

Security in Past Tense

A Study of Loyalist and Republican Murals

Fredrika Larsson

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to illustrate how collective memory is the basis of ontological security in conflicts and how this hinders reconciliation. The thesis argues that the narrative that stems from the actor must be validated by its relationships otherwise ontological dissonance occurs. Furthermore, the thesis argues that when ontological dissonance occurs the identity does not avoid the dissonance. Instead it holds on to what it knows, which is the collective memory. The thesis has looked at murals in Northern Ireland and has investigated what themes are displayed as chosen glories and chosen traumas. Through this analysis the thesis has been able to show that when a narrative is not validated the narrative is put in trauma time, which is an outcome of the ontological dissonance and also maintains it. When this happens reconciliation cannot take place since trauma time forces the community to remain in their antagonistic collective memory in order to have an ontological secure world. This can be seen by loyalist murals, which are in trauma time. Republicans are not in trauma time since their narrative has been validated by their relationships.

Key words: Ontological Security, Collective Memory, Murals, Northern Ireland, Identity

Words: xxxxx

Table of contents

Security in Past Tense.....	1
1.1 Aim and Purpose.....	1
1.1.1 Research questions.....	2
1.2 Outline of the thesis	3
1.3 Murals	3
1.3.1 The Northern Irish conflict and Murals	4
1.4 Prior Research.....	5
1.4.1 Murals	5
2 Theory	8
2.1 Ontological Security	8
2.1.1 What is ontological security?.....	8
2.1.2 Ontological Security and Conflicts.....	8
2.2 Memories	9
2.2.1 What is a memory?	9
2.2.2 Difference between memory and history.....	10
2.3 Ontological Security, Narrative and Memory.....	10
2.3.1 Chosen traumas, chosen glories and trauma time.....	10
3 Method	12
3.1 How is collective memories and ontological security studied?.....	12
3.1.1 Researching cultural products.....	12
3.1.2 Research design	13
3.2 Cases	15
3.2.1 Case illustrative.....	15
4 Analysis	16
4.1 Republican	16
4.1.1 Chosen Glories.....	16
4.1.2 Chosen Traumas	17
4.2 Loyalist	20
4.2.1 Chosen Glories.....	20
4.2.2 Chosen Trauma	21
5 Conclusion	23
References.....	25

Security in Past Tense

1.1 Aim and Purpose

Everyone who has been in an argument knows that it is hard to reconcile and admitting that you are wrong can be harder for some than for others. If it is hard for individuals, imagine how hard it is for communities and/or states. Reconciliation after a conflict is not just the fact that violence has ceased; the communities must also change their identity. The communities must make peace with the Other in their mind. This is easier said than done since making peace with the Other in your mind requires a reformulation of your identity (Zarakol 2010, Misztal 2011, Misztal 2010). Northern Ireland can be used as an example; there is a peace agreement but no reconciliation process. There are still segregated areas and the identities are still sectarian since the identities have not been reformulated (Rolston 2006). Sectarianism means hatred, bigotry and believing that the Other is evil and subordinate to the own group. Sectarian, or antagonistic, identities are created through antagonistic historical narratives. Collective identities are created through a collective's shared view of the past or a historical narrative. This identity is transmitted to individuals through cultural practices, political symbols, education etc (Billig 1995, Hill & White 2012). It is through the historical narrative the present is made sense of and the individual understands himself or herself. An antagonistic narrative blames the Other community for grievances of the community that is located in the past thus legitimizing the conflict (Strömbom 2010, Papadakis 2004, Kinnvall 2006; 2012, Rolston 2003, Bell 2009; 2003).

Amir Lupovici has argued that when a community's perception of themselves as not met by the outside world, what Lupovici calls ontological dissonance, they simply avoid it and can maintain their narrative (Lupovici 2012). Lupovici's theoretical point of departure derives from ontological security. Ontological security is when an individual feels that the world is whole, real and alive. It is not the security of the body but of the Self, the sense of who one is, which enables and motivates action and choice. Essentially it is knowing what one is doing and why one is doing it (Zarakol 2010, Giddens 1991, Mitzen 2006, Rumelli 2013). However, what is the basis of ontological security? Mitzen argues that ontological security is based in relationships with other actors. These relationships reflect how the actor perceives itself and are routinized, which means that they are hard to change (Mitzen 2006). Steele argues that ontological security stems from the Self and ontological security is not created by the outside world's perception of the actor. He does not focus on interactions of the actors, instead of what the actors say about themselves (Steele 2005, Zarakol 2010). However, it is in the meeting

of the Other we create and Us (Barth 1969). Furthermore, Lupovici's argument of ontological dissonance requires that there must be a narrative stemming from the Self yet, relationships that there are relationships responding to the narrative. Furthermore, Mitzen argues that the relationships are sustained by the fact that ontological security is based in trust. It is what you know and rejecting the basis of your ontological security means that you have to reformulate your identity, which is ontologically insecure. Ontological security might be able to answer why sectarian identities are kept.

Yet, ontological security does not discuss the enemy of the Past. This thesis argues that in conflicts the basis of ontological security is in the historical narrative, or the collective memory, of the community. The thesis will use the term collective memory since it highlights a transformative view of the past, which will be outlined in chapter 2. By arguing that collective memory is the basis of the ontological security it could answer why reconciliation is hard. Since the antagonistic collective memory is what you know and the other option - a new identity - is perceived as insecure. The thesis argues that it is the form of the relationship between ontological security and collective memory that hinders reconciliation.

In order to illustrate this argument Northern Ireland has been chosen, thus making the study into an illustrative case study. Northern Ireland is a delimited case with severe sectarian identities and geography. The material that will be investigated is murals. In the working class areas of Belfast and Derry there is a tradition of painting murals, which reflect the collective memory of the communities in which they reside in (Jarman 2005; 1997, Rolston 2010; 2006, Smithey 2011, Mizstal 2011, Switzer & McDowell 2009, Batista 2009). Northern Irish murals use a combination of text and images that has a tremendous impact on the viewer. Murals are a reflection of the collective memory since the themes of the murals reflects the way the community wants to remember itself. In addition to this, murals are the creator and maintainer of the sectarian areas in Belfast. They are what make an area in which Catholics/Protestants live into a Catholic/Protestant area. Sean Kay points out that murals instruct new generations of a sectarian identity even if the new generations have not experienced the conflict (Feldman 1991, Sonesson 1992, Kay 2012:254). The thesis will use murals as its source to investigate how collective memory and ontological security hinder reconciliation. It can use murals as its source since murals teach, remind and maintain the collective memory for the community. The thesis will discuss this further in chapter 2 and 3.

1.1.1 Research questions

This thesis argues that in intractable conflicts the form of the relationship between collective memory and ontological security hinders reconciliation. The community needs an historical explanation to understand the present. The overarching research questions are therefore: *what is it in said relationship that*

hinders reconciliation? And how can the relationship be transformed to promote reconciliation? Since the analysis has a empirical case study a research question has been added, which is: *how is this reflected in the murals of Northern Ireland?*

In order to answer these questions the thesis will look at murals and investigate what kind of message the murals promote to the community in which the murals reside in. Northern Ireland has been chosen due to the fact that it is an intractable conflict with a peace agreement but no reconciliation process. The violence in Northern Ireland has ceased but the identities have not transformed. By choosing Northern Ireland the thesis can study why a transformation has not occurred. Furthermore, the case has a tradition of painting murals, which is unique¹ for Northern Ireland and since it is a cultural product collective memory can be studied. This study will look at the chosen themes that are used by the two communities and investigate what these themes convey to the viewer. The methodological framework will be outlined in chapter 3.

1.2 Outline of the thesis

Northern Ireland function as an illustration of the theoretical argument of the thesis, the thesis is therefore case illustrative. The thesis is outlined to firstly introduce murals and their role in Northern Ireland and the research that has been previously done on murals in Northern Ireland. In chapter two the theoretical framework is presented and the connection between ontological security and collective memory will be conceptualized. In order to conduct the analysis the thesis will use a compositional methodology but include terms from semiotics in order to highlight the cultural interpretations of murals. This will be discussed and introduced in chapter 3. The analysis will be done in chapter 4 and a concluding discussion of the findings of chapter 4 will be done in chapter 5.

1.3 Murals

Traditionally, murals have been perceived within a religious social context, whereas in Northern Ireland murals are political paintings found in the urban landscape. In Northern Ireland the murals mark a claim in a geographical territory. Furthermore, they function as a backdrop to the life in the communities they are appear in and subconsciously, inform the community to think in a certain way (Smithey 2011, Jarman 1997; 2005, Rolston 2003).

¹ The tradition is unique to Europe but there is a similar tradition in Latin America.

² UDA/UFF are the loyalist paramilitaries/political groups and IRA are the republican paramilitaries/political

The groups that paint murals are republicans and loyalists. In Northern Ireland there are four stances to how the conflict should be resolved. Nationalists are middle-class Catholics who want to be incorporated into Ireland using peaceful means. A republican is also a Catholic who wants to be a part of Ireland but will not hesitate to use violence. A unionist is a middle-class Protestant that wants to remain in the UK through non-violent means whereas a loyalist does not hesitate to use violence (Black 1998). Since murals are painted by republicans and loyalists murals can be seen as political since they are used to promote their messages. The parties present their view of the present and the past through murals.

The painting of a mural is for loyalists an annual event, whereas the republicans paint murals through out the year (Santino 2011). This also means that republicans change their murals more readily than loyalists, whose murals are more frozen and static. The murals made by loyalists must therefore appeal to the community across a certain period of time whereas republicans can have a quicker form of communication (Rolston 1998).

1.3.1 The Northern Irish conflict and Murals

The Northern Irish conflict is complex, unresolved and extensive. The thesis cannot present a timeline of the conflict that accounts for all aspects of the conflict while presenting its full complexity due to the limited scope of the thesis. The thesis will therefore present the conflict in relation to murals. The timeline of the development of murals is naturally, however, in relation to the development of the conflict.

Unionists started the tradition in the early 20th century, often painting historical themes. In the 1970s both republicans and loyalists picked up the tradition as a form mass localized communication directed toward their supporters. Since the beginning of the conflict the armed groups (UDA/UFF and IRA²) have painted murals and the communities have not contested them (Rolston 2010, Larsson 2013, Abshire & Rolston 2004).

Republicans started to paint murals at the end of the Hunger strike in 1979. The hunger strikers were IRA men who protested against their being treated as criminals and not as political prisoners. Some of them died by starvation during the protest; their sacrifice led to increased support for the IRA. The republican tradition of painting murals began along with their protest and these men are still depicted in murals today. The loyalists began communication through murals before the republicans and increased their practice of mural painting when republicans started (Santino 2001, Goalwin 2013, Lisle 2006).

² UDA/UFF are the loyalist paramilitaries/political groups and IRA are the republican paramilitaries/political group.

In the 1980s and early 1990s both republicans and loyalists depicted hooded masked men in their murals. Themes in murals often correlate with the political events of the time period. During these decades the amount of bloodshed as a result of the conflict was at its peak. The symbolic performed two functions for the community; threatening the viewers from the outside area with faceless violence while also protecting the community through the means of this faceless violence. This symbol is interpreted as a sectarian symbol due to its threat of faceless violence (Feldman 1991, Larsson 2013).

The first general ceasefire occurred in 1994 and it was following this ceasefire that republicans made a conscious decision to remove all hooded men from their murals; a decision that helped them to be perceived as legitimate political players. Loyalists, however, still depict hooded men in their murals but there has been a decline in their use (Smithey 2011). Due to the peace process there has been a decline of sectarian symbols since there is less violence in the communities even while the hooded men as a symbol is still used. However, the UK and the government in Northern Ireland through the Art Council are actively trying to change the most offensive murals by repainting them (Goalwin 2013, Rolston 2010, McCormick & Jarman 2005). The Art Council does this in a dialogue with the communities. However, this is not done without controversy. Murals are part of the sectarian framework but they are also a part of the history of Northern Ireland. The question if they should be altered or maintained remains unresolved.

1.4 Prior Research

1.4.1 Murals

The previous research that has been done on murals in Northern Ireland has not made the murals the focus of the research. They have, mostly been investigated in relation to other forms of expressions, such as marching. The research on murals is therefore limited. Murals have, however, had an important impact on the development of the Northern Irish conflict and have contributed it being a deep-seated conflict. Disregarding the role of murals in the conflict, their nature has been contested in the literature. Are murals primarily artworks, tools of propaganda or expressions of sectarian hatred? Murals are, in fact all of these a mural has two functions; to mark a claim to the geographical area and present the point of view of the communities in which they are located. Murals are, in some sense, a significant prerequisite to all forms of violence since they portray the collective memory that legitimizes the conflict (Goalwin 2013, Larsson 2013).

Research has reached a consensus regarding the role of murals in the creation of sectarian areas (Jarman 2005, Brand 2009, Feldman 1991, Hill & White 2012). They create the sectarian area by constantly portraying and reminding the community of the antagonistic collective memory (Smithey 2011). However, the research disagrees on the point of whether murals are expressions of the communities or the expressions of the political groups that produce them (Goalwin 2013, Smithey 2011, Rolston 1998; 2010, Jarman 1997, Shirlow 2006, Shirlow & Murthagh 2006). Painting a mural is an active choice and the theme of the mural must correspond with the ideas and values of the community. This thesis acknowledges that political groups paint murals and they are, therefore, imposed on the community. However, there has been little opposition to murals since the tradition began. When there has been opposition it has been directed towards how the message has been presented, not to the message in itself. Furthermore, the murals represent a collective memory that has existed before the outbreak of the conflict (Rolston, Hill & White 2012, Ashplan et al 2009:17-17, 33). However, some argue that the fear of persecution has been stronger than the will to change the murals. Nevertheless, today there is still little opposition towards the sectarian murals. In the cases where murals with sectarian themes have been painted over, the communities have protested against the decision (Rolston 2010). This thesis argues that – while murals have been imposed on the communities – they function today, as an outlet of expression for the area. When the conflict started, the communities needed an explanation and murals offered the communities an explanation. Groups that painted murals used the pre-existing collective memory to promote their agenda thus increasing their support. Consequently, the antagonistic collective memory was cemented. The present and the past were thus explained and justified by the murals (Jarman 1997; 2005, Pinkerton, Smithey 2011, Dawson 2007). This is the explanation that the communities trust, which is an important element in the formation of ontological security.

There is further disagreement in the research over whether murals have a primarily internal or external function. Some researchers stress the mobilizing factor of murals and therefore argue that the internal message is more important. Others argue that the external must be stressed since murals are used to scare the enemy (Smithey 2011, Sluka 1996, MCatackney 2011). In a previous thesis the author was able to show that the messages are intertwined. The internal message explains the present, the past and the future for the community thus mobilizing the community. In this internal message there are depictions of the Other as the perpetrator of all the group's misfortunes. In the external message the community presents itself as strong and victorious. These messages are intertwined since the community's view of the Other is derived from the internal messages that have been portrayed in their murals (Larsson 2013). When viewing a mural of an enemy group the external message of the mural reinforces the antagonistic relationship: the image of the enemy, which, the viewer recognises as the Other from his own collective memory. Murals are therefore a tantalizing combination of what has been chosen to be imposed on the communities while also reflecting

the communities. What is chosen to be imposed must correlate with the views of the community. The mural cannot diverge from traditional themes (Rolston).

As, previously mentioned, murals are seen as a hindrance to reconciliation and there have been attempts to alter the murals in order to promote a non-sectarian identity. These attempts, however, have been contested and it has been, argued, that the alterations are biased (Rolston, Pinkerton). This thesis will show that the communities contest the alterations since the murals depict elements of the collective memory that the communities know and trust, while the alterations present a collective memory that they are unfamiliar with (Olick 2007, Müller 2002). A critical reader might point out that the murals are imposed on the communities and thus, by altering the murals the collective memory can be instrumentally changed. However, it is vital to have in mind that this collective memory existed before the conflict escalated and the murals have been responsible for reinforcing this perspective.

The role that murals have in the communities has been outlined in the previous research. Previous research by the author has shown that cultural violence has a tremendous impact on how sectarian identities are created. Yet, the thesis overemphasised the power the structure has in identity formation and identity maintaining. By introducing ontological security the thesis can explain why these identities are kept and by stressing the root of ontological security in the collective memory the transformative nature of our identities is stressed.

2 Theory

2.1 Ontological Security

2.1.1 What is ontological security?

In the introduction a brief outline of ontological security was presented. In this section the thesis will discuss ontological security further.

Ontological security is not security of the body but of the Self. It is the security that we anchor our identity in. An ontologically secure person perceives the world as whole and non-threatening, whereas for an ontologically insecure person, the world is threatening and one does not know how to manoeuvre in the world. Ontological security is therefore important for an individual: providing a foundation for their actions and self-knowledge. The individual has trust in the world, which reduces existential anxiety (Mitzen 2006, Rumelli 2013, Kinnvall 2006, Giddens 1991).

Mitzen argued that state identity is derived from social relationships and the identity is constituted by these relationships. The ontological security is therefore depended on these relationships since they provide recognition for the identity. Steele, on the other hand, argues that the identity of the state is not derived from relationships; it is derived from the perception of the Self of the state. Essentially, it is the narrative the state uses to describe itself (Mitzen 2006, Steele 2005). Kinnvall also sees ontological security as a quest for a stable narrative, however, the context – the relationship to the outside world – is vital (Kinnvall 2006, 2012). Alyse Zarakol poses an interesting question of whether ontological insecurity derives from the relations with the outside world (i.e. the context) or if it is a consequence of the state's own uncertainty of its identity (Zarakol 2010:6). To be able to answer this question you need to consider both of these aspects. The state's uncertainty of its Self derives from how the narrative is formed and if and how it is challenged by its relationships (Zarakol 2010, Lupovici 2012).

2.1.2 Ontological Security and Conflicts

When the Self is challenged by its relationships an ontological dissonance is created and the Self's perception of the world is challenged; the Self's world is no longer whole and the community cannot make sense of it (Lupovici 2012, Mitzen 2006, Kinnvall, Giddens 1991).

Zarakol, Papadakis and Rumellili have shown that within a framework of a conflict, the narrative, which the Self is based on is characterized by framing the opponent as the Other, the enemy (Zarakol 2012, Papadakis 2003; 2004, Rumelili 2013, Ashplant et al 2009:14; 40-44, Switzer & McDowell 2009). What the Other is, the community is not (Zarakol 2012, Lupovici 2012). Rumelili uses the examples of Cyprus and Bosnia, in which attempts to create a shared identity have failed since the new identities have created ontological dissonance, thus ontological insecurity. A similar situation exists in Northern Ireland since the identities are based in opposition to each other (Rummelli 2013:19, NicCraith 2002). In the introduction it was stated that when ontological dissonance occurs, the participants chose to avoid the dilemma at hand and preferred to maintain their identities (Lupovici 2012, Bet – El 2004). This thesis argues that it is not a question of avoiding the dilemma it is a question of staying true to what you know and what to trust and the new identity is therefore seen as insecure. The antagonistic collective memory is what the community trusts and knows and for this reason the identities are kept.

2.2 Memories

2.2.1 What is a memory?

What is the difference between a collective memory and a personal memory? A group can not share a single cognitive apparatus like an individual does and may, therefore, not have a memory. A personal memory is a cognitive physical process in which we remember events and experiences. This thesis does not argue that a community remembers in the same cognitive sense that an individual does. A collective memory is what shapes our personal memories; it is the form we use to make sense of our personal memories. It is through the collective memory that we explain our personal memories. Furthermore, by placing our personal experiences in a collective framework we also join a collective identity (Miztal 2003:11, 13-14 16, Olick 2007, Edkins 2003:11). Identity formation will be outlined further below.

However, the including term “memory” in the term, “collective memory”, is debated since it implies that communities operate on the same level as individuals. Furthermore, the term itself assumes what it is trying to explain and disregards the fluid process of memory (Bell 2009). Winter and Sivan argue that the term remembrance is a better fit because it emphasises agency (Winter & Sivan). This thesis will not use remembrance but collective memory due to several factors.

Firstly, the term remembrance does not fully grasp how the collective memory affects the community, especially in regards to intractable conflicts (Bet-el 2004, Dawson 2007). Secondly, in order for something to be remembered there must be a memory, and if this term is used analytically in relation to communities, the term suggests that there is a collective memory.

The collective memory is presented through a historical narrative. It is the framework through which we think of the past and is constructed with a beginning, middle and an end. A historical narrative does not contain the “whole truth”, but rather, favours certain events and interpretations of these events.

2.2.2 Difference between memory and history

Collective memory and history are two different analytical concepts. History can be seen as the science and information from the events in the past whereas collective memory consists of interpretations of past events. History may also be perceived as information from the past whereas collective memory is information about the past. The thesis does not assume that history has an analytical superiority over memory. The interesting feature of collective memory as an analytical term is its highlighting the transformative nature of identities and the historical narrative we place our identity in. We cannot change the past but we can change how we remember the past. It is not what the memory is; it is what it does, which this thesis will investigate. A collective memory is the product of conflicts, contests and power struggles within the society and is, therefore, always fragile and provisional. When a collective memory changes, interpretations of the past change and a new perspective on what it means to be a particular collective is conveyed (Mizstal 2003:105, 120, Ahonen 14, Strömbom 2010, Radstone & Hodgkin 2003a:5, Müller 2002:30).

2.3 Ontological Security, Narrative and Memory

2.3.1 Chosen traumas, chosen glories and trauma time

The thesis has argued previously that ontological security can both be found in the relationships a community has with Others as well as the narrative that stems from the Self. The Self is mirrored, through relationships and in the circumstance of conflicts the relationship is constituted by enemy-images. Ontological dissonance occurs when the narrative of the Self is challenged by the relationships it has with other communities, including the Other. When the identity is challenged, the community stays true to what they know, which is the historical narrative. The historical narrative is the materialization of the collective memory, which are

interpretations of events in the past. When the narrative is closed there is only one interpretation of events in the past and thus only one dimension of the past; whereas, if the narrative is open, there are several interpretations. In the circumstance of a conflict, the identity's basis of ontological security is derived from having an Other as the perpetrator of all crimes. The narrative is used to make sense of the present and in order to make sense of the narrative it must be closed so that only one interpretation where the Other as the antagonist is allowed. Through creating boundaries in the past, the Self is protected in the present (Papadakis 2003; 2008, Bell 2009, Strömbom 2010, Karlsson 2010, Edkins 2003, Fierke 2006, Finlaysson 2006)

Yet, how is the collective memory constructed in order to provide security and an understanding of the Self for the community? An antagonistic narrative contains of two types of events: chosen traumas and chosen glories. A chosen trauma is a tragic event that has defined the community; marking them as victims. The chosen glory, on the other hand, is also an event that defines the community yet while, displaying the community's glorious past. The chosen glory often precedes the chosen trauma and is explained in terms of the Other, which is perceived as the destroyer of the chosen glory thus causing the chosen trauma. These two events function in relation to one another and the community depends on these events to understand themselves. These events are constructed and maintained through narratives and these narratives function as contestations of power in which other events and/or interpretations are cast aside. The power struggles of the present determine what a chosen trauma or glory is (Kinnvall 2002, 2006, 2012; 273, Volkan 2001, McGregor 2013).

Additionally, it is essential to understand that in conflicts the narratives are both separate and related. In Northern Ireland the chosen glory of one community is the chosen trauma of the other. For example, Catholics perceive that battle of the Boyne as a trauma, whereas for loyalists it is a chosen glory (Rolston 2010, O'Day 1997, Boyce 1997, Smithey 2011).

Yet, this does not explain how, collective memory hinders reconciliation. The chosen traumas in the collective memory may be activated by the events in the present. The conflict in the present must be understood and explained because otherwise the individual is ontologically insecure; it cannot make sense of the world. A time collapse is when the chosen trauma feels like it happened *yesterday* and has a repetitive nature (Edkins 2003). The time collapse puts the collective memory into trauma time, which means that time stagnates: the collective is going nowhere and does not have a future.

3 Method

3.1 How is collective memories and ontological security studied?

Ontological security is understood in this thesis as a product of the narrative that stems from the Self, while being shaped by the relationship the Self has with other communities. The narrative that stems from the Self is based in the collective memory of the community (Steele 2005, Zarakol 2010, Mitzen 2006). As collective memory and ontological security are of an essentially abstract character, they are difficult to investigate. Furthermore, they are a part of the inner life of an individual and therefore a challenge to conceptualize. However, collective memories can manifest themselves as cultural products or expressions. Cultural products or expressions are forms of physical manifestations, such as art or literature through which the collective memory is represented. In this case murals are seen as manifestations of the collective memory. These manifestations are a part of a framework that informs the community of what it means to be part of the community (Volkan 2001, Lagenbacher 2010:16, Durkheim 1994: 11).

The transformative nature of collective memory is possible due to the fact that collective memory consists of the interpretations of events. It was stated previously that collective memories are products of contests and conflicts and the nature of the collective memory is fragile. This means that the present influences the events and interpretations that the collective memory consists of (Mizstal 2003, Karlsson 2010). Therefore it is vital to have these questions in mind when studying collective memories: Who is remembering? For what purposes are we remembering? How are we remembering? What do we want from the past? (Ruosso 1994). In this case the communities are remembering through murals and the purpose is to understand and make sense of the present through the past. This understanding of the present depicted in the murals becomes, what the communities trust and know; the murals represent the narrative that stems from the Self.

3.1.1 Researching cultural products

The previous section discussed how cultural products may be used as sources in order to investigate collective memory and ontological security. It did not, however, outline how it would be done. The methodological framework of the thesis will be presented below.

When investigating images that combine text and image it is crucial to investigate, what the image portrays, what the text says and the relationship between the text and image. The text is understood through the image since it sets the scene for the text, yet, the places the viewer “in the right mindset”. In order to define how the viewer is put in “the right mindset” by a text and image, the analysis must look for aspects of the image that conveys the narrative. Furthermore, the analysis must be sensitive to the fact that the images, especially murals, are interpreted differently dependent on the perspective of the viewer.

Gillian Rose has introduced what he calls a compositional methodology when investigating visual material. The methodology is sensitive to how the image is artistically expressed. It describes how the content of the image, the uses of colour and spatial composition impacts the viewer (Rose 2007:33-50). However, the method does not take into consideration the production of the image and how different audiences interpret the image at hand. In order to consider the dimension of disparate interpretations, the thesis will introduce the terms signs and framing. A sign is a combination of expression and content. The expression is the manifestation of the sign and the content is the information that we attribute to the expression. The content – our interpretation of the sign – is always culturally dependent. Signs are therefore connotative; they carry several meanings within themselves (van Leuween 2005, Sonesson 1992). Framing is the relationship of the signs in the overall the image; it is in the framing that the narrative is conveyed. A visual content analysis may be used since the analysis is based on several different murals representing different themes. However, a visual content analysis is based on a fixed regime of variables and does not interpret each image (van Lewueen 2005). In using these set regimes, the mural’s production and the cultural interpretation of the image would be neglected. By combining compositional methodology and the concepts of sign and framing the analysis will be able to define how the collective memory is presented and how the collective memory interprets. Yet, to be able to investigate how a mural is interpreted the analysis must be based on the viewer’s perspective since the interpretations of the signs differs from one audience to the next (Rose 2007:17, 19-32).

Since the mural must speak to its community in order to find acceptance a discourse analysis could have been chosen for the analysis. However, if a discourse analysis had been used the fact that the themes of the murals are chosen would have been neglected in the thesis. The conscious element of selecting certain themes is fundamental to understanding the power of a mural and a discourse analysis would not highlight this.

3.1.2 Research design

The analysis of the thesis will be conducted by dividing the themes of the murals into two different categories; chosen glories and chosen traumas. The themes have been divided into these two categories based on previous research, which has outlined what these themes mean for the communities. Some themes are uniquely associated with particular communities: such as an international theme for the republicans and a heraldic theme for loyalists. Both communities have historic

themes, while focusing on different events and interpretations of the events (Feldman 1991, Rolston 2006, Jarman 2005, Abshire & Rolston 2004, Smithey 2011). A critical reader might argue that the categorization will be based on prior assumptions and, therefore, be unable to provide new information (Goldstone 1997). The thesis will provide new information since the analysis uses the previous research as a stepping stone to highlight the importance of collective memory as a source of ontological (in)security in conflicts.

Each theme is accompanied by at least one mural, which will be analysed from the methodological framework that has been previously outlined. The mural will function as an example of how the particular theme is viewed and why the particular theme belongs to a particular category. The murals can be found in the analysis. In an effort to avoid selection bias, selections are based on the availability of several murals with the same outline and where murals within a theme carry a similar message. Since a collective memory is used to make sense of the present it has also been vital to determine when a particular theme has been prominent. In the analysis the emergence of certain themes and the development of themes will be outlined and a discussion will be conducted on what the transformation reflects. Other selection criteria derive from prior research, which has claimed that certain themes have been prominent and their relation to political events that occurred during this particular time period. This has led to reconsiderations of the link between the idea and the evidence (Ragin 2000). The selected murals have been chosen from a catalogue made by Rolston, who made an extensive catalogue of murals from 1979 until early 2000. In order to find more recent murals the thesis uses the website “extramural activity”, which photographs murals throughout Belfast. This website also provides with date and location of the mural.

Compositional methodology will consider the use of colours in the mural, spatial organisation and whether there is an accompanying text and what it says in order to outline the visual impact of the mural (Rose 2007). The compositional method is able to categorize the theme as either chosen trauma or glory since the method is sensitive to the visual outline of the mural and can convey the essence of the narrative (Rolston 2004, Rose 2007, van Leuween 2005, Goalwin 2013). However, to be able to highlight the cultural dimensions of the mural, the analysis will look at what kind of signs appear in the mural and the impact of the framing on the mural’s message (Sonesson 1992). The thesis must look at the dominant sign of the mural and how the other signs conform to the dominant signs. In some instances the dominant sign is the framing of the mural.

Since the republican and loyalist identities are created in opposition to another it is vital to recognize whether the antagonist is present in the theme and how the antagonist is depicted in the mural. This is a particular important element of the chosen traumas since it is what the antagonist is blamed for. In the chosen traumas the community presents a perspective of the community in which the antagonist is shown as the perpetrator of the chosen traumas.

In chapter 5 a concluding discussion will be presented that reflects on the findings of the analysis and a comparison of the two communities will be discussed. The comparison will be done deductively since a comparative

framework with a set regime would not let the research present similarities and differences in a free manner (Lange 2012).

3.2 Cases

3.2.1 Case illustrative

It was stated in the introduction and in chapter 2 that the thesis argues that the choice to avoid the ontological dissonance is related to the fact that the community relies on what they trust. In conflicts the collective memory that justifies and makes sense of the present is what the community knows. Since the collective identity – and thus the collective memory – is antagonistic, the communities reject reconciliation because the other option carries with it ontological insecurity. It is not, therefore, a question of avoiding the issue at hand, it is a question of staying true according to what you know.

To illustrate this the example Northern Ireland has been chosen, thus making the analysis into an illustrative case study. By focusing on a single case the analysis also becomes a critical case study since the analysis is sensitive to the contextual complexity of the case in question. The thesis does not assume that this case can be severed from its political and historical milieu (Yin 2005, Alexander & Bennet 2005). Northern Ireland was chosen due to several factors, it is a delimited case with little interference from other states, is an unresolved conflict with existing hostilities. Due to the tradition of murals the case could be argued to be biased; the case has been deliberately chosen to reject or verify a theory (George & Bennet 2005:23). In order to avoid the dilemma it is vital to discuss what the case is a case of; if the case will be likely or least likely share the outcome of the theory (Ibid.). Since the analysis is a critical case study it could be argued that the findings of the case are not generalizable due to the context of the case. However, a critical case study can present findings that can provide insight, or a starting point for new investigations (Berg 2007:295). The aim of this thesis is to provide a starting point for new investigations. The tradition of painting murals makes Northern Ireland into a distinct case but the findings of this analysis does not rule out that it does not exist other cases with similar traditions that affect the population in the country.

4 Analysis

In this part of the thesis the themes, subsequently, the murals be analysed.

4.1 Republican

4.1.1 Chosen Glories

In this section of the thesis the chosen glories in the republican collective memory will be discussed and presented.

It was stated earlier in the thesis that some themes have elements of both chosen glories/traumas. The international theme that is exclusively used by the republican muralists is, however, seen as a chosen glory. This theme refers to a sort of murals that highlights and juxtaposes the republican cause with other armed struggles across the world. The republicans view themselves as anti-imperialists and that they are victims of an imperialist power. The juxtaposition of Northern Ireland and other “victims of imperialism” convey to the viewer that the republicans, the Catholic community, belongs to a family of victims and their antagonist belongs to a family of oppressors (Rolston 2011). This is exemplified by the mural depicting Che Guevara from 2013 (<http://extramuralactivity.com/2013/10/10/against-established-law/> 140324). The dominating signs of this mural are the flags, which represent different conflicts in the world, and Che Guevara. The use of Che Guevara is in my opinion directed to the external viewer since Che Guevara is an international icon of “freedom fighters”. By adding Che Guevara the outside viewer places the republicans in the same category as Che Guevara. Through this framing the outside viewer places the republican struggle within the same international family of freedom fighters. They are victims but they are victims that fight back (Rolston 2011, Jarman 2005).



In the mural with Che Guevara there is also the Palestine flag and Palestine is a prominent theme within the republican murals. Republicans see themselves as kindred spirits of Palestine, Apartheid and the American civil rights-movement. In the mural depicting Palestine, it encourages the Palestinian people to fight back against their oppressors. Palestine is represented, as a young woman in the mural

and the oppressor, Israel, is the soldier. Palestine is therefore seen as weak and defenceless against their oppressors. Through this view a kinship of the republican struggle and other political struggles is stressed. These murals stress the Other as a part of an international gang of oppressors that are internationally condemned. The republican struggle is therefore not alone but is a part of a family of victims and they are helping each other to continue the fight.

The international theme is a glory since it highlights the republicans as strong freedom fighters. The Celtic theme, however, provides the republican struggle with another form of glory. The theme stresses the republicans as Celtic. This theme is often painted with bright colours, which is in itself a sign of positive outlook of life. The Celtic age is seen in these murals as the golden age, the age before the British and as the age of victory and heroes. Celtic signs are not exclusive to themes that portray a Celtic narrative and these Celtic signs can be found in murals that have another main theme. By using Celtic signs a narrative that starts with the Celtic and end with the present is created and an example of this will be given on p18 (Feldman 1991, Rolston 2003, Goalwin 2013). By using Celtic signs the internal and the outside viewer gets the impression that the republicans are the descendants of the Celtic and can resurrect the Celtic age. The mural on the right depicts dead IRA members within a Celtic framework and the dominating sign of Culichiannan, which was a mythological Celtic hero. The framing of the mural puts the dead republicans into this Celtic framework and they are understood as mythological heroes. Culichiannan becomes a republican hero and the IRA members are his descendants. Furthermore, by using Celtic signs the republicans are stressing that they are members of an ancient nation. They were there before the British and the British oppress an ancient nation. The Protestants are not explicitly referred to in either the international theme or the Celtic theme yet, since Protestants identify themselves as British they are a part of the international family of oppressors that oppress ancient nations (Santino 2001, Tägil 1984, Müller 2004).



A theme that used to be a chosen trauma but has been reinterpreted as a chosen glory is the “hunger strikers”, this theme will be discussed in the upcoming section of the analysis.

4.1.2 Chosen Traumas

The Celtic age is seen as the golden era in the republican collective memory and it is implicitly outlined that the British terminated the Celtic age. The British are the perpetrators of the upcoming traumas and since the loyalists are in alliance with the British they are also seen as perpetrators. However, there are few “clear” chosen traumas that are depicted on murals today, such as the hooded men and the hunger strikers. These murals were painted in the 1980s and early 1990s and these

dark themes correlated with the events of that time period. After 1994 most dark murals were repainted and have been transformed. In this section a discussion of how the chosen traumas were perceived and how they have been transformed will be presented. Furthermore, a contemporary mural will illustrate how the republicans view the Other.



The function of the sign “ the hooded men” were to keep the Other out. The sign represent faceless violence that will attack the Other and will protect the community. The men are faceless since the nature of the conflict is that they cannot show their faces due to their own protection. The opponent in the narrative is much stronger and the hooded men must fight as guerrillas. The darkness as protectors is frightening for the community and to explain to the community why the faceless violence is needed these murals often have a sign of Ireland. In the mural on the top of the page from 1989 there are hooded men in front of the Irish Isle, which is reunited, and the Irish tricolour (Rolston 2010:38). The framing of the mural convey to the viewer that through the faceless violence Ireland has been united. The faceless violence was therefore a necessary evil for the unification of Ireland. By this framing the present was explained to the community. This theme was prominent during the 1980s and early 1990s and during this timeframe the sectarian violence was at its peak. The hooded men filled a purpose of keeping the Other out from the mind of the communities (Kay 2012:253).

After the 1994 cease-fire the republicans made a deliberate choice of repainting the hooded men and use different themes such as the Celtic theme (Davis 1997). This choice both stemmed from a choice of becoming legitimate political actors and a wish from the Northern Irish public to cease the violence. In the republican movement the political wing took control over the military wing, thus a political end to the conflict became viable. By toning down their military outlook Sinn Fein could take part in the peace negotiations even if the IRA continued with the armed struggle. However, in the new repainted murals the Celtic and the international were stressed, thus depicting themselves as members of an international family of oppressed ancient nations. Yet, in these murals the IRA members are still present. As it has been pointed out earlier, the Celtic signs made the IRA members into descendants of the Celtic heroes. A mural that depicts this transformation and also stresses the republican agency in creating peace is in the mural to the right. The mural depicts three IRA members that are showing their



faces, thus showing to the viewer that they can now be open with their allegiance. The protectors are no longer faceless. The IRA men are giving the cheering crowd the Irish tricolour thus giving the viewer the impression that they have united Ireland (Davies 2001, Forker & McCormick 2009, Ryan 1997).

Signs that represent different epochs of Irish history also surround the IRA members and these signs convey a narrative that Northern Ireland has reached the end of history. These signs are the Celtic knot (the ancient), the four shields of Ireland (the early modern) and the Irish tricolour (the present). The narrative states that the enemy is defeated and the IRA reunited Ireland. Furthermore, the mural is a pastiche by the painting of Delacroix of the French revolution thus emphasising a new world order.



A similar transformation can be seen in the theme depicting the hunger strikers. The murals that depicted the hunger strike in its aftermath until the 1990s showed the hunger strikers in dark colours that emphasised their sacrifice. In the mural on the right from 1981 the hunger strikers are painted in a Christian framework of sacrifice such as Christ on the Cross (Rolston 2010:25). In a later mural that depicts the hunger striker Bobby Sands the Christian framework is intact but he is no longer suffering. He is smiling and looks healthy and he is painted in bright colours. This shift in how the hunger strikers are perceived is related to the changes of the conflict. The murals that were painted in aftermath of the hunger strike had to make sense of the present and their deaths. By painting the hunger strikers within a Christian framework their deaths were understood as sacrifices for Ireland. The hunger strikers died for the idea of a united Ireland just as Christ died for our sins. The murals of today can depict the hunger strikers as smiling and healthy since the republicans have won. The hunger strikers can now be interpreted as saviours (Dawson 2007, Feldman 1991, Delaney 2001).



However, the republicans still see themselves as victims of an on-going British oppression as is illustrated by a mural from 2012. It urges the British state to honour the 2010 agreement and is stressing that the treatment of the prisoners is similar to what happened to the hunger strikers. The British, and the loyalists, have not changed and they are still the oppressors. In contrast to 1981 the republicans feel that their narrative is validated and that they have a right to fight back.



4.2 Loyalist

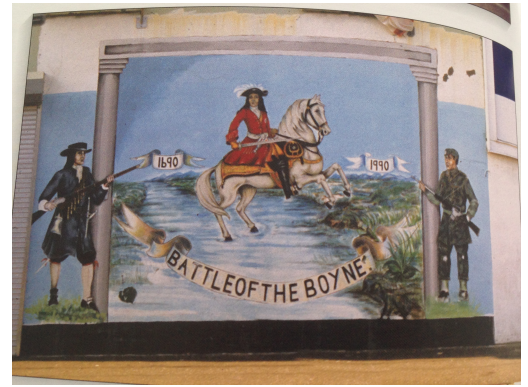
4.2.1 Chosen Glories

In this section the chosen glories of the loyalist collective memory will be presented. The main chosen glory of the loyalist collective memory is King Billy and the battle of the Boyne. In the loyalist collective memory this was the start of the loyalist golden age since King Billy won over the Catholics. This event is still celebrated on the 12th of July. Loyalists see themselves as descendants of King Billy and see it as their duty to keep the Catholic threat out. The Catholics were the main threat of the newly formed Great Britain in the 18th century and loyalists still see Catholics as the main threat. Loyalists see themselves as loyal to Britain and that they have sacrificed themselves for Britain (Colley 1992, Boyce 1997, Kay 2012:251, Rolston 2010:2).

Murals that depict this event often show King Billy in bright colours and the style of the painting reminds the viewer of 18th century portraits. King Billy is often depicted on a prancing horse, ready to attack and the murals often emphasise that he was a king. In the mural on the right two soldiers, one 18th century and one of today, flank King Billy presenting to the viewer that the loyalists are continuing the work of King Billy. Loyalists view themselves as the descendants of king Billy and that the history of the loyalists starts with the Battle of the Boyne. A series of mural that depicts the loyalist collective memory is here to the right (<http://extramuralactivity.com/category/loyalist/> 20140324).

The Catholic community sees King Billy as the creator of the institutionalization of Catholics as second-class citizens. He is seen as the destroyer of the Celtic. This view reflects a relationship between the two communities; the glory of one community is the trauma of the other since the two identities are created in opposition to each other. Thus making it difficult to create a shared view of the past. This means that the basis of the ontological security of one community is what the other community needs to protect itself from. The defining signs of one community is therefore seen as sectarian by the other community (NicCraith 2002), Taylor 2002.

The loyalist community sees themselves to be in alliance to the British state and to emphasise their allegiance they often use heraldic signs as it can be seen on the mural to the right from 1994, which is a commemorating mural with the red



hand of Ulster in the middle (Rolston 1998:13). The red hand of Ulster is a sign that represents Ulster and is often used in loyalist murals. The style of the mural is neo-classic and reminds the viewer of the style of official mourning sites. The dead are understood in an official framework that is closely linked to the state (Müller 2004).



The loyalist murals often portray WWI since the loyalist paramilitaries see themselves as the descendants of the Ulster regiment. The murals that depict the WWI can either juxtapose dead loyalists with the battle of the Somme or just commemorate the battle of the Somme. As it can be seen on the mural to the right from 1980s but repainted in 2000, the battle of the Somme is an event that must be remembered (Rolston 2010:13). The explanation of why the Somme must be remembered is given by the fact that loyalists stress the loyalist sacrifice for Britain. This was a chosen glory and a pride but has during the course of the conflict and the peace process become a trauma (Rolston 1998).

4.2.2 Chosen Trauma

The loyalist sacrifice for Britain is the main part of the loyalist collective memory. It is presented through themes that depict WWI and heraldic signs. However, the main theme that stresses this is the hooded men.

The British state has rejected the notion that they were in alliance with the paramilitaries thus confusing the loyalist collective memory. This is shown in commemorating murals for dead and imprisoned loyalists, these murals often have the accompanying text: his only crime was loyalty. The text stresses the loyalist sacrifice and the mural on the right from 2000 illustrates this (Rolston 2003:39). The heraldic signs in the mural stresses the connection between his sacrifice and the British state. WWI is



referred to in this mural by the poppies thus creating a link between the man on the mural and the Ulster regiment, which died in the Somme.

The perceived alliance with the British state took place during the 1980s and 1990s and the hooded men that are depicted on the murals are the paramilitaries. The theme is not as popular as it were in the 1980s/1990s but it is still used (Smithey 2011). The theme is still used since it reminds the community of a time when the loyalist paramilitaries were needed to defend the community. It has been argued that the theme has remained due to the fact that the loyalists saw themselves in 1994 as victorious (Rolston 1998:49). This can



be seen on the mural on the right since the text claim that the loyalists are undefeated. However, during the course of the peace process this belief has been altered. Today the theme reminds the community that the hooded men are still needed since the conflict is not over in the eyes of the loyalists (Kay 2012:253).

The rejection of the loyalist sacrifice has put the loyalist community in a sense of trauma time since the rejection is still defining the community (Edkins 2003). The loyalist community needs to repeat to themselves that they were members of the British security forces. The mural to the right is a recent mural that shows two hooded men that are armed and ready



(<http://extramuralactivity.com/2014/01/17/looking-down-the-barrel-of-a-gun/20140324>). The next mural from 2001 also emphasise the readiness of the loyalist paramilitaries since it says they are “ready for war” (Rolston 2003:40). The mural was painted after the implementation of the peace agreement and it displays that the republicans cannot be trusted and therefore the loyalists are ready for the war to begin again.



There are other forms of stressing the link between the loyalists and their alliance to the British state. The mural from 2002 that depicts the heraldic of Northern Ireland can be an example of this since it has a text that links loyalists forms of expression and what they think of the reactions of the outside world. The text says that if they are contested they will repeat their message louder; their view cannot be altered (Rolston 2003, Kay 2012, Rolston 2003:38).



The antagonist in the narrative that is presented is the outside world that contests their worldview and the republicans who are threatening their communities. The British are not seen as the antagonist since if they were the antagonists their basis of security would be rejected. By continuing using the hooded men the loyalists portray to the British, their own community and to the outside viewer that they are still needed. The hooded men remind the community of a time when they were needed so it could be argued that the hooded men are a chosen glory. Yet, the sacrifice has been rejected thus confusing the loyalist community. It has therefore become a traumatic glory since it reminds the community of their golden days yet the contestation puts the community in a sense of trauma time.

5 Conclusion

The hypothesis of the thesis was that it was the form of the relationship between the collective memory and ontological security that hinders reconciliation. The thesis posed three research questions: *what is it in said relationship that hinders reconciliation? How can the relationship be transformed to promote reconciliation? How is this reflected in the murals of Northern Ireland?* To be able to answer these questions and to illustrate how ontological security is based in the collective memory in conflicts the thesis looked at Northern Ireland and its tradition of painting murals. The thesis looked at how the murals had transformed during the conflict and after the peace agreement, what themes were favoured and what function the themes had in relevance to today. By placing the themes into either chosen traumas and chosen glories the investigation could highlight how the collective memories viewed themselves and each other. In this section of the thesis a concluding discussion of the analysis will be conducted.

The analysis showed that the identities are still in opposition to each other consequently; the communities have different views of each other. The republican collective memory sees the loyalists as perpetrators of past injustices; however, the republicans have a positive outlook on the future and on the past. The British and the loyalists are perpetrators of the chosen traumas but the republicans do not dwell in the past. The republicans are not in trauma time and they can make sense of their world. The narrative of the republican Self is met by their relationships. Republicans are ontologically secure.

The narrative of the loyalist Self, however, is not met by their relationships, thus causing ontological insecurity. This thesis has therefore shown that the narrative that stems from the Self must be validated by the outside world. Lupovici argued that when an identity is in ontological dissonance it avoids the dilemma and keeps the identity. This thesis has also been able to show that it is not a question of avoidance; it is a question of staying true to what you know. Loyalists are staying true to what they know, the loyalist sacrifice, in order to keep their ontological security. However, since the narrative is contested by the outside world an ontological dissonance is created thus putting the collective in trauma time. The chosen glory, the loyalist sacrifice, has become a traumatic glory since they still hold on to it in order to make sense of their world. It is not a chosen trauma since the loyalists do not perceive themselves to be victims. However, a traumatic element has been added on to the glory since it has been contested. Furthermore, the use of the hooded men is an inclination that the loyalists perceive themselves to be threatened. The hooded men are not only a reminder of a time when they were in alliance with the state; they are also there for their protection from the republican violence

What is it in said relationship that hinders reconciliation and how can it be transformed to promote reconciliation? At first glance it is the fact that the two collective memories are in contrast to each other that hinders reconciliation. However, by looking closer to the basis of the ontological security, i.e. the collective memory, of the two communities another dimension is highlighted. It is the fact that the narrative of one community is disregarded by the outside world thus pushing them into an ontological dissonance that makes them hold on to their narrative harder. Trauma time is the outcome of ontological dissonance and the maintainer of the ontological dissonance since it reinforces itself.

In order to promote reconciliation the ontological dissonance must be ceased. If the loyalist narrative would be validated their trauma time might be ceased. The conflict was dirty and none of the participants in the conflict can be entirely proud of their own behaviour. An investigation of what happened during conflict would be of benefit. However, the investigation could bring out questions that none wants to answer thus creating more ontological dissonance since the population of the British Isles would be forced to reevaluate their identities.

However, the republicans were able to cease their trauma time by actively changing their appearance and their narrative was not contested by their relationships. The loyalist use of hooded men is declining and this can be seen as an attempt to change their collective memory. As it has been shown with the republicans, the present effects the past. Nevertheless, the loyalist identity is based in an old version of what it is said to be British so the loyalist collective memory must be transformed completely. The republicans were not forced to completely transform their identity; they changed the form of the narrative but not the essence of the identity. Their narrative as victims of historical oppressors has been validated. They ceased to be IRA the terrorists and became IRA the Celtic freedom fighters.

A future study could focus on the “traumatic glory” and if there are other communities that have this kind of event in their collective memory. If there are, do they have a similar impact on the ontological security of the community? Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate which mechanisms maintain trauma time. This thesis was able to show that trauma time is a maintaining factor in ontological dissonance but not how it maintains. A future research project would be able to show how trauma time is maintained.

References

- ABSHIRE, J.E. and ROLSTON, B., 2004. Northern Ireland's Politics in Paint. *MUSEUM INTERNATIONAL*, **15**; **56**(2; 3), pp. 149; 38-45.
- AHONEN, S., 2012. *Coming to Terms with a Dark Past*. 1 edn. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH.
- ALEXANDER, G. and BENNET, A., 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- 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.
- BATISTA, E., 2009. Mythical Re-construction of the Past: War Commemoration and Formation of Northern Irish Britishness. *Anthropological Notebooks*, **15**(3), pp. 5-25.
- 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.
- BELL, D., 2008. Agonistic Democracy and the Politics of Memory. *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory*, **15**(1), pp. 148-166.
- BELL, D.S., 2003. Mythscapes: memory, mythology, and national identity. *British Journal of Sociology*, **54**(1), pp. 63-81.
- BERG, B.L., 2007. *Qualitative research methods for the social science*. 7 edn. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- BILLIG, M., 1995. *Banal nationalism*. 1 edn. London: Sage.
- BLACK, E., 1998. *Northern Ireland Troubled Land*. 1 edn. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company.
- BRAND, R., 2009. Urban Artifacts and Social Practices in a Contested City. *Journal of Urban Technology*, **16**(2), pp. 35-60.
- BROWN, K., 2012. 'What it was like to live through a day': Transitional justice and the memory of the everyday in a divided society. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, **6**(3), pp. 444-466.
- 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.
- COLLEY, L., 1992. *Britons - Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. 1 edn. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- D. BOYCE GEORGE, 1997. Bigots in Bowler Hats? Unionism Since the Downing Street Declaration 1993-1995. In: O'DAY ALAN, ed, *Political*

- Violence in Northern Ireland - Conflict and Conflict Resolution*. 1 edn. Westport Connecticut: Praeger, pp. 51.
- DAVIES, L., 2001. Artworks. *Public Culture*, **13**(1), pp. 155.
- 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 Connecticut: Praeger, pp. 33.
- DAWSON, G., 2007. *Making peace with the past? Memory, trauma and the Irish Troubles*. 1 edn. 1: Manchester University Press.
- DELANEY, L., 2001. Representing Belief? A Look at Forms of Contemporary Visual Art in Northern Ireland. *European Legacy*, **6**(6), pp. 741-750.
- EDKINS, J., 2003. *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FELDMAN ALLEN, 1991. *Formations of Violence - The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. 1 edn. Chicago: Chicago Press.
- 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.
- FINLAYSON, A., 1997. Discourse and Contemporary Loyalist Identity. In: SHIRLOW, PETER & MCGOVERN MARK, ed, *Who Are 'The People' Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland*. 1 edn. Pluto Press, pp. 72.
- 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.
- G. ASHPLANT TIMOTHY, DAWSON GRAHAM, ROPER MICHAEL, 2009. The politics of war memory and commemoration: contexts, structures and dynamics. In: G. ASHPLANT TIMOTHY, DAWSON GRAHAM, ROPER MICHAEL, ed, 2 edn. London, New York: Routledge, .
- GEOGHEGAN, P., 2008. Multiculturalism and sectarianism in post-agreement Northern Ireland. *Scottish Geographical Journal*, **124**(2), pp. 185-191.
- GILLIGAN, C., 1997. Peace or pacification process? A brief critique of the peace process. In: GILLIGAN, CHRIS & TONGE JON, ed, *Peace or War? Understanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland*. 1 edn. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp. 19.
- 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.
- GOLDSTONE, J., 1997. Methodological Issues in Comparative Macrosociology. *Comparative Social Research*, **16**, pp. 107-120.
- GRAHAM, B., 2004. The past in the present: The shaping of identity in Loyalist Ulster. *TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE*, **16**(3), pp. 483-500.
- GRAHAM, B. and WHELAN, Y., 2007. The legacies of the dead: commemorating the Troubles in Northern Ireland. *Environment & planning D, society & space*, **25**(3), pp. 476-495.

- HILL, A. and WHITE, A., 2012. *Painting Peace? Murals and the Northern Ireland Peace Process*.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- JARMAN, N., 1997. *Material Conflicts*. 1 edn. Oxford: Berg.
- KARLSSON, K., 2010. *Europeiska möten med historien*. 1 edn. Stockholm: Atlantis.
- KAY, S., 2012. Ontological Security and Peace-Building in Northern Ireland. *Contemporary Security Policy*, **33**(2), pp. 236-263.
- KINNVALL, C., 2002. Nationalism, religion and the search for chosen traumas: Comparing Sikh and Hindu identity constructions. *Ethnicities*, **2**(1), pp. 79-106.
- KINNVALL, C., 2006. *Globalization and Religious Nationalism in India*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- KINNVALL, C., 2012. European Trauma: Governance and the Psychological Moment. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, **37**(3), pp. 266-281.
- LAGENBACHER, E., 2010. Collective Memory as a Factor in Political Culture and International Relations. In: E. LAGENBACHER and Y. SHAIN, eds, *Power and the Past*. 1 edn. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 13-51.
- LARSSON, F., 2013 *Identities on the Walls* Master Thesis, Department of History, Lund University
- LANGE, M., 2012. *Comparative-historical methods*. 1 edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- LISLE, D., 2006. Local Symbols, Global Networks: Rereading the Murals of Belfast. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, (1), pp. 27.
- LUPOVICI, A., 2012. Ontological dissonance, clashing identities, and Israel's unilateral steps towards the Palestinians. *Review of International Studies*, **38**(4), pp. 809-833.
- 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.
- MCCORMICK, J. and JARMAN, N., 2005. Death of a Mural. *Journal of Material Culture*, **10**(1), pp. 49-72.
- 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.

- MCGREGOR, K.E., 2013. Memory Studies and Human Rights in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, **37**(3), pp. 350-361.
- MISZTAL, B., 2003. *Theories of Social Remembering*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- MISZTAL, B.A., 2011. Forgiveness and the construction of new conditions for a common life. *Contemporary Social Science*, **6**(1), pp. 39-53.
- 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.
- 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, .
- NIC CRAITH, M., 2002. *Plural Identities, Singular Narratives - The Case of Northern Ireland*. 1 edn. New York, Oxford: Berghan Books.
- O'DAY ALAN, 1997. Political Violence and Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland. In: O'DAY ALAN, ed, *Political Violence in Northern Ireland- Conflict and Conflict Resolution*. 1 edn. Wesport, Conneticut: Praeger, pp. 1.
- OLICK, K., 2007. *The Politics of Regret - On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*. New York: Routledge.
- PAPADAKIS, Y., 2003. Nation, narrative and commemoration: political ritual in divided Cyprus. *History & Anthropology*, **14**(3), pp. 253-270.
- PAPADAKIS, Y., 2004. Discourses of "the Balkans" in Cyprus: Tactics, Strategies and Constructions of "Others". *History & Anthropology*, **15**(1), pp. 15-27.
- 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.
- PINKERTON, P., 2012. *Resisting Memory: The Politics of Memorialisation in Post-conflict Northern Ireland*.
- R. BET-EL ILANA, 2004. Unimagined Communities, the power of memory and the conflict in former Yugoslavia. In: J. MÜLLER, ed, *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe : Studies in the Presence of the Past*. 2 edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, .
- RADSTONE, SUSANNAH & HODGKIN, KATHERINE, 2003. Introduction: Contested pasts. In: RADSTONE, SUSANNAH & HODGKIN, KATHERINE, ed, *The Politics of Memory*. London: Routledge, .
- RAGIN, C., 2000. *Fuzzy-Set Social Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- RAY, L., 2006. Mourning, Melancholia and Violence. In: D. BELL, ed, *Memory, Trauma and World Politics*. 1 edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, pp. 135.
- ROLSTON, B., 1987. Politics, painting and popular culture: the political wall murals of Northern Ireland. *Media, Culture & Society*, **9**(1), pp. 5-28.
- ROLSTON, B., 1998. *Drawing Support 2 - Murals of War and Peace*. 1 edn. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.

- ROLSTON, B., 1998. Culture as a battlefield: Political identity and the state in the North of Ireland. *Race & Class*, **39**(4), pp. 23.
- ROLSTON, B., 2003. *Drawing Support 3 - Murals and Transition in the North of Ireland*. 1 edn. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.
- ROLSTON, B., 2003. Changing the Political Landscape: Murals and Transition in Northern Ireland. *Irish Studies Review*, **11**(1), pp. 3.
- ROLSTON, B., 2004. The War of the Walls: political murals in Northern Ireland. *Museum International*, **56**(3), pp. 38-45.
- ROLSTON, B., 2006. Dealing with the past: Pro-State Paramilitaries, Truth and Transition in Northern Ireland. *Human Rights Quarterly*, (3), pp. 652.
- ROLSTON, B., 2009. 'The Brothers on the Walls': International Solidarity and Irish Political Murals. *Journal of Black Studies*, (3), pp. 446.
- ROLSTON, B., 2010. *Drawing Support - Murals in the North of Ireland*. 3 edn. Belfast: Beyond the Pale.
- 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.
- ROLSTON, B., 2011. ¡Hasta La Victoria!: Murals and Resistance in Santiago, Chile. *Identities*, **18**(2), pp. 113-137.
- ROSE, G., 2007. *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*. 2 edn. London: Sage.
- RUANE, JOSEPH & TODD, JENNIFER, 1996. *The dynamics of conflict in Northern Ireland: power, conflict, and emancipation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- RUMELILI, B., 2013. Identity and desecuritisation: the pitfalls of conflating ontological and physical identity. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, **1**, pp. 1-23.
- RUOSSO, H., 1994. *The Vichy Syndrome*. 1 edn. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- 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.
- SANTINO, J., 2001. *Signs of War and Peace: Social Conflict and the Use of Public Symbols in Northern Ireland*. 1 edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- SANTINO, J., SLUKA, J.A., BROWN, K. and MACGINTY, R., 2003. *Public Protest and Popular Style: Resistance from the Right in Northern Ireland and South Boston*. American Anthropological Association; Blackwell Publishing.
- SHIRLOW, P., 2010. *Abandoning historical conflict?: former political prisoners and reconciliation in Northern Ireland*, 1 edn. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- SHIRLOW, PETER & MURTAGH, BRENDAN, 2006. *Belfast Segregation, Violence and the City*. 1 edn. Dublin: Pluto Press.
- SHIRLOW, P., 2006. Belfast: The 'post-conflict' city. *Space & Polity*, **10**(2), pp. 99-107.
- SHIRLOW, P.&M., MARK, 1997. Introduction: Who Are 'the People'? Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland. In: SHIRLOW,

- PETER & MCGOVERN MARK, ed, *Who are the 'People'? - Unionism, Protestantism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland*. 1 edn. London: Pluto Press, pp. 1.
- SLUKA, J.A., 1996. Peace process images, symbols and murals in Northern Ireland. *Critique of Anthropology*, **16**(4), pp. 381.
- SMITHEY A, L., 2011. *Unionists, Loyalists and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland*. 1 edn. Oxford: Oxford University 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, .
- SONESSON, G., 1992. *Bildbetydelser - inledning till bildsemiotiken som vetenskap*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- STRÖMBOM, L., 2010. *Revisiting the Past - Israeli Identity, thick recognition and conflict transformation*, Department of Political Science Lund University.
- SWITZER, C. and MCDOWELL, S., 2009. Redrawing cognitive maps of conflict: Lost spaces and forgetting in the centre of Belfast. *MEMORY STUDIES*, **2**(3), pp. 337-353.
- 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.
- TAYLOR, R., 2001. Northern Ireland: Consociation or Social Transformation? In: J. MCGARRY, ed, *Northern Ireland and the Divided World*. 1 edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 36.
- TILLY, C., 2002. *Stories, Identities and Political Change*. 1 edn. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers INC.
- VAN LEEUWEN, T., 2005. *Introducing social semiotics*. London: Routledge.
- VOLKAN, V.D., 2001. Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity. *Group Analysis*, **34**(1), pp. 79.
- WINTER, J.M. and SIVAN, E., 1999. Setting the Framework. *War and remembrance in the twentieth century*. 1 edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, .
- YIN, R.K., 2005. *Case study research: design and methods*. 4 edn. London: Sage.
- ZARAKOL, A., 2010. Ontological (in)security and state denial of historical crimes: Turkey and Japan. *International Relations*, **24**(1), pp. 3-23.

Internet (20140324)

<http://extramuralactivity.com/2013/10/10/against-established-law/>

<http://extramuralactivity.com/2012/09/27/a-dead-end/>

<http://extramuralactivity.com/category/loyalist/>