolls. The Principal of First Derry School commented that *"the school had been hit hard by the troubles and re-development with numbers falling from 110 to about 40."*[111]

It was the hope of the Principal that with redevelopment numbers would go up again however whilst one of the provisos in the development planning was that people who left

[106] Ibid.
[107] PUL/fcs7. Members of this family group stayed in the Fountain but changed houses from one part of the Fountain to another during re-development.
[108] Londonderry Sentinel, 07.07.1971.
[109] Londonderry Sentinel, 24.01.1972.
[110] Londonderry Sentinel,02.05.1973. The report also noted that before 1969, residents had been re-housed in new estates whilst preferring to remain in the Fountain.
[111] Londonderry Sentinel, 12.09.1973.

the area during the re-development could return, many who settled in the Lincoln Courts development chose not to do so[112] and this produced a significant reduction in the population of the area. [113] It is also the case that a smaller number of homes replacing previous houses served to reduce capacity. This and the slow pace of completion made it unlikely that requests to move back were unlikely to be met.

In the ensuing years, with the Fountain being described as an' *enclave*'[114] and residents ' *hemmed in'*, further re-development, creeping dereliction in the lower Wapping Lane, a continuing security risk with individuals killed[115] or threatened (see below: The Fountain to Ballymena) the area was losing appeal as a place to live and bring up a family. (see below: The Fountain to Drumahoe). With no PUL elected representative for the West bank residents who lived there often felt, even with some political and support, there was no locally elected voice to speak up for the concerns of people who lived there.

Still Under Siege mural, Kennedy Street..

Although close by, the City centre was being bombed regularly and with a reduction in amenities more available on the Waterside, added to reported targeting of the area necessitating the building of a 'peace wall', the appeal of the Fountain was diminished during the period from the 1970s through to 1998. It is the area on the West bank where the move of population has been the most continuous over the period.

[112] Different factors are evidenced as influencing decisions e.g. settling into new homes in Lincoln Courts with modern amenities, a sense of security in the Waterside, continuing violence on the West bank, schools and churches although some families did attend their usual church for a time until they closed or re-located.
[113] It is fair to state even if they had wished to do so the reduction in housing capacity would have rendered it unlikely that requests could be satisfied.
[114] Life in Two Enclave Areas in Northern Ireland, Templegrove Action Research Limited, May 1996.
[115] Well-known and popular figure, part-time member of the UDR, Bobby Stott was killed as he approached his home on November 25. 1975. He was aged 22 years. His death had a profound impact on the local community.

Community initiatives have enjoyed support from CNR community activists [116]when seeking to access grant-aid and design programmes. In addition, CNR artists were generous in participating in concerts to raise money for the Cathedral Youth Club which has a consistent record of engagement in cross-community events however, as many newspaper accounts indicate, constant sectarian attacks and incursions into the area across the years have undermined positive attempts to address feelings of insecurity and an uncertain future.[117] In 1991, the Chairman of the Wapping Community Association was quoted under the headline: "Protect us or we move."[118] In 1994 residents were asking of Nationalist politicians: " Have we a right to live here."[119] For a period of time, men in the Fountain established a defence grouping to protect homes and individuals and monitor 'strangers' coming into the area.[120]

Some have left but retain a strong sense of loyalty to the area and return often, to support events and lead, with the support of the current population, enterprise and cultural initiatives. In the modern era, there is little doubt regarding the positive impact, mainly but not solely single identity, These changes are impactful, as groups and individuals come to the Fountain and begin to develop and re-energise identity with the area.
The city can only benefit to see this happening on the West bank after the years of flight and distancing.

Protestants in Derry feel under siege after attacks

Freya McClements

Petrol bombs and other missiles have been thrown over 'peace wall'

On Saturday night, 86-year-old Avril McGlinchey slept in her clothes. Earlier, the area where she lives, the Fountain in Derry, had come under attack from youths throwing petrol bombs, bricks and bottles.

"It's a nightmare. You're afraid of your life to sleep," Mrs McGlinchey said. "If anything came, how could I run? You need to sleep with your clothes on, bag packed, handbag and money ready."

The last predominantly Protestant area on the city's west bank, the Fountain is home to about 350 people, clustered under the shadow of Derry's walls, separated from Catholic Bishop Street by a "Peace Wall".

Over the past two weekends missiles have been thrown by behaviour in their own areas. On Sunday, a main road in the Bogside was blocked with burning bins.

On Saturday, 30 petrol bombs were thrown, according to the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). Some 42 were hurled on Sunday. Some did not get as far as the Fountain; with one landing in a sheltered housing unit for older people on Bishop Street. Scorch marks were still visible yesterday.

Historic entry point

Little of this can be seen from within the Fountain. The only way in from Bishop Street is through a corrugated iron passageway set into Bishop's Gate, one of the historic entry points into the walled city.

Today the route has its own metal gate, padlocked at 9pm each night. At a first glance, it appears a normal estate with brightly coloured flowers dotting patches of grass, and children's slides and paddling pools filling the gardens.

Kerbs are freshly painted in red, white and blue, and flags – representing the gamut of allegiances from Northern Ireland posts and outside homes.

Yesterday, a PSNI Land Rover sat in the estate, part of a pledge to step up patrols following the increase in tensions. "Last night, we were out until one o'clock brushing everything up. It makes me angry. It's all just fun to them," says Catherine Jackson, who lives in the last house in her row.

Avril McGlinchey's daughter, Helen Jones, lives nearby in

West Derry resident Avril McGlinchey (86): her area, the Fountain, has been attacked over two consecutive weekends

pelting at my window. It was young children. Bricks, stones, petrol bombs; no matter what time you go to your bed, you're terrified."

'More determined'

Her greatest fear is that a petrol bomb will ignite the oil tank behind her house: "You hear them outside shouting, 'You Orange B's', and you're doing nothing, you don't retaliate back, you're just in the house, terrified, you're just trying to live your

"I've two daughters, and they're in there, terrified. I'd love to move but the husband's thran [stubborn], he won't move, and my mother's next door, she won't move but at the same time she's terrified."

Having family nearby is common in the Fountain. Many have lived there all their lives, have close relatives in the estate and say it's part of what makes them proud of their area.

> Her greatest fear is that a petrol bomb will ignite the oil tank behind her house

"It's a brilliant place to live in and we won't be intimidated out of our homes," says one man who will not be named.

"If anything, it would make us more determined to stay, and a lot of families are the same."

His seven-year-old daughter cried herself to sleep after bottles were thrown, he says.

"The first night she saw it, she started to cry; she said, 'Why are they doing this?' She's

[116] CNRM/14; PULM/3 and PULF/1

[117] See Londonderry Sentinel April 14 and July 14, 1971, October 23, 1974, February 4 1976, February 18, 1987, July 30, 1997, September 4 2000, March 12, 2003, Derry Journal February 12, 2010

[118] Londonderry Sentinel 19.09.1991.

[119] Londonderry Sentinel 16.08.1994.

[120] PULM/7, PULM/6 and PULM/16

The Fountain to Ballymena

"My family lived in Fountain Estate; the new development. I was born and raised in Wapping Lane. Growing up, the troubles were well underway; a part of everyday life. You heard bombings going off and about people getting shot. A lot of Protestant businesses were being blown up?

My Mother was born in London Street. She was very much a part of that community
I remember her and my granny always telling me about the trouble going on at the top of the Fountain on Bishop Street.
My father was in the UDR from the very start. I think he was a friend of Bobby Stott. He was part of a Battalion that lost members.
When we were in the Fountain we always had that thing about answering doors, closing curtains, knocks at doors and what lights to turn on.
An attempt was made on my father's life over at Altnagelvin where he worked.
He had been warned about a threat so changed his job and car but then there was an attempt made. My mother dropped him off. He spied this car. He had his own personal weapon and brought it out.
He saw men with guns and the car registration. The next day it blew up at the White Horse (Hotel).
My father moved quickly. He went and stayed with his sister. We didn't follow immediately. We didn't see him for weeks. My younger brother thought my Dad and Mother were getting divorced. It was very disruptive for the family. I was 16 and my brother was 11. It was traumatic in a whole lot of different ways.
Four months down the line, we got a house in Ballymena. My Father had got a job and help with getting a house.
It was awful. It took a long time to settle. There was a lot of tears and a lot of arguments. There's always a number of years when you're the outsider.
I'd just had left school. I'd got an apprenticeship with a glazing crowd and I thought, oh, this will be great because probably glazing needed to be done at that time.
Everything just fell through. The next day I was 'signing on.' The future as I'd planned it was taken away from me"
PULM/31

The Fountain to Drumahoe.

"After I got married we lived in the Fountain for eight or nine years. We bought a house in Aubrey Street and did it up to perfection. There were great people living there. My son was born there.
Wapping Lane was a hotspot. Boys returning from pubs and discos would attack homes at the bottom and in streets like George's Street. I had friends living there. I didn't have a car for a few years but I bought a brand-new Astra and the boys came up and scraped the roof and whole side of it.

There was a klaxon which went off to warn of an attack and a group of men got out of bed, got dressed as quick as possible and ran down Wapping Lane to defend the area. It was scary.
My boy was starting to wander. He was playing near where boys were building a bonfire and a petrol bomb was thrown from the walls. It was about 1989. My wife and I thought that was enough. It was getting too dangerous for family. We moved to Drumahoe.
I still miss the Fountain.'
PULM/16

<u>The experiences of one family in the Fountain – Extracts from a PUL Focus group</u>

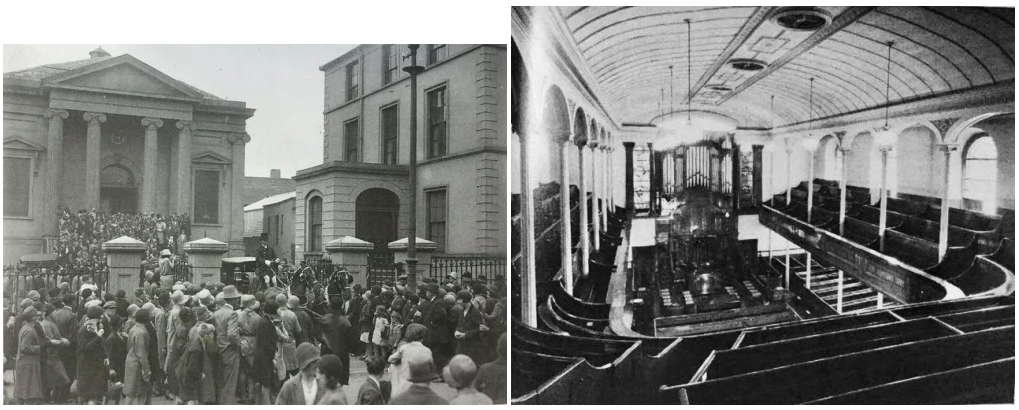
"My late husband's family lived in the Glen and had to move. They were very private people and didn't talk much about it. We also had an uncle and aunt who had to move. He was in the UDR. There were others who moved to Woodburn and one family left the city altogether. They went to Lisburn. Another moved from Belmont into the Fountain.
I knew another who moved from Mitchelburn Terrace to Lincoln Courts.
People now say: "they moved because their Ministers told them to move" Why would you do that if the church is going to close?"

"We were evacuated from Albert Place to Granny's in Dungiven Road in 1969 because of the trouble in Bishop Street. The Fountain was under fairly regular attack in those days. The day after William King died we actually went to the Tech with knives. We were getting spat at and there was no protection from the Police. It was fairly hairy. I remember bombs in Carlisle Road and Ferryquay Street, They were mainly Protestant businesses. When the men were shot in the Dolphin Café, I assumed they were shot because they were Protestants. When Billy Logan was shot it had a big effect on the Fountain community.'

"My late husband and I worked in a factory on Magazine Street. It was mostly Catholic employees. I had lunch with two friends one of which had a brother 'on the inside.' She never embarrassed me and protected me when there was tension after bombs or killings. When the re-development started in the Fountain, my Daddy wouldn't move. We moved from Albert Place to another house further down. A lot of people moved to Lincoln Courts, Clooney and Newbuildings. The whole fabric of the Fountain was destroyed.
When I had my first baby my father squatted us into a house. When the workmen were working next door the electric was knocked off. Because we were squatters the Housing wouldn't re-connect us. We had to move in with my parents. There were five of us. We lived like that for 7 months. Eventually we got a flat. Four storeys up. Then we got a house.
There were still a lot of things going and my son was witness to it – assaults and petrol bombs being lobbed in. It was an interface and a wall had been built. He was having nightmares. He was sleeping with a penknife under his pillow because he thought they were going to come over the wall and get him. We moved to the Waterside in 1990. It was time to go."
PUL/fcs7

CHURCH VOICES

Great James Street Church



Great James Street Presbyterian Church, exterior (left) and Great James Street Presbyterian Church, interior (right).

Members of Great James Street Presbyterian Church and now Kilfennan Presbyterian Church came together as a focus group to share their individual experiences. The author also interviewed a former cleric in Claremont Presbyterian Church and had access to an unpublished Ph.D thesis entitled**:** Exile on Main Street; From Majestic Heritage to Missional Congregation.
The thesis examines issues pertaining to the 'port' of the Great James Street Presbyterian congregation from the West bank to Kilfennan on the East Bank. (The interviewees were aged 55-75+ and the cohort was comprised of 8 female and 7 male participants)
The author also accessed: A Brief History of Great James Street from 1837-1982 and Kilfennan Presbyterian Church form 1982-2022 which was produced to mark the 40th Anniversary of the latter.

The 40th Anniversary, 1982

The commemorative booklet notes that:

"The events of 1969 and thereafter started to take effect almost immediately. It became difficult to have evening activities in the Church due to rioting and unrest in the vicinity. There was a drop in the number of families and in 1972 concerns were raised about Sunday School figure and first mention about the future of the City Churches was made. A Report by Presbytery noted that churches in the West Bank of the city were experiencing declining numbers with Great James Street Church particularly badly hit with a further drop in families and children attending Sunday School. The possibility of 'porting' to the Waterside was first raised in 1976. Difficulties continued as civil unrest continued, evening meetings became difficult and the Church building was attacked by rioters on two occasions in 1977 causing damage to stain-glass windows. After many meetings the decision was taken in 1978 to construct a new Church in the Kilfennan area. The existing building was to be sold. The foundation stone for the new building was laid in 1981 and the new Church opened in September 1982"
A Brief History of Great James Street from 1837-1982 and Kilfennan Presbyterian Church form 1982-2022

Great James Street Church which had opened in 1837 and was sometimes referred to as the 'Scots Church' ceased to exist although the building survives under new ownership.

<u>The congregation 'ports.'</u>

"All the respondents who moved from the Cityside to the Waterside did so in the 1960s and 1970s. Many indicated that they did not move as direct consequence of the troubles in the sense of being personally threatened or intimidated. Some did relocate upon getting married or in pursuit of work. Two had moved before the outbreak of the troubles in 1968.

If the Troubles did not have a direct bearing on relocation, answers indicate that they did have an indirect influence upon those who chose to cross the Foyle and live in the Waterside. One of the interviewees remarks: "It was because of the Troubles. There was a bomb in the garage behind our house and it blew in the windows. We had a baby and a mother over eighty." Another makes the comments: "We were all brought up together but then the Troubles started. Back then we had a sense of community but different families moved in and there were issues. There was no point in staying. We had a window broken and there were shootings."
<u>Exile on Main Street; From Majestic Heritage to Missional Congregation.</u>

The author of the thesis comments that the experiences reported in his writing are *"a microcosm of wider settings and aspirations, politics and demographics resulting in a dwindling congregation which eventually enforced closure….. that it was hard to leave the House of God."* In an interesting 'turn of phrase' he further states that when a new congregation was established in Kilfennan in the 1980s, it was a *'hotch-potch'* of people. The term is not out of kilter with the experiences of the 'new' populations in areas like Newbuildings, Tullyally and Lincoln Courts; albeit that new residents in Nelson Drive have commented that when they moved there, the street was like a '*mini-Glen*.'

Within the focus group[121], three of whom lived on the West bank, none experienced direct intimidation or was told to leave. One who lived in Grafton Street which had mixed residents bought a house in the Waterside where there was "*more choice of affordable homes being built*". He continued to work on the cityside where, due to the nature of his work, he was placed in sometimes dangerous situations due to bombings and shootings. After his marriage, he continued to attend Great James Street Church but was supportive of moving when discussions, at times divisive[122], were initiated.

Another member of the group who lived on St Aidan's Terrace on the Buncrana Road moved before the 'Troubles' started to live closer to work. He speaks warmly of good relations and neighbourliness. Relations within a mixed force where he worked were the same.

The individual who lived in the mixed Lawrence Hill district retains friendship with some of those with whom he played as a child. After marriage in 1971, he and his wife lived on the

[121] PUL/fcs3
[122] PULM/4 who was a member of the congregation and who remained in the Fountain notes that the decision to move was a majority rather than a unanimous one.

Waterside, briefly in Belmont and after considering purchase of a home on the cityside moved permanently to the Waterside.

Having moved at the early stages of the 'Troubles' their greatest impact was on their membership of Great James Street Church although people being evacuated from the small streets in Rosemount is recalled.

Memories of the movement of the Church are tinged with a sense of resignation – '*a strain because a lot of people did not want to move'* even though many had themselves moved. However, when, during rioting a shirt factory on William Street was set alight, it seemed as if the Church might also burn down and with the help of some members of St Eugene's Cathedral furniture and ornaments were taken out of the '*at risk'* building.

William Street.

It was during the Summer of 1969 when Great James Street and Strand Churches held amalgamated services that the members broke a lock to get in and stayed in the building all night as it could not be locked. The threat became real in what the individual describes as '*bad time.'*

Because of the difficulties some activities took place in member's homes. In 1971, when. Boy's Brigade was taking place windows were smashed. It had to stop as no parents would allow their children to attend. When a Police Officer was shot dead outside Strand Road Church, whilst not known personally to all fellow Presbyterians, there was shared pain, hurt and fear. A member of the Church who was in the UDR was also killed. Protestant businessmen were killed and there was a strong sense of them being killed because they were Protestant.

Eventually because of the prevailing situation and its impact on the Church – families moving elsewhere, threats to members, decline in activities a majority decision approved the 'port' of the congregation.

The Church had been the location of family weddings, funerals and baptisms, a place where they had been involved in youth activities and choir. On an occasion organised by the new owners a small number of former of congregants visited the building. It was not the same but the memories and echoes of the past were a poignant reminder of good and sad times.

Claremont Presbyterian Church

Claremont Presbyterian Church, now closed (left) and Old Claremont manse, later demolished for housing (right).

"Families in the Presbyterian Church can be misleading. 100 families can mean between 130 and 360 people. There were 280 families in 1968. When I came to the Church there were 230 and it went down to 190 by the time I left. Quite a number of people moved to the Waterside and others cleared out of the city altogether. One went to Coleraine to live with a daughter. People left for work.
Others had lived in the Glen. They felt unsafe, threatened. By the time I went to the Church, many had already moved. There were probably too many Presbyterian churches with the number of Presbyterians dropping but you try to hold on to your own. There was a feeling that things were never going to be the same. There was a feeling of uncertainty and people did not know how they would be affected. People were fearful. They felt they had no place in the city. Once the first leave then others follow. The congregation in Claremont was aging as younger people moved out.
I conducted a number of funerals of men killed during the 'Troubles.' One was a Prison Officer, one a member of the UDR and one a Police Reservist. There were others killed that I knew. One of the men killed in the Dolphin Café played bowls in Claremont.
I had contacts with Christ Church was experiencing the same as Claremont. I knew the priests at St Eugene's Cathedral and the Bishop. It was felt that they might have said more loudly that what was happening was a bad thing but belief that people will do what the priest tells you was breaking down quickly.
I left in 1984. The number of families had fallen to 120. It could not be saved. Young people were getting married but not living in the area. Closing became inevitable. Protestants had moved to where they felt safe; surrounded by their own."
PULM/1

With Protestant churches closing, the PUL footprint on the West bank was further diminishing**.** As the histories of the two buildings referenced, one of which now lies derelict on the Northland Road, indicate, the demise of the congregations between the late 1960s to the early 1980s was predominantly conflict related. Killings of members, threats in nearby neighbourhoods, individuals and families leaving the city to find employment, study or live with family, fear and re-locating to what was viewed as a safer area added to changing social attitudes were all in play. Whilst Claremont and Great James Street Churches are two individual congregations, they were part of a wider Presbyterian family of churches in the city and a great network across Ireland. Stories and events in one place resonated much wider afield. Strand Road Presbyterian Church also closed.
Other churches like First Derry and Carlisle Road Churches faced similar issues to those which had closed but remained operational with many members travelling from the Waterside.[123]

SCHOOLS – CLOSURES and MERGERS

By the late 1960s two Controlled schools on the West bank, seen as Protestant, had closed – St Columb's Cathedral school in lower Bishop Street and Bennet Street school. During the years of the 'Troubles' others would follow – Christ Church PS, Carlisle Road PS, First Derry PS and St Columb's Cathedral PS on London Street. Templemore Controlled Secondary School also closed when it became unsustainable. Population movement was a major factor. The Model PS suffered a sharp decline in numbers as Protestant families moved until an increasing number of Catholic pupils began to enrol.[124]

In 1960, the enrolment addresses for pupils at St Columb's Cathedral PS show that they came from different parts of the city – Bishop Street and streets off, Barrack Street and streets off, Magazine Street, Glenbank Road, Northland Parade, Upper Nassau Street and Collon Villas. Parents in all probability were sending their children to the school they had attended or managed by the Church they attended. The school seemed sustainable until it was affected by re-development of catchment neighbourhoods and conflict -related factors.

[123] PUL/fcs1
[124] PULM/24; PUL/fcs1 recall that the number of buses required to bring pupils from the Glen and Belmont reduced as the conflict deepened even with the closure of Christ Church PS.

Mr. Samuel Craig, Governor of the Apprentice Boys of Derry (right), after unveiling a plaque in the Apprentice Boys' Hall in memory of Mr. Samuel David Montgomery, a former member of the Campsie Club who was murdered by gunmen at his work. Also in the picture are his parents Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Montgomery and Rev. Robert Tosh who dedicated the plaque. 29TLS54.

Memorial to murder victim

The moving sound of a piper's lament filled the Apprentice Boys of Derry Memorial Hall, in Society Street, Londonderry on Saturday, when more than 50 members of the Apprentice Boys Order and of the Campsie Parent Club paid tribute to Mr. David Montgomery, a part-time soldier in the Ulster Defence Regiment, who was murdered by the Provisional IRA at his place of work on February 10, 1981.

A plaque, in memory of Mr. Montgomery, was unveiled by the Governor of the Apprentice Boys of Derry, Mr. Samuel Craig, who said that David had been "an inspiration both, as a comrade and brother."

"David made the ultimate sacrifice and it is our duty to see that his hopes and visions of a peaceful country are not destroyed," said the Governor.

"Although he was a part-time member of the UDR he was a full-time target for the Provisional IRA," he added.

During a prayer by Rev. Robert Tosh of Claremont Paresbyterian Church, tribute was paid to all the members of the Security Forces and the work they had done in the Province.

Mr. Matthew Montgomery thanked all who had contributed to the erection of the plaque in memory of his son, and said that the people of Northern Ireland could never thank the members of the Security Forces who had given their lives whilst carrying out their duty."

In January 1974, the total number of pupils enrolled in the school was 38 plus 6 pupils not yet of school age. By March it had fallen to 33 plus 5 and by June 31 plus 5. Primary One had no pupils. It was a trend that continued. In September 1975 the total was 19. By December it was 18. Parents who had moved were simply unwilling to send their children to a West bank experiencing high levels of conflict.

As referred to above, the Principal of First Derry PS voiced similar problems when referring to the impact of re-development in the Barrack Street area and the Fountain as well as siting the violence; all factors which were impacting on the school. Carlisle Road PS showed similar trends. Added to this was the problem of trying to deliver a curriculum across a number of composite classes. With the move of population from the West bank the addresses on the 1960 register of St Columb's Cathedral PS were highly likely to appear in the 1970s.
The three schools eventually closed and a new school was built in the Fountain with politics heavily in play. Christ Church PS also closed. Families from the Creggan, Rosemount, Northland, Belmont[125] and Garden City had moved.

Like the closure of the 3 Presbyterian churches the closing of the schools, set alongside the decline in Protestant businesses was producing distancing between the PUL communities and the city side, also mirrored in retail and socialisation patterns.

Templemore Controlled Secondary School was in the Northland – Glen area and drew its school population from different locations on the West bank – Rosemount, Northland. Belmont, the Glen and the Fountain as well as some rural districts.

After 1969, the school was affected by the murder of former pupils, relatives of current pupils killed or injured, traffic disruption caused by bombings and sectarian clashes at Bus stops and outside the school,[126] involving groups of PUL and CNR young people with little security presence available. After school activities were curtailed.

[125] PULF/15 lived in Belmont and was a pupil.
[126] PUKM/6; PULM/7

Teachers employed there foresaw, with the disruption being experienced getting to school by staff and pupils, falling rolls due to population movement and escalating violence and the intimidating atmosphere of the vicinity, it was likely the school or change in use some time in the future.[127]

With the steady decline of the PUL intake, there was a fleeting consideration with integrated status but yet another Controlled school on the West bank closed.

VIEW FROM WITHIN THE CNR COMMUNTIES

EXTRACT ONE

"They left because their Ministers told them. A Protestant neighbour was told to leave, by her Minister. When she left, she and my Mother were in tears. Rosemount was always a very religiously mixed area, but with the outbreak of The Troubles in the 1970s a lot of protestant families moved to the Waterside. "The saddest thing that ever happened in Rosemount was that a lot of the Protestant families left.".

CNRF/8

EXTRACT TWO:

"I've always believed that intimidation was at a minimum in this part of the world but fear was at a maximum and I've always felt that a lot of Protestants left because …. they're not welcome anymore.

From my memory, maybe there was targeting of Protestant businesses but it was an economic war. We had an argument at home: "who do they think they are? They're going to break the British economy by bombing shops; that's never going to work at all."

I didn't want them. People have the right to live, leave them in peace. I hated the idea of young boys from the Bog (Bogside) coming up to attack the Fountain. I thought it was terrible. Just leave them alone."
CNRM/17

EXTRACT THREE: –

"We were thinking of revolution but we were thinking of a quick revolution. We were thinking, how can we change things and at the same time not terrify our Protestant neighbours? And, it turned out you couldn't. And suddenly you're in it and you're regretting things.

Interment enraged the whole community. By that time there was a lot of street violence.

[127] PUL/fcs1

C…… had a secretary who rang me and says: "I think I have a house for you; a private deal. A man says he's retiring and the troubles he finds terrifying. He wants a deal done quickly. He's going to live with his daughter.

Protestants were leaving and we said can we at least help. We were talking about Corporation Street, Dark Lane and Charlotte Street….. Gordon Terrace, Windmill Terrace. They were having to move out.

People were beginning to live in communities where they felt safe…… becoming hardened too. I hate using the word tribal because I don't think people do see themselves as part of tribes but they do recognise that if I'm living in this particular area, the people aren't likely to intimidate me.'
CNRM/16

<u>EXTRACT FOUR:</u>

"Obviously there was trauma in the Protestant community. I presume there was old ways of life, there was old neighbours; there was maybe a sense of identity, schools.

Maybe the Catholic nationalist community doesn't really know that much about it….. lack of acknowledgement is probably down to lack of knowledge.

It's traumatic for the person. I remember that day when J…… was really uptight about it. He didn't say it wasn't happening, he didn't say that Protestants were leaving for genuine reasons but he said there was no orchestrated campaign, there was nobody going up and burning them out and I think that he said was that there was quite a lot of little thugs going up to someone and putting s… through their window.

You need to get it out there…. You can't acknowledge something if you're not aware of it."
CNRM/15

<u>EXTRACT FIVE</u>

"I knew her brother and she and went out for a while. We all shared the same socialist views. We lived in the Marlborough area which was mixed – Catholic and Protestant. In 1969 my family moved.

It was 5 years later when we met in Derry. She was with her new partner. "Where have all the Protestants gone," she asked."
CNRM/9

<u>EXTRACT SIX</u>

"In any conflict situation particularly in an urban setting like this people will go where they feel safe.

As an Irish republican, I don't believe there was a systematic campaign or a deliberate attempt to push any section of the population out of any part of the city deliberately.

That's not to say that people did not leave because they were feeling something.

If you go back to the 70s and 80s, there was a lot of movement just in general housing, particularly from the West Bank and particularly from the southern part of the city….. a lot of people moved towards Shantallow, Ballymagroarty for better housing.

And similarly, Protestant Unionist people, maybe in and around here, Bishop Street, the Glen may have moved towards the Waterside for better housing. But, my main take on it is that, in conflict, people go for safety. We were in the middle of a civil conflict. I can say this as a Republican from, I suppose, 1980, 1981,I never encountered at any stage anybody talking about an active campaign to drive any section of our society or our city into chaos.

…… obviously, the legacy of it has been a divided city. There's no doubt about that That's the nature of conflict, when people take sides."
CNRM/14

<u>EXTRACT SEVEN</u>

"There was nobody excused from the turmoil and the trauma of it. But over the years, I've got to know many of the communities in the city and I understand the alienation, for example, that was felt, I understand the marginalisation that was felt. I understand clearly the fear, the intimidation that went on behind the scenes, and just a sense of, I don't want to be part of this.

When you look at the various areas of the city where that migration or exodus took place, clearly Creggan, Rosemount, the Glen, and the Belmont.

Belmont was an area well known for policemen's houses. And, you know, when you have a bombing campaign in the city, for example, in the 80s, and the vast majority of indigenous business people in the city would have been of a Protestant background, they were bombed on a daily basis.

So, you can understand that fear, you know, it's just a target of Protestant people directly in their families, or be it a son in the police, a son in the prison service, a son in the services. There were circumstances where there was a sense, not only are they going to damage my son or daughter, they're going to take me out as well."
CNRM/7

<u>EXTRACT EIGHT</u>

"I'd like to see a situation where there's some kind of common ground found that, A, the migration did happen and an acceptance of how large it was. And those are issues you

can't really fight about because there's statistics to prove it. Although sometimes with the 1981 census, that could be slightly problematic.

I'd like to think that we could reach a consensus right across the different communities. That, A, it happened, that, B, it was regrettable and that, C, there's all kinds of complex reasons as to why it happened. There is no doubt that the massive influence on that, that the targeting of police in particular and later of businesses, businessmen, that that created fear and things of that sort.

I was looking at some of the quotes from Bishop …… where he said, "Why did you all move out of Belmont if you weren't being directly threatened? "and he said because of their sense of insecurity and threat.

On the one hand, my perception, I think the perception of a number of us was, there were some very shrill voices saying there's been ethnic cleansing. These very shrill voices were doing it for their own political reasons and because I think for some of them of their own religious views of the world, which were very fundamentalist and didn't actually want Catholics or Protestants living together.

On the other hand, because of those voices and other factors, you had a majority here in the city who to some extent were oblivious to it.

A lot of people I think that I knew within the Catholic or nationalist population didn't really spend a lot of time worrying about it. You know, there was a number of reasons why they would explain that to themselves. One, I know this might sound very uncomfortable.

Like the bombing campaign, for instance, in the city centre. At the beginning, a lot of people in the Catholic community said, well, what about them? They control the city centre.

They've controlled us for 50 years. You know, they weren't necessarily, you know, overly exercised about it at the beginning. There was a sense that the movement of people out of the city coincided with the loss of power.

When the unionist population lost control of the council, that coincided with the point which they said, well, we don't control the city anymore, so we don't feel comfortable here anymore. And the city centre is a deeply uncomfortable place. There's a ring of steel, there's bombs going off every week. It's dangerous for us. You know, if my child walks out of the Fountain wearing a certain school uniform, they could be at risk.

I do believe there's an awful lot of information that it would be really good if people in the Catholic nationalist population engaged with it. Because it does say it happened. It does say that safety and security was a major issue.

The IRA campaign was a major issue. The bombing campaign and killing of business people and killing of police officers. But that simply wasn't taken on board by a lot of people from the Catholic nationalist population.

I think it also begins to explore other issues for people within the Protestant Unionist community, as traditional. Was there also a sense of, there's job opportunities elsewhere that don't exist here. There's housing opportunities elsewhere that don't exist here.

I think people did put it down to, well, your police are under threat and therefore you're moving as well. But also, a perception that Protestants were moving because they didn't want to live on the street with Catholics.

There's no disagreement that safety and security was a major issue in it. But they tease out other issues that I think are also important and explain it. And therefore, I would hope that from both communities there might be learning within that and it coming together, saying, well, you know, and I would genuinely hope that would happen.

I do believe there were certain political forces of work in this city, coming from a very hardline, loyalist place, who wanted Protestants to leave the West Bank of the Foyle and move to the Waterside.

I do think there was denial. I think there still is a level of, particularly because of who's led the charge on it, the personalities that people have led the charge on this whole issue, and people feel that that's been completely over the top and hasn't taken account of other factors that played a role.

I think, perhaps naively, I think a number of us thought, if we could just say, well, what is the evidence? Where does the evidence take us? I wouldn't like to simply rely on evidence that's gathered from the individuals themselves because I think individuals can be somewhat swayed by what now seems to be the dominant narrative on a particular issue. I think that the personal stories need to be blended with the actual qualitative data. What does that tell us? What was happening at the time? When did people move? So, for instance, a lot of people left after Bloody Sunday.

It wasn't because of something that was actually done to them, but it was their fear of the repercussions of what had been done to someone else. And, likewise, in town, I think there was a lot of fear throughout the city, and there was obviously a lot of trouble. And, you know, who would want to go to the Presbyterian Church there was constantly tear gas in the air and the sound of rubber bullets just one street further over than William Street, even if it was slightly distanced? It was clearly a deeply uncomfortable place to be."
CNRM/19

<u>Extract Nine</u>

"The violence did change perceptions. It was a major cause of disruption in relations; social disintegration in the community. People say what did the Catholic population do?

What was it expected to do? You were facing a very heavily armed, increasingly armed terrorist organisation by the end of the war. You knew it was changing, but if we open our mouths, it could be us. Anyone that was seen to the accusation would have been someone being pro-British or an informer.

I think there was sadness that the city was burning and being sliced down the middle. …… you know, there's something, there's something terribly wrong here."
CNRM/20

Extract Ten

"There was quite a number. I think there was about 100 families[128]. I mean, we all would have kind of known each other through schoolboy football.

I remember the occasion, when the van turned up. Clergyman helping them to load their furniture. So, they obviously were part of that migration. I don't think they ever felt threatened. But a lot of things happened in the Creggan community. The IRA was certainly very active. Bloody Sunday had its impacts and whatever. My kind of experience of it was the shock of seeing xxxxxx family, and I don't know where they are. Where they went to, I do not know, and from that period to now, which is a considerable time ago, I have never encountered him. I had a kind of sense of loss because he was a genuine friend.

These kind of things were just part of the normal life, and then suddenly, you know, and I've seen people, and I've seen women especially, saying cheerio to each other, you know, and it was tears, it was really emotional stuff, because there were no immediate threat, but that didn't mean that they weren't frightened, and it certainly didn't mean that they weren't maybe being influenced in the decision they made. They were certainly being facilitated. You know, there was transport organised, and there were usually clergy people to be seen as well, but maybe just doing their pastoral work, and maybe it was at that stage inevitable anyway, that that's what was going to happen, particularly given where things went.

It was a pretty awful time. It was like hell in a handkerchief, because nobody was taking a strategic perspective. All of that kind of emotion, and reaction and anger and hurt was just boiling out. It's all reaction but the reaction wasn't all on one side.

It's easy to look back and say, well, it could have been avoided, but I don't think it's a reality that human nature is what it is. I know John Hume would have preached on the basis of Martin Luther King and whatever, but I mean, you take a look at the amount of violence that was attached to that struggle as well.

I think it'd be foolish to argue that there wasn't a kind of sectarian dimension to bombing businesses……The RUC were seen as the enemy and the oppressor and they were going to be attacked where they could. I think maybe ignorance of the impact of that psychologically and emotionally within, say, the Presbyterian community. I don't think

[128] The speaker is referring to PUL families living in Creggan

there was any sense of that at the time. People had too many grievances of their own and too many casualties, they kind of think …. of their own"
CNRM/4

EXTRACT ELEVEN
"I remember playing football and cricket with kids from Foyle College and Templemore. It's a pity they're not there. When you see people being assassinated on the streets, you're not going to feel comfortable. Why would you stay in a neighbourhood where you can't go to Church safely.? If we'd caught our troubles early, them those neighbourhoods would still be mixed. Relationships would still be very good. People would still get along."
CNRM/ 13

SECTION SIX –
NEW BEGINNINGS ON THE PERIPHERY AND COMMUNITIES 'FINDING THEIR FEET.'

Psychologists tell us that: '*humans naturally crave stability and predictability. When you move your "home base"—the place where you feel safe, build memories, and relax—is completely uprooted. This triggers a stress response leading to a grieving process for your old neighbourhood, along with anxiety about navigating a new environment and building a new social network.'*

NEW BEGINNINGS ON THE PERIPHERY.

Short and long-term stress experienced by those whose move – rapid or planned- was the result of conflict-related factors, as they followed what one interviewee has described as '*refugee routes*[129]*'* to new places. A politically loaded yet revealing perception of the PUL experience. The local routes, for that is indeed what they were, led to places like Lincoln Courts, Nelson Drive, Strathfoyle, Tullyally and Newbuildings. To visit these locations today is not to see them as they were in the early 1970s.

Others, members of the UDR, Prison Service and RUC travelled further afield to Limavady, Coleraine and Ballymena. Family members of loved ones in the security forces who had been killed left the city and never returned.[130] Young people taken away from their friends and social networks did not always find it easy to fit in.

In the case of Lincoln Courts where development was managed as part of new housing provision and became a place where many Fountain residents settled, the issues which emerged were not the same as other locations. Nelson Drive was also an urban setting but families were moved there in haste when infrastructure -roads [131]and street lighting were incomplete. In Clooney, not all of the amenities were in place when a family moved from Rosemount.[132] Tullyally was on a country Bus route which new residents found inconvenient and limiting in terms of access; [133] different from their previous neighbourhood[134] when it came to shopping for food and other needs. Getting to school or Church presented new challenges with families making decisions to alter where they attended.[135] Fresh social networks needed to be nurtured.

In certain areas, new neighbours were 'old neighbours'[136] in the sense that they had moved or been evacuated from the same district but with people moving from different parts of the city, there was an element of being 'intimate strangers' in spite of shared religious, political and cultural interests and backgrounds.

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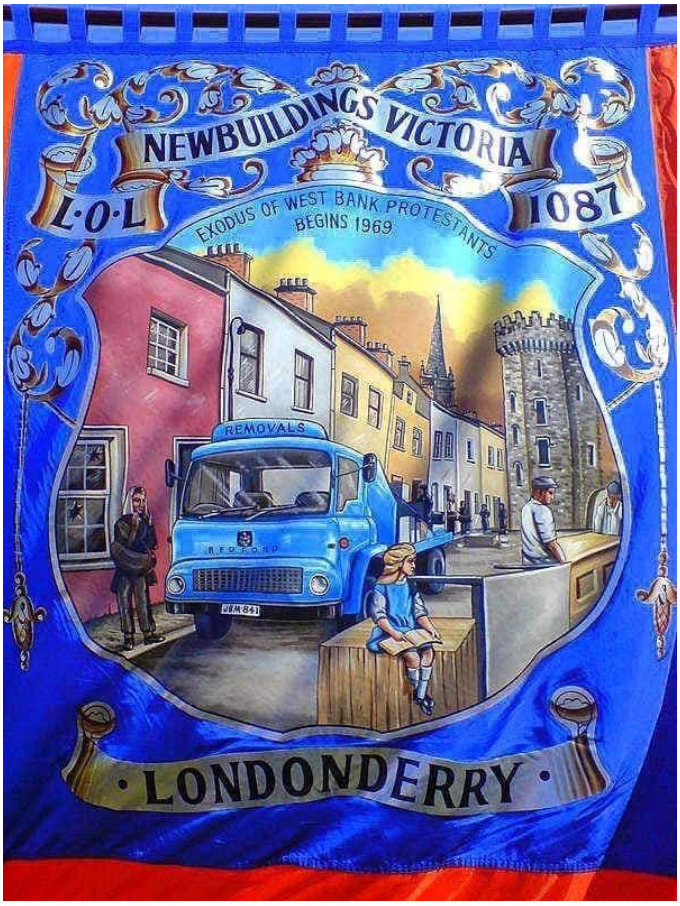
[129] PULM/22
[130] PULF/ 20 relates the example of a son whose father was killed and ,not feeling safe anywhere in the city, left and has never returned.
[131] PULF/4; PULM/29
[132] PULF/7
[133] PULF/5
[134] PULF/6
[135] PULF/14; PUL/fcs4
[136] PUL/fcs5

The challenges which the new residents faced were compounded by a sense of marginalisation and retreat.[137] On occasions they were not always welcomed by an older group of residents who made it known they did not wish the sectarian problems of the city visited upon them.[138] On the other hand, existing residents did stretch out the hand of friendship by getting a house ready for occupation for a family which had to leave Mountjoy Street for Newbuildings.

In the 1960s, Newbuildings was very much a rural village where villagers kept 'hens and other fowls.' Much of the food was sold from vans which visited the village to sell bread, potatoes, herring and meat. An All Cash Stores van delivered groceries on a Saturday. The community was both CNR and PUL. At a point on the bank of the river there was space to cast a rod and line for a variety of fish. Life would change with the influx of new PUL 'villagers[139] into new housing. In 1970, the village had approximately 100 dwellings and a population of 500 people. By 2002, there were 1000 homes (private and social) and a population of 3,000. Retail outlets were built as were churches and a small commercial centre.

Newbuildings above. Below is an Orange banner depicting the PUL Exodus to Newbuildings.

[137] PULF/15.
[138] PULF/1
[139] In the Shadow of the Tail of the Fox: A History of Newbuildings and District 2002: Newbuildings and District Archaeological and Historical Society.



As with other areas, the Troubles continued to impact on life. Members of the security forces who lived there were killed, causing others to leave the village. The killing of young mother Joanne Mathers when collecting Census Forms was a shock to the whole Waterside and unnerved others who were similarly employed whilst also working within the community.[140]

When communal tension was high ,CNR families felt unsafe and left to move elsewhere. A CNR school suffered damage. However, life settled and the school and Chapel remain in an area which is predominantly PUL but with non-PUL residents. For some PUL it had been a lengthy period of adjustment[141] as indeed was the case in Strathfoyle[142] and other places.[143]

In earlier research on the city Dr. Niall Gilmartin[144] found that trauma, a sense of loss and shame[145] and silence present in the recollections of interviewees experiencing

[140] PULF/11
[141] PULF/12
[142] PULM/11; PULF/8. Interviewees speak of returning to the city to meet with friends they had to leave behind,
[143] Younger members of families moving to other towns did not find it easy being the outsider.
[144] Trauma, Denial and Acknowledgement: The Legacy of Protestant Displacement in Londonderry/Derry during the Troubles, Glencree Journal, 2021.
[145] The writer noted the same emotion as the interviewee recalled feelings at the time and having to explain to younger members of the family why the 'flight' had taken place. – PULF/1

displacement also invoked a sense of long-term exile. Interestingly, one participant whose move was conflict-related never mentioned his previous life to his family. When this was discussed further there was no explanation other than '*getting on with things and fresh priorities*' and leaving a past which no longer exists, in the past. In the interview whilst there is no sense of trauma, the experience of circumstances of the move are not forgotten.[146] There is also a resignation to the lack of recognition. The latter is a widely shared feeling which is also expressed in a partial disengagement with incidents when it was CNR communities exposed to conflict- related pain and grief.[147] Is it the case, as research indicates, that memories, whilst recalling the sense of relief at moving, remain tinged with the conflicting emotion of loss and disaffection at the lack of recognition and acknowledgement? It is a question more prevalent in some interviews than others and often linked generationally to the bombings of businesses and killings, consistently interpreted as having been primarily aimed at PUL civilians and security personnel.

In the areas where PUL resettled, leadership developed, not always at pace, to promote a sense of communal solidarity, engender social bonds, stability and collective action. Not everyone engaged[148] and often it was the enthusiasm of volunteers who initiated the development. It was sometimes embedded in the emergence of a band,[149] Youth group, Women's group or ad hoc mix of males[150] formed to protect a community but also seeing the necessity for improvement in amenities and quality of life; to feel less hemmed in.

With political progress often stalled, Government was anxious to find local leaders who might, through community action, lead progress away from violence; often with the minimum of resources.

PUL communities were, to their detriment ,maybe too often willing to work on this premise and too keen *to make do and mend*. Facilities for youth clubs in a number of areas were not ideal and by today's standards, inadequate. [151]

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT[152]

The community development infrastructure present in primarily PUL areas nowadays, whilst still dependent on uncertain public funding and political patronage, is viewed, not without

[146] PULM/13
[147] PULM/26
[148] PULF/13 was a community leader at an early stage and notes that development was configured around the interests of different groups and sub-groups. It was not a big bang approach.
[149] PULM/22, in Newbuildings, a flute band became a driver, with others, for community development and raising aspirations.
[150] PULF/6 Paramilitary groups emerged and tended to work closely with Community workers
[151] PUL/fcs5, PULF/1, PULM/27 all refer to the basic facilities in which they had to organise events.
[152] Interviewees work or have worked in the community sector in Bogside, Fountain, Irish Street, Newbuildings, Tullyally, Waterside Neighbourhood Partnership Board and Peacebuilding and Reconciliation across the community.

problems, as stronger and more resilient than when the first steps on the journey were taken. [153]

On occasions, investing in civic unionist evidence-based action rather than party political unionism, has provided strategic delivery, first advocated in a research publication produced in 2005 by Queen's University, Ulster University and St Columb's Park House.[154]
It is one example of a successful 'delivery alliance' model that with others has taken longer to emerge than within CNR communities. Arguably this was a by-product of PUL population displacement.

The displacement of PUL residents acted to delay the pace and extent of community development in the areas in which they now lived. The coming together of persons from different parts of the city in the number arriving was not a natural fit for social cohesion and collaborative network delivery. Settlement was dependent of the completion of housing. Looking back, it is important to note that construction in Newbuildings, Tullyally and elsewhere was not yet complete and the immediate challenges for families were establishing a stable and safe living environment and arrangements for getting to work and school, [155] with disruption still an occurrence in the city. In some cases, there had been more than one move in a short period.[156]

Speaking to individuals who have a lengthy grounding, expertise and know-how in community development in CNR communities which they have over time shared with PUL areas[157] as outreach and moving towards a peace process emerged, they offer the view that progress was further advanced where they operated. In reply to a question focusing on this issue a CNR community activist[158] is frank in his assessment of early PUL work:

"their practical experience was…. very much built around youth and it was very fractured, personality driven. ….. In the republican nationalist community, it's more collegiate. It's more about together…. community empowerment and leadership which you often find lacking in the broad unionist community."

In further comment, it becomes clear that a coterie of well-informed CNR community leaders, working with academic support, was in place to avail of Neighbourhood Renewal and peace funding as it became available:

"A lot of people became politically involved in the community sector in the early days… people who were emerging from conflict. They knew and understood the political systems."

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[153] PULF/ 11 who worked with the Waterside Neighbourhood Partnership has commented on how community development has progressed but continues to face issues of sustainable funding and long-term succession planning.
[154] Population Change and Social Inclusion Study: Derry/Londonderry-September, 2005.
[155] PULF/1; PULF/5
[156] PUL/fcs 4; PUL/fcs 5
[157] PULM/3 and PULF/11 both acknowledge assistance received from CNR community organisations in the 1990s whilst the conflict continued but was less widespread and intense. Funding from the statutory agencies often required the establishment of collaborative partnerships and boards.
[158] CNRM/14

Activists were encouraged to avail of Higher Education opportunities to upskill and become better informed in strategic planning, leadership and establishing collaborative working to create jobs, deal with housing and health issues important to the communities in which they worked.[159] This was underpinned by political endorsement.

In the PUL community sector, this was not true to the same extent with volunteers and full-time workers, once funding was obtained, viewed with caution by political representatives and vice versa.[160] In retrospect this was surely an injudicious stance in that standing back was bound to encourage the emergence of do it yourself *'alternative leadership'* which as it developed would be seeking collaborative relationships rather than political control when politicians were ready to engage.[161]

This was one of a number of factors which volunteers and workers faced in PUL neighbourhoods and how these were addressed evidences that the assessment of the CNR individual above is maybe over harsh. Not all of the PUL areas were in the same place, nor proceeding in the same way and at early stages were much dependent on the creative thinking and energy of inspirational volunteers. Full-time workers, new to their position with the minimum of resources, learned many aspects and demands of their position *'on the job.'* As one highly experienced and respected individual[162] working for many years in the 'new communities' states*: "It was community development, at its most raw".*

Having spoken to a number of current and former community volunteers and workers there emerges a picture of an array of activities: playgroup provision, youth clubs, sports groups, bingo, quizzes, health forums, bands, history groups, tea dances, bus trips and various inter or intra community engagement. Physical infrastructure like community centres, play parks[163] and a Business Centre arrived incrementally often at the end of a long application process for resources.

Life was not without its challenges and tests. Management of bonfires, flags and protests over '*communal crises'* like Drumcree needed ingenuity, transparent and measured leadership. Communication within the networks was always to the fore allied to diversionary attractions like '*midnight fishing'* or '*trips to Mac Donalds'* when young people were at risk of being drawn into confrontation at an interface or with police arriving at a scene to monitor potential tensions that might spill over into street clashes. Desire for young people to aspire to *'achieve'* was never off the agenda; sometimes frustrated by a perception that how a young person was received in school was determined by which bus they arrived on and which neighbourhood it came from[164]. Valid or not, it is a perception a school should surely not welcome and quickly address. Equally, certain church leaders were not always perceived as being supportive at the beginning.

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[159] CNRM/14
[160] PULF/6 and 7, PULM/27.
[161] PULF/11 who worked in various communities both PUL and CNR comments that when PUL politicians did seek to engage they found it challenging.
[162] PULM/27
[163] PULF/11 the provision of a play park was achieved largely as a result of the persistence of volunteers with no full-time worker in place.
[164] PULM/27, PULF/

Due to the nature of funding processes and with some areas having paid workers whilst others did not, it was inevitable that perceptions of 'gate-keeping'[165] would emerge. Political influence did come into play but was it also due to differing stages of expertise, energetic volunteer activism[166], levels of confidence and aspiration in the varying locations? Was the Protestant sense of '*what we have we hold'* when battling for scarce resources for your community an understandable factor?

In a time, when partnership and co-operation are now more prevalent as models of collaborative good practice and have become established, the PUL communities have learned from the past. In contrast to that past, confidence has developed in preparedness to engage with CNR and other community influencers to ensure that Londonderry – Derry can only function at its best when it is not viewed as belonging to any single politically manufactured national identity; where inclusivity, parity of esteem, and mutual respect are rendered problematic.

Recent statements by individual CNR representatives that '*Derry is a Nationalist city'* echo the past comments of a similarly minded Councillor in the 1980s referenced in earlier section but rather than being viewed as provocative they are viewed, certainly by a growing section of the younger PUL generation and by *'civic unionism* as symbolic of political thinking, entrenched in old battles. As one CNR [167]seasoned politician has commented: "*Sectarianism is alive and well in the city*. *The city belongs to all of us*."[168]

This was not PUL thinking in the years immediately following population displacement. There had been efforts in the mid-1990s to encourage PUL re-engagement with the West bank but in the view of one peace-builder there was no action plan and no concerted methodology of practical steps.[169] The time probably wasn't right. The energy needed to come from within PUL communities. So,it proved.

In September,2005, the report Population Change and Social Inclusion Study: Derry/Londonderry pointed to a shift in PUL attitudes to shopping in certain areas of the West bank and working in predominantly CNR areas whilst expressing concerns, amongst others, about PUL cultural decline, fear of wearing school uniforms, fragmentation, rivalry and mixed development within PUL communities and a deficit in the inclusive workings of the local Council. On the surface reporting negative views of their place in the city, it served to stimulate thinking as leadership at community level began to consider ways forward.

In 2011, Building Confidence: Ways Forward to Support Protestant Participation and Inclusion in the North West was published. Key thematic recommendations focused on:

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[165] PULF/5, PULF/11

[166] PULF/13

[167] CNRM/6

[168] Continuing attacks on the PUL population in the Fountain which do invite retaliatory responses, do not serve to reinforce this messaging.

[169] PULF/10

- Developing practical actions to address specific challenges faced by the Protestant community; and
- Enabling the Protestant community to be participative.

Thinking was developed under Implementation, Leadership, Community Development Capabilities, Relationships with Public Bodies, Shared Space, Young People, Education, Opportunity for Peace Building.

Apart from the challenges within the report, there were those of seeking to implement the recommendations in an environment where the unacknowledged experiences of the greater PUL communities remained in place, fragmentation and rivalry lingered and dominant community control in some areas acted to limit conversations and consensus.[170]

Over time, these have been compounded by a reduction in volunteers, uncertainty around and the withdrawal of funding leading to loss of skills and limited succession planning, management of workers and the professionalisation of the community under partnership organisations which enhance planning and resourcing but also risk distancing from the 'raw community participation' which drove development initially. The disruption of the devolved NI Assembly has not been conducive to smoothing paths.

In 2021 the NWCP and Londonderry Bands Forum commissioned an extensive piece of research entitled 'Where are we now? An analysis of cultural and political change in the Protestant Community in the Derry and Strabane District Council area.' (Dougherty, Shirlow). The research methodology involved 302 household surveys, 10 structured focus group discussions and 21 semi-structured in-depth interviews with policy makers, politicians, community workers and other stakeholders. Despite evidence of an improved confidence and social mobility across the PUL community a key finding of the research explains '*A three-tiered community leadership structure has emerged within the Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist Community; Political leadership v Community Leadership v Alternative leadership. This has the potential to create division and even civic instability*.' The report refers to a growing disconnect between this 3rd tier (Alternative leadership), disenfranchised civic unionism (made up of bonfire and cultural groups, marching bands, sports clubs, Orange Hall members) and the top tier of political unionism. It also suggests that mainstream community leadership in certain areas is not meeting the needs of grass-roots civic unionism. The evidence has shown that a by investing in this '3rd tier' of marginalised and disconnected groups there is an opportunity to deal with civic issues as they arise, encouraging networking, dialogue, partnership building and information sharing.

In spite of these difficulties, as one former PUL community worker recognises: *"You can belong in different ways"*[171]

Different paths are being followed. With less emphasis on peace-building, emerging key drivers in PUL community development are sport, the arts including music, culture, traditions and heritage. These are underpinned by the thinking penned in the 2005 and

[170] PULF/13
[171] PUL/13one

2011 and others which followed. Different support networks and partnerships have emerged to support and work with older ones.

The positive progress and impact on physical and social regeneration of the 'Exodus' communities is visible. The community infrastructure via community training, youth, sport, cultural and social enterprise facilities is on par with any across the City and North-West. So too, is the skill base, experience and leadership within many across the community/voluntary, sporting, Church and other sectors.

However, the path is never smooth as the scars of past hurts and '*generational knowledge in the blood*'[172] circulates in the veins of a too often combative political environment.

Challenges cannot be wished away. The PUL community no longer wishes to be displaced. It never did but it is a two-way street. Well publicised events which never should have happened have been correctly acknowledged in the PUL community.

This report has been initiated as a hopeful step in inclusive community development; as a discursive catalyst for reconciliation and creating a consensual and respectful future.

Where PUL community development once lagged behind, it is perhaps now leading the way. No longer on the periphery.

[172] This is a quotation from South African writer, J D Jansen in his 2005 work: Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past.

SECTION SEVEN: CONCLUSION
GONE BUT STILL HERE

The marked decline in the number of the PUL population on the West bank of the river which continued throughout 1968-1998 had consequential impact on socio-economic profiles with research in 2002 indicating: "*the remaining minority community is more likely to comprise older, benefit-dependent and less socially or spatially mobile people.*" [173]

It was a trend that continued after 1971, as areas like Belmont, Creggan, Northland, Rosemount, the Fountain and the Glen, with others, changed in terms of their demographic footprint with a smaller number of mainly older PUL residents, as referenced above, remaining. A former Minister of Claremont Presbyterian Church, now closed, prior to relinquishing his position noted the change.[174] The plurality, integration and diversity experienced by previous generations was disappearing.

Different factors were in play. Individuals left the city in pursuit of work or for study. In the early 1970s, re-development started in the Fountain and the Barrack Street/Bishop Street districts, requiring PUL residents to move, some thought temporarily, to the Waterside.

However, the major impact within PUL neighbourhoods on the West bank was the violence of August 1969 and what followed in the years after. This acted as a catalyst for movement from homes which remain habitable in the modern era. The slow progress in provision of new accommodation in the Fountain and overall reduction in the number of homes prevented any significant return of PUL residents. By this time the worsening situation on the cityside made returning less of an attraction.

As this Report records, changes were reflected in new ownership of private homes and house swaps as well as the movement and closure of churches, schools and change in the shopping patterns of the PUL constituency. In the 1960s, the boys who attended Foyle College, as it then was, lived on the cityside of the river. By the 1990s, the majority was travelling from the Waterside and outlying areas to a new college which had merged with the Girl's Grammar school to remain viable.[175]

During a period when pupils travelling to school were subject to verbal and physical abuse with after school actives curtailed, schools in Limavady were seen as a safer option. Templemore High School was similarly affected as families moved to the Waterside. School leavers, with some exceptions, opting for study in an FE college. avoided the cityside. This added to travel and influenced drop-out rates. Schools closed.

Commenting on the situation, a CNR civic leader has stated: *"You do not leave for nothing. You have roots in the community – home, church, emotional. When you leave in the circumstances which developed you do not come back."*

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[173] See Protestant Migration from the West Bank of Derry/ Londonderry 1969-1980, Dr Ulf Hansson and Dr Helen McLaughlin, page 14.
[174] PULM/1
[175] It has since re-located to the Waterside where it provides education to an integrated intake of pupils

Newspaper items from the period highlight numerous reports of PUL displacement with politicians calling for greater security whilst clerics expressed concern at the developing segregation and called for their congregations to remain. It was to prove a forlorn hope in view of the direct and indirect intimidation which found expression as letters into letterboxes, damaged cars, broken windows, sectarian abuse and rising numbers of bombings, injuries and deaths. Police leaving their homes to move out of areas added to a growing sense of vulnerability with a consequential breakdown in law and order.

Kilfennan Presbyterian Church was established due to a surfeit of Presbyterian churches on the cityside and the majority of the members, heavily influenced by the impact of the 'Troubles' on the security and fabric of the building, movement of members, curtailment of youth and other activities, approved the decision to 'port' the congregation to the Waterside.

In research, undertaken by a retired Minister of Kilfennan Church and reflected within this report, it is evidenced that members were not always intimidated directly but a key factor was the political environment and the intimidating breakdown of normal peaceful conditions. City centre and neighbourhood bombings, door-step, church and workplace killings of security and civilian victims and disruption to travel, led to increasing numbers of PUL residents moving to where they felt less vulnerable; to reside in areas where they and their families experienced less of the ramifications of growing division and segregation in the city. Security members killed were known in their communities and attacks on them was perceived as an attack on the PUL community. Similarly, when businessmen were killed there was a sense of alarm within the community leading to movement from suburban areas which had not seen the worst of the street violence.

Neighbour was killing neighbour.

Of necessity, there was contact with the city side for reasons of work and schooling but many of the interviewees speak of effort on all sides to avoid certain topics in the workplace; to avoid confrontation and protect jobs with more open conversations when in the exclusive company of those of like mind. There are instances of social contacts surviving however many friendships were fractured by the distancing which resulted from the movement of families and hardening political allegiances; with PUL residents in the city seeing attacks on businesses as attacking the Protestant population. A CNR interviewee comments that initially much of the republican actions were a reaction to events and as a consequence their impact was realised later. Not for victims.

Is there, as one interviewee has suggested '*blurry-eyed nostalgia'*[176] for the period prior to 1968; life before displacement? Interviewees paint a picture of good relations in all of the areas which subsequently lost large numbers of their PUL residents; with children from different backgrounds sharing family outing, playing and socialising into teenage and older years. Recollections provide a less turbulent picture of life but the city was one beset by problems of high male unemployment, poor quality housing, shortage of housing and underlying political issues to do with voting and flawed decision-making over the siting of a new university and the development of Craigavon. What flowed from these provide a

[176] PULF/5

contextual background to conflict presenting as an intermingling of street politics, calling for rights and jobs but also seeking to *'smash the state'*, pragmatic reforms which ultimately did not deliver a solution, politically motivated violence and sectarianism all of which drove the city into increasingly lawless binary mode with repercussions for where people lived. Civility was pushed to the margins. The whole community was affected but the human impact of what is referred to the Exodus of PUL communities is the least acknowledged; in some circles, denied. The narrative is incomplete. Displacement is a topic relatively untouched by transitional justice.

In what he refers to as the lost '*peace process'* a Republican activist refers to the development of a new strategy within Republican clubs as a result of the failed IRA border campaign in which energy was to be focused on rights and social issues; how republican club members [177]were involved in early organisations calling for Civil Rights. At the same time young socialist activists were seeking to end Stormont, whilst stating that they did not *'want their jobs, their houses but freedom'*. Within CNR communities, people had been told for some time that the different branches of law and order were the enemy and in existence to keep them in their place [178]. In the heightening tension of the late 1960s resistance would prove easy to harness. At the same time, local Unionist representatives were being told that there was going to be trouble in Northern Ireland and it would be centred in Derry.[179] Now older, CNR activists looking back state that they hoped to engage with the PUL communities many of whom were living in the same conditions and dealing with the same family pressures but they failed as sectarianism surfaced. The UVF was active in Belfast, parades which took place in defiance of bans or changes in route faced opposition and attack as bricks and petrol bombs littered streets in clashes, viewed on the one side as defence and on the other as insurgency.

In Londonderry, as barricades were erected residents on the receiving end of threats were evacuated[180] and squatted in houses marked for demolition. It was the beginning of displacement on the West bank. When the army arrived on the streets a new dimension was added with tensions around security policy, Internment, Operation Motorman and Bloody Sunday, the closure of Stormont and the PIRA campaign which lasted until 1998. During the period, it seemed as if Nationalist areas operated as a 'state within a state' whilst war was pursued, even if, as one CNR has said: *The bins were still emptied*."

It was cocktail of action and reaction.

Politicians on all sides failed to find a consensual political solution until 1998. The history of the many failed attempts and the uneven progress in the years since is well documented and peppered with combative narratives.

[177] CNRM/4
[178] CNRM/18
[179] PULM/20
[180] PULM/ 4

By that time the legacy of PUL displacement in the city was clear. In spite of attempts to counter the flight of PUL residents and lack of Unionist representation on the West bank the river served to accentuate the legacy of the post 1968 years.

The extracts cited from the PUL and CNR interviews show the many dimensions to the narrative of PUL displacement – the reasons for, difficulties of settling into new areas, most of which lacked adequate infrastructure and importantly,the reaction of CNR neighbours who did not sanction the intimidation and actions which fed into fear and feelings of vulnerability but felt powerless to act.

The traumatic circumstances following the death of a loved one are laid bare.

Sitting alongside is the sense that more could have been done by political representatives, school and church leaders. One local Councillor, [181]who served on the new Council elected following the end of the Londonderry Development Commission, provides a measure of insight in stating: "*What could we do.?"* Decision-makers in places of greater power could ask the same question of themselves or as there is believed to have been an acceptable level of violence was there also an acceptable level of displacement?

The report cannot provide an answer to that question but the comments of the many interviewees answer many others as they focus on life before, during and after moving from the West bank. In regard to the latter, a sense of marginalisation and disaffection was exacerbated by insensitive decision-making around changing the name of the Council and city, assertions that '*Derry is a Nationalist city'* and perceived lack of empathy with the last remaining PUL area on the West bank[182]. In honest appraisal of recent decision-making one CNR Council member remarks: *"sometimes things happen at Council level because people actually haven't had a conversation beforehand and you are expected to make a snap decision.*"

This has fed into a feeling of tokenism when PUL engagement is sometimes sought to access funding for projects.

What has emerged as a legacy of the Exodus is a more robust and now more confident community sector within PUL communities, peopled by residents who left the West bank. Initially facing the many difficulties which flowed from the immediacy of the displacement, community development was slowed by the need to first build and action a spirit of identity in the new locations. It took time and many challenges presented but with each passing generation the sense of a place as home that was so strong for PUL families prior to moving in the late 1960s and 1970s and later, has emerged. A consequence of this is the confidence to claim their place in and contribute to the wellbeing, economic, social and cultural life of an inclusive city; not always encouraged or welcomed as it should.

There is an emergent leadership that believes the highest purpose of our politics should not be to fight like cats and dogs; putting conversation above confrontation to work towards a community where any risk of repeating our troubled past is removed. There is then no

[181] PULM/23
[182] PULM/ 2, PUL/3, PUM/4.

reluctance to acknowledge the mistakes of the past and the hurt that was visited on non-PUL individuals and families in the city.

The PUL communities have gone from some areas but are still here. Intentional listening to the narrative and acknowledgement of the painful experiences of the PUL movement from the West bank would do much to redress any perceived hierarchy when dealing with the past and find common purpose in establishing parity of esteem and mutual respect as a means of embedding reconciliation, so elusive in other places.

In a now more segregated city than prior to PUL population movement if relationships are not as they need to be or seem at risk of becoming fragile, a community must become its caretakers.

SECTION EIGHT: RECOMMENDATIONS and NEXT STEPS

"We cannot have reconciliation if a section of the community wishes to remain strangers to the knowledge and experiences of the fellow community with which they share space… to resign that knowledge and experiences to insularity."

Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past – Jonathan D Jansen,2009

The rationale implied in the quotation above for moving a post conflict but still deeply segregated community forward is challenging. Acknowledgement, lacking in inclusivity is not conducive to reconciliation. It sustains a perception of hierarchy when recognising the pain, trauma and hurt resulting from the conflict in Northern Ireland from 1968-1998; with Derry/Londonderry often at the centre.

Niall Gilmartin and Ciarán Browne in researching the experience of displacement in Northern Ireland's Troubles draw attention to a gap in dealing with the past in regard to displacement and its legacy. In the many interviews – PUL and CNR - which have informed this Report it becomes clear from the evidence that this is a situation that also pertains locally.

It is hoped and anticipated that the integrity of the accounts provided by that generation of those who, through the force and fear of direct and indirect intimidation, left their homes, churches and schools, often in the most traumatic of circumstances, will increase understanding and consign any hurtful denialism to history.

There is a small number who feel that it is already too late for acknowledgment of what was visited upon the PUL community. A sizeable majority however takes the view that it will not change the past but may make for a better future. They see a role for locally elected civic representatives in endorsing the necessity for political and civic recognition; to carry the task forward in consultation with different sectors and civic forums which have a genuine interest in discussing and pursuing effective strategies sensitively to limit any risk of re-traumatisation, creatively and meaningfully.

CNR interviewees who display reticence when considering acknowledgment emphasise that not all of the CNR community was involved in actions which led to neighbours moving and cannot be held responsible for those who were. However, there is openness to discussion as to how this can be delivered at civic level.

The following approaches are tabled for consideration:

- Political and civic recognition that the Exodus happened and was an integral part of the recent history of the City
- The dissemination of this Report to decision-makers, policy makers academic and educational Institutions

- Public and inclusive access to the Report, video and testimonies in publicly funded local museums and exhibition spaces

- Further analysis and production of academic papers potentially by Ulster University INCORE with access on the CAIN website and other research platforms; and

- That resources are committed to supporting the above to facilitate further analysis and publication of the over 200 hours of recorded testimonies.

The need for further programming;

- Bringing together individuals to share and audit untold narratives in a safe environment;
- Provision for dialogue that, whilst making space for listening, also allows exploration of diverse beliefs and history beyond the labels;

- Allowing access to support agencies where needed;

- Exploring examples from which to learn how others communities have dealt with post conflict narratives; and

- Using drama, poetry, music and visual arts to tell the story

Initiatives would need to be based on agreed ethical and reflective principles which provide for: inclusion, equality, integrity, accountability and transparency.

Once discussion is initiated fresh thinking is likely to emerge.

One of the central tasks of this Report has been to focus on the displacement or 'Exodus' of PUL residents from the West bank of the city to the Waterside and beyond; to promote discourse as to how failure to acknowledge this at civic and community can be addressed.

The first and arguably compelling first step is to achieve endorsement of a long overdue need for this to happen. In addition to affording untold stories to be heard It will offer the potential to continue on a journey to what too often presents as elusive reconciliation.

That journey did not end in 1998.

It would be disappointing if civic leaders and the community do not grasp the opportunity available to us. There is challenge in doing so but is it beneficial to leave understanding of our shared past to party and communal allegiances; the compartmentalisation of historic recollection?

Nothing will be gained by ignoring truths we find inconvenient.

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APPENDIX

Copy of the Participant Information sheet and Agreement signed by interviewees prior to interviews.

Participant Information sheet
The Exodus Programme

You are invited to participate in a research study of:

- the displacement of Protestants, Unionist, and Loyalist communities in Londonderry, Northern Ireland during the years 1968-1998;
- the experience of re-settlement or departure from the city;
- the reaction of the mainly Nationalist, Republican and Catholic communities to the displacement of neighbours and how the experienced the changing demographic profile of neighbourhoods; and
- the short and long-term intergenerational social, economic, political, cultural and educational impact of displacement on the Protestant, Unionist and Loyalist communities in the period after 1998.

Before you decide whether to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and feel free to ask if you would like more information, if you believe an aspect has been overlooked, or if there is anything that you do not understand. Please also feel free to discuss your participation with your family and friends before deciding. I stress that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to participate if you want to.

Thank you.

1. What is the purpose of the study?

This research seeks to examine the experiences of the post-1968 history of displacement within Protestant, Unionist, and Loyalist and Catholic, Nationalist and Republican communities in Londonderry/Derry. The research is specifically focused on those displaced during the period of armed conflict known as the 'Troubles' and ongoing into today. Because the stories of those displaced have been largely overlooked thus far, this project will explore the impacts and perspectives of those directly and indirectly affected by these events.

2. Why have I been chosen to take part?

As a person who experienced displacement during the conflict or was impacted by the displacement (for example relatives or neighbours displaced) you have been invited to participate because your story and experiences will be of enormous value and benefit to this study.

3. Do I have to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the process at any stage, without prejudice, up until the point of research publication. Should you agree to participate, it is also important to stress that you are free to decline to respond to any questions posed.

4.What will happen if I take part?

If you agree to participate, one of us will contact you to arrange a time, date, and place for your interview. Your interview will be scheduled around your existing commitments, needs and interests, and so the interview will be scheduled at a place and time of your convenience and choosing. If you are happy for your interview to be recorded, the interview exchange will be informal, and involve me asking some broad questions asking about various aspects of your experiences and views, all recorded on an audio recording device. I may also take some notes throughout the interview. Both the transcript of the interview and interview notes will be made available to you.

There is no minimum or maximum time length for interviews. While each interview is unique, the typical interview can last from an hour to several hours, depending on how long the research participant wishes to talk for. The recorded interview, field notes, and other materials will be stored securely in a locket cabinet in our office. If you choose to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, indicating that after taking the time to consider all relevant information, you agree to voluntarily participate.

5. Are there any risks of taking part?

The primary risks involved in participating relate to safeguarding interviewees' privacy and confidentiality. It is not the intention of the researcher or the research project to cause any emotional or psychological distress to you during the research process or expose you to any potential harms. This research will endeavour to reduce all potential risks by respecting your privacy and confidentiality at every stage by allowing the interview to be anonymised at any point. This process will be detailed in section 8. The research methods, data storage, and intended safeguards fully comply with established international good practice and UK legal requirements. Given the events under consideration, it is important to state that there is always the possibility of unintended emotional distress. If at any stage during the research you feel uncomfortable or unwilling to continue with an interview, or if reflections afterwards cause you to re-think your role in the research, then you can terminate an interview transcript at any time afterwards. As part of the research consent form, I will provide you with the contact details of support groups and organisations which deal directly with the trauma of armed conflict and displacement. Additionally, you may be contacted by email or a phone call in the days or weeks after the interview to ensure your emotional wellbeing.

6. Are there any benefits in taking part?

If you agree to participate, your story will be hugely beneficial for many reasons. First, we hope that by telling the story, having it documented as part of history, and by receiving a copy of your full interview transcript will be some personal benefit. Second, a key objective of this research is to recover the hidden stories of Northern Ireland Protestants, Unionists, and Loyalists displacement, which will be of enormous importance as part of Northern Ireland's social and political history. Moreover, the research believes that by examining the perspectives of Protestants, Unionists, and Loyalists, your participation will provide the basis for shared

understandings of contested history. Your participation will provide the data needed to further academic understandings of the displacement of Protestants, Unionists, and Loyalists at a world-wide level, leading to improvements to the lives of those displaced now and in the future.

7. What if I am unhappy or if there is a problem?

If you are unhappy, or if there is a problem, please feel free to let us know by contacting Brian Dougherty at brian@newgatearts.com or 07729 356637 or Derek Moore at derek@newgatearts.com or 07732749834 and we will try to address any concern you may have. If you remain unhappy or have a complaint which you feel you cannot come to us with then you should contact the board of the North West Cultural Partnership. When contacting the board of the North West Cultural partnership, please provide details of the name or description of the study (so it can be identified), the researcher(s) involved, and the details of the complaint you wish to make.

8. Will my participation be kept confidential?

Maintaining the confidentiality and anonymity of you, the participant, is a central priority. To safeguard the privacy and confidentiality of all research participants, the interviewee can be completely anonymous if they want or they can agree to have their views expressed with their name. We will share the interview with the interviewee and you will have the final say on the level of safeguards used to protect their identity.
All materials related to the interview process will be securely stored both digitally and physically at New Gate arts and cultural centre. The digital recordings will be securely stored, providing a robust and secure form of data protection. Given the nature of events under examination, it is vitally important to clearly state that the researcher and research project is not concerned with disclosure of criminal activity involving the participant. If disclosure does occur during the duration of the interview, confidentiality cannot be assured.

9. What will happen to the results of the study?

Given the importance of Northern Ireland's conflict-related displacement story, I anticipate significant interest in the results of the study across a wide range, including academics, mainstream media (radio, newspaper), as well as public events. As a research participant, you will be kept fully informed of any development or major milestones, including conclusion of field research, academic publications, and any other form of dissemination including workshops, seminars, policy briefs, and mainstream media, among others.

10. What will happen if I want to stop taking part?

You have the right to withdraw from participating at any stage of the process, without prejudice and without explanation, up until the point of research publication and/or data destruction. You also have the right to withdraw any or all your contributions, up to the point of research publication and/or data destruction. If this is requested, all materials relating to you and your participation, including consent forms, recorded interview, transcript, interview notes will be destroyed.

11. Who can I contact if I have further questions?

You can contact Brian Dougherty at brian@newgatearts.com and 07732749834 or Derek Moore at derek@newgatearts.com and 07729356637

Participant Consent Form
Title: The Exodus Programme
Researcher(s): Brian Dougherty and Derek Moore

1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

1. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected, up to the point of publication. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

2. I understand that, under the Data Protecting Act 1998, I can request access to the information I provide, and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish up until the point of research publication.

3. I agree for the data I provide to be archived at New Gate Arts and Cultural Centre. I understand that only the researcher will have access to this data, on condition that they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

4. I understand and agree that my participation may be audio recorded and I am aware of the consent to your use of any recording for the purposes of transcription and date findings.

5. Would you like to use your real identity in subsequent publications ……. (YES/ NO) ?

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Participant name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Signed on behalf of NWCP _____

Date: _____