Identities on the Walls
A Comparative Study of Loyalist and Republican murals in Northern Ireland

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Abstract

This thesis has investigated the formation of sectarian identities on Northern Ireland. The thesis argues that the key factor in creating and maintaining sectarian identities is cultural violence. Cultural violence creates and maintains sectarian identities by closing the historical narratives, the identities and thus putting the society in melancholia. The thesis has investigated republican and loyalist murals in Belfast and compared the historical narrative, which is the message, of the murals in order to investigate the view of history of the communities. By using murals as a source and comparing the two traditions of murals the thesis can reach the conclusion that cultural violence operates differently in republican and loyalist communities. The cultural violence is less severe in the republican community whereas the loyalist community has a more austere cultural violence. The thesis argues that the explanation for this lies in the republican efforts to adapt to the present, whereas the loyalist community has not made the same efforts. Consequently the loyalist community feels lost and betrayed hence closing its narrative further.

Key words: Political violence, cultural violence, History, Uses of History, historical narrative, murals, Northern Ireland, Conflict, Melancholia, Trauma

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1.Introduction

1.1. Purpose

Why are some identities sectarian? Is a sectarian identity given by birth and is therefore fixed or is it learned and therefore fluid? Sectarianism is antagonism based on perceived cultural differences. This thesis argues that sectarian identities are learned and fluid and are therefore mutable. However, the questions remain: how and why are antagonistic national identities *created* and *maintained*? The political identity is an integral part of the personal identity which influences our perception of the world. These questions are a part of the historical problem that I want to discuss and investigate with a particular focus on the development and maintenance of sectarian identities. The hypothesis of the thesis is that cultural violence is important in creating and maintaining sectarian identities. This thesis argues that sectarian identities are formed through the perception of history that causes the society to think in sectarian terms. Cultural violence creates and maintains the sectarian historical narrative. The second research question is therefore: how does cultural violence *manifest itself*. This thesis argues that murals assist in the maintenance and creation of sectarian identities and that these identities are reflected in the murals. Murals depict historical narratives that shape and promote specific political identities. The justification of the collective is based on historical narratives, which is learned through the environment. The environment teaches its members the narrative subconsciously through rituals, practices and symbols. In Northern Ireland murals are not merely artefacts, they are an important part of the political framework since they are a part of the visual environment.[1]

The aim of the thesis is to develop the theory of cultural violence further by applying to a case, Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland has been chosen since it is a delimited case with severe sectarianism, which makes it a good case. When I visited Northern Ireland in the summer of 2011 it struck me that this is an unresolved conflict. To be able to test the hypothesis of the thesis, and thereby develop the theory, the chosen source is murals. In Northern Ireland there is a tradition of painting political murals in working class residential areas. The Northern Irish tradition of painting political murals dates back to the early 20th century and was originally a tradition used by the leading members of society. Murals were, at first, encouraged by the British state. However, over time, this tradition has changed from being a state-sanctioned cultural phenomenon into a working class phenomenon. Murals

[1] GEISLER, E.M., 2005. Introduction: What are National Symbols - and What Do They Teach us? In: E.M. GEISLER, ed, *National Symbols. Fractured Identities.* 1 edn. Lebanon New England: Middlesbury College Press, pp. XIII, ROLSTON, B., 2003. Changing the Political Landscape: Murals and Transition in Northern

exist today only in the working class areas of Belfast and Derry. These have been very important tools in the creation of the sectarian identities in Northern Ireland.

In Northern Ireland there are several political identities, which will be outlined and presented in chapter 1.3, but this thesis will look at loyalist and republican identities. Loyalists (Protestant) and republicans (Catholic) are members of the working class. Catholic and Protestant are cultural (religious) identities, which are integrated into the political identity; loyalist and republican. To be able to analyze the political identity of republicans and loyalists the cultural identity must be taken into the context of the conflict. Their political identities determine how they want the conflict resolved. Republicans and loyalists have been the active participants of the conflict, whereas nationalists (middle class Catholics) and unionists (middle class Protestants) have not. It is crucial to note that loyalists and republicans do not emphasise their working class identity since their working class backgrounds are something that they have *in common*. Both groups have built their identities *in opposition to* the other party in the conflict.[2] The cultural and political identity is therefore more important than the economic identity.

Murals are interesting since they function as a political platform for the non-power holders in Northern Ireland.[3] Furthermore, murals function by claiming geographical areas for the political groups and by making the area sectarian. In Northern Ireland, mixed residential areas are almost non-existent. Murals are both vocal and silent since they do not vocally express their message but instead convey it silently. Murals are claimants of territory and compass in time since they define the cultural and political parameters of Northern Ireland.[4] The term "imaginary geography", which will be used in this thesis, refers to a subconscious cultural layer laid on top of the physical geography of Belfast. The imaginary geography is created and maintained by murals and will be discussed in chapter 2.

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[2] NIC CRAITH, M., 2002. *Plural Identities, Singular Narratives - Thr Case of Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. New York, Oxford: Berghan Books p.14

[3] ROLSTON, B., 2010. *Drawing Support - Murals in the North of Ireland.* 3 edn. Belfast: Beyond the Pale. SONESSON, G., 1992. *Bildbetydelser - inledning till bildsemiotiken som vetenskap.* Lund: Studentlitteratur p120-122.

[4] SMITHEY A, L., 2011. *Unionists, Loyalists and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1.2. Research questions

The aim of this analysis is to develop the theory of cultural violence further by connecting it to identity theory and historical narratives. To be able to develop this theory the analysis must be applied to an empirical study. The aims of the analysis must be found in the research questions. This thesis will address the historical problem through the following questions: *why* are some political identities sectarian? *How* are they created? *What mechanisms maintain* the sectarian identity? These questions provide a background from which we can develop the theoretical concept of cultural violence further. Yet, these questions also demands an empirical question: *how do cultural violence manifest itself and if so, how*? The two questions are linked since the second question is to see if there is an actual manifestation of cultural violence in the physical world. The interplay between theory and empirical findings is highlighted in the two questions. To be able to answer them, the following subordinate questions have been added to verify and develop the analysis:

1. How is history used in the murals of Belfast? What are the historical narratives? What is the identity that is presented?

In response to the first research question, this thesis will offer an in-depth analysis of a selection of murals. The analytical execution will be based on a chronological framework that will be presented in chapter 3.

The second research question will explore if and how murals have portrayed these identities and if murals can be said to be responsible for developing sectarian identities.

2. Are murals reflections of sectarian identities? And if so, how is it reflected? Have murals had an impact on the residents' identities?

Of all questions, the latter is the hardest to answer since this analysis has not included a reception study. Yet, by using secondary literature, which has included reception studies and linking it to the next question, how murals have changed over time, this thesis will provide an answer.

This thesis proposes that identities are fluid, which demands that the transformation of the identities must be taken into consideration for the analysis. Northern Ireland has experienced an ongoing peace process since 1997 and this thesis will examine if and how the peace process has impacted the murals.

3. How have the murals changed over time? How have the murals affected and been affected by the peace process?

By looking at how murals have changed, the transformation of political identities will be highlighted. To be able to answer the third research question regarding how murals have been affected by and have affected the peace process this thesis will refer to the chronological framework of political events from 1979 until present. The impact that murals presumably have had on the identities will also be investigated through the chronological framework. The framework is therefore both a presentation of the in-depth cases and a form of comparison.

1.3. Outline of the Thesis

This thesis will investigate how antagonistic national identities are created and maintained in Northern Ireland by looking at murals. The main theoretical framework will be based on Johan Galtung's theory on cultural violence. Cultural violence is the legitimizing factor of violence in a society and thereby makes the use of violence acceptable. The theory will be further explained and conceptualized in chapter 2.1.1. In order to dissect sectarian identity formation and its relationship to history, chapter 2.2. and 2.3. will investigate whether cultural violence affects identity formation and is productive of sectarian identities. This thesis will furthermore investigate what kind of historical narratives are presented in the murals in Belfast. By treating murals as manifestations of cultural violence the thesis will give an answer to the research questions.

Chapter 1.4-1.6. will at first present a background of the conflict, the murals and the terminology of the conflict. These chapters will also include a background of the research that has been done on murals. Furthermore the chapters will present the relationships between British and Irish narratives and briefly discuss the historiographical debates of the relationship. As previously mentioned, chapter 2 will present the theoretical framework of the thesis. Chapter 3 will discuss the methodological choices, considerations and presumptive pitfalls of the analysis. In chapter 4, the analysis will be presented. The findings will be discussed in chapter 5. In chapter 6, the conclusion of the analysis will be presented and new research fields will be discussed.

1.4. Background and Terminology

1.4.1. Terminology

A *Republican* is a Catholic who wants to split from Great Britain by using violence. Republicans are usually working class and pro-PIRA/IRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army/Irish Republican Army).[5] IRA fought for an incorporation of Northern Ireland into Ireland. *Nationalist* is also a Catholic who wants to split from Great Britain, but who prefers non-violent, political means. Nationalists are often middle class and not supporters for the IRA. They are the group who have benefited the most since the peace agreement, since they have achieved significant political power.[6]

Loyalists are working class Protestants who want Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom and do resort to using violence. A *Unionist* is a middle class Protestant who also wants to remain in the United Kingdom but through political means. Traditionally, the unionists have held all political power in Northern Ireland. UDA/UFF[7] was fighting to keep Northern Ireland in the UK but they were not members of the British security forces. Both Nationalists and Unionists have publically disowned the use of violence. However, neither the IRA nor the Loyalist groups UDA/UFF would have survived without the implicit support from Unionists and Nationalists.[8] The Orange order is the main Protestant group which honours the invasion of Ireland by William of Orange[9] around the 12th of July by marching in Northern Ireland. The month of July is known as marching season in Northern Ireland and riots often occur. The Orange Order often attempts to march through Catholic areas thus claiming the area for Protestants.

It is crucial to point out that Unionists and Nationalists want to incorporate Protestants and Catholics into their nationalism. The difference between these attempts is that Unionists want to incorporate Catholics into a British Northern Ireland whereas Nationalists want to incorporate Protestants into Ireland.[10]

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[5] The Provisional Irish Republican Army is the "actual" name of the IRA. This thesis will use the more common term IRA.

[6] BLACK, E., 1998. *Northern Ireland Troubled Land.* 1 edn. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, Byrne

[7] They are actually the same group.

[8] BLACK 1998 p14, BYRNE, S., 2009. The Politics of Peace and War in Northern Ireland. In: CARTER, JUDY IRANI, GEORGE, VOLKAN D, VAMIK, ed, *Regional and Ethnic Conflicts Perspectives from the Front Lines.* 1 edn. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, pp. 207

[9] Also known as "King Billy", that name will be used throughout this thesis.

[10] MCGARRY, J., 2001. Northern Ireland, Civic Nationalism and the Good Friday Agreement. In: J. MCGARRY, ed, *Northern Ireland and the Divided World - Post Agreement Northern Ireland in a Comparative Perspective.* 1 edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 109.

Ulster refers to the 9 northern counties of the Irish island, six of which constitute Northern Ireland, where the majority of the population is Protestant. The term, Ulster, has become sectarian and is predominately used by Protestants to describe Northern Ireland.[11]

Catholics in Northern Ireland call themselves *Celtic* and thereby connect themselves to the *Irish* nation. The Catholic Church was heavily involved in the Celtic revival in the 19th century. That is one of the reasons why Protestants do not see themselves as Celtic. Protestants see themselves as *British* and as a *Teutonic* people. While Protestants in Northern Ireland are descendants of Scottish migrants they do not stress a Celtic background, since the Celtic identity is a part of the Irish identity in Northern Ireland. In Scotland Celtic is an identity of opposition towards the English. This will be discussed further. There are other contested symbols such as the Celtic hero Culichinnan, which is used by both Protestants and Catholics in their historical narrative.[12]

1.4.2. History of the Northern Irish Conflict

This section of the thesis will give a brief presentation of the "Troubles"[13]. A full presentation of the Troubles is beyond the scope of this thesis. Before a brief outline of the conflict is presented it is important to point out that this conflict not only manifests itself in the animosity between Catholics and Protestants. The conflict also produces animosity between nationalist-republicans and unionist-loyalist.[14]

Nationalists and republicans argue that Ireland has been traditionally rules as one entity and Northern Ireland should therefore be a part of Ireland. Loyalists and unionists argue, however, that Northern Ireland is culturally different from Ireland and should, therefore, belong to the UK.[15] The majority of the scholars argue that the tension between Catholics and Protestants is linked to the 19th century debates of Ireland's independence and further

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[11] SANTINO, J., 2001. *Signs of War and Peace: Social Conflict and the Use of Public Stmbols in Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian.
[12] Santino 2001 p19-21.
[13] The Troubles is the name of the Northern Irish conflict on the British Isles.
[14] DELANEY, L., 2001. Representing Belief? A Look at Forms of Contemporary Visual Art in Northern Ireland. *European Legacy,* **6**(6), p. 741-750.
[15] DAVIS, R., 1997. Have the Northern Ireland Ceasefires of 1994 Ended "Zero Sum Game"and Mirrored Thinking? In: O'DAY ALAN, ed, *Political Violence in Northern Ireland - Conflict and Conflict Resolution.* 1 edn. Westport Conneticut: Praeger, p. 33.

political quests of independence. Events during the war of independence, such as the Easter rising, are important in the republican and nationalist history. The Easter rising, which marked the beginning of what would become the Irish War of independence, is important in the creation of the Republican identity. Northern Ireland remained within the United Kingdom when Ireland left the union. The new Irish republic, however, maintained a demand of incorporating Northern Ireland to the republic until 1997. In Northern Ireland Catholics became politically and economically suppressed by the ruling Protestant elite. In the 1960s a campaign, which was influenced by the American civil rights movement, started to promote Catholic emancipation. The campaign, which began peacefully, became violent after several violent altercations with Protestants. The British army, who were deployed to bring order, were, at first, welcomed by the Catholic minority. After a couple of disastrous decisions by the army, such as Bloody Sunday, the catholic support sank and calls for reunification with Ireland became prominent. IRA/PIRA proclaimed war against the British state while the loyalists declared their allegiance to the British. This was the start of "The Troubles".

It is important to add that the IRA members were seen as criminals by the Catholic population in Northern Ireland until 1979 when the "Blanket men"[16] started their protest. The Blanket men were IRA men who wanted to be treated as Prisoners of War (POW) rather than criminals. The British state saw the IRA men as criminals and treated them as such. If they were POW they would have the rights to wear their uniforms and keep their rank. To obtain their POW status the prisoners started a strike: they refused to shave, wear their prison uniform and wore nothing but their blanket. The men were very vocal in their protest and presented a historical explanation to their struggle to the public. The men were charismatic and Bobby Sand was the most famous hunger striker. The hunger strikers died in 1979-1980. Their sacrifice made the IRA more politically legitimate and the conflict changed. It is around this time republicans also started to paint murals.

The conflict "ended" in 1997 with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, which began the peace process in Northern Ireland. There had been several ceasefires, but in 1997 the most active participants committed themselves to the peace process. The terms of the Agreement had been offered several times before, but were previously rejected by the

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[16] The hungerstrikers, the IRA prisoners, called themselves the Blanket men because of their refusal to wear the prison uniform.

participants in the conflict. Had the terms been accepted earlier bloodshed have been prevented. While there is no active military violence occurring today, the hostilities between Catholics and Protestants remain unresolved. Compared to earlier days in the conflict, the violence today is unorganized and has the character of riots rather than actual military fighting.

1.4.3.1. To Brit or not to Brit, that is the question.

In this chapter the British and Irish identity formation of the British Isles will be presented: highlighting the causes of sectarian identity formation in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, the creation and development of the British and Irish identity formation during the centuries will be discussed.

1.4.3.1.1. British and Irish Identity

The historical relationship between Ireland and Great Britain has been investigated and debated since the time of Ireland's independence. The relationship between the identities on the British Isles is linked to these debates. The research has reached a conclusion that the identities on the British Isles were created in opposition to one another. The question of religion was the most important factor in creating these identities.[17] The Irish identity has two elements: Catholicism and Celtic. The Catholic Church was prominent in the Gaelic revival in the 19th century. The Church's involvement in this revival meant that Irish Protestants were excluded and thereby also excluded from the national identity.[18]

A reader with insight in the cultural mosaic of the British Isles would be quick to point out that Scots and Welsh are also Celtic. The importance of identifying as Celtic is different depending on the geographical location across the British Isles; differences are majorly linked to religion. Irish are Celtic and share therefore a kinship with Scotland, Cornwall and Wales. Protestants in Ireland and Northern Ireland are descendants of Scottish Protestants (Ulster-Scots) and are thus Celtic too. Ulster-Scots, however, do not acknowledge this identity since, for them, to be a Celtic is to be a Catholic. The religious affiliation is more important than the historical. Both Irish and Scots use the Celtic (Gaelic) in opposition to

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[17] COLLEY, L., 1992. *Britons - Forging the Nation 1707-1837.* 1 edn. New Haven: Yale University Press. SHIRLOW, P.&.McGovern., M, 1997. Introduction: Who Are 'the People'? Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Nothern Ireland. In: SHIRLOW, PETER & MCGOVERN MARK, ed, *Who are the 'People'? - Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Nothern Ireland.* 1 edn. London: Pluto Press,. SMYTH, J., 1997. Dropping Slow: The Emergence of the Irish Peace Process. In: A. O'DAY, ed, *Political Violence in Northern Ireland   Conflict and Conflict Resolution.* 1 edn. Westport: Praeger, DAWSON, G., 2007. *Making peace with the past? Memory, trauma and the Irish Troubles.* 1 edn. 1: Manchester University Press.

English but they value his or her religious identity over their cultural identity in relation to each other. A Scot presents their cultural identity in relation to the English but deny the cultural kinship with the Irish since he or she is Catholic.[19]

In Ireland there are two views, nationalist and revisionist, of Irish history and thereby two views of the national identity. The nationalist perspective sees Ireland as the first victim of British imperialism and thereby stresses the victimhood of the Irish nation. This perspective was, and is, the most influential in creating the national identity. The nationalist perspective has been greatly influential in Northern Ireland. The revisionist perspective argues that the nationalist perspective is a simplified version of history. According to revisionist research, the nationalist narrative - the Irish were victims of British colonialism – is inaccurate and the relationship between Ireland and Great Britain is far more complex. Since some of the revisionist research was performed during the height of the Troubles, nationalists accused revisionists of downplaying the historic atrocities caused by the British to suit the current political climate. Revisionists on the other hand accused nationalists for distorting history for the benefit of the nation.[20]

1.4.1.1.2. British and Irish identities in Northern Ireland.
In Northern Ireland there are two main cultural/political identities: British or Irish. These two identities have a latent sectarianism in themselves that is acted out in Northern Ireland. It is hard to form a common Northern Irish identity since these disparate identities are so firmly rooted in the historical narratives.

1.5.4. Murals
A mural is traditionally a religious painting yet, a mural in Northern Ireland is a political painting in an urban landscape. In Northern Ireland murals are situated in working class residential areas and mark a claim to the area. They are what make an area sectarian.[21] How they transform the space will be further discussed in the analysis. Murals function as a

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[19] MORGAN, S. and WALTER, B., 2008. "No, we are not Catholics": intersections of faith and ethnicity among second generation Protestant Irish in England. In: M. BUSTEED, F. NEAL and J. TONGE, eds, *Irish Protestant Identities.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 171. BOYCE, G.D., 2005. Past and Present Revisionism and the Northern Ireland troubles. In: G.D. BOYCE and O'DAY ALAN, eds, *The Making of Modern Irish History - Revisionism and the Revionist Controversy.* 3 edn. Milton Park Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 216-235. BOYCE, G.D. and O'DAY ALAN, 2005. Introduction Revisionism and the 'revisionist controversy'. In: G.D. BOYCE and O'DAY ALAN, eds, *The Making of Modern Irish History - Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy.* 3 edn. Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 1-11.
[20] Graham 2007 p42.
[21] JARMAN, N., 2005. Painting Landscapes: The Place of Murals in the Symblic Construction of Urban Space. In: E.M. GEISLER, ed, *National Symbols, Fractured Identities.* 1 edn. Lebanon New Hampshire: Middlebury College Press, pp. 172.

backdrop to the everyday life of the communities and subconsciously instruct the community to think in a certain way.[22]

The first political group to use murals as a political platform was the Unionists. They mostly used themes from the Anglo-Irish history that presented Protestants victories over the Catholics.[23] The tradition was a strict Unionist tradition until 1979 when republicans and loyalists started to make murals. Almost instantly republican murals became a form of communication to their supporters and a way to gain support.[24] After republicans started to paint murals the British state threw paint at the murals to "silence" them. But the campaign to silence the murals became a part of the republican political message and the republicans did not alter the destroyed murals.[25] The artist of a mural is unknown since to be known as a muralist could put you in a vulnerable situation.[26] Loyalists mainly paint their murals around the marching season marking it as a calendric event, whereas the republican murals are often painted and painted over throughout the year.[27]

The reader might ask what the difference between graffiti and a mural is. The difference is that a mural has a known messenger, which is the paramilitary group of the area. The group creates a mural and chooses the most strategic place to maximize the spread of the message. A mural also, in general, takes longer time to complete and requires more planning than graffiti. One could argue that a mural is a political pamphlet or a statement whereas graffiti is similar to a political slogan during a demonstration. Both have political power but have different structural importance.

1.6. Prior Research
This thesis could present a variety of different research fields: cultural violence, uses of history, nationalism, identity formation, historical consciousness, nationalism, conflict resolution, memories and historical narratives. Since the scope of this thesis is not sufficient enough to present all of these research fields the thesis will present the research field on murals in Northern Ireland.

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[22] Santino 2001 p14
[23] ABSHIRE, J.E. and ROLSTON, B., 2004. Northern Ireland's Politics in Paint. *MUSEUM INTERNATIONAL,* **15; 56**(2; 3), pp. 149; 38-45.
[24] LISLE, D., 2006. Local Symbols, Global Networks: Rereading the Murals of Belfast. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political,* (1), pp. 27.
[25] Santino 2001, ROLSTON, B., 2010. 'Trying to reach the future through the past': Murals and memory in Northern Ireland. *Crime, Media, Culture,* **6**(3), pp. 285-307.
[26] Rolston 2010.
[27] MCCORMICK, J. and JARMAN, N., 2005. Death of a Mural. *Journal of Material Culture,* **10**(1), pp. 49-72.

1.6.1. The Research Field of Murals

The research that has been done on Northern Irish murals has mostly focused on murals in relation to other forms of cultural and political expressions, such as marching. The research field dealing with murals is therefore quite limited. Yet, murals are an important part of the development of the Northern Irish conflict and have made it into a deep-seated conflict.[28] Murals are often seen as a complementary aspect of a study and not the primary focus of research. One of the main explanations is that the British and Irish state and the academic community as a whole have contested the nature of murals. There are disagreements on whether murals are artworks, tools of political propaganda or expressions of sectarian hatred. They are actually all of these things and more. One could say that they are the main political mobilizing factor in Northern Ireland since they are an essential part of the political communication. Murals have two functions: claiming the space and presenting the point of view of the communities in which they are residing. Murals are the enabling factor for the other cultural expressions and are a prerequisite to all forms of sectarian violence since murals portray and promote the sectarian identities in their communities.[29]

In the research field regarding murals a consensus has been reached that murals are claimants of space, thereby making an area sectarian.[30] Murals are the main creators of the imaginary landscape since they constantly portray and remind the residents in the area of their cultural identity. Over the short time period that murals have existed they have had massive power over the identity formation of the communities.[31]

Some researchers argue that murals are instruments of the groups producing them, whereas others argue that murals reflect the view of the residents in the area.[32] Painting a mural is an active choice. The themes of the murals are chosen in accordance to the ideas and values of the community. The thesis acknowledges that the political groups impose murals on the

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[28] GOALWIN, G., 2013. The Art of War: Instability, Insecurity, and Ideological Imagery in Northern Ireland's Political Murals, 1979-1998. *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society,* **26**(3), pp. 189-215

[29] HILL, A., WHITE, A. and ROLSTON, B., 2012. Painting Peace? Murals and the Northern Ireland Peace Process. *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CULTURAL STUDIES,* **27; 15**(1; 5), pp. 71; 447-88; 466. Santino 2001. JARMAN, N., 1997. *Material Conflicts.* 1 edn. Oxford: Berg. p18, 79, 72-73, 154, 209-12.

[30] BRAND, R., 2009. Urban Artifacts and Social Practices in a Contested City. *Journal of Urban Technology,* **16**(2), pp. 35-60. FELDMAN ALLEN, 1991. *Formations of Violence - The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. Chicago: Chicago Press. JARMAN, N., 2005.

[31] SMITHEY A, L., 2011. *Unionists, Loyalists and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[32] Goalwin 2013, MCCORMICK, J. and JARMAN, N., 2005. Death of a Mural. *Journal of Material Culture,* **10**(1), pp. 49-72, ROLSTON, B., 2003. Changing the Political Landscape: Murals and Transition in Northern Ireland. *Irish Studies Review,* **11**(1), pp. 3-16.

communities. However, since 1979 there has been little opposition to the murals. When it occurs it is against a certain mural and not against all murals in the area. Some argue that lack of opposition is linked to fear of being persecuted by the political groups.[33] This is an important aspect and must be taken into consideration even though research has shown that it is the presentation of the message that arouses opposition and not the message in itself.[34]

Furthermore, this thesis argues that although murals have been imposed upon the residents, they are now expressions of the areas. That can be explained by the fact that the murals have been a part of the residents' everyday life since 1979 and are a part of the urban landscape. A mural is a silent yet vocal explanation of the present situation that is presented in a known cultural framework. Political groups have been able to present their message through murals for decades and as these murals are a part of the community's everyday life, the messages of the murals have become an illustration of the community's point of view. Through this message the present is explained and justified by the murals, and the political message of the murals is no longer questioned.[35]

There is also a disagreement in the research whether murals have a primary internal function or whether the function is primarily external. Some researchers argue that murals are created to mobilize the community and the internal message is more important. Others argue that the external message is more important since it is directed towards the enemy.[36] I argue that these messages are connected with each other. The internal message of the mural mobilizes the community since it explains the present, the past and the future to the community. However, the internal message portrays an enemy, who appears to be the creator of the group's misfortunes. In the external message the community presents itself as strong. The aim of the message is to scare the outsider from the community. The messages are connected with each other since the communities' view of the Other (the antagonist) is

[33] SMITHEY, L., 2007. Ethnopolitical Conflict Transformation: Cultural Innovation and Loyalist Identity in Northern Ireland. *Conference Papers -- American Sociological Association,* , pp. 1.

[34] Smithey 2011, JARMAN, N., 2005 Shirlow 2010 & 2006, ROLSTON, B., 2006. Dealing with the past: Pro-State Paramilitaries, Truth and Transition in Northern Ireland. *Human Rights Quarterly,* (3), pp. 652

[35] ROLSTON, B., 1987. Politics, painting and popular culture: the political wall murals of Northern Ireland. *Media, Culture & Society,* **9**(1), pp. 5-28, Rolston 2010 "Reaching the future through the past", Jarman 2005, GRAHAM, B., 2004. The past in the present: The shaping of identity in Loyalist Ulster. *TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE,* **16**(3), pp. 483-500, Hill & White 2012.

[36] Smithey 2011 & 2007, Jarman 2005, SLUKA, J.A., 1996. Peace process images, symbols and murals in Northern Ireland. *Critique of Anthropology,* **16**(4), pp. 381. MCATACKNEY, L., 2011. Peace maintenance and political messages: The significance of walls during and after the Northern Irish 'Troubles'. *Journal of Social Archaeology,* **11**(1), pp. 77-98.

based on the internal messages that have been portrayed in their murals. When viewing a mural from an enemy group the external message that the mural is portraying is enforcing the image of the viewer's enemy since the viewer recognizes his own view of the Other in the external message of the mural. Since the aim of the external message is to evoke fear to the outside viewer, the internal message of a mural actually enforces the external message of the opposing community.

The themes that are chosen in both republican and loyalist murals express the identity of the community, their perceived shared history and the presumed Other. When investigating these views of history some researchers have chosen to see them as myths.[37] This analytical treatment has met opposition from Bill Rolston who argues that it diminishes the power of the residents of the areas. In his view this perspective is elitist. He questions why only the working class view of history should be challenged since nationalists and unionists are also sectarian. In labeling the working class view of history as myths, the working class view of history is diminished according to Rolston.[38] Yet, murals are physical manifestations of a sectarian historical narrative that promotes violence and continues to have a massive impact on subsequent generations since it implicitly teaches a new generation this, sectarian, narrative. Research has shown that history is vital in identity formation. When history is one-dimensional the identities are thereby one-dimensional and hostile. Murals do not portray historical facts; they portray historical narratives, which are interpretations of historical facts. The difference between historical facts and narratives is that the historical fact cannot change while a narrative can change.[39] Murals do portray sectarian narratives and they are expressions of the view of the community but these views are interpretations of historical facts. They can therefore change. All political groups including unionists and nationalists, in Northern Ireland have a sectarian identity and thereby a sectarian view of history. Unionists and nationalists have not been scrutinized since they do not have physical manifestations of their sectarianism in the suburban landscape.

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[37] Rolston 2010, FORKER, M. and MCCORMICK, J., 2009. Walls of history: the use of mythomoteurs in Northern Ireland murals. *Irish Studies Review,* **17**(4), pp. 423-465.

[38] Rolston 2010 "Trying to reach the future through the Past".

[39] K. OLICK, J., 2007. *The Politics of Regret - On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility.* New York: Routledge, MÜLLER, J., 2002. Introduction: the power of memory, memory of power and the power over memory. In: J. MÜLLER, ed, *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pres,

One theme that has been deemed as especially hostile and sectarian has been the use of hooded paramilitaries. The republicans have not used this symbol since 1994 but loyalists have maintained this symbol. However, since 1998 there has been a decline in the use of the symbol in loyalists' murals.[40]

The previous research has not been able to explain why certain themes remain and what these themes actually stand for. Instead of discussing whether murals are expressions of the communities or if it is a form of political mobilization the research ought to investigate the impact of murals on communities. This has a potential to explain the longevity of the Northern Irish conflict and the severe sectarianism in the region. The choice of themes enhances the power of murals and is also directly related to the power that murals have in their particular community. Murals are not only reflections of the views of the communities but also reflections of what has been chosen to be imposed on the community.[41]

2. Theory

The theoretical framework is presented in chapter 2, where the discussion of how historical narratives play a role in cultural violence and its impacts identity formation is outlined. Furthermore, the theoretical concept of cultural violence is presented and the question of how the interaction between the different forms of violence influences cultural violence. In the following sections the relationship between identities, melancholia and cultural violence is outlined and discussed.

2.1. Cultural Violence

Johan Galtung has developed a theory about how violence functions and is perceived in a society. The theory makes a distinction between direct and indirect violence: direct violence is violent physical actions and indirect violence is when structure prevents an individual is to fulfill his or her potential. Personal violence is an action performed by an agent; it is always direct. In contrast to direct violence, structural violence is an action executed by a structure: it can be both direct and indirect since the structure may create space for an agent's violent actions, thus the structural violence becomes direct.[42] Galtung categorizes structural violence as indirect violence since it is made by a structure and is therefore latent, invisible. However, a political structure can react with direct violence through its agents if the

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[40] Smithey 2011. ROLSTON, B., 2003. *Drawing Support 3 - Murals and Transition in the North of Ireland.* 1 edn. Belfast: Beyond the Pale. ROLSTON, B., 2004. The War of the Walls: political murals in Northern Ireland. *Museum International,* **56**(3), pp. 38-45.

[41] Smithey 2011.

[42] GALTUNG, J., 1969. Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research,* (3), pp. 167.

structure perceives itself to be threatened. When this happens the violence becomes manifest, visible.[43] Galtung argues that all societies have different levels of latent violence related to the social mobility in the society. When a society has a hierarchical order it has structures in place that delimit social mobility and justice. Structural injustices are latent violence in the society. Consequently social justice and latent structural violence are integrated.[44]

Direct violence is thus an event since it is an action, whereas structural violence is a process since it is produced by a structure over time. Cultural violence is permanence since it is the legitimizing factor of all forms of violence and thereby makes all forms of violence understandable and justifiable.[45] It is a prerequisite to all forms of violence since it legitimizes the use of violence. It cannot function unless it is rooted in familiar symbols and narratives.[46] The direct violence that is perpetrated by the sectarian blocs in Northern Ireland relies upon the legitimizing factor of cultural violence to be able to perform the direct violence. Cultural violence thereby activates direct violence in the society.[47]

History is a legitimizing factor in cultural violence because it is used to legitimize the actions in the present.[48] This thesis argues that the perception of history is the main form of cultural violence when it legitimizes the conflict. Since the perception of history in the conflict justifies the current political antagonism and calls for action in the present.[49] Cultural violence creates the sectarian blocs of Catholicism and Protestantism through symbolic forms, material practices and narrative strategies: an example of this is the hunger strikers in Northern Ireland. Through their use of Gaelic language and Celtic symbols, the republican struggle became a continuation of Celtic history.[50] The public's perception of republicanism shifted from being a criminal into being a just Celtic warrior, thereby legitimizing the direct republican violence.[51]

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[43] Galtung 1969 p173.
[44] Galtung 1969 p 178.
[45] GALTUNG, J., 1990. Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research,* (3), pp. 291 p 294.
[46] Galtung 1990.
[47] Feldman 1991 p 1-40.
[48] Feldman 1991 p234.
[49] Feldman 1991 p2.
[50] Feldman 1991 p165-166. 215-217
[51] Feldman 1991 p259.

The second research question, how cultural violence manifests itself, has been partially answered in this theoretical outline since it is manifested in cultural symbols. Yet, it has not answered how physical manifestations influence people's perception of the world. The thesis argues that when cultural violence manifests itself, it presents a historical narrative that explains, justifies and condones the use of violence in the society. Murals are a part of cultural violence since they condone and justify the use of violence. The painting of a mural is always a conscious choice by a political group. The theme that is chosen must be within the communities' cultural framework since the mural must speak to the community. The muralists are both a contributor to and a part of cultural violence since they are agents imposing the cultural violence on the community. The location of the mural enhances its political power through the connection between location, meaning and the imaginary.[52] Murals are a part of the political communication by the communities, yet they cannot act on their own. They can act ahead of their communities by educating and mobilizing its members but murals do not have a life on their own.[53] Murals are expressions of cultural violence and make an area sectarian and influence the residents into sectarian thinking by presenting a historical narrative that promotes social exclusion, which is passed on to new generations.[54] Cultural violence is not something you are born with; it is something that you are taught.

2.2.1. Identities and Cultural Violence

This thesis argues that sectarian identity formation is created and maintained through cultural violence and that historical narratives are the medium in which this identity formation occurs. The historical narrative is therefore treated as a form of structural violence since it is the medium through which an individual connects with a group identity. Identity formation is consequently seen as socially constructed and fluid. An individual can choose his or her own identity based on the social context and personal traits, which may be intertwined.[55] Barth suggests that national identities are created when different groups interact with each other. Identities are a result of boundary setting processes of contact and

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[52] Jarman 2005.
[53] Rolston "Changing the Political Landscape" 2003.
[54] Jarman 2005.
[55] FULLERTON JOIREMAN, S., 2003. *Nationalism and Poltiical Identity.* 1st edn. Bodmin, Cornwall: Continuum.

mobility that produce social cohesion.[56] These boundaries are fluid and can change depending of the needs of the group in the present.

Historical narratives are vital to identity formation because it is through the historical narratives the actors make sense of the present. When an individual finds a political identity attractive, he or she also finds the historical narrative attractive. By placing his or her own experiences in relation to this narrative the individual places him or herself in a historical context that is shared by a group. Through this process a person's core construct is created. Our personal identities are a combination of our personal traits and our place within a structure (collective). Bartelson suggests that the connection between personal identity and national identity has gone so far that we actually don't know who we are without the national identity.[57] Research has shown that when a person feels that the group is threatened, the national identity becomes more central for the individual. Narratives are therefore a part of a structure that conditions how people perceive their reality.[58] When the historical narrative is challenged the individual is challenged too, which is reflected in the narrative. A person's core construct, the Self, becomes insecure since an injury to the old self, the self in the past, is just as hurtful as an injury to the new self. In order to feel safe the collective puts up boundaries in the historical narrative to justify the present and a sense of security is given to the collective.[59] These boundaries close history. When history is open the narrative can contain several meanings and interpretations, thus making several potential attitudes to other group possible. When history is closed there is only one interpretation and one meaning.

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[56] BARTH, F., 1969. Introduction. In: F. BARTH, ed, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries - The Social Organization of Cultural Difference.* 1 edn. Oslo/Copenhagen/Stockholm: Scandinavian University Books, pp. 9.

[57] BARTELSON, J., 2006. We Could Remember It for Your Wholesale: Myths, Monuments and the Constitution of National Memories. In: D. BELL, ed, *Memory, Trauma and World Politics.* 1 edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave. Macmillian, pp. 33-50., GALTUNG, J., The Meanings of History:Enacting the Sociocultural Code. In: J. RÜSEN, ed, *Meaning & Representation in History.* 1 edn. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 89.

[58] STRÖMBOM, L., 2010. *Revisiting the Past - Israeli Identity, thick recognition and conflict transformation*, Department of Political Science Lund University p.37-40, PAPADAKIS, Y., 2008. Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus'. *History & Memory: Studies in Representations of the Past,* **20**(2), pp. 128-148. PAPADAKIS, Y., 2003. Nation, narrative and commemoration: political ritual in divided Cyprus. *History & Anthropology,* **14**(3), pp. 253-270. KARLSSON, K., 2010. *Europeiska möten med historien.* 1 edn. Stockholm: Atlantis p 51, BELL, D., 2006. Introduction: Memory, Trauma and World Politics. In: D. BELL, ed, *Memory, Trauma and World Politics.* 1 edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, pp. 1-30.,

[59] Strömbom, 2010 p49, Papadakis 2008, Karlsson 2010 p 48, FINLAYSON, A., 1997. Discourse and Contemporary Loyalist Identity. In: SHIRLOW, PETER & MCGOVERN MARK, ed, *Who Are 'The People' Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Nothern Ireland.* 1 edn. Pluto Press, pp. 72.

Consequently the anchor of the collective identity is one-dimensional.[60] The historical narrative is therefore one-dimensional. When the historical narrative has several meanings, it is open to new and different interpretations and the identity is multidimensional.[61] A sectarian identity is one-dimensional since the Self is insecure. When the Self is insecure it is a sign that there is strong cultural violence in the society. However, the mechanism that open and history is melancholia.

2.2.2. Melancholia and identities.

It has been stated above that this thesis argues that cultural violence controls identity formation through opening and closing narratives through melancholia. Melancholia is a psychiatric term referring to a negative form of mourning. The main difference between melancholia and mourning lies in how you revisit your past. When you are in a melancholic state you revisit your past with resentment and anger; history is perceived to be traumatic. Historical narratives are created to make sense of historic traumas. There are three aspects of melancholia:

- A psychic dimension to the conflicts of history, where the group has been wronged and has suffered.
- This harmful past makes the present hard to grasp or acknowledge and since the past is hurtful the present must be hurtful too.
- This painful past is remembered in different forms of cultural representations where the suffering is highlighted.[62]

To be able to understand these traumatic events, a narrative is constructed and certain events are favoured to function as narrative symbols for the collective. Cultural violence creates narratives that justify the existence of violence. It is in the sequence of the narrative that the cultural violence creates its justification. In this narrative melancholia is brought to life when it presents, interpretive, connects and clarifies the trauma for the viewer.[63] There is no intention of moving forward since you revisit your loss with resentment and anger. The dead are not dead: they are still alive and need to be revenged. In contrast to melancholia, a

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[60] Strömbom 2010.

[61] PAPADAKIS, Y., 2008. RÜSEN, J., 2008. What does "Making sense of history" mean? In: J. RÜSEN, ed, *Meaning & Representation in History.* 1 edn. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 41. RICOEUR, P., 2008. Memory - Forgetting - History. In: J. RÜSEN, ed, *Meaning & Representation in History.* 1 edn. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 11-12.

[62] DAWSON, G., 2007.

[63] Bell 2006, Bartelsson 2006, Papadakis 1998, Karlsson 2010, FIERKE, K.M., 2006. Bewitched by the Past: Social Memory, Trauma and International Relations. In: D. BELL, ed, *Memory, Trauma and World Politics.* 1 edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, pp. 116.
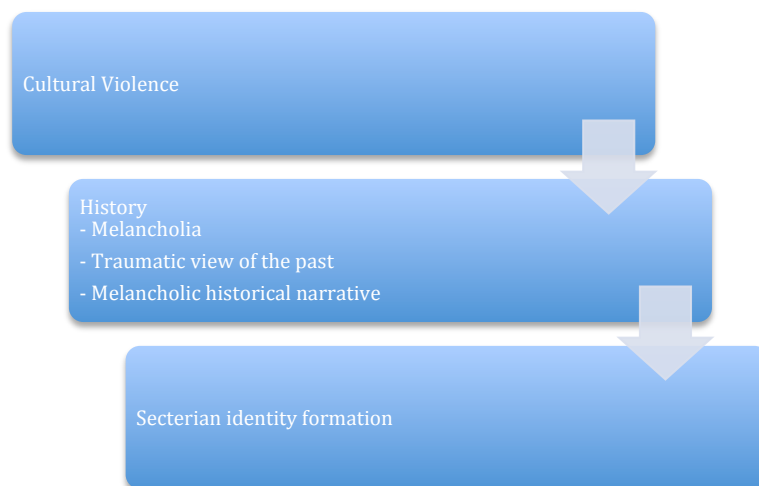
narrative that is in mourning has the aim to reconcile and move forward from the past. Therefore melancholia is more effective fore political mobilization, since it is through resentment of past injustices the community is mobilized.[64]

In a melancholic narrative there is a perpetrator, an antagonistic Other, that the collective needs to distance itself from.[65] This perpetrator was dangerous in the past and is therefore dangerous in the present. According to the narrative, the antagonistic Other transformed the collective into victims and the collective needs to distance itself from the perpetrator. The core construct of an individual is therefore based on victimhood. The identities in a conflict are therefore always based in relation to the Other.[66] This is exemplified in the Northern Irish murals since the themes of the murals are selected in relation to the present and stress that the communities are victims of the Other's actions.[67]

This chapter is closely related to methodology since it presents melancholia in reference to identity formation. The methodological framework, which will be presented in chapter 3, will be conceptualized in the analysis.

2.3 Conceptualization of the theoretical framework
In Figure 1 the theoretical framework is conceptualized.

Cultural Violence

History
- Melancholia
- Traumatic view of the past
- Melancholic historical narrative

Secterian identity formation

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[64] Bell 2006, RAY, L., 2006. Mourning, Melancholia and Violence. In: D. BELL, ed, *Memory, Trauma and World Politics*. 1 edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian.
[65] RAY, L., 2006. p. 135, Strömbom 2010, Papadakis 2008, BELL, D., 2008. Agonistic Democracy and the Politics of Memory. *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory,* **15**(1), pp. 148-166.FINLAYSON, A., 1997. Discourse and Contemporary Loyalist Identity. In: SHIRLOW, PETER & MCGOVERN MARK, ed, *Who Are 'The People' Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Nothern Ireland.* 1 edn. Pluto Press, pp. 72.
[66] Geisler 2005, Bell 2006, Strömbom 2010 p49-52, Smithey 2011.
[67] NIC CRAITH, M., 2002. p92. ROLSTON, B., 2010 "Reaching the future through the past".

The hypothesis of this thesis is that cultural violence is the mechanism that controls and maintains sectarian identity formation. The chief mechanism in which cultural violence operates through is history. Cultural violence puts the society in a state of melancholia through a melancholic perspective of history, which means that the society has a traumatic view of the past. This leads to a melancholic historical narrative in which there is an antagonistic Other that is the main perpetrator of past injustices. The collective is a victim of these injustices in the narrative. Cultural violence is thus the main mechanism that opens and closes history and thereby opens and closes identities. In order to develop this hypothesis further Northern Ireland has been selected as a case study. Since murals of Northern Ireland express legitimizations of the conflict, the hypothesis can be applied to this case.

3. Methodology
This chapter discusses the methodological considerations of the thesis. The case selection and the analytical and comparative framework are presented and discussed. The methods to analyze the murals are presented and outlined.

3.1 Melancholic Narratives
A historical narrative is the medium in which we make sense of our history and ourselves. In historical narratives we become aware of our group identity and the narrative legitimizes our cultural experiences. Historical narratives present our interpretation of history and historical events.[68] In the narrative our collective and those who are excluded from the group are identified.[69] Since it is in historical narratives our legitimization of the present is found, it is in the narrative we can locate melancholia.

When investigating a historical narrative it is vital to ask: what is the politics of this narrative? What is remembered? What is forgotten? What has been made sense of and what has been left out?[70] These questions have been asked to each investigated mural. By asking these questions the general outline of the narrative has been exposed but not the melancholia in the narrative. To define the melancholic nature of the narrative, the following questions based on the melancholic dimensions have been posed:

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[68] BELL, D., 2008. Agonistic Democracy and the Politics of Memory. *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory,* **15**(1), pp. 148-166.Karlsson 2010 p 66,. ANDREWS, M., 2007. *Shaping History - Narratives of Political Change.* 1 edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[69] TILLY, C., 2002. *Stories, Identities and Political Change.* 1 edn. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers INC., Nic Craith 2003 p2-5, Rolston 2010 289-293, Rúsen 2008.
[70] KARLSSON, K., 2010 p 72.

who has been wronged? Is there an aspect of suffering in the narrative? Is there a conflict in the narrative? Is the past hurtful and is therefore the present hurtful? How is the presumed suffering remembered? How does history limit the present and the future?[71]

A mural has three audiences: the community (internal message), the enemy (external) and the visitors (external). The internal message highlight questions such as: who are we? Why are we the way we are? Why is the present like it is? How do we make sense of our history? What is our past and what is our future? The external message is for the outside viewer and it can be directed toward both to the antagonistic community and a viewer that is not a part of the conflict. The external message highlights, who the community is, who the enemy is, why the community is right, why the enemy is wrong and present the community's view of history. The external message directed to the enemy highlights, what they have done wrong, why they are the enemy, how the community is stronger than the enemy and why the community will win in the end. The melancholic narrative is portrayed in all three messages but can highlight different aspects of the historical narrative. The muralists think in all these three audiences and so, to be able to analyze the murals, the perspectives of these three audiences are a part of the analytical framework.

3.2.Signs, Culture and Narratives

Murals often have texts and images to maximize their message and this analysis will look at both text and images. To be able to do so, the analysis must use a methodology, that both take the visual and the textual into context. This thesis has been influenced by Social Semiotics yet, it this will not be a Social Semiotic study. Semiotics cannot be used just as a methodology due to the fact that it is a discipline in itself. The study will therefore be inspired by Semiotics and will use some of its analytical terms in the analysis.

It will focus on how humans interpret signs and symbols in their everyday life.[72] Rolston and Jarman argue that murals are political statements by communities and are reflections of group identities and this analysis agrees with this statement. The function of murals is to promote a certain political message, which is described and given through images. This thesis will analyze the intent of the sender of the message reflected by the historical

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[71] Dawson 1997.

[72] Sonesson 1992, ROSE, G., 2007. *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials.* 2 edn. London: Sage p 2-4.

narrative that has been chosen to promote their political standpoint. When the historical narrative is defined the melancholic nature of the narrative is investigated.

The performance of this analysis will look at who and what is portrayed in the murals and the relationship between these elements. The analysis must be wary because the understanding of the murals is always culturally depended. Therefore the analysis must be aware of the multiple meanings available in each part of the mural. The analysis will refer to the features of the mural signs and highlight what these elements can convey.[73] The interpretation of the mural is always culturally depended since the interpretation of the viewer could be different if the sender's cultural context is different than his or her own.[74] Cultural violence is permanence and the strength of it lies in how it reaches the minds of the residents subconsciously. An understanding of the cultural context is crucial to understanding cultural violence. That is why the cultural context of the murals must be highlighted.

The narrative is an interpretation of the combination of the signs. To define the narrative these questions have been asked: What is the dominant sign in the mural? What kinds of colours are used? What are the political symbols? What is the composition of the image? What does it refer to? What do the symbols of the image refer to? Are there any known persons in the mural? What is the message of the mural? Internally and externally? What is the historical narrative? What kind of identity is presented? What is the function of the narrative in the mural?

It is also important to ask how the mural is framed: how are the different signs in the mural connected with each other and what is their relationship with each other?[75] How does the framing differ in comparison with the murals within their category and between the two different communities? When defining the dominant sign of the mural, the sign(s) that form the narrative of the mural are looked upon and also reveals the narrative. In some murals it is only one sign and in others it is the relationship of the signs in the mural that is dominant.

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[73] Rose 2007, Sonesson 1992, VAN LEEUWEN, T., 2005. *Introducing social semiotics.* London: Routledge.
[74] Rose 2007, Sonesson 1992.
[75] Van Leuween 2005.

Some might argue that in order to investigate a certain cultural context one has to be a member of it. I disagree with the validity of this argument; interpretations become available if one is conscious of the cultural context. In addition to this when I investigate Northern Ireland I do not have "sectarian glasses": my lack of prejudice is an advantage in producing a less biased interpretation.[76]

The critical reader might also ask if another researcher can verify my findings. The selection of the murals will be discussed in another section of this chapter and the choices will be explained. My conclusions are based on findings from previous research. The research that has been performed and the associated theoretical framework have helped me defining the narrative that are presented by the murals and have also expanded the scope of my interpretation of the murals. To verify my findings I have considered three different audiences and the reaction that the muralists want from the audience. The combination of thinking as a muralist, a member of the community, the perceived enemy and as an outside viewer contributed to my interpretations of the murals' narrative.

3.3.1. Comparative Framework

Since this is a comparative study a critical reader might ask why the analysis is a qualitative study and not a quantitative. This research design has been chosen because a qualitative research design is good at highlighting relationships between mechanisms and variables that a quantitate research design cannot.[77]

The form in which the comparison is presented is through narrative comparison. This particular method is good for generalizing arguments; highlight the influence of events and context and exploring causal processes.[78] The actual comparison of the murals with each other has been based on the presumed transformation of the murals. What is different? What is the same? What signs have been re-used? What is the framing of the mural, has it transformed? Essentially the answers to the previous questions that have been posed to the murals have been compared to highlight the differences and similarities.

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[76] Rose 2007 p17, 19-32.
[77] YIN, R.K., 2005. *Case study research: design and methods.* 4 edn. London: Sage. LANGE, M., 2012. *Comparative-historical methods.* 1 edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
[78] Lange 2012.

3.3.2. Chronological framework

The first analytical scope is between the years *1979 and 1986*. In 1979 the hunger strike began and in 1986 Northern Ireland became under direct rule by United Kingdom. During this time scope the IRA's campaign became increasingly violent. In 1984 the bomb against the Tory convention in Brighton almost killed the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. In 1985 the Anglo-Irish treaty was signed and built a more intense relationship between Ireland and Britain. Ireland was given an advisory role in the mediation of the conflict and Ireland dropped its claims of Northern Ireland. The agreement was at first considered a failure due to the massive protests against the treaty and the fact that it did not give immediate peace. In hindsight the agreement was a success since it brought Ireland and United Kingdom closer together and eased the negotiations of the Good Friday agreement.

The second analytical scope is *1986-1994*. These years, which were marked by a more intense relationship between Ireland and Great Britain, were also marked by greater violence by the loyalists' paramilitaries and the IRA. The IRA orchestrated several big bombings in Northern Ireland and in the United Kingdom and the loyalists did several bombings as well. The violence became direct and escalated at the cost of the civilian population in Northern Ireland. In 1991 the loyalists declared the first ceasefire but it did not last long. The second, more famous ceasefire was in 1994, which is seen as one of the first steps towards a peace process. Furthermore in 1994 the republicans started to reimagine their political identities, which has been explained in previous chapters and will be conceptualized further in the analysis.

The third analytical scope is between *1994 and 1998*, which are the years leading up to the Good Friday Agreement. The ceasefire was broken in 1996 with the IRA bombing of Manchester but the peace negotiations continued and lead up to the Good Friday agreement. This epoch, marked by violence but also a demand for peace by the public, is an interesting area to analyze since it marks a potential opening in the historical narrative.

The fourth category is the year *1998*. Including the bumpy road of the Peace process. While direct rule ended, the British government has taken over several times due to the lack of political participation and agreement by both parties. They have disagreed more than they have actually worked together.

The fifth category is called *Murals Today* and shows the present state of the murals. The Queen of the United Kingdom visited Ireland in 2011 and in Northern Ireland 2012, which was seen as a great success. In the beginning of this year riots on the streets occurred since the Union Jack was not going to be flown every days of the week during the Belfast council. The violence has not ceased; it is still direct and sectarian. The difference between the beginning of the 90s and today is that the violence is direct and spontaneous and it is not a part of a military campaign. Murals are still being painted in the working class areas of Belfast.

3.4.1. Cases
Social processes are slow and it takes time to alter and change people's identities. Therefore one could argue that the time frame of the analysis is too narrow.[79] A researcher should not be too path-dependent which means that the researcher puts too much emphasize on historical processes that lead up to the present.[80] Murals have only existed in its current form since 1979, marking the limits of the timeframe available for the analysis. The thesis acknowledges that cultural violence have been in process longer than murals have existed, but the tradition of painting murals have developed through the conflict. Murals are therefore manifestations of historical processes that are used to legitimize the present.

3.4.2. Case selection
The whole analysis is itself a case study of Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland has been chosen because it is an area with severe sectarianism and has visual manifestations that legitimize the violence. Yet, the analysis will consist of 10 murals and each mural will be treated as a case.

A critical reader could point out that 10 murals are quite a lot for this type of analysis and the analysis would benefit from a fewer number of cases. The second research question, how murals have affected and been affected by the peace process, demands a large number of cases for its answer. This analysis is a critical case study; it cannot be severed from its environment and is sensitive to contextual and spatial complexity.[81] Ragin has pointed out that when defining your cases it is vital to constitute the population of your cases since there can be hidden groups within your population that can alter your findings. The researcher

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[79] PIERSON, P., 2003. Big, Slow-Moving, and...Invisible. In: J. MAHONEY and D. RUESCHEMEYER, eds, *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences.* New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 177-207.
[80] MAHONEY, J., 2001. Path-Dependent Explanations of Regime Change: Central America in Comparative Perspective *Studies in Comparative International Development,* **36**(1), pp. 111-141.
[81] Lange 2012.

should never assume homogeneity of the population of the chosen cases. The delimitation of the case studies should be as flexible as possible to be able to delimit the subgroups.[82] For example, republican murals have one political affiliation whereas loyalists' have several. The loyalist murals have heterogeneity within them. Yet, this heterogeneity does not affect the analysis because the subgroups promote the same political identity: loyalist protestant identity.

The murals have been chosen from Bill Rolston's book series "Drawing Support". Rolston has photographed murals and catalogued them. The reason why the murals have been chosen from his catalogue is because he has marked the year of which the photograph was taken and where. For this reason I have chosen to take the images from his publications. There are very few databases that are available that have catalogued the murals in Belfast. Since the investigation is based on Rolston's catalogue and research, a critical reader could argue that the analysis has a selection bias, as the cases have been chosen to verify or reject a theory.[83] To avoid selection bias the images have been chosen on the basis on prior research made by Rolston, Jarman and Smithey et al. When selecting the cases I have been aware that Rolston also has done a selection of the murals in Belfast. This investigation is therefore a selection of Rolston's selections. The critical reader might object that my findings will be based on already made interpretations and therefore will not be valid.[84] Yet, Rolston's findings have been consistent with other research on murals. When a mural has been selected, the selection has been based on: a) if there are several murals within the same theme, b) if the research has said that this theme has been prominent within the time period, c) if the theme matches the political events of the time period, d) if the murals within the theme have the same message. By asking these questions selection bias has been avoided since they have forced me to rethink the link between the idea and the evidence.[85] Furthermore the third research question, how the murals have been affected by and affected the peace process, demands that I know the location of the mural and when it was painted. I have chosen to use Rolston's catalogue since he provides the location and date. I have not

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[82] RAGIN, C., 2000. *Fuzzy-Set Social Science.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press p 43-63.
[83] ALEXANDER, G. and BENNET, A., 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences.* Cambridge: MIT Press p 205-232.
[84] GOLDSTONE, J., 1997. Methodological Issues in Comparative Macrosociology. *Comparative Social Research,* **16**, pp. 107-120. GOLDSTONE, J., 1997. Methodological Issues in Comparative Macrosociology. *Comparative Social Research,* **16**, pp. 107-120.

[85] Ragin 2000.

been able to find any other sources that state time and place of the murals from 1979 until today.

Furthermore, a critical reader might argue that my findings will only verify Rolston's findings since the research field is narrow and has been based on Rolston's research. Rolston has done a lot of research but the research has mostly been conducted in articles. He has not synthesised his research into a grander analytical framework. As the reader has seen the research field of murals is actually quite small and have not been subjected to a thorough investigation. There are few disagreements in the research field about the function and the message of the murals. But this analysis will use the previous research as a stepping-stone and investigate the underlying mechanisms of what the murals are a symptom of.

The murals have been chosen based on the prior research that has been conducted by Rolston, Jarman, and Smithey et al to be able to observe how the murals have transformed. The murals have also been chosen on the basis of the signs that have been present in the murals. I have attempted to find murals that have displayed several different signs which are common cross the selection. The main criteria were to look after signs that said something about themselves, their connection to Northern Ireland and also their relationship to their antagonists. By doing so some themes have not been chosen, such as republican international themes and some historic loyalist themes; these have later been referred to in the findings. However, this will not change the outcome of the analysis because the meanings of the excluded themes have been a part of the understanding of the analyzed murals. The murals that have been analyzed are not "unique" in that sense that they represent anomalies; instead, they represent the "normalcy" of the murals of their respective community. To find cultural violence it is vital to find the "normal" because the power of cultural violence lies in what influence people without them being wholly conscious of it.

4. Analysis

4.1. In-depth analysis

4.1.1. Republican murals 1979-1986
The mural that has been chosen for the category 1979-1986 consists of two murals because they are on the same wall. The earlier mural is from 1981 and depicts a hunger striker and the more recent mural depict the Easter rising. By choosing two murals, "a double mural",

the aim is to show how a message of one mural can be reinforced by the addition of a new.[86] The more recent mural is painted above the older mural. The connection between their messages will be discussed in the analysis.

The earlier of the murals (1981) depicts one of the hunger strikers, however the specific identity of the hunger striker is unknown. The mural is painted in black and white with dashes of red on the hunger striker; the figure is the dominant sign of the mural. The red colour in the mural is striking and refers to blood, which symbolizes the life that is leaving Ireland. By painting the mural in black and white it makes the red stand out in the mural and makes it appear grim. The anonymity of the blanket man gives the viewer the opportunity to put anyone in the role of the hunger striker. He can be any victim of the Troubles, even the viewer. The mural clearly portraits him as suffering, on his knees his head held down in despair. He embodies the suffering of the Irish nation. The framing of these signs indicate feelings of defeat, suffering and sorrow. The darkness that surrounds the hunger striker places him and incidentally the Irish nation, in a context of despair. The British state is the darkness in the narrative since the hunger strikers fought against the British state, even though the British state is not openly referred to in the narrative of the mural. It also refers to an Ireland that is beaten down The darkness, Britain, is closing in on Ireland.

There is a text surrounding the mural: "For those who believe no explanation is necessary. For those who don't believe no explanations possible". This text refers to how the hunger strikers, in extension Ireland, have been treated by the British State. The first part of the text refers to people who can see an explanation but do not find it necessary and the second part refers to people who cannot see any explanation to previous events. This is an attempt to speak to both nationalists, who believe that no explanation is necessary. To republicans, who

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[86] ROLSTON, B., 2010. *Drawing Support*.

believe that no explanation is possible. The differentiation lies in their different views of how the conflict can be resolved. Republicans see the use of force as the only solution whereas nationalists believe in a political solution to the conflict.

A mural is an articulated narrative.[87] In this instance the mural is filled with resentment, despair and anger. It is a manifestation of melancholia since it presents history as a one-dimensional narrative in a framework of revenge and resentment. Furthermore, in the narrative a Christian framework is used to highlight the sacrifice of the hunger strikers. The hunger striker in the mural has a close resemblance to Christ. The Christian framework creates the duality of good and evil. Thus, the Irish nation is Good and the British nation (state) is Evil. In order for cultural violence to be believable, it must operate within a known cultural framework. In this mural, the framework is Christianity. The Christian framework of Good and Evil is an expression of the melancholic nature of the narrative since it creates an enemy and one historical meaning.[88]

The hunger strike was a traumatic event in itself that changed the historical narrative and in extension the Irish identity. The transformation of the narrative and the Irish identity is linked to the hunger strikers use of the Celtic tradition. The republican violence was legitimized by cultural means since the republicans were able to present themselves as fighters for an ancient homeland. Being republican changed from being a criminal to being something noble. The cultural context changed and a new form of narrative emerged where republicanism was legitimized.[89] Furthermore, the brutal treatment of the hunger strikers by the British state legitimized the republican cause further. Since they had started to be perceived as Celtic warriors, the hostile treatment against them was perceived as hostile treatment of the Celtic nation.[90] The strikers changed the historical narrative by their own active choices and actions and thus changed the reaction and view of the treatment of them.

The more recent mural depicting the Easter rising[91] was painted above previous analyzed mural. There are two women in the mural: one young and one old. The use of colours in the mural indicates that the women are meant to symbolize Ireland. They are wearing green and

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[87] Fierke 2006.
[88] Papadakis 2008.
[89] Feldman 1991 p259-264.
[90] Feldman 1991 p164.

[91] One of the first steps by the IRA to form an independent Ireland, the rebellion failed but it has a great symbolical value in the nationalist narrative.

the younger woman has red hair: a sign of Irishness. The mural conveys that Ireland was born out of fire, the Easter rising, and therefore, Ireland was born out of violence. Violence is thereby needed in Irish history. In the middle of the mural a man appears to be lying in prison looking up sad; he is presumably a participant of the Easter rising. The Easter rising failed but is seen by republicans as the start of the Irish struggle for independence. His sacrifice, his freedom, was needed for the Birth of Ireland. The elderly woman is Ireland today (1986), and she is looking back at her birth and at the sacrifices that have been made for her. She looks sad, aghast and puzzled. Does she regret her birth? Is she saddened by the sacrifices that have been made for her? By placing the younger mural above the older the narrative of the murals as Ireland as a nation of suffering and sacrifices is stressed. There have always been sacrifices for Ireland and there are more to come as Ireland today, the older woman, is showing in her expression; she holds her hands for her face as a sign of horror. The younger of the mural is stressing that the agency of actors is vital for the survival and creation of Ireland. The combination of the murals is reinforcing this view.

The use of colours in the murals tells the viewer that Ireland is once again surrounded by darkness, Evil, which is a sign of the British repression. The colours symbolizing Ireland in the mural, red and green, stands out of the dark background. The dark background is the enemy in the narrative. Yet, the colours of Ireland radiates through the darkness indicating hope that Ireland will be free. The narrative of the mural portrays Ireland as a historical force that cannot be ignored while there are agents to set Ireland free through their sacrifices. The melancholia highlights the previous sacrifices, making reconciliation difficult since the living are burdened with a duty to the dead to carry on and revenge their deaths.[92] The individual in these traumas is taken out and put in a collective structure thus the agency is taken out of the equation.[93] This means that the injustices that are made towards a person are injustices to the collective. In the reversed situation atrocities that are made by an agent for the group is excused since they were "for the greater good". The historical narrative blames the other for atrocities but excuses the atrocities made by the group. Cultural violence cannot cease unless a link between "my" actions and "their" suffering is found.[94] In cultural violence there is no agent, there is only collective suffering.

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[92] Bell 2006.
[93] Bell 2006.
[94] Dawson 1997.

The mundane aspect of murals is dangerous since they implicitly teach a narrative that is not questioned: it is a part of your everyday life.[95] These two murals have taught the residents that sacrifices are vital for the survival of Ireland. The British has always suppressed Ireland and the republican struggle is vital for the survival of Ireland. The narrative does not convey that have been victims of republican violence.

4.1.2.Loyalist murals 1979-1986

The mural that represents 1979-1986 was made in 1981, during the end of the republican hunger strike.[96] The mural depicts the shield of Ulster with the red hand of Ulster in its center. Surrounding this shield is the flag of St Andrews and the flag of Ulster. On each side

of the flags is the Union Jack as a shield. Ulster, Britain and Scotland are represented in the mural though heraldic symbols. Above the flags and the shield of Ulster is a slogan: "remember the loyalist prisoners" and "Quis Seperabit" (who will separate), which is the UDA's motto. The background of the mural is black, which emphasises the colours of the mural.

This mural directly addresses the republican hunger strike: a significant political event during the Troubles. It urges the viewer not to forget the loyalist prisoners that are also suffering in prison. The community must remember and stay loyal to the prisoners. This is a direct response to the current political debate and is an example of how text and signs are important elements in understanding murals. If the text were depicted without the support of the heraldic symbols then the contextual understanding of Northern Ireland, as a part of the United Kingdom would not be as apparent as it is in this mural. By using heraldic symbols as signs the relationship between text and signs stresses the message of British heritage, the loyalist sacrifice and the loyalist paramilitaries' relation to the British state.

As the viewer can see there are no actors in the murals, the signs that are used are heraldic symbols of nations in the United Kingdom. By using heraldic symbols the commissioners of the mural are portraying the loyalists participants of, and for, the British state. They are a part of the British state and the community must remember that. The links between Scotland

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[95] Smithey 2011. Billig 1995.
[96] Rolston 2010 *Drawing Support* p5.

and Ulster is stressed by using the flag of St Andrews and the red hand of Ulster. The Union Jack is emphasising the fact that the community is British and that they are a part of Britain. At the same time are they undermining their Britishness by using the flag of St Andrews since the Scottish independence movement uses the flag of St Andrews as a symbol for their independence. The heraldic symbols of England and Wales are absent from the mural, which is an interesting question in itself but it belongs to another thesis, since this thesis investigates Northern Irish identity formation.

The relationship between the heraldic symbols in the mural is the dominant sign due to the fact that these symbols stress that loyalists are a part of an official framework. The mural is calling the viewer to remember the loyalist prisoners, thus the loyalist sacrifices, but there are no actors to symbolize the prisoners in the mural. It is vital to remember that the loyalist paramilitaries were not a part of the British security forces. In the loyalist narrative, however, they were and the use of heraldic symbols stresses this fact. The relationship between the heraldic symbols shows a melancholic narrative in an official, state like, form. In the loyalist murals there are no suffering prisoners and their melancholic narrative have therefore a different narrative form the republican. There is no play on the viewer's emotions, only that the viewer must not forget the prisoners. The melancholic narrative is presented in terms of official symbolism, thus the loyalist trauma is to be perceived as official trauma. Loyalists have acted in the role of the state and actions in its past are thereby legitimate. The message of the murals is that peace cannot come without the ultimate defeat of the Other due to past loyalist sacrifices for Britain. This narrative is an expression of the insecurity of the Self insofar as it is incapable of forgetting or remembering without recollecting the resentment associated with past suffering.

4.1.3. Republican murals 1986-1994

To be able to show how republicans have reimagined themselves, a mural that depicts a hooded IRA man has been chosen to represent 1986-1994.[97] The mural has the Irish isle, painted in the Irish tricolour in the center with a hooded armed volunteer in front of it. The four shields of Ireland are surrounding the Isle and on the side of the mural there is a quote by Bobby Sands. The

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[97] Rolston 2010 *Drawing Support* p37.

dominant signs of the mural are the volunteer and the Irish isle, which tells the viewer that Ireland has been united through the IRA, and the relationship between the hooded man and the quote, which gives the mural a grim message. The quote is: "Everyone, republican or otherwise has his or her own particular part to play. No part is too great or too small, no one is too old or too young to do something".

The quote is also a sign in itself since it stresses the importance of everyone having a role to play for the future united Ireland. In this particular quote, the republican view of history is presented. The view is teleological and the unification of Ireland is the end, which will be discussed later in the analysis. The quote itself is not militaristic since it could refer to peaceful actions, but the framing of the armed volunteer and the quote tells the viewer that Ireland can only be united through force. The narrative of the mural both condones and calls for arms. The dream, a united Ireland, will only happen through force and everyone should help the IRA achieve this goal. The internal message of the mural is therefore to recruit new members to the IRA.

The four shields of Ireland are used to give a historical dimension to the republican struggle and the historical dimension stress the cultural identity. The justification of the republican struggle need signs that stress a historical legitimacy, which the four shields do. The four shields represent the past, the armed volunteer in the mural represents the present whereas the Irish Isle represent the future; a link between the past, the present and the future is presented in the mural through these signs.[98]

This mural is, along with the murals for 1979-1986, within a Christian framework of sacrifice. The quote by Bobby Sands reflects this aspect since he died for Ireland. Since Bobby Sands has a Christ like position in the republican narrative and his death is understood in a Christian sacrifice, another layer of legitimacy to the armed struggle is added. This is an example of how the relationship between the signs in the image tells the viewer of the cultural context of the site of the mural. This image is directed to, presumably devout, working class Catholics in Belfast and the Christian narrative of sacrifice is a narrative they are familiar with. This is an image that speaks to the mundane narrative in our everyday lives.

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[98] Smithey 2011, Abshire & Rolston 2004, TÄGIL, S., 1984. The Conditions for Ethno-Regional Conflict: Conclusions. In: S. TÄGIL, ed, *Regions in Upheaval.* 1 edn. 1984: Kristianstads Boktryckeri, pp. 240-253.

When analyzing the sign, hooded men, regardless of their political affiliation, it is vital to see them as tools of violence. They are both tools of structural violence and of direct violence. The masking of the armed man is not for his own protection since it actually is a question of masking the construction of power. Through the symbol of the mask, the figure represents a faceless part of the collective violent machinery. The hooded man can be anyone around you and you cannot decipher who is a part of the armed group, which contributes to the fear and hostility.[99] The violence is therefore faceless. The faceless hooded man is a sign of hostility and the aim is to scare the viewer. Murals carry two messages: one introvert and one extrovert. The extrovert message of this mural is to scare the opponent and thereby to scare outsiders and keep them away from the Catholic area in the aim of deterring direct violence and preserving the neighbourhood. The hooded men also claim the space, thus maintaining the imaginary geography of Belfast. There is a correlation between the use of hooded men in murals and the violence in the conflict.[100] The 1980s was extremely bloody and the direct violence on the streets had crept up on the walls, which will be discussed in the next section.

This particular sign, hooded men, is a good example of how murals are both a violent act in itself and of cultural violence. It is an act of violence because it influences people into thinking in sectarian terms and thereby claiming the space sectarian; ultimately preventing people to move freely across the city. The act of violence is closely linked to cultural violence since it influences people into thinking sectarian and locking people into an identity. Furthermore, it has reinforced the view that violence in the society is justifiable and legitimate to the residents in the area. The hooded men as tools of direct violence will be discussed below. here are no explicit references to historic traumas in the narrative of the mural. Instead the mural refers to the Irish nationalist history in which the Irish were victims. The melancholia has erupted, in this mural, in a call to arms. The signs and the referrers in the mural give the viewer the message that the Irish have been victims of the British oppression and now is time for revenge. They are fighting back against the British oppressors through blunt force and everyone has a role to play. This is the introvert message of the mural. The hooded men have therefore a dual message; they are both elements of fear but also elements of strength.

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[99] Feldman 1991.
[100] Smithey 2011, ROLSTON, B., 2003.

4.1.4. Loyalist murals 1986-1994

The link between Scotland and Ulster is stressed, once again, in this mural representing 1986-1994.[101] Two hooded, armed men salute the east Belfast regiment (UVF) and the flag of St Andrews is used. The heraldic signs are prominent in the mural as they where in the previously discussed loyalist mural.

Interestingly, the loyalists are still "deconstructing" Britain in this mural by adding the flag of St Andrews: through which Scotland seems to be declared as a distinctive nation. This is probably not the intent of the message but it is interesting that the confusion of what Britain is has subconsciously reached the loyalist mindset. It also shows the problematic nature of what constitutes the British identity and the problematic nature of the conflict between cultural identities on the British Isles in general. The fluid and contesting nature of identities finds, however, its extreme in Northern Ireland.

The function of this mural is to frighten outsiders and the hooded men are therefore tools of violence. In order to present the conclusion, the narrative, of the mural it is important to provide a deeper understanding of the function of hooded men as a sign. The function of these hostile signs is to give the outside viewer, especially the perceived enemy, a clear message that they are under threat. There is an explicit threat that these hooded men exists in reality and that they are not afraid to come forward to defend their beliefs and territory. There is a threat of direct violence in the mural. The violence becomes faceless and unexpected. The use of hooded men in loyalist murals came about when a younger generation took over from the old muralists that used historical themes.[102] It is the combination of heraldic, official, and the hooded men that is the dominant sign of the mural. This combination of the official and the faceless shows how the loyalist narrative sees the loyalist struggle as a part of the official security forces. This younger generation had a different viewpoint that was coloured by the events that had happened during the 80s and 90s. The historical understanding of the loyalist was coloured by the violence during this time frame and the melancholia was both causing the violence to escalate and created by the violence. This means that the melancholia was enforced by the violence and enforcing the violence. The escalation of the violence is thereby linked to the ability of melancholia to

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[101] Rolston 2010 *Drawing Support* p17.
[102] ROLSTON, B., 1998. *Drawing Support 2 - Murals of War and Peace.* 1 edn. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.

active direct violence. The melancholia in the narrative urged republicans and loyalists to use tools of violence in their murals and the insecure Self needed guards to guard the borders of its identity. The violence on the streets had crept into the murals and thereby influenced the political identities. This is an example of how the events of the present are reflected in the murals and how this is then made sense of with a historical narrative. The present is linked to the past and through the past the present is given a meaning and the future is foretold.

The historical narrative that is presented in this mural is shown through the relationship between the heraldic signs and the hooded men. The mural conveys a narrative of Britishness and the need to defend it. This narrative will be discussed in the following analysis of other loyalist murals. This analysis focuses on the function of the mural, which is the claiming and the maintaining of space in Belfast. Murals reduce the mobility of the residents in Belfast since they maintain the imaginary geography of the area.[103] There is a conflict regarding the message of the mural and what it actually does. The mural tells the residents that the other party excludes them from their city, and that is why they need hooded men to protect them. However, the use of hooded men is an act of exclusion since the aim is to frighten the enemy away from the neighbourhood. It has been pointed out that the internal message of one group is enforced by the external message of the perceived enemy and this is an example of how these messages are intertwined with each other. This means that structural violence is not only vertical but can also be horizontal. Murals lock people into a certain identity and are manifestations of how people in Northern Ireland are socialized into certain historical narratives. Cultural violence produces and reproduces structural violence because it legitimizes structural violence. There is an implicit, almost silent, way of implanting the historical narrative into people's mind.

4.1.5. Republican murals 1994-1998

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[103] Dawson 2007.

In 1994 the republicans decided to reimagine themselves and they removed or repainted all hooded volunteers from their murals. This was a conscious decision made by the PIRA. New more nuanced ways of describing the conflict were used and cultural symbols became more important. This mural was made in 1996; the same year was marked by big PIRA bombings in London. The republicans did not return to using hooded men on their murals, instead they continued using cultural symbols. The mural that will represent this time frame depicts the Celtic hero Culichiannan, who is placed in the center of the mural.[104] Below him are, once again, the four shields of Ireland and the words: Unbowed, Unbroken and Saoirse, which means freedom. Surrounding Culichiannan are portraits of dead republicans from the area. The mural is painted in bright colours that are usually representing optimism and a bright future.

This is a continuation of the tradition of using Celtic symbols and linking it to the modern Irish state. Culichiannan is an ancient Celtic hero that protected Ireland against enemies. By placing the fallen republicans along with Culichiannan, the mural deposits the present-day republicans into an ancient framework of heroes. Culichiannan is the dominant sign of the mural. The qualities that marked Culichiannan, who defended Ireland and was known to be unbowed and unbroken, are transferred onto the republicans. The mural is therefore meant to inspire young men and women in general to continue the work of Culichiannan. The armed struggle is implicit in the mural while being an essential part of the mural's message. The use of bright colours make the mural stand out in the urban landscape of Belfast, which also gives the mural a sense of hope and optimism as bright colours are usually associated with joy. The green hills, on which Culichannan stands, represent the green hills of Ireland. Orange is used to represent dawn that is the new day of Ireland. As it has been pointed out, Culichiannan is an ancient hero and the use of this sign makes the republican cause an

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[104]ROLSTON, B., 2003. *Drawing Support 3 - Murals and Transition in the North of Ireland.* 1 edn. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.

ancient one. The republican struggle will be victorious, as it is shown in the mural with the use of bright colours, but only after sacrifices made by Culichannan and republicans.[105]

It has been discussed in this analysis that melancholia, and murals, transform personal loss into a collective loss. To be able to reach mourning you need to have "closure" in history.[106] It must therefore be a closure in history on the private, as well as, the public level. In order to reach closure, the insecure Self must cease to be insecure; this can only be achieved by acknowledging the agency of the group in the conflict. The Self must acknowledge that it is not only a victim but also a perpetrator. However, both loyalist and republican narratives state that peace can only come when the Other is utterly defeated.[107] Behind each dead republican on this mural there are family and friends that mourn their loved. In addition to this for each dead republican there are victims of the republican violence. These victims have friends and family that also mourn them. However, this mural rationalizes and excuses the republican violence by using the Celtic framework. Those who mourn the dead republicans understand that the dead have died for an ancient nation. These deaths have not been in vain. By using this cultural framework that rationalizes the dead, the republicans cannot reach closure in history because the trauma is understood in a narrative of ancient hatred and independence. The personal narrative needs to be open as well as the general historical narrative to reach closure. Culichiannan is therefore the keeper of melancholia since he is a sign of ancient Ireland and Irishness.

4.1.6. Loyalist murals 1994-1998

During the conflict, and after, the questions of prisoners have been important for both republicans and loyalists. Discussions have been raised around subjects of treatment and the release of the prisoners. As the reader can see in the mural from 1997 the red hand of Ulster is in the center of the mural and is clenched into a fist.[108] Above the fist is Northern Ireland, painted as a prison. The blue wreath that surrounds the fist gives the impression of being a national symbol. The fist has a halo encircling it and above the fist

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[105] Abshire & Rolston 2004.
[106] Dawson 2007.
[107] Finlaysson 1997.
[108] Rolston 2003 p 37.

UFF is written to give the impression that UFF is the fist. Above the red fist there are two more red fists. These fists convey to the viewer that Ulster is breaking free. The dominant sign here are the red fists since the red hand of Ulster, which has been transformed into the red fist of Ulster. This will be further discussed below. The flag of Ulster and the flag of the UDA are on each side of the shield. The mural also has a text: Some gave all. All gave some. Free our prisoners. The loyalist mural from 1997 demands the release of loyalist prisoners and stresses their innocence. In the mural representing 1979-1986 it said, free *the* prisoners. In this mural it says release *our* prisoners. The republican prisoners can stay in prison.

There are several interesting signs in this mural that conveys the loyalist view of the present. The most interesting feature is the fact that the Red Hand of Ulster clenched into a fist. They have taken the symbol of Ulster and distorted it. By clenching the hand the muralists are saying that Ulster has had enough and that they are ready to fight back. An open palm symbolizes peace and friendship but a fist symbolizes fight. By clenching the fist the content of the sign has changed and has become more hostile. Loyalists' are ready to fight back against the discriminatory treatment of the prisoners.

The narrative is also saying that "enough is enough" and the clenched fist depicts the strength and force of Ulster. The melancholia, cultural violence erupts, in the narrative that urges the viewer to take part of the fight; to fight against the invaders. The UDA (UFF) has taken it upon them to channel this historical force and free the prisoners and Ulster. The narrative stats that the chains have been broken and they are now free to fight back against republican violence. The loyalists have been prisoners of the republican violence for too long and they must defend Ulster by unleashing the force of Ulster. There are several prisoners in this narrative: the actual prisoners in prison and the Protestant community that is living in an existential prison in fear of the republican violence.

It is vital to understand the context of this mural since it was made during the negotiations of the Good Friday Agreement. The UFF were saying that the loyalist prisoners must be released or there will be problems. The message to the negotiators was meant to be a threat to force them listen to the loyalists' demands. Loyalists saw the peace process as a betrayal

to the loyalist community that had sacrificed themselves for Britain.[109] To be able to present this view, new murals were painted to engage in the political communication. It has been pointed out that murals are a silent yet, vocal form of protest. The text of the mural says, "all gave some", which means that everyone is guilty. Everyone has done something and everyone is part of the conflict. In contrast to republican murals that have said that everyone can *do* something. This mural is saying that everyone has *done* something. Loyalists' are therefore saying that the public is guilty by their cultural association, which indicates awareness that there is no escape from their cultural context. Even if you do not agree with the armed struggle you are a part of it since "history" has made you a part of the conflict.

This is a narrative that is meant to scare the viewer. The structural violent form of the narrative is meant to activate the direct violence on the streets. It is therefore interplay between what is happening in the present and what is happening in the murals. The mural is meant to summon support from the community by stressing the historic force of the their ancestors, which is done through heraldic symbols.

Historically Protestants have often been attributed more positive identity traits than the Catholics in Northern Ireland.[110] That is why signs of strength and agency are stressed in this mural to highlight the past power and sacrifice that has been made by loyalists. However, loyalists have never had any political power in Northern Ireland: they have always seen themselves in alliance with Unionists. Unionists are, and have been, the main political power holders in Northern Ireland. However, today loyalists are not welcome in the official framework and their image has been shattered. This will be discussed in the upcoming analysis.

4.1.7. Republican 1998-

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[109] GRAHAM, B., 2004.
[110] RUANE, JOSEPH & TODD, JENNIFER, 1996. *The dynamics of conflict in Northern Ireland: power, conflict, and emancipation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

It is vital to remember that IRA-membership is clandestine and that you cannot publicly admit being a member. It is only after your death your "service for the IRA" can be freely celebrated. Memorials, therefore, play a vital part in the republican narrative because they legitimize why the dead have died and only in this format their actions can be celebrated. This mural that represent 1998- is a memorial of dead volunteers. The mural has three known IRA members that will be further analyzed in this section.[111] In the mural there are three elements that highlight the ancient, the early modern and the modern Ireland and these elements legitimize why the dead have died. The ancient Ireland is the Celtic knot, the four shields of Ireland represent the early modern Ireland and the Irish flag represents the modern Ireland.

These three elements create a linear movement that has ended with a united Ireland through the help of the IRA. There are three volunteers in the mural and according to Rolston the IRA man that holds the Irish flag is Bobby McGrudden (fotnot). This particular mural is very interesting because the composition of the mural is similar to the Delacroix painting of the French revolution. Marianne in the painting of Delacroix is cheering and leading the revolutionaries on. McGrudden represents Liberty in this mural since he is representing Marianne. By holding and giving the flag to the Irish public the narrative of the mural conveys to the viewer that through the IRA, Ireland received and receives their freedom. The flag and Bobby McGrudden are the two dominate signs of the mural. This is an example of how a famous symbol is used in a new cultural setting and by doing so the sign has been redesigned. However, the features of the sign are still recognisable and the meaning is still intact. This means that the sign can be set in a new social and cultural context without diminishing the sign's meaning. The message of the mural juxtaposes the republican struggle with the French revolution. Through this juxtaposition, the republican cause is placed in a global political framework alongside the French revolution, thereby legitimizes the republicans implicitly. IRA becomes Liberty and the British becomes the oppressors, the ancient régime.

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[111] Rolston 2003 p.19.

In the lower part of the mural viewers are invited to pray for the fallen IRA members and for Ireland (Erin), while being encouraged to smile afterwards. Through this suggestion that the viewer should smile, two more elements are added to the mural: the coming reunification of Ireland as well as a reduced hostility. The mural has a reduced hostility since it does not portray tools of violence and since it encourages the viewer to smile: setting a positive tone to the mural. The men in the mural are unmasked and there is no looming threat of violence in the mural. The narrative conveys that the conflict is over and that the republicans have won. This means that the republicans do not need to activate direct violence through murals because they perceive themselves to have the support of the viewer. In the new historical narrative they are legitimate political players and not terrorists. By depicting the IRA members as smiling and unmasked their political credibility is enhanced.

The historical narrative that is presented in this particular mural is that the IRA, the Catholic community, has fought for a free Ireland since the ancient days of the Celtic. The Protestant community has been excluded from this narrative because they are not being represented in the mural even though the Protestant community was active in the Irish independence movement during the 19th century. When investigating historical narratives it is vital to look at who and what has been excluded and what this exclusion means. In this case Protestants have been excluded and the narrative thereby becomes one-dimensional.[112] Although there is reduced hostility in the narrative, it is still melancholic since it only contains one meaning. The melancholia is also manifested through its victorious approach over the Other. The insecure Self is not protecting its borders with tools of violence; instead it is invading the borders of the Other creating a narrative of victory over the Other. The offensiveness of the narrative means that the cultural violence has changed from promoting direct violence for protection to promote a structural violence that alter the Other's identity.

4.1.8. Loyalist mural 1998-

When the republicans began to reimagine themselves and use less threatening signs, the loyalists maintained their paramilitary symbols, which diminished their political credibility. An example is this particular mural from 2001 wherein the dominant sign is the two hooded men.[113] There are no heraldic signs as has been previously seen in loyalist murals. Yet, the

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[112] Karlsson 2010 p63, Nic Craith 2002 p92, Rolston "Trying to Reach the Future Through the Past" 2010 p289.
[113] Rolston 2003 p 40.

narrative is still stressing the need for protection by the loyalist paramilitaries against the Catholic Other, which will be discussed in-depth below. The narrative conveys how the loyalists perceive themselves after the Good Friday Agreement. The hooded men, the tools of violence, are representing the loyalist paramilitaries since their emblems are in the upper part of the mural. The text of the mural says: "Prepared for Peace, Ready for War" and the loyalist narrative is presented through this slogan. This is a recycled mural from 1995 and it is an example of how some murals are kept intact.[114]

As the viewer can see, there are no heraldic symbols stressing an allegiance to the United Kingdom. Yet, the relationship between the signs conveys that loyalists do not see the conflict as resolved. The enemy is not explicitly mentioned in this mural and this is consistent with other republican and loyalist murals. However, the viewer understands who the enemy is by being aware of the cultural context. This narrative uses the cultural stereotype of the honest Ulster man and the dishonest Irish where the text refers to a possibility of the IRA abandoning the peace process. The theme has been in use since 1995, after the first cease-fire, referring to the inability of the IRA to commit to a peace process. By using this stereotype, the loyalist indicates that the Irish cannot be trusted and that is why they must be prepared for war.[115] Distrust and a hesitation for the future are signs of a traumatic narrative and therefore it can still be seen as melancholic.

The mural also suggests that the paramilitaries will offer protection to Ulster. They have, and will once more, protect it from republican violence. The hooded men, the tools of violence, are portrayed as participants of a "black op" and the viewer understands that the loyalist paramilitaries are, willingly, doing the dirty work for the British state. This mural highlights the need of security for the insecure Self because there is distrust towards the other party derived from cultural stereotypes by certain historical narratives. Republicans cannot be trusted since they have been "unfaithful" in the past. The use of militaristic symbols stresses the loyalist self image as the protectors of Ulster. The Protestants are seen to be living under siege from the Catholics which manifests in a melancholic perspective is

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[114] Rolston 1998, 2003, Rolston & Abshire 2004.
[115] Shirlow & McGovern 1997.

manifested and through this belief, the direct violence is activated. Both Protestants and Catholics perceive themselves to be minorities in the society: Catholics in Ulster and Protestants in Ireland. This has made each group form a distinctive cultural cohesion that is based in opposition to the other group.[116]

By posing as a part of the clandestine units of the British security forces the loyalists are presenting their perceived strengths: their military abilities can protect them against their enemy. Furthermore, it is implied that the British state cannot protect its citizens since the paramilitaries are needed for protection. The melancholia stresses the enemy in the narrative and the need for protection of the insecure Self.[117]

4.1.9. Republican Murals of Today

The mural representing "Today" was taken by the author in the summer of 2011 when attending U21 Summer School. Eight men depicted as silhouettes are dominating the mural. They differ in shapes and sizes and the format of the mural is intended to recollect a "a suspect line-up". The figures are representing the enemies of the republicans such as the British Intelligence, "loyalist death squads" and the RUC[118]. The style of the mural is dominating feature of the mural since it is portraying the Other as a criminal. The text "Collusion: State Murder" is used to imply that the Other is murdering Catholics and that the British state collaborates with loyalist paramilitaries while not taking responsibility for their actions of this collaboration. This text also shows that the republicans still perceive themselves as victims of British repression: the republican narrative has not changed.

Furthermore, it teaches new generations of Catholics that the British state is their enemy, since the British state is depicted as allies of the loyalists. The narrative stresses that violence is justified against the British state since they have used unjust violence against the republicans. The republicans are therefore victims defending themselves. The nationalist

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[116] Shirlow & McGovern 1997, Nic Craith 2003 p14.
[117] Graham 2004.
[118] The Police in Northern Ireland.

narrative, as previously described, is still in use and teaches coming generations that being Irish is being a victim of British repression. A crucial element of legitimization of conflicts is to perceive yourself as underdog: claiming victimhood of ongoing conflict.[119]

The shape of the silhouettes is similar to the sign of the tools of violence, the hooded men. Difference between the previously described tools and these silhouettes lie in what the silhouettes are representing to the viewer. These silhouettes are manifestations of what the enemy is to the community i.e. dark shadows. The silhouettes are the enemy and not the protector of the community. The use of the tools of violence in loyalist murals has taught the republicans that the loyalists are tools of violence. Their violence is faceless and they cannot be trusted. The loyalist usage of hooded men as protectors of Protestant areas has coloured the republican view of the Other, the loyalists. Republicans perceive their enemy as faceless and dangerous: dark shadows that can strike at any given moment. This is an example of how murals have developed a sectarian mindset amongst the communities. Furthermore, it is an example of how the internal and external messages of the murals are intertwined and colour the views of the communities.

Increasingly, murals have been used to promote new ways of reimaging the communities after the signing of the Good Friday.[120] Yet, this mural is an example of how the old narrative has remained. The melancholia in the society has not shifted and the republican narrative still stresses the British as enemies. The narrative conveys that history has been and still is traumatic; the Irish are still victims of the British oppression.

4.1.10. Loyalist murals of Today [121]

There has been a decline in loyalist hostile murals that use the tools of violence, such as the hooded men. Yet, the historical themes that

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[119] Tägil 1984.
[120] Smithey 2011.
[121] http://www.artscouncil-ni.org/news/2008/new07032008.htm 130529

highlight the sacrifices that have been made by Ulster are still intact.[122] These themes are both based on social exclusion. The mural that represents Today is a "double mural" it is a mural that has been repainted. It was chosen due to the fact that there is a project to change the most offensive murals in Belfast. How this transformation occurs is a good example of how the veneer of a mural changes without effecting the message. In the first instalment of the mural, the picture to the left, it depicted Iron Maiden's Eddie as a WWI soldier with the Grim Reaper. In the second instalment, the picture to the right, the theme is King Billy at the Battle of the Boyne. In the earlier mural Eddie is depicted as a soldier that has risen from the trenches ready to attack, which makes him the dominant sign of the mural. The reaper is waiting in the background; waiting for Eddie to bring back the dead to him. The colours of the sky give the viewer the impression that bloodshed has coloured it. Next to the mural is a text that says that the Grim Reaper roams the streets of Belfast at night and will kill you in your bed. What is implied is that the Reaper will kill the Catholics and that they are never safe. This is a mural that has taken the idea of the masked violence to a new level of hostility. It is a threat to the external viewer (Catholic) but also an encouragement to the internal viewer (Protestant) that we are strong; the Reaper is an agent for the loyalist community.

The mural that replaced the Grim Reaper is a depiction of King Billy at the Battle of the Boyne. The dominant sign of the mural, King Billy, is sitting on a rearing horse, urging his army to follow him. The background is an idyllic landscape in the early morning and it has an almost has an almost whimsical feeling to it. At first glance the mural is not hostile, instead it is friendly and approachable. However, the depiction remains sectarian since it portrays King Billy: known to Catholics as a historic figure that institutionally classified Catholics as second-class citizens. Therefore critique has been brought forward stating that the mural was repainted with a sectarian symbol in it. King Billy was seen as a cultural or historic symbol, whereas a republican mural depicting the 30th anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands was labelled as sectarian due to the fact it had men with baklavas firing gunshots over the coffin.[123] This debate show the problematic nature of murals since it what is deemed to be a cultural expression of one community is perceived to be sectarian of the other community. For a Protestant Bobby Sands is sectarian whereas a Catholic deems King Billy sectarian.

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[122] Smithey 2011.
[123] http://www2.macleans.ca/2011/07/06/something-a-can-of-paint-can-fix-2/ 130526

One could also believe that the transformation from the Grim Reaper to King Billy would be welcomed in the Protestant community due to the fact that the earlier mural was frightening. On the contrary the transformation was marked by intense discussion and protests from the residents in the area. King Billy was in fact a compromise between the organizers of the project and residents in the area.[124]

Social exclusion is created by what the signs represent and how they are interpreted - not according to the depiction of hostility. The Grim Reaper is an overtly hostile sign but no less than King Billy because in the Catholic narrative he was a repressor. Hostility lies in the historical narrative and the interpretation of the narrative. All signs in each narrative are interpreted through melancholic glasses and everything is therefore understood in melancholic terms. The victory and associated symbols for one group are symbols of trauma and historic failures for the other group. The question is if King Billy can, or should, be reinterpreted by the Catholic community or by the Protestant community? Or should both communities treat him with ambiguity?

5. Findings
In this section of the thesis the findings of the case study is presented and discussed.

5.1. Republicans murals
Republicans have had a wide range of themes to choose from such as the armed political struggle, Celtic history, the relationship between the IRA and other international struggles across the world. The republicans have always been faster in responding to current events than the loyalists. Answers have been given to political debates, events have been given attainable outcomes and they have pointed out injustices in the present.[125] Both loyalists and republicans have used a combination of text and images, forming a fruitful political alliance that makes the mural politically potent.[126] The republicans have also used international themes in their portrayal of themselves, thereby highlighting their kinship with other armed resistance movements across the world.[127] In Belfast, a prominent wall called the "Freedom Wall" shows different murals that link the conflict in Northern Ireland with other

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[124] http://www2.macleans.ca/2011/07/06/something-a-can-of-paint-can-fix-2/ 130526.
[125] Rolston 2003 "Changing the Political Landscape".
[126] Santino 2001 p37-41.
[127] Rolston 1998.

independence movements across the world.[128] The international links have not been investigated in this analysis but they have been prominent since the 1980s.

Republican murals are often quite comical and more subtle in depictions of hostility toward their enemy than their loyalist counterparts. Republicans view themselves as opponents to the state, which explains why they can derive from a wider source of inspiration. As opposition they can present an alternative future whereas loyalists only can show the present.[129]

The melancholic narrative is presented through its portrayal of the British state as an enemy. Protestants are not perceived as the main enemy in the republican narrative because according to their narrative, Protestants are Irish. However, they think that the British have deceived the Protestants into believing that they are British and not Irish. When Ireland is reunited, the Protestants will realize that they have been fooled by the British and will then accept an Irish identity.[130] The Protestant majority, however, identifies themselves strongly with the British state and sees thereby the hostility against the British state as hostility against them. However, due to the fact that the Protestants see themselves as loyal to the United Kingdom, the Protestants are seen as betrayers in the republican narrative as well even more so because they do not acknowledge their Irish connections. The British state, but also the Protestants, are treated as invaders of the Irish motherland since the Protestants have disregarded their Irish roots. There is therefore a strong sensation of melancholia in the republican narrative. The republican narrative sees the British as invaders and the Protestants as collaborators, justifying the violence that is used against the British and the Protestants. Republican murals have a sectarian narrative but it is hidden in attractive historical allegories that influence the viewer to view the republican cause favourably. The hostility of loyalists' murals is making the viewer less sympathetic toward loyalism. The republican melancholia is hidden behind a veil of historical allegories, whereas the loyalist melancholia is evident to the viewer.

All republican murals have the underlying historical theme that the IRA will reunite Ireland. A key component in creating this narrative is connecting the present Ireland, and the

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[128] Rolston 2009 p461-465. ROLSTON, B., 2011. ¡Hasta La Victoria!: Murals and Resistance in Santiago, Chile. *Identities,* **18**(2), pp. 113-137.
[129] Rolston 2010 p295, Rolston *Drawing Support* 2010.
[130] Davis 1997.

republican struggle, to Celtic history. By connecting the republican struggle with the Celtic history the struggle becomes legitimized since political legitimacy is related to how ancient your nation is. Through the use of Celtic signs the republicans present a narrative that the British suppress an ancient nation. This undermines the British narrative since the British are not ancient and have therefore less political legitimacy.[131]

The melancholic perspective stipulates that the Irish nation is not free and of past injustices, historical traumas, have not been avenged. The hunger strikers were responsible for creating and popularizing the use of Celtic signs in the political struggle. They became a sign in themselves due to their use of Gaelic as their form of communication and through their sacrifice for the republican cause. Through these acts they became inspirational figures for the members of the community. Their sacrifice was also understood in a Christian framework.[132] Bobby Sands is saint like, almost Christ like, when depicted in republican murals. This highlights how cultural violence, melancholia, is manifested and understood. It is manifested in known cultural frameworks such as Christianity, which is used to influence the viewer since the viewer does not question the known cultural framework.

The hunger strikers were not, however, the only signs that were used in republican murals in the 1980s and 1990s. Furthermore, the hunger strikers did reinvent the republican armed struggle but the IRA was still perceived to be criminals by a large part of the population in Ireland and in the United Kingdom. Another prominent sign that were used were the hooded men: the tools of violence. The escalation of the conflict during the 1980s and 1990s meant that the direct violence of the streets crept up on the walls of Belfast and the tools of violence were needed to protect the communities. It has been emphasised in the analysis that the melancholia in the republican narrative was so strong that the insecure Self felt that there was a need for hostility and violence to protects its borders. The melancholia in the narrative activated direct violence and was conceptualized through the tools of violence in the murals. After 1994 the republican murals transformed and the tools of violence disappeared.[133] When the republicans repainted the tools of violence this was a result of a diminished melancholia. Whereas loyalists still feel this threat and have thereby kept the hooded men:

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[131] Rolston 1987 p19.
[132] Rolston "Trying to Reach the Future through the Past" 2010.
[133] Rolston "Trying to Reach the Future Through the Past", *Drawing Support* 2010.

this is a sign of intense melancholia in the loyalist community.[134] Republicans have reinvented themselves as legitimate freedom fighters and have become a legitimized part of the Irish political community.[135] Still, both parties want and seek the ultimate defeat of the Other, though this depicted in different ways in the murals. The melancholia in the republican narrative is not strong enough to activate direct violence any more.

There were two stages of reinvention of the republican struggle: the first reinvention was made by the hunger strikers and the second was made in 1994. The reinvention in 1994 was created due to the fact that the armed struggle was bloody and that the support for the violence had decreased. This was a conscious decision in order to be able to present republicanism as a viable political choice. Sinn Fein distanced itself publicly from the IRA in order to become a viable political instrument of conflict resolution. However, Sinn Fein remained the political outlet of the IRA and the conscious decision of repainting the republican murals was a part of the process of making republicanism less violent and more attractive to voters. The political wing of republicanism took over from the military. The republican murals were repainted with historical frameworks highlighting Celtic history and IRA as a part of it thereby offering republicanism as a possible political choice.[136] In the UDA the process of the political wing taking control over the military took more time, which lead to the loyalist armed struggle remaining in the former scenario much longer.[137] This led to the loyalists losing the propaganda war, which has the effect of portraying them as the aggressors.

Northern Ireland belongs to the United Kingdom, and will, until the majority of the population says otherwise. At the moment Northern Ireland has its own parliament and the political representation is based on consociationalism. This is a form of power sharing in which each group has representation in proportion to its population. It means, essentially, that the political power is based on maintaining political identities.[138] Critics have called it

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[134] Rolston "Trying to Reach the Future Through the Past" 2010 p295.
[135] Rolston 2004 p43; 2003, RYAN MARK, 1997. From the centre to the margins. The slow death of Irish republicanism. In: GILLIGAN CHRIS & TONGE JON, ed, *Peace or War? Understanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp. 72.
[136] DAVIS, R., 1997.p. 33, COLLINS, E., 1998. *Killing rage.* 2 edn. London: Granta. SHIRLOW, P., 2010. *Abandoning historical conflict?: former political prisoners and reconciliation in Northern Ireland,* 1 edn. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
[137] Shirlow 2010.
[138] TAYLOR, R., 2001. Northern Ireland: Consociation or Social Transformation? In: J. MCGARRY, ed, *Northern Ireland and the Divided World.* 1 edn. Oxforf: Oxford University Press, pp. 36., McGarry 2001,

conflict regulating rather than actual conflict transformation. At the start of the Troubles, political life in Northern Ireland was on the streets. The conflict connected political power to power over violence: the new political format that was installed by the peace process has maintained this. Political power in Northern Ireland is therefore power over all forms of violence, including cultural violence. Those who control the violence are the former participants of the conflict and they are today in Parliament.[139] Murals have therefore become more important in presenting the views of the working class since the political power of the working class has been reduced by the current system. In the former system the working class protested against injustices by demonstrations but today protests are more in the form of riots. Murals are therefore a form of "peaceful" outlet. However, murals are also controlled by the political power-holders, which means that there is no outlet for the working class. By controlling the murals the power-holders can control the cultural violence and make the communities act according to their wishes. The current political system, consociationalism, demands that the sectarian identities are maintained because political representation is based on the identities. The political representation is therefore reliant on cultural violence since cultural violence maintains the political power. In order to be elected, political representatives must rely on cultural violence, since it is cultural violence that maintains the identities. There is therefore no political incentive to create a non-sectarian Northern Ireland.

5.2. Loyalist

Republican murals have a shorter life span than their loyalist counterparts since they are repainted faster to respond to political debates in the present. Loyalist murals are more viscous, which means that the form message of the murals remains. The repainting of a loyalists' mural is a calendric event since they are often repainted around the 12th of July to celebrate the battle of the Boyne.[140] This distinction in temporality is important since loyalist murals must speak to all contexts, whereas the republican murals can change the form of the message but keep the content. Republican murals can therefore present their melancholia in different forms and approaches whereas loyalist murals have a narrower range of melancholic forms to choose from.

HOROWITZ L DONALD, 2001. The Northern Ireland Agreement: Clear, Consociational, and Risky. In: J. MCGARRY, ed, *Northern Ireland and the Divided World.* 1 edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 89.
[139] GILLIGAN, C., 1997. Peace or pacification process? A brief critique of the peace process. In: GILLIGAN, CHRIS & TONGE JON, ed, *Peace or War? Undestanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp. 19.
[140] Rolston *Drawing Support 3* 2003.

It was shown in the previous chapter that the republicans have had a successful re-imagination of themselves and made their narrative approachable and attractive to the public. The loyalists have not had the same journey. They still use the same kind of signs and themes that have been in use since the 1980s. Historical themes are also prominent in loyalist murals. These themes emphasise the perceived loyalist sacrifices for the United Kingdom.[141] Loyalty is the main cultural framework that is used by loyalists since it implies that loyalists are loyal and the other party is disloyal. Their only crime is loyalty in their narrative.

During the 1980s heraldic symbols were prominent in loyalist murals and in the 1990s the combination of heraldic symbols such as the Union Jack and cultural symbols such as the red hand of Ulster became more prominent. This has been seen in the loyalists' murals representing 1979-1984 and 1998. The increased use of heraldic symbols was a part of a campaign to stress and highlight the link to the United Kingdom.[142] Thereby, the melancholic narrative took an official form and the armed struggle became more political legitimate because they were allies with the state. Republicans used ancient symbols and chose to stress their ancient legitimacy to Northern Ireland in this manner. This shows that a conflict can be legitimized in two different manners. A political group can either stress history, like republicans, or it can stress alliance with a recognized political entity such as a state, like loyalists. The loyalist cultural violence used the official framework to make their claims legitimized and understandable for the loyalist community.

The late 1980s and early 1990s were extremely bloody, and the loyalist paramilitaries actually killed more people than the IRA. This is one of the reasons both affiliations used hooded armed men on their murals in order to frighten the enemy away from their community.[143] The tools of violence were activated by the cultural violence to protect the insecure Self's borders. Loyalist and republicans did not see themselves as hostile or sectarian, instead they saw themselves as defenders of Ulster/Ireland.[144] Through this worldview the direct violence was justified. After the cease-fire the loyalist self-image continued, but without reinvention of the historical narrative like the republicans had

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[141] Shirlow & McGovern 1997, Rolston "Trying to Reach the Future Through the Past, *Drawing Support* 2010, Rolston 2004 p39-40, Rolston *Drawing Support 3* 2003.
[142] Rolston 1998.
[143] Rolston 1998.
[144] Rolston "Trying to Reach the Future Through the Past" 2010 p295.

initiated in their murals: the loyalists' melancholia remained. With the republican transformation, Sinn Fein became a viable political option whereas the loyalists did not transform and thereby did not become a viable political option. This can be explained by the fact that the loyalists saw the ceasefire as a victory over the republicans and therefore they felt no need to transform their identities.[145] The world's perception is that they are not defenders of Ulster; instead they are seen as paramilitary criminals.[146] Loyalists do not see themselves as criminals and their historical narrative portrays the world as wrong.[147] Since they see themselves as defenders of Ulster, they have taken the "degradation" to criminals very hard.[148] This degradation has caused loyalists to believe that they have been betrayed by the British state. Loyalists defeated the republicans yet; the British state has not thanked them for their sacrifice.[149] As previously mentioned, republicans have been able to form a different identity due to the fact they are the opponent of the state. Loyalists have adopted the identity of the state since they perceive themselves as allied with the state. The state, however, do not perceive itself to be allied with the loyalists and have shunned them. This has led to the loyalist community feeling lost and angry.[150]

In the loyalist community there is a divide regarding the continuation of using hooded men in the loyalist murals. The opponents of this use regard the hooded men as overtly hostile. Yet, it is not the message in itself that is contested - it is how the message is presented. The message of loyalist sacrifice for the British state, cohesion of the community and loyalist supremacy is not contested. Instead it is the fact that the message is presented with the tools of violence since the sign contributes to violence. A community can therefore still have a sectarian identity but protest against overtly hostile themes. This points out that overtly hostile themes and subtler hostile themes have different functions. A subtler theme's main function is to influence the own community whereas an overtly hostile theme's function is to scare the enemy. Overtly hostile themes are therefore only used when the insecure self needs to activate direct violence. The subtler themes are therefore more important in creating and maintaining the sectarian identities. This can be seen in the loyalist murals representing 1986-1994 and 1998-.

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[145] Rolston Changing the Political Landscape: Murals and Transition in Northern Ireland. 2003.
[146] D. BOYCE GEORGE, 1997. Bigots in Bowler Hats? Unionism Since the Downing Street Geclaration 1993-1995. In: O'DAY ALAN, ed, *Political Violence in Northern Ireland - Conflict and Conflict Resolution.* 1 edn. Westport Conneticut: Praeger, pp. 51. Shirlow 2010 p 135.
[147] Rolston "Trying to Reach the Future Through the Past" 2010 p297-299.
[148] Rolston 2012 p453-455.
[149] Graham 2004.
[150] Rolston 2004 p39-41.

In the previous chapter it was mentioned that consociationalism have created an incentive to keep the sectarian identities since their political power is based on the sectarian identities.[151] This has led to that the conflict has not transformed since there has not been a change in the political identities.[152] A society with chronic violence is more rigid; it is harder to change the social order and those political identities that are a part of the social order.[153] This is related to the fact that both identities need borders in the past to create security in the present.[154] The three dimensions of melancholia are therefore used to highlight the suffering of the present that is explained with terms of the past. Loyalists stress suffering and sacrifice for the British state in their narrative, whereas republicans stress the suffering and victimhood of the Irish nation by the British and loyalist collaborators. Neither narrative acknowledges the suffering of the other since it diminishes their own suffering. This can be seen in the republican and loyalist murals representing 1994-1996.

The former Secretary of Northern Ireland, Dr John Reid, said in 2000 that Protestant and Catholic communities feel uneasy in Northern Ireland and with each other is explained by the fact that neither one of them feel at home there.[155] Catholics feel left out due to of years of discrimination and have therefore placed their "home" in the Irish republic.[156] Protestants feel isolated on a Catholic island and have thus based their identity in Britain, not Ulster. Consequently both communities have placed their identity in a different geographical location. The historical homeland for Catholics is in Ireland and the historical homeland for Protestants is in Great Britain. The communities believe that by excluding the other community they could feel more at home in Northern Ireland. They have therefore built two separate cultural identities based upon the perceived differences and are trying to make the other group feel more out of place.[157] This can for example be seen in the loyalist mural representing 1979-1984 and the republican mural representing 1994-1998.

5.3. Peace Process- affected or not?
The third research question of the analysis, how have murals been affected by and affected the peace process, will be answered in this section. The conclusion of the analysis is that

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[151] Shirlow 2010 p135-137.
[152] Smythey 2011, Shirlow & Murtagh 2006.
[153] Feldman 1991.
[154] Dawson 2007.
[155] Nic Craith 2003 p25.
[156] Nic Craith 2003 p46.
[157] Nic Craith 2003 p46-47.

murals have affected the peace process and at the same time been affected by the peace process by being reactions to political events. In addition to this, murals are enforcing cultural violence since they are constant reminders of the cultural violence. These two elements are intertwined because the reaction to the political event is transmitted through a cultural violent framework by becoming a mural. The mural is later transformed into a reminder of the cultural violent framework. Consequently the viscosity in murals is essential for cultural violence. Viscosity is the main instrument in which cultural violence can operate since it reaches the viewer subconsciously. It is also this aspect of cultural violence that has made the peace process stagnate since the viscosity of cultural violence has maintained the sectarian identities. This analysis has shown that murals are a dynamic part of the political life in Northern Ireland since they are a part of the political communication.

The role of murals in the sectarian identity formation has been discussed in the analysis regarding the loyalist mural that represented today. A part of the peace process is to change the sectarian identity formation by changing the murals. As it has been discussed in the analysis, this it is not a simple task and has met resistance in the communities. Consequently, murals are the battleground in which the peace process tries to vanquish the sectarian identity formation. The reinvention of the murals is, however, problematic due to the fact that there are few cultural symbols that are not deemed to be sectarian. The themes of the murals at hand are seen as sectarian by the opponent, which has been shown in the analysis. Subsequently there are few themes that can be used on the murals that are not perceived as offensive. Yet, the power of the murals lies in that they speak to their communities. The murals that are altered must still speak for and to the community otherwise the power of the mural will be lost.

By using a chronological framework the transformation of the narratives has been presented and the analysis has shown that the narratives have reacted differently to the peace process. The republicans have actively changed their narrative to fit the present whereas the loyalists have remained their narrative. This is an indication that the loyalist community have more melancholia in their society and that cultural violence is stronger in the loyalist community.

6 Conclusions and Future Research
This chapter will present a concluding discussion of the findings of the analysis and discuss future research projects.

6.1. Conclusion
The overarching historical problems of this analysis have been: how are sectarian identities created and how are they maintained? And can cultural violence manifest itself? The aim of this thesis was to develop the theory of cultural violence further and connect cultural violence to identity formation. The hypothesis of the analysis was that cultural violence is the main mechanism in creating and maintaining sectarian identities through the view of history of the society. By using murals as a source, this thesis has investigated the effect that cultural violence has on political identity formation in Northern Ireland. It has looked especially at how history and historical narratives are a part of cultural violence since history is a key factor in the creation of political identities. To be able to answer the second research question - whether cultural violence can manifest itself - the thesis has treated murals as manifestations of cultural violence and has thereby shown that cultural violence can manifest itself. In order to answer the overarching historical problems subordinate research questions have been asked: How is history used in murals of Belfast? Are murals reflections of sectarian identities? And if so, how is it reflected? Have murals had an impact on the identities of the residents? How have the murals been affected by and affected the peace process? To answer these questions an in-depth analysis has been made consisting of 10 murals that have been selected on the basis of their "normalcy" of the time period that the mural represented. In the analysis of each mural a set of questions, which were presented in chapter 3, were asked to highlight the composition of the mural as well as what kind of signs that had been used in the mural. Through the questions that were asked the message, historical narrative, of the mural was uncovered. Furthermore, each mural was investigated from three perspectives: the community (the internal viewer), the enemy (the external viewer) and the visitor (the external viewer that is not Northern Irish). A comparative framework was also constructed to investigate the transformation of murals. The comparative framework was based on the political events of "the Troubles" that were formative of the conflict.

The findings of the analysis have shown that history, or historical narratives are used to indoctrinate the residents into a sectarian thinking, thus the identities of the residents remain sectarian. It has been pointed out that there is a political incentive of keeping the identities sectarian since the political system is based on ethnicity. Sectarianism is an insecure Self and subsequently it is also a closed narrative and identity. History is therefore a vital part in cultural violence and through history cultural violence can affect identity formation. Cultural

violence is the mechanism that keeps identities sectarian. Sectarian identities are consequently a sectarian view of history. Murals are reflections of this view and murals have also pushed the communities in which they reside toward a sectarian mindset. In addition to this, murals remind the communities of the narrative due to their dominating presence in the area.

When this analysis has compared loyalist and republican murals, startling insight has been revealed regarding the connection between identity formation and how the communities have reacted to the events during the conflict and the peace process. Republicans have answered to the changing dynamics of the political world by adapting to it and thereby the melancholia in the republican community has been reduced. They have developed a broader cultural arsenal in their murals than their loyalist counterparts and have understood the power of media and media representation. Their murals are neither overtly hostile nor sectarian. Their identity, and historical narrative, is more positive since they believe they are right. By adapting to the political events and present positive themes they have been able to get the sympathy of the outside world. Loyalists have on the other hand not adapted to the present and maintained their narrative. Their narrative and their identity are consequently more negative and defensive. The loyalist narrative perceives itself to be right as well, but since they have not adapted to the world, the world do not believe that they are right. This has led to that loyalists have a more persistent melancholic narrative than the republicans. The loyalist cultural violence has been reinforced by the outside world. Yet, it is vital to remember that sectarianism lies in the eyes of the beholder, which means that it is that the interpretation of the viewer that determines whether the narrative is sectarian or not. The sender might think that the message is non-sectarian but the external viewer might however be of a different opinion. Cultural violence justifies and legitimizes antagonism, which means that the sender perceives his or her message to be truthful and an accurate portrayal of the past. The message is therefore not sectarian for the sender but the external viewer might be of a different opinion. Loyalists and republicans do not perceive themselves as sectarian since their society is dominated by cultural violence. The communities cannot believe that their historical narrative is sectarian since cultural violence maintains it. Consequently, in order for the community to perceive that the narrative and identity of the community is sectarian then the members of the community must free themselves from the cultural violent framework. This will be discussed in chapter 6.2.

The republican narrative has less characteristic melancholia than the loyalist narrative and the cultural violence is therefore weaker in the republican narrative. However, since the republican narrative still is based on victimhood and antagonism it must nevertheless be called melancholic. It has been reduced but it is still melancholic. The reduction in melancholia has transformed the murals. They are not promoting direct violence any more, but, instead promoting indirect violence. In contrast to direct violence, indirect violence does not promote physical violence, instead it supports the divide between the two communities. When direct violence is promoted in murals the melancholia is strong and the Self believes that it needs direct violence to protect its borders from the Other. When indirect violence is promoted in murals the melancholia in the narrative is strong in the narrative and the Self believes that it needs to protect its borders with direct violence. When indirect violence is promoted then the direct violence is not needed for the Self's protection. Cultural violence can therefore both promote indirect and direct violence and when the cultural violence promotes indirect violence it is a sign that the cultural violence is weaker. Yet, it is not vanquished.

Loyalists have a stronger melancholic narrative than the republicans since they still use overtly hostile signs in their murals. The cultural violence in the loyalist community must therefore promoting direct violence through the narrative. The increase in cultural violence is related to the fact that loyalists have not adapted to the present like the republicans. Republicans have through their reinvention attracted new followers and gained more support due to the fact that the indirect violence is latent and is subsequently invisible. Republicans are today a legitimate political choice whereas loyalists are not. In the republican reinvention the cultural violence has decreased yet, it is still there. However, the loyalist increase in cultural violence is connected to the fact that due to the lack of reinvention and decrease in support the loyalist community has closed itself. By closing itself the insecure Self has remained insecure and needs direct violence to protect itself. The loyalist community perceive itself to be abandoned by their allies. They saw themselves as members of the British security forces and they sacrificed themselves for the United Kingdom. Yet, the British state did not perceive them to be members of the British forces and the rejection have created a shift in the loyalist narrative. Today they perceive themselves to be betrayed by the British state. This worldview is an indication that the cultural violence is strong, since the melancholia is so strong, in the loyalist narrative.

The third research question highlighted how murals have been affected by and affected the peace process. Through the chronological framework, murals were shown to be reactions to political events and later transformed into reminders of the reaction due to murals persistent position in the urban area. Murals present the reaction of the communities and this reaction reinforces previous views and maintains the narrative. This has been noticeable in loyalist murals. The antagonistic narrative has been projected on the walls and thereby closing the identities further and added on to the hostilities. The cultural violence is reinforced by current events and continues to be reinforced through a spiral of resentment, hate and violence. Through mural, as reactions of events and reminders of the narrative, the peace process has stagnated, which has further added on to the closed narratives and identities. The murals are therefore an arena of violence and arena for presenting your views of the Other.

Cultural violence is therefore a hindrance in the peace process since it maintains the insecure Self and thereby the sectarian identities. Since there is a stronger and more intense cultural violence in the loyalist community the Self is more insecure and less inclined to commit to the peace process because it perceives the need to maintain the boundaries in the past to protect itself in the present. To be able to end this spiral of contempt there must be a political incentive to open up the historical narrative, which is linked to the communities themselves and their worldview. The difference in the republican and the loyalist worldview implies that there is a difference in how intense the cultural violence is in each community. This influences how the peace process is viewed and how it will continue because the intensity of the cultural violence hinders the peace process.

Furthermore, by investigating the transformation of murals the thesis has been able to present that the murals have affected each other. It has been stressed in the analysis that a mural has three audiences, which are the internal viewer from the community, the external viewer from the enemy and the external viewer that do not belong to either cultural context. In the external message, the community presents itself in a certain way to scare their opponents and this affect is responded to in the internal message of the opponents. This can be shown in loyalists' murals in which hooded men, which represent the loyalist paramilitaries, are dominant and republicans show the Other, the loyalist, as shadows.

Cultural violence is able to control identity formation by the simple fact that it is cultural. It is presented in known cultural frameworks that are not questioned by its audience. This is

the strength of cultural violence that it is not questioned and perceived to be the truth. This study has shown that history is a vital role of cultural violence and that it is cultural violence what keeps identities closed. It has also been shown that melancholia is a part of cultural violence. Sectarian identities are manifestations of severe cultural violence and are also a manifestation of an indirect violent act. This thesis has therefore developed the analytical concept of cultural violence further and has shown that cultural violence is more influential in identity formation than previously thought.

The overarching historical problem that this thesis discussed was: how are sectarian identities created and how are they maintained? The conclusion that this thesis draws is that sectarian identities are born out of antagonistic historical narratives, which are born out of a melancholic narrative that indoctrinates people to think that a certain event was a historical trauma. This historic trauma is then interpreted through a melancholic narrative. Melancholia is the main feature of cultural violence since what is perceived to be traumatic is linked to cultural violence; cultural violence can therefore be said to be the creator of antagonism. It is how a collective responds to a traumatic experience that gives rise to antagonistic identities. Cultural violence is vital in explaining how an antagonistic identity is maintained and historical narratives are also an important part of how antagonistic identities are maintained.

6.2. Future research

When concluding an investigation it is vital to bring forward new questions that have developed from the investigation at hand. This analysis has not been able to present how cultural violence can be stopped. Nor has it been able to present how identities can be open and thereby open the narrative. This thesis has been able to explain what may be responsible for the stagnation of the Northern Irish conflict, but not been able to present how the conflict can be transformed. It would be beneficial to do a new study based on this conclusion but use a theoretical framework of conflict resolution and recognition due to the fact that these theoretical perspectives would highlight how cultural violence can be ceased.

This thesis has briefly touched on the problematic nature of the different identities on the British Isles and has pointed out that the identities in themselves carry a latent melancholia that activates the melancholia in Northern Ireland. I argue that in order to cease the sectarianism in Northern Ireland the latent melancholia in the other identities must be ceased as well. There cannot be a conflict resolution until there is a viable non-sectarian choice of

identity for the individuals on the British Isles. An idea to broaden this research would be to include historiography and its role in the formation of the British and Irish politics in Northern Ireland.

In this analysis one aspect has, perhaps, been quite evident for the reader. There are no women in the murals, except as symbols for the nations. Women often have a more active role in republican murals than in their loyalist counterparts but it is still a very masculine narrative. Women only function as symbols for the nation and are not agents of their own. This thesis has not been able to answer why women are seen as backdrops and not as actors in the historical narrative. Yet, it is an important question that must be asked and probably has affected the duration of the conflict. It is also vital to point out that the lack of female involvement in the historical narrative conveys to the viewer that this is a highly masculinized society. Gender could be a starting point for republican, nationalist, loyalist and unionist women to join forces and work together for peace.[158] This is a question that needs further research.

Another interesting research field would be to investigate the economic incentives in keeping the murals in Belfast. The murals, especially the overtly hostile murals, are today tourist attractions. The problematic notion that occurs is that the communities need the money that the tourist brings in. This analysis has shown, however, that the murals maintain the sectarian identities of the communities, which makes conflict resolution difficult. The economic incentives in keeping the murals therefore problematize the discussion of whether the communities should keep the murals or not. Also, the murals are a part of the history of Belfast and some argue that the communities should keep the murals in their current state since it is a part of their history. Murals are however, manifestations of cultural violence and murals have in their current form prolonged and intensified the conflict. By keeping the murals this framework stays intact and it would be highly interesting to research how this violent framework could be deconstructed without "whitewashing" their history or withdrawing business.

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[158] WARD, R 1997. The Northern Ireland peace process: A gender issue? In: CHRIS GILLIGAN JON TONGE, ed, *Peace or War? Understanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland.* 1 edn. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Another interesting study would be to do a comparative study of Northern Ireland and Latin America. There is a similar tradition with murals in Latin America and it would be highly interesting to see if murals in Latin America also are manifestations of cultural violence or if they have been and have now transformed into something else. If so, how have they transformed and why?

It would be interesting to investigate and analyze different forms of manifestations of cultural violence across the world to understand how cultural violence function. In addition to this, the study would investigate if there were other forms than murals that cultural violence can manifest itself. Through this the investigation further explanations of how cultural violence locks people in, and out, of identities could be seen. If we can pinpoint how cultural violence function when it closes historical narratives then we can actually be capable of hindering cultural violence. Furthermore, if the mechanisms that create cultural violence could be highlighted then conflict resolution would be eased since then the signals that indicate melancholia could be detected. The case of Syria, or Lebanon, would be interesting case studies since they have severe sectarianism that have activated direct violence. Furthermore it would be interesting to and if we can see how cultural violence start, then we can know how we can investigate if cultural violence can spread to similar cultural contexts and if it maintains its form in the new cultural context.

The aim of this analysis was to develop the theory of cultural violence further by looking at identities. The research field of cultural violence is quite limited and needs to be further conceptualized and investigated by adding new variables other than history. This thesis has used the mechanism of melancholia but it has not investigated the shift from melancholia to mourning. A new interesting research field would be to look at, for example, commemorating murals and investigate if they are using a melancholic framework or a framework of mourning. The transformation from melancholia to mourning has not been investigated in this analysis but it could be highlighted in the discussed investigation. Furthermore, that kind of investigation would be a good match with previously discussed research of conflict resolution and conflict transformation since it further highlight how the Northern Irish conflict have and can transform.

This analysis has provided insight in how structures, cultural violence, affect our personal identity through historical narratives. The formation of our personal identities is not as

individual as we think. The theory of cultural violence forces us to rethink the question of evil and has strong links with Hannah Arendt's thesis on the Banality of Evil since cultural violence can activate direct violence through melancholia. When people do heinous acts it is possibly connected to the fact of them living in a society with strong cultural violence and that could explain why we have evil. Yet, it does not answer why some act against the cultural violent framework and oppose to the direct and indirect violence in the society. There is more to research in the interplay between psychology and the view of history in order to answer these disturbing questions.

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