

Moving through Time and Space: Performing Bodies in Derry, Northern Ireland*

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Introduction

In recent years, scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds such as anthropology, sociology, psychology and history have paid increasing attention to collective memory in the underwriting and construction of group identity¹. Within the discipline of sociology, most studies of memory work have focused on various sites of inscribed, written-down memory such as museums, memorials, films, websites, song, books, magazines and so forth. Less attention has been given to non-inscribed ways of bringing the past into the present such as marches, processions and parades. Of those studies that do examine embodied forms of remembrance and the mnemonic capacities of the body, Paul Connerton's text *How Societies Remember* has been particularly influential as a theoretical point of departure². This article employs, and extends, Connerton's framework to help make sense of the annual re-enactment of the Bloody Sunday³ march, a movement through space that also entails a movement through time.

After providing a brief theoretical reference point for the paper, through the work of Connerton, I then go on to delineate a three-stage periodization of the march focusing on important shifts and changes between each stage as well as accumulations across them. In the section that follows this I return to the theoretical claims introduced earlier and seek to call attention to underanalyzed aspects of Connerton's theorization of bodily memory pointed to by the empirical data, specifically the extent to which embodied remembrance undergoes change and modification over time and how performative ritual in the context of an unsettled society⁴ such as Northern Ireland is politically charged and responsive to wider socio-historical shifts and currents.

As the title of Connerton's authoritative work suggests, he is concerned with how societies represent the past but particularly through performing history in the form of commemorative ritual. He begins his work by drawing attention to and criticizing the strong textual tilt that seems to dominate social science scholarship and the consequent lack of attention to non-textual means, or what he calls embodied means, of remembering the past. This foregrounding of texts, as the expense of bodies, can be mapped on to a wider shift from oral to print culture. He writes that "although bodily practices are in principle included as possible objects of hermeneutic inquiry, in practice hermeneutics has taken inscription as its privileged object"⁵. By seeking, then, to offer "an account of how practices of a non-inscribed kind are transmitted, in and as a tradition"⁶, he attempts to problematize the privileging of inscription in existing analyses of collective memory⁷. For Connerton, bodily social memory is carried through two kinds of social practices: formal, scripted commemorative ceremonies and more informal bodily practices such as postures, gestures and bodily etiquette with respect to food and eating, that evoke the past, often in unthinking and taken-for-granted ways, but "without explicitly representing it in words or images"⁸.

Commemorative ceremonies include parades, marches, wreath-laying ceremonies and the like and it is this aspect of his work that I seek to draw on and contribute to in this paper. Central to these commemorative ceremonies is the notion of performative re-enactment, of repeating history as it really was. When Christians re-enact Christ's death at Easter, for example, they make an explicit link with an actual past event. We are doing this now as it was done thousands of years ago. These ritual performances are centrally implicated in the construction and underwriting of communal memory and consist,

according to Connerton, of “more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances”⁹, suggesting that ritual re-enactments of the past, and especially those of a religious kind, are capable of resisting change or what he terms variance. But, as I hope to show, bodily memory, or at least that of a vernacular, non-official kind, may well be much more indeterminate, especially ritual re-enactments organized against a shifting political landscape and in the context of a deeply divided and conflictual society like Northern Ireland.

While Connerton has made an important intervention in building the conceptual scaffolding of collective memory scholarship, I try to make the case that Connerton’s central claim about the “more or less invariant sequences of formal acts”¹⁰ that make up symbolic rituals may be less applicable to acts of bodily memory organized at grassroots civil society level and in resistance to official forms of memory. Most of Connerton’s empirical examples of rituals are either of religious rituals or of state-sponsored rituals such as commemorations of Bastille Day in France and one wonders about whether his theoretical claims can be extended to bodily rituals that explicitly contest official collective memory, as in the case of Bloody Sunday.

To make this argument, then, I draw on the case of Bloody Sunday, focusing in particular on the way this event has been remembered through an annual march re-enacting the original 1972 march, when thirteen civilians were shot dead by British soldiers while peacefully marching against internment¹¹. Although Bloody Sunday is now commemorated through a series of events over a week, an annual commemorative march has always been the central event of the commemorative calendar drawing the biggest crowds and attracting, at least in more recent times, significant media attention. I

show, following Maurice Halbwachs¹², how and why this ritual re-enactment of the past reflected and responded to changing socio-political circumstances, interests and needs. Thus, I pay attention to the wider political context in which the march took place and explain its evolving structure with respect to shifts in relations of power between the two divided communities that make up Northern Irish society.

My sociological-historical analysis of this march is based upon a number of archival sources, including newspaper accounts and film footage, interview data, and a participant observation study of the 33rd and 34th anniversary commemoration march and rally. I argue that three stages define the march: (1) Stage 1: Pre-Hegemonic: Sinn Féin¹³ (SF) versus Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association¹⁴ (NICRA), 1973-1975; (2) Stage 2: Hegemonic: SF's appropriation of the march, 1975-1990; and, (3) Stage 3: The Quest for Power to Define the Truth, 1990-present. This periodization of the march is based on changes in memory entrepreneurship and changes in the historical symbols and images carried on the march.

Stage 1 looks at the contest between SF and NICRA over control of the memory of Bloody Sunday and the minor role of other social movement organizations. In the early to mid 1970s, SF and NICRA both organized marches on the same weekend but, to avoid confrontation, on different days. The NICRA commemorations were small in scale in comparison to the SF commemorations and they were more private events for the victims' families than they were public. NICRA speakers spoke about the importance of remembering and made statements about its hopes that the values of democracy and non-violence that the Bloody Sunday dead stood for would not be forgotten.

At the SF commemorations, the political claim-making was very different. SF commemorations were used as an opportunity to rally support for physical force republicanism, to express anti-British hostility and to amplify a victimization narrative while emphasizing that the Bloody Sunday victims should never be forgotten. In these speeches the suffering of victims of “the other” (and most often at the hands of republicans), that is, the Unionist/Protestant community were omitted, representing a kind of selective forgetting of victimhood. Republicans exhorted their followers to continue the armed struggle as a homage to the victims of Bloody Sunday. For them, Bloody Sunday represented all that was unjust about the British state and so it became an important symbol around which to mobilize support for its goals.

This early pre-hegemonic phase of contestation between different voices (including Derry Women’s Action Committee, People’s Democracy and the Irish Front who organized marches in the 1972-77 period) was followed by Stage 2 in which SF settled down into its role as the dominant memory choreographer of Bloody Sunday. Put another way, from 1978, SF had the march to itself. Although NICRA’s commemorative role had been reduced to organizing a wreath-laying ceremony at the Rossville Street memorial to Bloody Sunday, SF nonetheless faced strong and frequent criticism from the SDLP. SF, in turn, tended to use the Bloody Sunday commemoration as an opportunity to criticize constitutional nationalism both north and south of the border as well as the Irish Catholic hierarchy, a favourite target of republican critique. This is followed by Stage 3 where I look at the march as a cultural tool for mobilizing support for the quest for a new inquiry. This stage was marked by more intense memory work and entrepreneurship than

the two earlier stages. During this phase, Irish nationalists began to gain more cultural and political power in Northern Ireland and this was expressed in very high levels of attendance at the commemoration marches towards the end of this period. A rhetorical emphasis on critiquing other nationalists was diminished in this phase as republican and nationalist interests in challenging the official memory met and a new rapprochement between Northern Ireland's two divided communities began to take shape. But before examining each stage in deeper detail it is useful to begin by briefly looking at the origins of parading in the Northern Ireland context and the general properties of the Bloody Sunday march.

Origins and Meaning of Marches in the Northern Irish Context. The tradition of parading can be traced to the guild processions of Middle Ages Europe. Parades are defined by Warner as a “recognized and socially defined public use of symbols in a set of formal and informal social relations. An activity is recognized as such by those who participate in it and by those who study it at the explicit and open level of social behavior it is not something they do unconsciously”¹⁵. This form of social walking, and others such as processions, pilgrimages, promenades and pageants, have long been used both to legitimize and to contest state power¹⁶

Northern Ireland has a rich history of parades and marches¹⁷. Once the preserve of the unionist tradition, this cultural form has also been recently taken up by nationalists as a means of remembering significant past events. Marches are one powerful way in which social groups in Northern Ireland create and sustain difference and symbolically express the power dynamics that shape their everyday lives¹⁸. While loyalist parades pay

homage to memories of victory and triumph, nationalist marches are victim parades honoring memories of loss, tragedy and defeat¹⁹.

General Properties of the Bloody Sunday March. On the 30th of January every year, republicans and nationalists have marked out this day to reflect on and remember what happened on this day in 1972. By ritually reenacting the original march over the same route at the same time, an attempt is made to obliterate the past-present distinction²⁰. It is literally a walk down memory lane.

The route starts on the steep slopes of the Creggan shops near Bishop's Field and is mostly downhill all the way to Free Derry Corner where wreaths (and more recently crosses) carried on the march are laid at the Bloody Sunday memorial followed by a political rally a hundred yards away at the site of the "You Are Now Entering Free Derry" mural in Free Derry Corner, the symbolic heart of the predominately Catholic or nationalist Bogside. The route is about two miles long and it takes about two hours to complete. Unlike in the Orange tradition, there is no return march. In this movement through geographical space a movement through historical time takes place as well²¹. Roads in the Bogside are temporarily closed during the march thus suspending the normal flow through time and space as if the march takes place in a moment out of time. The march stops at several points along the route such as at the Bloody Sunday victims' mural and at the scene of the action, so to speak, at Rossville Street where one minute's silence is observed.

Banners hung on wooden poles are held by some of the marchers bearing words slogans that reflect political grievances and demands of the day. Local flute and drum

bands also participate. The band members march in military-style formation and play nationalistic music, heightening the aural experience of the march. At the end of the march a political rally takes place. The back of a lorry serves as the platform upon which a podium and microphone are erected and a ladder is leaned against the side of the lorry to allow the speakers mount the platform. A man holding a tricolor stands on the platform. The convenor, normally a local republican, welcomes the crowd. Before the speeches get underway, the Irish national anthem is played by a flutist, imbuing the occasion with a national as well as a political significance. The names of the wounded are then read out followed by the names of the Bloody Sunday dead. A one-minute's silence is then observed. Not everyone who attends the march stays to listen to the political speeches at the rally – by the time the two-hour march reaches Free Derry Corner some people are tired and leave.

This act of walking through the streets of Derry, a classic Durkheimian ritual of coming together around a common set of symbols that affirm group identity and solidarity²², can never be done in exactly the same way twice²³. It is a repeated act that is at the same time open to imagination and transformation. As Jedlowski puts it “past practices are never the same, but are selectively incorporated and reformulated constantly according to changing circumstances in our lives: in this sense the practices prolong the past within the present, but at the same time reformulate its legacy’²⁴. Embodied remembrance then is simultaneously traditional and adaptive²⁵ but Paul Connerton’s analysis would lead one to expect little or no adaptation in the face of socio-political change. An examination of the stages through which the march passed through provides

empirical support for the claim that Connerton overstates the traditional element in embodied memorialization, to which I now turn.

The March

Stage One: Pre-Hegemonic: SF versus NICRA, 1973-1978

The first few years of commemorating Bloody Sunday were characterized by mnemonic battles between various social movement organizations who competed with one another over claims to the memory of the Bloody Sunday dead but two of these NICRA and SF emerged as the dominant memory choreographers. Each went about remembering Bloody Sunday in very different ways, articulating competing discourses of peace on the onehand and violence on the other as well as communicating different norms about the content of the march. Memory work²⁶ in the early 1970s was intense given the closeness to the original event. Over time, SF took over from NICRA as the organizer of the march as Northern Irish society moved into a long and protracted period of conflict. The early parades were small-scale, local events drawing crowds of between 2,000 and 5,000. The public notices for the march of NICRA and SF crystallized how each organization seized upon the memory of Bloody Sunday in very different ways. SF saw the march as an index of support for physical force republicanism²⁷ as this account of the 1978 march by Seamus Boyle in *Republican News* suggests: “I had a feeling of low morale which has always accompanied such marches, about the size of turn-out. Would it

be a smaller march than last year? Would a low turnout mean something sinister, and would the Press read into it the defeat of the IRA?!!!"²⁸.

NICRA's discourse spoke to different truths. NICRA's press officer, Kevin McCorry, in a press statement for the 1973 commemoration stated that the commemoration was about remembering the dead as well as helping people realize their present political situation: "The people of Derry will remember the thirteen as friends, neighbors, and workmates. But they will also remember them as comrades in the struggle which has still to be completed, the struggle to end repression, introduce democracy and uproot sectarianism from Northern Ireland"²⁹. These competing ideological projects pointed to the contested as against the collective nature of memory and called into question the non-conflictual understanding of the past that the term "collective memory" implies³⁰.

Public sentiment though was not always behind the SF organized marches and the letters page of the local press was a platform upon which a diversity of opinion about the marches was expressed. In 1978, *Republican News* reported that "though we commemorate the 14, one or two of the families didn't attend. They do not appreciate that the violent oppression of civil rights plus State massacre equals the necessity for civil resistance and armed struggle...this year saw some families march for the first time with Sinn Féin"³¹. One year on, *An Phoblacht* reported that at the 1979 commemoration "reportedly representatives from all the victims' families, except those who had left the area, were present at the head of the march"³².

Some citizens letters constructed the march as degrading republican propaganda exercises, "no doubt, as we again approach the anniversary of that terrible day in our

beloved city's history, Bloody Sunday, the coat-trailers of the Provisionals, which they call their political wing, are busy making plans to turn the day of sorrow into a carnival of bands, banners and speeches of hate. In view of the slaughter of innocent people in Birmingham, Aldershot, London, Woolwich, and Guildford, carried out in the name of Ireland, may I suggest that the relatives of Derry's 14, the Church and people of Derry, do all in their power to deny the Provos the excuse to display their mock hypocrisy on the streets of Derry on Bloody Sunday". The letter goes on to suggest a preferred way of commemorating the dead: "Let us honour our dead by going to Mass, praying for the souls of the dead and for forgiveness for their killers. Do not let us soil the memory of those who died for justice's sake by falling for Provo propaganda, especially since the Provos have shown that they are incapable of understanding the meaning of justice themselves through their cowardly murders and knee-cappings"³³.

Beyond these competing discourses, NICRA and SF prescribed different rules about the organization of their marches. NICRA's statement before the 1973 commemoration called on all organizations "which would hope to commemorate this day to zealously protect it from anyone or any group which would attempt to sully the names of the dead by seeking to make cheap political capital out of their massacre last year"³⁴. Echoing this, the Bogside Community Association also called for a dignified and peaceful march saying "no opportunity should be afforded on this occasion to any person or group, be they members of the Army or of this community, or anyone else, to introduce discord into commemorative proceedings"³⁵. In practical terms, this meant draining the march of any political content. The NICRA march was a silent march. NICRA asked people not to carry banners and exhorted them, in a statement released on

January 27, 1973, to be “an example of dignity and respect to the world or else we reject the principles of those who died and we discredit their memory”³⁶. A leaflet for distribution to marchers reminded them of the norms governing the march: that it would be silent, that wreaths would be carried at the front, that no flags or banners would be carried, and that no confrontation would be sought. NICRA, above all, impressed upon marchers the dignified and non-political nature of its commemoration and left nothing to chance on the day³⁷.

NICRA’s preparations for the commemoration would consist of issuing a press statement outlining its provisional program for the commemoration the month before. Matters such as stewarding, catering, fundraising as well as the order of the commemoration ceremony were all discussed beforehand. Arrangements for other items such as a wreath from the executive of NICRA, loud speakers, a statement from the relatives supporting the NICRA commemoration, and the platform, were all made in advance³⁸.

The SF organized marches were much more political in content and included marching republican bands and the carrying of banners and flags announcing grievances of Irish republicans. Little fidelity to the historical symbolism of original 1972 was evident in the content of these marches. This high level of militarism associated with the republican parades alienated those who saw the memorialization of Bloody Sunday as an occasion to reinforce values associated with peace and democracy rather than violent action. NICRA, in particular, criticized SF in very strong terms for the way it used the occasion to subvert the meaning of the original march. A letter from NICRA to Alfie Byrne in New Zealand, is an instructive example of this, “the Bloody Sunday

Commemoration was held by us on Saturday in Derry. There were several hundred people at the event and it was a quiet, dignified ceremony which passed off without incident. Which is more than can be said for yesterday's demo by Provisional Sinn Féin to commemorate Bloody Sunday. The speeches which were made from the platform were a disgrace and more so since they were uttered on an occasion like a Bloody Sunday commemoration. Maire Drumm said that if Frank Stagg died, they (the Provos) would send the SAS back to England in coffins – Kevin Agnew, to my shame a one time Chairman of NICRA – said that if Stagg dies, bombings like what happened in Birmingham where 21 people died would be like a picnic to what was to come in the future (...) it was utterly sickening to hear them say this at such a solemn occasion – anyone would think that it was on a march organized by the Provos that the 14 innocents were murdered”³⁹.

But NICRA's capacity to win the hearts and minds of people was quickly diminishing as republicans began to lay waste to its ambitions of effecting change through democratic avenues. The smallness of the crowds that it attracted to its commemorative events was sufficient evidence of that. SF, even though its marches never attracted great crowds either, was emerging as the dominant memory choreographer and its definition of the meaning of the memory of Bloody Sunday gained ascendancy over NICRA's non-violent message and promotion of Bloody Sunday as a symbol of the importance of peaceful means of achieving political goals. SF's emergence as hegemonic gatekeeper of the memory of Bloody Sunday owed as much, it could be argued, to the lack of interest among other political actors such as the nationalist SDLP

(Social Democratic and Labour Party) who were better placed to challenge its hegemony than a comparatively weak organization like NICRA.

Stage 2: Hegemonic: SF Takes Over, 1975-1990.

The NICRA commemorative march was discontinued in 1975. From this point on, SF took over the organization of the march. SF marches did not reach the attendance levels of the 1990s partly it must be said, because so many other sectarian killings were taking place in Northern Ireland. By 1985 SF had colonized the Bloody Sunday commemoration, as it did with other commemorations such as Easter and St. Patrick's Day. Street politics had always been a strong strategy of the republican movement. As Jarman puts it "the republican movement became the principal focus for all nationalist protest"⁴⁰. NICRA was no longer a rival, even a weak one. Not surprisingly then, criticism of SF from other rival political parties, most notably the SDLP, became more frequent.

Symbolic struggles between constitutional and physical force nationalism carried over from stage 1 into this second stage. In 1983, Gerry Adams, leader of SF, attacked the constitutional nationalist SDLP for its poor leadership (the SDLP was holding its annual conference on the same day as the commemoration) claiming that "what is happening here on the streets of Derry is more important in political terms than any SDLP conference"⁴¹ and went on to say that the SDLP was a declining political party. Not surprisingly, the SDLP was known in these years as the "Stoop Down Low Party"⁴². For the first time, John Hume, then leader of the SDLP, publicly rebuked Gerry Adams, in a letter to the *Derry Journal*, for using the commemoration for what he called "party

political purposes”. John Hume wrote that, “their deaths have been burned into the consciences of the people of Derry. They did not march in support of any party political organization. They marched behind the non-violent banner of the Civil Rights Movement to oppose the injustices perpetrated against the people”. The letter continues: “It is not only distasteful but offensive that anyone should attempt to use their memory for party political purposes”⁴³.

In the letters to the editor section of the local press one gets a sense of public sentiment towards the march during this stage. One letter by James Wray, father of Jim Wray who was killed on Bloody Sunday, argued that SF organized the annual commemoration over the past 11 years while other actors such as the Catholic Church and the Irish government stood aside. He asked this rhetorical question: “Is it possible that what really upset Mr Hume was Gerry Adam’s comment that politicians and representatives of Church and State ended their commemoration of the Bloody Sunday martyrs the day of their burial?” Mr Wray went on to say that, “I can speak not only for my family and myself when I thank all the people, Sinn Féin, and, in particular, Gerry Adams for participating in the 11th commemoration parade for the Bloody Sunday victims”⁴⁴.

Another letter by the prolific writer, Sean Carr, argued that John Hume’s letter was “a touch of severe sour grapes”. He stated that the reason why John Hume had only spoken now was because of SF’s recent electoral performance⁴⁵. Hugh Gallagher, a resident of the predominately nationalist Creggan estate, argued that John Hume’s “own conscience should have been troubling him as he sat with his middle-class friends in their Forum Hotel in Belfast, while the people of his own city remembered their relatives and

friends so cruelly butchered by the British”⁴⁶. The absence of letters in favor of John Hume’s position suggests that SF did enjoy considerable support in the 1980s for the way it remembered the Bloody Sunday dead although, as we will see, many people, like John Hume, did not participate in the march precisely because it was a SF organized event.

But it was perhaps the 1990 commemoration that mostly clearly registered the discursive struggle between physical force nationalists on the onehand and constitutional nationalists on the other. That year’s commemoration was explicitly linked to the Birmingham Six⁴⁷ case. An estimated 5,000 people attended, one of the biggest turnouts for a Bloody Sunday march⁴⁸. During the march, the IRA detonated a bomb. Charles Love, a sixteen year old from Strabane, Co. Tyrone, who was attending the march, died as a result. The IRA’s bomb was intended for the security forces⁴⁹. One letter to the editor expressed revulsion at the actions of the IRA:

“It was to have been a dignified, commemoration march with a message of justice for people who had been wrongly imprisoned, but for myself and others it turned into a nightmare. I haven’t been able to sleep thinking of the way he died, even though I’ve seen death in many ways before. The march organizers must feel as sick as I do. I don’t know if I’ll be able to face the commemoration march next year. I certainly will be afraid to let my children go again”⁵⁰.

Pat Devine, a SDLP councilor, also criticized the organizers of the commemoration, the Bloody Sunday Committee, stating that, “the best help that Sinn Féin and the Provisional IRA can offer them (the Birmingham Six) is to stay well away

from the genuine campaign being waged by people of integrity who are trying to secure their freedom. There can be no place in this genuine campaign for individuals or organizations who cannot outrightly condemn the outrage on Sunday that was an abuse of an anniversary and the wanton taking of a young life”⁵¹.

Bishop Edward Daly, another vocal critic of republicans, issued a public statement claiming that “the dominant theme of many of these annual marches has been militant and pro-violence rather than anti-violence”. He also stated that “they were exploited as a platform by some people who were apologists for campaigns of violence and murder – the complete contradiction of what Bloody Sunday meant and means to me”⁵². The Bloody Sunday Commemorative Committee asked the bishop to clarify his remarks and in response Bishop Daly called on it to publicly announce its opposition to violence and intimidation of all kinds⁵³.

While the Bloody Sunday Committee, through its spokesperson, Tony Doherty, did criticize the IRA’s actions as a “gross error of judgment” it strongly defended itself against criticisms by British government ministers, the SDLP, and members of the Catholic hierarchy. In its statement it said, “British Ministers have absolutely no right to condemn or lecture Irish people about violence or the deaths of civilians. John Cope and Brian Mawhinney are members of a government which routinely destroys the lives of Irish people and who repeatedly justify the heartbreak which they cause”⁵⁴.

This statement from the Bloody Sunday Committee is strikingly similar to the discourse of SF at early commemorative marches most notably in its strong criticism of “the establishment”, that is, the SDLP and the British government, standard targets of SF rhetorical attack. Thus, it is difficult to argue, based on the evidence, that the BSC was

completely outside partisan politics because its public statements found an echo in the rhetoric of SF.

Stage 3: Quest for Power to Define the Truth, 1990-

During this stage, beginning in 1990 and reaching its apogee in 1997, the quest for power to define the truth about Bloody Sunday took center stage. Although the claims and counterclaims of the second stage did not disappear, a slow process of remarketing Bloody Sunday and moving away from a politics of blame took place. Broader political changes shaped memory work and a critical factor that helped neutralize earlier criticism of republicanism from constitutional nationalists, was the IRA's historic cessation of violence in August 1994. This brought about a transformation in the political and security environment of Northern Ireland and opened up an opportunity for Irish nationalists and republicans alike to bring pressure to bear on the British government to establish a new inquiry into Bloody Sunday. Prior to the IRA ceasefire in 1994, rhetorical attacks by the SDLP on the organizers of the commemoration differed little from before. In 1992, for instance, the invitation by the BSI to Gerry Adams to speak at the rally gave rise to strong criticism from William O'Connell of the SDLP. Cllr. O'Connell claimed the BSI was a "front for Sinn Féin"⁵⁵. Responding to Cllr. O'Connell's comments, the BSI described them as "a slur, an insult, and a pathetic attempt at party politics"⁵⁶.

Not everyone accepted the SDLP position. Sean Carr's letter to the *Derry Journal* argued that the "SDLP inspired tirade is merely a smokescreen designed to hid the fact that the SDLP has never, as a political party, shown any inclination towards leading the people of Derry in a public expression of either grief or

defiance towards the Bloody Sunday murders...Bloody Sunday is an acute embarrassment to the SDLP hierarchy”⁵⁷. A marcher from Massachusetts, USA, congratulated the BSI for a job well done, “as someone who was interned at the time of the Bloody Sunday murders, I would like to congratulate “The Bloody Sunday Initiative” on the magnificent way they organized this year’s commemoration and other associated events. It was a fitting tribute to the dead”⁵⁸.

But these important symbolic changes not enough to convince all that SF’s influence had been drained from the march. That the deep structure of the march remained untouched and only its surface appearance had changed is suggested by this citizen’s letter to the *Derry Journal*:

“Mr P O’Connor must have been at a different Bloody Sunday March to the ‘one’ that I saw. Black taxis leading, banners commemorating IRA men, bands in paramilitary uniforms, bus loads of S.F. ‘branches’ and supporters from parts of Ireland and Scotland with S.F. banners, and of course, Mr. McGuinness, Adams and Co. I don’t have a problem with the Republican Movement organizing the Bloody Sunday March to commemorate the 14 innocent people murdered by the British army (15 including Mr Love killed by IRA).The problem is why does Mr. P. O’Connor and Mr. C. Feely (*Irish Times*) keep denying it? Take away the banners, the bands, the black taxis. Have a dignified march gentlemen and it wouldn’t be 40,000 next year – but 140,000!”⁵⁹.

Attacks by SF on the SDLP were standard fare at rallies in the 1980s. However, as a result of the peace process, and the movement of SF into mainstream constitutional politics, the politics of blame was abandoned in favor of attempts to create a pan-nationalist front. At the 2001 commemorative rally members of political parties other than SF spoke, an unthinkable scenario prior to the IRA's cessation of violence.

A transformed political environment found expression in changed political discourse. From 1994 on, the ideological project of Irish republicans shifted as rhetoric about British injustices, British withdrawal, the ill-treatment of Irish republican prisoners, and the need to continue the armed struggle was eclipsed by a stronger emphasis on political persuasion, dialogue and negotiation, a new language for a new political reality⁶⁰. The President of SF, Gerry Adams, speaking at the 1995 commemoration, stated, well aware of his audience, that “a just and lasting peace is the only memorial which can ease the pain and justify the suffering of the victims of Bloody Sunday and all those who have suffered”⁶¹, political rhetoric that would have been unthinkable at a SF rally in the 1970s and 1980s. The SDLP spokesman on policing, Mr Alex Attwood, used the occasion to call for progress on police reform and decommissioning in keeping with the Belfast Agreement. The SDLP leader, Mark Durkan, spoke at the 2003 commemoration⁶².

This period was marked by three symbolic high water marks in the history of the march – the 20th anniversary (1992), the 25th anniversary (1997), and the 30th anniversary (2002), important anniversaries in garnering media attention and public participation in the march. But it was the 1997 and 2002 anniversary commemorations, as we shall see,

that were arguably the most significant. An estimated 40,000 people attended the 30th anniversary commemoration⁶³, the best attended parade in recent Northern Irish history⁶⁴.

Important changes in historical symbolism were evident in this stage. In the early 1990s, white crosses bearing the names of the dead replaced the traditional floral wreaths. In 1992⁶⁵ and 2000, the march did not go to Free Derry Corner and proceeded instead to the Guildhall Square, the intended destination of the original march⁶⁶. Fourteen white crosses were laid at the footsteps of the Guildhall and the rally was held in front of it in the Guildhall Square⁶⁷. This change in the route of the march in 2000 was made because Free Derry Corner was being landscaped at the time while in 1992 it was done to mark the 20th anniversary. But once this symbolic break with the past was first made in 1992, it paved the way for other marches to the Guildhall, as happened in 2000. As one key figure put it, marching to the Guildhall was a way of “taking the issue right into the open, right into the wider world and symbolize that by going into the city center...because I don’t think the implications of Bloody Sunday were confined to the Bogside and Creggan”⁶⁸. This spatial strategy then was intended to heighten the symbolic meaning of the march.

In 1997 and 1998, large-size banner portraits of the victims were erected along Southway⁶⁹ as the marchers made their way down to Free Derry Corner⁷⁰. One respondent in this study remarked how emotionally charged these banners were because they brought the dead back to life and symbolically placed them at the heart of the Nationalist community:

“I suppose the one that really remember ... those banners were up there on Southway almost as if they were looking over you. The dead were kind of there looking over you. Turning that corner and coming down that hill and looking up and seeing them.... it was a bit like...That same year, once the march came on down to Free Derry Corner you had them down below the walls – they took them to London a few years ago while the inquiry was sitting in London”⁷¹.

Another example of changing historical symbolism was the use of spectacle street theatre during the march. For example, in 1997, large-sized versions of the front page of the Widgery Tribunal report were carried during the march. As they were carried, relatives of the Bloody Sunday dead bearing white wooden crosses literally walked through the report to the applause of onlookers⁷². This street theatre is a playful, carnivalesque and symbolic inversion of the canonical official memory, a sort of mock parody of Widgery⁷³. In Stoller’s terms, this mimicry is a form of “embodied opposition”⁷⁴. Visual street dramas such as this provide an outlet for subaltern groups to resist and disrupt the dominant narrative⁷⁵.

Greater efforts to make the march more inclusive of other victims and more broadly of the other tradition, that is, Unionism, defined this stage. Speeches at the rally from 1998 on were dominated by the progress of the Saville Inquiry⁷⁶. Other examples of state violence as a result of collusion between the security forces and loyalist paramilitaries received attention as well such as the New Lodge Six killings, the

Ballymurphy Six and the case of Pat Finucane⁷⁷. The “Open Up The Files” campaign was launched at the 2003 commemoration, a campaign aimed at bringing pressure to bear on the British government to release files relating to state collusion in loyalist paramilitary killings⁷⁸. A Protestant dimension to the commemoration was added through seminars addressing the meaning of Bloody Sunday to this tradition⁷⁹ and extending invitations to members of the Protestant community to attend commemorative events.

Intensive memory entrepreneurship to preserve the memory of Bloody Sunday and appeal to a new younger generation lacking in first-hand knowledge of the event was a key feature of stage 3. A number of organizations emerged at this time but because of a good deal of overlap in personnel, goals and material resources between these different organizations that emerged, it is difficult to discern when one organization left off and another began. For the most part, they seemed to work to the same agenda of keeping Bloody Sunday and other human rights issues on the political and media radar. These organizations included the Bloody Sunday Initiative (1990), the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign⁸⁰ (1992), the Bloody Sunday Weekend Committee⁸¹ (1992), the Pat Finucane Centre⁸² (1993), and the Bloody Sunday Trust⁸³ (1997).

These organizational name changes reflected the crucial linkage between the memorialization of Bloody Sunday and the campaign to overturn the official written down history of the event. In the third stage, and unlike the previous stages, this project of attempting to dislodge the official memory with a vernacular memory, or put another way, to translate the vernacular memory into official memory, came to the fore. Overall, Bloody Sunday was commemorated in a more celebratory and inclusive way as the memory choreographers employed traditional forms of memorialization such as

museums, film, exhibitions, and seminars to remember the event and appeal to new publics beyond the nationalist and republican support base. As one key-informant put it,

“Well there has been some talk and I don’t know because now the commemoration is quite an event for the city. I think the march should end on a high march. The last march...is a huge big march. It passes off peacefully and is well attended. And all of that. It (the commemoration) may be taking on a persona of its own. I mean it is big tourist business for the city. A lot of people who come to the city they want to go to the Bogside and they want to see the murals. And Bloody Sunday is a big part of that. There is a huge interest after the films”⁸⁴.

A new emphasis on linking Bloody Sunday to other examples of injustice and oppression in other times and places was also apparent in the rhetoric of memory entrepreneurs⁸⁵. The inclusion of cultural organizations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the annual march and the choice of themes for the commemoration, such as “One World, Many Struggles” in 2002, was another example of this. Ireland’s participation in the global economy and society and a deliberate effort to make Bloody Sunday meaningful to people with no direct connection to the events of January 30, 1972, may well help to explain this linking of the Bloody Sunday story to other global events. Above all, these examples help to show how an act of embodied memorialization, that seems, on the face of it to be a fixed, unchanging event from one year to another, consists of a range of symbolic changes linked to broader transformations in the socio-political

context, and in particular, to shifts in the relationships between Northern Irish Catholics/nationalists and Protestants/unionists.

Conclusion

Paul Connerton's influential work alerts us to the importance of embodied remembrance in our studies of collective memory and warns against the overemphasis on inscribed memory in existing sociological and anthropological research. Clearly, he has done collective memory scholars a great service by doing this. However, as I have tried to argue in this paper, he carries his argument about the fixity of embodied remembrance too far. Memory work in the context of a deeply divided society such as Northern Ireland is highly contested and Connerton's claim about the resistant qualities of bodily memory is in need of modification to take account of societies in which the past is intensely fought over and constantly mobilized in contemporary constructions and re-constructions of group identity. I have tried to show that bodily memory organized against official modes of commemoration responds to and reflects changes in the socio-political context. Changes in the symbols and banners carried on the march, changes in the route of the march, and changes in the types of social movement organizations participating in the march and in civic leaders speaking at the rally, all pointed to the malleability of non-official embodied remembrance.

Of course the remembrance of Bloody Sunday involves far more than the annual re-enactment of the original 1972 march examined here, encompassing a wide range of inscriptions including books, websites, films, murals, poetry, song,

and museum exhibits, memorialization, represented by the Rossville Street memorial to Bloody Sunday in the Bogside area of Derry city⁸⁶, as well as spectacle such as street theatre and finally, performance of the past which I focused on. It could be argued that the performative dimension shapes and is shaped by the memorialization and inscriptions⁸⁷. As mentioned earlier, the annual march stops at the Rossville Street memorial and the Bloody Sunday mural where a minute's silence is observed, suggesting that people's experience of the march is scripted by these two sites of inscribed memory.

This performative dimension, as this paper has attempted to show, operated as a crucial focal point around which competing political discourses got articulated⁸⁸. In the 1970s, as we saw, Sinn Féin seized upon the memory of Bloody Sunday to articulate a violent republican message while NICRA saw it as a metaphor for the futility of violent means to bring about political change. This republican interpretation was carried into the 1980s but as the peace process gained momentum in Northern Ireland in the 1990s it was eschewed in favour of a narrative emphasizing the capacity of the march to function as an important platform for dislodging the official memory with a vernacular nationalist memory, important symbolic shifts linked to changes in the relationships between the British and Irish states and Northern Ireland's two divided communities.

Moreover, this analysis showed, following Halbwachs, that the way the past is remembered has a lot to do with contemporary needs and issues. Presentism operates as a powerful mediator of the past. Political discourses at the commemoration rally, as we saw earlier, reflected republican grievances of the

day. In the 1970s, for example, grievances about the political status of republican prisoners loomed large as a concern of Irish republicans. In more recent times, concerns about such things as collusion between paramilitaries and state security forces have been articulated. There is greater emphasis than ever before in Bloody Sunday commemorations of inserting it into a global frame of reference, thus helping to give the Bloody Sunday story resonance with new publics.⁸⁹ With the passage of time, the tone of commemorations has become much more celebratory with concerts, discos, film screenings, table quizzes, and the like now a staple part of the annual commemoration programme. Alongside this we see the emergence of Bloody Sunday CD-ROMs, posters, mug coasters, and t-shirts, highlighting the infiltration of memory work with important objects of consumer culture and extending the memory of Bloody Sunday in time and space.

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Endnotes

¹For representative examples see Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1994); John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003); Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Jennifer Cole, *Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar* (Berkeley: University of California, 2001); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European cultural history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For a review of the collective memory literature from a specifically sociological perspective see Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices" *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998: 105-140).

² For more on this see Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. Work by Stoller also uses Connerton's analysis as a conceptual jumping-off point. Paul Stoller, "Embodying Colonial Memories." *American Anthropologist* 96 (1994: 634-48). Also see Sandra Lee, "Dys-appearing Tongues and Bodily Memories: The Aging of First-Generation Resident Koreans in Japan." *Ethos* 28 (2000:198-223).

³ Bloody Sunday refers to the shooting dead of 13 civilians while peacefully marching against internment in Derry, Northern Ireland, 30 January, 1972. This event was a watershed in the collective memory of 'The Troubles', the 30-year campaign of violence and murder carried out by loyalist and republican paramilitary organizations and the

British state over contested claims to the territory of Northern Ireland. In particular, it became a key part of the collective narrative of the victimized nationalist community and a key reference point shaping republican ideology and behavior.

⁴ The distinction between settled/unsettled cultures used here comes from the work of Ann Swidler. *Talk of Love: How Culture Matters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁵ *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4.

⁶ *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 4.

⁷ An effort to complexify and problematize Connerton's work is set forth in Lyn Spillman and Brian Conway, "Texts, Bodies and the Memory of Bloody Sunday" *Symbolic Interaction* 30:1 (2007: 79-103).

⁸ *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 72.

⁹ *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 45.

¹⁰ *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 45.

¹¹ Bloody Sunday, for the most part, has come to be viewed as a "nationalist" or "republican" event. But it also means something to the Protestant/unionist community, through clearly there are important shades of opinion within it, just as there are within the nationalist community. It would be misleading, then, to reduce the Protestant community to a single point of view of this event. But it is fairly true to say that Protestants view the event from their own perspective and that this has shifted over time. We can distinguish between Protestant reaction to the original event, to the commemoration of Bloody Sunday, and to the more recent Saville Inquiry.

Most Protestant opinion echoed that of the British state and viewed the march as an illegal activity that should not have taken place in the first place and that had the march not taken place nobody would have died. This point tended to be highlighted in Protestant media coverage of the Bloody Sunday commemorations. An article about the annual commemoration in the *Londonderry Sentinel*, the city's main Protestant newspaper, stated that a rally was held to "mark the fourth anniversary of the deaths of 13 people, who were shot during a banned Civil Rights march" (*Londonderry Sentinel*, February 4, 1976, p. 21). Some Protestant people in Derry were shocked and repulsed by the events of January, 30. Others were indifferent to it. Still others felt that Bloody Sunday should have been called 'Good Sunday' and that it was unfortunate that more people were not killed (*Derry Journal*, January 18, 1973, n.p.). During the 1970s and 1980s, the Bloody Sunday commemorations were often reported upon in the local Protestant newspapers such as the *Londonderry Sentinel* but the coverage tended to focus on skirmishes, riots or other violent incidents that took place on the march or at the fringes of it. The banned nature of the original 1972 march also tended to be foregrounded.

By the 1990s, unionist opinion had changed. In 1992, Gregory Campbell of the Democratic Unionist Party wrote an article in a special feature about Bloody Sunday in the *Irish News* (Belfast daily newspaper with a mainly Catholic/nationalist readership), itself an important indicator of change, in which he stated that after Bloody Sunday, "I felt nothing and that was typical of the Protestant community" (*Irish News*, January 30, 1992, p. 9). At a seminar on 'Unionist/Loyalist Perspectives on the Peace Process' in Pilots Row Community Centre as part of the 23rd anniversary commemoration (*Derry*

Journal, January 20, 1995, p. 5), Gregory Campbell stated that “over the years within the Unionist community has developed a greater appreciation of the depth and intensity that the nationalist community have felt regarding the suffering that they went through but at that time there was not” (*Derry Journal*, February 3, 1995, p. 5). In 1997, a seminar in the Calgach Centre, Butcher Street, Derry, attended by representatives from the Democratic Unionist Party and the Ulster Unionist Party addressed the issue of Protestant perceptions of Bloody Sunday (*Derry Journal*, July 11, 1997, p. 3), indicating that the Protestant community was now clearly a key part of the constituency that memory entrepreneurs during this period sought to appeal to.

¹² Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950). Also see Barry Schwartz, “Social Change and Collective Memory: The Democratization of George Washington” *American Sociological Review* 56 (1991: 221-236).

¹³ Sinn Féin refers to the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, a paramilitary organization which has sought to bring about, through violent means, an end to British occupation of Northern Ireland. Since the 1990s, SF has moved closer and closer to the political mainstream as the IRA in turn has abandoned its long-standing ‘armed struggle’ against British rule. SF is now the dominant political party representing Irish nationalists and republicans in Northern Ireland, outvoting its long-time rival, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). In recent times, SF has also made significant political gains in the Republic of Ireland, owing, at least in part, to the party’s significant organizational abilities particularly in working-class areas often neglected by other political parties.

¹⁴ NICRA refers to a civil rights organization that emerged in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. Based on principles of non-violence and peaceful protest and taking the lead from the American civil rights movement, it sought to end discrimination in voting, housing and employment. It organized a number of high-profile marches that pressed its campaign for reform on the national consciousness. Its “repertoire of contention” (see Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) included marches and sit-ins. In the 1970s, because of the reaction of the British state to its political claim-making around housing and job discrimination, law and order issues came to the fore. For a classic account of the organization see Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland* (Belfast, Blackstaff Press, 1990). See also Niall Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalities: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Lloyd W. Warner, *The Living and the Dead: a study of the symbolic life of Americans* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), 235.

¹⁶ See David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

¹⁷ For more detail see Neil Jarman, *Material Conflict: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997). See also Dominic Bryan, *Orange Parades: the politics of ritual, tradition and control* (London: Pluto Press, 2000).

¹⁸ For an example of this, see Kelleher, *The Troubles in Ballybogoin*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 2003).

¹⁹ See Jarman, *Material Conflict*.

²⁰ Eviatar Zerubavel, "Calendars and History: A Comparative Study of the Social Organization of National Memory," in Jeffrey K. Olick, ed., *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

²¹ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*; see also Luke Gibbons, "'Where Wolfe Tone's statue was not': Joyce, monuments and memory." Ian McBride, ed., in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Charles Withers, "Place, Memory, Monument: Memorializing the Past in Contemporary Highland Scotland," *Ecumene*, 3 (1996: 325-344).

²² Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1995).

²³ See Neil Jarman 1997. *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997); David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

²⁴ Paulo Jedlowski, "Memory and Sociology: Themes and Issues," *Time and Society* 10 (2001: 29-44).

²⁵ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*.

²⁶ The concept of memory work comes from the work of Jennifer A. Jordan, *A Matter of Time*, 44.

²⁷ Northern Irish nationalism has tended to be divided between physical force nationalists (e.g. SF) on the onehand and constitutional nationalists on the other (e.g. SDLP). Physical force nationalists favour violent means to bring about political change. The distinction between provisional ('the Provos') and official ('the Officials') SF goes back to a split in the republican movement in the 1970s between one camp ('the Officials'), favouring a more socialist route to political change, who became known as 'the Stickies' because of the Easter lily badges they wore on their lapels, and another camp ('the Provos'), favouring a more militant and violent strategy of ending British occupation. The 'other' tradition in Northern Ireland is referred to as Unionism, a catch-all term for a people who claim loyalty to Westminster and to the British Crown and who wish to maintain the union with the British mainland. Most Unionists belong to the Protestant faith tradition (just as most nationalists are Catholic), at least nominally anyhow.

²⁸ *Republican News*, February 4, 1978, 6.

²⁹ *Irish Press*, January 18, 1973, LHNIPC, NIO Cuttings File, Civil Rights Association, File 4.

³⁰ Jennifer Jordan, "A Matter of Time: Examining Collective Memory in Historical Perspective in Postwar Britain," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 18: 1/2 (2005: 37-71).

³¹ *Republican News*, February 4, 1978, 6.

³² *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 3, 1979, 6.

³³ *Derry Journal*, December 10, 1974, 6.

³⁴ NICRA press statement, January 1, 1973, LHNIPC, NICRA box 1.

³⁵ *The Irish News*, January 27, 1973; LHNIPC, NIO Cuttings Files, Londonderry Civil Rights March.

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- ³⁶ *Derry Journal*, January 28, 1973, n.p.
- ³⁷ Suggested Text for Leaflet for Marchers at the 1974 NICRA commemoration, LHNIPC, NICRA box 24.
- ³⁸ NICRA press statement, January 22, 1974, LHNIPC, NICRA box 24.
- ³⁹ Letter, NICRA to Alfie Byrne, New Zealand, February 3, 1976, LHNIPC NICRA box 9. The SAS refers to the Special Air Service, a wing of the British army specializing in counter-terrorism and undercover work.
- ⁴⁰ Jarman, *Material Conflict*, 150.
- ⁴¹ *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 3 February, 1983, 12.
- ⁴² *War and an Irish Town*, (London: Pluto Press, 1993), 40.
- ⁴³ *Derry Journal*, February 1, 1983, 6.
- ⁴⁴ James Wray, letter to the editor, *Derry Journal*, February 4, 1983, 11.
- ⁴⁵ *Derry Journal*, February 15, 1983, 6.
- ⁴⁶ *Derry Journal*, February 8, 1983, 6.
- ⁴⁷ The Birmingham Six refers to six men who were imprisoned for the bombing of two pubs in Birmingham on November 21, 1974. Their convictions were overturned in 1991 by the British Court of Appeal.
- ⁴⁸ *Derry Journal*, January 30, 1990, 6.
- ⁴⁹ *Derry Journal*, January 30, 1990, 1; *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 1, 1990, 8-9.
- ⁵⁰ *Derry Journal*, February 6, 1990, 8.
- ⁵¹ *Derry Journal*, January 30, 1990, 9.
- ⁵² *Londonderry Sentinel*, January 31, 1989, 3.
- ⁵³ *Londonderry Sentinel*, January 24, 1990, 15.
- ⁵⁴ *Derry Journal*, February 2, 1990, 3.
- ⁵⁵ *Derry Journal*, January 24, 1992, 1.
- ⁵⁶ *Derry Journal*, January 24, 1992, 1.
- ⁵⁷ *Derry Journal*, January 31, 1992, 2.
- ⁵⁸ Anonymous, letter to the editor, *Derry Journal*, March 6, 1992, 4.
- ⁵⁹ Anonymous, letter to the editor, *Derry Journal*, March 4, 1997, 14.
- ⁶⁰ *Derry Journal*, January 31, 1995, 2; *The Sentinel*, February 3, 1999, 10; *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 6, 1997, 10; *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 3, 1994, 8. The 'peace process' refers to the process of negotiation between nationalists and unionists and the British and Irish governments about the political organization of Northern Irish society.
- ⁶¹ *Derry Journal*, January 31, 1995, 2
- ⁶² *Irish News*, February 6, 2003, 19.
- ⁶³ *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 7, 2002, 10.
- ⁶⁴ Jarman reports that some Twelfth (July 12) parades in the 1820s drew crowds of 50,000-60,000 (Jarman, 1997, 53) and that Orange Order parades in the 1870s attracted up to 100,000 (ibid, 65). In Derry, the 1960 Apprentice Boys parade commemorating the siege of the city drew a crowd of 40,000 (Jarman, *Material Conflict*, 75).
- ⁶⁵ In 1991, a republican internment parade went to Belfast City Hall for the first time on its way to the Falls Road (Jarman, *Material Conflict*, 151).
- ⁶⁶ *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, January 30, 1992, 1.

⁶⁷ *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 3, 2000, 20.

⁶⁸ Interview with author, August 15, 2004.

⁶⁹ The Bogside artists, a group of Derry artists, put together a set of six life-size puppets of British paratroopers and hung them from the Derry Walls overlooking Free Derry Corner during the 1998 commemoration. The puppets were painted yellow to signify the cowardly actions of the soldiers (Kelly, Kelly and Hasson, *Murals*).

⁷⁰ *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 6, 1997, 10.

⁷¹ Interview with author, 20 October, 2004.

⁷² *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 6, 1997, 11.

⁷³ For detail see Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: towards an anthropology of public events*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See also Connerton, *How Societies Remember*.

⁷⁴ See Paul Stoller, "Embodying Colonial Memories." *American Anthropologist* 96(3) (1994, 634-48).

⁷⁵ See Arthur Kleinman and Joan Kleinman, "How Bodies Remember: Social Memory and Bodily Experience of Criticism, Resistance, and Delegitimation Following China's Cultural Revolution," *New Literary History* 25 (1994, 707-23).

⁷⁶ *Irish News*, January 31, 2000, 3.

⁷⁷ *Irish News*, February 6, 2003, 19; *Derry Journal*, January 30, 2001, 11; *Irish News*, January 29, 2001, 4; *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 4, 1999, p10-11; *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 6, 2003, 10.

⁷⁸ *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, February 6, 2003, 11.

⁷⁹ *Derry Journal*, July 11, 1997, 3.

⁸⁰ The aims of the BSJC were three-fold: to campaign for the British government to acknowledge the innocence of the dead, to repudiate Widgery's report and to prosecute the soldier's responsible for the killings.

⁸¹ A sub-committee of the BSI, the Bloody Sunday Weekend Committee, organized the annual commemorative events from 1992.

⁸² On May 1, 1993, the BSI was re-christened as the Pat Finucane Centre (1993).

Commenting on the new PFC in 1993, Paul O'Connor stated that 'the transition from the Bloody Sunday Initiative to the Pat Finucane Centre reflects the success in terms of work and profile which the Initiative has achieved over the past four years. Increasingly our workload has reflected a social justice and human rights agenda in addition to the issue of redressing the injustice of Bloody Sunday' (*Derry Journal*, April 30, 1993, 2). He went on to say that since the establishment of the BSJC in 1993 that 'it has since become clear that real confusion has been created in the minds of many people with two groups working closely together with "Bloody Sunday" in their title. It is for this reason that members of the BSI decided to change the group's name to the Pat Finucane Centre' (*Derry Journal*, April 30, 1993, 2). The Pat Finucane Center, named after the human rights lawyer killed in February 1989 by the UDA in collusion with a British MI5 agent, was established as a human rights organization.

⁸³ This organization is composed of members of the families of the Bloody Sunday dead, academics and local community activists.

⁸⁴ Interview with author, 20 October, 2004.

⁸⁵ See Brian Conway, “Active Remembering, Selective Forgetting and Collective Identity: The Case of Bloody Sunday” *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 3:4 (2003:305-323).

⁸⁶ For a comprehensive account of the history and development of the Bloody Sunday memorial, Rossville Street, Derry, see Brian Conway, “Texts, Bodies and Commemoration: Bloody Sunday (1972) as a Case Study” Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame (2005:185-206).

⁸⁷ For an extended discussion of the relationship between embodied and inscribed memory, a neglected aspect of Connerton’s study, see Lyn Spillman and Brian Conway, “Texts, Bodies and the Memory of Bloody Sunday” *Symbolic Interaction* 30:1 (2007: 79-103).

⁸⁸ See Jeffrey Alexander and Philip Smith’s work on the concept of binary codes in political discourse in *The Meanings of Social Life: A Cultural Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁸⁹ Gille and Ó Riain argue that “references to global ideas and actors today provide an entrance ticket to participating in public discourse, and those unwilling or unable to formulate their claims in global terms often find themselves invisible. See Zsuzsa Gille and Seán Ó Riain, “Global Ethnography,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002: 271-295), 283.